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THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

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P. 1a, **ČAGHĀNIYĀN**, *add to Bibliography* C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Pers. Studies*, XIX (1981), 1-20

P. 75b, **DADALDGHLU**, *add to Bibliography* K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*. Freiburg i. Br. 1980 (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvolker, I).

P. 571bf., **DJUDDA**, *see now* G. R. Hawting, *The origin of Jadda and the problem of al-Shu'ayba*, in *Arabica* XXXI (1984), 318-26 who finds no sound evidence that Djudda existed in pre-Islamic times or that the exact location of its predecessor as the port of Makka, al-Shu'ayba, can be pinpointed with any certainty

P. 585a, **DJUGHRĀFIYĀ**, l. 5, *instead of* 56/1166 *read* 561/1166

P. 720a, **EXISTENCE**, *to reference add and* ADHIYYA.

P. 840b, **FATHPŪR-SĪKRĪ**, *add to Bibliography* S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Bombay 1975.

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P. 227b, **AL-ḤARRA**, *add to Bibliography* M. J. Kister, *The Battle of the Harra. Some socio-economic aspects*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 33-49.

P. 679a, **IBN ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR**, II, 19-24 from bottom, *instead of the sentence beginning* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim . . . *read* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim, which was confirmed by the *ḥāfiẓ*, and read it in the assembly of dignitaries, he also composed the *ʿahd* of al-Nāṣir Kalāwūn (*q.v.*), see Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al aʿshā*, X, 116 ff.

VOLUME IV

P. vii, l. 24, *instead of* J. W. Allen . . . 1105 *read* [J. Allan, London], 1105

l. 19 from below, *instead of* Princeton University *read* Hebrew University, Jerusalem

P. xi, *instead of* Taeschner . . . Gothe 1926 *read* Taeschner, *Wegenetz* = Franz Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1924-6.

P. 118b, **ISHĀLIYA**, *add to Bibliography* *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán and María Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 91-6, 305-6. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, index. Ibn al-Khaṭīb *Aʿmāl* index

P. 237b, **AL-ISKANDARIYYA**, *add to Bibliography* Numerous pieces of information about the working of the port of Alexandria are given in the *Minhādj* of al-Makhzūmī, in the parts translated and commented upon by C. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), reproduced in *Euro, Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden 1978. Furthermore, the author called al-Nuwayrī, Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, author of the *Ilmām al-ʿilm*, should be clearly distinguished from his homonym, the celebrated author of the *Nihāya*. The *Ilmām*, written in regard to the attack on Alexandria by Peter of Cyprus in 1367 and from which come the extracts studied in the articles ed. Combes cited in the *Bibl.*, has now been edited by A. S. Atiya in 4 vols. in the Haydarābād Series, 1968-72.

P. 322b, **KAʿBA**, *add to Bibliography*: G. R. Hawting, "*It were not ordered with entering* vi *but only with circumambulating it.*" Hadīth *and* fiqh *on entering the Kaʿba*, in *BSOAS* xlvii (1984), 228-42.

P. 471b, **KALAM**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *A medieval Islamic prototype of the fountain-pen?*, in *JSS* xxvi (1981), 229-34.

P. 501b, **AL-KĀLĪ**, l. 2, *instead of* 189 *read* 289

ll. 10-12, *instead of* from memory . . . into account *read* from memory in his new home, or he made critical observations and commentaries, following the Tirāḳī tradition which he knew, upon

l. 23 from below, *after* 1392/1972 *add* (cf. *MMM*[4] xx/2 (1974), 49-130)

P. 545b, **KANNANŪR**, *add to Bibliography* G. Bouchon, *Mamale de Cananor, un adversaire de l'Inde portugaise (1507-1528)*, Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée 7, Paris 1975

P. 599a, **KARADJA OGHLAN**, *add to Bibliography* K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i. Br. 1980 (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, I).

P. 733b, **KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ**, *add to Bibliography* E. Jung, *Ahmad Kasravi. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte Persiens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Diss. phil. Freiburg i. Br. 1976.

P. 757a, **KATIB**, l. 24, *instead of* M. Kanter *read* M. Carter

P. 772b, **KATHAN**, l. 35 from below, instead of κεδρίν, read κεδρίν, instead of *huwya* read *hadriyā*

P. 814a-b, **KAY KĀʾŪS B. ISKANDAR**, last para. and *Bibl.* Five completely independent Old Ottoman versions of the *Kābūs nāma* have in fact survived, the best known of which is that of Mecdjumcı Ahmed (*q.v.*). The version at Kazan in 1882, 1889, etc. (and not in 1298/1880-1) is not by this last Ottoman author, but is a version in what is called by H. F. Hofman (*Turkish literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, Section III, Part 2, v. 6, p. 65) "Old Tatar", possibly via an Ottoman intermediary.

P. 870[b], **KEMÂKH** *add to Bibliography* R H Ünal, *Monuments saljûqides de Kemah (Anatolie orientale)*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 149-72

P. 902[b], AL **KHADIR**, *add to Bibliography* H. Schwerbaum in *Fabula*, iii (1959), 51 ff.

P. 910[a], **KHᶜÂF**, *add to Bibliography* J. Aubin *Un tardon qâhsiant de l'époque timouride*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 183-216

P. 914[a], **KHAFP**, *add to signature* and Ö Melnardus.

P. 982[a], AL-**KHALÎL** B **AḤMAD**, l 30 from below, *instead of* AL-FARÂHIDÎ *read* AL-FARÂNIDÎ
l. 17 from below, instead of *Falkneriteratur* read *Falknerteliteratur*

P. 962[a], l 36, instead of *ibn Aḥmad* read *ibn-Aḥmad*
l. 17, instead of *Sîbawayhi* read *Sîbawaihi*
l. 18 from below, *instead of* 266 *read* 366
l 14 from below, *instead of* 4075 ff *read* 4075 f.

P 963[b], l 32 instead of *Fâ'id* read *Fâ'il*
l 18 from below *after* author *add* a pseudo-al-Khalîl,

P. 963[a], l 19, *instead of* 303 *read* 304
l 22, *after* 67-80 *add* A Spitaler, in *DLZ* 81 (1960), 612-16; cf. J Fück, in *ZDMG* 111 (1961), 464-69, Arabic tr. in *MMLᶜA* (Cairo) 18 (1964), 33-47
ll 34 and 37, *instead of* ff *read* f
l 22 from below *instead of* 37 9 *read* 37-42
l 17 from below, *after* 1960 *add* H Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; ᶜA al-Zuhaylî, *al-Khalîl al-musîkar*, in *al-Mawrid* iv/4 (1975), 23-29.
l 2 from below *after* 1373/1954 *add*, 43-7

P 964[a], **KHALÎL** B **ISḤÂḲ**, l 14, *instead of* born in Cairo *read* died in Cairo

P 1034[b], AL **KHARÂDJ**, l 32, *add* R S Cooper, *The assessment and collection of kharâj in medieval Egypt*, in *JAOS* 96 (1976), 365 82 (important)

P 1090[a] **KHÂṢI**, last line, *after* 123 *add* this belief has been affirmed by Muslim law; see R Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste* in *Etudes d'orientalisme ... Lévi Provençal* Paris 1962, i, 65, n. 79 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 197, n 79

P 1099[b] AL **KHÂṢṢA** WA'L-**ᶜÂMMA**, l 30 from below, *after* mischief makers. *add* (It should be noted, however, that the Shᶜîites applied the term *ᶜâmma* disparagingly to the Sunnites; see R Brunschvig, *Fiqh fatimide et histoire de l'Ifrîqiya*, in *Mélanges ... G Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 13 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 64.)

P 1111[a], AL **KHAṬÎB** AL **BAGHDÂDÎ**, l 18 from below after *ḥadîth* add (*ibid*, i, 417)
l. 17 from below *after* Kufa *add* (Yâḳut *Udabâ'*, i, 240)
l 14 from below, *after* Nîshâpur *add* (*Taᵓrîkh Baghdâd*, v, 67, 8, 383)
l. 12 from below *after* Rayy *add* (*ibid*, xi, 215)
l 8 from below, *instead of* 1922 *read* 1911.
l. 6 from below, *after* Dînawar *add* (Subkî, *Ṭabaḳât*, iii, 22, [2]iv, 29)

P. 1111[b] l 20, instead of *Udaba'* l, read *Udabâ'*, i,
l 25, *instead of* 210-17 *read* 210 27.
l 25 from below *instead of* 1974, l, 69-73 *read* 1976, i, 70-74
l 17 from below *after* Baghdâd *add* a year later

P 1212[a], l 22, instead of *Iḍâḥiyat* read *Iḍâḥiyat*
l 27, *after* 1971, *add* [2]Beirut 1974.
l 23 from below, *instead of* 69-73 *read* 70-74
l 22 from below, *after* 'l-tafrîk, *add* a work about traditioners with similar names and their identification,
l 18 from below, *after* 175 ff *add* printed Beirut 1975
l 17 from below, *after al-ᶜasmâ' add*, a small paraenetic book concerning *zoᵓ ahâdîth ahyat* and *aḳwal* by well-known individuals, named and anonymous poets, prophets and sages (e g quotations from the Torah), on both concepts *ᶜIlm* and *ᶜamal*, always introduced by *sanads*
after by al-Albânî, *add* Beirut 1388/1966, [2]1389/1969.

P 1212[b] l 12, *after* 13 *add* [2]iv, 33

P 1255[a], **KHAYR** AL **DÎN PASHA**, l 13-14 from below, *instead of* G S van Krieken *read* idem
l 11 from below, *instead of* idem *read* G S van Krieken

P 1262[a], AL-**KHAYYÂṬ**, Abu 'l-Husayn, l 14 from below, *instead of* Abâ *read* Abû

P 1262[a] l 9, *delete* about

P 1263[a], l 6, *instead of* 7 *read* -7
l 29, *instead of* 6 *read* -6
l 19 from below, *instead of* 5 *read* -5
l 14 from below, *instead of* 4 *read* -4
last line, *instead of* 6 ff, 85, 12 -5 ff *read* -6 ff, 85, 12. -5 ff

Plate XLVII, **KHAZAF**, *caption No 1 belongs to the left-hand photograph, caption No 2 to the right-hand photograph*

P. 1272[a], *Add to Bibliography, section 'General'*. E J Grube, *Islamic pottery of the 8th to the 15th century in the Keir collection*, London 1976; G Öney, *Islamic tile art*, Osaka 1976; J Zick-Nissen, *Islamische Keramik*, Katalog Düsseldorf 1973; *Keramos* No. 64, Berlin, April 1974 (in conjunction with the preceding reference) — *Section 'Technique'* J C Gardin, *Code pour l'analyse des formes de poteries*, CNRS Paris 1976 — *Section 'China and Islam'* Y Crowe, *Certains types et techniques de la céramique de Suse*, in *Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola 1974. — *Section 'Turkey'*: W B Denny, *The ceramic revetments of the mosque of Rustem Pasha and the environment of change*, New York 1977, M. Meinecke, *Fayence Dekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*,

to *DAI Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 21d, Tübingen 1976, G. Önay, *Turkish ceramic tile art*, Tokyo 1976; idem, *Türk çini sanatı*, Istanbul 1976 — *Section 'Special studies'*. G. A. Brikina, *Karabulak*, Moscow 1974

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P 842b, **KIBLA**, l. 5: al-Djaghmīnī lived ca 628/1202-29, since, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (though not in the printed versions of the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*), this was the date of composition of his treatise on astronomy

P 852a, and formula from bottom: the quantity Cos φ_M is to be multiplied by the preceding quotient and the product is to be added to Sin φ_M Sin φ

P 853b, l. 8, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 10, *before* $\frac{\text{Sin } \varphi_M \text{ Sin } \varphi}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 15, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

ll. 16 and 17, *instead of* OMf *read* OM_2

P 861b, l. 4, *after* sin ϑ_1 *insert* =

1st and 2nd equations beneath Fig. 5, *insert* =

P 871, Table 1, instead of η read φ

P 871b, ll. 2 and 9, instead of $f\varphi$ and $g\varphi$ read f_φ and g_φ.

P 881b, *add to Bibliography*. On the problems of mosque orientation see D. A. King, *Astronomical alignments in medieval Islamic religious architecture*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1982.

P 896a, **RILWA**, l. 10 from below, instead of KIVINVE *read* KIVINJE

l. 8 from below, *instead of* Dar es Salam *read* Dar es Salaam, the official spelling

P. 142-3, **RĪRĪM**, *add to Bibliography*: *Le khanat de Crimée dans les archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, prés. par A. Bennigsen, P. Boratav et autres, Paris/Den Haag 1978, M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *La présence ottomane au sud de la Crimée et en Mer d'Azov dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle* in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* xx (1979), 389-456; G. Veinstein, *La population au sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottomane*, dans *Mémorial Ömer Lütfi Barkan*, Paris 1980, 227-49 (Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'Archéol. d'Istanbul, xxvm), *Catalogue des microfilms des ouvrages intéressant les musulmans de l'URSS . . .*, in *Crimée*, Paris 1963 (stencilled)

P 243a, **KIZ**, 3rd paragraph: Ewliyā Čelebi and, following him, Mamboury are wrong when saying that the Kiz-taghi, i.e. the Byzantine "Maiden's stone" (of porphyry) was incorporated into the Süleymāniyye Mosque. The order books (1550-7) of the Süleymāniyye mention the transportation of a column from the Kiztaghi Mhallesi to the mosque, but that one was from granite. See C. Mango, *Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* xvii, Washington 1963, 81; O. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami'si inşaatı*, Ankara 1972-9, i, 344-6, ii, 23-4, Nos. 44-5; J. M. Rogers, *The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey*, i, *The stones of the Süleymaniye*, in *IJMES* xiv (1982), 79.

P. 268b, **KORDOS**, The correct name in Ottoman Turkish of the city of Corinth emerges rather as Kördes or Gördes in the pages of Ewliyā Čelebi, where it is consistently spelt with *kāf-i fārsī* and not with *kāf*, confirmed by such European renderings as Gourdese (Bernard Randolph, 1689) and Ghiurdos (W. M. Leake, ca. 1805). *Add to the Bibliography*: P. A. MacKay, *The fountain at Hadji Mustafa*, in *Hesperia, Jnal. of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxxvi (1967), 193-5; idem, *Acrocorinth in 1668, a Turkish account*, in *op. cit.*, xxxvii (1968), 386-97, with map, plan and photographs.

P. 428b, **KUR'ĀN**, *add to Bibliography, section "General studies"*: A. Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, Berlin 1981

P 507b, **KURSĀN**, l. 12, *instead of* Khārk Island *read* Khārk Island

P 508b, l. 7 *instead of* Malcom's *read* Malcolm's

P 552a, **KUṬB MINĀR.**, *place Plates XXVIII-XXIX between pp. 548 and 549*

P 557b, **KUṬN**, l. 24 from bottom *instead of* Bozdeghan *read* Bozdoghan

l. 23 from bottom *instead of* Čalushu *read* Čulishlu

P. 558b, l. 19 from bottom *instead of* Elučay *read* Uluçay

P 559a, l. 8 from bottom, *instead of* muslin *read* muslin

P 560a, l. 26 from bottom, *instead of* ol *read* or

P 562a, l. 10 *instead of* 875/1470 *read* 875/1470s

l. 39 *instead of* muslins *read* muslins

P 563a, l. 5 *instead of* Starrhemberg *read* Starhemberg

P 564b, l. 7 *instead of* Morcmer *read* Mortmer

P 565a, l. 20 from bottom: *instead of* 1241/1825 *read* 1241/1825

l. 12 from bottom: *instead of* journolist *read* journalists

P 565b, l. 25 from bottom: instead of *heyats* read *hayats*

P 566a, l. 14 *instead of* Edsedy *read* Ecsedy

P 570b, **AL KUTUBĪ**, l. 7 from bottom: A part of the *Wafayāt*, edited by Fayṣal al-Sāmir and Nabīla ʿAbd al-Munʿim Dāʾūd, has been published in Baghdād in 1397/1977. Following an unconfirmed report another part has been published in Cairo in 1980 and further parts are planned.

P 604, **LĀHAWR**, *place Plates XXX-XXXI between pp. 600 and 601*

P 678b, **MĀʾ**, section 7: Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain, *add to Bibliography*: R. Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, ii, 210-23 and the bibliography given there.

P 1027ᵃ, **MADJĀZ** l. 4, *instead of* more *read* mere
l. 32 from below, *after* mind *insert* to

P 1056ᵇ, **MADJLIS**, *add to bibliography of section on Jordan* R. G. Khoury, *Jordan Assembly meets, clears way for elections*, in *International Herald Tribune*, 10 January 1984, p. 1

P 1059ᵃ, *Add to bibliography of section on ʿUmān* D. F. Eickelman, *Kings and people: Oman's state consultative council*, in *MEJ* 38/1 (Winter 1984), 51-71

P 1077ᵇ, *Add to bibliography of section on Israel* J. M. Landau, *The Arab vote*, in D. Caspi, A. Diskin, E. Guttman (eds.), *The roots of Begin's success*, London 1984, 160-189

P. 1103ᵇ, **MADJNŪN LAYLĀ**, l. 7 from below, *after* his love *add* of

P 1164ᵃ, AL-**MAGHĀZĪ**, *add to Bibliography Maghāzī rasūl allāh ls-ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr bi-riwāyat Abī ʾl-Aswad ʿanhu (al-nuskha al-mustakhraja)* ed. M. M. al-Aʿẓamī, al-Riyāḍ 1401/1981 (extracted from later compilations); A. A. Dūrī, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L. I. Conrad, Princeton 1983 (being an annotated trans. of al-Dūrī, *Baḥth* ..., referred to above).

P. 1166ᵃ, AL-**MAGHILĪ**, l. 3 from below, *add* J. O. Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī and the Jews of Tuwāt: the demise of a community*, in *SI* lxiv (1984)

P 1166ᵇ, l. 5 f., *instead of* Critical text and tr. in Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī's Replies read* Critical text and trans. in J. O. Hunwick, *Sharīʿa in Songhay. The replies of al-Maghīlī to the questions of Askia al-Ḥājj Muḥammad*, Oxford 1984 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Arabica, v)

P. 1171ᵃ, **MAGHNISA**, *add to Bibliography* Yazo Nagata, *16 yüzyılda Manisa hayatı*, in *Tarih Dergisi* xxxiii (1979) (= Ord. Prof. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı hâtıra sayısı'ndan), 731-58.

P. 1231ᵇ, AL-**MAHDĪ**, l. 12 from below, *add to end of paragraph* The Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr al-Kaysī, who died in Ḥimṣ between 88/707 and 96/715, attributed the following tradition to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiqh*) of ten and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus, and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel."

P 1232ᵇ, ll. 8-19, *replace by* The theme was evidently adopted from the tradition ascribed to Kaʿb by ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr in Ḥimṣ.

P. 1238ᵃ, *add to Bibliography* W. Madelung, *The Sufyānī between tradition and history* (forthcoming)

SUPPLEMENT

P 343ᵇ, AL-**ḤĀKIM AL-DJUSHAMĪ**, *add to Bibliography* ʿAdnān Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī wa-manhadjuh fī tafsīr al-Kurʾān*, Beirut 1974

P. 393ᵇ, **IBN MIKSAM**, *add to Bibliography* A. Jeffery, *The Qurʾān readings of Ibn Miqsam*, in *Ignaz Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 1-38

K

CONTINUATION

KHEMSHIL [see KHEMSHIN].

KHEMSHIN (other designation, Khemshili), a numerically small group of Muslim (Sunnī) Armenians who had been converted from Christianity in the beginning of the 18th century. In the U.S.S.R. (population 629, according to the 1926 Soviet census), they now inhabit the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border. In Turkey they live in compact settlements along the Firtini and Karadere rivers (Bash Khemshin) and in the mountains not far from Hope (Hope Khemshin). The traditional economy is based on sheep and goat herding, and related activities. The Khemshin dialect (like the Erzurum, Cilicia and Istanbul dialects) is part of the western dialect group of the Armenian language. The Khemshin have been, to a great extent, assimilated by the Turks, nor have they been listed in either the 1959 or 1970 Soviet censuses). (R. WIXMAN)

KHĒRLA, a fortress of mediaeval India, lying to the south of Mālwa and east of Khāndesh [q.vv.], and in the extreme northern part of Berār [q.v.], just to the south of the headwaters of the Tāptī River. It is in fact some 50 miles west of modern Deogarh; in British India it fell within the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh.

The foundation of the fortress is attributed to a Rādjput *radjā*, the last of whose line is said to have been killed by a commander of the Dihli Sultans, perhaps in the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, but the fortress as it stands today is Islamic in construction. During the revolt of the Deccan in the latter years of Muḥammad b. Tughluk, it fell into the hands of a local Gond dynasty. In the early 9th/15th century, the Gond ruler Narsingh was made subject to the ruler of Mālwa, Hushang b. Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī (808-38/1405-35), appointed to Mālwa by the Tughlukids. It now became a subject of discord and covetousness between the rulers of Mālwa and the Bahmanī sultans of the northern Deccan [see BAHMANIS]; thus in 831/1428 Hushang suffered a crushing defeat at Khērla at the hands of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. Forty years later, in 871/1467, there was again fighting over possession of Khērla between Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī of Mālwa (840-73/1436-69) and the Bahmanī Muḥammad Shāh III Lashkarī, but Maḥmūd managed to retain Khērla and possibly northern Berār as far as Eliēpur [q.v. in Suppl.]. In 994/1586 the Mughal governor of Mālwa, Aʿẓam Khān, attempted to take over Berār; he failed to capture Khērla, but plundered the capital Eliēpur before being repelled by the combined forces of Khāndesh and the Niẓām-Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [q.v. and NIẒĀM-SHĀHIS]. Berār subsequently came under Mughal rule, and the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett², Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 237, lists Khērla as a *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Berār with a revenue of 17½ million *dams*.

Bibliography: Sir Wolseley Haig, in *Camb. hist. of India*, iii, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHIḌĀB (A.), a term denoting the dyeing of certain parts of the body (and especially, in regard to men, the beard and hair) by means of henna [see HINNĀʾ] or some similar substance. It is still used in this sense today, but is used moreover for the items of make-up and cosmetics employed by modern women; the reader may find under MAKʾA information about those items of cosmetics used by women attached to the traditional usages. (ED.)

KHIDĀSH (or Khaddāsh, cf. Wellhausen, 509; his real name was probably ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd) one of the leaders of the early Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān. Having played a part unacceptable to the ʿAbbāsids in the formative stages of their *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, the official ʿAbbāsid propaganda later obliterated as much as possible of his memory, minimised his part in the *daʿwa* and presented him as a heretic. This propaganda succeeded to such a degree that his life and achievements are hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources and doubt was even cast as to his real name. Consequently, orientalist scholarship, in those few cases when it mentions him, is highly influenced by this. Wellhausen, with his unusual historical instinct, was the first to understand his significance in the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and B. Lewis also mentions his role as one of the first emissaries of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān [see ʿABBĀSIDS]. Cl. Cahen and Lewis both tend to accept at least some of the accusations of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, namely that he was a Khurramī, and they raise doubts as to whether Khidāsh was an ʿAbbāsid emissary at all (Cahen, *Point de vue sur la révolution ʿAbbāside*, 324-5). However, with the discovery and publication of the anonymous source *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* (ed. Dūrī and Muṭṭalibī under the title *Akhbār ad-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*), a fresh study is possible, based on new material which permits a reconsideration of the already-known traditions about him.

According to the ʿAbbāsid tradition, Khidāsh was a nickname derived from *kh d sh* "to tear apart", "to scratch" because "he has torn religion to pieces" (*khadasha al-dīn*) (Ṭabarī, ii, 1303; Baladhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292b). This is a clear indication of the efforts made on the part of the ʿAbbāsids to blacken his name, especially after his death. In another tradition, however, Ṭabarī says that it was Khidāsh who adopted this name whereas his real name was ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd (ii, 1588, cf. *Ansāb*, f. 292a, *inf.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, v, 144). As far as the

name is concerned, Khidāsh is not an uncommon name in Arabic, derived from the third form of the verb *M d s* (cf. Lane's *Lexicon* and *L.A*, s.v. and *Aghānī*, xix, 52 and index). It is quite possible that the ʿAbbāsids added their interpretation to the name later, when already there existed a tradition according to which the Prophet disliked the name Khaddāsh (Ibn Wahb, *Djāmiʿ*, Cairo 1939, 57, cf. Kister, *"Call yourselves by graceful names"*, in *Lectures in memory of Prof. Martin M. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1975, 19). However, whether Khidāsh was his name or not, it does not make much difference to the fact that his activities in Khurāsān for over eight years as head of the Hāshimiyya (*q.v.*), caused so much trouble to the ʿAbbāsids that his memory was almost completely obliterated from the records of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*.

In order to understand the enigmatic personality of Khidāsh, one must remember that in the early phases of the *daʿwa* the contacts between the centre of its activity in Khurāsān and the parallel centre in Kūfa were, for security reasons, very weak. The same considerations necessitated extreme caution in the contacts between the Khurāsānis and the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* in Humayma. Although the sources say that the propagandists in Khurāsān acted in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, it is highly improbable that Umayyad intelligence failed to uncover this connection or to discover the identity of the *Imām* until the very end. The contents of the *daʿwa* teachings were extremely ambiguous throughout, and its propagandists spoke in general terms about the rights of *Ahl al-bayt* (cf. al-ʿImrānī, *al Inbāʾ*, ed. Samarrai, Leiden 1973, 57 l. 18) a term which was accepted to mean the family of the Prophet (cf. M. Sharon, *The ʿAbbāsid daʿwa re-examined*, 9, n. 23). Thus through most of its phases, the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was, in fact, nothing but an extension of the Hāshimiyya of Kūfa. It is thus highly possible that even the leaders did not known what exactly were the essential ideas that differentiated their activities from those of the other Shīʿīs in Khurāsān, and especially those in Nīshāpūr and its environs.

The only information about Khidāsh supplied by Ṭabarī and Balādhurī is as follows. After Asad b ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī had killed several of the first propagandists of the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, headed by Abū ʿIkrima, and had severely punished some of the others, another leader was sent from Kūfa to Khurāsān. The new leader was Abu ʾl-Husayn Kathīr b Saʿd. As he was an uneducated man (if the term *ummī* in Ṭabarī's account is to be understood thus), Khidāsh was able to overcome him and assume the leadership (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503, *Ansāb*, f. 292a)

In another tradition there is some more and rather different information about Khidāsh. According to this tradition, it was Bukayr b. Māhān, one of the veteran adherents of the Hāshimiyya who, in 118/736 sent ʿAmmār b. Yazīd to Khurāsān as a "leader of the Shīʿa of Banū ʾl-Abbās" (*Waliyyan ʿalā shīʿati banī ʾl-ʿabbās*). He resided in Marw and changed his name to Khidāsh (a custom common to the early adherents of the *daʿwa*, who for reasons of secrecy used to adopt new *kunyas* once initiated into the movement [see KAṬṬABA). He began making propaganda for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, in which he was very successful. According to another tradition in the *Ansāb*, it was Muḥammad b ʿAlī who nominated him. Sometime later, however, Khidāsh changed his original propaganda and "turned away from the *Imām*'s instructions and began to teach improper and disgraceful ideas. Therefore, the adherents of Muḥammad b ʿAlī fell upon him and killed him. Some say that it was Asad b ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī that killed and crucified him" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292a). The "disgraceful ideas" according to Ṭabarī (*loc. cit.*) were those of the Khurramdīya (*q.v.*). His execution by Asad took place, according to Ṭabarī, in 118, during the governor's second term of office (ii, 1538-9, Wellhausen, 520). Although these traditions reflect clearly the later ʿAbbāsid distortion of the information about Khidāsh, it is possible, however, to build the following picture, from the combination of the above narrations with the information transmitted in the *Akhbār*. Khidāsh's predecessor as the leader of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān, Kathīr b. Saʿd, led the movement in Marw from ca. 108/726 for three years until *ca.* 111/729. It was probably in that year that Khidāsh arrived from Nīshāpūr, a centre of Hāshimī activity, and took over. For at least seven years, until his execution in 118/736, he was the leader (*nāʾib*) of the Hāshimiyya there (Ṭabarī, ii, 1589, l. 2) and the one responsible for creating its sound organisation, as Wellhausen rightly observes. He was the first to achieve a real and enduring success and to gain wide support among both Arabs and *mawālī*. The lists of the leaders of the *daʿwa* in his time show people from Tamīm, Rabīʿa, Azd and other Arab tribes, including Shaybān b Kathīr of Khuzāʿa, who was later to replace him (Wellhausen, 514, Ṭabarī, ii, 1586-7, *Akhbār*, 216-22). There is no neutral evidence whatsoever that he was Khurramī, though Wellhausen, Cahen and Lewis tend to accept ʿAbbāsid traditions which attributed in him Khurramī and Mazdakite theories (this tradition is presented in its complete form by al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 32 l. 5, cf. Wellhausen, 525 n8; Cahen, *Points de vue ...*, 324 5). Cahen, however, points out that many people who fell out of favour were accused of *zandaka*, and this is clearly true of Khidāsh; a tradition which presents him as a Christian from Hīra should be understood also as representing the same trend (*Ansāb, loc cit.*) From a unique tradition in the *Akhbār*, we know exactly the nature and content of his propaganda, and this also explains why the ʿAbbāsids later hated him. This tradition speaks of a group of Khidāsh's adherents in Nīshāpūr, called the Khālidiyya after its leader, a certain Abū Khālid. The group united against the ʿAbbāsids from the very beginning of their reign, and in the time of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr changed its name and became the Fāṭimiyya. They argued that, since after the death of Ibrāhīm al-Imām (*q.v.*) a new *wasīya* was not nominated in the way of *waṣiyya*, the *imāma* must return to the ʿAlids, now already represented by the descendents of Fāṭima (*Akhbār*, 403-4).

From the statement that the Khālidiyya Fāṭimiyya continued the former Khidāshiyya, it is clear that Khidāsh as a Hāshimī leader furthered the cause of the ʿAlids.

Having worked for a while in Nīshāpūr, Khidāsh seized the opportunity of the growing activity of the Hāshimiyya in Marw in order to move there in 111/730, and being intellectually superior to Kathīr b. Saʿd, he was able to depose him and take over the leadership of the movement there. For the Hāshimiyya of Marw, both his leadership and ideology were congenial. After the death of Abū Hāshim, the original Hāshimiyya continued in general terms to support the cause of the House of the Prophet, which became more and more identified with the Fāṭimid ʿAlids. This development disturbed Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and on one occasion he is said to have warned one of his early emissaries to Khurāsān, the Kūfan leader Abū ʿIkrima, about the ʿAlid leaders in Nīshā-

pūr, whose names include one Abū Khālid al Djawlāki (*Akhbār*, 204, cf. Ibn. Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, ed. Būlāk, iii, 102). His influence in Khurāsān, however, was too slight to act against Khidāsh, and he may have had to give his tacit approval to the latter's position. Khidāsh built a strong centre in Khurāsāh which was completely independent and detached from both Kūfa and Humayma.

During the seven years of his activity, the 'Alid cause gained wide support there, while the 'Abbāsid *Imām* was kept completely in the shade. Khidāsh spoke in favour of *al Ridā min Āl Muhammad* or *al-Kā'im min ahl al bayt*, slogans which were common to all the 'Alid adherents in Khurāsān and the early *da'wa*.

Khidāsh's independent ideas, which were inconsistent with the aims and aspirations of the 'Abbāsid *Imām*, are explicitly indicated in *Ta'rīkh al Khulafā'*, ed. Grigaryevitch, ff. 252b l. 18-253a l. 6, and especially in a unique note on the margin of the manuscript, f. 253a, which is the key for an understanding of the whole problem. It runs as follows *Khidāsh, radjulun intahala mahalahan bi Khurāsāna wa intasaba ilā l-ba'mi anna ahla bayti rasūli allāhi fa stubiha 'alā l ikhtiāri amrihim*

Muhammad b. 'Alī understood that the new independent centre in Khurāsān had to be connected *directly* with him and not through Kūfa, but as long as Khidāsh was alive this was impossible, and it was difficult even after Khidāsh's death in 118/736.

The new leader, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, went to see the *Imām* in Humayma in 120/739, but this meeting led to a crisis. Muhammad b. 'Alī tried to reproach the Khurāsānī for accepting Khidāsh's wrong ideas, but Sulaymān and the Khurāsānī could not see what was wrong in pure 'Alid-Hashimī ideology, and for over five years the relations between Khurāsān and the 'Abbāsid *imām* were almost non-existent (Tabarī, ii, 1640, 1727, 1769, Balādhurī, f. 292b)

Only in 126/744 were relations restored and the centre in Khurāsān acknowledged the leadership of the new *Imām*, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad (Muhammad died in 125/743). Sulaymān welcomed Bukayr b. Māhān in Marw and sent money with him to the *Imām* (Tabarī, ii, 1869, Balādhurī *loc. cit.* This improvement in the atmosphere was due to the great crisis in the Shī'a that followed in the wake of the collapse of Zayd b. 'Alī's revolt in Kūfa in 122/740 and the execution of his son Yahyā in 125/743. The messianic expectations of the Shī'a which were connected with these two were replaced by the usual feelings of sorrow and repentance after their death. This feeling was especially acute in Khurāsān, where black garments were worn everywhere as a sign of mourning for the dead 'Alids and where newborn children were named Zayd and Yahyā after them (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, Beirut 1905, iii, 212-13). This was also the moment when a new leader was needed to avenge their blood. The circumstances were, therefore, ripe for coming to terms with the 'Abbāsid *imām* and for turning the *da'wa* into an 'Abbāsid one. Even so, this change was not easily accepted. Not only did the pro-'Alid Khidāshiyya continue to exist under a new leader, but also (as Balādhurī reports, *Ansāb*, f. 305a), Muhammad the son of Sulaymān b. Kathīr was himself an adherent of the Khidāshiyya who was opposed to the transference of the movement in Khurāsān to Abū Muslim. Because of the activities of Khidāsh we can now understand that it was not until 126/744 that the *da'wa* in Khurāsān was changed from a purely 'Alid one to an 'Abbāsid one. But the 'Abbāsids, even after reaching power, knew, as al-Mansūr is reported once to have said, that "the love for the Ahl Abī Tālib in the hearts of the people of Khurāsān is mixed with the love for us" (*Fragmenta*, ed. De Goeje, 246).

Bibliography Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Eng. tr., Calcutta 1927, 508 f., Tabarī, as cited; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al ashrāf*, Ms. Aşir Efendi, Istanbul 597 8, fols. 292a f., *Akhbār al-dawla al 'abbāsiyya*, ed. A. A. Dūrī and A. Dj. Muṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 204, 212, 403 4; *Ta'rīkh al Khulafā'*, ed. P. A. Grigaryevitch, Moscow 1967 (the part on the 'Abbāsid *da'wa*, fols. 236a f. is an abridgement of the *Akhbār al 'Abbās*); al Nāshi' al Akbar, *Masā'il al imāma*, etc., ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, *loc. cit.*, Cl Cahen, *Points de vue sur la révolution 'Abbāside*, in *Revue Historique*, ccxxx (1963), 325, and especially n. 2, B. Lewis, 'ABBĀSIDS, M. Sharon, KAHTABA, idem, *The 'Abbāsid da'wa re examined on the basis of a new source*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan 1973 (M. SHARON)

KHIDĀSH s. **ZUHAYR** al. **AṢGHAR** b. **Rashīd** b. 'Amr b. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a al-'Āmirī, *mukhadram* poet who is said to have attacked Kuraysh because his father had been killed in the War of Fidjār (*q.v.*); it is possible that he himself took part in this struggle, and it is precisely in the chapter devoted to this war that the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, xxii, 70 ff., cf. iii, 219) cites him at greatest length, since several pieces of his are given there, one of them considered as a *hadjā munsifa* (see Ch. Pellat, in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, 279-80), but he boasts there of a victory of the Hawāzin over Kuraysh which seems to be an invention. All the same, it is not impossible that these verses, and also a *hadjā* in praise of Kuraysh (*Aghānī*, xxii, 76), where allusion is made to Muhammad's presence amongst the combattants, were written at a later date and by another poet. Khidāsh was still a pagan at the Battle of Hunayn (*q.v.*). Ibn Sallām (*Tabakāt*, 119-22) classes him in the fifth *tabaka* and cites a certain number of his verses. An edition of his *dīwān* has been put together and is being prepared in Baghdād

Bibliography As well as the sources cited above, there are notices and verses quoted in Djāhiz, *Bayan*, iii, 18; idem, *Hayawan*, i, 20, 364, vi, 50; idem, *Bukhala'*, 388; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 87, idem, *Shi'r*, 627-30; idem, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, i, 235, 248, ii, 3, iii, 90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 406; Kālī, *Amālī*, ii, 66; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtikāk*, 180; Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 73, 107 8; Ibn al Kalbī Caskel, tab. 108 and ii, 347; 'Askarī, *Sina'atayn*, 240; *Nasab Kuraysh*, 300; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāk, iii 230-2, iv, 337-8; Wahhābī, 72-3; Zirikli, *A'lām*, s.v. (Ch. PELLAT)

KHIDHLĀN (A.), nomen actionis from the root *kh-dh-l*, 'to leave in the lurch', a technical term in Islamic theology, applied exclusively to Allāh when He withdraws His grace or help from man. The disputes regarding it first appear in connection with the quarrel over *kadar* (*q.v.*). A starting point is found in Sūra III 154/150 "but if He *al*-andon you to yourselves (*yakhdhul kum*), who will help you after Him? Let the faithful therefore trust in God". On this al-Rāzī observes: "The Comparisons deduce from this verse that belief is exclusively a result of Allāh's help (al. John, vi, 65), while unbelief is a result of His *khidhlān*. This is obvious, as the verse points out that the matter is entirely in God's hands".

A more detailed exposition is given by Ibn Hazm (ii, 50 f.): "Right guidance and assistance consist in God's preparing (*tayṣīr*) the believer for the good for

which He has created him; while *khidhlān* consists in His preparing the *fi'l* for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Kur'ān, the force of logic, and the attitude of the *salaf* and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the Companions and Successors as well as of those who came after these and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as regards their intelligence, namely such as belong to the followers of slanderers and outcasts, like of Najjār, Thumāma, al-'Allāf and al-Dhahabī, are all unanimous". Then follows this reasoning. Allāh has given man two forces, hostile and opposed to one another, *tamyīz* (power of discrimination) and *hawā* (passion, desire). When Allāh protects the soul *tamyīz* prevails by His help and power. But when He leaves the soul to itself (*khadhala*), He strengthens the *hawā* with a strength which amounts to leading astray (*idlāl*).

Khidhlān is therefore, according to Ibn Hazm, the opposite of *hudā* and *tawfīk* and the conception approaches that of *idlāl*. The Mu'tazilīs (as already indicated by Ibn Hazm's words) err in it a contradiction to Allāh's justness: according to them, Allāh does not urge a man to evil. In their terminology *khidhlān* therefore means the refusal of divine grace (*man' al-lutf*), while, according to the Ash'arīs, *khidhlān* is "the creation of the ability to disobey".

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīh al-ghayb*, ii, 296, *Dictionary of technical terms*, ed Sprenger and Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1862, 449; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*, Leiden 1875, 58; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 213. (A. J. WENSINCK)

KHIDĪW, Khedive, title of the rulers of Egypt in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, deriving from Persian *khidīw*, *khadīw* "lord, prince, ruler". The one of the Arabic form of the title *khidīw* "khedival" is associated with Ismā'īl Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* or viceroy of Egypt 1863-79, even though his predecessors, 'Abbās I Pasha (1848-54) and Sa'īd Pasha (1854-63) used it unofficially on occasion. Certain government departments, in particular the Department of the Interior, even under Ismā'īl's grandfather, Muhammad 'Alī the Great (1805-49), founder of the dynasty, were known as *dīwān al-khidīwī*. In a way, it was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman Sultān, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroys of Ottoman dominions. Closely related to his efforts to render his rule more secure within his family was Ismā'īl's ambition to acquire the more formal accoutrements of sovereignty in relation to his master in Istanbul and the European powers. After lavish gifts in Istanbul, the distribution of outright bribes to influential courtiers and vast expenditure in supplying troops to help his sovereign suppress a rebellion in Crete, the title of *khidīw* was formally conferred by the Sultān upon Ismā'īl in a *firmān* issued on 8 June 1867, two years before the formal opening of the Suez Canal. From a mere *wālī*, viceroy of the Sultān in Egypt, Ismā'īl assumed a rank which elevated his standing to a position closer to royalty. A more important concession which Ismā'īl received along with this title was the virtual independence of Egypt and her right to enter into special treaties and agreements governing posts, customs and trade transit. These provisions were to give Ismā'īl freedom in the financial, administrative and judicial arrangements of the country. The title remained in use until 1914, and was assumed by Ismā'īl's son Tawfīk Pasha (1879-92), and Tawfīk's son 'Abbās II Hilmī (1892-1914) [*qq.v.*]. When soon after the outbreak of the Great War Egypt was declared a British Protectorate and 'Abbās II was deposed, his successor, his uncle Husayn Kāmil, assumed the title of Sultān of Egypt.

Bibliography: P. Crabitès, *Ismail the maligned Khedive*, London 1933; E. de Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, New York 1878; E. Dicey, *The story of the Khedivate*, London 1902; P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969. (P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

KHIDR BEG, Ottoman scholar and poet of the 9th/15th century, and the first *kādī* of Istanbul. The unique source for his biography is the Arabic original of *al-Shakā'ik al-nu'māniyya* by Tashköprüzāde who, however, distorts the chronology of an otherwise convincing account of his career by an implausible anecdote which would place his first important appointment as late as the beginning of the reign of Mehemmed II (ca. 855/1451). Disregarding this, and an equally suspect interpolation made by Medjdī in his translation of the work in which his mother is identified as the daughter of the legendary Turkish jester, Nasr al-Dīn Khwādja (Nasreddin Hoca), the details of his life are as follows: He was born in Sivrihisār, where his father, Djalāl al-Dīn, was *kādī*—though the fact that the latter was, also, known as Amīr 'Ārif would suggest that he was a dervish rather than a member of the learned profession—and a source used by Brockelmann dates the birth to 1 Rabī' al-Awwal 810/6 August 1407. He completed his studies in Bursa under the famous scholar Molla Yegān, whose daughter he married, and is then said to have returned to Sivrihisār as a teacher. He acquired such a reputation for learning that he was appointed to the *madrasa* of Mehemmed I in Bursa with an increase in stipend, and certain of his pupils here were subsequently to become scholars of great eminence. Next he taught at the *madrasa* of Bāyezīd I in Bursa, again with an increased stipend, and in addition was appointed *kādī* of Inegöl. From here he moved to the newest of the ten *madrasas* in the Üč Sherefeli mosque in Edirne, and thence to Yanbolu (in present day Bulgaria) as *kādī*. After the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453, he was appointed its first *kādī*, in which post he remained until his death in 863/1458-9. He is buried in the Zeyrek quarter of Istanbul (*'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*, i, 230), where he also built the mosque later attributed to a certain Hādjdjī Kadīn (*Hadīkat al-djawāmi'*, i, 86). His three sons, Ya'kūb Pasha, Mūsā Ahmad Pasha and Sinān Pasha, were also notable scholars, the latter being the author of the famous *Tadjrīd*.

Although Khidr Beg is reputed to have introduced the versified chronogram into Ottoman literature, very few of his Turkish poems have survived (Sehī, 39) and his reputation rests on three poems in Arabic. The first, a didactic *kasīda* in the *basīt* metre on the creed, is known as the *Nūniyya* and has been the subject of several commentaries, most notably that by his pupil Khayālī (Hadjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1348; Brockelmann, II, 229, S II, 321). Another *kasīda*, also a *nūniyya* dealing with the creed, but in the *mafīr* metre, is usually known as the *'Uqūla layla* or *layla-yam* (Brockelmann is incorrect in saying that he translated this into Persian). Finally, there is a *mustazād*, in a Persian variety of the *hazadj* metre, which was greatly admired and attracted imitations for over a century (Sāfī, *Rūmī*, v, 230-1; Ahmed Pasha, *Dīwān* ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1966, 357). Bursalī

Mehmed Tāhir mentions a translation into Persian of the *Maṭāliʿ* which he made at the request of Sulṭān Muḥammad II, the work in question probably being the *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār*, on logic, by Sirādj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (Ḥādjidjī Khalīfa, ii, 1715).

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(J. R. Walsh)

al-KHIḌR ḤUSAYN [see al-Khaḍir b. al-Ḥusayn].

KHIḌR-ILYĀS (in Turkish, Hıdrellez), is the name, in Turkish tradition, of a popular festival in the spring and celebrated on the 5-6 May, this date being considered as marking the beginning of the season of summer, extending from then till y November (*Kasım*). The two dates correspond respectively with the feastdays of St. George (23 April) and St. Demetrius (26 October).

Khiḍr (Turkish, Hızır) also symbolises in Turkish tradition the renewal of vegetation in the spring. It is believed that, when this personage shows himself upon the face of the earth, the dry vegetation becomes green again as he passes, that he leaves a green impression on the hands which he touches, and that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of his legendary personality is that he comes to the aid of beings in distress, and in particular, of those in danger of drowning in the sea or lost in the desert. In regard to Ilyās, beliefs and traditions are somewhat rare. In the written literary texts and in oral tradition they are limited to allusions to his supernatural aid to beings in distress on land or sea, a power which he shares with Hızır; according to certain beliefs, Ilyas is the master of the seas, and Hızır that of the land, but others hold the reverse of these attributions (see *Halk bilgisi haberleri — HBH*, i (1936), 282, *Gedik*, No. 73 (1944); O. Bayatlı, *Bergama'da efsaneler, ādetler*, Istanbul 1941, 54; Evliyā Celebi, *Seyāḥat nāme*, iii, 90; Yazıdjioghlu, *Muḥammediyye*, lith. Istanbul 1322/1894-5, 77; Sadettin Nüzhet, *Türk şairleri*, i, 37, in one poem the popular poet of the 17th century Karadjaoghlan calls him "guardian of the seas, mounted upon a grey horse", in the Oghuz epic *Dede Korkud* he is likewise described as a horseman) Ilyās is further mentioned in beliefs which explain the name *Hıdrellez*. It is generally held that each year, on the night of 5 May, these two beings both of them immortal after having drunk from the 'Water of Life', come to meet together on the earth. Their meeting place is often pictured as a spot by the sea shore. According to a local belief of Balikesir (*HBH*, i, 181), they are two brothers. A legend recorded at Halkalı near Istanbul tells how they were two lovers. Hıdır a youth and Ellez a girl, for long they were unable to come together again, but at last met on the night of 5 May, and then both died of joy from their reunion (Ali Ímer, *Halkalı'da Hıdrellez*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 96 (1957)).

Hıdrellez is a festival the greater part of whose ceremonies are reserved for women and girls. They comprise three main sequences: (1) On the night of 5 May, various practices are performed and rites observed in order to ensure the fulfillment of divers vows, such as abundance, prosperity, happiness in general, or more specifically, the acquisition of a house, the birth of a child, etc. (2) Early the next morning, there takes place the "drawing from the divinatory pitcher". The previous evening, there are placed in the pitcher, to the accompaniment of appropriate rites, various small objects belonging to women and girls who wish to ask Fate about their future destiny, the pitcher is then placed under a rosebush during all the night. In the morning, a young girl draws out the objects in the pitcher one after the other, and woman recites the "divinatory quatrain", which is interpreted in regard to the future fate of the owner of the corresponding object. (3) On 6 May, there is an outing to go and eat, in groups of relatives, neighbours and friends, to the countryside, usually by some sanctuary. Games and amusements, including swings, the preferred pastime for this festival, are organised.

The festival and its attendant ceremonies are normally limited to two days only. Nevertheless, they form a sequence of seven weeks in the 'Alawī villages of a mountainous region in the province of Kırklareli. During the month which precedes the day of Hıdrellez, the ceremony of "drawing from the divinatory pitcher" takes place every Thursday evening. The seventh Thursday is called "the day of Nazarī", when a communal meal is eaten, prepared from the meat of sacrified animals. On this same day, the children, carrying flowers and willow branches, search out, and organise for themselves, communal meals by a sanctuary; they also carry out other rites which are, moreover, to be connected with those aimed at summoning rain [see ISTISḲĀ']. On returning to the village, they throw their crowns of flowers and leaves into the river (Etem Ütük, *Yıkarı Konara hayatında Nazarı günleri*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 267 (1972)).

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KHIḌR KHĀN, founder of the "Sayyid" dynasty which ruled at Dihlī from 817/1414 to 855/1451. His designation as a *sayyid* is traced in the near-contemporary *Taʾrīḵ-i Mubārak Shāhī* firstly to a remark hagiologically attributed to the Ṣūfī Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, and secondly to his own excellent character, and has been accepted by later historians like Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Badāʾūnī and Firishta, but this has been regarded as dubious by modern British and South Asian historians. The other near-contemporary source, Bihāmad Khānī's *Taʾrīḵ-i Muḥammadī* (compiled or revised in 842/1438-9) is silent on the point. While false genealogies are quite common in Indo-Muslim history, Khiḍr Khān's selection by Timūr [*q.v.*] as his "deputy" in Dihlī suggests that he may have been regarded as *sayyid* in his lifetime, since Timūr's regard for *sayyids* is well documented.

Khiḍr Khān was the son of Malik Sulaymān, an adopted son of Mardān Dawlat, the *shiḥ-dār* of Multān under Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluk [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān Malik succeeded to that *shiḥ* after the death of Malik Shaykh, Mardān's son, and Khiḍr Khān was assigned the *shiḥ* in succession to his father. In 798/1396 he lost the *shiḥ* during his strife with Sārang Khān,

When Timūr invaded India in 801/1398-99, he took refuge in Mēwāt, but later entered Timūr's service, and was appointed governor of Dihlī and *iḳṭā' dār* of Multān and Dēōpālpūr. However, it was not until 817/1414 that he finally took possession of Dihlī. He regarded himself a vassal of Timūr, and later of the latter's son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], whose names were recited in the *khuṭba* and inscribed on the coinage. He obtained Shāh Rukh's permission in 820/1417 to affix his own name also on the coinage; he chose for himself not the title of *sulṭān*, but that of *rāyat-i a'lā*, suggesting presumably that he was a standard-bearer of the Timūrids.

His reign of seven years, until his death in 824/1421, was full of campaigns undertaken by himself and by his able and loyal *wazīr* Tādj al-Mulk which extended the frontiers of his authority and re-united Pandjāb with Dihlī. Punitive expeditions were organised against rebellious nobles, especially the Türk bačas, there were also several expeditions against Hindu *rādjās* such as those of Katahr and Gwāliyār [*q.vv.*] in order to collect taxes and tribute. Near contemporary chronicles regard him as a kind and benevolent ruler who brought to Dihlī and the other areas which he governed relief from the economic sufferings and insecurity which had continued since the invasion of Timūr.

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KHIL'A (pl. *khila'*), "robe of honour," also called *tashrīf* (pl. *tashrīfāt*) and *tashrīfāt*. Throughout much of the Middle Ages, the term *khil'a* did not designate a single item of clothing, but rather a variety of fine garments and ensembles (*kulla* or *kulāh*) which were presented by rulers to subjects whom they wished to reward or to single out for distinction (hence the alternate name *tashrīf* "honouring"). These robes, the most common of which was the *kabā'* (see LIBAS), were normally embellished with embroidered bands with inscriptions known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] and were produced in the royal factories (*dār al-ṭirāz*).

(i) *Origin of the custom.*

The custom of bestowing garments of honour in the Near East is very ancient. The Patriarch Jacob singled out his favourite son Joseph from amongst his brothers by giving him a *kitnat passim* (Gen. xxxvii, 3) which was a ceremonial or royal robe (see commentary of E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Anchor Bible, Garden City 1964, 290). Joseph was later similarly honoured by Pharaoh, who had him dressed in garments of linen (Gen. xli, 42). Herodotus reports that the Egyptian king Amasis sent to Croesus of Lydia as a royal gift a corselet of linen embroidered with gold thread and cotton with the figures of animals woven into the fabric (*Hist.*, iii, 47).

This custom had a most important precedent in Islam with Muḥammad's gift of the *burda* [*q.v.*] which he was wearing to the poet Ka'b b. Zuhayr (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1321, iv, 133 4). The very word *khal'a* denotes the action of removing one's garment (*A. khala'a*) in order to give it to someone (*TA*, v, 322). L. A. Mayer has suggested that this was "originally more a promise of personal security (*amān*) than a token of distinction" (*Mamluk costume*, 56), but this is an overstatement.

(ii) *Development of the custom in Islam.*

The term *khil'a* does not appear until 'Abbāsid times, when the practice became so institutionalised that the bestowal of garments of honour was an almost daily occurrence. Members of the caliphal entourage came to be known as *aṣḥāb al-khil'a* those who wear the *khil'a*". The presentation of a robe of honour was a standard mark of investiture. Such was the case for an heir-apparent (see e.g. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 305), a vizier (e.g. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Ta'rīkh al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176), or a provincial governor (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, 2194). The bestowal of *khil'a* and other gifts to favourites was an occasion for poetical compositions and was noted by historians (e.g. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmi'a* ed. M. Djawād, Baghdād 1351).

In the heyday of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, the new *haute bourgeoisie* found itself with the means to emulate—after a fashion—many of the luxurious practices of the aristocracy. Among these was the custom of bestowing *khil'a* upon friends and relations (Y. K. Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 582).

The Mamlūks with their strong military psychology and a marked penchant for heraldic symbolism standardised the *khil'a* in accordance with the class of the wearer and his rank within that class. The three major classes of *khil'a* wearers were the military (*arbāb al-suyūf*), the civil service (*aṣḥāb al-aḳlām*), and the religious scholars (*al-'ulamā'*). Maḳrīzī, drawing upon the *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-'Umarī, describes in detail the great variety of *khil'a* worn by these three important classes of Mamlūk society (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 227-8; tr. by Mayer, in *Mamluk costume*, 58-60). A special official, the *Nāẓir al Khāṣṣ* (Keeper of the Privy Purse) oversaw the *khil'a* in the Great Treasury (*al khizāna al kubrā*) which contained only robes of honour (*ibid.*). In addition to garments, the Mamlūk military *tashrīf* could consist of arms, such as gold ornamented swords, and a horse from the sultān's own stable (*min al iṣṭabl*), fully outfitted with saddle, bridle, and caparison (*kanbūsh*).

Money or other valuables were also given as part of the *khil'at-al-tashrīf* (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar min Ta'rīkh al-bashar* [*Annales Moslemici*] v, ed. J. J. Reiske, Copenhagen 1794, 254). In the Ottoman Empire, a sum of money was sometimes given in place of the robe of honour. This monetary gift was called *khil'et bahā* ("the price of a *khil'a*"). It specifically referred to money distributed to Janissary

officers upon the accession of a sultān (L. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1881, i, 709), on that this term is to a large extent synonymous with that of *ʿaṭiyya ahliyya* "accession payment".

Robes of honour were given on all sorts of occasions and for a variety of reasons. Thus, there was the *khilʿat al mushāra* or *kh. al wizāra* (robe of appointment), the *kh. al wizara* (robe of viziership), the *kh. al-riḍā* or *kh. al-riḍā* (robe of pardon), and the *kh. al-ʿazl* (robe of dismissal—with honour of course). The *kh. al-ḥudūm* was given to a guest from afar, while the *kh. al-safar* was given upon his departure. A sultān might give a *kh. al-ʿāfiya* (robe of health) to a favourite who had recovered from an illness (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 61-2, and the sources cited there).

The custom of bestowing robes of honour remained widespread throughout the Muslim world until recent times. In 19th century India a *khillat* (also *khelat*, *khilat*, *killat*) might consist of anywhere from a minimum of five articles to as many as one hundred and one (Mrs Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*², London 1917, repr. Karachi 1974, 148-50; see also Yule and Burnell, *Hobson Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, repr. London 1968, 483-4).

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(N. A. Stillman)

KHILĀFA [see KHALĪFA]

KHILĀFA, KHILĀFAT MOVEMENT, a politico-religious movement in British India, manifesting itself in the years after the First World War. On the one hand, it had its roots in Pan-Islamism, which came to the fore about 1900. On the other hand, it was stimulated by nationalism [see SAWMIYA. In Muslim India and Pakistan]. Turkey's defeat in the First World War spelt serious danger to the position of the Ottoman Sultān-Khalīfa. Would his power remain great enough to protect Islam? Would the Holy Places of Islam remain under his sovereignty (or at least suzerainty)? Arab nationalism poised a threat, and Greece, France and Italy wanted to rob him of extensive territories in Thrace and Asia Minor.

In September 1919, when rumours about the coming treaty of Sèvres were rife, the Khilāfa movement was organized. Khilāfa conferences met in several cities in Northern India, and a Central Khilāfa Committee constituted itself at Bombay. Seth Chotani, a wealthy merchant, became its president. Prominent leaders were Muhammad and Shawkat ʿAlī (the "ʿAlī brothers"), Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, Dr. Ansārī and Hasrat Mohanī. An important part was played by the *ʿulamāʾ*, organising themselves in the Djamʿiyyat al-ʿUlamāʾ i Hind. Their most influential leaders were ʿAbd al-Bārī (of Farangi Mahall) and Mahmūd al-Hasan (of Deoband). In January 1920, a Khilāfa deputation presented an address to the Viceroy. It stated that "the preservation of the Khilāfa as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution" was "the very essence" of their faith, and that this meant full Muslim control over the Arabian peninsula, the Khalīfa's wardenship over the Holy Places and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—claims which, by the way, constituted a check on Arab nationalism and the ambitions of the Sharīf Husayn of Mecca. Another deputation, headed by Muhammad ʿAlī, went to Europe and had two (unsuccessful) interviews with members of the British Government in March 1920.

The Khilāfa movement started as a communal movement and met with mass approval within the Indian Muslim community (only among upper-class Muslims was there a marked tendency to hold aloof from it). Large funds were collected, partly by petty contributions. But it also got the support of the Indian National Congress. Thereby the Khilāfatists became more and more involved in the nationalist movement, which entered upon its first non-cooperation campaign (1920-2). Gandhī became a member of the Central Khilāfa Committee and issued a Khilāfa Manifesto in March 1920. The Khilāfatists, however, accepted Gandhī's creed of non-violence only conditionally: if it did not bring success, they would have to resort to *djihād* and *hidjra*. The former seemed possible in connection with an Afghān invasion; the latter was actually performed in the summer of 1920 (some 30,000 *muhādjirīn*, most of them coming from Sind or the Pandjāb, crossed the Afghān border, but about 75% of them came back, disillusioned by their reception in Afghānistān). These aspects of the Khilāfa movement had an adverse effect upon Hindu-Muslim relations, which were vital to its nationalist character. Gandhī's suspension of non-cooperation in February 1922, constituted a severe blow in this respect; Indian Muslims felt betrayed by the Hindus after bearing the brunt of the nationalist battle.

No less deadly blows came from the Turks. The nationalist government at Ankara succeeded in restoring Turkey's position. The Khilāfatists supposed that Kemal Pasha was acting on behalf of the Sultān-Khalīfa, but this proved to be an error. In November 1922, the Sultanate in Turkey was abolished and the Khalīfa lost all temporal power, he was "Vaticanized" (a condition which the Khilāfatists had declared to be incompatible with his office). Khilāfa leaders tried to explain away the fact, but their followers left them. The movement wholly collapsed when in March 1924 the Ottoman Khilāfa was abolished. Some leaders, like Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād and Dr. Ansārī, remained in the Congress; others found their way back to the Muslim League, which up to 1919 had been the political organisation of Indian Muslims. Other leaders again, like the ʿAlī brothers, tried to save the Khilāfa organisation, but to direct it towards communalist goals. It grew into an instrument to further Muslim interests as opposed to Hindu ones, but even in this form, the organisation had lost all significance by 1928.

Bibliography: Among the contemporary accounts the most important is P. C. Bamford, *Histories of the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements*, Delhi 1925 (confidential publication of the Govt. of India). Materials concerning the movement can be found in Afzal Iqbal, ed., *Select writings and speeches of Maulana Mahomed Ali*, Lahore 1944 (containing among other things an unfinished autobiography of the author). In many books, the movement is treated as an episode in the nationalist struggle, *e.g.* A. Aziz, *Discovery of Pakistan*, Lahore 1964, and R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom movement in India*, iii, Calcutta 1963. The most recent monograph is A. C. Niemeijer, *The Khilafat movement in India, 1919-1924*, The Hague 1972.

(A. C. Niemeijer)

Miniature in the MS of Rashīd al Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* in Edinburgh University Library representing Mahmūd of Ghazna donning a *khil'a* sent by the caliph al Kahir in A.D. 1000

KHILĀT [see ANBILĀT].

KHILDJI [see KHALDJI].

KHINALUG (self designation: Kättätturdur; Russian, Khinalug[from the *aul* Khinalug]), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Khinalug is a numerically small ethnical group, which forms an independent branch of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language group. According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were (ethnically) 705 Khinalugs, and linguistically 1,540. The Khinalugs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfi'ī rite.

The Khinalugs inhabit the *aul* Khinalug on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chay, in the Mount Shikhdagh area of Konakhkend rayon (Azerbaidjan S.S.R.). The Khinalug traditional economy was based on sheep-raising (transhumance system) and horticulture.

The Khinalug language is purely a vernacular, and Azeri is used as the literacy language, the Khinalug are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

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KHINZĪR (A., fem. *khinzīra*, pl. *khanāzīr*) or *khinzīr barrī* designates, amongst the pachyderms, all suidae or porcines belonging to the palaearctic zone, without any distinction between the pig (*khinzīr ahlī*), domesticated since farthest antiquity, and the wild boar, *Sus scrofa* (*khinzīr waḥshī*), its feral relative, frequenter of wooded slopes and dense scrub in the valley bottoms.

The word *khinzīr* (Hebrew *ḤAZIR*) is to be attached to the root *Ḥ-Z-R* with the idea of "having small eyes", and has no link with the root *Ḥ-N-Z-R* which implies the idea of bulk, mass; this at least is the general opinion amongst philologists, but a coming together of both ideas is not to be excluded. Without being everywhere in current usage *khinzīr* is known to all arabophone populations, however, the term *ḥallūf* (pl. *ḥalāf*, *ḥilāf*, cf. Berber *ilf*, pl. *ifan*) is preferred to it in the Maghrib whilst the Touaregs keep for the animal its name *agubara* / *tagubarat* (pl. *igubaraten* / *tigubaratin*). Even within the porcine species, whilst the sow and the wild sow have no special name except for the feminine derived normally from the masculine (*khinzīra*, *ḥallūfa*), the bear is called *khanzuwān* and the wild boar, whether under three years old, a three-year old, a four-year old or an old boar, is called *rafl* (pl. *rufūl*) and *ʿufr* / *ʿifr* (pls. *ʿufūr*, *aʿfār*). In the Maghrib, where the wild boar is common in the mountain massifs, it is differentiated from the pig which is freely raised by some Berber groups by the expressions *khinzīr ǧabalī* "mountain pig" and *ḥallūf al-ghāba* "forest pig", an old boar is called, according to the places, *sbūl* / *sbūl*, *ǧnūkhri*, *bū darma* and *bū drīwa*. The young of suidae piglets or young wild boars, have retained almost everywhere in the Islamic world their classical name of *khanāwīs* (pl. *khanāwīs*) or the form of dialectical deformations *khannūs*, *khannūsh*, *khanūsh* and *khanūǧ*; in the Maghrib we have also the diminutive *ḥilīf*. From the anatomical point of view, the suidae are distinguished by a long muzzle, a snout in the case of the pig and a shaggy head in the case of the wild boar, and Arabic underlines these features by a series of evocative terms like *khurṭūm*, *ḥammūra*, *sanfara* / *sanfūra*, *khannūfa* / *khannūfa*, in the wild boar, its defensive tusks, the snout's powerful weapon, are called *nāb* / *nābūn* and *khanǧar* (pl. *khanāǧir*), a probable deformation of *khanǧar* "dagger", i.e. having a curved blade.

In Kurʾānic law, suidae are included in the same divine anathema as monkeys (V, 65/60) [see QIRD], and since their flesh involves the major impurity (*nadjas al-ʿayn*), no Muslim can eat it (Kurʾān, II, 168/173, V, 3/4, XVI, 115/116). This food prohibition inherited from the Old Testament (Lev. xi, 17, Deut., xiv, 8) was abolished by Christ for Christians (Matt. xv, 17-20; Mark, vii, 15-23). In Islam, the prohibition of eating pig meat implies *ipso facto* the illegality of buying it or of raising the animal, whose presence near a person praying renders void the prayer; only the *ǧam* of its bristles for making boot wear is tolerated. These bristles are provided by Christian pig breeders who obtain them by scalding the beasts in boiling water after they have been slaughtered, whence the saying *akrah min ḥirākat al-khinzīr* "more disgusting than the pig for boiling water".

Al-Djāḥiẓ, although admitting the excellence of the pig's flesh, which had pride of place on the tables of the Caesars and the Persian Emperors (*Ḥayawān*, i, 234, iv, 40), is careful to point out, in regard to the animal and its behaviour, its most unattractive habits, aiming perhaps at justifying the strict terms of the Kurʾānic prohibition. It is omnivorous, though not really coprophagous (*ǧallāla*), but it devours on occasion excrement. It consumes snakes, like the porcupine, certain raptors, the cat and the Purple Gallinule (*shamāwk*). Its zeal to prolong the act of copulation (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 52, iii, 186, 334, 400, 496, 525, iv, 50) suggested scornful sayings like *ayyash min ʿufr* "more flighty than a boar" and *akbaḥ min khinzīr* "more vile than a pig". The sight of a pig squelching in the mire or a wild boar wallowing in mud (*man baʿa*), present in everyone's mind, did not lessen the obloquy heaped on the species, without even having to recall the legend current about its base origin. This legend (*Ḥayawān*, v, 347-8, vii, 204) stated that Noah, distressed when in the Ark by the pestilence left by the evacuations of the pair of cats which Jehovah had created out of the lion's sneeze in order to end the great spreading of rats in the ship, appealed once again to the Almighty, who sent down to him, out of an act of delecation of the elephant, a pair of pigs (or wild boars), who soon set to work gorging on the filth; from this hardly credible mode of generation arose the Arabic definition of the suidae, *al fīl abu 'l-khinzīr* "the elephant is parent to the pig". Like the monkey, in popular belief the hog was considered to be the metamorphosis of an impious person expiating the divine punishment; according to al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, i, 304), there was a tradition current that Christ himself had changed a group of hostile Jews into swine. The comparison of the pig, as of the monkey, with a hated person or persons, has always been one of the sharpest insults, and one which the Spanish Muslims used for the Christians, who, as *e sewhere in Islam, raised pigs for food consumption.

At the side of this generally unfavourable view of the suidae, some Arabic writers were able to note and observe the qualities peculiar to the species, by way of rehabilitation: the mother's attachment for its young, its endurance of bad weather, the ease of keeping and raising it, the speed by which it grew fat and its sociable temperament; al-Kalkashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, ii, 48-9) goes so far as to say that, by way of emulation, horses put on flesh when one keeps them

in the neighbourhood of pigs. The fact was noted by E. Reclus (*Nouvelle géographie universelle*, Paris 1884, ix, 190) that in many stables in Fārs there was the custom of keeping horses in the company of piglets and that a most close affection grew up between the two very different creatures. On the Christians' farms, the pig rivalled the cock in the rôle of waking people in the morning, since its cries for its food allowance could be heard from the earliest hours of the day (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 294-5).

The ancient empirical forms of medicine attributed curative virtues to various organs of the pig. Thus its liver was an antidote against the venom of reptiles and soothed colics; its dried and powdered gall sprinkled on haemorrhoids made them go down, inserted in the nostrils, this last soothed coryza; a bone carried as a talisman secured against the quartan ague; and an ointment of its lard rubbed on the body gave protection against all evil and against maleficent spirits. Numerous other beneficial properties were attributed to its blood, urine and dung as well as to the wild boar's tusks (see al Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 306, and in the margins al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 224-6).

Arabic cynegetic literature is poor in material relating to hunting the wild boar in particular and to the dangers involved in this. It was considered to be a dangerous beast because of its bad temper and its depredations, so that battues for its destruction were held by local rulers and officers; it was hunted with the lance, hunting spear, bow and sabre as these occasions. In Syria, the farmers preferred to let the lion roam on the fringes of their lands rather than try to exterminate it, since it was a sure protection against the possible nocturnal ravages of herds of pachyderms through their crops (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 49). Kushādjim [q.v.] thoply recommends that a person on foot charged by a wild boar should feign death, *face* downwards on the ground (*Masāʾil*, 215). In the 6th/12th century, the valiant lord of Shaysar, Usāma b. Munḳidh, tells in a realistic fashion of his perilous encounters with the black beast which, in his time, abounded in the Orontes lowlands (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, Princeton 1930, 108, 223-4). ʿIsā al Asadī (7th/13th century), in his encyclopaedia of hunting *al-Djawāhira fī ʿilm al-baṣara* (Escurial mss., Ar. 903, f. 262a), advises farmers that, in order to ward off the depredations of wild boars, they should cause to boom out in the middle of the night a big cauldron, emptied and placed upside down, and with a drum skin stretched over its mouth, a bunch of hairs should then be flicked between the fingers with an alternating movement of the two hands. He also gives directions for making a trap (*ḥufra*), roofing over the mouth of a conical hole dug in the normally used pathway of the animals (*op. cit.*, ff 303b-304a). Finally, a century later, the Mamlūk Ibn Mangli, completing al Asadī, brings to bear the fruit of his experience for anyone wishing to measure his strength against the savage beast, whether on foot or mounted (*Umdat al-mahāʾ bi-wadjh al-faḥl*, B. N. Paris ms. Ar. 2832, ff. 17b-18b, and annotated tr. P. Viré, in the press). The arms which he recommends for fighting with it are the double-edged sabre (*saḥāfīrī*) and the arrow with a flat-edged head (*yāsīḳī*), which the attacker should plunge right into the animal's forehead or pierce with them its paws. If the hunter is thrown to the ground by the beast's charge (*ḥamla*), he should flatten himself on the ground and strike upwards with a slashing motion in order to cut the tendons of one of the beast's hinbs. He should also lie in wait for the moment when the beast turns round in order to spit it with a backwards action and rip it open. Another secret of success is perfect mastery of one's mount, which must not take the bit and bolt when it sees the attacking beast. With a lance or hunting spear, the best way is to gouge out one of the beast's eyes, which cannot then survive this wound. Finally, Ibn Mangli records that, according to the ancients, the best talisman against the wild boar's viciousness is to carry a crab's claw hung on the arm.

At the present time in the mountainous regions of the Maghrib, where the wild boar is sometimes abundant, hunting it is used as a tactical means of training for troops practising firing in the country side, and the dead victims are left on the ground for wild carnivores.

The term *khanzīr* plus other terms is also used to designate several other wild animals which have a long muzzle: the potamocherus (*Potamochoerus porcus*) of Africa is therefore called *khanzīr al-māʾ* ("wild boar of the river") or *khanzīr al mā'*, wrongly identified by Kazimirski with the hippopotamus [see FARAS AL MĀʾ in Suppl.]; the two other African suidae, the phacocherus (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and the hylocherus (*Hylochoerus meinertzhagens*) are lumped together under the name *khanzīr abū ḥarnayn* because of their highly developed defensive tusks, with its long snout for grubbing up ant-hills, the aryctcrops (*Orycteropus afer*) is called *khanzīr al-arḍ*, whilst the delphin and the porpoise are called *khanzīr al-baḥr* "sea pig". Finally, in pathology, the plural *khanāzīr* denotes scrofulous growths on the neck.

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(F. VIRÉ)

al KHIRAḲĪ, ʿUmar b. al Ḥusayn al-Baghdādī (d. 334/946), better known under the name of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al Khiraḳī, was one of the first and most celebrated of Ḥanbalī juris consults. He was first guided into the *madhhab* of the *Imām* Aḥmad by his father Abū ʿAlī al Khiraḳī (d. 299/912), who was himself a pupil of Abū Bakr al Marwadhī (d. 275/899). He also knew Aḥmad's two sons, Ṣāliḥ (d. 266/880) and the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903).

On the eve of the arrival of the Shīʿī Būyids in Baghdād, al Khiraḳī left the ʿIrāḳī capital as a *muhādjir* seeking refuge in Damascus, where a Ḥanbalī school was already taking root. He died there soon after his arrival there, in 334/945, although the exact date of his death is not known. He was buried in the cemetery of the Bāb Saghīr, at the side of the martyr's tombs (*Kubūr al-shuhadāʾ*), and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Ibn Baṭṭa visited it when he passed through Damascus, and it still existed in Ibn Kathīr's time (*Bidāya* xi, 214).

Shams al-Dīn al-Nābulusī (d. 797/1394-5), in his résumé of the *Ṭabaḳāt* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 332, tells us, on the basis of a report going back to Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, that al-Khiraḳī had denounced publicly in Damascus a "reprehensible practice" (*munkar*), whose nature is not otherwise specified, because of this, he was condemned to be flogged and died as a result of his wounds. However, this version of his death does not seem to be given by his other biographers.

Al-Khiraḳī's only work which has come down to us is his famous *Mukhtaṣar*, the first précis of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, which was to enjoy a considerable success and to contribute to the education and formation of numerous generations of legal scholars.

It is said that he wrote numerous other works whose titles are not specified and which have all

been lost. He had left his personal library to Baghdād in the care of a friend in the Darb Sulaymān, before leaving for Syria. A fire there destroyed it (*Bidāya*, xi, 224).

Ibn Kathīr remarks, *loc. cit.*, that the *Mukhtaṣar* was written when the Black Stone was in the hands of the Carmathians. In fact, al-Khiraḳī tells us in the *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 383, when describing the Pilgrimage rites, that "The pilgrim must kiss the Black Stone if it is in its proper place". It is well-known that this hust was carried off in 317/930 and restored in 339/950; one may accordingly conclude that the *Mukhtaṣar* was put together between 317/930 and 334/945, after the death of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923).

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), called Ghulām al-Khallāl, gave out that he did not follow the views of the *Mukhtaṣar* on 60 questions (*masʾala*). The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʾl-Ḥusayn, in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 76-128, returns to this problem and enumerates 98 points of divergence between the two scholars, whilst defending that doctrine which he deems the best.

A large number of commentaries were written on the *Mukhtaṣar*, of which three became especially celebrated, *sc.* those of Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1011) of the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) and of Muwaffak al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). The first two have been lost, but the third, known under the title of *al-Mughnī*, has been published in Cairo by Rashīd Riḍā (12 vols., 1341-8/1922 30). But there were also many other commentaries, and an text of Ḥanbalism was an much commented upon. The *shaykh* Badrān, in his *Madkhal*, 214, states that 300 commentaries still existed in the time of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), a Ḥanbalī known as a historian at Damascus.

Various disciples are known to us of al-Khiraḳī, including the following. (1) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥārith Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī (d. 371/981), prolific author and founder of a famous line of legal scholars (*Ibn al-Athīr*, 342), (2) Abū ʾl-Ḥusayn Sawāda (d. 387/998), one of the most famous preachers of his generation and a Ṣūfī master (*ibid.*, 350-3), (3) ʿAbd Allāh b. Baṭṭa (d. 387/998), even though he does not mention al-Khiraḳī amongst the authorities upon whom he based his creed (*Ibid.*, 346), and (4) Abū Ḥafṣ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/998), considered one of the best-informed scholars of Ḥanbalism.

Bibliography Ṭaʾrīkh Baghdād, xi, 234; *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 75-128; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 274; *Ibtisāṭ*, 331 a; *Shadharāt*, ii, 326. Brockelmann, I, 183, 398, S I, 311; Sezgin, *GAS*, i 512-13; Laoust, *Le Hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI* (1939), 84. (H. Laoust)

KHIRBAT AL-BAYDĀʾ, an early Arab structure in the Syrian Desert. Khirbat al-Baydāʾ or Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ is situated about 100 km. southeast of Damascus, looking out to the east over the Ruḥba, a fertile depression in the middle of the southeastern Syrian *ḥamād*. It is a structure set out as a square, 60 m. × 60 m. At every angle and in the centre of each side, except for the eastern one, there are circular towers. The eastern side contains the gate, giving on to a courtyard of ca. 43 m. × 43 m. This courtyard is surrounded on the other sides by ranges of rooms, 7.6 m. deep and ca. 5.0 m. (type *a*), 6.5 m. (type *b*), 7.6 m (type *c*), and 5.2 m. (type *T*) wide, forming the schema *c-a-b-a-T-a-b-a-c*. All these rooms were living quarters. On the eastern side there were two small rooms flanking the entrance and four long rooms, which must have served as store-rooms. On the southern and northern sides the rooms were articulated into two groups with the schema *c-a-b-a* and *a-b-a-c* respectively. Entrance from the courtyard was given by doors in the *b*-rooms, whence doors led to the *a* rooms and further doors led from there to the *c* rooms. On the western side were two groups of rooms following the schema *a-b-a* which were also accessible through doors in the *b*-rooms. Thus we have on three sides of the courtyard two groups of rooms separated by isolated room of the *T* type. The residential character of the building is attested by the organisation of the rooms, together with the abundant natural decoration especially on the lintels. First impression suggest that Khirbat al-Baydāʾ was another example of the genre of Umayyad palaces. Closer investigation, however, reveals this identification to be impossible. It lacks many elements shared by Umayyad palaces, principally the bayt organisation of the rooms, the peristyle, brick and vaulted construction, and stucco decoration. Both the decoration and the technique of construction demonstrate an ambitious local Syrian craftsmanship. The decoration shows this craftsmanship to be working with oecumenical patterns of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The relations of this local craftsmanship can be more closely determined. Masonry comparable with that at Khirbat al-Baydāʾ is found in northeastern Syria, not in the neighbouring Ḥawrān. Equally, the decoration is not Ḥawrānian in type, but resembles closely the ornament found in the region northeast of Ḥims. This suggests that Khirbat al-Baydāʾ is not an Umayyad structure but was built in the 5th and 6th century by one of the Arab rulers, clients to the Byzantine state.

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KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR, popularly known as Ḳaṣr Hishām, is the modern name for the ruins of an unfinished Umayyad mansion in the Wādī ʾl-Nuwaʿīma, north of Jericho. The ruins comprise three separate buildings: a palace proper, a mosque and a bath attached to a hall. On the east side of this complex stood a colonnaded forecourt with an ornamental pool at its centre. Additional architectural remains lie north of these buildings, but have not yet been excavated. Foundations of a wall, found north of the site suggest that the buildings were originally surrounded by a walled estate, comprising cultivated land, agricultural settlements and perhaps a game preserve. A complex irrigation system, developed already in Roman times and based on three neighbouring springs—ʿAyn al-Sulṭān, ʿAyn al-Nuwaʿīma and ʿAyn al-Duyūk, provided the water for the residential buildings as well as for the cultivation of the land. The modern name of the site, meaning "a place where water springs from the earth", attests to the abundance of water in this area.

The site, which has not yet been identified with any place mentioned in written sources, was first visited and described by Captain Ch. Warren and Mr. F. J. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (*Survey of Western Palestine*, iii, 1883, 211-23;

Fig. 1. Khirbat al Mafdjar Plan (after Hamilton)

PEFQS, 1894, 177-81). Our main knowledge, however, derives from the excavations conducted between 1935 and 1948 by the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, under the direction of R. W. Hamilton with D. C. Baramki as field director. Their finds which appeared first as preliminary reports in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, were later published by Hamilton (*Khirbat al Mafjar, an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley. With a contribution by Dr. Oleg Grabar*, Oxford 1959).

1. *Architecture.*—A glance at the plan of Khirbat al Mafjar reveals some remarkable irregularities and a somewhat awkward relation between the main units of the building complex (Fig. A). The walls of the square, two storeyed palace, which was by far the largest part of the whole complex, are of uneven length (the south and west walls, 67.28 m. externally; the north wall, 67.21 m.; the east wall, 63.86 m.), its façade is asymmetrical, and there are further oddities in its inner division. However, the plan of the palace conforms to those of other Umayyad castles. A three-quarter round buttress-tower stood at each of the four corners and a semi-circular one in the middle of the west and north walls. In the middle of the southern wall only there was a square tower—presumably the base of a minaret—and another rectangular porch-tower faced the entrance in the east. The rooms of the palace were arranged around a central porticoed court. They were generally not connected, although along the west side of the palace they were arranged in communicating pairs, one behind the other, with a group of five intercommunicating rooms in the centre. The central room in the south was provided with a niche, probably a *mihrāb*, flanked by two colonnettes. The northern wall had a single elongated hall with a row of six piers down the centre. Six pairs of parallel wall piers suggest that this hall was divided by lateral arches into two times seven bays. In the centre of the western portico, but not aligned with the axis of the central room, three flights of stairs descended to a small forecourt preceding a *sirdāb*, a small room supplied with cold water and intended for refreshment. A balustrade around the top of the staircase clearly blocked the direct access to the central room.

At a distance of about seven metres from the north east corner of the palace and aligned with its eastern wall stood a mosque (23.6 m. × 17.1 m.). It could be reached in two ways: either by a staircase which descended from the first floor of the palace and led to a door in the *kibla* wall, or by three doors in its northern wall. The door in the *kibla* wall, next to the *mihrāb*, was probably used by the owner of the palace and his close attendants exclusively, while the openings in the northern wall were presumably used by the public.

The mosque was preceded by a small courtyard or vestibule, which had three additional openings in its northern wall. The *mihrāb* was flanked by two cylindrical columns and was covered with white plas-

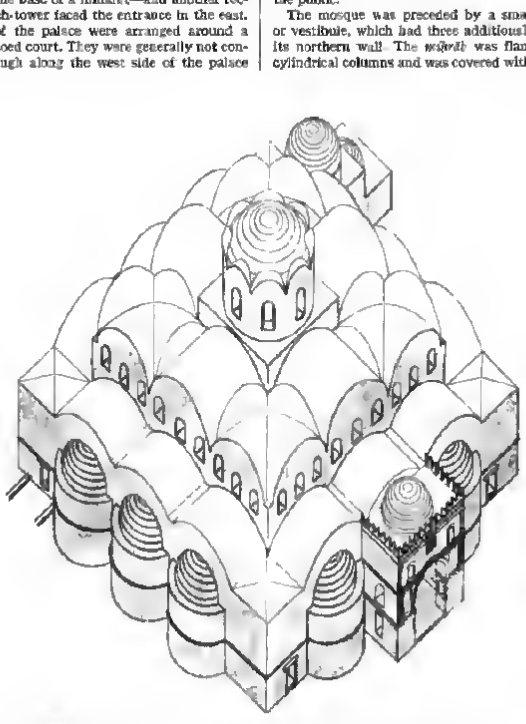

Fig. B "Bath Hall". Revised isometric reconstruction (after Hamilton).

nce which remained undecorated. In front of the *mihrāb* the excavators found the fallen remains of two arcades composed originally of three arches each. These arcades must have sheltered a strip of slightly more than 20 m. of the enclosure. The construction of the mosque was probably never finished, for the walls nowhere stood more than three courses high, and the excavators found no traces of a floor.

About 40 m. north of the palace are the ruins of a second large building complex which was separated from the palace by an open area. A wall and a buttress tower enclosed the area on the side aligned with the western palace wall, and the mosque bordered it on the east. A paved and originally covered passage crossed the open space, connecting the palace with the northern buildings. The dominant feature of this complex was a square hall (north wall, 30.28 m.; south wall, 30.33 m., west wall, 30.42 m.; east wall, 29.79 m.). The north, south and west sides each had three horse-shoe shaped exedrae, while a stately entrance porch, flanked by similar exedrae, occupied the eastern wall. Two additional entrances were found at either end of this wall. Each of the eleven exedrae was flanked by a pair of engaged columns, whose bases stood about a metre above the floor. Between and inside these exedrae were small rectangular niches which stood about 1·10 m. above floor-level and were covered by arched heads. Square pilasters with three-quarter round shafts at their corners supported the roof and divided the hall into nine central bays and an ambulatory. The piers were interconnected by stone built arches carrying intersecting walls which rose high enough to provide room for windows. According to Hamilton's reconstruction (Fig. B) (*Mafjar*, 67-92, Pl. CV and *Levant*, 63 and Fig. 1 for revised isometric restoration), the four corner bays were square and had cross-vaults, while the axial bays were rectangular and barrel-vaulted. The central bay was raised above the rest and carried a dome over a cylindrical drum which was also pierced with windows. Except for the four compartments at the corners, the bays of the ambulatory were barrel-vaulted. The spacing of the piers was such that the central nave, connecting the porch with the central apse in the west, like the main north-south axis, was wider than the other passages (5.50 m. to 5.60 m. as against 4.40 m. to 4.60 m. for the flanking aisles and 2.50 m. to 3.36 m. for the aisles closest to the walls).

Along the southern wall of the hall, and including its three exedrae, there was a pool. It was bordered by a barrier built between the four southern piers of the hall and continued at either end in a right angle towards the wall. This pool, the floor of which was at about the same level as the rest of the hall, was apparently not included in the original plan of the hall and only added subsequently.

The main entrance into the hall was by way of a monumental porch (8.45 m. wide) in its eastern *façade*. This porch was entered by an arched opening with stepped and undercut crenellations at the top edge. It was covered by a dome resting on pendentives carrying its high drum. Within the porch was a pair of arched recesses, and there was another pair of niches in the jambs of the entrance arch. A doorway connected the porch with the main hall.

Attached to the hall at the north-west corner was a small, originally domed, room with a semi-circular apsis, the *Diwān*, used apparently for private audiences. There were extensive latrines at the north-eastern corner (F), in the centre of the northern wall there was the bath proper, comprising two rectangular rooms (A, B) with benches along the walls (and two tanks in room B), and two additional rooms (C, D). Their floors, built over hypocausts, were heated by a furnace in the stoke-hole (E). The first room (C) was nearly square with a single niche in the east, while the other, a circular originally domed chamber, was surrounded with eight horse shoe shaped niches, one containing the door to room (C). These two were the more temperate and the hotter *caldaria* respectively, while the first two chambers may have served as waiting rooms or vestiary (A) and *frigidarium* (B).

The rooms of the *hammām* are remarkably small and could be reached from the large hall through chamber (A) only. There was no direct connection between the bath and the disproportionally large latrines.

2. *Decoration*.—Apart from the mosque, which was never finished, and the ground floor of the palace, the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar were lavishly decorated. There were mosaic floors at the *sirdāb*, the hall adjoining the bath, and the *diwān*. The façade, the porches and the walls of the hall and the *diwān* were covered with stone and stucco panels respectively. The walls of the upper floor of the eastern wing of the palace, and of the bath hall, showed remains of paintings; figural sculptures, many of them nearly life size, were placed in niches or arcades at different parts of the buildings. The mosaics were of natural stone in a rich colour scale of red, brown or yellow, bluish, grey and white grades. While those in the *sirdāb* are technically of mediocre quality, the mosaics in the hall and *diwān* are extremely fine. There are forty-two carpets altogether (thirty-eight in the hall and four in the *diwān*). They are partly adapted in size and pattern to the architectural superstructure, and their placement appears to have been guided by the purpose and function of these buildings (Pl. Ib). The majority of these patterns show geometric or abstract designs and interlacings which are enriched by stylised floral devices. In the centre of the Hall a radiating rosette pattern accentuates the main axis and "reflects" the central dome above it (Panel 27 in Hamilton's chart, *Mafjar*, 328, Fig. 258). Roundels containing concentric interlacings decorate the floors of the four corner bays which were apparently cross vaulted. There is a continuous mosaic panel in each of the outer corridors (Nos. 2, 2, 3 in Hamilton's chart). The rectangular panel between the entrance porch and the central rosette, in its composition and ornament, leads towards the central axis of the Hall. Finally, the design in the central apse (No. V in Hamilton's chart) is distinguished from the other apses by a large rosette in its interior and a semi rosette at its base (Pl. IIa). The pavement includes only two figural designs: one at the base of the central apse, representing a citrus fruit, a branch and a knife; and the other in the dais of the *diwān* showing a fruit bearing tree flanked to the right by a pair of gazelles and to the left by a lion attacking a gazelle (Pl. IIb).

Together with Kaṣr *al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī* (q.v.), Khirbat el Mafdjar provides the richest accumulation of early Islamic architectural decoration so far known. Apart from stone—and occasionally marble—the artists made abundant use of plaster for elaborating the interior and exterior of the mansion. This technique, not used in Syrian architecture until later Umayyad times, had the advantage of being comparatively cheap, and its flexibility allowed it to be used for life-size sculpture. Moreover, it could be painted, and since it lent itself to modelling in a wide variety of forms, these stucco carvings must have contributed to the impression of richness and sumptuousness of the buildings.

Generally speaking, two groups of motifs predominate in the architectural surface decoration of Khirbat al-Mafdjar. The first, and largest one consists of vegetal elements such as acanthus leaves, full and half palmettes, vine garlands, flowers and fruit. The other comprises geometric elements and various abstract designs. Pure geometric compositions, however, are comparatively rare. In general they appear together and interwoven with vegetal designs: such as interlaced roundels, or roundels alternating with rectangles filled with rosettes, or diamond-shaped units filled with rosettes and palmette leaves respectively (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XLIII, 2). In most of the plaster ornaments the geometric motifs are interrupted and combined in such a way that the resulting patterns completely conceal their original rigid construction (Balustrade panels from Palace, Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. LIX, 13, 14 and pp. 245 ff., Figs 185-210. The same principle was used in the mosaic pattern).

Wall paintings were found in two areas only: in the rooms of the east wing on the first floor of the Palace, and in the "Bath Hall". Painted on plaster in both fresco and tempera, hardly any of these paintings were found *in situ*, and all that has remained are fragments. Since we know so little about Umayyad painting, this situation is all the more deplorable. *Professor Oleg Grabar has studied these fragments* and found that in subject matter, style and iconography the fragments in the Palace differed from those in the "Bath Hall". In the earth part of the eastern wing of the Palace Sasanian textile motifs predominated. In addition to floral ornaments, such as heart shaped leaves, rosettes, lotus and palmette designs, a pattern of interlacing circles with a simurg painted within each of the roundels could be reconstructed. In the rooms to the south the excavators found architectural and figural remains as well as painted imitations of marble. The style is less homogeneous than in the north part; yet the Roman Byzantine tradition is most conspicuous. The paintings in the "Bath Hall", which originally decorated the walls and piers above the level of the window-sills, were less spectacular and more limited in subject matter. Their main purpose was to emphasize the architectural setting of the construction, in particular, the groups of three niches in the clerestory were richly painted (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XIII and p. 73, Fig. 33, for restored sketch). At the floor level all the apses were plastered white. The only exception was apse V in the centre of the western wall, whose archivolt was decorated with meandering bands which enclosed panels with various fruits (including pomegranates), vegetables in a bowl, etc. Another panel with painted fruit and roses covered an arch which had spanned a western aisle of the northern ambulatory, south of the *Diwān*. The importance of this fragment lies in the affinities of its rosettes to the type of rosette which is repeatedly depicted in the mosaic floor of the same Hall, particularly in front of the main apse, in the ambulatory and in the main panel between the entrance porch and the large central medallion (Pl. Ib).

Khirbat al-Mafdjar abounded in monumental sculpture of various human and animal forms. Although none of the statues were found *in situ*, they were evidently concentrated in three areas, the Palace porch and entrance, the porch leading to the "Bath Hall", and the *Diwān*. The human statues included an almost life-size princely figure, generally interpreted as a caliph, which came from a niche surmounting the entrance to the "Bath Hall" (Fig. C and Pl. Va), male and female entertainers (Pl. Vb) and miscellaneous figures connected with courtly pleasures. A quick glance at these statues reveals that they were sculptured in a remarkably homogeneous style: they are rendered frontally, in nearly identical conventionalised postures, and their rigidity and lack of movement gives them an impressive monumentality. The men and women are plump and heavily built, and the semi-nude female bodies show folds of abundant flesh on the thorax and above the girdle. The caliph is clad in a long coat trimmed with Iranian-type pearls, worn over wide trousers, and holds a short sword; the girls wear pleated skirts that close from right to left and are held on the hips by a twisted cord. With slight variations the hair of the figures is identically modelled parted in the centre and rendered in parallel grooves (caliph and some of the busts), or rows of small curls. The hair of the women is dressed in three heavy twists which are covered with a rosette in the centre, and on the forehead forms small ringlets which descend at either side and terminate in cork screw curls (Pl. IIIb). The rendering of the faces is generally identical. The brow forms one plane with the forehead and the flattened bridge of the nose, and abuts at a sharp angle on the plane of the eye sockets. The pupil of the eye is pierced or drilled, and the mouth curves downward slightly and has a drilled hole in each corner. There is little, if any, modelling in the faces.

The eyes of the figures from the Palace entrance, like those of the caliph, are modelled in a different style from those of the women from the bath porch of the *Diwān*. In the first group the eyes are encircled by a heavy unbroken band representing the eyelids, and the brows are marked by a grooved line; the eyelids of the other figures are more smoothly sculptured and the brows are painted (Pl. IIIb).

There were various animal figures at the Palace entrance. Rams or mountain sheep decorated the front of the "Bath" porch and the bottom of its drum, and about a hundred partridges (Pl. IIIa) were found in the *Diwān* and the "Bath" porch. On the whole the animals were more delicately modelled than the human figures.

3. *Interpretation of structures and decorations.*—Our knowledge of the purpose for which Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built, and of the actual function of its different units, is based primarily on interpretations of its architectural features and decorations. The irregular plan of the whole complex seems to imply that it was not conceived as a single unit and was built in consecutive stages. The function of most of the rooms of the Palace, except the little mosque, the *maqṣūra*, and the underground *wuḍūḥ*, is uncertain. The discovery of numerous wall paintings in the upper storey, in contrast to the lack of decoration observed in the ground floor rooms, is generally explained by the fact that the upper floor was reserved for the living quarters and private rooms of the owner of the mansion. This seems to be confirmed by the only painting which could be fully reconstructed, the textile pattern with the simurg and the interstitial heart-shaped four-petaled rosettes, which came from a room in the northern part of the east wing. This pattern would have been appropriate for a princely dwelling, as its Sasanian prototype figures on the garb of Khusrow II at the bas reliefs of Ṭāk-i Bustān and in similar royal Sasanian representations.

Scholarly opinions vary as to the purpose and function of the "Bath Hall". In relating it to the bath-rooms proper and the Roman tradition of public baths in Palestine and other provinces of the Roman empire, Creswell and Hamilton interpreted the Hall as

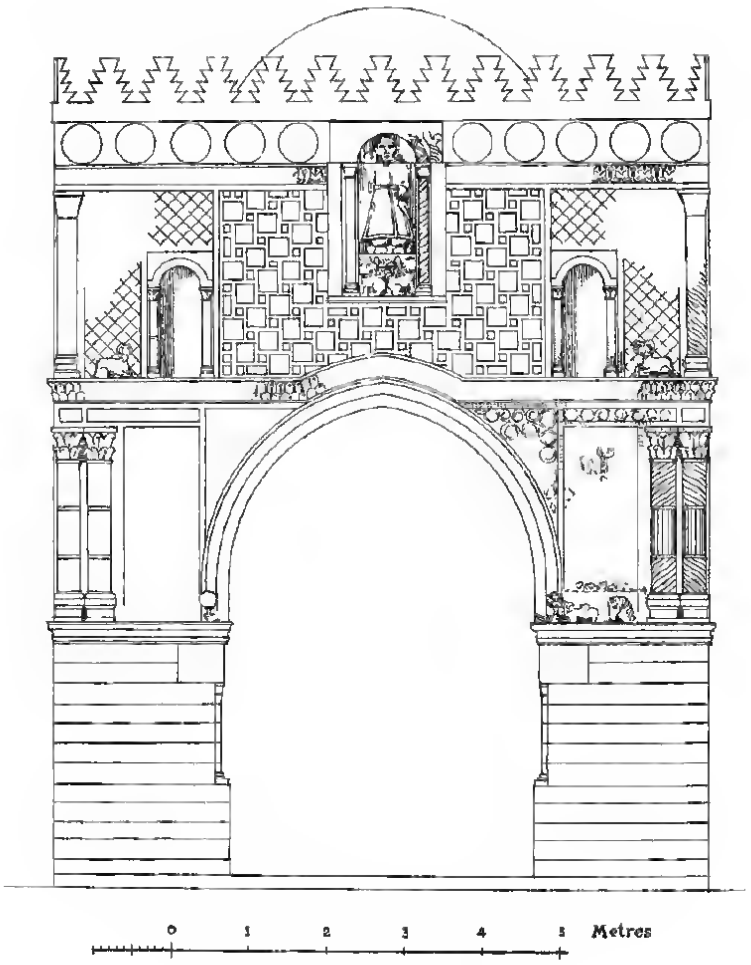

Fig. C "Bath Hall" Porch façade (after Hamilton).

a *frigidarium* which, according to Hamilton, served also as a vestiary or *apodyterium*. He saw an indication of these functions in the niches along the walls, which he interpreted as a repository for the bather's clothes. Hamilton was aware of the abnormal size of the Hall, which he believed to represent an 'architectural response to some specialized requirements' (*Mafdjar*, 47). A more specific function was suggested by Grabar, who suggested that the Hall should be related to the Roman *triclinia* and considered as a place for ceremonial entertainment and for other customary Arab and Sasanian activities, such as dancing in banqueting (*Islamic art and Byzantium*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVIII (1964), 76-7). A fresh study of the architectural peculiarities, decorative features and iconography of the Hall and a re-evaluation of these ideas has led Professor K. Ettinghausen to point out that in contrast to the more private character of the Palace, the "Bath" Hall was conceived as the representational part of the mansion. First, it could be entered from the outside by a distinctively ornamented monumental porch and two additional doors next to it. Aside from the caliphal statue, the front and inside of the porch carried figural sculptures of definite princely associations particularly appropriate for a princely abode, such as male and female entertainers, as well as animals alluding to the royal hunt. Secondly, the official character of this building becomes further evident if one follows Ettinghausen's discussion of the central axis of the Hall. This axis, which connects the porch with the western wall opposite, focuses on a central apse which in its artistic rendering differs from the remaining exedrae of the ambulatory. Originally attached to a cross shaped voussoir, there was a stone chain ending in a cylindrical device hanging from the apex of its semi dome. There were seven, and not five niches in the lower wall of the apse, and a pair, instead of a single niche, decorated the upper level of the exedrae. The arched heads of these niches had a horse shoe and not a semi circular profile, and were supported by colonnettes missing in the other recesses. Moreover, while all the exedrae in the ambulatory were plastered white, the archivolt of the central apse was painted with a meander pattern with perspective frein and different vegetal designs.

The exceptional rendering of the central apse, which must have been viewed by every visitor entering from the main porch, is explained by Ettinghausen in relation to its function. According to his interpretation it served as a throne recess in place of honour where the owner of the mansion sat at official occasions and in compliance with royal Sasanian practice, with his royal headgear suspended over his head.

Aside from the symbolic "hanging crown"—in Umayyad times transformed into a "hanging" *halanzuwa*—the royal character of the throne recess is further brought out by the huge half rosette in the pavement at the base of the apse, a motif which in Sasanian iconography had royal connotations. According to Ettinghausen it was not selected at random but rather in conformity with the Sasanian iconographic tradition, in order to emphasise the princely sections of the mansion.

By applying the principle that a "given imagery is related to the situation or activity that took place in or near the particular spot" (*From Byzantium*, 35-6), Ettinghausen further uses the mosaic panel with the knife, citrus fruit and leafy branch in front of the main apse (Hamilton, *Mafdjar*, 336-7) to explain one of the other functions of the "Bath" Hall. First, since Khirbat al-Mafdjar was an agricultural estate, this picture may be interpreted as an offering or present to the owner of the estate, or possibly as a symbol for a tax paid in the form of a highly-esteemed fruit grown in the plantations. Second, the fact that the only figural mosaic in this Hall depicts a fruit which had to be peeled with a knife in order to be eaten, appears to indicate that one of the purposes of this Hall was feasting and banqueting.

Assuming that the "Bath" Hall was built for public audiences, the *Diwān* or small apsidal room in its north-western corner (Fig. 1) was probably built as a private audience chamber. The interpretation of its function has again been based on the iconography of its decoration—the figural mosaic pavement on the raised dais (Fl. IIb), and the stucco ornaments of the dome in front of it (Fl. Ic). Accordingly, it has been pointed out that the lion preying upon a gazelle to the right of the fruit bearing tree was probably meant to demonstrate the caliphal power, while the two eating gazelles to the left alluded to a peaceful caliphal reign—the *Dār al Islām* versus the *Dār al Ḥarb*, the Abode (or Realm) of Islam versus the Abode of War (*From Byzantium*, 45-6).

The mosaics in the *Diwān* are based on ancient oriental concepts and symbolism. The winged horses and the pendentives of the cupola (Fl. IIIc), on the other hand, represent an Iranian, particularly Sasanian, motif. They are beasts which figure on seals, textiles and silver vessels as the royal mount of ascension and symbolise the semi divinity of the Sasanian king. Their representation on the cupola provides additional proof of the princely character of the chamber which, like in other parts of the mansion, is expressed in the iconographic language of Sasanian Iran.

4. *Who built Khirbat al Mafdjar?*—So far it has not been possible to connect the buildings at Khirbat al Mafdjar with one single prototype. The combination of a villa, a private bath and a multifunctional hall is Roman. The buildings reflect primarily Byzantine tradition, while the mosaics and most of the paintings in the palaces are rooted foremost in the local Syro Palestinian tradition. The remaining decoration—particularly the stucco sculpture and ornament—is inspired in style and technique by Eastern, Iranian and probably Central Asian prototypes. The imagery in particular is applied in accordance with Sasanian concepts of princely dwellings. It represents an apparently conscious adaptation of royal Sasanian art which was combined with architectural elements of Roman and Byzantine derivation in order to meet best the demands and aspirations of the Umayyad owner of the mansion.

The identity of the owner and builder of Khirbat al-Mafdjar has not yet been established conclusively. On the basis of certain graffiti with the name of Hishām which were found in the débris of the palace, it has been assumed that Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built during the caliphate of Hishām, between the years 105-25/724-43. More recently, however, Hamilton tried to prove that although the mansion was built at the time of Hishām, it was owned and occupied by his nephew, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Hamilton's arguments are rather intricate. Yet it is true that in its architectural concept the palace, and particularly the Throne and Banqueting Hall, would have suited the taste of a personality like al-Walīd II.

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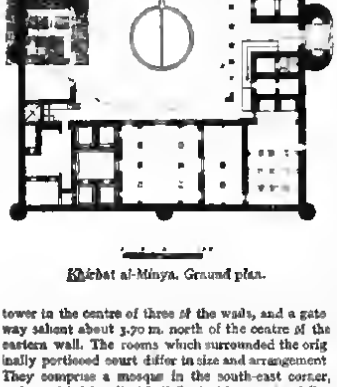
in *Archaeology*, viii/4 (Winter 1955), 228-35; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture, A.D. 622-750*, Oxford 1969, ii/1, 561-76 (with complete bibliography). Studies of specific problems are by W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, *The conquering lion, the life cycle of a symbol*, in *Oriens*, xvii (1964), 161-71; R. W. Hamilton, *Who built Khirbat al-Mafdjar?*, in *Levant*, i (1969), 61-7; R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 27-63; E. Rosc, *A group of north Iranian crafts men . . .*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xxiv (1974), R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar . . .*, in *Levant*, x (1978). (R. BARR)

KHIRBAT AL MINYA, in mediaeval times known as Minya or ʿAyn Minyā: Ḥuṣḥām, is the name for the ruins of an apparently unfinished Umayyad mansion about 250 m. west of the northern end of Lake Tiberias. The ruins were excavated in 1932 by A. E. Mader and between 1936-9 by A. M. Schneider and O. Puttrich Reignard. During July August 1939 the western section of the palace was excavated by O. Graber in collaboration with the Israel Department of Antiquities.

The building consists of an irregular rectangular enclosure (66.40 m. × 73 m. × 72.30 m.) facing the four cardinal points. Like other Umayyad castles it has round towers at the corners, a semi-circular



Khirbat al-Minya. Ground plan.

tower in the centre of three of the walls, and a gate way salient about 3.70 m. north of the centre of the eastern wall. The rooms which surrounded the originally portioned court differ in size and arrangement. They comprise a mosque in the south-east corner, a three-aisled basilical hall flanked by a unit of five rooms in the south, and residential quarters in the north.

As against the simple unpretentious decoration of the mosque, the domed gate-way chamber and the southern rooms must have been richly decorated. Marble panels covered the dadoes of the walls. Coloured and gilt glass mosaics decorated the summit of the dome, and stone mosaics combined with glass cubes and set in geometric carpet like patterns on the floor of the five southern rooms indicate the official, representational character of this section. Another well-preserved floor mosaic was discovered in 1959 in the western part of the mansion.

A fragmentary inscription with the name of al-Walīd on a marble slab which had been used as a sill when the gateway was rebuilt centuries later, supports an attribution of Minya to al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15). However, the palace was apparently used throughout the Umayyad period. Moreover, the stratification established in the western part of the site, and the ceramics found in the excavation in 1959, have shown that the site was settled in the later Mamlūk period when it served as an important commercial post between Damascus and Cairo. It was abandoned at an uncertain date, but later temporarily resettled.

Bibliography: O. Puttrich-Reignard, *Die Palastanlage von Chirbet el-Minje*, in *Palästina-Hefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande*, Heft 27-28 (1939); A. M. Schneider, *Die Bauinschrift von Chirbet el Minje*, in *Oriens Christianus*, xxxvi (1941), 115-27; A. M. Schneider, *Hirbet el-Minje am See Genezareth* in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, ii (1952), 23-45; O. Grabar, J. Ferret, E. Ravaut and Myriam Rosen, *Sondages à Khirbet el-Mafjar*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xi/4 (1960), 228-43; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, ii/1, Oxford 1969, 361-9. (EVA HARR)

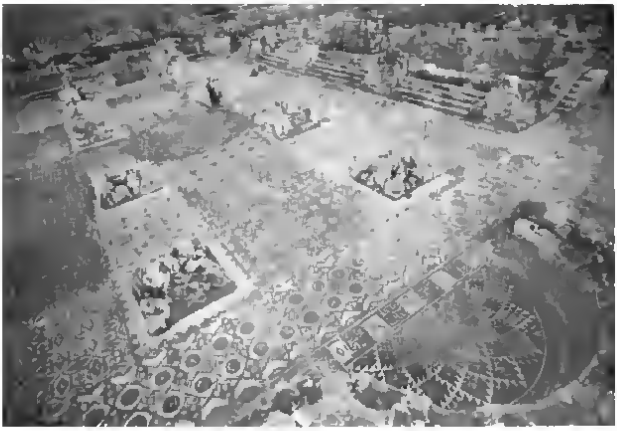
KHIRKA, "rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown". The assumption of such a cloak as symbol of embarking on the mystical path is mentioned as early as the 3rd/9th century (by Ibn Ḥarb and al-Muḥāsibī; see Massignon, *Lexique*). It is the equivalent of the handclasp (*muṣāfaḥa*) by means of which the spiritual director (*murshid*) transmits to the initiate (*murīd*) the blessing inherited from the Prophet. It can also be replaced, or accompanied, by other rites with the same significance; the handing-over of a rosary (*sibḥa*), of the text of a litany (*wird* [*q.v.*]) belonging to the mystical order (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]) which is receiving the novice. Its value as "the garment of piety", external and internal (according to Kurʾān, VII, 26), this latter implying humility and detachment from worldly standards, is further stressed when the *khirḳa* becomes, as with the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], a cloak made up of pieces sewn together (*murakkaʿa*).

Starting from its original technical sense, the word *khirḳa* has been broadened to designate the initiation as such, becoming a synonym for "transmission" (*tawaḳḳul*), "embarkation on the way" (*akhḏ al-ṭarīḳ*) and "covenant" (*ʿahd, mīthāḳ*). Thus the Ṣūfīs came to speak of the *khirḳa khiḍriyya* "investiture by al-Khaḍir" [see AL KHAḌIR] to describe those cases, numerous in the history of Muslim mysticism, in which some contemplatives are said to have received spiritual direction directly from the powerful and mysterious person who, in the Kurʾān (XVIII, 64-82), shows a wisdom superior to the prophetic law.

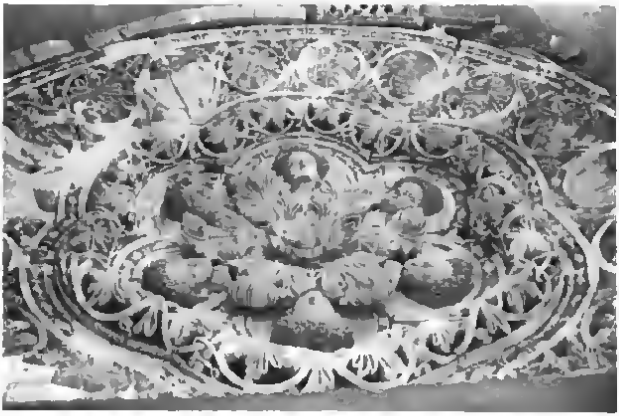
In fact, the two methods of spiritual transmission, an attachment to the *shaykh* (*silsila*) of spiritual masters and spontaneous illumination coming from the bestowal of a special grace, existed side-by-side at all stages of the history of Ṣūfīism. Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, the disciple of the *imām* al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), was to derive his arguments for demonstrating the superiority of the *ṭarīḳa* founded by his master, from the fact that the latter did not rest on the transmission of the *khirḳa*, but on "a spiritual direction (*hidāya*) to which God was able to attach certain of his disciples directly to Muḥammad His prophet" (cited by P. Nwiya, in *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shâdilite*, Beirut 1972, 32).

The word *khirḳa*, followed by a noun complement,

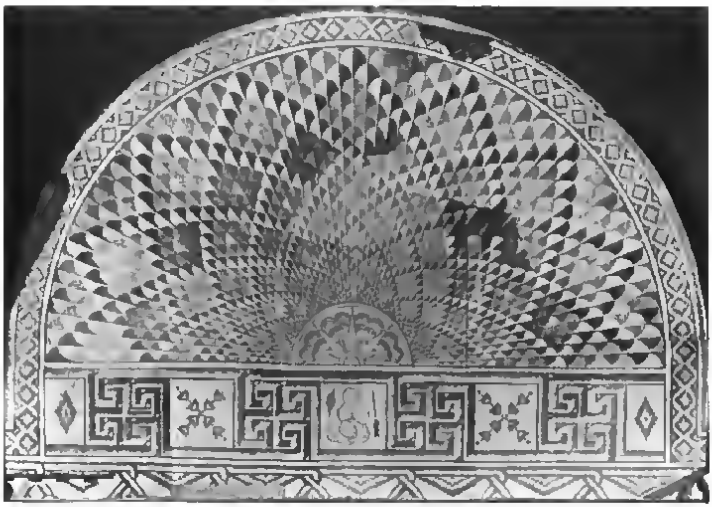
a. Khirbat al Mafdjar General view Photograph E Baer



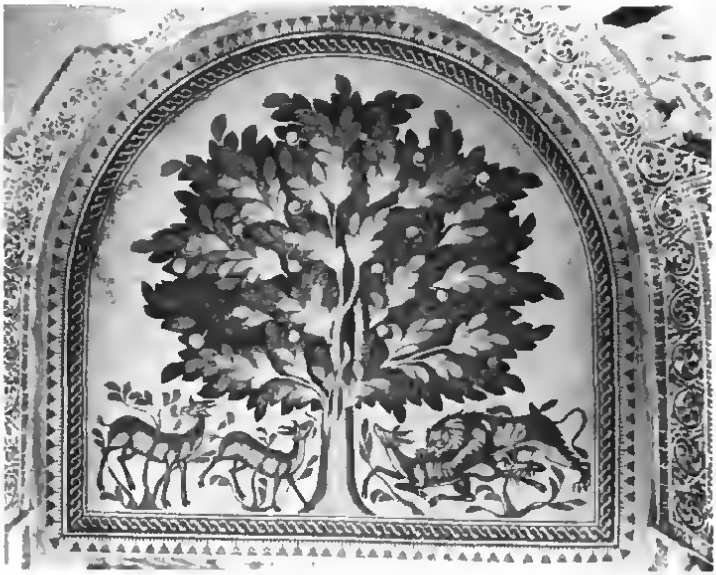
b. "Bath "hall Mosaic pavement Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums



c. *Dawsa* Dome cap Photograph E Baer.



a. "Bath" hall Apse V Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

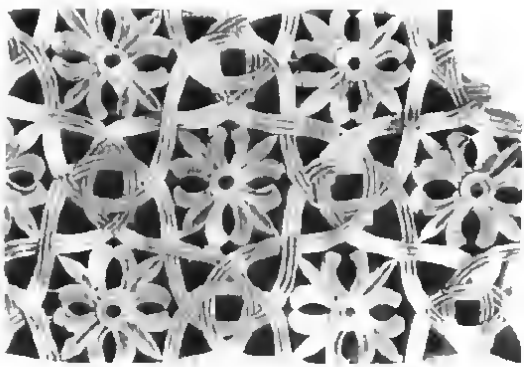


b. *Diwān* Mosaic Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums

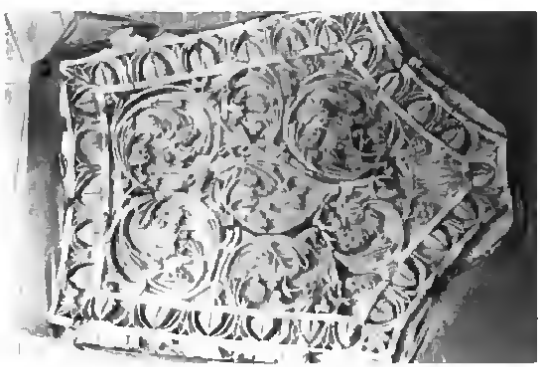
a Partridges.

b Woman. "Bath" porch

c Winged horse. *Diadès* Photographs E. Baer



b Window grill



a Panel from *Dado*.

a The "caliph"

b Female attendant. Photographs E. Baer

Khirbat al Minya South east side of palace.

may serve to define various categories or degrees of initiation to the mystical path. Thus *khirḳat al-irāda* "the robe of free-will" means, according to al-Suhrawardī, "he whom one asks personally, of his own free-will, from the *shaykh*, having full knowledge . . . of counting on passive obedience to whatever thing he will be condemned to by accepting", whilst the *khirḳat al-tabarruk* "cloak of blessing", is that which is "given officially by the *shaykh* to those whom it seems to him useful to introduce to or guide along the mystical path, without their giving an exact account of the significance of the act of investiture" (*ʿAwārif*, quoted by E. Blochet, in *L'Ésotérisme musulman*, Louvain 1920, 153). Other authors speak, in more general terms, of the "cloak of Śūfism", *khirḳat al-taṣawwuf*, always insisting on the close connection created by this act of investiture between the disciple and his spiritual master, who penetrates the most intimate thoughts and needs of the initiate and becomes "his real father" (Aḥmad Diyāʾ al-Dīn al-Nakshabandī al-Mudjaddidī al-Khālidī, *Muʿīnnāṭ Dāʾirat al-ṣafā wa-ḥaramāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1328, 100). Finally, the act of investiture with the "cloak of nobility", *khirḳat al-futuwwa*, originally conferred by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and then later by the Ayyūbid sultans of Syria and Egypt, was one of the features marking out the chivalric orders of the Islamic world before they spread into Christendom.

Bibliography. In addition to references given in the article, see the dedication of *khirḳa* given by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, No. 492, and G. Salmon, *La Khirḳa des Derqaoua et la Khirḳa Soufya*, in *Archives Marocaines*, xxi (1905), 127-43.

(J.-L. Miᴄhon)

KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF, one of the mantles attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, called KHIRḲA-YI SAʿĀDET was preserved at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. It was brought to Istanbul by Muḥammad Abū Numayy, son of the *Sharīf* of Mecca, together with the key of Mecca and other Islamic relics, after the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 by the Ottoman ruler Selīm I.

This black mantle, 1.24 cm. long with wide sleeves and a cream-coloured woollen lining, was kept in a throne made for Murād IV by the father of Ewliyā Çelebi, Derwīsh Zīlfī Meḥmed, the head jeweller of the palace. The throne, which resembled a canopied tent, lost its function in Maḥmūd II's time when lattice work doors were made. Today the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* is protected by being wrapped in seven silk velvet cloths, embroidered with gold thread, these in turn are protected by a gold box with a double lid, which is given further protection by being placed in a gold casket that was made in the era of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This is then placed on a silver table in the silver throne.

The *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* had a special function in Ottoman customs and ceremonies. In one of the late Ottoman chronicles ('Aṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 93 cf. *Khirḳa-i Śerīf*, in *IA*., by Ḥ. Kufralı) the author refers to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and says that a room was built named the Khāṣṣ Oda [q.v.] to protect the sacred relics when Selīm I brought them to the palace. It is not really possible to accept this statement as fact, because there is no other source of the same century or subsequent ones that mentions it until the 19th century. In fact, this room is most probably the Khāṣṣ Oda built by Meḥemmed II. No information about the mantle is known before Aḥmed I's time, his *nedīm*, Muṣṭafā Ṣafī Efendi, refers in his *Zübdet-ut tevārīkh* (Topkapı Sarayı, R. 1504, f. 128a) to the mantle, and says that Aḥmed I had a shelf made above his throne in the Khāṣṣ Oda and had the mantle put on it. We also learn that Aḥmed I started the ceremony of dipping a part of the mantle into water, thus making the latter holy; this custom was later changed into dipping the fastenings and then in Maḥmūd II's reign, to placing scarfs on it. We also learn from the *Zübdet ut tevārīkh* that the Khāṣṣ Oda did not contain all the relics in Aḥmed I's time. This room, with its 10th/16th century tiles, was repaired by Maḥmūd II, when a new fireplace was built, the decorations of the dome and upper parts of the walls were redone, and the whole apartment assigned to the keeping of the relics.

There were forty *Khāṣṣ Odalıs*—the men in charge of the Privy Chamber—who did the work of guarding the *Khirḳa yi Sherīf*. The duties of the *Khāṣṣ Odalıs* were to sweep the area, dust the Kurʾāns and other books, burn incense on special nights, sprinkle rose water, clean and polish the gold and silver objects, etc. (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı sarayı teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 335). The "silver" water carriers, thus named because they carried the water in silver containers, washed the floors of the building (*idem*, 455). In the corner of the wall, where there was a gate that opened into the third courtyard, there was a pounding stone used to grind up incense; on the other side of the *mumr* well was a well where the sweepings were disposed of. Four of the *Khāṣṣ Odalıs* stayed on duty at night and read the Kurʾān (*ibid*., 32). The guarding of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the duty of *Aghas*, whose spell of duty lasted for a period of 24 hours before being relieved.

All the Ottoman Sultans believed firmly in the sanctity of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and tried to remain near it, Aḥmed I took it with him wherever he went (*ibid*., 256). Findiklilī Meḥmed Agha, a *Khāṣṣ Odalı* of the reigns of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III, speaks at length about the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. According to him, Muṣṭafā II took the mantle with him to a private wagon to Çatadja where he went for Ramaḍān, had it kept in a special room and visited it ceremonially on the 15th of Ramaḍān. He also took it with him when he went to Edirne (*Nuṣrat-nāma*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1966, ii, 45), and when the revolt that ended his reign took place, he tried to escape to Edirne with the mantle (*ibid*., ii 183). Aḥmed III was also keen on burying the mantle with him. When he went to the Tersāne Bāghčesi to spend the summer of 1127/1715, or to the Wālide Sulṭān's seaside palace to spend the winter, and when he held a circumcision festivity for one of his sons, the mantle always figured prominently in what had to be taken with him (*idem*, 223, 338 9, 397).

Ewliyā Çelebi writes about Murād IV's sword-girding ceremony, after which he went to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* of the *Khāṣṣ Oda*, paid humble respect to the mantle and then prayed (Ewliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 227). We also learn from Findiklilī Meḥmed Agha that, when Muṣṭafā II learned that he was going to succeed to the throne, he went to the *Takht Odası* [*Khāṣṣ Oda*], prayed in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, and then put on suitable robes in order to take the oath of allegiance (*Nuṣrat-nāme*, i, 4). Subsequently, he visited the *Khirḳa yi Sherīf* every Friday (*ibid*., i, 32). Aḥmed III's eldest son, Süleymān, after he finished reciting the Kurʾān, held a ceremonial session in the *Tersāne Bāghčesi* in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, according to Findiklilī (*ibid*., ii, 388). It had an even greater importance in war time. A good example of this is the Egri campaign of Meḥemmed III, which was

going very badly, but was finally turned into victory when Sa'd al-Dīn addressed his people and Mehemmed III put on the mantle. The spirit of battle was kindled, and this turned the tide of the war (Orhan Şaik Ökyay, *Kutsi Çelebiden seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968, 59). Muṣṭafā II took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* on all of his campaigns in order to reinforce the courage of the army (*Nuṣret nāma*, I, 143, 168, 267, 274, 283, 286, 290, 299; II, 280, 300). We know from this same source that Aḥmed III took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and the *Sanǧaḳ-i Sherīf*—the flag of the Prophet which was only unfurled for a holy war—with his army in order to raise the morale of the men (*Nuṣretnāme*, II, 190).

When the sultān took his oath of allegiance, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was not forgotten. When a sultan died, the *Dār al-Sa'āde Aghası* carried the news to the crown prince and took him to the deceased. He was then joined by the *Silāḥdār Aghası* who took him to the *Ḳıṣṣ Oda* (Diewdet Pasha *Ta'rīkh*, I, 236; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 186). The oath of allegiance of the *Ṣadr-i A'ẓam* or Grand Vizier, the *Sheyḫ al-Islām*, the *Dar al-Sa'āde Aghası*, and the high officials of the Enderūn, was also taken there (Diewdet, iv, 237; Uzunçarşılı, 187; *Nuṣret ʿāmme*, II, 287 f).

During the third week of Ramaḍān, a visit to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was also customary. Even after the sultans ceased to reside in the Topkapı Palace, the *Khirḳa yi Sherīf* remained on the Palace premises, either in its own room or at the *Sofa Köshkü*. On such visits as these on the 15th of Ramaḍān, the sultān would open the silver throne, the seven wrappings and the gold casket with a golden key, take the mantle out, dip its fastening into a bowl of water and then put drops of this water into vessels filled again with water, which in turn would be given away as presents. This custom was abolished by Maḥmūd II, who chose to touch the mantle with some specially prepared scarves with poems inscribed on them, and these were then distributed as gifts for his guests. At the end of the visit, during which the Ḳur'ān was recited continuously, the mantle was put away by the sultan himself. This custom had however been abolished by the end of the sultanate.

One other mantle of the Prophet was brought in 1027/1617-18 by Shükr Allāh Efendi. It was believed that this mantle was sent to Uways al-Ḳaranī by the Prophet. Presumably it was preserved by Shükr Allāh Efendi and his son at his house in the Eski 'Ali Pasha quarter of Istanbul. Their mansion was rebuilt by Maḥmūd II, and a mosque was built opposite it in 1251 by 'Abd al-Medjīd. In this mosque, named that of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, the mantle was displayed to the public every year by the Queen Mother on the 15th of Ramaḍān. Today, it is possible to visit it there between the 15th of Ramaḍān and the *Laylat al-Ḳadr*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Aḥmed Rāsim, *Meṣāḥib-i Islām*, Istanbul 1326; Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamid Yıldız hatıraları*, Istanbul 1931; Ismail Müştak Mayakon, *Yıldızda neler gördüm*, Istanbul 1940, Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. "Ḥirḳa-i saadet", 805, "Ḥirḳa i saadet alayı", 806, "Ḥirḳa-i şerif ayını", 809, "Ḥirḳa-i şerif alyareti", 809; Tahsin Öz, *Ḥirḳa-i Saadet dairesi ve emanat-i mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953; Mithat Sertoğlu, *Muḫtaṣar osmanlı tarihi*, Istanbul 1958, s.v. "Mekke Şerifi'nin Osmanlı padişahına ilanına me'mūr", II, 768, "Emanat-i mübareke", II, 767, Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Istanbul 1960, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1965, Kemal Çiğ, *Relics of Islam*, Istanbul 1966.

(NUḤMAN AṬASOY)

AL-KHIRRĪT B. RĀSHID AL-ḤANAFĪ, partisan of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who fought in his ranks at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], but who rebelled against him when the first results of the arbitration were known after having accepted, it appears, the principle of arbitration. He was chief of the Banū 'Abd al-Bayt b. al-Ḥārith b. Sama b. Lu'ayy (most usually called the B. Nāǧiya, after the name of 'Abd al-Bayt's mother), who had only recently been converted to Islam, where they had not kept their original Christianity. He informed 'Alī of his intention to disregard the results of the arbitration, which implied the caliph's deposition. 'Alī advised him to reflect a while before taking action, but al-Khirrīt, oblivious to the arguments raised, withdrew with his followers into the Sawād of Kūfa; al-Mas'ūdī even accuses him, together with 300 of his fellow-tribesmen, of abjuring Islam. It is difficult to establish the chronology of events, but these events probably took place after the battle of al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], in which the rebel took no part contrary to what certain coincidences might lead one to expect, it is certainly tempting to compare and to assimilate al-Khirrīt's action to that of the Khāridjīs when one takes into account, in particular, the tradition according to which his group killed in the Sawād a Persian convert to Islam but spared the life of a Jew, circumstances which are analogous to those of the *sāḥ'āt* [*q.v.*] of the Azārika [*q.v.*].

'Alī sent after him Ziyād b. Khasafa, who finally caught up with him at al-Madā'in, where, after vainly trying to reason with him, he gave battle. The rebels fled in the course of the following night and headed for al-Ahwāz, where their ranks were swollen by a certain number of malcontents from Kūfa and of local people, who doubtless discerned here a way of avoiding taxation. At this point, in order to bring them to reason, 'Alī sent Ma'ḳil b. Ḳays al-Riyāḥī at the head of a more numerous force, and gave orders to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, the then governor of Baṣra, to send as reinforcements a substantial contingent under the leadership of Khālid b. Ma'dān al-Ṭā'ī. The rebels were soon put to flight by the government troops who pursued them to the Persian Gulf shores. In a decisive battle, al-Khirrīt was killed fighting, and his companions made prisoner. These events probably took place to the early months of 38/658.

According to the accounts given, Ma'ḳil b. Ḳays freed the captive Muslims and also the apostates, who for a second time abjured the Christianity to which they had returned; only one refused, it is recorded, and had his head chopped off. The Banū Nāǧiya who remained Christian, numbering 500, were on the other hand led into captivity. Maḳāla b. Hubayra, 'Alī's *ʿāmil* in the *kūra* of Ardashīr Khurra, whose centre was at Sīrāf, now intervened. Affected by the entreaties of the captive men, women and children, he purchased them for a sum of 300,000 *dirhams* (al-Mas'ūdī) or 200,000 only (al-Ṭabarī), of which he sent only part to 'Alī. He freed the prisoners without having asked them to contribute to the purchase money, and then, when pressed by the caliph to hand over all the money, he though it more expedient to take refuge with Mu'āwiya, who entrusted to him important official posts.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, I, 3418-21; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tables 29 and Register, 123 (s.v. 'Abd al-Bayt); Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 440, Mas'ūdī,

Muṣṭafā, iv, 417-21 = §§ 1722-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 183; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 264-70, G. Levi della Vida, *Il califfato di 'Alī . . .*, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 486, L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Conflitto*, and *Tradizione*, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

KHITA [see ṣāḥib khiṭāṭ]

KHITĀN (A.), circumcision. The term is used indifferently for males and females, but female excision is particularly called *khafḍ* or *khafḍ* (*q.v.*). In the dual, of *khitānān* are "the two circumcised parts" (viz. that of the male and that of the female), and according to tradition "If the two circumcised parts have been in touch with one another, *ghusl* is necessary" (Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ḥayḍ*, trad 88, Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 81, 83).

Some words connected with the root *ḥ-t-n* denote the father-in-law, the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law (*ḥatan*, *ḥatana*), or marrying (*ḥitān*). Some of these words must have belonged to the primitive Semitic language, as they occur also in the same or cognate forms in North-Semitic languages

Circumcision must have been a common practice in early Arabia. It is mentioned, not in the Ḳur'ān, but in old poetry and *ḥadīth*, and the ancient language also has special words for "uncircumcised", *pl.* *akhlaf*, *aghlaf* and *aghlaf* (Hebrew 'arel).

In *ḥadīth* it is said that Ibrāhīm was circumcised in his 80th year (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 151). This tradition is based on the Biblical report. Ibn Sa'd has preserved a tradition according to which the patriarch was already circumcised at the age of 13 (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1 24). This tradition is apparently a reflex of the practice of circumcision in the first centuries of Islam. We may confront it with the statements concerning Ibn 'Abbās' circumcision in *ḥadīth*. According to some traditions (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 273) he was 13 years old when Muḥammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time (Bukhārī, *Isti'dhān*, bāb 32; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 264, 287, Ṭayālisī, Nos. 2839, 2640).

Circumcision is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in the story of the Emperor Heraclius' horoscope (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-waḥy*, bāb 6). Heraclius read in the stars the message of "the king of the circumcised". Thereupon an envoy of the king of Ghassān arrived who reported the news of Muḥammad's preaching of Islam. This envoy appeared to be circumcised himself and he informed the Emperor of the fact that circumcision was a custom prevalent among the Arabs.

It is further recognised in *ḥadīth* that circumcision belongs to pre-Islamic institutions. In the traditions which enumerate the features of natural religion (*al-fiṭra*), circumcision is mentioned together with the clipping of nails, the use of the toothpick, the cutting of moustaches, the more profuse length of the beard etc. (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 49, 50; Tirmidhī, *Adab*, bāb 24, etc.) In a tradition preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (v, 75) circumcision is called *sunna* for males and honourable for females.

There are differences between the several *madhāhib*'s concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of giving a survey of the different views it may be sufficient to translate the passage of al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1283, i, 328) that devoted to the subject, also because it contains a description of the operation:

"Circumcision is obligatory (*wādjib*) according to al-Shāfi'ī and many of the doctors, *sunna* according to Mālik and the majority of them. It is further, according to al-Shāfi'ī, equally obligatory for males and females. As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the *ghurla*, so that this latter is wholly denudated. As regards females, it is obligatory to cut off a small part of the skin is the highest part of the genitals. The sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) view within the limits of our school, which is shared by the large majority of our friends, is that circumcision is effered, but not obligatory in a youthful age, and one of the special views is that the *wali* is obliged to have the child circumcised before it reaches the adult age. Another special view is, that it is prohibited to circumcise a child before its tenth year. The sound view according to us, is that circumcision on the seventh day after birth is *mustaḥabb* (recommendable). Further, there are two views regarding the question whether in the 'seventh day' the birthday is included or not".

The treatment of circumcision has not a prominent place in the books of law (see e.g. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 162, 305). More important, however, is the value attached to it in popular estimation. "To the uneducated mass of Muslims" says Snouck Hurgronje "as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstention from pork, together with circumcision, have even become to a certain extent the criteria of Islam. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the same attaches less importance" (*De Islam*, Baarn 1912, 30, *Verspr. Geschriften*, i, 402; cf. iv/1, 577). In Java circumcision is generally considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam and therefore sometimes called *sjalamakelam* ("rendering Muslim"). Apart from this term many other words denoting circumcision are used in Java (*op. cit.*, iv/1, 505-6). In Acheh circumcision of infidels only is considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 398).

The importance attached to circumcision appears also from the tradition according to which Muḥammad was born circumcised (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, I/1, 64). In North Africa a child born with a short foreskin is considered as a blessing (Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 353).

At Mecca, where the rite is called *ṭahāra*, children are circumcised at an age of 3-7 years, girls without festivities, boys with great pomp. On the day preceding that on which the rite will be performed, the boy, who is clad in heavy, costly garments, is paraded through the streets on horseback, several footmen walking on both sides in order to prevent him from falling and to refresh him by means of a perfumed handkerchief. He is preceded by men with drums and *duffs* who accompany the *ghubra* sung by others. Nearest to the boy goes an elderly black handmaid of his father's, bearing on her head a brazier burning with charcoal, resin and salt. The second part of the procession is formed by the boy's poorer comrades, equally on horseback. The procession passes through the main streets during the time of *'aṣr* and comes back to its starting point a little before sunset. The female members of the family goes the evening with their friends, the party is enlivened by female singers.

Next morning, at sunrise, the barber performs the operation. The foreskin is pressed together by means of a thong, the boy lying on his back, while his mother tries to divert his attention by sweets. A plaster is applied to the wound which usually is healed in a week. The operation is followed by a breakfast for the nearest relatives. It is to be observed that

Hadramawt who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141 ff.).

In Egypt, boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a part of his face in order to avert the evil eye. As in Mecca he is preceded by musicians. The foremost person of the procession is usually the servant of the barber (who performs the operation) who bears his *ḫaml*, a case of wood of a semi-cylindrical form, with four short legs; its front is covered with pieces of looking glass and brass, and its back with a curtain. It is to be noted that the Copts also circumcise their boys (Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* ch. on Infancy and Education).

D'Ohsson in his *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 231 ff., describes circumcision as practised in Turkey under the heading "Circoncision, *sunnath*", a designation which is also reflected in the word *sunnedjī* for the barber who performs the operation. It takes or took place in the presence of the *imām* of a mosque who accompanies the ceremony with prayers for the preservation of the child, who is usually 7 years old when he is circumcised. Plate 20 of d'Ohsson's work shows children dressed for the ceremony, and plate 21 adorned victims which are slaughtered at this occasion. Parties for relatives, friends and poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

The circumcision of the imperial princes used to give occasion to the displaying of great pomp. Long before the appointed day intimation was sent to the high dignitaries of the empire, sometimes even in the other courts of Europe. D'Ohsson gives a translation of Murād's III letter of invitation to the dignitaries on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown prince.

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Dan, as cited by Doutté, *Merrâkech*, 352, at Algiers a stone knife was used for the operation. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 ff. where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife for the operation (Wilken, 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony. A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 363-4) has observed that the Bedouins organise collective circumcisions every two years, as an economy measure; hence the children's ages vary considerably (see also al-ʿUsayrī, *Kāmil al-ʿidād*, Amman 1973-4, ii, 236, s.v. *f-ḥ-r*). It should be noted here that in most Arabic dialects, the term for circumcision and its accompanying rites is taken from the root *f-ḥ-r*, implying the idea of purity, thus practice is therefore popularly felt as a purificatory rite.

On Java, circumcision of boys is often combined with the *khatm*- or *kedaman*-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelago, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is highest (14-15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (*larap*) is made before the house or *pendapo*, and a small room (*kobongan*) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious meal at which several dishes are offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings. Festivities such as *wayang*, *tayuban*, *djagongan* precede or follow the ceremony. The *djagongan* always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon *kataman*, the recitation of some chapters of the Kurʾān by the boy. On the day preceding circumcision, a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of *nagas* or other animals. They wear the bridegroom's dress and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with *wedak*. It occurs also that the boy wears the *kādjāgā*'s dress. Just as in North Africa, poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

The boy has to keep quiet for some days before and after the operation and to abstain from hot dishes as well as to beware of any action which is considered to be unlucky in this time. Before the operation he is bathed with the recitation of a great many prayers and formulas. Then he is placed on the lap of an elderly person, usually a *sentra* who has many children, a circumstance which is expected to exercise a wholesome influence on the boy's marriage. For further details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 205 ff.

In Atchen, boys are usually circumcised by the *modin* (probably = *muʾaḏḏin*) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Kurʾān study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 399-400) consists in a complete circumcision, in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atchen the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e.g., to arrange a *Rapa*'s performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bridegroom, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

Circumcision is a rite practised by many peoples, primitive peoples of the present time as well as those mentioned in ancient literatures, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Israelites, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites (see Jeremiah, ix, 25).

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islām in that part of the world (cf. G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel*, in *BTLV*, Sec. iv, vol. x, 166, 180-1 = *Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Wilken*, iv, 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups:

a. Among many peoples females as well as males are circumcised. We must consequently start from the view that the rite was not originally applied to one of these classes to the exclusion of the other.

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Wilken, *op. cit.*, 207). In the Muslim world we have the in-

stance of Malayans who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and who submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djidda for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 312).

c. Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair (*ṣaḥīḥ*, cf. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, 351), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Ḳurʾān. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter of fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellers. In Central Arabia it is said (e.g. Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 213), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141). In spite of doubts about the authenticity of such information, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the Javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a *sunāri* who has many children (see above and Wilken, *op. cit.*, 225).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e.g., the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above), the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 224); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception into the Muslim community, cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii, see also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 227).

e. Many accessory rites express the intention to avert danger: the boy's being dressed as a girl, the use of the handkerchief, the burning of charcoal and salt; the drums and *duffs*; the recitation of *ḏikrs* and prayers; possibly the displaying of charity and the slaughtering of victims may also be viewed in this light.

Ethnologists put forward various interpretations for the phenomenon of circumcision: as a surgical operation meant to prevent phimosy and to help fecundity; as a religious rite connected with fertility as reception into the community; and as a rite of passage. The viewpoint expressed by Van Gennep in his *Rites de passage*, Paris 1909, seems to account for many of the features of circumcision mentioned above. It accounts for the fact that children are submitted to the operation at ages varying between the seventh day after birth and the beginning of the manly age or the time of marriage; that females as well as males are circumcised; that the rite is sometimes repeated; that it shows a deeply-rooted connection with marriage; that it is considered as the act of reception into a religious community; that it is sometimes preceded by a bath; that processions take place, which show a striking similarity with bridal processions; and so on.

Bibliography: As well as references given in the article, see in particular *IBLA* (1947), 273-86, (1953), 64-7; H. Massé, *Notes d'ethnographie persane*, in *Revue d'ethn. et des traditions populaires*, viii (1927), 24-39; idem, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 51-3. There is a general bibliography on the topic in C. M. Kieffer, *A propos de la circoncision à Cabour et dans le Logar*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 191 ff.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHIṬAṬ (A.), pl. of *khiṭṭa*, the various quarters of the newly-founded early Islamic towns which the Arab-Islamic chiefs laid out (root *khaṭaṭa*) for the population groups which they attracted thither as for their respective leaders. Historical-administrative concerns led fairly quickly to the appearance of a literary genre which consisted of a description of the historical topography of these *khiṭaṭ*. This happened in regards to Baghdād and one finds chapters of this nature in the "geographical" works of Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, and also in the introduction to the biographical history of the city by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. However, the genre developed most of all in Egypt, aided by its strong particularist feeling. It is already discernible for al-Fusṭāṭ in two chapters of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, and is expanded in the History of the *Ḳuḍāt* of Egypt and in a separate opusculum, now lost, of al-Kindī and also, a generation later, in another lost opusculum by Ibn Zūlāḳ. The foundation of Cairo caused an expansion of these studies, as is apparently already discernible with Ibn Zūlāḳ's work and with a treatise from the mid Fāṭimid period, now lost, by al-Ḳuḍāʿī. An apparently much more important work was written two centuries later by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the biographer of Baybars, Ḳalāwūn, and al-Ashraf. All this literature culminated in the monumental work, the only one of its kind preserved for us (apart from the citations from the earlier works included within it), of al Makrīzī, *al Mawāʿiẓ wa ʾl-iʿtibār fī khiṭaṭ Miṣr wa ʾl-Ḳāhira*. In fact, the contents are arranged not according to quarters but by categories of buildings, at the same time comprising a description and history of everything connected with them. The title of Maḳrīzī's book was utilised later, because of its fame, in the survey conducted on the same spirit but adapted to modern Egypt, by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, and in a more flexible form, in the geographical-historical description of the whole of Syria by Kurd ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, Index; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, index; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, esp. 354 and n. 4.

(Ch. CAHEN)

KHIṬĀY (see AL-ṢĪN).

KHIṬBA (A.), "demand in marriage", whence "betrothal", i.e. the mutual promise of marriage which in certain legal systems can form the first stage of marriage proper (cf. the *sponsalia* of ancient Roman law). But is this promise considered as entailing an obligation in Islamic law? In other words, does betrothal give rise to legal consequences?

According to Muslim authorities, the *khiṭba* does not involve a contract. It is true that it involves an offer and an acceptance, but before the acceptance is made, it is merely a demand in marriage and does not form a legal act.

The Mālikīs, apparently uniquely, give more importance to the betrothal than the Ḥanafīs or even the Ḥanbalīs, but the principle remains that the act of betrothal does not involve a legal obligation. However, betrothal can only take place when there are no nullifying factors present which would prevent a valid marriage, every impediment to marriage is an impediment to betrothal. The parties to a *khiṭba* are on the one hand, the man making the demand in marriage, and on the other, the woman, who may be represented by her *walī* [see WALĪ]. Yet if betrothal does not in principle involve any legal obli-

gation and is not a legal act, certain effects never theless follows from it:

1. The right of seeing the woman. Certain authorities state that the fiancé has this right, even if looking at her is accompanied by sexual desire. Ibn Rushd specifies that this right should be limited to seeing the face and hands only (*Bidāya*, ii, 3); others extend the right, but they never go so far as to admit the possibility of the couple being left alone (*khalwa*), which is the right to be alone with each other away from all indiscreet looks.

2. The right of priority. Betrothal gives the fiancé a right of priority, in that once a woman is betrothed to a man, that woman cannot be sought in marriage by another man; but this right is only sanctioned by the Mālikīs.

Dissolving of a betrothal. Either of the two parties can end the state of betrothal unilaterally. The only problem is that of disposal of presents which have been exchanged, and which are subject to the rules of donation. However, in various Islamic countries, part of the dowry is paid over at the time of betrothal, and this must in all cases be given back. Finally, there remains one problem, can one award damages to the victim of an unjustifiable breaking off of betrothal? Although certain modern Islamic authorities are endeavouring to introduce an obligation to pay an indemnity for damages in the case of an ill-founded breaking off, the action for damages is not an absolute right. Even so, many Islamic countries have been compelled to adopt the solutions of western law, since on the plane of practical law, betrothal is of no legal concern except in case of its being dissolved.

Bibliography: Ch. Chehata, *Études de droit musulman*, Paris 1971, 75. Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 2, Ibn Kudāma, *Mughnī* vi, 536, and see NIKĀḤ. (A. M. DELCAMBRE)

KHIṬṬA ("piece of land marked out for building upon"), a term used of the lands allotted to tribal groups and individuals in the garrison cities founded by the Arabs at the time of the conquests. The lay out of these cities everywhere followed the kinship organisation of the conquerors, who were distributed in tribal quarters around a centre housing the Friday mosque and the *dār al-imāra*. The smallest unit of the *khiṭaṭ* was the *dār*, in the case of prominent individuals often a sizable estate (usually known as *kaṣr*'a), otherwise a modest plot of land occupied by one or several families. Next came the quarter based on the smallest political unit of the tribe (what is often known as the *'ashīra* in Arabic sources, "clan" or "subtribe" in modern literature); these quarters usually had their own mosque, and how small the unit in question tended to be is indicated by the fact that the tribe Khuḍā, which was strongly represented in Fusṭāṭ, Damascus and Ḥimṣ in addition to Kūfa, had at least twelve such mosques in the latter city. Finally, there was a larger quarter reflecting the tribe proper, often endowed with its own *ḳubbāna*, a piece of unbuilt land serving, *inter alia*, as a meeting place and a cemetery. In Syria, where the Arabs settled in existing cities, the tribal quarters were less self contained and possessed neither mosques nor *ḳubbāna* of their own.

The *khiṭaṭ* served as military and administrative units from the start, but these small size was an practical and amalgamation of the tribal groups began already with the foundation of Kūfa, which was divided into seventhe, to be continued under Muʿāwiya when Baṣra was divided into fifths, and other settlements into quarters. Every such new division was placed under an officially appointed leader, the *raʾs al-rubʿ* or *raʾs al-khums*, who was selected from among the chiefs of the larger tribal groups represented in the division, and who was responsible for the command of the division in war and the maintenance of law and order within it in peacetime. The lesser groups continued to serve as military and administrative subdivisions under their own leaders. The entire range of tribal chiefs (the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period) served as the link between government and subjects in the Sāsānid system of indirect rule, *ashrāf* and governor coming together in the latter's *madjlis* where information, orders and requests were exchanged, accompanied by a traditional display of generosity. The *raʾs al-rubʿ* / *raʾs al-khums* in turn passed on information, orders and gifts in his own *madjlis*, and the process was repeated in the *madjālis* of the lesser chiefs until we reach the smallest political unit reflected in the *khiṭaṭ*.

The erosion of the tribal ties in the Marwānid period rendered the system obsolete; the *ashrāf* disappeared from the political scene, while the *khiṭaṭ* survived only as place-names. The larger quarters and fifths, on the other hand, persisted until the end of the Umayyad period, physically as military divisions, now housing regiments rather than tribal groups, and morally as categories for the definition of factional loyalties. When the ʿAbbāsids came in power these too disappeared, and the allotments in Baghdād (known as *ḥalaḳ*'s rather than *khiṭaṭ*) were made on the basis of geographical provenance, not tribal affiliation.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2488-95, and *passim*, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275 ff., 366 ff., Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 309-312, Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel, Leiden 1966, ii, *Register*, *passim*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 91 ff., Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. S. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1371/1951 ff., i, 262, ii, 95 (tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 175) and *passim*: the battle orders in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1967, 222, and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA. M. Hārūn, Cairo 1365, 232-4, both reflect the Syrian *ardh*'. L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kufa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo 1934-40; idem, *Explication du plan de Basra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954; S. al-Diwahdjī, *Khiṭaṭ Miṣriyya*, in *Sumer*, vii (1951), 5; ʿA. al-ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, in *Sumer*, viii (1952), idem, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fī'l-Baṣra*, Baghdād 1953; idem, *The foundation of Baghdad*, in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern ed., *The Islamic city*, Oxford 1970. (P. CRONE)

KHIWA, on the western bank of the Amu Daryā, site of the last capital of the khanate of Khwārazm subsequently called the khānate of Khiwa. Its origins are bound up to the history of Khwārazm [*q.v.*].

Khiwa was the third capital, after Gurgānd (383-515/993-1221) and Kāth [*q.vv.*], the latter was the capital during the 8th/14th century, in which period, with Khiwa, it was governed by the Čaghatāy, and Gurgānd (subsequently called Urgenč) by the Golden Horde. After the restoration of unity (under the rule of the Shaybānids) in the 9th/15th century, the capital was again established at Urgenč, but neither this dynasty, nor the Djučī branch of the Özbeg dynasty that succeeded it, was in a position to restore stability in the region, brigandage increased, and the closure of the commercial routes which crossed the land hastened, at the same time, its economic decline and its relative isolation.

During the second half of the reign of ʿArab Muḥammad (1013-32/1603-23), which perhaps coincided with the drying up of the left branch of the Amū Daryā, the capital was transferred to Khīwa, and it was then that the khānate of Khwārazm began to be called the khānate of Khīwa. Little is known of the early history of this town, archaeological remains enable us to date its foundation between the 6th and 8th centuries of the Christian era, it is mentioned by the Arab geographer al Iṣṭakhrī in the 4th/10th century. The inhabitants of Khīwa were distinguished from the other Khwārazmians by the fact that they were Shāfiʿīs rather than Ḥanafīs.

The khānate was composed of various feudal districts (*ʿaṭāʾiks*) somewhat loosely linked together and their chiefs (*khāns*) recognised the sovereignty of the *khān* of Khīwa. The degree of unity of the khānate depended on the personal power of the *khān*, it is relevant, in this regard, to make special mention of ʿAbd al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (1054-73/1643-63) whose *History of Khīwa* has survived and is available to us. After the conquest of Mashhad by Anūsha, at the end of the 11th/17th century, the sovereigns of Khīwa took the title of *khān*.

The dynasty of the Özbegs was followed by that of the Čingizids, which occupied the throne of Khīwa until 1804, but real power was concentrated in the hands of the *Inaḳ* (tribal chief) of the tribe of the Kungrāt [*q.v.*]. The 18th century saw an acceleration in the process of disintegration, when to the effects of internal strife there were added the fruitless attempts at conquest made by Peter the Great in 1717, and by Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740, while invasions by nomads and attacks from the Turcoman Yomuts were particularly violent between 1135 and 1184/1740-70; however, in 1184/1770, the *Inaḳ* Muḥammad Amīn defeated the Turcomans, restored relative prosperity to the region and undertook the construction of a new city on the foundations of the old. In the course of this reconstruction, which lasted seventy years, a number of remarkable architectural monuments were erected, including the palace of Tashkawl (1832), the mausoleum of Pahlawan Shahtuda (1835) and the *madrasa* of Allāh Kulī Khān (1835), which are still standing today.

Under the *Inaḳ* Ilṭüzer, who became the first Kungrāt *khān* in 1804, the khānate attained its greatest territorial extent of the modern period, stretching from the mouth of the Sir Daryā on the Aral Sea as far as Kalʿa-i Mawr on the Kushk; this sovereign frustrated an attempt by Bukhārā at annexing the oasis of Merw, and he improved his relations with the Turcomans who became the first line of defence of the khānate. His successor, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, who was the most powerful *khān* of the 19th century, made a number of successful forays into the territory of the Kazaks, subdued the Ḳara Ḳalpaḳs and ravaged Khurāsān.

Although it had repelled an attack by the Russians in 1839-40, Khīwa was forced to accept their economic and diplomatic demands, which had the result of reinforcing the Russian presence which was already showing itself in Central Asia. The conflict which broke out with Bukhārā and the Turcomans further enfeebled the already divided State, and in 1873 the Russians were able to take possession of the entire territory without striking a single blow. The peace treaty gave them the right bank of the Amū Daryā and made the *khān* of Khīwa a vassal of the Tsar.

The Turcomans continued their struggle against the Khānate and in 1918, the *khān* Isfandiyār (1910-18) was assassinated at the instigation of Djunaydī Khān, the Turcoman chieftain, who reduced the new sovereign, Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh (1918-20) to the status of a puppet. After an initial failure in 1918, the Soviets waited until 1920 before putting an end to the khānate of Khīwa and on the 26 April 1920, the People's Republic of Khwārazm was proclaimed, with a government of young Khīwans. On 5 September 1921, this was replaced by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Khwārazm, controlled by the Bolsheviks, and in November 1924, it became the *oblast'* of Khwārazm in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, with Khīwa as provincial capital (*yayon*). between 1918 and 1924, there was a considerable movement of resistance to the Soviets, led by Djunaydī and supported by the deposed *khān*.

The Soviets did nothing to assist the development of the town. Although it is a centre for cotton-growing and has brickworks, dairies and a carpet-weaving industry, modern Khīwa no longer plays a vital role in the economic or political life of the Uzbek S.S.R.

Bibliography: see that for KHWĀRAZM.

(W. BARTHOLD - [M. L. BRILL])

KHIYĀBĀNĪ, SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD (1879-1920), Persian religious scholar and political leader. Born in Khāmana, Āḏharbāyd̲j̲ān, the son of a merchant, Khiyābānī received his early education there and then moved to Dāghistān in the Caucasus, where his father lived. After returning to Tabrīz, he studied *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, and Ptolemaic astronomy, and soon became a *mud̲j̲tahid* leading public prayers in two central mosques. Responding to the Iranian constitutionalists, Khiyābānī joined the Social Democratic Party and also became a leading member of the Āḏharbāyd̲j̲ān Provincial Council which played a decisive role in the deposition of the anti-constitutionalist Shāh Muḥammad ʿAlī (1907-9). Khiyābānī was then elected to the second Parliament, where he rejected the 1911 Russian ultimatum and condemned the Persian government which, on the British recommendation, was willing to compromise. The Parliament rejected the ultimatum but the Regent, Nāṣir al-Mulk, dissolved Parliament and accepted the ultimatum, leading Khiyābānī to denounce this action in a long speech before the people of Tehran. He then fled to Russia, and later on returned to Tabrīz secretly. After the two Anglo-Russian treaties (1907 and 1915) there remained little room for the existence of Khiyābānī and his party. Suddenly, however, the 1917 Russian Revolution broke out and the Soviets withdrew the claims the Tsars had made against Iran. At this point, Khiyābānī and his friends re-established the Democratic Party and founded *Taǧaddud*, a newspaper which published Khiyābānī's speeches and articles. Among Khiyābānī's targets of attack were the British South Persia Rifles and the existing Persian régime as being submissive to foreigners. Before the end of the War, Ottoman troops invaded Tabrīz, arrested Khiyābānī, and imprisoned him in Riḍāʾiyya, but after the War he returned to Tabrīz. In 1919 the British signed an agreement with the Wuṯūḳ al-Dawla which gave them control of the Iranian army, finances, and customs. Under the influence of Khiyābānī and others, the treaty was not passed in Parliament. The Wuṯūḳ al-Dawla then suppressed Khiyābānī's party and resigned. Khiyābānī rose against the government (now in the hands of Mushīr al-Dawla) and in April 1920 he declared his province Āzādistān ("home of freedom"). Mushīr al-Dawla appointed Mukhbir al-Salṭana (Mahdī Ḳulī Hidāyat) governor of Āḏharbāyd̲j̲ān, and the latter put an end both to the six-month old movement and to Khiyābānī's life.

Khiyābānī has been described as a rebel, and his movement as a separatist one. Khiyābānī's attachment to the Soviets has also been a matter of controversy. However, he has been widely recognised as a national hero, whose murder was lamented by poets such as *Bahār*, *ʿĀrif*, *Salmat*, and *Aghā*.

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

KHIYĀLA [see KEAVL]

KHIYĀR (A), a legal term meaning the option or right of withdrawal, i.e. the right for the parties involved to terminate the legal act unilaterally. This option is always included in the legal act, and in this case, the act does not irrevocably bind its authors. The word *khiyār* implies a choice on the part of the holder of the right of option, who may either confirm the act or render it void, the legal act containing an option is not void in origin, but its validity is nevertheless precarious and subject to confirmation. The act giving rise to an option corresponds in western law to an act liable to a suspensory or resolutory condition, according to the nature of the option.

Options (*khiyārāt*) may be either conventionary or legal in nature.

1. Conventionary options. Included amongst these, there is first of all the conditional option, *khiyār al-shart*, which is extremely important. This is the clause by means of which, in certain legal acts (in particular, contracts), one of the parties, or both of them, reserves the right to annul or to confirm, within a specified time, the legal act which they have just drawn up. This clause is undeniably equivalent to a purely potestative suspensory condition. The decision of the one confirming or rejecting the act does not have to be justified. The lawyers of the four schools adopted this institution without difficulty. The other conventionary option is the one called by the jurists that *al* designation (*khiyār al-taʿyīn*). *It can only be* inserted *into* alternative obligations, and allows the one making the stipulation to make his final choice between the different objects of one and the same obligation. Thus there are only two conventionary options, one common to all four schools and the other peculiar to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs.

2. Legal options. On the other hand, legal options, in which the law automatically grants the options without the parties having to stipulate them, are very numerous. Some Muslim authors number them at seventeen. Fraud, injury, hidden defects, eviction, and many other deeds, are only to be sanctioned in Islamic law by means of option in the *fiḳh* treatises, only a brief allusion is made to legal options, apart from the option in the case of a latent defect making the agreement void (*khiyār al-ʿayb* or *khiyār al nakṣa*). The option of sight (*khiyār al-raʾya*) presents a problem. It is rejected by the Shāfiʿīs, and there exists concerning it as many different doctrines as schools of legal opinion: see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 154. Some countries have introduced the principle of the option of sight into their new civil codes: Egypt (art. 419), ʿIrāḳ (arts. 517-23), Syria (art. 389) and Libya (art. 408). *Khiyār* is also to be found in Imāmī law (Persian civil code arts. 396-457). *In the fiḳh* treatises, there is no systematic exposition of the idea of option, although certain modern jurisconsults have tried to remedy this.

It should finally be noted that the system of options is not peculiar to patrimonial law. There exist also options in family law, e.g. in the case of incompatible marriages, or when a minor still below the age of puberty has been married by a *wali* other than her own father or grandfather; when the minor reaches his majority, he can choose between maintaining the marriage in being or dissolving it.

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(A. M. DELCAMBRE)

KHIYĀR (in theology) [see PREDESTINATION]

KHIZĀNA [see MAKTABA]

KHIZĀNE I ʿĀMIRE [see KHAZINA].

KHLOT [see KHULT].

KHŌDJA in the strict sense is the name of an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and some Sunnīs and Twelver Shīʿīs split off the Ismāʿīlī community. In a looser sense the name is commonly used to refer to the Indian Niẓārīs in general including some minor communities like the Shamsīs in the area of Multān and some *Mīmans* in northern Gudjarāt. The history of Niẓārī Ismāʿīlism on the Indian subcontinent, especially in the early centuries, is largely obscure because of a lack of reliable sources. The Khōdja religious literature [see SATPANTH] contains some highly legendary accounts of the activity of Niẓārī *dāʿīs*, mostly unreliable chronological data, and bare lists and genealogies of the *pīrs* and their descendants. On the basis of this material a few comprehensive historical accounts have been written since the 19th century by Khōdjas and members of the related Imāmī-Shīʿī community.

It is unknown if any of the Ismāʿīlī communities existing in India before the split into the Niẓārī and Mustaʿlawī branches in 487/1094 subsequently joined

the Nizārī Khōdja tradition makes one Satgur Nūr, also called Nūr al Dīn, the first *dā'ī* who, coming from Daylamān, was active in Pīr̄an, Gudjarāt. Dates ascribed to his activity vary widely. According to one version he was sent by the *imām* al Mustanṣir (427-87/1036-94) in order to preach for his son Nizār; according to another, by the *imām* al-Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām (557 or 2/1162 6). He is alleged to have converted the Hindu king Siddharādja Djayasimha (*d. ca.* 1145). Yet his place in the lists of *pīrs* would seem to put him in the first two centuries of Islam, and he is even identified with the *imām* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. His shrine at Nawsarī appears to date from about the end of the 18th century. His historicity has been doubted. Evidence for the presence of Nizārīs in Gudjarāt in the first half of the 7th/13th century is too vague to be trusted. Most early Nizārī activity rather appears to have been centred on Sind.

The beginnings of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Sind are connected by tradition with the *pīr* Shams al-Dīn, though the previous *pīr*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who is also called the father of Shams al-Dīn, is mentioned to have already been sent from Alamūt to India. Legend, on the other hand, identifies Shams al Dīn variously with Shams-i Tabrīz, the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, or with the first post-Alamūt *imām* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who, it is alleged, turned the imāmate over to his son Ḳāsim-Shāh in order to come to India. While most of the religious poetry ascribed to him names Ḳāsim-Shāh as the contemporary *imām* and thus would place him around the turn of the 7th/13th century, several dates mentioned in the poetry for his activity are in the first half of the 6th/12th century. A legendary account of his meeting with the Ṣūfī saint Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ of Multān (d. 665/1226) appears to be without historical foundation. His lifetime thus cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. He is described as having been active in Multān and Uṣ̄ch in Sind and his throne is located in Multān. The community of the Shamsīs claims to have been converted by him to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. They live in Multān, Rāwalpindī and elsewhere in Pandjāb and are mostly goldsmiths.

The next two *pīrs* on the traditional lists, Nāṣir al Dīn and Shihāb (also Ṣāḥib) al-Dīn, are said to be the son and grandson of Shams al-Dīn. It is likely, however, that some minor figures were omitted. There is no information on their activity except that they worked clandestinely. Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn who is credited with the conversion of the Khōdjās from the Lohanas, a Hindu caste. He is also said to have given them the name Khōdja, derived from the Persian *khwādja*, master, which corresponds to the Hindu term *thakur* used in addressing Lohanas and Khōdjās, as the Lohanas are considered Kṣatriyas. Death dates given for him range from 770/1369 to 829/1426. The latter date seems more reasonable. Ṣadr al-Dīn, according to tradition, also laid the foundation for the communal organisation of the Khōdjas by building the first three *djamāʿat-khānas* (assembly and prayer halls) and appointing their *mukhis* (leaders). The centre of his activity was Uṣ̄ch and his shrine is not far from it near Djetur.

Ṣadr al Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of whom a short vita was included by ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642) in his hagiographical work *Akhbār al-akhyār*. His appearance in a list of *shaykhs* of the Suhrawardī order reflects the close links of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism with organised Ṣūfism throughout this period. According to the *Akhbār al akhyār* he travelled widely before settling down in Uṣ̄ch and converted many Hindus. The death dates mentioned for him range from 653/1449 to 895/1490. Most accurate are probably those giving 875/1470 or 876/1472. His shrine is outside Uṣ̄ch. As Kabīr al-Dīn's successor, his brother Tādj al Dīn was appointed by the *imām*. He was opposed by some of the numerous sons of Kabīr al Dīn, who were also quarreling among themselves. After Tādj al-Dīn's return from a visit to the *imām*, they accused him of embezzling the tithes for the *imām* and he is said either to have died of the shock or to have committed suicide, probably not very long after his brother's death. His grave is in Djun in Sind. After his death Imām Shāh (q.v.), son of Kabīr al Dīn, vainly tried to gain the allegiance of the Khōdjas in Sind. After a visit to the *imām* in Persia he settled in Gudjarāt, where he succeeded in converting numerous Hindus, mostly of peasant communities. Legend maintains that he converted Maḥmūd Begṛā, sultan of Gudjarāt, who gave his daughter in marriage to Imām Shāh's son Nūr Muḥammad. Imām Shāh died in 925/1513 in Pīr̄ān, a town founded by him, where his shrine is located. Although he is not recognised as a *pīr* by Khōdja tradition and according to some accounts seceded from the Ismāʿīlī community, it appears more likely that the schism occured only under his son and successor Nūr (Nūr) Muḥammad Shāh. The latter at an unknown date demanded that the *imām*'s tithe should no longer be sent to Persia but be turned over to himself, claiming that his father Imām Shāh had been the *imām* and that he was his successor. The majority of his followers accepted his orders and came to form the separate Imām-Shāhī community while a minority remained faithful to the Ismāʿīlī *imāms*.

The Khōdja lists of *pīrs* name after the *pīr* Tādj al-Dīn the *Pandyāṭi-i yawāmardī*, a book of religious admonitions attributed to *imām* al-Mustanṣir II, in place of a person. According to tradition, the *imām* decided in view of the dissension in the *pīr*'s family after Tādj al-Dīn's death not to appoint any *pīr*, but instead to send the book as guidance for the faithful. There is, however, reason to assume that the book reached India only around the middle of the 10th/16th century, probably after the Imām Shāhī secession. It may have been sent at that time with a view to easing the leadership crisis resulting from the schism. Only one *pīr* mentioned in some of the lists after the book was active in India, *pīr* Dīdār. He is said to have been sent by the *imām* from Persia to Sind with the mission of stopping the conversion of Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism. He was forced to leave and settled first with some followers from Sind in Navanagar (Djāmnagar) in Gudjarāt. In 1584 he moved to Bhudj where he died in 1593. An important role in reorganising the community and the prayer in ascribed to him.

After the end of the line of *pīrs* the *imāms* came to be represented at the local level in India by *mukhis* and *ḥākims*. This development evidently reflects an attempt of the *imāms* to gain more direct control over the Indian communities. However, some local families of *sayyids*, i.e. descendants of the *pīr* Kabīr al Dīn, retained much influence. Most important among these were the Kadiwals *sayyids* of Sind. Their ancestor, Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh, was active in Kadi around the middle of the 17th century. In Sind the family resided in Rali and after 1780 in Tando Muḥammad Khān. Shrines of early members of the family are located near these two places. Other members are known as authors of extant *ginans*. Two sons of Fāḍil Shāh, *pīr* Mashāykh and Ḥasan *pīr*, played a

major role among the Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. Mashāyikh (d. 1108/1697 in Ahmadābād) actively endeavoured to suppress Hindu practices in the community and cut his allegiance to the Ismā'īlī *imāms*. His extant works espouse strictly Islamic practices and reflect Sunnī and Ithnā 'Asharī tendencies. He is said to have cooperated with Awrangzīb in his wars against the Shī'ī rulers of Bīdjāpūr. His followers later quarrelled whether he was a Sunnī or a Shī'ī. His brother Hasan remained loyal to Ismā'īlism and became the saint of the Nizārī Mōmnas. In addition to his mausoleum in Thanapīpli near Dhōlkāgarh, Khōdjas and Nizārī Mōmnas in 1727 built a shrine in his honour in Ganod in Gudjarāt.

The Khōdjas were active in the commerce between India and East Africa at least since the 17th century, and in the 19th century, especially after the 'Umānī sultan Sayyid Sa'īd transferred his capital in Zanzibar in 1840, they came to settle in large numbers on the island and later in mainland East Africa. The coming of the Āgha Khān [*q.v.*] Hasan 'Alī Shāh to India in 1840 led to an aggravation of earlier conflicts in the Khōdja community about the rights of the *imām*. In 1866 the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in a law suit brought against the Āgha Khān by excommunicated members of the Bārāhnī party fully upheld his rights and authority, and the dissidents definitely separated from the community as Sunnī Khōdjas. Later dissidents seceding in 1877 and 1901, formed Ithnā 'Asharī Khōdja communities in Bombay and East Africa.

For Khōdja religious doctrine, see ISMĀ'ĪLIYYA and SATPANTH.

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(W. MADELUNG)

KHŌDJA EFENDI, Sa'd al-Dīn b. Ḥasan Djān b. Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Isfahānī (1536-99), a famous Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām*, statesman, and historian.

Life. He was born in 943/1536-7 in Istanbul, and died there on 22 Rabī' I 1008/2 October 1599. His grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selīm I after the battle of Čāldirān, had served Selīm I as *lala*, and his father Hasan Djān had been an intimate courtier to the same sultan. Sa'd al-Dīn studied under prominent scholars, entered the *'ulamā'* career and became *asistani* (*müderris*) in the *medrese* Ebu 'l-Su'ūd (see Abu 'l-Su'ūd) at the early age of twenty (963/1555-6). Soon after, he was appointed, with a salary of 30 aspers, to the Murād Pasha *sedrase* in Istanbul. In Shawwāl 972/May-June 1565 he was appointed, "with forty", to the *madrasa* of Yildirim Khān in Bursa, and one year later was promoted to the *khāridj* rank. After another promotion in Dhu'l-Hidjdja 977/May 1570 he rose, in Ramadān 979/January-February 1572, to the rank of professor at one of the eight courtyards (*pāya*) attached to the Fātih Mosque in Istanbul. When the preceptor (*khōdja*) of Prince Murād died, Sa'd al-Dīn was appointed in his place (Muharram 981/May 1573) and sent to Manisa. This was the beginning of a long period of prosperity and influence for Sa'd al-Dīn, who was henceforth known as Khōdja or Khōdja Efendi. When his pupil became sultan as Murād III, he followed him to Istanbul as *khōdja-i sultān* (3 Ramadān 982/22 December 1574). As the sultan's trusted advisor, he soon became influential in politics, even in foreign affairs such as the establishment of relations with England. When Mehemmed III succeeded to the throne in 1595, it was to Sa'd al-Dīn that he was expressly referred to for advice, the decree saying that "consultation (*meshveret*) should be held with Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn in all matters of appointing viziers and religious officials". Although Sa'd al-Dīn, in Murād III's special *medjlis* (*meshveret*, had strongly advised against the 'Long War" with Austria begun in 1593, it was he who backed up the wavering sultan Mehemmed III, especially in the Eğri (Erlau) campaign. In the great *meshveret* on 22 October 1596 it was Sa'd al-Dīn who with his courage carried all with him, prevailing on the timid sultan in stand fast and eventually win the battle of Hač Ovasi (Mezō Keresztes). After this triumph, Sa'd al-Dīn fell into disgrace over the appointment of the next Grand Vizier; on 9 Djumādā II 1005/28 January 1597 his opponents at court brought about his dismissal from the office of preceptor. Expressly ordered to refrain from intervention in state affairs, Sa'd al-Dīn remained in disgrace for 14 months. As soon as he could, in March 1598 the sultan fully rehabilitated Sa'd al-Dīn and raised him, against some resistance, to the office of *shaykh al-Islām*, together with that of sultan's preceptor. This earned him the title *Djāmi' al-Riyāsatayn*. At this time Sa'd al-Dīn took the in efficacy al-Saturdjī Mehmed Pasha as *serdār* on the Hungarian front as an opportunity to state his views: he drew up a memorandum, outwardly directed to the Commander, but obviously meant for his opponents at court and later circulated as a piece of *inshā'* (it was published by Na'īmā in his official history). It voices the sense of impending misfortunes that threatened the Ottomans, and justifies, in the matter of *meshveret*, what Sa'd al-Dīn had done and was considering his duty, not to "meddle" with matters of state, but to render services to it. In 1599 this meant persuading both the sultan and his soldier to pay out of their treasuries the funds needed for the next campaign. After a successful term of office as *muftī*, he died during prayer in the Aya Sofya Mosque.

As an eminent *'ālim*, Sa'd al-Dīn distinguished himself, even more than on his learning, for his practical ability and political far-sightedness. Between 1579 and 1599 the preceptor of two sultans, the hero of Hač Ovasi "was the main voice directing the state's domestic and foreign policies" (H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman empire*, London 1973, 97). When the new Head Astronomer, Takī al-Dīn, had convinced him of the necessity of revising Ulugh Beg's *Tables*, Sa'd al-Dīn at once persuaded the sultan in issue the *fermāns* necessary to establish an observatory in Galata (1577). This project was short-lived; the *shaykh al-Islām* Kādīzāde Ahmed Shems al-Dīn, an enemy of Sa'd al-Dīn, managed to have it destroyed already in 1580 (A. Adnan-Adivar, *Osmanli türklerinde ilim*, Ankara 1943, 84-8; A. Suheyl Ünver, *Istanbul vasıflarım*, Ankara 1969, 35, 51-4, 82-2). But Takī al-Dīn's attachment to Sa'd al-Dīn is apparent in the grateful

dedications to him of several of his astronomical works. The Khōdja attracted writers and younger scholars of growing fame, some of whom worked as his assistants (Nishāndjīzāde, Nādirī) or were his protégés (Lokmānī); even Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, his severest critic, dedicated a book to him. The charge of nepotism and favouritism which was brought against him, especially by ʿĀlī, does perhaps deserve closer inspection within the framework of the times. Of his five sons one died before him; two became *shaykh al-Islām* and two were *kāḍī ʿaskers*; three of his grandsons were *shaykh al-Islām* (Ş. Turan, art *Sa'd ad-Dīn* in *IA*; I. H. Danismend, *Osmanlı devlet erkânı*, 119).

Works. Although he did write poetry, he was essentially a prose writer. He translated Arabic and Persian works into Turkish (see Turan's article in *IA*). His fame as a writer rests on his *Tāḍj al-tawārīkh* begun under Selīm II and dedicated to Murād III in 982/1575. As a carefully written history, based on critical examination of a number of named sources, the work rightfully superseded the older chronicles. It deals with the history of the Ottomans from their beginnings to the death of Selīm I. In it Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn displayed his celebrated powers of eloquence, but he was not showy or pompous, as has sometimes been alleged, indeed, the clarity of his exposition was not lost on contemporaries and later writers. While it is true that his *Tāḍj* abounds in Arabisms and Persianisms, he could often be simplicity itself. Indeed, the contrasts are great and have only been disregarded to some extent because Saʿd al-Dīn is habitually classed among the writers of "ornamented prose". On the many MSS. of the *Tāḍj*, see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 125-6, M. Aktepe, *Hum Sa'daddin Efendi'nin Tâcü't-tevârih'i ve bunun sayılı bakmuda* in *TM* xiii, 106-10; Turan, art. in *IA*; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 105-8. The work was printed in two volumes at Istnobul in 1279/1862. Based on this edition, a modernised version in Latin script by İ. Parmaksızoğlu has begun to appear in 1974. The book found early recognition in the West, and parts of it have been translated, see Babinger, *GOW*, 126. A continuation of the *Tāḍj al-tawārīkh* is Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī's (d. 1025/1616) *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. An abridgement is the first part of Hasan Beg-Zāde's (*q.v.*) *History*. Şolaḳzāde (d. 1067/1657) and Dhīyādīzāde (d. 1208/1794) made extensive use of the *Tāḍj*.

Saʿd al-Dīn's *Selīm-nāme*, a collection of anecdotes based on the recollections of his father Ḥasan Djān, was printed together with the *Tāḍj al-tawārīkh* (ii, 221-401).

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KHODJA ELI [see GEBZE 2(a)].

KHODJAEV (Faizullah Khodja) (1896-1938), Bukhāran revolutionary and nationalist, was born in Bukhārā the son of a wealthy merchant. In 1907 he went with his father to Moscow, where he received a Russian education. In 1913 he joined the so-called Djadīd Muslim reformist movement (see JADĪD), which was opposed to the feudal régime of the Amīr. In 1917 he became a member of the newly formed Young Bukhāran Party and in December left for Tashkent with the avowed object of working for the overthrow of the Amīr. By 1920 he had become leader of the Young Bukhārans. He declared himself in favour of the *Sharīʿa* remaining the basis of the new republic of Bukhārā, at the foundation of which he aimed, but this was, and still is, pronounced a mistake by the Communist Party of Russia. On the final overthrow of the Amīr's régime in September 1920, Khodjaev became a member of the Communist Party and was constituted head of the newly created Peoples' Soviet Republic of Bukhārā. He vigorously opposed the counter revolutionary Basmačī movement led by Enwer Pasha, the Turkish ex-Minister for War. For this and other services to the Bukhāran people, he was awarded in 1922 the Order of the Red Banner. Visiting Berlin in 1922, Khodjaev became active in trying to establish economic relations with European countries. This policy was seen as aiming at the economic independence of Bukhārā and in 1923 incurred the serious disapproval of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party, in the setting up of which Khodjaev had always been opposed. In the same year, however, he took part in the 12th Party Congress in Moscow as delegate of the Bukhāran Communist Party. On the delimitation of the Central Asian Republics in 1924, the greater part of the former khānate of Bukhārā was embodied in the Uzbek SSR, of which Khodjaev was in 1925 appointed President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, a post which he retained until his downfall in 1937, when he was dismissed from office and arrested. He was later indicted on a number of charges which included those of plotting against the Soviet state for the independence of Turkestan, of secretly aiding the Basmačīs, and of being a British agent. While much of the indictment was probably based on fabricated evidence, there is little doubt that, as he himself admitted during the trial, Khodjaev was aiming at the national independence of Turkestan. He insisted, however, that he was not actuated by anti-Russian or anti-Bolshevik feelings. He was executed in 1938. Excluded from the list of other Central Asian personalities posthumously rehabilitated between 1955 and 1957, Khodjaev was not rehabilitated until 1966 on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth. Although he was then said to have made "errors of a nationalist character", he was described as "a prominent revolutionary". The long biographical introduction to the edition of his selected works published in 1970 is wholly laudatory, refers only briefly to his differences with the Party authorities and makes no mention of his downfall, trial and execution.

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(G. E. Wheeler)

KHODJAND [see KHUDJAND].

KHŌĪ, Khūy, Iranian town (population in 1951: 49,000), situated *in long.* 45° 02′ *E.*, *lat.* 38° 32′ *N.*, in the *shahristān* of the same name in the *wilāya* of West Āḏharbaydjān; the Kurdish district of Ḳuṭūr is included in the *shahristān* of Khōī.

The town lies at an elevation of 1040 m./3,444 ft., in a plain known locally as *Khōī buhūrī* ("the Khōī depression"), because all the surrounding areas are of a higher elevation. The mountains surrounding the Khōī plain protect the city from the cold winter winds (the Harāwil range along the Turkish frontier in the north west averages over 11,000 feet), and consequently Khōī has a warmer climate than either Tabrīz or Riḍāʾīyya. Minimum winter temperature is —14° C/6.8 F, summers are very hot with hot southerly winds. The economy of the region is partly pastoral, partly agricultural; crops include grain, pulses, tobacco, apricots and cotton. The region has a mixed population of Sunnīs and Shīʿīs whose first language is either Turkish or Kurdish (the name Khōī is said

to mean "salt" in Kurdish, and certainly salt-mines are still worked in the area) In the *bakhš* of Shāhpūr there are several Christian villages.

In ancient times, Khōī acquired commercial importance by virtue of its location on the silk-route. In Ṣafawid times, the proximity of Khoī to the Ottoman frontier made it a town of great strategic importance; in 920/1514 Shāh Ismāʿīl I suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Ottoman sulṭān Selīm I on the plain of Čāldirān [*q.v.*], some 70 miles north-west of Khōī. In Kādjār times the strategic value of the town continued because of its proximity to the Russian frontier; the ruins of the walls built by General Gardane early in the 13th/19th century at the request of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh are still visible. More recently, Khōī saw fierce fighting between nationalist and royalist forces prior to World War I

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KHOḴAND, Arabic orthography, Khwāḳand, later written Khūḳand (which is given a popular etymology, *khūk* + *kand* = town of the boar), a town in Farghāna [*q.v.*], where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Özbeg kingdom with Khoḳand as capital in the 12th/18th century. The accession of the first ruler of this Mān dynasty, Shāhrukh, was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called Eski Ucda was built by his son, ʿAbd al-Karīm (d 1746). ʿAbd al-Karīm and his nephew and successor Irdāna Bī are several times mentioned in the history of the Atalīḳ Muḥammad Raḥīm, afterwards Khān of Bukhārā (d. 1759, see BUKHĀRĀ), Muḥammad Wafā Karminagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, Asiatic Museum Ms c 581b, especially fols. 93b, 145b). When the Kalmuck empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghāna (1758), Irdāna also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, i (1825), 81 ff. from the *Tse ts'ang yu T'ung K'ien*. Irdāna later was a member of a coalition of Muslim rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], the ruler of Afghanistān, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Aḥmad Shāh in 1763 appeared in Turkestan at the head of an army and occupied the territory between Khoḳand and Tāshkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Ḳarā-Kirgīs was made from Khoḳand, Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 63), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises in other directions. ʿAbd al-Karīm's grandson, Nār Būta Beg (probably reigned 1188-1213/1774 98, cf. L. Zuwin in *Protokoli Turk kruzhka lyubitelyei arkheologii*, xviii, 1914, and Waldow, *ibid.*, xx, 1912 f.), was also nominally under Chinese suzerainty. To the early years of this reign belongs the journey of the Russian sergeant, Filipp Yefremov, who was taken prisoner by the Kirgīs in 1774 and sold to Bukhārā and 1782 returned to Russia via India and England According to his *Travels* (F Yefremov, *Stranstvovaniya v Bukharii, Khivye, Persii w Indii*, St Petersburg 1794, 99 f.), Nārbūta was already yet titled Khān "by the Chinese", was allied with China and at enmity with Bukhārā. No mention is made of prominent buildings in the capital (the Medrese Mīr was built in the reign of Nārbūta), on the other hand, a high pillar (apparently a minaret), said to be over 280 feet high in the market-place in Marghīlān, is described. According to Filipp Nazarov (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Nārbūta's two sons, ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, are the real founders of the state and city of Khoḳand as we later know it The chronology of these reigns (1212-1237/1798-1822) is not sufficiently established, even the year in which ʿĀlim was assassinated and ʿUmar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukhī* (ed. Pantusov, 106) ʿUmar died in the year 1237/1821-2 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, 201, French tr., 124), which here follows another source (the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥakīm Khān), ʿĀlim was not murdered till the spring of 1232 (i.e. 1817, not 1818, as in Nalivkin), on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ orig 185, French tr. 108) puts the building of the *chāhār* mosque of Khoḳand by ʿUmar Khān in 1231/1816. The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarov, who was in Khoḳand in the winter of 1813 14, calls the ruler of Khoḳand Amīr Walīānā (*Zapiski o nyekotorïkh narodakh Sredneyey Azii*", St. Petersburg 1822, 50 ff. This is probably for *Walī al-Niʿmat*, not *Walī Miyānī*, as in Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 45. The ruler at this time was only 25 years of age; this statement can only refer in ʿUmar, not to the much older ʿĀlim, according to ʿAbd al Karīm al-Bukhārī alan (ed. Schefer, 102), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the Khoḳand envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropaviovsk) both took place in the reign of ʿUmar Khān. According to ʿAbd al-Karīm 99, ʿĀlim had already been killed in 1224/1809, which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated Djumādā I, 1225/June 1810 (*Protokoli Turk kruzhka, iyub. arkh.*, iii, 105 f.). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1813.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1213/1798-9, ʿĀlim still regards himself as the representative of an unnamed Khān, later he appears as an independent ruler with the title *Khān* or *Amīr*; after the conquest of Tāshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amīr of Bukhārā. In ʿUmar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarov; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. 170 f.; French tr. 134 f.), the town of Turkistān with the parts of the Kirgīs steppes belonging to it was incorporated to the kingdom of Khoḳand. ʿUmar thereupon took the title of *Amīr al Muslimīn*. There were several wars with Bukhārā regarding the possession of Ura Tübe in the reigns of both ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, and the town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest.

ʿUmar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers, ʿĀlim had made up his mind to break the power of the Özbeg families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of Karātīgin, Darwāz and other lands (*Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, 42 f.). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the religious classes, especially the dervish orders. The historians on this account describe ʿĀlim as a godless tyrant (*fāsiḳ*); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of ʿUmar, who was put on the throne by ʿĀlim's murderers. ʿUmar built the present chief mosque of Khoḳand, which was also used as a *madrasa* and therefore is known as the Madrasa yi Djāmiʿ. ʿUmar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (*takhallus*) of *Amīr*, verses by the Khān himself, his officials

and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) satitled *Madjmūʿat al ghuʿarāʾ* by M. Hartmann in *MSOS*, vii, Westas. Stud., 87 ff. It was probably ʿUmar who founded the town of Shahr-i Khān (west of Andidjān), the great canal, led to it from the Karā Daryā, Shahr i Khān Sāy, completely altered the irrigation of Farghāna.

ʿUmar's son and successor, Madalī (properly Muhammad ʿAlī), was 12 at his accession (according to others 14). During the first half of his reign, the khānate of Khokand reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of Karātegīn, Darwāz, and Kulāb, which now belonged to Bukhārā, were all conquered; to the north-east taxes were levied on the Karā Kirgiz, on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of Kazak Kirgiz, the Khān's representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the Ili [*q.v.*]. The rebellion of Khodja Djahāngīr to Kāshgharia (1826), which received support from Khokand soet with no success; nevertheless, the officers of the Khan were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (*alti shahr*): Aksū, Uch Turfān, Kāshghar, Yangishahr, Yārkand and Khotan. Like Khokand, where one of the largest *madrasas* bears the name of Madalī Khān, Tāshkend attained considerable prosperity, from 1835 the *Beglerbegi* of Tāshkend was given the administration of all the northern provinces of the kingdom, and a memorial of this period is the great Beglerbegi Madrasa. The excavation of the great Khān Harīk canal in the region of Tāshkend also belongs to this period (*Protokoll Turk kruzka, Izvuk arkh*., iii, 275).

In spite of the great extent of his kingdom, the authority of the Khan was not firmly established; his vicious life and cruel rule had aroused general discontent. Nasr Allāh, *amīr* of Bukhārā, is said to have been asked by people in Khokand itself to put an end to his rule. The Khokand army was completely defeated; the capital itself was taken by the enemy (for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom), Madalī was killed while trying to escape (1258/1842). The conquerors were driven out again in the same year and Shīr ʿAlī, a cousin of ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, was placed on the throne; but down to the Russian conquest, domestic peace was never restored for any length of time. The reigns of Shīr ʿAlī (1842-45) and his sons Khudāyār (1845-58 and 1865-73) and Malla (1858-62) and several short-lived rulers were a period of continual confusion and bloody fighting, notably between the Özbegs of the Kipčak tribe and the "Sarts", i.e. the native population. Khudāyār, who was still a minor, was raised to the throne by Musulmān Kul, the chief of the Kipčak, the Kipčak drove the Sarts out of their houses in the capital and took possession of the canals in the country, the Sarts were only allowed the water necessary for their fields on payment of a fixed sum. In 1269/1852 Musulmān Kul was overthrown by Khudāyār and put to death; the land again passed to the Sarts. Mallā then relied on the support of the Kipčak and restored to them the lands taken by the Sarts. All this warfare, internal and external was waged with great ferocity, after Khudāyār's capture of Ura Tübe in 1264/1848, a tower of skulls (*Kelle manār*) was built from the heads of the slain enemy. Banished pretenders usually took refuge to Bukhārā, and taking advantage of these dissensions, the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā Nasr Allāh was able in advance as far as Khudjand [*q.v.*] in 1275/1858.

In spite of all this, the khānate retained its former extent down to the Russian conquest of the later 19th century. Russian forces had been in contact with troops from Khokand since 1850 on the upper Syr Daryā, and in the north-east of the khānate between the Čū and Ili rivers since 1860. All these regions were under the *Beglerbegi* or governor appointed by the Khān for Tāshkend (see above), who was also responsible for the maintenance of agriculture, the governor Mīrzā Ahmad (1853-8) is said to have organised irrigation works from the town of Turkestān or Azret to the Čū valley. In 1864 Tāshkend fought off a Russian attack, and immediately afterwards, a Khokandī force attacked the town of Turkestān, by then Russian-held. Subsequent Russian intervention was facilitated by the conflicting interests of the Iranian townspeople or Sarts and the nomadic Kipčak elements of the rural areas, mentioned above, and also by the discords between the Central Asian khānates. The ruler of Bukhārā Muzaffar al-Dīn b. Nasr Allāh was invited to secure Tāshkend for himself, when that town seemed likely to fall to the Russians, but in 1865 the Russians captured Tāshkend, whereupon the Khān of Bukhārā marched on Khokand, occupying Khudjand and Khokand and forcing Khudāyār of Khokand to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bukhārā. In 1866, as part of the operations against both Khokand and Bukhārā General Romanovski advanced up the Syr Daryā, thereby driving a wedge between the two khānates. After the fall of Khudjand, Khudāyār came to terms and agreed to become a Russian vassal and to pay an indemnity.

Thus began the last phase of the khānate's nominally independent existence. Despite all the internal dissensions and intrigues, the economic condition of the khānate seems to have been prosperous enough, with flourishing local textile, carpet weaving and other crafts, according to a Russian observer in 1867, the town had a population of 80,000, with 25 *madrasa* and several hundred mosques. Traditional Muslim learning was, indeed, far from moribund in all three of the Central Asian khānates in this the last phase of their existence. During this period, several buildings were erected in the town of Khokand, including the palace or *urda* of the Khān, and the *madrasas* of Hākim Āyīn and Sultān Murād Beg, built by the Khān's mother and brother.

Until 1875, it seems to have been the Imperial Russian government's intention to retain the khānate in a similar status to those of Bukhārā and Khīwa. But disturbances within the khānate, and attacks on Russian-held territory, continued, and in 1875 there was a popular rising against Khudāyār Khān led by his kinsman Pūlād Khān, and the former regions of the khānate then annexed by Russia, such as Khudjand and Kuramīnsk, joined the revolt. A Russian invasion inevitably led to the capture of Khokand by General Von Kaufman. The Treaty of Marghilān was made with the new Khān, Nasr al-Dīn b. Khudāyār, by which all the territory of Khokand on the right bank of the Syr Daryā was ceded to Russia. But fighting nevertheless continued in the western part of the khānate, until Russia finally occupied the whole of the khānate, deposed the line of the Mīn Khāns and annexed all their lands to Russia. The imposition of direct rule over the khānate was especially important to Russia at this time, because Khokand's eastern frontier marched with Kāshgharia or Chinese Turkestān, then controlled by the rebel Yaʿkūb Beg [*q.v.*], himself a Khokandī who had fought against the Russians at the capture of Aḳ-Masdjid (Kyzyl-Orda) on the middle Syr Daryā in 1853, and was not surprisingly hostile to Russia. As part of the Governor-Generalship of Russian Turkestān, Khokand now

became an *oblast* under the ancient name of Farghāna. In the 1898 administrative re-organisation, Khokand became a *uezd* of the *oblast* of Farghāna. The town of Khokand itself continued to be the chief town of the region, with 21,636 inhabitants in 1911, but with the newly founded town of New Margh̲ilān, later Skobolev, as the governor's seat.

The Muslim peoples of the former khānate played a major rôle in the anti-Russian rebellions of 1916, when the Imperial government attempted to call up non-Russians for labour service in the war. In the following year, it was the focus of the Muslim movement for the autonomy of Turkestan as the Tsarist régime broke up, and in December 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress met in the town of Khokand and declared the autonomy of Turkestan. Early in 1918, however, the Tashkend Soviet declared the government set up in Khokand under Muṣṭafā Čokayev to be counter-revolutionary, and in February 1918 Red Army forces attacked the town of Khokand, which was defended only by a hastily raised Muslim militia, captured it, and conducted a savage massacre in which several thousands of the inhabitants were killed. After this, Muslim desires for self determination in the region were expressed by the guerilla activities of the Basmačis (*q.v.*).

Under the Soviets, Khokand forms a *rayon* or district of the Fargana *oblast* of the Uzbek SSR. It is now an important centre for light industry, in which silk and linen manufactures are prominent. The palace of Khudāyar is now the town's museum. The population in 1970 was 133,000.

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(W. Barthold + [C. E. Bosworth])

KHOKARS, a powerful hill-tribe inhabiting the Jahlum area in the north-west of the undivided Panjab. The Khokars *were a dominant race* of the province at the time of the first Muslim invasion of the Indian sub-continent, their origins are as shrouded in mystery as those of any other Panjabi tribe, but that they were originally Hindus seems hardly open to question.

The earliest mention of the Khokars occurs in Ḥasan Niẓāmī's *Tāj al-maʾāṯir* which refers to an insurrection of the *tribe* under their chiefs named Bakan and Sarki. The next contemporary chronicle to contain a reference to the Khokars is Minhādj al-Sirādj's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, which says that they were encouraged by Malik Khusraw, the last Ghaznawid ruler of Lāhawr, to rise against their Djammā overlords. History also records a military contact near Lāhawr between the Khokars and a force of the fugitive Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmī in 620/1223.

Extending their sway beyond their traditional stronghold in the country between the Jehlum and the Chenab, the Khokars held a considerable area east of the Beas. In 647/1250 they were masters of most of the upper part of the Panjab, but they are no more heard of until the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluk when they again created disturbance. Yaḥyā Sirhindī's *Taʾrīḫ-i Mubārakshāhī* describes the seizure of Lāhawr in 797/1394 by the Khokar chief Shaykhā and his long standing feud with Sārang Khān, governor of Dipalpur, resulting in the former's defeat.

The Khokars played a significant rôle in offering resistance to the invading hordes of Timūr in India. After Shaykhā's arrest by Timūr in 801/1398, the Khokars disappear from history, but his son Djasrat, who escaped from Samarkand, whither Timūr had taken him as a prisoner, emerges later in 823/1420 as a force to reckon with. For more than twenty years, this indefatigable Khokar warrior proved to be the cause of constant worry to the Sultans of Dihlī. In 845/1441, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh conferred Dipālpur and Lāhawr on Bahlūl Lōdī and charged him to chastise Djasrat, but the wily Khokar came to terms with Bahlūl and urged him to oust the Sayyids and occupy Dihlī. However, Djasrat was murdered in 846/1442 by his queen, a daughter of Bhim Deo, Rādjā of Djammū, because her father had been put to death by him. After Djasrat, the Khokars were left leaderless, and coupled with the rise of the Lōdī power in the Panjab, the Khokar ambitions finally came to nought.

Scholars and historians have often confused the Khokars with the Gakhkars, a totally distinct tribe, settled in the same province. Firishta in all probability means Khokars when he describes the Gakkhars as a race of wild barbarians, devoid of religion or morality, practising polyandry and female infanticide. Similarly, in his article, *A history of the Gakkhars*, in *JASB*, xl/1 (1871), I. G. Delmerick has attributed the achievements of the Khokars to the Gakkhars. As a matter of fact, the Khokars were spread all over the central districts of the Panjab centuries before the Gakkhars acquired a foothold in the Salt Range, to which they remained traditionally confined (cf. H. A. Rose, *The Khokars and the Gakkhars in the Punjab history*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxvi (1907), 1-9).

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KHOMAYR (see KUMAYR).

KHOSRAW (see KHOSREW, KHUSRAW, KISRĀ).

KHOSREW BEG, sanḍjaḳ beg of Bosnia, was born in Serez (Macedonia) in 885/1480. His mother, the princess Selḍjūḳ, was a daughter of Sultan Bāyazīd II (*q.v.*), his father Ferhād being a South Slav

from Herzegovina (C. Truhelka has shown that "Redivoj, the brother of the Sultan's son-in-law", to whom the people of Ragusa [q.v.] sent gifts, was Ferhād's brother). Taking part in Sultan Süleymān's campaign against Belgrade (927/1521), Khosrew Beg was appointed *sanǧaḳ beg* of Bosnia on 13 Shawwāl/ 25 September of the same year, a fortnight after the conquest of the city. Having stayed four years in Sarajevo, he was removed from office because he failed at the siege of Yayče. Some six months later he returned to his post, which he kept until he died, over sixty years old, in 948/1541, except for an interruption of a few years (1533-6), during which he was at Belgrade *sanǧaḳ beg* of Semendria.

Distinguishing himself by his successful campaign, Khosrew Beg was nick-named *Ghāzī*; even today he is well known among the Bosnian Muslims by the name of *Gari Husrev-beg*. Due to his military activities, Turkish power spread widely in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (Obrovač, Yayčal, Banjaluka, Požega, Kliš, Gorjan).

His campaign brought Khosrew Beg great riches which he spent on enlarging Sarajevo. During his governorship, the city grew into an important centre. Three charters of foundation (*waḳfiyya*) attest his activities: two (938/1531 and 944/1537) for the Khosrew Beg mosque (*Begova džamija*) next to which was erected the mausoleum (*türba*) in which he was buried, and one (943/1537) for the *Kuršumlija medrese*. The *Begova džamija* is one of the most outstanding specimens of Islamic architecture in Yugoslavia, and an imposing monument of the Turkish period in Sarajevo. The *waḳf* founded by Khosrew Beg has been of great importance for the city of Sarajevo and for the cultural life of the Muslims in Bosnia and Hezergovina in general. Up in the 20th century, many public buildings were erected with its revenues. It still exists, but much property was lost in the 17th/17th century, especially at the great fire in 1697 when Prince Eugene of Savoy made his breakthrough at Sarajevo. In course of time, many estates belonging to the *waḳf* were lost, including recently of the land-reform in Yugoslavia after 1918.

In the charter of foundation of the *medrese*, Khosrew Beg ordered a library to be attached to the school. During the governorship of Topal ʿOthmān Pasha in Bosnia (1861-9), the library was separated from the school, and the books were transferred in 1864. After 1867 books and documents from other libraries and institutions were brought in this library, known as *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka*. In 1963 it held 6,456 Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, and many have been added since. There are also *ca.* 3,500 documents of the Turkish period, 400 charters of foundation and 84 registers (*defter*) of the *ḳāḍī* of Sarajevo.

Other monuments in the town for which Khosrew Beg was responsible include a *ḫānḳāh*, a *ḥammām*, a *bedesten* of 90 stalls and the Tashlī Khān, a caravanserai provided with 60 lodgings.

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(B Djurdjev and J.-L. Bacqué Grammont)

KHOSREW, Mollā, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Mehmed b. Farāmurz b. ʿAlī. According to one statement he was of Turkoman (tribe of Warsak) descent and born in the village of Karǧhān (half way between Siwās and Tokat); according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islām. According in Saʿd al-Dīn his father was of Romaic (*Rūm*) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Taftazānī, Burhān al-Dīn Haydar of Herāt (cf. *Ṭab.*, ai, 82 and Ḥoʿd of-Dīn, *Tāǧ al-tawārīḫ*, ii, 430), and received a teaching post in the Shāh Malik *madrasa* in Adrianople; in 848/1444 he became *ḳāḍī* of Adrianople and later *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumelia. On the death of Khiḍr Beg [q.v.], the first *ḳāḍī* of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time *müderris* at the Aya Sofya. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kurānī [q.v.] being promoted over him, he went to Bursa in 867/1462 and built a *medrese* there. In 874/1469 he returned to Istanbul by command of the Sultān, became *Shaykh al-Islām* and died there in 885/1480. His body was taken in Bursa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Istanbul, which bears his name (cf. Ḥāǧǧ Ḫalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 201; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 87, No. 426).

Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the often annotated *Durar al-ḥukkām fī šarḥ Ġurar al-aḥkām* on the principles of legal practice, written in 877 83/1473-7 (printed at Cairo 1294 and 1305), also a dogmatic work *Mirʾāt al-wuṣūl fī ʿIlm al-uṣūl* (printed at Cairo 1262 and Istanbul 1304). On other works by him, cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 589 ff. and Brockelmann, II, 226-7.

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(F. Babinger)

KHOSREW PASHA, Bosniak (?-1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Bosnian in origin, Khosrew was taken into the palace service and rose to the office of *silāḥdār*. When, in Muharram 1033/ October-November 1623, the dissident *sipāhī* of the bailiffs of the Janissaries demanded the replacement of their *aġha* by someone not of the corps, Khosrew passed out of the *enderūn-i hümāyūn* to become *Yeñiçeri aġhası*.

The state was at this time going through a critical period: the dominance of the Janissaries in internal affairs had reached new heights with the execution of ʿOṯmān II (Rabīʿ I 1031/May 1622); Aḥmed (Meh-

med) Pasha [*q.v.*] was in revolt in Erzurum, and the Safawid Shāh ʿAbbās I was soon to take Baghdād (Rabīʿ I 1033/January 1624). In Shaʿbān 1033/May 1624 Khosrew Agha, an *agha* of the Janissaries, left Istanbul with the *bashlıḳ*u soldiery in the train of the Grand Vizier Çerkes Mehmed Pasha [see MUḤAMMAD PASHA ČARKES], who had been given the command against Abāza Pasha. Khosrew is mentioned as having fought courageously in the victory over Abāza's forces near Keyseri in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1033/ September 1624. When Çerkes Mehmed died in winter quarters in Tokat (Rabīʿ II 1034/January 1625), Khosrew and the *baṣḥdefterdār*, Ḥāfiẓ Pasha, wrote to the capital urging the appointment of the *beglerbegi* of Diyārbekir, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] as his successor, an action Khosrew came to regret on learning that he himself might have been considered for the office. Though he was soon after given the rank of vizier, he is said by Peçewi, then with the army, not in have been able to overcome his disappointment and to have hoped that Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed might fail in the subsequent campaign against Baghdād (Peçewi, *Taʾrīḫ*, ii, 403, 405).

In Ramaḍān 1034/June 1625 Khosrew and the forces which had wintered in Tokat joined the army under Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed to march against Baghdād. The ensuing siege of that city, which lasted for nearly eight months (Ṣafar Shawwāl 1033/November 1625 -July 1626), was unsuccessful, but Khosrew again distinguished himself by his bravery, especially when the Ottomans were near to rout in the third of the battles (Ramaḍān 1035/June 1626) with a relieving force of some 30,000 soldiers under Shāh ʿAbbās himself. (For an undated imperial decree sent to Khosrew during this siege, see Fetḥīān Beg, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 89-90).

Following the failure at Baghdād, both Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha and Khosrew Agha were dismissed (Rabīʿ I 1036/December 1626), though neither was disgraced. Summoned to the capital by the sultan, Murād IV, Khosrew arrived in Raḏjab 1036/March-April 1627 and was made a *ḳubbe* vizier (and thus Pasha). The inability of the new Grand Vizier, Khalīl Pasha, to counter the renewed threat from Abāza Pasha in 1627 led to the former's dismissal. The sultan is said to have placed great trust in Khosrew Pasha's courage and in his ability to control the army (Peçewi, ii, 409), and in the consultation over the choice of a new Grand Vizier the arguments of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Yaḥyā Efendi that it was time to try a new face and that Khosrew's unparalleled reputation for valour made him the best man for the post silenced the other ministers. Because there were viziers senior to him, notably the *bāʾim maḳām* Raḏjab Pasha [*q.v.*], he was not made Grand Vizier immediately but was first appointed governor of Diyārbekir and sent to Izmit, where the imperial seal was delivered to him on 1 Shaʿbān 1037/6 April 1628. In his letter of appointment he was charged first with subduing Abāza Pasha, then with marching against the Ṣafawids, and he was also given wide discretion in the making of appointments and the administration of affairs generally (see Fetḥīān Beg, ii, 90-5, for the *berāt*).

Having made careful preparations for the campaign against Abāza, Khosrew moved towards Tokat. Through harsh measures against wrongdoers and those whom he regarded as having failed in their duty, he succeeded in establishing strict discipline in the army. He reached Tokat on 28 Ramaḍān 1037/ 1 June 1628, where he remained for some seven weeks before a report that Abāza, concerned by desertions from his forces, was seeking aid from Shāh ʿAbbās spurred him to move quickly against Erzurum. His considerable reputation for bravery persuaded increasing numbers of Abāza's followers to desert to him, a tendency which he further encouraged by treating the deserters well. Abāza had laid siege to Hasankale but returned to Erzurum on hearing of Khosrew's advance. At the suggestion of the governor of Hasankale, Khosrew advanced on Erzurum at great speed with a picked force, arriving before Abāza could complete his preparations (29 Dhu ʾl-Ḥijja 1037/30 August 1628). During the siege which followed, Khosrew again encouraged desertions by promises of pardon and employment in the army. Recognising the impossibility of resistance Abāza surrendered on terms on 23 Muḥarram 1038/22 September 1628, and Khosrew thus brought to an end a problem which had bedevilled the state for some six years. A Ṣafawid force coming to Abāza's aid was surprised and defeated by the governor of Kars, its commander, Shamsī Khān, being captured and sent to Khosrew. Having decided not to winter in the field, Khosrew returned to Istanbul with both Abāza and Shamsī Khān in his train and made a triumphal entry into the city on 22 Rabīʿ II/9 December. Abāza, pardoned in accordance with the terms of the surrender, was appointed governor of Bosnia.

Though Khosrew fell ill in the spring of 1629, he recovered and was appointed commander for the campaign to retake Baghdād. He left Üsküdār on 28 Dhu ʾl Kaʿda 1038/9 July 1629 and arrived in Mosul on 1 Djumādā I 1039/17 December 1629. An unusually hard winter, with continuous heavy rains and even snow, caused severe flooding over a large area and created great difficulties for the army. On 13 Djumādā II/28 January 1630 the army left Mosul for Baghdād. Having suffered considerable losses of men and matériel in the crossing of the flooded river Zāb, Khosrew convened a *divān* in which it was decided that to besiege Baghdād in the present conditions was impossible and that the time would be better spent in a pre emptive attack on the ruler of Ardalān [*q.v.*], Khān Aḥmad, who might otherwise threaten their rear. As the army advanced, many of the Kurdish *begs* submitted to Khosrew. Reaching the district of Shahrazūr, Khosrew was persuaded to rebuild the fortress of Gulʿanbar, built by Sulaymān I and subsequently destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās. The work was begun on 1 Shaʿbān 1039/16 March 1630 and took some fifty days to complete. During the stay at Gulʿanbar, Khosrew sent a force to take the fortress of Mihribān, on the road to Hamadhān. The garrison surrendered, but the Ottoman force was then attacked by a Ṣafawid army under the *khān-i khānān*, Zaynal Khān. In the ensuing battle the Ottomans, with some difficulty, won the day (22 Ramaḍān/5 May). Moving further east, the Ottomans sacked the palace of Khān Aḥmed at Ḥasanābād and, on 27 Shawwāl/9 June, reached Hamadhān, which had been evacuated by the Ṣafawids. They had waste the city, and, with the intention of marching on Kazwīn, advanced to Dargazīn, which they also sacked. It was there decided that an attack on Kazwīn would prove both difficult and ultimately pointless and that it was past time to return to the main aim of the campaign, the recovery of Baghdād which was now some sixty stages distant. The army departed from Dargazīn on 10 Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1039/22 June 1630 and marched towards Baghdād, meeting serious resistance only from the ruler of Luristān, sent against them by Shāh Ṣafī, whom they overcame on the plain of Čamčhāl, near Niẖāwand, on 5 Dhu ʾl Ḥijja/24 July. Reaching the environs of Baghdād in early Sepṭam-

ber, Khosrew began on 28 Safar 1040/6 October 1630 what proved to be a fruitless siege of the city. Five days after an unsuccessful full scale assault on 3 Rabīʿ II/9 November it was decided to withdraw. During the course of the siege Khosrew had been persuaded by the local Arabs to garrison the fortress at Hilla, and leaving a sizeable force there, he departed with the army for Mosul, where he arrived on 7 Djumādā/ I/12 December. While the army dispersed for the winter, Khosrew, in ill health, prepared to winter in Mosul.

When the news that the Ottomans had abandoned the siege of Baghdād reached Kurdistan and the Shāh, an army under Khān Aḥmad attacked the Ottoman garrison at Derteneh. The defenders fled to the newly built fortress at Shahrizūr (Gulʿanbar) which was subsequently attacked by a large army under Khān Aḥmad and the Ṣafawid *khān-i khānān*, news of their advance caused the Kurdish begs to switch their allegiance to the Ṣafawids. The garrison at Shahrizūr evacuated the fortress, but subsequently engaged the Kurdish-Ṣafawid army in battle, only to be heavily defeated, three of the Ottoman commanders reached Mosul on 16 Djumādā I/23 December and were put to death by Khosrew. The victors meanwhile destroyed Gulʿanbar. A Ṣafawid army under Shāh Ṣafī then laid siege to Hilla, which they succeeded in taking despite stout resistance. The loss of Shahrizūr and the siege of Hilla persuaded Khosrew to retire to the relative safety of Mārdīn. Having made arrangements for the repair of the fortifications at Mosul, he left on 18 Djumādā II/22 January 1631 and arrived in Mārdīn on the 29th/2 February (For further details of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign from the Ṣafawid side, see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Dhayl-i Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

From Mārdīn a request was sent to the capital for men (in particular a large force of Tatars), money and supplies for another campaign against Baghdād in 1631. In Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1040/June 1631 Khosrew moved to Kochisār, a short distance to the south west of Mārdīn, where he spent the summer months awaiting the arrival of the Tatars, several thousand of whom had set out in the spring, and trying to decide on his course of action. When he finally determined to move towards Mosul (Ṣafar 1041/September 1631), heat, fatigue and disease had so affected the army that it was urged that the campaign be abandoned until the following year. Khosrew had little choice but to agree and retired toward Diyārbekr where he entered winter quarters on 3 Rabīʿ II/29 October.

By this time, however, he had already been replaced as Grand Vizier by Hāfiz Aḥmed Pasha, the decision to do so having been taken in Istanbul on 29 Rabīʿ I 1041/25 October 1631. Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīkh*, iii, 76 f.) lists a number of underlying reasons for his dismissal, chief among them his excessive dependence upon, and consequent currying of favour with, the troublesome elements in the army (*seyhs*), this in turn leading to instances of oppression and malfeasance (see also ii, 441-3 where Naʿīmā gives details of Khosrew's securing the dismissal of a *Yeñiçeri Aġāsı* who had been appointed with specific instructions from the sultan to end the abuses in the enrolment of Janissaries and to prevent improper entries in the registers of the corps). The decisive factor, however, appears to have been his failure to retake Baghdād despite a substantial investment of men and resources. When the news of his dismissal reached Diyārbekr (21 Rabīʿ II/16 November), the army immediately protested, threatening to kill the messenger who had brought the news and urging Khosrew to remain until they could make representations to the capital on his behalf. Khosrew calmed them, however, accepted his dismissal and left Diyārbekr (26 Rabīʿ II/21 November), surrendering the imperial seal in the vicinity of Malaṭya. A recurrence of gout forced him to halt in Tokat, where he was to remain until his death.

Khosrew Pasha's dismissal became the focus of a serious rebellion in the capital, incited, it is said, by the vizier Raḥīb Pasha, who coveted the Grand Vizierate. Those involved were the *sipāhīs* who had been recalled from Diyārbekr for the winter and a number of individual *sorbas* who, having built up their own followings and made themselves virtually independent in various parts of Anadolu and Rūmelī, had agreed to attempt to restore Khosrew to the Grand Vizierate and had converged on the capital. Demanding the deaths of seventeen leading men identified as those who had brought about Khosrew's dismissal, the rebels succeeded in assassinating Hāfiz Aḥmed Pasha, who was replaced by Raḥīb Pasha (19 Raḥīb 1041/10 February 1632; Peçewī, ii, 420, wrongly cites the execution, not the dismissal, of Khosrew as the cause of this rebellion). Deeply angered by these events, Murād IV held Khosrew to be the cause and determined on his execution. Appointing Murtaḍā Pasha to the governorship of Diyārbekr, he charged him secretly with putting Khosrew to death. Despite opposition from the people of Tokat as well as Khosrew's followers, this end was accomplished when Khosrew ordered an end to resistance and accepted his fate. The news of his death, which became public knowledge in the capital on 19 Shaʿbān 1041/11 March 1632, provoked yet another serious rebellion, forming part of the general disorder which obtained until Murād IV was able decisively to assert his authority in June of the same year.

Though Khosrew Pasha is credited in the sources with considerable personal bravery and with taking great pains in the preparation of his campaigns, these qualities are overshadowed by what is regarded as his excessive severity, even bloodthirstiness, to demonstrate which numerous examples are given. On this aspect of his character Naʿīmā remarks: "He had no hesitation in putting to death men whose execution neither the *shar*ʿ nor reason required, who perhaps did not deserve so much as a rebuke" (iii, 77). His success over Abāza Pasha, a considerable achievement, is seen as having made him arrogant and headstrong, qualities which fitted ill with his relative inexperience. In the accounts of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign he is faulted from the military point of view for having allowed himself to be persuaded by the Kurds to rebuild Gulʿanbar and by the Arabs to garrison Hilla, since neither was defensible unless Baghdād were taken, and both projects, though each in a different way, were distractions from that basic aim. In contrast to the generally unfavourable impression of him, and especially of his character, which emerges from the sources, however, one might note the apparently spontaneous protest by the army at his dismissal, the attempt by the people of Tokat to defend him; and, while allowing for the selfish ends of some of those involved, the strong reactions aroused in Istanbul first by his dismissal and then by his execution. These events suggest that he was perhaps, more widely admired, even at the end, than the sources, and particularly Naʿīmā, would lead one to believe.

Bibliography. Kātib Çelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 52, 66, 84, 94; 101 *passim*; Peçewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 401 *passim*; Ṣōlaḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 742 50; Naʿīmā,

Ta'rīkh, Istanbul 1281-3, ii, 263, 320, 343-4, 378-80, 402 3; 419-49 *passim*; iii, 2-103 *passim*; Munadjdjim Bashī, *Idhl*, 663-8; 'Othmānzāde Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-wuzarā'*, 74-6, Feridūn Beg, *Munshe'āt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264, i, ii, 87-96; Murtaḍā Naẓmīzāde, *Gulshan-i khulafā'*, Istanbul 1143, 74 ff.; *Relation de ce qui s'est passé entre les armées du Grand Seigneur et du Roy de Perse depuis la fin de l'année 1629 jusqu'a présent*, *ibi est descrit le troisiesme siège de Babylone* Paris 1632; *IA*, art *Hüsrev Paşa* (H. Inalcik) (H İNALCIK - R. C. REPP)

KHOSREW PASHA, DEVĀNE OR DELI, Ottoman governor and vizier, and elder brother of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] He was a Janissary of Bosnian origin, but became a deserter at the outset of his career, and for several years lived an adventurous life, as evoked by 'Ālī in his *Kunh al-akhbār* He returned to grace at an unknown date, and then became food taster (*ṭashnigīr*) at the Palace, intendant of the corps of guards (*bostandjī*) and then equerry to the sultan. His conduct during the Čaldıran campaign gained him the governorship (*beglerbegīlik*) of Karamān on 25 August 1514. He took part in the conquest of Diyārbakr in 1515, as the Egyptian campaign of 1516-17, and in the suppression of the Kızılbash revolt of Shāh Welī in 1520 and that of Djānbirdī Ghazālī [*q.v.*] in the following year

At the beginning of 1521 he became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia, and then of Diyārbakr at the death at the end of that same year of Dhu 'l-Ḳadr Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], he was to remain for ten years in this post at Āmed, with responsibility for watching over the security of the frontiers with Ṣafawid Persia and for consolidating Ottoman authority in the Kurdish principalities which had recently rallied to the Porte. During the winter of 1531-2, his disputes with Ulama Pasha, a Ṣafawid refugee who had been made commander-in-chief of the troops in eastern Anatolia and was at that time in favour with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, led to his dismissal. In 1532 he became governor of Anatolia for a second time, and took part in the "German" campaign of that same year. Traces is then lost of him until he turns up as *sandjak beg* of Aleppo and then *beglerbeg* of Damascus in 1534, and charged with various military duties during the "campaign of the two Irāḳs". Whilst the Ottomans army was wintering at Baghdād in 1534-5, the sultan nominated him as *beglerbeg* of Egypt in place of Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*].

Khosrew Pasha's brief tenure of office in Cairo (February 1535-December 1536) was marked by such an enormous increase in the revenues from Egypt (*irsāliyya* [*q.v.*]) that the Porte had suspicions about the legality of the means used to collect it. A commission of enquiry was unable to prove his guilt, but he was nevertheless dismissed from his office. In fact, the evidence on his administration in Diyārbakr and in Egypt reveals a brutal, largely unscrupulous and highly mendacious official, but also a remarkably efficient one. The Ottoman chroniclers of Egypt (Yūsuf, Meḥmed b. Yūsuf al-Khallāk and 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān) stress moreover the unusual prosperity and security which the land enjoyed under his rule.

He was replaced at Cairo by the powerful vizier Khādim Süleymān Pasha, whose previous ten years' tenure of the governorship he had endeavoured to denigrate in the eyes of the Porte, evoking in Khādim Süleymān Pasha a tenacious hatred against him. For the third time, Khosrew Pasha became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia at the beginning of 1537, and then of Rumelia in June 1538. His services during his tenure of these offices (the Moldavian campaign of 1538 and the capture of Castelnovum in 1539) led the sultan to appoint him as fourth vizier in 1541. Khādim Süleymān Pasha being Grand Vizier and Rustem Pasha [*q.v.*] second vizier. It seems very probable that the latter's ambitions were the cause of the ruin of the other two. As the sultan's son-in-law and enjoying the support of his influential mother-in law Khurrem Sultān, Rüstem was able to rouse against each other very skilfully the old enemies Khādim Süleymān and Khosrew to such a way that they came to blows in the sultan's presence in 1544 and were both deprived of office for this affair. Rüstem Pasha thus became Grand Vizier. In despair at having lost his offices and powers, Khosrew Pasha allowed himself to starve to death in this year, one of the very rare cases of suicide amongst Ottoman officials of this period

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(J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT)

KHOSREW PASHA, MEḤMED (?-1272/1855), Ottoman Grand Vizier, educated in the Palace and raised to the post of head *čuḳhadār* on the accession of Selīm III [*q.v.*] in 1203/1789. He entered the service of Küčük Hüseyn Pasha, a protagonist of military and naval reform, who became Admiral (*Kapudan-i deryā*) in 1206/1792. In 1215/1800 Khosrew sailed with the fleet to Egypt, where he commanded a force of 6,000 and co-operated with the British in the recapture of Rashīd and the defeat of French forces. In recognition of his services he was soon afterwards appointed *wālī* of Egypt.

In Egypt he attempted to establish the *niẓām i djedīd* [*q.v.*] army and disband the irregular *bashī bozuḳ* troops imported from Rumelia for the war against the French. When he attempted to stop their pay, the *bashī bozuḳ* forces rose in revolt and defeated Khosrew's own troops. Then Ṭāhir Pasha at tacked Khosrew, forcing him to withdraw to Damiet ta and declared himself *wālī* of Egypt Shortly after wards, Ṭāhir was murdered, leaving Muḥammad 'Alī [*q.v.*] and the Mamlūks real masters of Egypt. In Rabī' al Awwal 1218/July 1803, the Mamlūks defeated Khosrew near Damietta and threw him into prison. On his release by Muḥammad 'Alī 8 months later, he was removed from the governorship of Egypt.

His next appointment was as *wālī* of Diyārbekir (1218-19/1803 4), followed by various governorships in Rumelia. He was active in the Russo-Turkish war which broke out in 1221/1806 as *wālī* of Silistra and military commander on the Danube front. In recognition of his services, he was appointed *Kapudan-i deryā* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1225/January 1811 and commanded the Ottomen fleet in the Black Sea until the conclusion of a peace in Ramaḍān 1227/September 1812. He was dismissed in 1233/1818, and afterwards served in a number of provincial governorships. As *wālī* of Erzurum he was appointed military commander (*ser'askar*) in the east, with instructions to pacify rebellious Kurdish tribes whose activities had led to a clash with Persia. However, his mishandling of the affair led to a rebellion by the former *mutasarrif* of Bāyezīd, while the Persians, taking advantage of the situation, captured Bāyezīd, Erdjīsh and Bitlis. The Porte transferred him to the governorship of Trabzon, and in Ṣafar 1237/September 1821 appointed in his place the former Grand Vizier Meḥmed Emīn Ra'ūf Pasha.

With the outbreak of rebellion in the Morea, Khosrew Pasha was again appointed *Kapudan-i deryā* (Rabī' al-Ākhir 1238/December 1822) and detailed to

pursue the rebels in the Aegean. For this purpose, he constructed a fleet of shallow draught vessels, suitable for pursuit in shallow waters, and attempted to cut off sea communications between Morea and the islands, at the same time victualling Ottoman troops on the Greek mainland. However, during the siege of Miseolonghi (1240 s/1825-6), rivalry often broke out between Khosrew and Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.], who was commanding an Egyptian force on the Sultan's behalf. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad ʿAlī sought Khosrew's dismissal from the admiralty and were eventually successful. He was instead appointed *wālī* of Anadolu (Anatolia).

Khosrew, however, retained the confidence of Maḥmūd II, who recognised him as a protagonist of military reforms and as being instrumental in introducing European tactics to the fleet. In 1242/1827 the Sultan therefore appointed him *ser'asker* of the newly formed army, the *ʿasākir-i manṣūre-yi muḥammediyye*, where he also began to introduce European tactics and training techniques. His influence in the capital increased after the outbreak of war with Russia in 1243/1828, when he engineered the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Selīm Mehmed Pasha and the appointment of his own former slave and nominee, Reshīd Mehmed Pasha. He also secured a commandership on the front for his former slave Khalīl Rif'at Pasha, and the dismissal of the *ser'asker* on the Russian front, Agha Ḥüseyn Pasha. Meanwhile, the Russians crossed the Balkans and advanced on Edirne. Khosrew advised the Sultan to seek a peace, at the same time taking extraordinary measures to prevent panic in Istanbul, to the extent even of executing certain advocates of surrender. This, and the unpopularity of his westernising measures in the army, almost provoked a popular revolt. He was present at the peace negotiations in the presence of the French, English and Prussian ambassadors. His influence was now at a height, and he used it to remove his rivals from positions in the government replacing them with his own slaves, and to have the former Grand Vizier, Selīm Mehmed Pasha, dismissed from the governorship of Rumelia.

During the Russo-Turkish war, Muḥammad ʿAlī had made excessive demands to the Sultan and was now threatening ʿAkkā. At this point, Maḥmūd placed the matter in the hands of Khosrew who, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1247/April 1832 appointed Agha Ḥüseyn commander of the army in Anatolia. After Muḥammad ʿAlī's victory and advance on Istanbul, Khosrew invited military instructors from Europe, among them the famous Von Moltke. During this period he had the complete confidence of the Sultan, and his responsibility for the security of the capital and the fact that he advanced many of his numerous personal slaves to positions in the government, further increased his influence. By marrying his own men to the Sultan's daughters, he insinuated his way into Palace circles.

However, in Shawwāl 1252/January 1837, two of his own protégés, Khalīl and Saʿīd Pashas, secured his dismissal as *ser'asker*, while in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1253/June 1837, his great rival Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha became Foreign Minister. Khosrew was retired on a pension. His absence from public affairs did not last long. In Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1254/March 1838, he received the chairmanship of the Reform Committee (*meǧlis-i wālā*) and presided over the councils which met in his villa to discuss the Egyptian question.

A further deterioration of affairs in Egypt and the death of Maḥmūd II in 1255/1839 caused a grave crisis in the empire. It was at this juncture that Khosrew literally seized power, by grabbing the Imperial Seal from the Grand Vizier, Raʾūf Pasha, during the funeral of Maḥmūd II, and declaring himself Grand Vizier. This led to the defection of his rival, the *Ḳapudan-i deryā*, Aḥmed Fevzī Pasha, who sailed with the fleet to Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, with the intention of returning with Egyptian troops and deposing Khosrew. Muḥammad ʿAlī for his part, demanded Egypt and Syria for himself and the dismissal of Khosrew. Neither plan succeeded. Khosrew remained in his post, but the Foreign Minister, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, seized the initiative and, partly no doubt to win the sympathies of the European powers over the Egyptian question, had the famous *Ḫaṭṭ-i Sherīf* of Gülḫāne proclaimed, marking the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era. Khosrew was still Grand Vizier, but Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha now had the sympathies of the Palace and was able to press for his dismissal and the reinstatement of Raʾūf Pasha. He then had Khosrew tried and convicted for bribery by the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*meǧlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*) and exiled in Djumādā 'l-Ūlā 1256/July 1840 to Tekirdaǧ.

In the following year, the Sultan ʿAbd al-Meǧīd permitted his return to Istanbul, where a change in government permitted his return to power. In Ṣafar 1262/January 1846, he was appointed *ser'asker*, in which position he removed his predecessor Riḍā' Pasha's nominees and replaced them with his own men. During this period of office, he opened the Military School at Ḳūčūḳ Taḳsīm. However, later in the same year, he was removed from office, and the new Grand Vizier, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, took care to prevent his further rise to power. He died, at the age of more than ninety, on 13 Djumādā 'l-Āḫira 1271/5 March 1855.

Bibliography see article *Husrev Paşa* by Halil Inalcik in *IA*, of which the foregoing is a summary. (Ed.)

KHŌST, Arabic spellings Ḫwast or Ḫwāst, the name of various places in Afghānistān. The most likely etymology for the name is that given by G. Morgenstierne in his *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo 1928, 98: that it is an Iranised form **Hwastu*, of Skr *sumastu-* "good site" (which became the place-name Swat [q.v.] in the North-West frontier region of Pakistan).

The mediæval Arabic and Persian geographers mention what appear to be two places of this name in northern Afghānistān. Those of the 4th/10th century mention Khasht as a town on the upper Herī Rūd on the borders of Ghūr and Gharčistān (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 457, tr. 445, and Muḳaddasī, 349), and this is apparently the Khōst mentioned three centuries or so later by Ḳazwīnī, *Āṯār al-bilād* ed. Wustenfeld, 244, as a town of Ghūr; see Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 420, 427.

Distinct from this seems to be the Khōst further north near Andarāb and on the borders of Badaḫshān, the district which the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* [and of the 4th/10th century] refers to as (?) Yūn, cf. tr. Minorsky, 109, 340-1, perhaps the Khuwāsht of Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 358, and the Kʿuast of to of Huan Tsang, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 245. It is frequently referred to in Timūrid and early Mughal times. In 884/1479 we hear of one Mīr ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs being given the governorship of Khōst, "one of the most important districts in Badaḫshān and Ḳunduz" (*Taʾrīḫ-i Rašīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 103). One of Bābur's wives, Māhum, apparently came from here, his daughter Gul-rang was born here, and he visited it on various occasions, see the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, index

In modern times, the most important region bearing the name Khōst is that comprised within the modern Afghan province of Paktia, lying to the south of the Safīd-Kōh range in the basin of the Kurram, an affluent of the Kurrem river which drains eastwards to the Indus; hence the ethnic and tribal connections of Khōst with the regions of Kurram, Kohat and northern Waziristan on the modern Pakistani side of the Durand Line form always been close. Khōst now forms an important forestry region of Afghānistān, and in the southern, sub-tropical zone, dates, citrus fruits, etc. are grown, recent Afghan governments have made considerable agricultural investment here (see J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 101, 105, *and* J. C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan*, London 1967, 119-20). In the 1920s, Khōst was the epicentre of a conservative, tradition-alist Pathan rebellion against the tentative reforms of King Amān Allāh, which seriously weakened the ruler's position and damaged the economic health of the country (March 1924-January 1925) (see W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan*², London 1967, 204 f.; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan, politics of reform and modernization, 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 282 f., L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 449, 453, 479).

Finally, the *Imperial gazetteer of India*, II, 138, VI, 306, mentions a Khōst in Balūčistān, the site of a small coalfield, 35 miles east of Quetta.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHOTAN, a town of the People's Republic of China, in the autonomous region of the Uyghurs. The town, and the territory which depends on its resources as an oasis, lie between the desert of Taklamakhan and the massif of Kuen-lun on the one hand, and the Kara-Kāsh and Yōrūng-Kash rivers on the other. The kingdom of Khotan became known to the Chinese world in about 125 B.C., following the mission of Khang Khien, under the name Yu-t'ien. The name represented by this transcription seems to have had an connection with the town of Yotkan. Although numerous archaeological relics have been found at that site, Yotkan cannot correspond to Yu-t'ien. In fact, according to Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, 422, s.v. 'Cotan"), Yu-t'ien corresponds to *Ōdan, with the variant *Ōdon arising from the transcription Yu-tuan given by Hsuan-tsang (*ibid*., 409), the name encountered in the Khotanese texts is just a transcription of the Chinese Yin-t'ien under the form Yīttina, while documents of the 4th century in Kharoshthī script give the form Khotana (L. G. Gercenberg, *Xotanosakskij yazik*, 10). Yotkan is a ruined pre-Islamic cemetery, approximately 8 km. west of the town itself.

In fact, the kingdom of Khotan was not really known to the Chinese until after the conquest of the Tarim basin, carried out by Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), in the years following 110 B.C. and through the re-conquest by the later Hans between 73 B.C. and an 170 A.D. Little is known of the history of the ruling dynasty and the name of the town is always transcribed Yu-t'ien in the Chinese sources. From the latter we learn that the population of the kingdom reached a total of 50,000. All that we can say is that this population spoke a language of Iranian type, which has become known as a result of discoveries made at the beginning of the 20th century and which has been deciphered principally by Lüders, Sten Konow and H. W. Bailey. It now seems that the Khotanese spoke a dialect of the Saka language.

It was in the course of the first centuries A.D. that the kingdom of Khotan received Buddhism. According to the Tibetan tradition, which agrees in some points with the account given by Hsuan-tsang, Buddhism was introduced to Khotan by a Kashmiri monk called Vairocana, during the reign, almost certainly legendary, of king Vijayasambhava (E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, in *Sinica Leidensia*, XI, Leiden 1972, 340-1). This assessment is confirmed by the fact that one of the oldest dated Buddhist monuments is from 269 A.D. (A. Stein, *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*, 1902, 405).

In the 7th century, Hsuan-tsang writes in his *Memoirs* (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, 299): "We arrive in the kingdom of K'iu-sa tan na. (*Note*) In Chinese, this signifies "Breast of the Earth"; it is the forest name used in the region. The local language uses the expression "Kingdom of Hsuan na". The Hiong-nou call it Yu-tsuen, the Hou (Iranians), Ho-tan; the Indians, K'ia tan. Formerly they (the Chinese) called it Yu t'ien, it is an incorrect form". (On this passage, cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 409 ff).

Thus, in the T'ang period, the polite and literary form is "Goutana" or "Gautana", difficult to interpret according to Pelliot, the local language used the expression Xuān nā (Hasana?), this name faithfully rendering the name which appears in the Khotanese texts under the form Hvatāna, Hvamna, and Hvena, the nomads of the north would have pronounced it *Ōdan or *Ōdon, a name which is found much later in Syriac, translated from Persian, in the story "*The History of the Patriarch Mar Yaballaha and the monk Rabban Shāmā*, published by Chabot (Paris 1895, 22), where the latter identifies the town of "Lōtōr" with Khotan. In fact "Lōtōn" is an erroneous form from the Persian original, where the *kāf* has appeared as a result of confusion with the initial *dāl*, whence we deduce the correct form "Odon" proposed by Pelliot fifty years ago, while Budge (*The monks of Kūbilāi Khān*, London 1928, 138) and Montgomery (*The history of Yaballaha III*, New York 1927) have retained the form "Lōtōn". This form appears in the works of Kāshghārī (Brockelmann, 252), with "Odon" and "Khotse". Finally, the Iranians would have pronounced it Ho-tan (Xuān-tsan) which assumes an original *Hwatan precursor of the Khotan of the Muslims, while the Indians would have pronounced it K'ia-tan (*K'iat-tan) which presupposes a form Khatan or Khotan. The land was known to the Tibetans under the name of Li-yul, "land of Li", although they knew the town under the name of Hu-tan, which is just a transcription.

In the T'ang period, the kingdom of Khotan was bounded to the south by the Kuen-luen, while in the east its territory touched that of Kroraina (Niya, Cerčen and the Lob-Nor region), and in the west that of Kāshghar (Khyesa) which stretched from the Pamirs and T'oou-shan to Maralbashi and beyond. The language used throughout the Khotan region was Saka-Khotanese, which was related to the Tadjik vernacular of the Pamirs, of which no ancient evidence has yet been recovered, to the language of Kāshghar in the west and north, of which some traces have been recovered at Tumshuk (the Turkish name of a site whose ancient name has disappeared), and to the east to the language spoken in Kroraina, of which apparently no relics remain.

The kingdom of Khotan at that time had a large population which had, an doubt under the influence of Buddhism, lost all interest in expansion and showed an extreme aversion to matters of war; Hsuan-tsang noted that the Khotanese were remarkable

craftsmen with a considerable taste for literary pursuits, also for music and dance. The region was the centre of a considerable commercial activity, being placed on the southern branch of the Silk Route, which was in use throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages; through the Khotanese texts we possess accounts of the travels of officials to Kashmir and Kansu, which permit us to gain an acquaintance with the geography of Central Asia, in particular the names of towns, thus we find that Käshghar is Kyesa, Niya is Niña, Čerčen is Yaṣbaḍä parrūṃ, Urumči is Yirrūmcina, Turfan is Ttuṛyaṇä, Leou-lan is Kaurata, Yumen kouan is Kviyikye, etc

The dynasty of the kings of Khotan in the T'ang period (7th-10th centuries), the family name of which was apparently Vija (preferable from Viśa) was in existence before that time for the history of the Sui (§ 3, 5b) mentions according to Pelliot (*op. laud.*, 429) a king called Vijayavikrama, under the T'ang, the dynasty is known to us from a list which can be reconstructed from the texts of the History of the T'ang and which can be partially cross-checked by reference to the names preserved in the Khotanese texts; a certain number contained in the latter cannot be placed with certainty in this list: these are. Viṣanakhan, Viṣakirti, Viṣavikrama and Viṣasagrama. On the other hand, there are some that can be dated, in particular the last kings of the dynasty, Viṣasambhkhava (912-966), Viṣasura (967-977) and Viṣadarma (978-982) (Gercenberg, *op. cit.*, 12). It was shortly afterwards that the kingdom of Khotan was conquered by recently-converted Muslim Turks; the kingdom of Khotan was henceforward to be one of the collection of Turkish states in the region which constituted Turkestan.

The town of Khotan, unlike Käshghar and the northern part of the Tarim basin, is not mentioned by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* in the description of the Turkish tribes (§ 23, p. 96) in the section of the Yaghmā of western Turkestan, but in that of China (§ 9, p. 85). As the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* dates from the year 372/982-3, it may be supposed that in about the year 980, when king Viṣadarma was alive, Khotan and its territory formed a sort of enclave between the region of Käshghar which was occupied by the descendants of Satuk Boghrā Khān (died 344/955-6) and the territories belonging to China and Tibet; the king of Khotan, according to this source (p. 85), styled himself "Ruler of the Turks and the Tibetans" (*Ṣāḥib al-Turk wa 'l-Tubbat*)

A little later, Gardīzī, who was writing after 432/1040, reports (according to Barthold, *Otčet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 94) that even the town of Kai (?), situated at fifteen days' march from Khotan in the direction of China, was under the domination of Toghuzghuz Turks (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 255). According to Gardīzī, the inhabitants of Khotan were Buddhists, but he mentions a Muslim cemetery to the north of the town (*ibid.*, 255, n. 3), and in the town itself two Christian churches, although no documentary evidence of this has been found. As regards the Muslim world, Gardīzī shows us that in the first half of the 5th/11th century, Muslim proselytism was already actively exercised in Buddhist circles, and it is possible that the implanting of this group was a contributory cause of subsequent events.

At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the *Turkish rulers of Kashghār* had become very powerful (Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 79 *ff.*, particularly 88-90), and had founded the dynasty of the Ḳarakhānids (see ILAK-KHĀNS). The son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn, himself the grandson of Satuk Boghrā Khān, who called himself Kadir Khān Yūsuf and reigned in Käshghar from about 401/1010, decided, for reasons unknown to us, to conquer the territory of Khotan. Seeing that he died in 423/1032 (Ibn al-Athīr, s.a.), it is likely that the conquest of Khotan was accomplished sometime between the years 1013 and 1032, for we possess money struck in his name at Käshghar and at Yarkand from 404/1013-14 onwards (A. Markov, *Inventarnyy katalog*, etc., 192 *ff.*). On the conquests of Khotan, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 281, n. 2.

Later Khotan, like Käshghar, passed under the authority of the Ilek-Khāns (*q.v.*), and subsequently under that of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy (*q.v.*) After these events the crisis arising in Central Asia as a result of the expansion of the Mongol empire led the Khwārazm-Shāh to make an agreement with Küčlüg, who had deposed and expelled his father-in law, the Gür Khān of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy, and a partition of the western sector of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy empire took place, between the two rulers, giving to the Khwārazm Shāh the territory to the east of the Syr Daryā as far as the heights of Kashghar and of Khotan (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 556-7); after his succession to the throne, Küčlüg, who had married the daughter of the Gür-Khān, a Buddhist fanatic undertook a fierce persecution of Islam in the regions under his authority, particularly in Khotan after his agreement with the Khwārazm-Shāhs (*q.v.*) According to Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 65-6, 70-3), Küčlüg persecuted the Muslims cruelly and crucified the *Imām* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khōtānī at the door of his *madrasa* in Khotan. In the time of Ḥaydar Mīrzā (*q.v.*), nothing more was known of this martyr; even his tomb was unknown (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, 218, and ch. xlii). Thus there was no indigenous historical tradition at Khotan, or if there was, the texts have been lost. Arabic and Persian geographical literature provides us with only the most meagre of information; the real situation is misrepresented by al-Samʿānī (f. 189b) and by Yāḳūt, who followed al-Samʿānī in his own writing (ii, 493).

Under the reign of Ögedey, Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 517) reports that "the lands between the banks of the Amū Daryā and the frontiers of Khiṭāy were placed under the orders of the Chief Minister Maḥmūd Yalawač and of his son Masʿūd Beg, those included Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khwārazm and Farghāna", Kashlū al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, tr. J. A Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1977, 94), also writes as follows: "The Kaʾan (Ögedey) placed all the lands of Khiṭāy under (the orders of) Maḥmūd Yalawač, and (the region of) Besh-Balik and Ḳarā Khodjo, with the territory of Uyghuristān, Khotan, Käshghar, Almalik, Ḳayalik, Samarḳand and Bukhārā as far as the banks of the Oxus under (the orders of) Masʿūd Beg, the son of Yalawač". In the remainder of his work, he makes no further mention of Khotan, nevertheless, under the year 1253, Barthold (*za Vorlesungen*, 184) writes as follows: "After the re-establishment of order, the frontiers of his government (sc. of Masʿūd Beg) were extended further to him were subjected Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Käshghar, Djand, Khwārazm and Farghāna". After the death of Mengü (Mongke) in 1259, a conflict arose between Kubilay (*q.v.*) and his younger brother Arik-böge in the course of which a cousin of Arik-böge, the Čaghatayid Alugu, took to himself the entire area entrusted to the authority of Masʿūd Beg; the latter appealed to Arik böge who gave him full authority to dispossess Alugu, but in the course of his mission he

went over to the side of Aliqu who died *ca.* 1266. As Arïq-böga had been eliminated during this period, Kubilay appointed in his place another Čaghatayid, Baraq, who took possession of part of the former possessions of his grandfather Čaghatay, but Baraq was compelled in his turn to submit to Kaydu, grandson of Ögedey, who sought to reconstitute the territory given to him by Čingiz Khan (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 184 f.). Finally, a more or less stable equilibrium was established between Kubilay and Kaydu, so much so that according to a passage of Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 188; ed. Hambis, Paris 1955, 62-3), it is reported that in the 1270s Khotan was under the authority of the Emperor of China, while Yarkand depended on Kaydu.

While Central Asia was the object of partition between great powers, it is nevertheless certain (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 188 ff.) that a number of indigenous dynasties survived as vassals, especially at Khotan. In reference to these last, Barthold mentions some Persian verses of which the date is unknown, which were composed in honour of the sultan of Khotan, Muʾminsh-Tegin, the last words being quoted in Turkish (*zamān bizī ay ṭaḫt kiṣiläd Turk "wasalat ḫayl bilmäkä Muʾminsh Tägin"*. Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195) also mentions the fact that Dhamīl Karāhī, in the appendices (*Mulḥaḳāt*) to his translation of an Arabic dictionary of the 4th/10th century, devotes considerable space to the town of Khotan, giving a brief description and a list of some persons native to the place. Again according to Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195), Muḥammad Ḥaydar (*op. cit.*, tr. Ross, 302) writing in Kāshgharia, distinguished according to his own terms, four classes at Kāshghar and at Khotan, first—*ʿulmān*, the peasantry; second—*laškar*, the army; third—*oymak*, the nomads (who were entitled to a certain quantity of grain, textile goods, etc.); and fourth—the class of the officials and the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Much later, it seems that Khotan shared the fate of other towns in the Tarim basin, in particular of Kāshghar and other towns in the same region; in the 18th century it was a part of the state established by the Khōdjas, who defeated the descendants of Čagha tev, and were compelled to submit to the domination of the Djungar, and later, in *ca.* 1760, to that of the Manchus who eliminated the Djungar. Later still, in the seventh decade of the 19th century, Khotan was obliged to accept temporary domination by Yaʿḳūb Beg and after the death of the latter in 1877 to submit once again to the Manchus. With regard to a historical work completed on 12 Shaʿbān 1312/24 February 1894 in Khotan and dealing with events subsequent to 1280/1863, cf. *Bull. de l'Acad.* (1898), 209, cf. also the chapter on the Khōdjas of Khotan in *Taʾrīḫ i emeyve*, ed. Pantusov, 181 ff. The principal source for the history of this region is provided by reference in the Chinese dynastic histories and in other works concerning the autonomous region of the Uyghurs itself, which have appeared in Chinese from the 18th century to the present day. It is there that the documentation concerning the town of Khotan is found.

The town itself, like all those in the Tarim basin, has known a variety of activities, but the silk industry which has continued from the Han period to the present day is the principal activity. At the time of writing, the industrialisation of the region is being developed by the People's Republic of China, although it is not possible to assess what progress is being made, it seems that the Chinese government is concentrating them on the search for raw materials. There is no certainty about the population figures; according to Kornilov, *Kashgaria*, Tashkent 1909, 273, the population amounted to only 15,000; according to E. and P. Sykes, *Through Deserts and oases of Central Asia*, London 1920, 216, the population was 50,000.

Bibliography In addition to works cited in the article, see especially E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 47 ff., 246 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch Turkestan*, Halle 1908, 93 ff.; on the state of the Khōdjas and their connections with Khotan, cf. *idem*, *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905, 195 ff. and the index. These sources may be completed by numerous works in Chinese.

(L. Hambis)

KHOTIN (in Ottoman Turkish usage **Khōtīn**, in modern Turkish and in Romanian, **Hotin**; Polish **Chocim** and variants, German **Hwthyn** (15th/century), **Chotim**, **Chotin**, **Chotczyn**, etc., Italian (18th/century) **Cocino** and other forms): a fortress and town on the right (formerly Moldavian) bank of the Dnestr (Turla), 28 km. south of Kamenets Podolsk [Kamanīče (see KAMANIČA)]. Khotin is now (since the end of World War II) in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and forms the administrative centre of the *rayon* of the same name in the *oblast* of Černovits (Cernauti, Czernowitz).

Khotin, which occupied an easily-defensible site at the point where the important mediaeval trade route from the Baltic to Constantinople crossed the Dnestr, was from the mid-14th to the late 18th century a military stronghold and commercial entrepôt of some importance. The region of Khotin, which was, in the 16th and 17th centuries, disputed between Poland and Moldavia, had attracted Ottoman attention as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II, and in the 16th century Muslim merchants frequented the route via Khotin to Poland. Khotin was besieged unsuccessfully by ʿOṯmān II in 1030/1621; thereafter it was restored to Moldavian control, and is so described by Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited it in the retinue of Melek Aḥmed Paša in 1058 (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 124-5). In 1064/1673 Khotin was occupied by the Poles, but it was regained by the Ottomans in the following campaign season (Silaḥdār, *Taʾrīḫ*, Istanbul 1928, i, 618 ff.). The Ottoman occupation of Podolia in 1083/1672 carried the frontiers of the Empire beyond the Dnestr, but with the retrocession to Poland of Podolia, and the evacuation of Kamanīča in 1120/1699, Khotin became the most important Ottoman fortress in the region of the upper Dnestr, thus importance was to increase in the course of the 18th century, as the conflict with Russia became ever more acute.

Khotin was occupied by the Russians in 1713; on its return to the Ottomans in 1125/1714, the old fortifications were rebuilt and increased in height by more than a half, as part of a general strengthening and rebuilding programme, which was supervised by a special commission sent from Istanbul. The contemporary Moldavian historian Cantemir described the Khotin of this period as the most elegant and well-fortified town of Moldavia, praise which is echoed in an Ottoman description of the town written at the same time. Also in 1125/1714, Khotin and its surrounding districts were removed from the jurisdiction of Moldavia and reorganised as an *eyālet* as part of the strengthened Ottoman frontier defences along the right bank of the Dnestr, becoming, in the words of a German observer, "die einzige Vormauer der Moldau".

The 18th century stronghold of Khotin consisted of the mediaeval *ič ḳal'e* and the more extensive new outer works encircling the old fortress on three sides.

In the outer walls were four gates: their names are variously given as the Istanbul (or Jassy) gate, the Temeshvar gate, the Water Gate and the Ukraine or Bender gate. Within the outer fortress were two baths, two principal mosques and, near the Istanbul gate, a *kenesse*. Inside the Istanbul gate, on the right, lay the barracks of the artillery and the supply-train, the residences of their aghas, and the headquarters of the *defterdār*. On the left was a large and well-constructed reserve granary. Further towards the *iç hal'e* were situated another bath, the office of the *yeniçeri aghasi*, and the barracks of the Janissaries of the fortress. Higher up, towards the old fortress, was situated the *serāy* of the *pasha* of Khotin, and the mosque of the *sultān sultan*. Khotin was, however, yet again occupied several times by Russian forces in the course of the 18th century: in 1152/1739 (by Münnich) and again in 1182/1769 (by Galitsin). In 1788 Khotin was occupied by an Austrian force, later, after the conclusion of the Peace of Jassy, Khotin was restored for the last time to Ottoman rule. After 1806 it remained in Russian hands, except for the period 1918-47 when the territories south of the Dnestr formed part of Romania.

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al-KHUBAR, a town on Saudi Arabia's Persian Gulf coast (26° 17' N, 50° 12' 45" E). The name is most likely a collectival plural derived from the word *khubra*, meaning "a small pond formed by rain".

The first permanent settlers on the spot were members of the tribe of al-Dawāsir who landed in 1341/ 1923 after fleeing the island of al-Bahrayn in fear of British reprisal following clashes with Shī'ī elements. 'Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Dawasirī is generally regarded as the first settler of al-Khubar. Other tribesmen who landed at nearby al-Dammām a few weeks earlier subsequently moved to al-Khubar. Prominent among the early inhabitants were Muḥammad b. Rāshid and his brother 'Īsā, Ḥusayn Rū Sūnayb, Khālid b. Mībar and his brother Nāṣir, Sa'd b. Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ b. Dhami'a (author's father). The settlers built huts of palm fronds along the sea shore. For two decades the village depended on small-scale pearling and fishing for its survival. No more than 60 boats left the village each pearling season, the crews came partly from the village, but mostly from nearby oases. In the early 1930s 'Īsā b. Aḥmad returned to al-Bahrayn with a group of the villagers, mostly crew members of his pearling fleet.

Al-Khubar remained a small fishing and pearling village covering an area of less than 0.5 km² until 1935. In that year the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (later the Arabian American Oil Company) built a pier at al-Khubar to support the early oil well-drilling at nearby al-Ẓahrān. In 1357/1938 a storage and shipping terminal was built at al-Khubar, and barges started carrying Saudi Arabian oil to the refinery of the Bahrain Petroleum Company (Bapco); this marked the beginning of the export of Saudi Arabian oil. The importance of al-Khubar port has diminished since 1369/1950, when a deep-water pier began operating in al-Dammām, the al-Khubar harbour facilities now accommodate only fishing fleets and coastal ships. The city itself, however, now covering an area of 8 km², thrives as one of the most active business centres on the Kingdom's Gulf coast, second only to al-Dammām. Commercial enterprises that were given their original impetus by the oil industry now flourish independently, supported by both the public and private sectors of the economy. With modern office buildings and living quarters, with stores displaying merchandise from all over the world, and with substantial job opportunity, al-Khubar attracts foreign communities of various nationalities.

(ʿABDALLAH S. JUM'AH)

KHUBAYB b. 'Adī al-Anṣārī, one of the first martyrs of Islām. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows. After the battle of Uḥud (*q.v.*) (on the chronology of which, see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was discovered and surrounded between Mecca and 'Usfān by 100 (or 200) Lihyānīs who belonged to the Hudhayl. The leader of the hard-pressed little band, 'Āṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (according to others, the leader was al-Marthad), proudly refused to yield. Six and six others were killed whereupon Khubayb, Zaid b. al-Dathina and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. Khubayb fell into the hands of the Banū 'l-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf, who on the expiry of the sacred period, took him out of the Ḥaram to al-Tan'īm, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (*sahamān*) in revenge for al-Ḥārith whom Khubayb had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, Khubayb asked for then to perform two *rakaʿāt*, which became a *sunna* for martyrs, comparable to the last prayer of Christian martyrs. Khubayb is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body to Allāh was able to bestow for blessing even upon his severed members. Kunāsī formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sufyān hurriedly pressed the little Mu'āwiya to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Sa'īd b. 'Āmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death 'Āṣim prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened.

His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wākidī, 155, however, Muḥammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Biʾr Maʿūna; and according to Ibn Hishām, 642, it was not ʿĀṣim, but Khubayb, who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muḥammad to be informed. According to al-Zuhrī and ʿUrwa (see the latter's brief account in al-Wākidī, 156) the ten men were sent out as a *sarīya* to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishām, 638, al-Wākidī, 157 and Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 39 40, iii/2, 33 4, ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like that which has been woven round the drama of Biʾr Maʿūna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wākidī, 227, tells us under the year 628 that Khubayb was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans. The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud, as ʿĀṣim fought there. In the official *Sīra*, the incident is recorded under the name *Yawm al-Raḳīʿ* and put by Ibn Hishām in the year 3 and by al-Wākidī in the year 4.

The figure of the protomartyr Khubayb lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al Ḥārith (according to others Māwiya, a client of Ḥudjayr b. Abī Ihāb), in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. When the martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when Khubayb noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have grown in Ibn Hishām to a whole poem. The same author (644 ff.) gives the elegies uttered over him. For how his corpse was taken from the Ḳurayẓa and swallowed up by the earth, see Ṭabarī, i, 1436 7 = *Ibāḍa*, i, 862.

Bibliography: al-Zuhrī's or Abū Hurayra's tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 294 ff., 320-22, and in al-Bukhārī, *Dhikr*, bāb 270; Ibn Isḥāḳ's version, 638 ff., goes back in ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Ḳatāda al-Wākidī, tr. Wellhausen, 156 ff. (cf. 226-7) compiled the whole story from various sources; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 33-4, al-Diyārbekrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, i, 454 ff., Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 860 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al ghāba*, ii, 122 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Anno 4, § 7, 8; Anno 6, § 2, Ṭabarī, i, 1431 ff., who gives the two main versions; Ibn al-Kalbī Caskel, tab. 77, on his genealogy. (A. J. Wensinck)

KHŪBMESIḤIS, the members of an obscure heretical movement in 17th/17th century Istanbul that preached the superiority of Jesus to the Prophet Muḥammad. The term derives from Persian *khūb* "good, virtuous", and *meriḥ* = Messiah". Some description of their tenets is to be found in Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 129. Rycaut attributes to the Khūbmesiḥis a belief in Jesus as "God and Redeemer of the World", and says that it is "principally maintained amongst the gallants of the Seraglio". Although adherence to the doctrine was liable to bring death, and his followers commonly practised secrecy, they might be recognised by the white turbans they wore. According to Rycaut, in addition to designating a member of the movement, the term Khūbmesiḥi entered general usage as a description for anyone of mild and affable disposition. The accuracy of this information in all its points is not to be assumed; many of the statements of Rycaut on religious matters are demonstrably erroneous. The Khūbmesiḥi movement presumably found its inspiration in the teaching of Kābiḍ, executed in Istanbul in 934/1527, after some delay, for alleging that the spiritual rank of Jesus was superior to that of the Prophet. Rycaut makes no mention of Kābiḍ, however, nor do any of the sources on Kābiḍ (e.g. Ibrāhīm Peçewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 124-6) attribute to him the foundation of the Khūbmesiḥi movement.

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KHUBZ (A.) generic term (nomen unitatis: *khubza*) meaning bread, whatever the cereal employed, e.g. corn [see ḤAMṬ], barley [see SHAʿīR], rice [see RUZZ] etc., and whatever the quality, the shape and the method of preparation. There exists nevertheless, in literary Arabic and, to a greater degree in the various dialects, a certain number of metaphors and of specific terms which cannot all be mentioned in this brief article, and the ellipsis of the word *khubz*, in expressions denoting a particular type, causes the semantic range of the fundamental notion to be appreciably enlarged: thus *khamīr* for *khubz*un *khamīr*un "leavened bread", *faṭīr* for *khubz*un *faṭīr*un "unleavened bread" etc. The baker is called *khabbāz* (but in Morocco this is known only in its feminine form *khabbāza*, see below), or *farrān* "oven worker" (which however in Morocco means a communal oven), and a bakery is called *makhbaz* or simply *furn* "communal oven" (in technical usage corresponding to *ḥāḍa* "time-kiln" etc.). All these terms apply to precise cases which will be summarised later.

The economy of ancient Arabia was such that the Arabs could not make bread the basis of their diet [see GHIDhĀʾ], so that the expression *akal al khubz* "bread eater" was a laudatory epithet implying considerable affluence (al Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 421). Nevertheless, the nomads occasionally ate a *fuṭūr* ("flat bread", for *khubz*un *faṭīr*un), that is a kind of pancake cooked on a heated stone, or a *malla* ("hot ash", for *khubz*un *mallīy*un) also called *malīl*, a thicker loaf cooked under ash according to a process similar to that described by A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 63) in talking of *ḥarr* on arrival at the halting place, the Bedouin kneads flour with water and salt (if he has got it), but without adding yeast, and makes a sort of pie which he cooks in ash, turning it frequently to prevent burning. E. Laoust (*Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 89-90) has collected in Berber (where bread is called *aghrum*) a text which refers to some very similar practices.

For their part, the sedentary people, who were familiar with the whitest flour (*ḥuwwārā*) and bread of the finest quality which they cooked in an oven (*tannūr*), did not eat it regularly. They used to crumble it, however, to make a broth (*tharīd*) which the Prophet placed above all other foods (al-Bukhārī, *kitāb al aṭʿima*, *bab* 27) and it is known that, according to the tradition, Hāshim [q.v.] owes his name to the fact that he crumbled (*hashama*) bread to make broth; this economical dish was highly thought of for a long period after Islam.

The conquest of several nations which produced corn in abundance increased in the various classes of society, and to varying degrees, the consumption of

bread, which was from that time considered, with nuances, "the subsistence of the land-dwellers, the basis of nourishment and the prince of foods" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 214) and city-dwellers who did not offer it to their guest unstintingly are taken to task (*ibid.*, 182). The *Kitāb al Bukhalāʾ* (see index, s.v. KHUBZ) provides interesting details regarding wheat-bread and its use, but in general it gives a picture of an affluent class, whose members were in a position to own a slave charged with the functions of a waiter as of a majordomo rather than a baker, but called *khabbāz* because of the importance attached to bread (*ibid.*, 48)

The same work (roll), while giving valuable information on the refined standard of cuisine then practised, shows that bread was never eaten alone and that it was incorrect to offer it dry, (*khubzun ḥāfirun*) In the more affluent circles, it did not constitute the most substantial part of the diet and was rather used for dipping or was eaten from side-plates, while in poorer families and from a very ancient period, it was always accompanied by some condiment (*udm*) designed to make it palatable; in the present day, a term taken from the root *ʾ-d-m* *ʾadd*, or *dj-w-ʿ* "to fan" (*djawwa*, *yudjiʿ*, *dawdjaʿ*, clearly expresses this idea; however, the interested parties probably do not take into account the imbalance which they create in thus adding lipids to the proteins and glucoses contained in bread. It should be stressed however that not everyone was to a position to eat it regularly, and even today, it still constitutes a rare luxury for certain particularly impoverished populations; for the more affluent, the basis of the diet is often, in many regions, boiled rice, ground corn (*burghul*) or kuskus (see KUSKUSU).

Since the classical period and, to a large extent, to the present day, there have existed various categories of bread which can be reduced to the following, while it may be noted that the dialectical vocabulary, extremely exiable and rich, deserves to be the object of a linguistic geographical study, whose ethno-sociological results could yield useful information:

— in Iraq, rice cultivated in the region of Basra was used probably by a limited number of bakers (among whom a popular poet, al-Khubzʾaruzzi [*q.v.*] was to become famous) to make a bread which was quite cheap and accessible to the poorer classes, as well as to those who lived an ascetic life-style (cf Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 5); in the other regions where it was cultivated, notably in Palestine and Egypt, rice was *more often consumed in other forms (see M. Canard, La vie dans la Proche Orient, in Arabica, viiᵉ* (1959), 22a ff);

— white bread, made with pure wheat-flour (*ḥuwwārā*) was in general continued to the most affluent families, but it seems to have been in widespread use in a number of countries such as Palestine and Egypt; physicians actively recommended it, although it was less nutritious than

— bread of coarse-ground flour (*khushāri* and vars.) which was consumed by people of less means;

— bread made from common wheat, perhaps mixed with a little barley flour;

— semolina bread (*samīdh*/*samīd*);

— barley bread, more coarse, mention of which appears frequently in the *ḥadīth*; ascetics judged it to be sufficient, but many poor families even today, must be content with it, in North Africa, *ḥarra*, and in the Near East, *baʿs*, are often nothing more than pancake of barley flour, pure or mixed with a little wheat-flour;

— to this list it is appropriate to add the bread manufactured, in times of hardship, with flour of maize, millet or sorghum (*dhura*) or even of some wild plant, such as *samaḥ* in Jordan.

Apart from various pastries based on wheat flour, bread was presented, with variations on which we cannot dwell here, in two principal forms,

— *ruḳāḳ*, very thin, was cooked on a slab of iron (or later, of stone) heated on a hearth or a brasier. This slab, called *ṭābaḳ*/*ṭābiḳ* in the Middle Ages, is still in use in the Near East where it is coovex and bears the name *ṣādj*, in the Maghrib, smaller baking is not unknown, but a type of earthenware casserole is more often used, and bread thus prepared is called *murḳāḳ* or *maʿāʾ* [cf. E. Laoust, *op. laud.*, 89 for the Berber world],

— *raghīf*, or (from Persian) *ḳurṣ*/*ḳurṣāḳ* is a round bread (*muḥawwar*) quite thick and cooked in an oven. But there is a distinction there between the domestic and the communal oven. The former (*tannūr*, currently *ṭābūn*/*ṭābūna*) has the form of an upturned jar without a base or of the frustum of a cone open in the upper part, it is heated by means of embers placed inside and the raw dough is spread on the sides, on the outside (see Beaussier and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ṭābūn*). In certain regions there is also still to be found a *tannūr* dug into the earth, while in Jordan (Jaussen, *Moab*, 63) *ṭābūn* refers to a small construction in which is placed a sort of cooking pot, surrounded by embers to cook the dough in the interior. In encampments the oven is replaced by a pottery plate (*ṭābūnīya* or *ḥammāda* in Tunisia) which is heated on a brazier (*kānūn*) or even, on occasion, by heated stones.

As for the communal oven (*furn*, *khāna*) it is found in various parts of the towns as well as in the villages and it is there that individuals normally cook their bread for consumption of home. Until recently, in the Maghrib at least, it was considered dishonourable to buy one's bread outside, and the kneading of the dough, an essentially feminine occupation, was the duty of the mistress of the house or of a servant. On a large wooden tray (*ḳaṣʿa*/*ḳaṣʿa*), the housewife put, sometimes with a little bran, flour of corn or of barley or of both, or even of semolina, in quantities sufficient to provide food for several days, added yeast and salt, then poured in hot water and kneaded the dough which she then cut into pieces and left to rise on a tray in a warm place. A journeyman baker (*farrāḍ* in Morocco) went round the houses, took the trays, imprinted on each piece a distinctive mark and took it all to the bakehouse.

The baking done the baker came and handed over to each family the trav and the bread belonging to it. The wages of the baker consisted of a piece of bread which he baked and sold to his profit, in al-Andalus, this bread was called *foya* (and vars.) and this term has survived under the form *fiwaṭ*/*fūya*/*bāya*, in some regions of Morocco and of Algeria to designate the salary of the baker, even after it became the practice to pay him in cash (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 242-3 this work contains, pp 2 39, 227-52, an extremely vivid text relating to the journeymen and the bakers, notes and a bibliography.)

Thus there were no real bakeries, and there was no *sūḳ* reserved for the making and the sale of bread. However, foreigners, individuals and bachelors were able to obtain it, either from certain women who kneaded extra pastry in order to sell the surplus bread in the streets, at a price fixed by the *muḥtasib*, or from bakers or retailers, in fact the *farrān* sold not only the small amounts of bread that they had

received in wages (for they were in principle forbidden to mix the pieces of dough to make large loaves. cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, §§ 125, 148), but also the bread which they made on their own account. The authors of works of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] especially al-Sakaṭī (G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 26-32 and *passim*; Spanish tr. F. Chalmeta, in *al-And.* (1968 ff.), §§ 53 67 and *passim*), enumerated in detail the frauds committed by these bakers, in such matters as the mixing of flours of different qualities (and even the addition of white earth), as well as malpractices in the baking and in the weighing of the bread, and also the rules of hygiene which were to be observed by the bakers and the traders who, in particular, were not allowed to work at professions such as those of the butcher or the fishmonger. (cf. Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Raṣṣāṣ, ed E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 83 90; French tr R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/2 (1960), 201 2) In spite of these precautions, the quality was not always high, and bread sometimes contained gravel and other impurities (cf. M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, ii/3 (1954), 299)

The price of bread, sold by weight and not by the loaf, was fixed by the *muḥtasib*, but it varied enormously, and it is the price of corn which provides the most convenient basis for estimating the cost of living, we confine ourselves to referring to E. Ashtor's fundamental work, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, and to the article ṬAʿĀM for all matters relating to the different types of flour

As in other civilisations, bread is treated with great respect. It is always broken and it should never be cut with a knife. A crumb which falls to the ground is picked up, raised to the lips and swallowed; a piece of bread found on the road is put, for the benefit of some destitute person, in a place where it will not be trodden on and soiled. And even though it does not constitute, strictly speaking, the basis of the diet, it is given in the Arabic dialects names which refer to life and to subsistence, *ʿayš/ʿīš*, *maʿīša*, *ḥāl*, etc. And it is not absolutely certain that the magical purposes that it served have totally disappeared.

However, the situation described above has now been perceptively modified in the sense that, in the towns at least, it is from the bakeries that the population buys the bread that it needs; but if the making of bread has borrowed from the West certain modern processes, anyone can still easily obtain *khubz ʿarabī* prepared and presented as in ancient times. Also, in the countryside the tradition is still alive.

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(Ch. Pellat)

al-KHUBZAʾARUZZĪ (many possible vocalisations), Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. al-Maʾmūn, popular poet of Baṣra, who probably died in 327/938. He made rice bread (*khubz aruzz*) in a shop at the Mirbad [*q.v.*], where his biographers show him as surrounded by a circle of admirers who were especially attracted by his *ghazal* verses on boys, these being his speciality. It does not seem that he should be included in the list of those poets whose belligerence involved them in contests and controversies, nor does he seem to have been inclined, like so many of his compatriots, to attack the honour of others because of this last fact, al-Masʿūdī's information that he had to flee into Arabia in order to avoid the vengeance of one of the Barāmika [*q.v.*] is dubious This same author states that his verses, set to music were sung everywhere, but except in error, the *Aghānī* cites none of them At all events, his *Dīwān*, put together by his friend Ibn Lankak [*q.v.*], must have spread considerably beyond the confines of his native town and even of Baghdad, where he lived for some time This is confirmed by the fact that this illiterate (*ummī*) poet was highly appreciated by a person who held fast to the classical tradition like Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*], who attributes to him "ingenious shafts of wit and subtle inventions, in a closely-knit form and a chaste style, with no superfluities". The judgments of the biographers and anthologists confirm this appreciation, which the extant fragments of his work do not however seem entirely to justify. but the complete *Dīwān* must have been much richer and must have had enough originality to have stimulated the jealousy of a certain "great poet", then referred to briefly by Ibn Sharaf

Bibliography Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* viii, 372-4 = §§ 3532; *Fihrist*, 2, xlvi, Ṭha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 132-51; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 172; Ibn Sharaf, *Questions de critique littéraire*, ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 37; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 206-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 218-22, Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 298-9, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 760, Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 276-7 (s.a. 330), Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 329, Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 276 (s.a. 327), Zirikli, *Aʿlām*, viii, 337-8

(Ch. Pellat)

KHUDĀ BAKHSH, a notable bibliophile of Muslim India, the founder of the celebrated Oriental Public Library at Patna, Bihar, India He was born in 1824 at Chapra, and received his education in the University of Calcutta. After obtaining his degree in law, he began to practise as a lawyer at Patna at the age of twenty-six. He soon achieved considerable success in his profession, and was appointed a public prosecutor, which post he held for many years. In 1894, he was invited to serve as the Chief Justice of the High Court at Hyderabad, Deccan. On his retirement in 1898, he lived a quiet life at Patna, where he died in 1908 and was buried in the precints of the library he had founded. In recognition of his public services, the order of C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1903 by the British Government of India.

Khudā Bakhsh had inherited his passion for collecting rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts from his father. When his father died in 1876, he left him a collection of 1,400 manuscripts, with the behest to make it into a *waḳf* on soon as circumstances should permit him to do so. He continued to make substantial additions to it, till the number of manuscripts had reached 4,000 in 1891, when the collection, along with the building which accommodated it, was made into a public trust. The *waḳf*-deed was duly executed on 29 October 1891, and the library was formally opened by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and Bihar. It was given the name of the "Oriental Public Library", though the people have

often persisted in calling it the "Khudā Bakhsh Library" after the name of the generous donor.

A new era in the history of the Library opened in 1903, when it was visited by Lord Curzon, then Governor-General and Viceroy of India. He was deeply impressed by its literary treasures, and ordered that a suitable new building be erected to accommodate them. He also discussed plans for the proper preservation and safe-keeping of the manuscripts and at the same time he directed Dr E Denison Ross, then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, to make suitable arrangements for the proper cataloguing of the manuscripts.

Twenty-eight volumes of the catalogue have so far (1970) been published, in addition to two Supplements and an Index. The work of cataloguing is still in progress. The library at present contains 4,232 Arabic and 4,838 Persian manuscripts, in addition to a number of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, English, French, German, Latin and other languages.

Khudā Bakhsh was survived by his son Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, Barrister at Law. Like his father, he too was a legal practitioner, but found time in write a number of essays and papers on Islamic history and civilisation, which have been collected in book form. He also translated into English some of the works of Alfred von Kremer and Joseph Heil, and was accordingly characterised by D. S. Margoliouth as an "interpreter of Indian Islam in Europe and of European Orientalism to India". He was a liberal and a modernist in his social and religious views.

Bibliography. V. C. Scott O'Connor, *An eastern library*, Glasgow 1910; Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn Khuda Bakhsh, *My father, his life and reminiscences*, Calcutta 1909; information supplied by the present Librarian. (Sh. Inayatullah)

KHUDĀBENDE [see ul-jāytu]

KHUDĀWAND (P), God, lord, master. There is no established etymology for this word and no Middle or Old Persian antecedent. It is used in Ghaznawid times in the sense of lord or master (cf. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 23, 435, and *passim*) in documents and letters belonging to the Saldjūḳs and Khwārazmshāhs it is used as a term of address to the sultan, usually with some qualifying word or phrase such as *khudāwand-i ʿālam* "lord of the world" (cf. Muntaḳīb al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAṭabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 4; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muʿayyad Baghdādī, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1937, 139, 542). *Khudāygān-i ʿālam* and other similar combinations are also found in the same sense. *Khudāwand*, with or without a qualifying phrase such as *walī niʿam*, is also used as a form of address to government officials (civil and military) and to patrons in general. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Maybudī in his manual on the art of the secretary, *Dastūr i Dabīrī*, written in 575/1180, mentions *khudāwand-i ʿālam*, *khudāwand-i ḏjahān*, *khudāygān-i ḏjahān* and *khudāwand-i walī-niʿam* among the forms of address accorded to the sultan (ed. Aduno Erzi, Ankara 1962, 13, 15). He also includes *khudāwand* among the titles of the *wazīr* (*ibid*. 18).

The terms *khudāwand-i aʿẓam*, *khudāygān-i ʿālam* and similar combinations are common in Djalā'irid, Aḳ Koyunlū and Ḳara Koyunlū documents. The derivative term *khudāwandagān* is common as an honorific for masters and commanders under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm (A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 329) and in Ottoman usage (I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murād I*, Munich 1967; H. Inalcık, *IA*, art. *Pādişāh*). See also E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837-45, i, 64 ff., and F. Taeschner, *Die Werke der Familie Ibn Qarāǧa Beg in Brussa*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 275).

(A. K. S. Lambton)

KHUDĀWENDIGĀR (P) "lord, owner, master"; in Ottoman usage, it was used as (1) the title of Murād I, and (2) the name of the *sandjaḳ* and province of Bursa.

1. The title *Khudāwendgār* was used for commanders and viziers during the Saldjūḳ period (Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Khōyī, *Ghunyat al-kātib wa munyat al-ṭālib fī ruḳūm al-rasāʾil wa-madjmūʿ al-faḍāʾil*, ed. N. Lugal Adnan S. Erzi, Ankara 1963, 4, 5; M. C. Şahabettin Tekindağ, *Yeni Koyunluoğlu Kütüphanesinde bulunan Türkçe yazmalar*, in *TM*, xvi (1972, 234-5). As an attribute, the term was used for mystics like Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh (Eflāḳī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, 2 ii, index). The word became widely used, especially after its usage as a title for the Ottoman sultan Murād I (761-91/1360-89) (Feridūn, *Münşeʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 100, 103-4, 105-9, 122, 163, 166; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşalı livası*, Istanbul 1952, 272), but the early Ottoman historians (e.g. ʿĀshikpasha-zāde, Neshrī, Ordū, Bihishtī) do not mention this title. In 9th/15th century documents, when referring to the reign of Murād I, the phrase *Khudāwendgār sanamında* is used without mentioning the Sultan's name (H. Inalcık, *Hicrī 835 tarihli Sūret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 134; *Kānūn-nāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿOrf-i ʿOṯmānī*, ed. H. Inalcık and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 77, 81; Çağatay Uluçay, *Saruhanoğulları ve sancakname-leri*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 44, 48). The 10th/16th century historians accord Murād I the title of *Khudāwendgār*. Also, Murād I was sometimes addressed as *Ghāzī Khānkār* (Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 175) and it has been argued that the word *khān-kār* is a variant form of *Khudāwendgār* (for the form *khundkār* used in a document of 848/1444, see Halil Inalcık, *Arvanid hüsmü*, 9). On the evidence of the documents, the term *khudāwendgār* was used for the successors of Murād I from Bāyezīd I to Selīm I (Feridūn, *op. cit.*, i, 228, 124, 149, 151-2, 134, 165, 187, 290, 304, 373, 377; A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde bulunan Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 49-50). As applied to these Sultans, it had the same meaning as the terms *pādishāh* and *khudāwend* (*Kānūn-nāma*, Veliyüddin Efendi Library, no. 1970, ff. 25b, 27a; Tekindağ, *op. cit.*, 235, n. 3); but in the 11th/17th century, it was applied to Murād I exclusively (Ewliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, Istanbul 1314, 24).

2. The use of Khudāwendgār as a name for the province of Bursa started after its conquest when Orkhān gave the town, together with its surrounding lands, to his son Murād as a *sandjaḳ* (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1932, 58; ʿĀshikpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1915, 43). However, there is no record in the contemporary sources that this name was used during the reign of Murād I (cf. Kātib Çelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 556). At this early period, Bursa was the capital of the Ottoman leader, himself called the *emīr i kebīr*, and the province was therefore called after him *beg sandjaghī* (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa yeniçeri sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in fermanları*, in *Belleten*, liv,

698, 702; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadi ve ictimai tarihi (1358-1579)*, Ankara 1974, ii, 284, 309). The oldest document relating to the region and calling it Khudāwendigār is the *Khudāwendigār livāsı tahrir defteri* dated 892/1487 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Tapu Defteri no. 23). From this date onwards, the term *Khudāwendigār sancağı* was sometimes used instead of "the *sancak* of Bursa" (M. Akdağ, *op cit*, ii, 310; H. T. Dağlioğlu, *xvi asırda Bursa (1335-1579)*, Bursa 1940, 31, 41 and *passim*). The *Khudāwendigār sancağı* in the *eyālet* of Anatolia was organised as a separate province in the 19th century. This province consisted of the *sancaks* of Karahisar-i Sahib, Kütahya, Biledjik, Erdek, and Biga in 1846-7. It was reduced to a mere *mutaṣarrıflık* in 1860, but restored to the status of a province again in 1861-2. Khudāwendigār, according to the provincial organisation regulation of 1864, consisted of Kütahya, Kocaeli, Karesi, Karahisar-i Sahib and the central *sancak* of Khudāwendigār itself (Vecihi Tönük, *Türkiye'de idare teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 110, 128, 130, 264)

Bibliography: apart from the references already mentioned in the text, see Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI yüzyıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 396; *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa tarihi*, ed. Fâik Reşit Unat, *Tarih Vesikaları*, Istanbul 1942, 463; *Koçi Bey risalesi*, ed. Ali Kemah Akşit, Istanbul 1939, 99; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reich*, repr. 1963, i, 81, I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orhhan et Murad I*, Paris 1967, 181-3, J. H. Kramers, *EI*², s.v. (C. Orhonlu)

KHUDJAND(A), a town and district in Central Asia, now the town and *oblast* of Leninabad in the Tadzhik SSR, the town lying in 40° 17' lat. N. and 69° 37' long. E. The mediaeval town was strung out along the left bank of the middle Sir Daryā at the southernmost bend of its course and of the entrance to the Farghāna valley. It lay in the ill defined borderlands between the Transoxanian districts of Ilāk [q.v. in Suppl.] and Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], and was generally reckoned as being connected administratively with one or other of these two in the early middle ages. Its destinies were, however, frequently linked with those of the region of Farghāna [*q.v.*] to the east, the frontier between the two districts being marked, according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), ii. 125-16, by the town of Wāthkath or Wān Kath.

At the time of the Arab invasions of Transoxania, there was a local ruler or *malik* of Khudjand, apparently dependent on the ruler of Farghāna. The town was captured by the Arabs in 103-4/722, when anti-Arab elements of the Soghdians who had retreated thither were dislodged by Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Harashī's troops, with a savage massacre of the besieged (Tabarī, ii, 1439 ff., Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 189; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 62-3). It must nevertheless have been speedily lost to the Arabs shortly afterwards when the local rulers of Soghdia were joined by the Kaghan of the Western Turks or Türgesh. Su lu, and the Arabs temporarily expelled from most of Transoxania. Not surprisingly, the people of Khudjand joined those of Farghāna, Ushrūsana, Čaghāniyān, etc. in supporting the rebellion of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth during the years 190-3/806-9, according to Yaʿḳūbī.

The geographers of the 3rd 4th/9th 10th centuries now describe Khudjand and its district as a fertile and prosperous one, with many orchards and vineyards, although the town had to import grain from Farghāna and elsewhere. Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Khudjand had a *buhandas* or citadel with a prison, a *madīna* or inner city, and a *rabaḍ* or outer city, where the local ruler's palace, the *dār al-imāra*, lay. As befitted a frontier region, the inhabitants were warlike and generous. Furthermore, the town was an important centre for river navigation along the Sir Daryā. This same author describes the district of Khudjand as extending southwards towards Wash gird and Čaghāniyān, as to the Buttamān Rīs separating the basins of the upper Sir Daryā and the upper Oxus. The only other town of the Khudjand district was Kand or Kand-i Bādhām "Kand of the almonds", so-called for a local product, almonds; this was presumably on the site of the modern village of Kand-i Badam, some 40 miles from Khudjand. Leninabad, visited by the American traveller E. Schuyler in the mid-1870s en route for Khokand (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers Wiet, ii, 457, 489; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 479; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 155-8, 264-5; Schuyler, *Turkestan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, ii, 3-4). A considerable number of *ribāṭs*² bearing the *nisba* of "al-Khudjandī" are mentioned by e.g. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 33-6, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 348; most notable of these is the madhasatician and astronomer Abū Maḥmūd Ḥāmid al Khudjandī, d. 390/1000 [*q.v.*].

Khudjand was a place of importance under the Ḳarā-Khānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*], and in the early years of the 5th/11th century, from 406/1025 onwards, Arslan Khān Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, originally ruler in Talas, minted coins there (see R. Vasmer, *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāchāniden*, in *MSOS*, Westas. Studien, xxxiii (1939), 90-1, and E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the mid-5th/11th century it was the frontier town between the eastern khānate of Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn under the sons of Kadir Khān Yūsuf and the western one of Transoxania under Shams al Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm. It was also at Khudjand that in 551/1157 the Ḳarā Khiṭāy invaders won a victory over the Ḳarā-Khānid Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad.

During the period of the Mongol invasions, Khudjand was in 617/1220 stubbornly defended after the fall of Samarkand by the governor Temür Malik against a besieging force of 20,000 Mongol troops and 50,000 pressed levies, and after abandoning the citadel, he sailed away down the river and eventually reached Khwārazm (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 277-8, Dunwayni-Boyle, ii, 92-4). In the next century, under the Čaghatayids, the *ulus* of the important Djalāyir tribe in the Khāns' following was the district around Khudjand, until in 778/1376, after the revolt of the Djalāyirs, they were disbanded by Timūr and dispersed from the region (Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii *Ulugh Beg*, 9, 61). Bābur, in the period of his struggles in Farghāna against the kinsmen who were his rivals for power, used Khudjand as a centre for operations in 903/1497-8; he has given an enthusiastic description of the walled town or *burghan* of Khudjand and its many amenities (*Bābur nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 78, 89-90).

It was the connections of the Mongols and their epigoni in Central Asia with their kinsmen in northern China which stimulated mentions of Khudjand in the Chinese annals of the 14th century, e.g. as Hu-ch'an

in the *Yüan-shi*, and an early 14th century Chinese map shows it as Hu-jan; mediaeval Chinese travellers call the Sir Darya the Ho-ch'an or Hu K'ien "river al Khudjand", following Arabic usage of such terms as *Nahr Khudjand* or *Nahr al-Shāsh* for that river (cf. Bretschneider, *op cit*., ii, 34-5)

After being under Özbeg rule, Khudjand became part of the Khānate of Khokand at the beginning of the 19th century, but in 1842 was captured by the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā, Nasr Allāh b. Haydar (see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia*, a *history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates*, London 1899, 225-16) In May 1866 Khudjand fell to the Russian armies of General Romanovsky after a bloody siege of eight days, in which 2,500 of the defending Khokandī force were killed, and the town was then used as a base for the final reduction of the Khānate of Khokand (see TASHKENT, 251-2, Schuyler, *op cit*., i, 312 ff, 339, 354; R. A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917*, a *study in colonial rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, 23 5, 34-5) In 1873 the Russian garrison in Khudjand was for a while besieged there by a rebellious faction in the Khānate of Khokand, and it was this revolt in Khokand which led to the final annexation of the Khānate by Russia (see KHOKAND) Under Tsarist rule, Khudjand eventually became part of the Samarkand *oblast* of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan

Under the Soviets, Khudjand was in 1936 re named Leninabad, and the name was also given to the northern *oblast* of the Tadzhik SSR. It is now the second most important industrial and cultural centre of the Republic after Dushambe (the Stalinabad of 1929-61), with manufactures of cotton, silk and fruit ware, food processing and with orchards and vineyards outside the town. The population in 1970 was 103,000 (see *BSE*³, xxiv, 513-5).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHUDJANDĪ, ABŪ MAHMŪD ḤĀMID B. AL-KHIDR, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khudjand in Transoxania. He lived under the protection of the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/976-97) and died in 390/1000

From amongst his mathematical works, there has survived in Cairo the manuscript of a treatise on geometry We know that he was concerned with the resolution of equations of the third degree by geometrical methods and that he demonstrated, in an imperfect manner, that the sum of two cubed numbers cannot be another cube. Nasīr al Dīn al Ṭūsī (*R. Shakl al ḳaṭṭāʿ*, Istanbul 1891, 108 ff) affirms that Abu 'l Wafāʾ al Buzadjānī (*q.v.*), Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāḳ (*q.v.*) and al Khudjandī are the three authors in whom are attributed the discovery of the sine law called by the latter the "astronomical law" (*ḳānūn al-hayʾa*), because of its frequent use in astronomy, and he gives the proof which he offered of this law (cf C Schoy, *Beiträge einiger geometrischen Fragepunkte durch muslimische Mathematiker*, in *Isis*, viii (1926), 260 3) However, P. Luckey, in his *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreiecksberechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940-1), 426, 428 9, rejects al-Khudjandī's part in this in principle, because we are concerned here with a person whose outstanding work was in the field of practical astronomy.

Al-Birūnī, in his *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, in *BIMA*, viii (1962), 207, states that al-Khudjandī was "unique in his age" (*waḥad zamānihi*) for the construction of astrolabes and other astronomical instruments. Some manuscripts have been preserved of his treatise *Fī ʿamal al-ālāt al-ʿiḳmā*, in which is described a universal instrument (*al-ʾĀla al-ʿiḳmā* or *al-ʿiḳmā*) to be used in place of the astrolabe as quadrant. He constructed an armillary sphere and other instruments, and must have worked on theoretical questions concerning the laying out of the plan of an astrolabe, since Abū Naṣr Manṣūr gives two methods of al Khudjandī's for determining the position of the circles of the azimuth on the astrolabe by the intersection of the equator and the *muḥantaṭāt* (*Risāla fī mādjāʾāt dawāʾir al-samūt fī 'l-asṭurlāb*, in *Rasāʾil Abī 'l-Rīḥān*, Hyderabad 1948, 3-9). His most important work in the sphere of astronomical instruments was the sextant called *al suds al fakhrī* (sc. dedicated to Fakhr al-Dawla) which he made in order to determine the obliquity of the ecliptic. He described this instrument and the observations which he was able to make with it in his *Risāla fī 'l-mayl wa-ʿarḍ al-balad* (ed. L. Cheikho, in *Machriq* xi (1908), 60-8) Al Birūnī gave a detailed analysis of this in his *Taḥdīd*, 101-8, which is said to be based on the *Maḳāla fī taṣḥīḥ al-mayl* al al-Khudjandī (probably to be identified with the *R fī 'l-mayl* cited above). This sextant had a diameter of 40 *dhirāʿs* or cubits (al Birūnī: 80 cubits) constructed at Tabrūk near Rayy and set down on the plan of the meridian, it was surrounded by walls and covered over by a roof, part of which was vaulted (*ḳabw*) and with an aperture 3 spans (*shibr*) in diameter (al Birūnī: one span) coinciding with the centre of the sextant. With this instrument it was possible to take the height of the sun, the sun's light threw a circle on to the sextant and, in order to determine the centre, al-Khudjandī used a circle of the same radius which had two perpendicular diameters which he placed on the circle thereby lit up. Al-Khwārizmī asserted that the sextant was his own invention, and he boasted that, by using it, he could make calculations down to the very second. Similar instruments seem to have been employed in the observatories of Marāgha (founded before 660/1262) and at Samarkand (built in 823/1420).

With this *suds al-fakhrī*, al-Khudjandī observed the meridian height of the sun at the summer and winter solstices of the year 374/994; the procedure involved consisted in making observations on two consecutive days at the time of the solstice and in determining, by interpolation, the exact moment of the passing of the sun into the solstice. He was able to do this in the month of June, but clouds prevented him from repeating the procedure in December, so that the exactness of the whole operation was somewhat affected. His observations were made in the presence of a group of leading scholars who drew up a report. The result was $\varepsilon = 23° 32' 19''$ (21′ according to al Birūnī in *al Ḳānūn al Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954, i, 364), a value which, compared to those worked out by the Indian astronomers (24°) and Ptolemy (23° 51′) justified al-Khudjandī's belief in a progressive reduction in the obliquity of the ecliptic. Al-Birūnī, who believed that ε was a constant (*Taḥdīd*, 107 8, 116; *Ḳānūn*, i, 364) emphasises that al-Khudjandī told him verbally that the aperture of the vault by which the sun's rays came in had been displaced downwards by a span before the observations regarding the winter solstice were made, so that it did not coincide exactly with the sextant's centre. This fact may explain the decrease in the value of ε in relation to other determinations made roughly around the same time.

Al Khudjandī made other observations, he fixed the latitude of Rayy at 35° 34′ 59″ (al Birūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 86-7, 99, 238, *Ḳānūn*, ii, 812), and he asserted that he had observed the planets for Fakhr al-Dawla by

means of armillary spheres and other instruments (*K fī l-ʿamal*, 62). The final result of this work was the compiling of *al-Zīdj al-ṣafāʾī*. An incomplete copy in Persian of a *zīdj*, preserved in the Madjlis Library in Tehran (ms. 181) may be based on al-Khudjandī's observations, the period of the tables of average movements is 600 of the Yazdadjirdī era, or about two centuries after al-Khudjandī's death (see L. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer Philos Soc.*, N.S., xlvi (1956), 133, No. 80).

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(J. Samsó)

KHUDJISTĀN, a small town or village of mediaeval Islamic Bādghīs (*q.v.*), lying to the northeast of Harāt in modern Afghānistān, and described by the mediaeval geographers as being mountainous, possessing agricultural lands and having warlike inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 268 f., Ibn Ḥawḳal², 441, tr. Wilet, 426; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 104, 327; Yāḳūt ii, 404; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et lit. de la Perse*, 197). Although within a Sunnī region, Khudjistān itself was one of the last centres for the Khawārid̲j in eastern Iran, and the population are described as Khārid̲jīs and extremists (*ghulāt wa-ghulāt*).

Its main claim to fame is that it gave birth in the 3rd/9th century to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī. He was a commander in Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's army, but after the fall of the Ṭāhirid capital Nīshāpūr to Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in 259/873, he made a bid for independent power in Khurāsān, with a base of power in Harāt and Tukhāristān, against the Ṣaffārids, until he was killed by one of his own *ghulāms* in 261/874. Worthy of note is the detail that Khudjistānī was allegedly launched on his career as a condottiere through hearing the martial poetry of a local author, Hanẓala of Bādghīs, who must have been one of the very earliest writers of verse in New Persian (Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 26-7, revised tr. 27-9, cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans* (IXe-X^e *siècles*), Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 57-8, 53).

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KHULDĀBĀD, a town in the northwestern part of the former Haydarābād state, now in Maharashtra state of the Indian Union, and situated in lat. 20° 1′ N. and long. 75° 12′ E, it is also known as Rauza (or Rawḍa). It is 14 miles from Awrangābād and 8 from Dawlatābād (*q.vv.*), and a particularly holy spot for Deccani Muslims, since it contains the tombs of several Muslim saints and great men, including the Niẓām Shāhī minister Malik ʿAnbar (*q.v.*); Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh, founder of Haydarābād state (*q.v.*) and above all, of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb (*q.v.*), who died at Ahmadnagar in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1118/March 1707 and was buried at the *rawḍa* or shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Ḥaḳḳ, and of his son Aʿẓam Shāh. After Awrangzīb's burial the place was called Khuldābād, the monarch's posthumous name being *Khuld maḳām* "He whose abode is eternity" (see *Cambridge hist. of India*, iv, 302).

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of Aurangabad District*, Bombay 1884; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xv, 285; *Murray's Handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*¹¹, London 1968, 59 61.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHUL^C [see ṬAḲḲ].

KHULḲ [see ABRIḲ].

KHULM, a town of northern Afghānistān lying in the lowland region to the south of the upper Oxus at an altitude of 1,440 ft./450 m. and in lat. 36° 42′ N. and long. 67° 41′ E., it is situated some 30 miles/50 km. to the east of modern Mazār-i Sharīf and, according to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, two *marḥalas* or 10 *farsaḵhs* to the east of Balkh (*q.v.*). It further lies on the Khulm River which flows down a narrow valley from the Hindu Kūsh past the town of Haybak and then Khulm itself until it peters out short of the Oxus. It is possible that this river is the Artamis of the Greek geographers.

The mediaeval geographers describe Khulm as the centre of a flourishing agricultural district, with luscious fruits, and as enjoying a healthy climate, the *kharādj* or land-tax was levied on the extent of irrigated land. The grapes and other fruits of Khulm were still the subject of much praise by the Scottish traveller Alexander Burnes in the early 19th century. The road from Balkh eastwards into Badakhshān and to Andarāba and the silver mines of Pandjhīr also passed through Khulm (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 427, 432; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 108).

Regarding the pre-Islamic history of Khulm, it has been conjectured that Khulm is the Aornos mentioned by Arrian as conquered by Alexander the Great in the winter of 330/329 BC (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, I/2, 2859). The Buddhist Chinese traveller of the early 7th century, Hiuen Tsang, seems, however, to mention it as the kingdom of Hu-lu, whose chief town had over 10 Buddhist monasteries with more than 500 monks (see T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, London 1904-5, ii, 206, 209). In the period of the Islamic conquests in Central Asia, it is mentioned at various times in the course of warfare, e.g. in 90/708-9 when Kutayba b. Muslim (*q.v.*) made his final attack on the Hephthalite leader Ṭarkhāṭa Nīzak (Ṭabarī, ii, 1205-6, 1219, with mention of the *shiʿb Khulm* "defile or valley of Khulm"), and in 119/737 when Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī was endeavouring to expel from Tukhāristān the united forces of the Turkish Khāḳān Su-lu of the Western Türgesh, the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Surayḡ and the local princes of the Oxus valley principalities and of Soghdia, and the Khāḳān endeavoured in vain to take the town (Ṭabarī, ii, 1803, 1815). Once pacified, the district was settled by Arabs of Tamīm, Kays, Azd and Bakr (Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 180), Khulm also figures in the tax-assessment for Tukhāristān in the time of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, a governor-

chup (years 811 12/826-8) under the sum of 12,300 dirhams per annum (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 38, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 218); and in the fighting around Khulm in the later 3rd/9th century between the Ṣaffārids and other contenders for power in Khurāsān, the condottieri Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī [see KHUDJISTĀN] in 262/882 2 defeated ʿAmr b. Layth's ally Abū Ṭalḥa Manṣūr b. Sharkab near the town (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 209). Culturally, Khulm was of sufficient note to produce, according to Sam. ʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 180 3, a well-known poet, Kaʿb b Aḥmad, and several legal and theological scholars.

We hear little of Khulm under the rule of the successive Turkish and other dynasties of eastern Iran like the Saldjūks and Timūrids, but it was clearly within these centuries that the Turkicisation of these lands south of the Oxus took place, so that in modern Afghānistān, the population of the region is largely Uzbek.

In the period after Mādir Shāh, so. in the later 12th/18th century, the region came under the control of a local ruler of Uzbek stock, Kilich ʿAlī Beg of Khulm. He held, according to Elphinstone, the title of *Atalik* from the Durrānī kings of Kābul and paid deference to them, but was left virtually independent in return for protecting the northern borders of Afghānistān against Uzbek incursions from beyond the Oxus. It was because of these depredations that the seat of government for the Khulm region was in the early 19th century transferred from Khulm to Tash Kurghan 4 miles/6 km. to the south, and this has become the site of the modern town of Khulm. Various British travellers visited it at this time. W. Moorcroft (1824) mentions that the tyrannical Muḥammad Murād Beg, ruler of Kunduz and much of the region north of the Hindu Kush, had compelled the inhabitants of Khulm proper to transfer to his own capital of Kunduz. Old Khulm certainly now fell into decay, whilst New Khulm or Tash Kurghan flourished. Concerning population, Elphinstone (1809) estimated that Old Khulm contained about 8,000 houses, and Burnes (1832) that New Khulm had some 10,000 inhabitants. Subsequently, the sons of Kilich ʿAlī Beg reigned from Khulm over an area comprising Khulm, Haybak, Talakān, Andarāb and Mazār-i Sharīf as vassals of Muḥammad Murād Beg, but in the early 1850s Dōst Muḥammad of Kābul [q.v.] succeeded in bringing Badakhshān and the Uzbek principality of the Khulm district under his own control, and henceforth it formed part of the dominions of the *kings of Kābul*.

Present-day New Khulm Tash Kurghan forms part of the Afghān province of Samangān, within which it and Haybak are the main towns, Khulm, however, being the more populous of the two (population estimated by Humlum at 30,000 in ca 1950), both towns benefit by being on the main road from Kābul to Mazār i Sharīf and the Russian frontier.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text) Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 67 8; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 211; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies*, London 1842, ii, 184, 195 200; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara, together with a Narration of a voyage on the Indus*, London 1834, i, 208 12, 230-1, ii, 346 ff., W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab . . . from 1819 to 1825*, London 1841, ii, 396, 409, 412-3, 415-7, 420, 426, 429 ff., 441, 448 ff; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 150, 155. (C. E. Bosworth)

KHULṬ, the classical form of the name of a tribe of northwestern Morocco pronounced Khlot (but ethnic, Khulṭī). The Khlot came into North Africa with the invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century, and formed part of the "mixed" Arab people known as the Dhukhum, according to Ibn Khaldūn and other historians, the Khlot allegedly belonged to the Banū ʾl-Muntafiḳ. The Dhukhum spread throughout the central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the wars which theatened Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they vainly tried to rebel, and not long afterwards, the Banū Ghāniya [see BANŪ GHĀNIYA] had little trouble in engaging them as their auxiliaries after the capture of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, once victorious over his enemies, punished their allies and accordingly transported to the oceanic shores of Morocco the Dhukhum and Riyāḥ Arabs. The latter were established in the Ḥibṭ; and the Gharb, and the first group in the Tāmasnā (Shāwiya), depopulated since the extermination of the Berghawāṭa [q.v.] by the Almoravids.

Under al-Manṣūr's successors, the intrigues of the Almohad *shaykhs* found excellent support in the two component groups of the Dhukhum, the Khlot and the Sufyān, whose jealousies yet further aggravated the internecine conflicts. In 621/1224 the Khlot espoused the cause of the pretender al-Maʾmūn against the caliph al-ʿĀdil, who was supported by the Sufyān. In 625/1228, al-Maʾmūn was proclaimed caliph; in 630/1233 his son al-Rashīd succeeded him, but because of their misdeeds and violence, he was obliged to take strong measures against the Khlot chiefs, who their rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir. The Sufyān, now reconciled with al Rashīd, attacked the Khlot on the banks of the Umm al-Rabīʿ and a frightful carnage ensued. The Khlot sought vengeance by proclaiming as caliph the Andalusian pretender Ibn Hūd, but al-Rashīd pursued them, drove them back, and captured and then executed their chiefs (635/1237-8). Much weaken ed and browbeaten into obedience, they took part in the caliphs' expeditions, but their rivalry with the Sufyān was in no way extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 646/1248, at the siege of Tamesdekt against the Zayyānid pretender Yaghmorasen, this rivalry brought about the caliph al-Saʿīd's death and the Almohads' defeat.

The Marīnid sulṭān Abū Thābit treated the Khlot harshly for their violence (709/1308), but he took advantage of their assistance in order to destroy the power of the Riyāḥ. They were then settled on the former's lands, in the Azghār and the Ḥibṭ, and formed part of the *makhzan* [q.v.] of the Moroccan sultans, made marriage alliances with these rulers and provided for them provincial governors, ambassadors and advisers. They subsequently passed into the service of the Banū Waṭṭās and gave no support to the Saʿdids, who at first held them at arm's length despite the importance of the tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put 12,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry into the field. However, the Khlot's important part in the Moroccan victory of Wādī ʾl Makhāzin against the Portuguese gave them entry in part at least to the *makhzan* of the Saʿdids. At the time of the latters' decadence, the marabout pretender al-ʿAyyāshī [q.v.], who sought to compel them to march against the Christians of Larache, was unable to bring them to obedience and was assassinated by them (1018/1638-9). Under the ʿAlawids, the Khlot took the side of the petty princelings of northern Morocco who had made themselves in-

dependent under the cover of waging holy war. Maw lay Ismā'īl and his successors, after first reducing them to submission, deprived the *Khlot* of their status as a *makhzen* tribe and favoured the establishment in their region of heterogeneous elements, the Tīlī and Badāwa groups, who inevitably afflicted and reduced the power of the former occupants of the land.

Bibliography: Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon have provided the most complete information about the habitat, ethnography, administrative organisation, political position and the splits among the Khlot in their article *Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkous*, in *AM*, IV-VI (1905-7). (A. Cour)

KHUMĀRAWAYH b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, second Ṭūlūnid ruler of Egypt and Syria. He was born in Sāmarrā in 259/864 and, after the abortive rebellion of his brother 'Abbās (*q.v.* in Suppl.) against Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (*q.v.*), was designated heir-apparent as early as 269/882. In an unprecedented act in the history of Muslim Egypt, the popular Khumārawayh came to power upon the death of his father on 10 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 270/10 May 884 without the caliph's sanction, but rather with the general approval of the military and civil authorities of the Ṭūlūnid régime. His brother 'Abbās was forced to pay homage in his rule, and was assassinated under obscure circumstances only a few days after Khumārawayh's accession. Khumārawayh reigned for twelve years, an 28 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 282/18 January 896 he was killed, a victim to a palace cabal, by one of his own slaves.

Khumārawayh inherited both a stable and wealthy polity from his father—the treasury is said to have contained ten million dīnārs, thanks to Ibn Ṭūlūn's far sighted internal and external economic policy—and also an unresolved struggle with the court of Baghdād. Since he had come to power only through his father or rather through his father's generals, the caliph regarded him as an usurper. Immediately upon receiving the news of Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, al-Muwaffaḳ, the ruler of the eastern half of the 'Abbāsid empire and strong man in the Baghdād court, broke off the negotiations which had led to the *de facto* recognition of Ibn Ṭūlūn as governor of Egypt and Syria. One of Ibn Ṭūlūn's foremost generals, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad of Wāsiḳ, then changed sides and urged al-Muwaffaḳ to attack Khumārawayh and reconquer Egypt, exploiting Khumārawayh's lack of political and military experience (al Kindī, 234, ii, 4-5). Two generals of the caliph with al-Muwaffaḳ's sanction now invaded Ṭūlūnid Syria. Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīk, the governor of Mosul whom al-Muwaffaḳ had appointed "legal" governor of Egypt and Syria in 269/882-3, and Muḥammad b. Dīwdād Abū 'l-Sādj of Arbān. The defection of the Ṭūlūnid governor of Damascus and finally the appearance of Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaḳ (the future caliph al-Mu'taḍid) leading an 'Irāḳī army challenged Khumārawayh's control over Syria even further. In Shawwāl 271/February-March 885 (Gra bar, 88) Aḥmad's troops met the Egyptians under Khumārawayh's command in the tragi-comic Battle of the Mills (*al-Ṭawāḥīn*) in southern Palestine. Both Aḥmad and Khumārawayh ignominiously fled from the battlefield, the military decision in Khumārawayh's favour was secured by the capable and courageous Ṭūlūnid general Sa'd al Aysar. After his victory he went to Damascus and rebelled, though unsuccessfully, against the humiliated Khumārawayh. Khumārawayh's long term strategy of achieving a rapprochement with the 'Abbāsid court is reflected in the exceptional clemency with which he treated his 'Irāḳī prisoners of war. In the following years his realm was considerably extended. He beat decisively, though with inferior forces, Ibn Kundādjīk, who submitted to him and brought areas as far east as Ḥarrān (Grabar, 75) under Khumārawayh's control. The Djazīra became part of the Ṭūlūnid lands when its governor Ibn Abī 'l-Sādj sought Khumārawayh's protection. On Khumārawayh's own initiative, Yamān of Tarsūs finally accepted Ṭūlūnid sovereignty over Cilicia.

In Radjab 273/December 886 al-Muwaffaḳ and Khumārawayh eventually came to terms. Khumāra wayh discontinued the public slandering of al-Muwaffaḳ in the sermons of Egypt and formally acknowledged 'Abbāsid sovereignty. In return he was granted the *de jure* governorship of both Egypt and the lands of Syria (*al Shām*) for thirty years for himself and his progeny (*walādihī*). Thus not only his own succession, but also the dignity of his family, were recognised by the caliph. The time limit imposed, however, clearly shows that the caliph regarded the Ṭūlūnid rule over Egypt and Syria to be temporary and revocable, unlike the privileges granted to the Aghlabids (*q.v.*) of Ifrīkiya. Unfortunately, the financial provisions of this first treaty between Khumārawayh and al-Muwaffaḳ are not recorded in the sources. Syria now became an integral part of the Ṭūlūnid domains, in the provincial capitals of the Sh*ā*m*ā*t, Ramla/Filasṭīn, Ḥimṣ, Ḥalab and Anṭākiya, new mints were set up.

In Radjab 279/October 892 al-Mu'taḍid, the son of al-Muwaffaḳ, succeeded al-Mu'tamid as caliph. In a new treaty he readily confirmed these arrangements with Khumārawayh. The annual tribute to be paid by Khumārawayh as vassal to al-Mu'taḍid was fixed at a rate of presumably 300,000 dīnārs, supplemented by 100 000 dīnārs to be paid for each preceding year of his rule. The sources are vague and inconsistent on these crucial figures. Khumārawayh lost the territories east of the Euphrates, Mawṣil, Diyār Rabī'a and Diyār Muḍar around al-Rāfiḳa, where coins had been struck on his behalf before 279/892. The important and prestigious *ṭirāz* manufactures of Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria remained under the control of the caliph. Ṭūlūnid coins bore his along with Khumārawayh's name.

Khumārawayh's limited autonomy made him susceptible to honours bestowed upon him by the caliph, the most exalted and highest sovereign of the Muslim community. In 279/892, through the mediation of his closest adviser, al Ḥusayn Ibn al Djaṣṣāṣ al Djawharī, he arranged for one of the great political marriages of mediaeval Islamic history. He offered his daughter Ḳaṭr al-Nadā to the caliph al-Mu'taḍid's son 'Alī, but the caliph took her as a bride for himself. It remains unclear whether or not this marriage, which entailed an exorbitant dowry of one million dīnārs, was a calculated device on the part of the caliph to wreck the finances of his dangerously wealthy and powerful vassal. The splendid nuptials of Ḳaṭr al-Nadā lived on in the memory of the Egyptians well into the Ottoman period, as is recorded in the chronicles and the folk-literature.

Khumārawayh's frivolity and generosity are well attested in the sources. He had sumptuous palaces and gardens built for himself and his favourites. To his contemporaries, his awesome bird-eyed palace lion epitomised his prodigality. He was said to ride no horse more than once. Becker (*Beiträge*, ii, 191) connects his addiction to luxury and debauchery with his status as heir to the capable and successful founder of a dynasty. "Rule was something self-evident to him, something given. He liked to exercise it, but shied from the burdens which were indispensable for

it". When Khumārawayh was murdered in 282/896, the treasury was empty. All the wealth Ibn Ṭūlūn had amassed had been squandered within a few years. In Khumārawayh's rule the *dīnār*'s worth sank to one third of its former value (Hassan, 245). Under Khumārawayh's sons Diayāh and Hārūn who succeeded him in rapid sequense, the political and financial demise of the Ṭūlūnid state was still further accelerated. In 292/905 'Abbāsid troops sacked Ibn Ṭūlūn's new city of al-Qaṭā'i' and brought back for thirty years direct 'Abbāsid rule to Egypt.

Khumārawayh's military prowess was notable. After the disaster of al-Ṭawāḥīn he showed strategic skills and astounding personal bravery, he is said to have killed the rebellious Sa'īd al-Aysar with his own hands. He could rely on the multi-racial army of his father, composed mainly of Turkish, Greek and Sudanese military slaves and some, mainly Greek, mercenaries; he strengthened his force with numerous fresh soldiers from Turkestan. Yet in contrast to his father, he lacked undisputed authority over the military. He tried to compensate for this with mostly-generous special distributions that further undermined the precarious finances of the state.

Possibly under 'Abbāsid influence (al-Muʿtaḍid had his own élite body of military slaves, *al-muḥāriam*), Khumārawayh established a corps d'élite, *al-muḥāra*, composed of purely Egyptian Bedouins of the Eastern delta, on whom he bestowed various privileges. By converting these tribesmen into a loyal and efficient bodyguard he reasserted control and brought back peace to this strategic region between the centres of Egypt and Syria. Significantly enough, there seem to have been no Turks among Khumārawayh's *muḥāra* soldiers, he seems rather to have used them to offset the predominant influence of his own Turkish entourage. One thousand Negroes formed a less highly privileged special contingent within the *muḥāra*.

Already under Khumārawayh, the civil administration of Egypt passed gradually into the hands of the Madhārā'ī family who later, during the 'Abbāsid interregnum and under the Ikhshīdids, directed the finances of the country. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Madhārā'ī began his illustrious career by bringing under his control the *barīd*, the intelligence and communications service. Khumārawayh's relations with the religious establishment of Egypt were strained, his libertinism and frivolity made him the target of harsh attacks both in contemporary and later historiography.

Khumārawayh's prodigal rule encouraged a rich life. Few traces of his splendid architectural and cultural monuments and the minor arts are preserved. His patronage of scholarship and poetry is well known; the grammarian Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 326/944) was his protégé and the teacher of his sons. Al-Kāsīn b. Yaḥyā al-Maryūnī (d. 317/929) wrote encomia to celebrate Khumārawayh's triumphs on the battlefield.

Bibliography: See *EI*[1] s.v. (Sobernheim). Among the Arabic sources the contemporary historian Ibn al-Dāya [q.v.] must be ranked first, fragments of his chronicle of the Ṭūlūnids are preserved in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*, as far as Khumārawayh is concerned, this important text unfortunately only contains a few remarks on his appointment as heir-apparent; see Ibn Saʿīd, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers, in *Semitistische Studien*, 1 (1894), 74 ff., al-Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden/London 1912, 233-41, C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1902-3, ii, 180-98, Z. M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides. Etude de l'Egypte Musulmane à la fin du IXe siècle 868-905*, Paris 1933, 107-33 and *passim*, O. Grabar, *The Coinage of the Tulunids*, New York 1957, 59-78. Rainer Glagow, *Das Kalifat des al Mu'taḍid billāh (892-902)*, Diss. phil. Bonn 1968, 22-3, 61-7, 70-3.

(U. HAARMANN)

KHUMAYR (pronounced locally Khmīr, in French Kroumir), an element of the population which has given its name to a mountainous massif extending along the north-west littoral of Tunisia, The Djebel Khmīr, or Kroumirie, forms part of the administrative district of Djendouba, which covers an area of 3,000 square km. and has a population of 355,000, of whom 195,000 are peasants (census of May 1966).

The massif of the Khumayr, a Tunisian extension of the Atlas range, consists of a series of contrasting sandstone flexures running along a south-west - north-east axis. The two extremities of the massif, separated by the cultivated limestone depression of Ghardīmaou, present palpable differences in spite of the overall unity. The western Kroumirie has its highest point at Djebel Ghorra in an altitude of 1,200 m., and the eastern Kroumirie, very difficult of access in spite of its modest altitudes, reaches a height of 1,014 m. at Djebel Ḥīr which dominates Aïn Draham. Everywhere the contrasting forms of rockstrata, deeply furrowed anticlinals and sheer synclinals, give a wild aspect to a landscape covered by a forest 47,000 hectares in area. Of the trees 70% are cork-oak, 20% are zeen oak, and 10% other species, including the wild olive. Often the undergrowth consists of fern. Other species have recently been introduced, notably the parasol pine (*umbrella*). The level of rainfall in Kroumirie is the highest in Tunisia, with an average of 1 m. per year and a maximum of 1,575 m. at Aïn Draham. In spite of the abundant rain and relatively pleasant falls of snow, the massif suffers from shortage of water. Springs are certainly numerous, but they are dispersed over a wide area and their output is feeble. Some springs even dry up in summer.

In ancient times, the massif of the Khumayr did not escape penetration by the Romans. Three routes crossed it, in the longitudinal axis, the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Bône, now called Annaba) via Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta), in the transverse axis the road from Simitthu (Chemtou) to Thabraca (Tabarka), of which numerous traces have been discovered, and the road from Vaga (Béja) leading to the same destination via Tricipa. Thabraca, originally a Carthaginian market-town, and from the 4th century one of the richest dioceses in Africa, was the centre for the export to Rome of the products of the massif, timber for building and wild animals, as well as oil, wheat and minerals. "A city of luxury, where art has its place alongside commerce" (P. Gaukler, *Monatsque*, 155), Thabraca has given us some very fine mosaics.

It is curious that throughout the mediaeval period, the massif of the Khumayr has gone unnoticed by the historian. The silence of our sources is complete. It is only in modern times, and in contemporary times in particular, that it has begun to play a historical role, appearing at the same time as a place of refuge and of resistance, escaping almost completely the power of the Tunisian authorities.

The Khumayr had cordial and profitable relations with the colony of Genoese fisherman established since 947/1540 on a rocky island of 40 hectares in area separated from Tabarka by a channel 300 metres wide. They were acutely affected when this islands was unexpectedly attacked and forcibly recovered by

ʿAlī Pasha in 1153/1740 (Ibn Abī ʾl-Diyāf, *Ithāf*, ii, 124). In 1183/1769-70, the Khumayr gave asylum to the pretender ʿUthmān al-Ḥaddād, who was ultimately captured and executed (*ibid.*, ii, 165). In 1260/1844 they gave their support to another pretender, who claimed to be a descendant of ʿUthmān Bey. The latter also was captured through a trick and beheaded (*ibid.*, iv, 78-9, ed. A. Abdesselem, 226-7). In 1282/1865, ʿAlī Bey, at the head of the military mission (*maḥalla*) responsible for the levying of taxes, bled the region of Béja white, but did not dare venture into the massif, which was subject to tax only within agreed limits (Ibn Abī al-Diyāf, *op. cit.*, vi, 55, 65). However, the mountain-people were not involved in the insurrection of 1864—they did not feel that it concerned them—nor in the troubles of 1867-8.

It was in 1881 that they came abruptly to the fore. The Khumayr were in the habit of pillaging their neighbours, including those in Algeria. Seeing that the Caïd of Tabarka, to whom they were theoretically answerable, had no control over them, the French authorities, in the context of a complex policy which had the effect of setting various powers in competition with one another, decided to act. They set in motion the process which culminated in the establishment of the protectorate over Tunisia. On 24 April 1881, the French Army of Algeria marched into Tunisia, two days later they occupied Kef without a battle, on 13 May it was the turn of Ain-Draham, and the following day the French routed the Khumayr at Ben Mtir after a number of fierce skirmishes.

Regarding the origins of the inhabitants of the massif, we have no precise and reliable information. The name Khumayr does not appear in any mediaeval text. In the period when Ibn Khaldūn was writing, that is to say, the 8th/14th century, the region between Béja and the sea was inhabited by Hawwāra Berbers by that time completely arabised with whom there had been blended various elements of Arab descent, notably the Hudhayl (*ʿIbar*, vi, 288-93; tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 279).

The Khumayr pose an insoluble puzzle to the historian. They only make their appearance in the 13th century, and even for this period there are only scraps of information in the archives, when they pillage their neighbours, or when the *maḥallas* try in vain to force them to pay taxes. Who are they? They themselves say that they are Arabs, and it is true that there is an oasis in the Yemen called Khumayr (Yāḳūt, ii, 390, iii, 406) and there is a Kaḥṭānid tribe which bears the name Banū Khamr (Kalḳashandī, *Nihāya*, 247), of which Khumayr could be a diminutive. Legend would also have us believe that they are the descendants of a certain Khumayr b. ʿUmar, an eminent companion of the conqueror of the Maghrib, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. A descendant of Khumayr, Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaddād, is supposed to have died, worn out by *ghibād*, in the heart of the massif, on a small plateau about 5 km. south west of Ain Draham. The mausoleum raised to him in this place perpetuates the legend and unites the Khumayr in an almost total veneration for their patron saint and presumed ancestor. According to another tradition, the Khumayr originally lived in the south of Tunisia and were ruled by the Shābbiyya of al-Kayrawān. In the 18th century they were forced to emigrate towards the north, occupying the massif to which they gave their name.

The Khumayr are divided into a number of segments. The most important in the eastern Kroumirie are the Awlād ʿUmar, the Ḥwāmdiyya, the Awlād Ibn Saʿīd, the Saʿīdiyya, the Urāḥiyya, and the Twāḥiniyya in the region of Tabarka, the Salūl, the Hudhayl, the Awlād Mūsallim, the Khrāyṣiyya, the Diḍāyḍiyya, the Diwābliyya, the Milykiyya, the Awlād Mḥal, the Awlād Hilāl, the Hamrān, the Dabābsa, and in particular the ʿAṭāṭfa in the region of Ain Draham, the Gwādiyya, the Thāniyya, and the Shibiyya in the region of Fernana. In the western Kroumirie, there are found the Banū Māzin, the Awlād ʿAlī, the Khuḍīr, the Mrāsin, and the Washtāta. It would be futile to attempt to distinguish between Berbers and Arabs among these tribes. The population of the massif is in fact the result of an immense and long-term ethnic fusion, dating back to the mediaeval period if not further, a fusion which was doubtless accelerated by the infiltration of the Banū Hilāl in the mid 5th/11th century, and of the Sulaym at the start of the 7th/13th century. Let it be stated explicitly that the local Arabic dialect contains no traces of Berber, and that sometimes the nomadic tent is found incongruously pitched on the mountain itself.

The geographers of the Middle Ages show little interest in the massif of Kroumirie in its own right. Their main concern is to describe the itineraries. The first, Ibn Ḥawḳal, who visited the Maghrib in the mid 4th/10th century, tells us that the main highway (*al-ṭarīḳ*) from Tunis to Tabarka passed through Béja (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 76). Al-Bakrī, who was writing in the mid 5th/11th century, tells us that from Béja one would reach Tabarka in three stages, passing through Bādis and Darna (*Masālik*, 56 ʾ/120-2). Al-Idrīsī (mid-6th/12th century) mentions two routes from Tunis to Tabarka, the one passing through Bizerte, and the other branching off after Béja. (*Nuzha*, 84 ʾ). It is clear that this road system follows the routes inherited from ancient times.

We have no precise information regarding urban settlement in the massif during the Middle Ages. It is only just possible to follow the evolution of Tabarka. We have seen that it was a very prosperous place in ancient times. In the 4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal it was nothing more than "an unhealthy village" (*ḳarya wakhima*), infested by scorpions, its only claims to importance being the movement of ships between it and Muslim Spain and its status as a customs station (*op. cit.*, 76). In the 5th/11th century al-Bakrī noted that impressive ruins of ancient monuments were still to be seen at Tabarka, and that the place enjoyed a certain prosperity on account of the activity of its port. In the 6th/12th century, according to al-Idrīsī, it was nothing more than a fortress (*ḥiṣn*), thinly populated and surrounded by gangs of Arab bandits, men with respect for neither law nor religion. Finally, at the start of the 16th century (Leo Africanus, *Descriptum de l'Afrique*, 549) it was nothing more than "an abandoned port".

Today Tabarka (population 4,000), is a port of modest size whose primary function is the export of cork from the massif of Kroumirie, 3-4,000 tons per year. There is also fishing and the limited exploitation of coral, and the town has profited, albeit on a relatively minor scale by comparison with other regions, from the growth of tourism in Tunisia. The most important settlement on the massif is Ain Draham, at an altitude of 800 m., a summer resort and a centre for boar hunting; Fernana, at 475 m., is principally a market-centre, Babouche is little more than a frontier-station controlling the border-crossing into Algeria, at Oued El-Lil, near the hamlet of Ben Mtir, there was constructed in 1955 a dam with a capacity

of 73 million cubic m. to produce Hydro-electric power and to provide Tunis with water. Another dam, at Oued El-Kebir, is in the process of construction. In spite of efforts at re-organisation, settlements continue in the main to be scattered, according to the location of wells and agricultural small holdings. Huts and shacks built of branches have not yet disappeared.

In fact, the massif of the Kroumirie, dependant on a silvo-pastoral economy, is impoverished. The standard of living of the inhabitants is the lowest in Tunisia. The most important source of income is provided by the extraction of cork. The cultivation of tobacco is also moderately profitable. The breeding of cattle, sheep and goats, in which the methods used have not evolved at all in the course of time, provides only a mediocre income. Attempts at improving the cultivation of trees, by introducing apple, pear, and cherry trees to the area, have yielded only very limited results. Products of local craftsmanship—Kroumirie carpets in white, black and beige; wooden kitchen-utensils, embroidery—are not much in demand outside the region and provide employment for a very small number. Finally, let it be added that the hot and sulphurous springs of Bordj al-Hammām, much appreciated from the earliest times for their medicinal properties, have led to the establishment in 1966 of a modern spa resort, built presumably alongside the ruins of the ancient bathe and given the name Hammām Bourguiba. Enlarged in 1973, this resort is attracting an ever growing Tunisian clientele.

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(M. Talbi)

KHUMBARADJĪ, bombardier, grenadier (Persian *ḵumbara* "explosive projectile, grenade, mortar bomb", etc.), a term used in the Ottoman military organisation. The bombardiers in the Janissary corps and the *Ḵumbaradjī* unit in the Diebedjī corps are thought to have been first introduced in the 9th/15th century. The *Ḵumbaradjīs* were of two types, the *ʿulūfeli* ones, who were paid, and the *timārli* holders, who formed the majority of them and who served in the fortresses. The *Ḵumbaradjīs* were neglected until the beginning of the 12th/18th century. Khumbaradjī Ahmed Pasha (see AḤMAD PAṢHA SORNEVALI) was appointed by Maḥmud I in 1144/1732 in reorganise the *Ḵumbaradjīs*, under his reorganisation, 301 soldiers from Bosnia were registered as paid *ʿulūfeli*, and thus a separate corps of bombardiers was formed. Each 100 soldiers became an *oda*, and each *oda* was to have 1 captain (*yuzbashī*), 2 *elibashīs*, and 10 corporals (*onbashīs*) (*Taʾrīkh-i Sāḥib Ṣaḥḥāf*, Istanbul 1298, 58 a.h.) In the Ayazma palace at Üsküdar, there were constructed 2 barracks and a factory for the Khumbaradjī corps, and later, their numbers increased to 601, half of whom were *ʿulūfeli* and the other half *timar* holders (for the activities of Khumbaradjī Ahmad Pasha, see also Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğu, Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 45137; for the number of *Ḵumbaradjīs* on the strength at 8 Ramaḍān 1152/December 1739, see Cevdet tasnifi Askeri kısım, no. 37483). The *Ḵumbaradjī* corps, which expanded until 1160/1747, was neglected thereafter, but in 1197/1783, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, there were attempts to improve it again (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 85, I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, Istanbul 1944, ii, 235 f.) During the reign of Selīm III, when the army was organised on western lines, the *Ḵumbaradjī* corps was also included in the plan of reform. According to the decree of 1206/1792, the *Ḵumbaradjī* corps, whether paid or *timār* holders, were to be concentrated on Istanbul and the names of those absent were struck from the pay rolls. Also there were to be 10 *Ḵumbaradjī* soldiers and five assistants (*mülāzim*) for each *Ḵumbara*, so that the whole corps would comprise 500 *Ḵumbaradjī* soldiers and 250 assistants. Out of every 10 soldiers, one was to be considered as the *Ḵhalīfe*, and the other 9 as his aides (*yamaḳs*); out of every 5 *Ḵumbaradjīs* one was to be an officer with the title of *ser-Ḵhalīfe*, and the most notable among the officers was to be *oda-bashbuḍāsī*, another *ʿalemdār* or standard-bearer; beside the chief bombardier (*Ḵumbaradjī-bashī*) who was responsible for the soldiers' discipline there was to be appointed a superintendent (*nāẓır*) from among the state officials (Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün hatt-ı humayunları Nizâm-ı cedid* (1789-1807), Ankara 1946, 45-6; for the text of the regulation relating to the bombardiers' corps, see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 356-8). The barracks for their training were built at Haskōy on the Golden Horn shores in Istanbul. A more detailed ordinance for the *Ḵumbaradjīs* was prepared and put into effect in 1211/1797 (Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 40887). In the move-

*event to dethrone Selīm III, the Ḳapudjubashis sided with the rebels, but when the Janissary corps was abolished in 1241/1826 during the reign of Maḥmūd II, they supported the government action (Djewdet, *op. cit.*, xii, 137 Es'ad, *Ünsī-i ṣafer*, Istanbul 1293, passim). When a new army was established under the title of the *Asākir-i Manṣūra*, the *Khumbaradjī* corps was reorganised and retained within it (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1290, i, 159), but was included in the artillery *divanlu* and was to be headed by the *Topdju bashī* (later by the *Topkhāne-i ʿĀmire müshīrliği*). There was one *Khumbara* regiment (*alay*), with two battalions (*taburs*) in existence in 1248/1832 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Rāmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6744), and four years later, 109 cavalrymen and 229 foot soldiers, a total of 338 soldiers (Rāmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6750).

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KHUMM (see SHAHR-I KHUMM)

KHUNĀṢIRA, an ancient fortified settlement situated some 80 km. to the south-east of Aleppo and 100 km. to the north-east of Ḥamāt, on a route through the desert—on the fringes of which it lies—connecting Aleppo with Baghdād. The foundation of the place is attributed to Khunāṣir(a) b ʿAmr of the Banū Kināna (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab 250 and ii, 349), but it is probably older than this. Yāḳūt (s.v.), who cites also al-Khunāṣir b ʿAmr, the representative of Abraha al-Ashram, may be echoing a later legend. In the Umayyad period, this chef-lieu of the *ḥiṣn* of al-Abaṣṣ owed its fame to the fact that ʿUmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a stronghold constructed there in which he frequently resided (al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 343 — § 2188 Ibn Shaddād, *al Aʿlāḳ al khaṭīra*, ed D Sourdel, Damascus 1953, ii/1, 28, Ibn al ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 42, 46). Ibn Ḥawḳal (*K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 175, tr Kramers Wiet, Beirut Paris 1964, 178), describes the role played by al-Khunāṣira at a time when the state's power had become relaxed and the routes in the interior of Syria were uncertain, so that travellers from Aleppo to Baghdād preferred to journey through the desert where they could enjoy, for a price, the protection of the Bedouins. In 513/1121 it was captured and destroyed by Baldwin II, who carried off to Antioch the gates of the citadel (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 611), after which the place was abandoned (N Elisséeff, *Nūr al-dīn*, Damascus 1967, i, 179) Nevertheless, there still exists a place there called today Khanāṣir.

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KHUNĀTHA BINT BAKKĀR B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MAGHĀFIRĪ, wife of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, sultan of Morocco (1082-1139/1671 1727) She was highly versed in literature and the religious sciences and acted as an adviser to her royal spouse In 1143/1731, during the reign of her sons Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, she performed the Pilgrimage and at Mecca, she bought buildings and established them as *awḳāf*, in particular, a house in the Bāb al ʿUmra, one of the gates of the Holy House, which she placed at the disposal of students The masonry of her sumptuous pilgrimage was commemorated by the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al Ḥasanī al-Shāṭṭī al Ṭabarī, *muʾadhdhin* of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, in a splendid poem. She died at Fās in Djumādā I 1159/May June 1746 and was buried in the mausoleum of the Shorfa in Fās al Djadīd.

Her writings include a letter addressed to the people to calm their fears over the neighbouring Turks, and a commentary on the *Fāsiya* of Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī

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KHUNDJĪ, FAḌL ALLĀH B. RŪZBIHĀN (860-927/1455 1521), Persian religious scholar and political writer, who as a staunch Sunnī fiercely opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl, left Iran and fled to Uzbek Transoxania.

Khundjī's background, both on the side of his father (of the famous Rūzbihān family, cf. Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī) and of his mother (of the Saʿdī family), made him a member of the wealthy and influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Fārs who were important as *sayurghāldars* and who enjoyed the high esteem and the protection of the Aḳ Koyunlu rulers Khundjī received an exceptional scholarly training, in his native Shīrāz he studied under the great Shāfiʿī Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (q.v.), the author of the *Aḳlāḳ i Djalālī*. Dawānī's preoccupation with political thought is likely to have influenced Khundjī's own interest in a practical application of the norms of the *sharīʿa* in a post-Mongol, Sunnī state, as his sophisticated manual of government, *Sulūk al mulūk*—which he wrote shortly before his death on the suggestion of the Uzbek ruler ʿUbayd Allāh Khān in Bukhārā—attests. He was introduced to Ṣūfism by Djamāl al Dīn al-Ardistānī, a follower of the Suhrawardiyya *tarīḳa*. With him he travelled to Egypt and Palestine and he devoted a *manāḳib* biography to him which has not, however, come down to us Khundjī himself joined the Dhahabiyya order, an offshoot of the Naḳshbandiyya, possibly only after he had left Ādharbāydjān and Iran and had settled at the Uzbek court. Khundjī represents the typical intellectual Ṣūfī of his time, for whom *tasawwuf* is an indispensable litter in the academic curriculum. He wrote a commentary on the *Wasāyā* of the great Ḥanafī scholar and Ghudjduwānī (q.v.), one of the great precursors of the Central Asian Naḳshbandiyya. Khundjī eulogised Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband and extensively quoted his doctrines; he sought and cherished the friendship of the disciples of the famous Naḳshbandī popular leader

Khᵛādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [q.v.], who had dominated religious and political life in Transoxania in the second half of the 9th/15th century. At the same time, Khundjī fiercely opposed any excess and abuse in mysticism, particularly the doctrine that man can acquire divine attributes through *fanāʾ*. For him, such exaggerated mysticism was as much *irtidād*, apostasy, as the pernicious *ghuluww* of Shāh Ismāʿīl I. Khundjī's paramount concern in all his writings is the protection of the revealed *sharīʿa* from any infringements. In his sharp differentiation between types of mysticism, one is reminded of Ibn Khaldūn's *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*; an influence from Ibn Khaldūn on Khundjī cannot be ruled out. Khundjī also severely attacked the semi-pagan religious practices of the nomadic Uzbeks, such as the institutionalised pilgrimage to the tombs of local saints, however, he does not seem to have been very successful with these admonitions.

It was from the well-known Mamlūk historiographer and polyhistorian al-Sakhāwī [q.v.] that Khundjī owed his initiation into the sciences of *ḥadīth*, i.e. the discipline for which he acquired particular fame in his century. In Uzbek Central Asia, he became known as the "paragon of the traditionalists" (*zainat al-muḥaddithīn*). He studied law, theology, the Arabic sciences and *ḥadīth* with al-Sakhāwī in Medina; his proficiency is attested by the very complimentary *tarǧama* which al-Sakhāwī, who was normally very critical of his students and composers, included in his biographical dictionary of 9th/15th century celebrities. Among Khundjī's writings on tradition, one might mention an Arabic *risāla* on the big fire in Medina in 886/1481, *Hidāyat al-taḥdīth ilā ḥikāyat al-ḥarīq* (ed. Muḥammad Dānishpazhūh, in *Yādnāma-yi īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 77 ff.), which is a methodically exemplary study based on *ḥadīth*.

Khundjī began his public career at the court of the Āḳ Koyunlu Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, whose attention he had attracted in 892/1487 with a copy of his lost—possibly panegyrical—work *Badīʿ al-zamān fī ḥaṣāʾil Ṣāyy b. Yaḳẓān*. He served as a *ḥāfiẓ* in Yaʿḳūb's *dīwān*, and dedicated to him and his unfortunate son Bāysonḳur his chronicle of the Āḳ Koyunlu house, the carefully-composed *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* (partial translation by V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490—An abridged translation of Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿAlamārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957; full edition under preparation by John Woods, Chicago). In this work, which is the most important single narrative source on the history of the later Āḳ Koyunlu rulers, Khundjī presents himself as an active courtier, who probably participated in the cabal to overthrow Yaʿḳūb's first minister ʿIsā of Sāva who had tried to re-islamise the fiscal system of the state, thus endangering the *soyurghāls* of Khundjī's affluent *ʿulamāʾ* relatives. The most significant passages of this chronicle are his diatribes against Ismāʿīl's grandfather and father, Shaykh Djunayd and Ḥaydar [qq.v.], whose self styled religious authority he reviled in vitriolic language.

After Ismāʿīl's accession to power in 907/1502, he fled in 909/1503 to Kāshān, where he wrote his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's treatise *Kashf al-ḥaḳḳ wa-nahdj al-ṣidḳ wa 'l-tawfīḳ*, entitled *Ilzām nahdj al-ḥilāf wa-ḥamdī kashf al-ʿiṭāf* (partial edn. and German tr. by I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šīʿa und der sunnitischen Polemik*, in *SBWAW*, lxxvii (1874), 475-86). There he questions the originality and consistency of Imāmī *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and disqualifies Shīʿī dogmatics as a bad reproduction of Muʿtazilī (that is, in itself reprehensible) *kalām*. A hundred years later, the Shīʿī Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), a victim of Djahāngīr's anti-Shīʿī religious policy, again wrote a refutation of Khundjī's treatise. Khundjī's book has had a lasting influence on Shīʿī-Sunnī polemics in the Arab lands, even in the 20th century. Khundjī, who himself held the *ahl al-bayt* in high esteem and wrote poems in praise of the twelve *imāms* (see the text in Muḥammad Amīn Khundjī, *Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, iv (1335/1956), 178 ff.) and, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Mashhad in the company of Shaybānī Khān [q.v.], of the eighth *Imām* ʿAlī Riḍā (see Khundjī, *Mihmān nāma yi Bukhārā*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1341/1962, 336 f.), accused the Ṯiḥāḥ Ashʿarī theologians of placing more emphasis on the slander and cursing of the Prophet's Companions, and the *shaykhayn* Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in particular, than on the due veneration of the immaculate family.

On his flight to the east, which also took him to Timūrid and later Uzbek Herāt, Khundjī passed through Tūs, where he was inspired, as he describes in a touchingly impressionistic and intimate account, by the decaying ruins of al-Ghazālī's tomb in the solitude of the steppe (*Mihmān nāma* 332). Al-Ghazālī was Khundjī's revered model whom he quotes extensively. On this occasion Khundjī pledged that he would make an effort to emulate the great master and bring to the land of Khurāsān, in this age of great calamity, a revival of the orthodox religious sciences. He came to Bukhārā, to the court of Shaybānī Khān, the successful Uzbek ruler, who had ended Timūrid rule in Transoxania and Herāt and had conquered most of western Khurāsān. He gained access to and was to dominate the scholarly *madjālis* in which the Khān, himself a cultured man, had scholars discussing questions on religion, particularly on the compatibility of certain policies with the *sharīʿa*, e.g. the issue whether it was permissible for the Muslim Uzbeks to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by their semi-pagan Kazak enemies. Khundjī compiled at the court before 916/1510, perhaps at the suggestion of the ruler himself, the unique "guest book of Bukhārā" (*Mihmān nāma-yi Bukhārā*, see above, partial German tr. by Ursula Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts—Das Mihmān-nāma yi Bukhārā des Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbihān Ḥunǧī—Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Freiburg 1973) as a token of gratitude to his host and friend Shaybānī Khān. This work defies any formal classification. Its beautiful language and style evidences his literary talent. We find here, in a loose, more or less chronological sequel, passages on tradition, refreshingly natural descriptions of the scenery of Turkestan in spring and winter, surprisingly personal and autobiographical sketches (Khundjī tells us, unusually, much about himself, e.g. his fits of hypochondria), and straightforward narrative passages. In the latter he e.g. gives an account of the manners of the Kazaks, the cousins and at the same time the most dangerous enemies of the Uzbeks to their north. He devotes special attention to Shaybānī Khān and to his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, who much later was to lead the Uzbek federation back to political power.

The impelling idea of the *Mihmān-nāma* was the effort to drive Shaybānī Khān into attacking and exterminating the Shīʿī heresy from Iran and reviving the legal order of the *sunna* in Iranian homeland. He unsuccessfully opposed the scheme of defeating the Kazaks in the rear of the Uzbeks first, before marching against the Ṣafawids, whose deeds Khundjī denounced—in a familiar *topos*—as even more abomi-

nable than the unbelief of the Franks, who were *buffūn ab origine*. He expatiates on the apocryphal *ḥadīth* of Ḥārith, both in the *Mihmān-nāma* (95 107) and in a separate *risāla* Ḥārith, the prototype of Shaybānī Khān, saved the true doctrine of Islam from a heretic tribe which slandered and vilified the companions of the prophet and the 4om orthodox caliphs, an unconcealed allusion to Shāh Ismāʿīl, the foe, and his damnable creatures, the Kizilbāsh [*q.v.*]. Khundjī's concept of history is remarkable. He regards the Uzbeks as another manifestation of the nomadic migrations from Inner Asia to the Muslim East, destined to overwhelm Iran and ʿIrāḳ and to bring back justice to these lands, just as the Saldjūḳs had done. He praises the legendary past of the Uzbeks and predicts a glorious future for them. He elevates Shaybānī Khān, beyond the bounds of conventional encomium, to appear as a *mudjaddid* of his age.

The catastrophe of Marw in 926/1520, when Shaybānī Khān was slain in battle by the Ṣafawid army, shattered Khundjī's dreams. His advice had proved fatal for his protector and sovereign. Taking into account the vulnerable personality of the author, which shines through so often in the autobiographical passages of the *Mihmān-nāma*, this turn of events must have had drastic effects on Khundjī. He passed the following two years in hiding in Samarkand which had returned to the rule of the Timurid Bābur, Ismāʿīl's half-hearted ally. In 928/1522 Khundjī suddenly re-appears delivering an eloquent sermon in Samarkand (cf. Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī, *Badāʾiʿ al-wakāʾiʿ*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev, Moscow 1961, i, 45 f.) which had been recaptured by the Uzbeks under ʿUbayd Allāh Khān.

Fulfilling a vow made at the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī in the hour of greatest affliction, ʿUbayd Allāh commissioned Khundjī to compile, as a guide for a righteous Sunnī ruler, the *Sulḳ al-mulūk* (ed. Muḥammad Niẓāmuddīn, Hyderabad/Dn. 1366/1946). In form this didactic work displays features of the Mirror for Princes books; in its topics and in the arrangement however, it belongs to the tradition of the manuals of government, such as al-Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. It represents a highly intelligent attempt to harmonise the norms of the *sharīʿa*, as developed in the first centuries of Islam, with the realities of a tribal confederation, the bodypolitic of which is nomadic *and* Turkish, and not Islamic. Khundjī gives the prescriptions and legal interpretations both according to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* of the Turkish Uzbeks and his own, Persian, Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. He carefully juxtaposes lengthy passages on the legal norms, with numerous quotations from the *ḥadīth* and the canonical textbooks, with highly realistic and sober opinions on the present state of affairs. This can be observed in his treatment of taxation; he appears to equate certain aspects of the canonical *zakāt* duties with the prevailing Mongol *tamghā*-imposts. Even more significant is his chapter on the *ghāzī*. He took his lesson from the catastrophe of Marw. No longer does he call for *ghihād* against the Ṣafawids at all costs, lest the blood of innocent subjects of Ismāʿīl be shed. He even concedes (and thereby joins the mainstream of traditional Sunnī polemics) that the Twelver Shīʿī doctrine does allow for the observance of the precepts of the *sharīʿa*, such as legal marriage contracts, the call to prayer etc. We do not know to what degree Khundjī's enlightened doctrines were taken up by ʿUbayd Allāh, an energetic and pious ruler, who despite the bitter polemics on both sides, kept religious issues largely out of his long controversy with the Ṣafawids over the possession of Khurāsān. His fame lived on at least in Central Asia; the increasing isolation of Transoxania from the Sunnī central lands probably accounts for the little influence which his writings—particularly the *Sulḳ al-mulūk*, which was explicitly directed to a broad audience of Sunnī rulers—exercised outside the Uzbek domains. An effort on political thought in Mughal India is more likely, yet remains to be investigated.

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KHUNZAL (self designation, Khunzani, Russian designation, Khunzali Gun(d)zali, Gunzebi, Gunzibtsi, Enzebi, Nakhadi; other designations, Khunzeb, Gunzeb), a numerically small people of the eastern Caucasus. Khunzal forms with Bezheta, Dido, Ginukh and Khvarshi [*qq.v.*], the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group, of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were, ethnically, 106 Khunzals, and 129 claiming Khunzal as their mother tongue; in 1933 (estimation by Grande) there were 516 Khunzals. The Khunzals inhabit four *auls* on the upper course of the Avar Koysu in the Tlarata district of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. They live in the highest and most inaccessible part of mountainous Daghestān. This isolated position has protected the Khunzals from exterior influences, and they have maintained to a great degree many of the patriarchal customs. The Khunzals are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. The economy has remained traditional: raising sheep with a transhumance system, agriculture on terraces, and handicrafts (especially leather work).

Khunzal is a purely vernacular language, and the Khunzals use Avar as their first literary and second spoken (sometimes first) language, having Avar as the language in primary education. Russian is the second literary language. They are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars.

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KHURĀSĀN, in day the north-easternmost realm or province of Persia, with its administrative capital at Mashhad [*q.v.*]. But in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the term "Khurāsān" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering also parts of what

ace now Soviet Central Asia and Afghānistān; early Islamic usage often regarded everywhere east of western Persia, ie. Dihēl or what was subsequently termed ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, as being included in a vast and ill defined region of Khurāsān, which might even extend to the Indus Valley and Sind. Thus the Armenian geography traditionally attributed to Moses of Khoren depicts Khurāsān as stretching from Gurgān and Kūmis in the southeastern Caspian region to Badakhshān and Tukhāristān on the upper Oxus and Bāmiyān in the Hindū Kush (see J. Marquart, *Ērān šahr*, 47 ff.).

Topographically, Khurāsān in the modern, restricted sense is dominated by a zone of mountain ranges running roughly NW-SE, a continuation of the Alborz chain, and connecting that chain with the Paropanisus and Hindū Kush ranges of northern Afghānistān, in a district such as that of the Kūh-i Binālūd to the north of Nīshāpūr, these mountains rise to 11,200 feet. To the north, open steppes and deserts run down through the Soviet Turkmenistan SSR to the Caspian Sea and the Amū Daryā basin. To the south, there lies an extensive region of landlocked deserts and salt flats, such as the Dasht-i Kawīr, the Dasht-i Lūṭ and the Hāmund basin of Sīstān, but within this region is situated an important upland zone, that of Kāʾin and Birdjand, the early Islamic province of Kuhistān (*q.v.*), one massif of which, the Kūh-i Mūminābād, rises to 9,100 feet. There is thus considerable topographical diversity, but only in the more northerly mountain zone do adequate rainfall, perennial streams and accessible wells permit a relatively flourishing agricultural and pastoral economy; here, the population is quite dense for Persia. Elsewhere, and especially in the more southerly parts, there is usually an oasis pattern of life, with much dependence on wells and on *ḳanāts* or *kanāts*. Also, until the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī at least, there was a substantial minority of nomads in Khurāsān, composed mainly of Gōkleh and Yomut Turkmens, and some Hazāras, Taymūrīs and Baloč. (See for the geographical topographical and demographic background, Admiralty handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, and *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, chs. 1, 2, 5, 18, 19, and for the historical geography of the older period, Marquart, *op. cit.*, Le Strange, 382-432, and *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, § 23).

The present population of Khurāsān is very mixed. There is of course the still important Iranian substratum, but there are extensive other groups, such as Turkmens, Kurds, Baloč, Arabs, and Taymūrīs and Hazāras from Afghanistan. The presence of these varied races is a concomitant of Khurāsān's strategic position as a bastion facing Inner Asia and as a corridor between the steppes and the civilised, settled lands of the Middle East. Pressure on Khurāsān by the Inner Asian nomads has been intermittent from the earliest known times till the later 19th century, when permanent political frontiers were established and the free movement of peoples thus impeded. Khurāsān was therefore the gateway through which Alexander the Great passed to Bactria and India, and conversely, that by which Turkish peoples from the Saldjūḳs onwards and then the Mongols entered Persia. The result has been an ethnic commingling in Khurāsān, especially as the rulers of Persia, whether Persian, Arab or Turkish, have, in pursuance of their historic task of defending their northeastern frontiers, at various times planted colonies of auxiliaries and guards, for political reasons, colonies of peoples like Lurs were settled there as late as the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Nevertheless, whilst the basically Iranian ethnic and linguistic nature of northern Khurāsān at least has been overlaid, this process has not gone so far as in a Turkicised province like Ādharbāydjān, the Kāʾin and Birdjand region, in particular, is still predominantly Persian.

In Sāsānid times, Khurāsān was one of the four great provincial satrapies, and was governed from Marw by an Ispahbadh (MP form *Spāhpat*, [see ISPAHBADH]). Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 202, enumerates as comprising Khurāsān under the Sāsānids the following districts: Nīshāpūr, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Fāryāb, Ṭālaḳān, Balkh, Bulkhārā, Bādghīs, Abīward, Gharčistān, Ṭūs, Sarakhs and Gurgān. In times of military expansion, Sāsānid arms pushed beyond Marw, thus Ṭabarī, i, 819, says that Ardashīr Bābakān extended his power over Khwārazm and Tukhāristān. In fact, many local princes must have remained as Sāsānid feudatories, holding offices like those of *marzbāns* or frontier wardens; many of these achieved temporary independence when the Sāsānid monarchy collapsed under the Arab onslaught. To the immediate east of Sāsānid Khurāsān lay the lands of their enemies, the powerful northern branch of the Hephthalite confederation, with its centres in Bādghīs and Tukhāristān; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405, mentions that there was ruling over Harāt, Bādghīs and Pūshang a local potentate, called by him the *ʿaẓam* or 'mighty one', who must have been a Hephthalite chief. The ancient pattern of hostilities between the rulers of Persia and the Hephthalites was to be taken up by the Arab governors of Khurāsān in the Umayyad period (see further, HAYṬALA).

It was at Marw that the last Sāsānid Emperor, Yazdagird III, made his stand before his betrayal by the local *marzbān* Māhūya and his murder in 31/651. Meanwhile, the Arabs had already appeared in Khurāsān. During ʿUmar's caliphate, forces from Baṣra penetrated as far as Ṭabasayn in the Great Desert, and a determined attack on the province was made in the following reign of ʿUthmān when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz (*q.v.*) was governor of Baṣra (sc. from 29/649 till 35/655). An expedition eastwards was mounted by the men of Kūfa under Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, travelling along the northern route between the Alburz and the central deserts, and another one by the Baṣran army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and his lieutenent al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays, approaching via Kirmān and Ṭabasayn, a route which was for long preferred as an easier and safer route than that of the modern highway and railway connecting Tehrān and Mashhad. It was the Baṣran army which made most progress, and in 31/651 it reduced Nīshāpūr to obedience, receiving the submission of local rulers and former Sāsānid governors in most of the other towns of Khurāsān. In the following year, the last great stronghold of the Sāsānids, Marw al-Rūdh, fell to al-Aḥnaf after fierce fighting, but the local *marzbān*, Bādhām, was confirmed in his office and possessions there in exchange for a relatively light tribute. The permanent pacification of Khurāsān was, however, a protracted process. Local potentates frequently rebelled against Arab control and appealed to outside powers like the Hephthalites, the Western Turks or Tārgesh, the Soghdians, and even the Chinese Emperors (who claimed a vague sovereignty over Central Asia, and with whom certain Sāsānid pretenders took refuge). In particular, the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meant a relaxation in Khurāsān of Arab control, which had subsequently to be re-imposed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (as appointed governor of Baṣra and the east by Muʿāwiya from 45/661 to 44/664)

and his generals. Thus an important expedition was sent against Sīstān and Zābulistān under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, in the course of which Kābul was reached, and according to Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, 409 Balkh was restored to obedience and the great Buddhist shrine of Nawbahār despoiled.

A period of stronger Arab rule came with the appointment in 45/665 of Ziyād b. Abīhi as governor of Baṣra and the east. During the Umayyad age, authority over the extensive provinces of Khurāsān and Sīstān (within which were included at times, as noted above, such distant regions as Transoxania, Farghāna, eastern Afghānistān, Makrān and Sind) was exercised in the first place by the governors of Baṣra, for Baṣran troops, and especially the men of the North Arab or Qays tribes of Tamīm and Bakr, were prominent in the overrunning of the eastern Persian lands, though in the governorship of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (78-82/697-702), considerable numbers of that governor's fellow tribesmen of the Yamanī Azd were settled in Khurāsān. Since the turbulent province of ʿIrāḳ always demanded the personal presence and attention of the governors of Kūfa and Baṣra, the latter appointed deputies in Khurāsān and often in Sīstān also, and all these appointments tended to reflect policy trends and personal ascendancies at the heart of the caliphate in Syria. In Ziyād's time, attempts were made, against strong resistance from the local peoples and from the Hephthalites, to reduce Tukhāristān to obedience. This was achieved by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād and his son ʿAbd Allāh, in the case of Balkh and the lands up to the Amū-Daryā, in the years after 51/671, but the Hephthalite threat was not finally removed till the governor Kutayba b. Muslim captured and killed their leader Tarkhān Nīzak in 93/710 and took as a hostage the Turkish *Yabghu* (in the Arabic texts, *Dabghūya*) of Tukhāristān. But even after this, Arab rule was far from secure. The Arabs made Marw their military centre, and by the end of the 1st century A.H. were beginning to settle down permanently in the Marw oasis and probably to intermarry with the indigenous Persian population. But their solidarity in the face of external threats from enemies like the Türgesh and Soghdians was adversely affected by the tribal divisions and feuds between the Qays faction, numerically superior and generally dominant, and the Yamanīs, and also by the fact that control by the caliphs was difficult to exercise from distant Damascus. See for events in Khurāsān during the Umayyad period, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47-70, Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, esp. ch. 8; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, Spuler, *Iran*, 5 ff., M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, idem, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970 and idem, *Khurasan at the time of the Arab conquest* in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 479-90.

The last decades of Umayyad rule were characterised by tribal warfare amongst the Arabs, which, amongst other things, delayed the consolidation of Arab control across the Amū-Daryā in Transoxania; noteworthy in this connection is the prolonged revolt in Tukhāristān from 116/734 onwards of al-Ḥārith b. Surayḡ [*q.v.*]. Large numbers of Arab troops continued to reach Khurāsān, so that according to the historian Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, there were 40,000 Muslims in Khurāsān by 112/731. The last Umayyad governor there, Naṣr b. Sayyār of Kināna (120-30/738-48) [*q.v.*], was faced latterly by the spread of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* or revolutionary movement from its centre at Marw under a political adventurer of consummate skill, Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. This movement had been organised, from the caliphate of Hishām onwards, under local *nuḳabāʾ* or representatives of the ʿAbbāsid family in Marw, until Abū Muslim took over the leadership there in 128/746, apparently drawing his prime support from the older-established Arab settlers in the district, those whom Ṭabarī and the anonymous author of the *Taʾrīḵ al-Khulafāʾ* edited by Gryaznevich call the *ahl al-ḵhidma* (see Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 155-8). By 130/748 Abū Muslim was undisputed master in Marw and Naṣr b. Sayyār had been forced to flee towards the west.

Since Khurāsānī support was so decisive in the rise of the ʿAbbāsids, the province enjoyed considerable favour from the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, of the aneconnum of the Khurāsānīs as "our party, our helpers and the people of our *daʿwa*" in a *ḵhuṭba* or oration pronounced at Hāshimiyya by al-Manṣūr and reported by Masʿūdī, *Murūḏj*, vi, 203 ff., and the similar sentiments quoted from Ibn Ḳutayba in Muḳaddasī, 293-4. Khurāsānian guards and officials, the *Abnāʾ al-Dawla*, continued to be the mainstay of the régime till towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when there began the wholesale adoption of slave troops as the nucleus of the Caliphal army and household (see GHULĀM). Many Khurāsānīs migrated westwards into ʿAbbāsid service, such as the Barmakī family from Balkh (see BARĀMIKA), this process was accentuated when al-Maʾmūn, the former governor in Marw, achieved the caliphate in 198/813 with the support of the Persian east against his brother al-Amīn.

The Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] governed Khurāsān for the ʿAbbāsids, as faithful servants of the caliphs rather than as autonomous rulers, for some fifty years (205-59/821-73). They were of arabised, Persian *mawālī* stock, one member at whom had been secretary in an ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* or propagandist in Khurāsān, Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī. Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn was one of al-Maʾmūn's generals, and was in 205/821 appointed governor of Khurāsān and the east. The Ṭāhirids were strenuous supporters of Sunnī orthodoxy and the established Perso-Islamic social hierarchy against Shīʿī and older Iranian religious movements in the Caspian provinces and Transoxania, and also against heterodox currents of Persian socio-religious protest which were racking the Persian countryside at this time (see G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938). Under the Ṭāhirids, Khurāsān blossomed economically and culturally. We find ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-45) showing his concern for his province's welfare by his commissioning a book on water rights and the regulation of *ḳanāts*, the characteristic means of irrigation throughout much of Khurāsān; this *Kitāb al-Ḳunūz* was, according to the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī, still in use two centuries later. Whereas in the early Islamic period Khurāsān had been economically and culturally backward compared with western Persia (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 267 ff.), its agricultural prosperity now increased, according to Yāḳūbī, *Buldān*, 308, tr. 238, the *kharāj* or land tax of Khurāsān under the Ṭāhirids amounted to 40 million dirhams a year. It benefited from commercial traffic connecting ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād with Central Asia and the fringes of the Indian world, and a luxury product like the edible earth of Nīshāpūr was, according to Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 192, tr. Bosworth, 132, exported all over the

Islamic world, including to Egypt and the Maghrib. Above all, Khurāsān derived much advantage from the transit trade in Turkish slaves, which were a regular component of the annual tribute forwarded to the caliphs by the early ʿAbbāsid governors, the Ṭāhirids, and later, the Sāmānids, and which often fetched high prices; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 452, tr. ii, 437, says that he saw more than 4000 Khurāsān slaves sold for 3,000 dīnārs (Further on the Ṭāhirids, see Bosworth, ch. 3, *The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 90-106).

The Ṣaffārid adventurer from Sīstān, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, overthrew Ṭāhirid rule in Khurāsān, entering their capital Nīshāpūr in 259/873, and in the ensuing years, Khurāsān was fought over by various contending generals, until the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] defeated ʿAmr b. Layth in 287/900 and incorporated Khurāsān into the Sāmānid dominions. Under what is described in the sources as the beneficent rule of the Sāmānids, Khurāsān continued to be within the mainstream of Sunnī religious orthodoxy and culture. It had become already under the Ṭāhirids a vigorous centre of Arabic literature and of Sunnī legal and religious scholarship. There is a large representation of Khurāsānī scholars in such literary biographical works as Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* and the continuations of Bākharzī and Iṣfahānī. Khurāsānī theologians and traditionists were prominent in Sunnī, especially Shāfiʿī and Ashʿarī, learning, and in such theological and philosophical movements as these of the Muʿtazila and Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*]. The extremist Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī sect had pockets of support in the east, and Khurāsānī ascetics and mystics played important rôles in the development of Ṣūfism. It is, of course, well known that Khurāsān and the eastern Iranian world in general had a crucial part in the renaissance of the New Persian language and its literature from the 3rd/9th century onwards, see Browne, *LHP*, i, 445 ff., and Ryp̈ka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 233 ff.

As the Sāmānid amirate disintegrated in the later 4th/10th century under external attack from the north and internal revolt by unruly Turkish generals, Khurāsān passed under the rule of the Turkish Ghaznawid dynasty [*q.v.*]. In 384/994 the founder of the line, Sebüktigīn, had been given the governorship of Balkh and the eastern parts of Khurāsān, and in 388/998 his son Maḥmūd consolidated his power in the whole of the province, which was to remain under Ghaznawid control for forty years. The riches of Khurāsān did much to finance the successful Ghaznawid war machine, but the financial exactions of Ghaznawid officials and a series of disastrous famines made the Sulṭāns' rule there unpopular. Hence Nīshāpūr and the other towns were not averse during the period 428-31/1037-50 from surrendering to the incoming Oghuz nomads led by the Saldjūḳ family; and the Saldjūḳ victory at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040 sealed the fate of Ghaznawid rule over those parts of greater Khurāsān to the west of Bādghīs-Hirāt and the central Afghān mountain massif.

Under the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns, Khurāsān was an important province of their empire, even though the founder Toghrïl Beg soon moved his capital westwards from Nīshāpūr to Rayy and Iṣfahān. Khurāsān and the east were initially ruled by Toghrïl's brother Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd, whose son and grandson Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh were to raise the Saldjūḳ empire to its apogee. In general, firm rule brought peace to the towns of Khurāsān. This was temporarily ended in the uncertain years after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092—the local historian of Bayhaḳ or Sabzawār, Ibn Funduḳ, comments on the recrudescence of sectarian strife and the activities of the para-military *ʿayyār* groups in the town—but stability returned under the long reign of Sandjar, who was firstly governor in the east and then Sulṭān for a total of over sixty years. The intellectual and cultural vitality of Khurāsān remained unimpaired, and four of the original nine *madrasas* to colleges founded by the great Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk were, according to his biographer Subkī, in towns of that province, sc. in Nīshāpūr, Balkh, Harāt and Marw. One effect of the Oghuz migrations into Persia was the arrival of Turkman groups in northern Khurāsān, where suitable pasture was to be found for their flocks. These nomads remained an unassimilable element of Saldjūḳ Khurāsān, and ill neglect of their interests by the central government drove them into revolt towards the end of Sandjar's reign, leading to the Sulṭān's own capture by the Oghuz and effective deposition in 548/1153.

In the decades preceding the Mongol invasions, post-Saldjūḳ Khurāsān was held by various Oghuz tribal leaders and by former Saldjūḳ generals, and was then fought over by the Ghūrids and Khwārazm-Shāhs [*qq.v.*], until the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad finally overthrew his Ghūrid rivals in the opening years of the 7th/13th century (See, for the history of Khurāsān in the Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ periods, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, part II and III, and idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, ch. 5, v, ch. 2).

The Mongol hordes of Čingiz Khān, driving the Khwārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn before them, appeared in Khurāsān in 617/1220, and seized control of its towns. Whilst not all of the notorious massacres of the Mongols may have been perpetrated at the original surrender of some towns, but at the time of subsequent revolts, Marw and Nīshāpūr, which resisted fiercely in 618/1221, suffered appallingly. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 256, places the number of dead in Marw at 700,000, and Dīnawarī, tr. Boyle, i, 263 4, has the figure of 1,300,000 for the Marw oasis as a whole. Even allowing for statistical exaggeration, the Mongol invasions undoubtedly devastated Khurāsān to a far greater degree than the Oghuz incursions of the 5th/11th century had done, as is amply demonstrated in the accounts of European and Muslim travellers and geographers of the following period of the Il-Khānids, e.g. those of Marco Polo, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, etc. As well as the population losses and destruction of settlements, the increased proportion of Turkish and Mongol nomads in the province accentuated the existing trend from Saldjūḳ times towards pastoralisation and the decline of agriculture; moreover, the arbitrary Mongol system of taxation bore especially heavily on cultivators and landholders, according to I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, ch. 6. Certainly, Khurāsān never recovered its cultural and intellectual position within Persia as a whole, the Il-Khānids made their centre in western Persia, and Dihbāl, Āḏarbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ became the loci of political activity and artistic and literary life. The towns of Khurāsān continued to suffer from the warfare between the Il-Khānids and the Čaghatayids, and a place like Harāt only became a major centre with the florescence of the Timūrids in the 9th/15th century.

After the death of the Il-Khānid Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, various local dynasties arose in Persia, including in Khurāsān the Karts or Kurts and the Sarbadārids [*qq.v.*] The Karts arose in Harāt during the 7th/13th century, and successive rulers with the

title of *malik* or king retained power there till the deposition by Timūr of the last ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, in 791/1389. The Sarbadārs stemmed from Bayhak, and in the middle years of the 8th/14th century they held this region of western Khurāsān, extending to Dāmghān and even holding Nīshāpūr temporarily, till they too were extinguished by Timūr in 783/1381. Timūr made his own capital at Samarkand in Transoxania, but his son Shāh Rukh became governor of Khurāsān for his father in 799/1397 and ruled there for fifty years until his death in 850/1446-7. Towns like Harāt and Marw were rebuilt, and a considerable degree of prosperity restored, and under the Timūrid prince Husayn b. Manṣūr b. Bāysunghur (875-911/1470-1506) [*q.v.*], Harāt and Khurāsān enjoyed a period of political stability and of brilliant cultural and artistic life.

In the early 10th/16th century, Khurāsān was overrun by the Özbeg chief Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān and his hordes, but three years later, in 915/1510, the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I killed the Khān and incorporated Khurāsān into the Ṣafawid dominions. The Ṣafawids were, however, unable to hold Balkh, and lost it permanently in 922/1516. Warfare with the Özbegs remained endemic in northern Khurāsān, with the possession of frontier towns like Marw oscillating between the two powers. Noteworthy in the Ṣafawid period—one in which Persia became to a majority a Shīʿī land—was the rise in importance of the great shrine of the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] at Mashhad, originally the village of Sanābād, where both the eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa and the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd were buried. The shrine was already splendidly ornamented in Il-Khānid times, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted (*Riḥla*, iii, 77-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 582-3), and was increasingly enriched by the Timūrids and Ṣafawids. Shāh ʿAbbās I endeavoured to encourage the Shīʿī pilgrimage to Mashhad, since the holy places of ʿIrāḳ, such as Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, were often in Sunnī, Ottoman hands. In the comparatively peaceful period of Ḳādjār rule, Mashhad gradually attained its modern position as the principal city of Khurāsān.

With this resurgence of tribalism and the political upheavals of the 12th/18th century, Mashhad became Nādir Shāh's capital, and he made his military redoubt in the massif of Kalʿat-i Nādirī in northern Khurāsān, but after Nādir's death in 1160/1747, the eastern parts of Khurāsān passed for a while into the control of the Durrānī Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh [*q.v.*], and by 1163/1750, Balkh, Harāt, Mashhad and Nīshāpūr were all in his possession. But the blind, half Ṣafawid grandson of Nādir, Shāh Rukh, had meanwhile been raised to power in Khurāsān, and remained there as nominal ruler at least till his death in 1210/1796.

Once Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār had made firm his power over the whole land of Persia, control over Khurāsān was fully restored to the central government, now installed in Tehran. But the depredations of the Özbegs and other Turkmens continued to make life in northern Khurāsān chronically insecure, the progress of commerce and agriculture was inhibited, and many Persians were carried off and enslaved by raiders from the Central Asian emirates. These causes of friction were only ended by the Russians' virtual annexation of Khīwa in 1873 and the crushing of the Teke Turkmens at Gök Tepe in 1881. After this last victory, the Persian government was not strong enough to withstand Russian pressure, and the Russians annexed the Marw oasis in 1884. Relations with the amīrs of Afghānistān had meanwhile continued to be bad, with contention over possession of Harāt. The town was besieged to vain by the Persians in 1838, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh fought a brief war with Britain in 1856-7 over a temporary Persian seizure of Herat. After this, overt Persian attempts on these districts of western Afghānistān ceased, though disputes over the demarcation of the boundary between Khurāsān and Afghānistān were not finally settled till the definitive demarcation of the whole boundary as far south as Sīstān in 1934-5.

Khurāsān and the provincial capital Mashhad are now fully connected with Tehran by a metalled road, a railway and air services. The present population of the province (1966 census) is 4½ millions, with Mashhad now the third largest city of Persia with 409,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: This is largely given in the article, but note for the earlier period the flourishing genre of local histories, e.g. of Bayhak, Nīshāpūr, Balkh and Harāt (see Storey, i, 353 ff.). The political and social history of the province must be largely extracted from such general works as the books of Spuler, *Iran* and *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Sykes' *History of Persia*, the relevant chapters of the *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, and above all, the published and forthcoming volumes iv viii of the *Camb. hist. of Iran*. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, the works of European, mainly British, travellers, officials, consuls, etc. are a prime source, e.g. those of J. B. Fraser, C. Metcalfe MacGregor, the Hon. G. C. Napier, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, C. E. Yate, P. M. Sykes, W. Ivanow, etc.

(C. E. Bosworth)

Banū KHURĀSĀN, the dynasty which, taking advantage of the anarchy initiated in Zīrid Ifrīḳiya by the Hilālī invasion, governed Tunis 454-532/1062-1128 and 543-554/1148-59. When leaving Kayrawān and Tunis in the protection of a Ṣanhādjī chieftain Khalīfa b. Maymūn. The latter seems to have exercised no authority at Tunis, which was probably evacuated by the Ṣanhādja regrouping at al-Mahdiyya or in Hammādid territory, and independent Ibn Khaldūn states that it fell prey to a Hilālī *amīr*, a son-in-law of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, ʿĀbid b. Abī ʾl-Ghayth who reduced the inhabitants to slavery; this episode, undated, seems to have been no more than an isolated raid of which the effects were short lived. According to the same author, a mercenary leader, Kahrūn b. Ghannāsh, who became governor of Tunis, was banished from there because of his bad administration, subsequently he made a stronghold for himself in the arches of the aqueduct at Manzil Dahmūn, a refuge of brigands which the Tunisians succeeded in destroying with the aid of the Riyāḥid *amīr* Muḥriz b. Ziyād. One imagines the Tunisians paying ransoms and tribute to the nomads the rulers of the plains, but wishing to be protected against these marauders.

In the West, the Hammādid principality, still in tact, and indeed reinforced by the downfall of the Zīrid state, passed into the hands of an energetic, far-sighted sovereign, al-Nāṣir (454/1062). His power was quickly consolidated by the rallying to his side of Sfax and Kastīliya. It was only to be expected that Tunis should have considered doing the same thing, and accordingly a delegation of Tunisian *shaykhs* went to the Kalʿa to ask the Hammādid prince to choose them a governor. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Nāṣir prudently no doubt, contented himself with advising them to choose for themselves a *shaykh* who would govern them whilst he confined himself to observing them, taking his time to study

the situation (*yakūnu bi-amrihim khalalu mā yanzuru ʿalayhim*); they chose one of the leaders of their own community but he refused, and it was then that ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān took power in the name of al-Nāṣir. According to Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was appointed by the Ḥammādid immediately following the reception of the embassy of the Tunisian *shaykhs*. This historian, who makes no mention of the election of a Tunisian *shaykh*, proposed initially by al-Nāṣir, seems to have condensed his account of events, possibly there was a second deputation which returned with the designation of the Khurāsānid, or even with the governor in person.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān, a native of Tunis, was quite probably, says Ibn Khaldūn, of Sanhādjī origin, without this affirmation one would have to postulate for him a Khurāsānī descent, in Tunisian dialect, Khurāsān became Khrisān (the cupola of Sīdī Bū Khrisān)

He bore only the title of *shaykh* and ruled the city assisted by a council of *shaykhs*, a kind of senate partaking, no doubt, of the nature of the Berber *djamāʿa*. Nothing more is known of the institutions, certainly of a rudimentary nature, of this oligarchic republic. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ showed himself a good administrator, knowing how to assert himself and gain the sympathy of the population. To put an end to the brigandage of the Hilāl Arabs, he had the wisdom to agree to pay them an annual tribute (*sidra maʿlūma*); this *modus vivendi* probably made conditions favourable for the exploitation of neighbouring lands, for the provision of food supplies, for industry, and commerce.

The Ḥammādid suzerainty seems to have been no more than nominal, besides, al-Nāṣir was occupied warding off the Hilāl peril and in 457/1064-5, at Sabība, he suffered a defeat as great as that of the Zīrid at Haydarān in 443/1052. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs took advantage of his cousin's defeat to attack Tunis (458/1065 f), after a siege lasting fourteen months, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ submitted to him and consigned his suzerainty, but the authority of the Zīrid of al Mahdiyya seems to have been exercised in Tunis no more than had been that of the Ḥammādid of Kal'a. ʿAbd al Ḥaḳḳ governed for a further thirty years until his death (488/1095) His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded him. One may suppose, on the basis of an inscription on the foundation of a mosque dated Ramaḍān 485/5 Oct. - 3 Nov. 1092 where he is called *al-shaykh al-adjall* (the most venerable *shaykh*) that before his father's death he bore at least some of the authority. In addition, the frieze on the cupola of Sīdī Bū Khrisān says that this mausoleum was built in Djumādā II 486/29 June - 27 July 1093 by "the victorious power" (*al-sulṭān al-manṣūr*). Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al ʿAzīz and Abū ʾl-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl, both of them sons of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān; from this we may suppose that at this date, ʿAbd al Ḥaḳḳ, doubtless aged and sick, had handed over the reins of government to his two sons. It seems that ʿAbd al ʿAzīz, whom Ibn Khaldūn accuses of "a feeble spirit", at least to a certain extent shared power with his brother Ismāʿīl.

Tunis must have broken with the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya, since the sources state that Tamīm attacked and took it again in 491/1097-8.

The epitaph has survived of *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān who died on 5th Muḥarram 499/27th Sept. 1105, also that of the *amīr* Abū ʾl-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān, who died on 12th Radjab 500/8th March 1107; so the latter must have reigned from 5th Muḥarram 499 to 12th Radjab 500 with the title of *amīr*. Had he seized power? Had he aimed a blow at the power of the council of elders? Whatever the explanation, his nephew Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz put him to death and his son Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl fled to Bizerta

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān showed himself a dictator, abolishing the authority of the *shaykhs*, many of whom were exiled to al-Mahdiyya and elsewhere, and he sought the favour of the jurists with whom he liked to surround himself. He built the *Ḳaṣr* (palace) of the Banū Khurāsān, surrounded Tunis with ramparts and obtained from the Hilāl Arabs a guarantee to watch over the safety of travellers. Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote a panegyric of this prince, considered by Ibn Khaldūn the most remarkable of his family.

In 510/1116-17 he was obliged to submit to ʿAlī the Zīrid of al-Mahdiyya who sent an army to besiege Tunis, but in 514/1120-1 it was al-ʿAzīz the Ḥammādid of Bougie who laid siege to Tunis and imposed this suzerainty upon it. Finally, in 522/1128, a general of the Ḥammādid Yaḥyā b. al-ʿAzīz attacked Tunis Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went out of the city, surrendered and was banished, with all his family, to Bougie where he died. Tunis was entrusted to Ḥammādid governors who continued to rule there until 543/1148-9.

There followed for the Tunisians a period of anarchy; they were threatened simultaneously by the Normans—already masters of Djerba (538/1235), of Tripoli (541/1146), of Gabès (whose chieftain, a usurper, recognized them in about 542/1146-7), of al-Mahdiyya, of Sousse and of Sfax (these three taken in the same year, 543/1148)—and by the Ḥammādids of Bougie who were making preparations to subjugate them unconditionally, in addition, they were harassed by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, the Riyāḥid *amīr* of La Malga (al-Muʾallaḳa, between Tunis and Carthage) They took as their chief the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, one of the *sudan* Abū ʾl Ḥasan With his approval, they made an astonishing *coup-fourré*, deciding to appoint Muḥriz b. Ziyād as their king In reply to their invitation, the Riyāḥid approached Tunis, the *ḳāḍī* and the *shaykhs* came in procession to meet him; but a cry taken up by the crowd, "No obedience to an Arab or a Ghum (sc. a Tuscoman)", caused the enterprise to fail. It seems that the ruling class, having acted out of realism or for the defence of their own interests, were foiled by public opinion. Muḥriz b. Ziyād made his way back to La Malga where he was joined by the *ḳāḍī* who had been chased out of Tunis.

In order to put an end to the civil war, the Tunisians decided on a restoration of the Banū Khurāsān. A deputation went to Bizerta to fetch Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ who was hauled up at night over the city walls of Tunis in a wicker basket. This secret entry, which is not adequately explained by the closure at night of the city gates, suggests that the population was not unanimous in the decision to adopt him as *sadr*. Seven months later he was betrayed by his brother's son, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al ʿAzīz who seems to have had him drowned. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ismāʿīl b ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ remained in power for about ten years. He killed the *ḳāḍī* Abū ʾl-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Ḥalwān, his son and the son of his sister Ibn al-Bannāḥ, fearing lest they conspire against him with the Arabs, doubtless with Muḥriz b. Ziyād.

Nevertheless, it was thanks to a unit commanded by Muḥriz b Ziyad, which had penetrated into Tunis,

that the inhabitants, under siege by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, son of the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, made a successful sortie and forced the enemy to retire. On the last day of Djumādā I 558/10th July 1257, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reported to the archbishop of Pisa the victory which he had just won over the Muwaḥḥids, in a letter preserved in the archives of Pisa confirming the verbal terms of a commercial treaty between Pisa and Tunis.

He was succeeded by his nephew ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakk b. Khurāsān (in about mid-February 1159). But five months later (about mid-July 1159), Tunis was laid under siege by a formidable army and fleet under the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and surrendered. A deputation of twelve (or seventeen) *shaykhs* went to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to ask for peace. After an initial refusal, and long equivocation, he accepted. In the list of these *shaykhs*, unfortunately incomplete, we notice nine names — three brothers, the Banū ʿAbd al-Sayyid, Hāshimī *sharīfs* (the epitaph of another member of this line, dating from 598/1215, is qualified by *fakīh* and *imām*), and two sons of Manṣūr Ismāʿīl and their paternal cousin, so we are dealing here with an oligarchy, and, once more, it is making terms with the enemy, in fact, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin promised to respect the lives, families and goods of the *shaykhs* who had come to negotiate, in return for their readiness to surrender, but he made the same guarantees to the other inhabitants of the city and environs only after they had handed over to him half of their goods.

The last of the Khurāsānids, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, had not only to surrender half of his goods, but also to accept exile in Bougie, once these conditions were accepted, he left Tunis that same day, but died on the road.

Tunis has kept some relics of the Banū Khurāsān, sc. the mosque of the Dār al-Kasr (ca. 499/1106), which probably adjoined their palace (no longer in existence), and not far from Sīdī Bū Khrīsān street, a *Kubba*, their funeral mausoleum in the centre of a necropolis excavated by S. M. Zbiss, to whom we owe the establishment of an epigraphic museum and the publication of a number of tomb-inscriptions of the men and women of this family.

Bibliography exhaustive references in H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, i-ii, Paris 1962, index, 542. (H. R. IDRIS)

KHURĀSĀNĪ, Āḳhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim (1839-1912), a distinguished Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Iran, born in Tūs he received his early education in Mashhad, pursued traditional studies including natural philosophy in Tehran in 1860, and moved to Nadjaf in 1861 for further studies. He studied under Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, the then sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* of the Shīʿī world. After the latter's death (1894), Khurāsānī was recognised as the legitimate successor to Shīrāzī. He proved to be a resourceful teacher, lecturing daily before more than 1,000 students of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and producing as graduates of his courses some 120 *mudjtahids* (Mahdī al-Mūsawī, *Akwān al-anḍār*, i, Nadjaf 1928, 147 ff). He established three religious (*ibid*, 148) and some modern schools in ʿIrāḳ (ʿAbd Allāh al-Fayyāḍ *al-Thawra al-ʿIrāḳiyya al-kubrā sanat 1920*, Baghdād 1967, 82 ff.). Since 1906 Khurāsānī's name has been associated with the Persian Constitutional Revolution as one of its most influential supporters. He and two other *mudjtahids*, Ṭihrānī and Māzandarānī, issued numerous *fatwās* and manifestos, sent many telegrams, wrote many letters to responsible authorities in Persia and Turkey, and organised two uprisings. Led by Khurāsānī, the Persian *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ intensified their campaign after Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's abrogation of the constitution in 1908, and in a *fatwā* they declared that obedience to the Shāh and the payment of taxes to his government were un Islamic (Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1952, 730) and strongly condemned their clerical opponent Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (*ibid*., 528). Khurāsānī's activities were not favoured by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II of Turkey. Thanks to the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, however, there appeared a degree of mutual co-operation between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the Turks, and Khurāsānī openly supported the Turkish Revolution. He even threatened to dethrone ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd upon the latter's counter revolution in 1909 (Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan Nadjafī Kūfānī, *Siyāḥat-i sharḳ*, Mashhad 1972, 474 f).

Living in an Ottoman province, ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsānī and other Persian constitutionalists seem to have been led to an agreement of expedience with the Young Turks. We see Khurāsānī, for instance, sanctioning the Pan-Islamic policy of the Young Turks (*RMM*, xiii (1911), 385 f) and at times, despite his being a Shīʿī *mudjtahid*, calling the Ottoman sultan "caliph" (al-*Irfān*, i (1909), 140-1, Nūrī al-Dīn-Zāda, *Ḥudjdjat-i Rāh-i Īrān*, Baghdād 1913, 45). In support of the sultan, he also declared a holy war against the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 (al-*ʿIlm*, ii (1912), 246-7, 290-7, 338-42). In return, Khurāsānī appealed to the sultan to interfere in favour of the Persian constitutionalists, once in 1909 when he was successfully working towards the dethronement of the foreign-backed Shāh (*al-Irfān*, i (1909), 140-1), and another time when, upon the Anglo-Russian invasions of Iran in 1911, the deposed Shāh vainly attempted to regain his throne (*Ḥudjdjat-i Rāh*, 45-6). In both cases Khurāsānī, leading many of his supporters, set out for Persia to mobilise the masses. the first uprising was stopped because of the Shāh's downfall (*al-Irfān*, i (1909), and iv (1912), 36-40), and the second one was postponed because of Khurāsānī's sudden death (*Ḥudjdjat-i Rāh*, 58-67).

Despite the allegation concerning Khurāsānī's ties to the Oudh Bequest (Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Tārīkh-i rawābiṭ-i siyāsī-yi Īrān wa Inglīs*, Tehran 1953 vi, 1741-5), he does on the whole have favoured the British. Since the Russian troops were suppressing the Persian Revolution and the British were thought to have supported it, Khurāsānī sent delegates to the British Consulate in Baghdād seeking co-operation (Abdul Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977), though this proved useless because of the British commitment to the 1907 Convention. From then on, we see Khurāsānī in an equal opposition to the two powers. He expressed his deep mistrust in the Shāh, and paid no attention to the intercession of the two powers under whose pressures the Shāh had to promise the re-establishment of the Persian constitution; Khurāsānī only insisted upon the deposition of the Shāh and the declaration of a genuine constitutional régime (Hairi, *Why did the ʿUlamāʾ participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii (1976-7)

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AL-KHURAYMĪ [see ABŪ YA'ḲŪB AL-KHURAYMĪ]

AL-KHŪRĪ, Fāris (1875? 1962), a Syrian politician, a Christian, who played a very important role over a period of almost half a century. Born in a Lebanese village on the slopes of Mount Hermon, he studied at Ṣaydā then at the school in Beirut which was later to become the American University, while also working as a teacher. When family affairs took him to Damascus in 1899, he took up residence in the Syrian capital, learned Turkish and French and was employed as an interpreter in the British consulate. His political career began in 1909 when he joined the Committee of Union and Progress. As legal adviser to the municipality of Damascus (1910-38) he was elected a member of the municipal council of the town in 1914, took part in 1928 in the Council of State which met in Istanbul, participated in the creation of the Arab Academy, and then occupied a number of important political offices: Minister of Finance in 1920, of National Education in 1936, President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1943 and then from 1946 to 1949, and President of the Council of Ministers in 1944-5 and in 1954-5. At the same time, he was President of the Bar of Damascus (1920-36), for a short time Professor of Law (1922), a founder member of the People's Party (1925), then of the Nationalist Bloc (*al-Kutla al-Waṭaniyya*, 1928), and was a member of the delegation which negotiated with France the Treaty of 1936. After the war he was appointed Syrian delegate to the United Nations, and presided over the Security Council in 1947 and 1948. He retired from active life in 1955 and died on 2 January 1962.

Fāris al-Khūrī was a calm, level-headed man whose essential aim was to achieve the supremacy of justice. He was a man of great culture and erudition, and his powers of oratory were widely recognised. After the beginning of this century he took an interest in events outside the Arab world and derived from them the inspiration for his literary, more precisely his poetic, production, for this man of politics was also a poet. His classical background gave him the idea in 1898 of preparing an anthology entitled *Shadhūr al-dhahab fī luġaṭ al-ʿArab* which has remained unedited, but he continued subsequently to compose verses, of which the total number is close to 2,000. His poetry is neo-classical in style and comprises a number of *ḳaṣīdas* on various events, notably on the Russo-Japanese War, panegyrics and obituary tributes dedicated to his friends or to distinguished personalities, a single *ḥiǧāʾ* (of sultān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, which he later regretted), and some love poems, including three *muwashshaḥāt*, another product of his classical education is a *taḵhmīs* of the *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*]. He also found the time, in spite of his many commitments, to write two legal works: a *Muḏakkar fī ʿilm al-maḥkama al-shariʿiyya* (1924, 1937) and the *Uṣūl al-muḥākamāt al-shariʿiyya* (2nd ed. 1956).

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AL-KHURMA, an oasis in western Saudi Arabia situated at lat. 21° 54′ N and long. 42° 2′ E, which became prominent in Arabian politics during the first quarter of this century. The oasis lies in the middle reaches of Wādī Taraba or Turaba (also shown on maps as Wādī Subay'). The companion oasis of Taraba [*q.v.*], capital of the tribe of the Bukūm, is farther up the valley about 75 km. to the south-west. Another 75 km. downstream from al-Khurma the valley passes by the wells of al-Kunsuliyya and then ends at 'Irḳ Subay', whose sands keep the floodwaters from joining the main drainage system emptying into Wādī l-Dawāsir [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB]. The oasis is close to the northern tip of Ḥarrat Nawāṣif, the southern part of which is called Ḥarrat al-Bukūm. The road from al-Khurma to al-Ṭāʾif runs south of west over the range of Ḥadā, often taken as marking the eastern geographical limit of al-Ḥiḏjāz [*q.v.*]. About 80 km. north of al-Khurma is the ancient gold mine of Zalim, attempts to rework which in recent times proved a failure. Beyond Zalim to the north is the present main highway from Djudda and Mecca to al-Riyāḍ (Darb al-Ḥiḏjāz); earlier, many pilgrims and a considerable amount of trade went along the track through al-Kunsuliyya and al-Khurma.

The relatively small population of al-Khurma is made up of tribesmen from the western section of Subay' [*q.v.*], who regard the oasis as their capital, Sharīfs, and black freemen. The chief place in the oasis is Ḳaṣr Khālid, named after a former *Amīr* (see below), and the other principal settlements are al-Sūḳ and al-Sulaymiyya.

Unlike Taraba, al-Khurma is not mentioned by Hamdānī, though it may have been inhabited even before his time. Its first appearance in history seems to have been in 1212/1798, when the Sharīf Ghālib b. Musāʿid, a determined foe of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], pitched his camp there with a host of "Bedouins, townsmen, Egyptians (*maṣriyya*), and Maghribīs" (Ibn Bishr, i, 122) while making a sweep through the south-western oases in an effort to halt the spread of the reform movement. Surprised by Wahhābī warriors under the leadership of Hādī b. Ḳarmula of Ḳaḥṭān and Rubayyiʿ b. Zayd of the Dawāsir, Ghālib and his host fled pell-mell, losing many hundreds of men and rich booty. This catastrophe compelled Ghālib to rescind in 1213/1799 the ban that for some years prevented the Wahhābīs of Nadjd from making the pilgrimage.

With the resurgence of the Wahhābiyya to this century under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, possession of al-Khurma became a crucial issue. Many Khurmans had remained attached to the reform movement since the preceding century. As Wahhābī proselytising also won new adherents in the west, the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of Mecca tried to assert sovereignty over al-Khurma, which would have carried his authority well towards the east. In the words of Philby, "Khurma itself was a locality of little importance, economically or politically, though it occupied a strategic position as the back door to Najd. Its real significance was as a symbol of the struggle for Arabian hegemony, which had now been transferred from the old cockpit of the Ḳaṣīm [see AL-ḲAṢĪM] to the frontiers of the Ḥiḏjaz" (*Arabian jubilee*, 60). The British government held that al-Khurma, which it thought was not very far away from al-Ṭāʾif (the actual distance is 190 km.), fell within al-Ḥusayn's sphere. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, on the other hand, avowed that he had inherited all

the territory that had belonged to his forefathers, including of Khurma.

The Sharīf Khālid b. Manṣūr Ibn Lu'ayy, said to have been named *amīr* of al-Khurma by al-Husayn, became a convert to the Wahhābiyya, as a result of which al-Husayn detained him to Mecca for a time. al-Husayn also rebuked the Ḥanbalī *kāḍī* of al-Khurma for preaching in the Wahhābī vein. The Khurmāo Wahhābīs were devout enough to be reckoned as be longing to the ranks of the Ikhwān (*q.v.*). Late in 1333/1915 al-Husayn's son ʿAbd Allāh delivered ultimatums to Khālid demanding that he return to his original loyalty. Khālid rejected the ultimata, and the Khurmans called on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for help. Sympathetic though he was to their cause, he was occupied elsewhere and could do little for them. During 1336/1918, expeditions sent by al-Husayn to subdue al-Khurma were repulsed one after another by Khālid and the Ikhwān.

Infuriated by the tenacious and successful resistance of the little oasis, al-Husayn in Shaʿbān 1337/May 1919 deputed his son ʿAbd Allāh with a martial array, well armed by Arabian standards, to settle accounts there once and for all. On the way, ʿAbd Allāh paused at Taraba where Khālid and the Ikhwān, striking suddenly at night, won a signal victory reminiscent of the one achieved by their Wahhābī predecessors over the Sharīf Ghālib. No serious military obstacle then barred the way to al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz chose to bide his time. When the move in that direction leading to the capture of Mecca was finally made in 1343/1924, al-Khurma and Taraba provided the springboard for Khālid and the Ikhwān.

The *hajra* of the Ikhwān beside Khālid's castle in al Khurma is said to have been founded after the battle of Taraba. The British explorer Philby visited the oasis in 1336/1917 and again in 1351/1932, as well as a year or two before that while hunting with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

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KHURRAMĀBĀD, chief town of the *shahrastān* of the same name in the Iranian province of Luristān (*ostan 6*), situated in long. 48° 21′ E., lat. 33° 29′ N., population of the *shahrastān* (1966) 259,000, elevation above sea-level 4,760 feet.

The town in first mentioned under its present name in the 8th/14th century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, who states "this was tine town, but it is now in ruins" (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 74). To the south-east of the town, along the banks of the Khurramābād river, and also to the south west, are remains dating from the time when the site, then known as Dizʿ Siyāh, was the capital of the Saldjūḳ *atābegs* of Luristān Ḳučik (*q.v.*), who governed the area from 582/1186 and whose last representative was killed by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1008/1597. At a still earlier date, the Sāsānid town of Shāpūrḵẖwāst seems to have occupied the site (thus Minorsky, in *EI*[1], Luristān, who supports Rawlinson *contra* Le Strange, *Lands*, 201-2).

This mountainous region, inhabited by Luri-speaking tribes, remained remote until almost the end of the 13th/19th century, when it was finally opened up by the construction of the Tehran-Abwāz highway, this reduced to 10 days the 40-50 days previously required for the journey from the Persian Gulf to Tehran via Shīrāz.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

KHURRAMIYYA or KHURRAMĪNIYYA rulers in the Islamic sources to the religious movement founded by Mazdak (*q.v.*) to the late 5th century A.D. and to various Iranian, anti-Arab sects which developed out of it under the impact of certain extremist Shīʿī doctrines. Although the Khurramiyya are sometimes mentioned separately besides the Mazdakiyya, Ibn al-Nadīm, following Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, is no doubt right in stating that the name Khurramiyya, as also Muḥammira (*q.v.*), originally meant the movement of Mazdak in general, and not merely a branch of it. Al-Mas'ūdī's assertion that the Khurramiyya are distinct from the Mazdakiyya evidently relates to the later development, since he at the same time identifies the former with the followers of Abū Muslim. The Persian name Khurram-dīn ("joyous or agreeable religion") may, as has been suggested, have been chosen by the sectarians in analogy to the name Yehdēn which the Zoroastrians applied to their own religion, though it seems also possible that it was coined by their Zoroastrian opponents. In the Islamic sources, it is usually explained as referring to their libertinist and hedonistic view that everything agreeable to the senses is permitted. Other explanations of the name, that it is derived either from Khurram, a district of Ardabīl, or from Khurrama, the wife of Mazdak, are probably unfounded.

Although the sources do not mention the Mazdakite movement in early Islamic times, it is evident that Mazdakite communities were dispersed in the countryside of many regions of Iran with the heaviest concentration in the province of al-Djibāl. The coalescence of the Khurramiyya with various extremist factions of the Khyāliniyya (*q.v.*) began during the upheavals of the late Umayyad age. Al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2588, reports that the ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* Khidāsh (*q.v.*), who was active before 118/736 in the area of Nayshābūr and Marw, taught the religion of the Khurramiyya and permitted promiscuity. Al-Nāshiʾ identifies the Khurramiyya of Khurāsān with the Khidāshiyya, who held that the imāmate had passed from the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī by forfeiture to Khidāsh, and who furthermore denied the death of the latter. According to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, the Hārūnīyya the extremist supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (*q.v.*) who after his death in 131/748-9 chose various chiefs of their own, were called Khurramiyya. It is likely that these two sects were partially recruited from the local Mazdakites on Khurāsān and western Iran, which was controlled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya for some time. The strongest impact on the Mazdakite Khurramiyya was made, however, by the figure of Abū Muslim (*q.v.*), who as the leader of the revolutionary movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate and as the victim of ʿAbbāsid perfidy came to symbolise Persian self assertion against Arab dominance. Many heresiographers fully identify the Khurramiyya with the Muslimiyya, who considered Abū Muslim as their *imām*, prophet or an incarnation of the divine spirit. Abū Ḥātim's statement that the Rizāmiyya belonged to the Khurramiyya is to be understood in the same sense, for he and some other sources explain this name as meaning the radical, anti-ʿAbbāsid followers of Abū Muslim.

The *daʿwa* of Abū Muslim evidently gained numer-

ous Mazdakite adherents during his lifetime. After his murder in 137/755, the Khurramiyya in Khurāsān, according to al-Mas'ūdī, rose in revolt. Some of them denied his death and expected his early return to establish justice in the world. Others affirmed his death and held that the imāmate had passed to his daughter Fāṭima. They were known as the Fāṭimiyya. The Zoroastrian Sunbādh [see SUMBĀD], a former associate of Abū Muslim, led an army of rebels from Nayshābūr to al-Rayy where his following swelled rapidly. According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, it was composed of Mazdakites, Shī'īs and Zoroastrians. Sunbādh predicted the end of the Arab empire and promised to destroy the Ka'ba. Abū Muslim, he asserted, had not died and would shortly reappear, together with Mazdak and the Mahdī. By the latter, who is not identified, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya may have been meant. The revolt was suppressed after 70 days and the leader was killed. Another former associate of Abū Muslim, known as Isḥāḳ al-Turk, after the former's murder fomented an insurrection in Transoxania, affirming that Abū Muslim was alive in the mountains of al-Rayy and would return. He is also reported to have previously taught that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster, who himself was alive and would reappear to restore his religion. Nothing is known about the exact date of the activity of Isḥāḳ and the fate of his movement. It has been suggested, on the basis of the account of Gardīzī, that the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Dāwūd Khālid (d. 140/757) was killed by followers of Isḥāḳ and that the rebel leader Barāzbanda, whom Abū Dāwūd's successor 'Abd al-Djabbār joined when he revolted against the caliph al-Manṣūr, also belonged to Isḥāḳ's movement. The first suggestion is highly conjectural and the second quite unlikely; the white-clad (*safīd-djāmagān*) murderers of Abū Dāwūd were, according to Gardīzī, the followers of one Sa'īd the weaver (*ghazzāl*), and Barāzbanda claimed to be Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd (read Muḥammad?) al-Mashīnī (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347, 1231). About two decades after the death of Abū Muslim, al-Mukannaʿ (*q.v.*), also a former member of his *da'wa* and of the Rizāmiyya, appeared in Transoxania to lead another revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Muḥayyiḍa [*q.v.*], Pers. Sapīd-djāmagān) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesmen. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim (a different report adds Shaybī and substitutes 'Alī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya for Abū Muslim) and taught the transmigration of souls and sexual license. The sect of the Muḥayyiḍa is still mentioned as surviving in the 6th/12th century.

The latter two movements usually are not called Khurramiyya in the sources, though as branches of the Muslimiyya they were covered by the name in its wider sense. There is no specific information on their doctrine about Mazdak and the role of Mazdakites in them. Al-Bīrūnī, however, states in general terms that al-Mukannaʿ prescribed for his followers "everything Mazdak had brought" and al-Shahrastānī counts the Muḥayyiḍa as one of the neo-Mazdakite sects and as a variety of the Khurramiyya. They may have been crypto-Mazdakites before the coming of al-Mukannaʿ (see A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Vosstanie Mukanny Dvizhenie kyzylpalakh i bor'ba arabskogo halifata s nimi*, in *SO*, v. [1948], 35-54).

The use of the name Khurramiyya is most prevalent for the neo-Mazdakites in western Iran. In 162/779 the Muḥammira, i.e. the Mazdakites, of Djurdhān rose and made common cause with the Khurramdīniyya, i.e. the Muslimiyya, claiming that Abū Muslim was alive and promising to restore his reign. They put Abū 'l-Khaṣīb, the young grandson of Abū Muslim, at their head and reached al-Rayy before they were defeated by 'Umar b. al-'Alā'. At the same time, the Khurramiyya of Iṣfahān revolted. Again in 180-1/796-8 the Muḥammira of Djurdjān rose and for a brief time held sway over the province. In 192/808 the Khurramiyya revolted in Ādharbaydjān and the regions of al-Rayy, Hamadhān and Iṣfahān. The insurrection was quickly suppressed by 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik and Abū Dulaf al-'Idjlī.

The anti-Arab and anti-Muslim activity of the Khurramiyya reached its climax in the great rebellion of Bābak (*q.v.*) of Khurramī in Ādharbaydjān (201-23/816-38). Bābak had become the chief of the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Badhdh in Ādharbaydjān in succession to Djāwīdhān b. Shahrak, whose prophetic spirit, he claimed, had settled upon him. Djāwīdhān was alleged to have predicted the victory of Mazdakism under his successor. The sources offer little information on the religious doctrine of Bābak and his followers. Their connection with the Muslimiyya is indicated by the fact that some people, according to al-Dīnawarī, held Bābak to be a son of Muṭahhar, son of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim. The revolt later spread outside Ādharbaydjān. In 212/827 f. the Khurramiyya rose in the area of Iṣfahān and al-Karadj and some of them joined Bābak in Ādharbaydjān. In 218/833 they revolted around Iṣṭakhr under their chief 'Alī b. Mazdak and in Fārs. As 'Alī b. Mazdak took al-Karadj, the sectarians joined him in large numbers. After a bloody defeat by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm near Hamadhān, some of them retreated and pillaged in Iṣfahān, while others under their leader Barsā fled to Byzantine territory. They were enrolled in the Byzantine army and are mentioned in 223/838 fighting under the emperor Theophilus against the Muslims.

'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī treats a sect called Māzyārīyya, followers of the Kārinid ruler of Ṭabaristān, Māzyār [see KĀRINIDS] (d. 225/840), as the second major branch of the Khurramiyya besides the Bābakiyya. Māzyār whose revolt against the caliphate developed out of his quarrel with the big landowners of the lowlands of Ṭabaristān and his rivalry with 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, was certainly not a Mazdakite, although he was accused of having aided Bābak. In his political struggle he came to rely on the non-Muslim elements of the highlands, particularly Zoroastrians, but evidently also Mazdakites. The Khurramiyya of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān may have continued to honour his memory as the account of al-Baghdādī suggests.

According to the *Siyāsat nāma*, the rebellions of the Khurramiyya in the area of Iṣfahān continued after the execution of Bābak until the year 300/912-3. First they rose during the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), and again sacked al-Karadj. Later, at an unspecified date, one Bāryazdjāh succeeded in fortifying himself in the mountains of Iṣfahān. The Khurramiyya joined him and raided caravans and villages. Only after some 30 years was he seized and executed. Still in 320-1/932-3, 'Alī b. Būya conquered several fortresses previously held by the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Karadj and captured great treasures.

Khurramī encampments are mentioned in the 4th/10th century in the regions of Fārs, al-Ahwāz, Iṣfahān, al-Burdj, al-Karadj, Māsabadhān, Mihrdjān-kadhak, al-Saymara, Dīnawar, Nihāwand, Hamadhān, Kāshān, Kūmis, al-Rayy in the mountains of

Tabaristān, al-Daylam, Āḏarbayǧān, Armenia, Shahrazūr, Ḏurḏān, Balḫ and Khurāsān. It has been accepted on the basis of a report of Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz, *Eclipses*, ii, 299, tr., v, 321) that Khurramiyya living along the coast of Makrān and Kirmān were subjugated in 360/972 by a general of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The name al-Khurramiyya is, however, a corruption in the manuscript and should be read al-Ḏurūmiyya. This is evident from the text of Ibn al-Aṯīr (viii, 452) which is based on Miskawayh as well as from Miskawayh's mention of the same people called al-Ḏurūmiyya later under the year 364/974-5 (ii, 359 f., Ibn al-Aṯīr, viii, 482, Hilāl in *Eclipses*, iii, 377; al-Ḏurūm; this point is also made by C. E. Bosworth, *The Ṣaffārid Ḥyāṣs of Kirmān (320-57/932-68), in Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 123 n. 34). The latest mention of surviving Khurramiyya communities is for the first half of the 6th/12th century in the region al-Ansābāḏh and Dackasīn, north west of Hamaḏān (al-Bundārī, *Muḫtaṣar baḥdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 124), and in Āḏarbayǧān.

According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 343/956), the Khurramiyya in his time mostly belonged to two divisions, the Kūdakiyya and the Lūḥshāhiyya). (variants Kūḏshāhiyya, Kurḏshāhiyya). The former were probably named thus because of their veneration of Mahdī b. Fayrūz, the son (or grandson?) of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, whom they called *kūdak-i dānā*, the omniscient boy. They are also mentioned in other sources and apparently constituted the great majority of the Khurramiyya in western Iran. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934) states that the extremist factions which originally developed out of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement were known under different names in different regions, in the country of Iṣfahān as Kūdakiyya and Khurramiyya, in al-Rayy and elsewhere in al-Ḍinhūl as Mazdakiyya and Sunbāḏiyya, in Dīnawar and Nihāwand as Muḥammira and in Āḏarbayǧān as Ḏhakūfiyya (or Daffūliyya). It is not clear if the latter name implies a distinction in religious doctrine between the Khurramiyya in Āḏarbayǧān and elsewhere in western Iran, though any such differences were most likely not substantial. Abū Dulaf b. Muhalhil, who visited al-Baḏhān about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentions a place there were the Muḥammira known as the Khurramiyya consecrated their flags and where they expected the coming of the Mahdī. Probably the *kūdak-i dānā* or, in any case, a descendant of Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima, is meant.

The reports of the Muslim sources about the doctrine and practices of the Khurramiyya are mostly summary and biased. An exception is the account of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, which is based on his personal acquaintance with members of the sect and his reading of some of their books. The Khurramiyya were dualists holding that the principle of the world was the light, some of which had become effaced and turned into darkness. They all believed in the transmigration of souls in human, animal, and angel bodies. Prophetic revelation in their view never ceased and the same divine spirit inhered in all prophets. They had no religious law but, according to Muṭahhar, had recourse to their *imāms* in legal matters. Messengers whom they called angels (*firishtagān*) made the rounds among them. They were much concerned with cleanliness and purity, tried to win people's favour through acts of kindness and strictly avoided bloodshed except when they decided on rebellion. They expected the appearance of a descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, as the Mahdī who would make their cause prevail in the world. Wine was considered particularly blessed by them. According to Muṭahhar, some held promiscuity licit with the consent of the woman and, in general, any fulfillment of natural desires as long as no one was harmed. The more extravagant clichés of some sources concerning their sexual libertinism deserve no credence. There is no sound evidence for community of goods among them.

The Mazdakite and Manichaean basis of these beliefs is manifest. The attempts of some sources to establish a close link between the Khurramiyya and the Karmaṭīs and Ismāʿīliyya must be viewed with reserve. There is no evidence for any influence of Khurramī doctrine on Ismāʿīlī doctrine or of any large scale conversion of Khurramīs to early Ismāʿīlism.

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KHURRAMSHAHR, chief town (population in 1960: 58,536) of the *shahristān* of the same name (population in 1966: 156,282) in the Iranian province of Khūzistān (*iklīm* 6), and situated in long. 48° 09′ E., lat. 30° 25′ N. Its elevation above sea-level is 3 m./26 ft., and the climate is hot and humid, with summer temperatures rising to 58° C/136° F., and a winter minimum of 8° C/46° F.

The present town is the successor of a number of settlements which, since ancient times, have been located in the general area where the Karūn (Dudjayl) river and the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow into the Persian Gulf a few miles apart. Elamite and Achaemenid settlements were succeeded, in Islamic times, by Bayān and Muḥriz, which were included by the Islamic geographers in the province of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAḏjam. The earlier settlements were situated on the Karūn river itself, the later ones on a channel cut to link the Karūn and the Tigris-Euphrates estuary (now called by the Arabs Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and by the Persians Arwand-rūd). The construction of this channel (known at different times as Ǧūy-i Bayān; Ǧūy-i ʿAḍudī (after it had been widened by the Buwayhid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla *[q.v.]*; and the Ḥaffār channel) created the island al-Ābādān [see ʿABBĀDĀN],

the site of the National Iranian Oil Company's refinery.

After being mentioned by al Mukaddasī (4th/10th century), the site is not heard of again until the beginning of the 13th/19th century, when a fort called Kut al-Muḥammara ("Red Fort") developed into the town of Muḥammara governed by Arab *shaykhs* of the Kaʿb tribe. The new town was situated on the Haffār channel, one mile from its confluence with the Kārūn. The rise of a rival port at the end of the Persian Gulf was regarded by the Ottomans as a threat to the prosperity of Baṣra, and in 1254/1838-9 they sacked the town, which was, however, subsequently ceded to Persia by the Treaty of Erzerum in 1847. This treaty was violated by the Ottomans in 1886 by the construction of a fort at Fao, at the mouth of the estuary, which enabled them to harass shipping bound for Muḥammara.

In 1925, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī brought the virtually autonomous *shaykhdom* of Muḥammara firmly under Iranian control, and in 1937 the name of the town, by a decision of the Iranian cabinet, was changed to Khurramshahr. During World War II, the port facilities at Khurramshahr were greatly expanded, and a 75-mile branch line was constructed to link the city with the Trans-Iranian railway at Ahwāz. After further development under the Second Seven-Year Plan (1955 62), Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports of entry on the Persian Gulf, its exports include dates, milk products, skins and wool.

The 1922-14 Boundary Commission took as the international boundary with ʿIrāḳ the low-water line on the Iranian side of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. This left the navigation channel to Khurramshahr under ʿIrāḳī jurisdiction, and resulted in constant friction between the two countries. This dispute appears finally to have been settled by the agreement signed on 6 March 1975, whereby Iran and ʿIrāḳ agree that the international boundary shall be the *thalweg*, or line of deepest water.

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(R. M. Savory)

KHURREM (P. "cheerful, smiling") is a name of both men and women. The most famous bearer of it is the Khāṣṣeki [*q.v.*] and beloved wife of Sulaymān I [*q.v.*], who was born in the early years of the 10th century and died on 26 Djumādā II 965/15 April 1558. Because of the necessary seclusion of her life, few facts about her are known. It is, however, certain that Sulaymān remained passionately devoted to her from their meeting, probably in Istanbul after his accession on 27 Shawwāl 926/ 30 September 1520, until her death, hence her power, by which the altered the course of the Ottoman Empire. This power, for which she is hated, brought upon her charges of witchcraft (Bassano, *Costumi, Roma* 1545, 28v) *and sorcery* (Busbecq, *Omnia* . . . , Basel 1740, 72-3), but Navagero's remark (Albèri, *Relazioni* iii/1, 74), "she knows the Sultan's nature very well", seems nearer the truth. According to the tradition established by Hammer-Purgstall (*GOR*, ii, 673), she was Polish, from Rogatin (Polish: Rohatyn) on the Gnilaya Lipa river, now in the Ukrainian SSR, then in the Little Russia of Poland, the daughter of a Greek Catholic *papas*; possibly her name was Alek sandra Lisowska (see *Bulletin*, xxiii, 230). The area, an old Ruthenian settlement, was subjected to frequent Tatar raids, she may have been carried off on one of these and sold as a slave in Istanbul. It may not be a coincidence that she had a mosque built later in the ʿAvret Pazarī quarter, near the female slave-market. Other traditions, of little reliability, make her Slav, Circassian, Siennese, even French. She may have been presented to Sulaymān by his mother Hafṣa Sulṭān or by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] (Bassano, *loc. cit.*, 18v), with whom she was to share Sulaymān's affection. She was called Khurrem (variants: Churram, Curren, Hürrem) but is known in Turkish histories generally as Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān and in Western accounts as Roxelana (variants: Roxolana, Roxelone, Rossolana, Roxsane, la Rossa, la Rosa), probably all referring to her origin as a Russian or even a Ruthenian woman (*Bulletin*, xxiii, 229), but not meaning "Rose", "Redhead", nor Baudier's ingenious "Roxana" to Sulaymān's Alexander the Great (*Inventaire*², Paris 1620, 344). Bragadin in 1526 (Albèri, iii/3, 202) describes her as "young not beautiful, but graceful and small".

As heir-apparent in Manisa, Sulaymān seems to have favoured two ladies, Gülbahār and Gülfem, said to be variously of Circassian, Albanian, Montenegrin and Crimean origin. Gülfem bore him Murād in 919/ 1513 and Mahmūd in 921/1515, but both these sons died in 927/1521. Gülbahār bore Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] in 922/ 1513, thus, by 1521, as mother of the Sultan's eldest surviving son, she was Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān and, after Sulaymān's mother, foremost in the Imperial Harem, then housed in the Old Palace. However, Khurrem had captivated Sulaymān, bore him a son Meḥemmed [*q.v.*] in 927/1521 and, after a squabble reported by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 75), during which Gülbahār had called her "bald meat", had ousted her. Gülbahār devoted herself to her son Muṣṭafā and, when she died in 988/1580, was buried beside him in Djem Sulṭān's mausoleum in Bursa (Refik, *xvi. asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1935, 8). Gülfem, no rival, was accepted by Khurrem and lived with her ladies; after her death, in 969/1562 3, a mosque was constructed in her memory in Üsküdar.

There is unanimous agreement that Sulaymān made Khurrem his legal wife by giving her the *ṣadāk* (dowry), said to be 5,000 ducats annually, but no hint as to when this took place. It may have been after the birth of Meḥemmed. An undated letter in the Archives of the Bank of St. George, Genoa, describes the wedding festivities in some detail (see Davey, *The Sultan and his subjects*, London 1907, 18 29). In 928/ 1522 their daughter Mihr i Māh Sulṭāna [*q.v.*] was born, the next year a son ʿAbd Allāh (died 930/1526) and, on 24 Rabīʿ 930/28 May 1524, the future Sulṭān Selīm II [*q.v.*]. Khurrem bore two more sons, Bāyezīd in 932/1526 and, in 937/1530 Djihāngīr, a hunchback much loved by his father. The circumcisions of Muṣṭafā, Meḥemmed and Selīm were celebrated together with great pomp on Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 936/July 1530, after which Muṣṭafā, as *sandjak-beg* of Sarukhān, departed with his mother to Manisa. On 4 Ramaḍān 940/19 March 1534 the wālide Hafṣa Sulṭān died. During the night of 21-2 Ramaḍān 942/24-5 March 1536, Ibrāhīm Pasha was assassinated in the Sultan's bedchamber in Topkapı Sarayı. Khurrem's influence is suspected in this murder, out of jealousy and fear for her children's lives after Ibrāhīm had declared in favour of Muṣṭafā as heir, but there is no proof of this. With Ibrāhīm's death, however, all her rivals had been removed.

In 945/1539 Khurrem began a long series of pious bequests with the construction of the Haseki mosque in Istanbul, the first communion of the new Chief Architect Sinān [*q.v.*]. It is in the former ʿAvret Pasarı, now Haseki district, and comprises two *medrese*, a *mekteb*, a *sebīl* and a hospital (finished 957/1550) which, as the Haseki Kadınlar Hastanesi, is still in use for women. Sinān also built another mosque on her behalf at Edirne, *imārets* near the Kaʿba at Mecca, at Medina and at Edirne, and baths in the Aya Sofya and Yehudiler districts of Istanbul. Her other charitable works include a caravanserai and fountains at Edirne and a richly endowed *imāret* at Jerusalem.

On the night of 27 Ramaḍān 947/25 January 1541 a fire swept through the Old Palace (Lutfī, *Tawārīḫ*, Istanbul 1341, 384). Khurrem seems to have moved at once with her ladies to Topkapı Sarayı where she remained. With a woman lodged for the first time at the political centre, there begins at this date the *Kadınlar saltanatı*, the rule of women, during which the policies of the Ottoman Empire were directed by a succession of foreign favourites, until the death of Murād IV's mother in 1061/1652. In the Genoese Archives there is a description of Khurrem's apartments, probably written in 1542 (see Davey, *Sultan*, 21-3), and also in Bassano (*loc cit*, 17v). On 21 Ṣafar 948/16 June 1541 Khurrem had Muṣṭafā dismissed to Amasya and on 3 Shaʿbān 949/12 November 1542 her own son Meḥemmed was appointed *sanǧaḳ-beg* of Sarukhān, the heir-apparent's post (*Kānūn-nāmeler*, 249). One year later, on 8 Shaʿbān 950/6 November 1543, Meḥemmed died in Manisa. Sulaymān was inconsolable; in a deed of gift to Khurrem made some eight years later (Feridūn, *Munšaʾāt*, i, 608-10), with all his other sons still alive, he calls her "the mother of my late son Meḥemmed". On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544 Rustem Pasha [*q.v.*], husband of Mihr-i Māh since 945/1539, was appointed Grand Vizier. He was devoted to the policies of his mother-in-law and wife, foremost of which was the destruction of Muṣṭafā so that one of Khurrem's sons might succeed. The law decreeing that a Sultan at his accession must have all his brothers executed created such a desperate struggle for life within the Sultan's family, of which the pathetic aspect is well illustrated by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 77). Their scheming was crowned with success on 27 Shawwāl 960/6 October 1553, when Sulaymān witnessed the execution of his brilliant and popular eldest son in camp at Eregli near Konya. To pacify the infuriated army Rustem Pasha was dismissed at once and Karā Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed Grand Vizier. Disturbing proceeding with his father on the Persian campaign, died of pleurisy at Aleppo on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥiǧǧa 960/29 November 1553. A few weeks later Muṣṭafā's son, Meḥemmed, born at Amasya in 933/1526, was executed at Bursa. His death also is attributed to Khurrem's plots, as is the execution in office of Karā Aḥmad Pasha on 13 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 962/29 September 1555 and the immediate reinstatement of Rustem Pasha. He and Khurrem plotted for the succession to pass to Bāyezīd, the younger but abler of Sulaymān's surviving sons, but neither of them lived to see the end of the struggle between the two brothers which resulted in Bāyezīd's execution in Persia at Selīm's instigation on 25 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 969/23 July 1562. Barbaro tells us (Albèri, iii/3, 248) that in her last years Khurrem would not allow Sulayman out of her sight, both infirm, they spent the winter of 965/1557-8 in Edirne together, and she returned to die in Istanbul in April. She is buried in her mausoleum, built by Sinān beside Sulaymān's near the Süleymāniyye mosque. Due largely to her intrigues Selīm, Sulaymān's least worthy son, remained alone to succeed his father.

A number of Khurrem's letters exist. Seven letters to Sulaymān, written between 1526-53, published in modern Turkish transcription in Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektupları*, Istanbul 1950, are preserved in the Archives of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum as TKS Arşivi nos. E. 5038, 5662, 5859, 5926, 6036, 6056, 12480. In 1548 and 1549 the and Mihr-i Māh wrote to Sigismund Augustus of Poland; the originals are in Warsaw, AGAD, Arch. Kor., Dz. turecki, teczka 110, nos. 118, 213, 222, 222. French translations by Askenazy, *Listy Roxolany*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, x (1896), 223 ff. A correspondence with Persia ensued over the building of the Süleymāniyye mosque, with Khurrem answering Shāh Tahmāsp's wife's letter of good wishes to her in 962/1555 (ref. erroneously to copies in Hammer Purgstall's *Ms.* in *GOR*, ix, 375: items 499, 500) and the Shāh's sister's letter of congratulations after the completion in 964/1557; published in Feridūn, *Munšaʾāt*, ii, 63-6. There are many deeds of gift made by Sulaymān to Khurrem, see, for example, Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, Oxford 1960, 143, and *Kānūnī Sultan Süleyman sergisi*, Istanbul 1958, nos. 71, 90, 102, 125. Some examples of embroidery said to be Khurrem's work are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum and the Türk İslâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.

Khurrem's fame spread through Europe in her lifetime. It is unlikely that she ever sat for a portrait, but several portraits of her exist. In Topkapı Sarayı there is an oil painting (see cover of Uluçay, *Aşk mektupları*), made from the engraving in Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum*, Frankfurt 1596, and two other portraits (see Uluçay, 7, 20). Sokolnicki, *La Sultane Ruthène*, in *Bulletin*, xxiii, 1959, 229-39 lists further portraits in Florence, Venice and Vienna, the latter bearing the same inscription as Uluçay, 20, and probably identical to it. There is a fine engraving of her by Melchior Lorich in *Turckische Figuren* (see Rouillard, *The Turk*, Paris 1938, plate 23). Khurrem's story inspired drama and literature in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, including two French plays, *La Sultane*, Paris 1562, and *Roxelane*, Paris 1643; see Rouillard, *The Turk*, 422 ff., and Chaw, *The Crescent*, New York 1957, 497-503.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Hammer Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 283-4, 314, 317, 350, 672-3, 706, 728-30, 736. Zinkeisen, iii, 84-43; Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti* Ser. iii, Firenze 1840-55, i, 29, 74-9, 115-7, 203-11, 221-2, 248-9; M. T. Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Hurrem Sultan; Busbequii omnia quae extant*, Basel 1740, 41, 44-5, 48-52, 72, 222-21, 269; Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931, 86-93; Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Kadınlar saltanatı*, i, Istanbul 1332, 36-93, Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektupları*, Istanbul 1950, 5-47; idem, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman ve ailesi ilgili bazı notlar ve vesikalar*, in *Kanuni armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 227-57; Turan, *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Selçuḳ Bayezid oğlu'ası*, Ankara 1961; Merič, *Mimar Sinan hayatı, eseri*, i, Ankara 1965; Kuran, *Mimar Sinan ve iki eseri*, in *Belleten*, xxxvii (1973), 533-43; Öz, *İstanbul camileri*, 2 vols., Ankara 1962-5; N. Taşkıran, *Hasekinin hamamı*, Istanbul 1972. (S. A. Skilliter)

KHURSĀBĀD, a village situated 36° 40′ N. and 43° 10′ E. in the plain 27 km. to the north-east of Mosul, in the *muḥāfaẓa* of al Mawṣil. It is the site of the ancient Assyrian royal city Dur Shar-

rukin, "The Fortress of Sargon". The earliest excavations there were undertaken by Paul Emile Botta in 1843 when he was the French Consul at Mosul, and he has been described by Parrot as "the first systematic excavator of a Near Eastern site". He himself described his work in a series of letters which he wrote after each important find and he carefully copied all the inscriptions he discovered, although at that time Akkadian was still an undeciphered language. Victor Place continued the excavation of the site from 1852 5, but then it was abandoned until G. Loud worked there on behalf of the Oriental Institute of Chicago for eight seasons from 1927-35. Since then a number of stone reliefs from the palace, including two famous colossal bulls, have been removed to the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad (1938, 1943) and the Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq resumed excavations for a short period in 1957.

Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) built the city between 717 and 707 when he moved the centre of his administration from Kalkhu (modern Birs Nimrūd), and the city is a model of Assyrian town-planning. It has seven fortified gates and the early excavations revealed the rooms of the palace and the houses of the palace officials. There are a number of shrines to various deities (called by Botta the Harem) and a ziggurat (which Botta described as an observatory). The later American excavation discovered the temple of Nabu who, with his consort Tashmetum, was a god of vegetation and recently it has been suggested by Postgate that the fertility ritual of the sacred marriage was performed in this building. The entrance to the palace was flanked by a pair of massive, winged, human headed bulls (as in other Assyrian cities) and the walls were decorated with detailed reliefs of battle scenes and festival processions. A number of glazed brick panels have also been recovered from the site and chemical analysis of the blue glazes derived from copper suggests that lead was being used as a flux, a technique that was forgotten but later re-developed.

Cuneiform inscriptions show that the city was completed just before Sargon died. It was during his eighth military campaign, on which he plundered towns and villages in north-western Iran, that he was ambushed and killed (705 B.C.) and his corpse was left unburied as "food for the birds of prey". The priests seem to have interpreted this final humiliation as a sign of divine punishment, and his son Sennacherib abandoned the city and turned his attention to the rebuilding of Nineveh, which remained the capital of Assyria until the empire was overthrown in 612 B.C. The most important document for historical research which has been discovered at the site is a list of the names of the kings of Assyria together with the length of their reigns as far back as Iribum I (285a 2813). Although there are inconsistencies of detail between this list and the King list from Assur [see ASSUR] in Suppl. and the records of astronomical observations, it does provide the basic framework for the study of Assyrian history.

The palace is built on a raised platform and planned around an open courtyard which was accessible to the public. This gave access to an inner courtyard which seems to have been reserved for those in special positions of authority. The throne room was approached from the inner courtyard through a triple doorway flanked by monumental sculptures. A staircase led from the throne room to the private living rooms. Because of the absence of any relief carving in the throne room it has been suggested that this was originally decorated with mural paintings but no traces have survived.

Sargon had the construction of the city described in detail on the pavement stones in the palace gates with these words. "[the king] built the city at the foot of Mount Musri above Nineveh and named it Dur Sharrukin. He erected palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and terebinth as his royal dwelling place. In front of the gates he built a portico, as in a Hittite palace, which in the Amorite language is called a *bīt hilāni*." It is particularly interesting to note that he received inspiration for at least one architectural detail from his western expedition.

When the site was first discovered, Botta thought he had found the much more famous city of Nineveh, for he was so astounded by the size and obvious splendour of the ancient city. Layard raised objections to this identification because he thought it was too far away from the Tigris. Neither of them appeared to know the traditional identification in Arabic historical sources, Yāḳūt describes the village as the site of an ancient city called Sar'ūn, which probably reflects an earlier corruption of Sarghūn.

When excavations began, E. Flandin was sent by the French government to copy the sculptures which had been found. It was identified with Dur Sharrukin after the inscriptions of its founding king had been translated. He had had it built as a strategic defence against the troublesome Cimmerian attacks from the north and had cobbled the main exit roads so that his troops could be transported efficiently with their supplies. The ancient walls surround an area of 320 hectares with the citadel occupying 20 hectares. Yāḳūt mentions that the village of his day (which he refers to as Khurustābād) had good irrigation. The modern village supports a small population (the average density of the area is 29.5 persons per km.²) situated on the eastern bank of the river Khawsar at the northern end of the Drabai Makhlūb.

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(M. E. J. RICHARDSON)

KHURSHĪD, *tabarkhudh* [q.v.] of the Dābūyid line in Ṭabaristān. It was long believed that there were two Khurshīds, because of errors in interpreting coin legends, Mordtmann, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1874), 36, 36, dated three coins of this prince to the years 70, 60 and 64 of the Ṭabaristān era, and this led people to posit the existence of a Khurshīd I who reigned 50-60 T. and a Khurshīd II who reigned 88-116 T. (idem, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 110, cited by Unvala, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11). He was followed by Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 132, who also read 64 T. on a coin which

be attributed to Khurshīd I, who must in his opinion have reigned 60-4 T. Vasmer, in *EI*[1] art. Māzandarān was the first to perceive this false reading, which he explained by the resemblance between *shast* = 60 and *dahsat* = 110 in the Pahlavī script. Accordingly, Vasmer dated the coins to 110 and 114 T., instead of 60 and 64 T., and he therefore denied the existence of two Khurshīds, especially as the local sources make no mention of a Khurshīd I. Unvala, p. 7, § 4, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 21, confirmed Vasmer's conclusions, and remarked that the coins of the alleged Khurshīd I are absolutely identical with those which Mordtmann attributed to Khurshīd II. As for the bronze coin dated by Mordtmann (*ZDMG*, xix, 474, No. 170) to the year 70 T and attributed to Khurshīd I, Vasmer corrects this false reading to 107 T. (*EI*[1], loc. cit.). Unvala (p. 9, § 16, coin No 800 in his catalogue) confirms Vasmer's dating, and observes that to date the coins to 64 and 70 T. and attribute them to Khurshīd I would interrupt in an inexplicable fashion the series of coins issued by Farrukhān the Great (60-79 T.) One must thus cease speaking of two Khurshīds, as does Spuler in *EI*[2] art. Dābūya.

The *ispahbadh* Khurshīd is therefore the last Dābūyid prince who reigned to Tabaristān 89-110 T./ 113-44 A H./740-61 A.D. according to his coins, which corresponds closely with the information of local chroniclers. In fact, Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40, gives him a reign of 23 years, to which should be added 8 years of the regency of his paternal uncle Sārūya (Ibn Isfandiyār, 213). But elsewhere (319), he gives him a reign of 31 years, which cannot even be given credence as an indication of his age At Ṭabarī, iii, 140, states that Khurshīd was still young when his father Dādhburzmihr died. According to Ibn Isfandiyār, *loc. cit.*, Dādhburzmihr's brother Sārūya acted as regent for 8 years, but his sons wanted to keep the throne in their own line, hence plotted against their cousin Khurshīd, who had reached his majority. The latter managed to defeat them and recovered his throne (*ibid.*, 213-14). He was a real petty king, with a personal guard, an army and representatives in the various districts of Ṭabaristān (*ibid.*, 214-16). He even sent an embassy to the Chinese court of the T'ang, in ca. 746 (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254, ii, 166-49): "In the fifth year Tien pao, the king Hu lu hou sent an embassy to the Imperial Court and received in exchange the title of King of Kuei-Sin" (submission to vassalage) These royal pretensions supless his rebellion under the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (127 32/ 744-50; cf. Balādhurī, 338), but he had to submit to Abū Muslim al Khurāsānī in 131/749 (Ṭabarī, ii, 2016). After al-Manṣūr's execution of Abū Muslim in 137/755, Sunbādh revolted and entrusted to Khurshīd part of the treasures of Abū Muslim (Ṭabarī, iii, 86, 119; Nizām al-Mulk, tr. Schefer, 267-8, tr. Darke, 213) After his defeat, Sunbādh sought refuge in Ṭabaristān, but Khurshīd had him killed by his cousin, in order to get his hands on the rest of Abū Muslim's treasures (Ibn Isfandiyār, 217-18) The caliph al-Manṣūr had to send his son al-Mahdī to Rayy to recover Abū Muslim's property (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 369, Ibn al-Fakīh, 312, 314). Khurshīd refused to send his son as a hostage, but had to pay a heavier tribute, at the level paid to the Sāsānids (Ibn Isfandiyār, 218).

This submission did not last long, since he took advantage of the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Djabbār b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, governor of Khurāsān, to cut off tribute in 141/758 (Ibn al-Fakīh, 309-80; Bal'amī, iv, 380). This time, the caliph decided to finish once and for all with his vassal's insubordination and to annex his principality His army invaded Ṭabaristān and they made contact with each other without fighting, forcing Khurshīd to take to the mountains, where he shut himself up in the fortress of al-Ṭāk (Ibn al-Fakīh, 320). A long siege followed, but the place was finally captured in 142/759-60. Khurshīd managed to flee for refuge in Daylam (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 387, Ibn Isfandiyār, 222), but his family fell into the hands of the Muslims and were sent to the ʿAbbāsid court (Balādhurī, 339, Ṭabarī, iii, 136-7, 239 49). There is great confusion over the names of these captive princesses, and certain chroniclers identify them with the daughters of the *mujmughān* of Dunbāwand and not with Khurshīd's family (Vasmer, 91, 100-1). However, various of this prince's daughters became concubines of al-Manṣūr, his brother el ʿAbbās, and al-Mahdī, who had a son of al-Bakhtariyya (or al Bubturiyya, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 193) called al-Manṣūr. It was al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī who refused the caliphate, or offered to him by the people of Baghdād in 201/817, after the choice of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of the Rāshidūn al-Ma'mūn's heir-presumptive. He merely agreed to become governor of ʿIrāḳ for al-Ma'mūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1001, 1005-6) Another of Khurshīd's daughters, usually named as Shakla, also became the concubine of al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 140; Ibn al Fakīh, 314) She gave him a son, Ibrāhīm b. al Mahdī (q.v.), sc. the anti-caliph of 201-*al* 817 19, who accepted his acclamation by the Baghdādī populace after his half-brother al-Manṣūr's refusal *All* this shows that one cannot set up against each other, in a simplistic fashion, the son of the "Persian concubine" (al-Ma'mūn) and the son of the "Arab princess" (al Amīn) since the ʿIrāḳīs did not hesitate in 201/817 to set up the son of a Persian concubine (al Manṣūr and then Ibrāhīm) against the son of another Persian concubine (al Ma'mūn), who was moreover the very nephew of Ibrāhīm b. al Mahdī

Khurshīd gathered an army in Daylam and Gīlān and in 143/760 tried to regain his principality (Ṭabarī, iii, 142 2), but meeting no success, killed himself the following year (Bal'amī, iv, 382, Ibn al Fakīh, 314). His son, who was on an embassy to China, learnt of the annexation of Ṭabaristān, as recorded in the Chinese annals "He was honoured by the title of supernumerary officer general, and awarded a purple cloak and a golden fish. Whilst he was staying in the capital, the black-robed Arabs conquered his lands" (Abel Rémusat, i, 254) The other local dynasties of Ṭabaristān (the Bāwandids (*q.v.*) of Mount Sharwīn, the Kārinids (*q.v.*) of Mount Kārin and the Zarmihrids of Mīyāndurūd) were kept as tributaries under the oversight of ʿAbbāsid governors resident at Āmul. These last continued to mint coins with Khurshīd's name till 214 T. (he having killed himself in 210 T.), which has led many historians to think that Khurshīd reigned till 115 T. The first extant coin minted in the name of an ʿAbbāsid governor is that of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim in 147/764 (cited by H Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 124, it will be published shortly by R. Curiel, of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris).

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AL-KHURṬŪM (KHARTUM, KHARTOUM), a city at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, now the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The name is said to be derived from the resemblance of the site to an elephant's trunk. At the time of the Turco-Egyptian invasion (1821), Khartum was a small village, the residence of a holy man. It was chosen as the military and administrative headquarters of the conquered territories by the governor, ʿUthmān Bey Djarkas, in 1824. With the extension of Turco-Egyptian rule, the pacification of the Sudan, and the opening up of the Equatorial Nile and Bahr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], Khartum developed into a flourishing town with a heterogeneous population, which included European traders, consular officials and Catholic missionaries. After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolt, the defence of Khartum was assumed by the governor general, C. G. Gordon Pasha (General Gordon), a British subject in the khedivial service. The town, which had been under close siege from October 1884, fell to the Mahdī on 26 January 1885, Gordon being among the slain. During the Mahdist period, the capital was transferred to Omdurman (Umm Durmān), on the left bank of the Nile below the confluence, and Khartum was abandoned, apart from the dockyard (*al-tarsāna*), where the steamers of the Mahdist state were maintained, and the gardens, which became a source of revenue. After the defeat of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] at Karari in September 1898 by Anglo-Egyptian forces, the restoration of Khartum was begun by Kitchener, the *sardār* and governor-general. Although again the administrative centre and the principal place of residence for Europeans, Khartum did not equal Omdurman in extent or population during the Condominium (1899-1955). Together with Omdurman and Khartum North it forms a conurbation known as "the Three Towns" (*al-Mudun al-Thalāth*).

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KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN, a group of islands in the bay of the same name on the south coast of Arabia, lying along latitude 17° 30′ N between longitudes 55° 30′ and 56° 30′ E. The islands, principally of granite and limestone formation, are the peaks of a submarine ridge. From west to east they are Hāsikiyya, Sawdā, Hallāniyya, Karzawt and Djubayla Hallāciyya is both the largest (about 8 miles long and 23 in circumference) and the only inhabited island of the group. At its centre it rises to a peak some 1,500 feet above sea-level. Its vegetation is scanty: only a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and occasional mimosas relieve the monotony of the landscape. The water is brackish, the best being obtained from a couple of wells sunk by a RAF survey party in 1953. Sawdā, the second largest island (3 miles long), is equally barren, though it was once inhabited. So also, apparently, was Djabhaysa, to judge from a few tombs on the island. Djubayla and Hāsikiyya, the westernmost island, lying only 20 miles from the mainland, are the haunts of thousands of seabirds including pelicans and goosanders.

The Khūryān Mūryān Islands were early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zenobios, and as such they marked the frontier between the kingdom of the Parthians and the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt. From this it would appear that the Parthian frontier should be located to the innermost corner of Khūryān Muryān Bay. Over the centuries the inhospitality of the islands has forced their inhabitants to seek their livelihood from the sea. In the 5th/12th century, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] records that the islanders, who were then politically under al-Shiḥr, were very poor to winter and only managed to make a moderate living in the sailing season. They used to sail to ʿUmān, Aden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell, which they traded to the Yemenis, and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Al-Idrīsī calls the bay containing the islands Djawa al-Ḥashīsh (Bay of Herbs). The Khūryān Mūryān Islands in their turn were frequented by Arabs from Shiḥr and Mukallā in the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and from Ḥudaydā in the Yemen, to dig guano from Hāsikiyya and Djubayla Islands, where the seabirds down the centuries had left rich deposits. The guano was used as agricultural fertiliser, especially in the cultivation of tobacco.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans in modern times to record the existence of the Khūryān Mūryān Islands. Affonso d'Albuquerque discovered them in 1503, and they appear thereafter in Portuguese sources as as Asquié, Sawdā as Sodré and Karzawt as Rodondo. Kawkabān [*q.v.*] from Raʾs al-Khayma descended upon the islands in 1818, possibly with the intention of using them as a base for attacks upon shipping. The local inhabitants were driven or carried off and the islands remained unpopulated for several years afterwards. Sometime before 1821, more probably, after this incursion (the sources are unclear) the islands came into the possession of a sub-section of the Mahra tribe, the Ibn Khalīfa, residing to the vicinity of Mirbāṭ on the coast of Dhufār [*q.v.*]. It is from this clan that the islands have derived the name by which they are known to the Arabs of southern Arabia—Djazāʾir bin Khalīfān. By the middle of the 13th/19th century—and possibly a decade or so earlier—the islands had become a dependency of the sultanate of Maskat. French planters from Réunion Islands occasionally resorted in the islands to load guano for use as fertiliser, and it was the existence of these valuable deposits that led the British government in 1854 to ask the Sulṭān of Maskat, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, to cede the islands to Great Britain. The deed of cession was signed on 14 July 1854 and the guano deposits were worked from 1857 to 1859. A cable station was set up on Hallāniyya Island in 1861, only to be abandoned a year later when the Red Sea-Karachi cable proved unworkable.

from 1854 onwards, the Khuryān-Muryān islands were formally designated a dependency of the British colony of Aden, although administrative control over them was vested in the British political resident in the Persian Gulf, since it was more practicable for the British political agent at Maskat to visit them than it was for the political resident (later governor) at Aden. When British rule over Aden ceased on 30 November 1967, the islands were handed back to the Sultān of Maskat, despite the protests of the Aden successor government, the People's Republic of South Yemen, that it was entitled to succeed to sovereignty over all the dependencies of the former colony. Since that time the islands have been administered as part of the *wilāya* of Dhofār of the sultanate of ʿUmān. Hallāniyya Island is still populated, the number of inhabitants having remained fairly constant over the past century—36 in 1883, 30 in 1936, 70 in 1947 and 53 in 1976. They still derive their living from the sea, and especially from the great shoals of sardines which appear off the islands in late October each year, at the end of the south-west monsoon. Of late, foodstuffs and medical treatment provided by the ʿUmānī authorities in Salāla have gone some way to alleviate the rigours of the islanders' existence.

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(A. Grohmann-[J. B. Kelly])

KHUSDĀR [see BALŪṬ]

al-KHUSHANI, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, Mālikī fakīh and biographer, originally from Khushān near Kayrawān. After studying *fikh* at the latter place and at Tunis, he left his homeland *ca* 321/933, passing through Ceuta, where he was held back some time by teaching (he is said also to have corrected the orientation of the mosque there), and travelling to Spain. He resided in the Marches, and completed his legal training, especially from Yaḥyā b. Aslab [*q.v.*], and ended up by enjoying the favour of the heir to the throne, prince al-Ḥakam, who procured for him the job of *kādī* of inheritances (*mawārīth*) at Pechina, then that of the *shurṭa* of Cordoba and after that, summoned him to his own side. He was something of a poet (though accused of committing faults *laḥn*), and was considered to have a certain manual dexterity and to practise alchemy; he seems also to have acquired some medical expertise which allowed him, after his disgrace following al-Ḥakam's death in 366/976, to live by making up electuaries (*adhāna*). He is said to have died in 371/981, but this date is not accepted by all his biographers, who however know very little information about the last years of his life.

Al-Khushanī is credited with a hundred or so works and treatises composed of al-Ḥakam's behest, who was, as is well known, a great lover of books. Amongst the titles cited here figure *al-Ittifāḳ wa 'l-ikhtilāf fī madhhab Mālik*, *al-Taḥṣīr wa 'l-maghālāt*, *al-Fuṣūl*, *al-Taʿrīf*, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-waṣāʾil*, *al-Nasab* and *al-Ibtihāj*, which do not seem to have survived. His fame, however, rests on his biographical works. As well as a *Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* and a *K. Fukahāʾ al-Malikiyya*, which are no longer extant, al-Khushanī left two collections of especial interest. The first one which one thinks of is his *Ṭ. Ḳudāt al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. into Spanish by Ribera, Madrid 1914. Basing himself on written sources, archives and oral traditions, the author traces the biographies of the *ḥādis* of al-Andalus from the conquest till 357/966, in a lively and instructive manner, and if he lacks a critical spirit in relaying, for instance, the fictitious story of the first three judges to Cordoba, he nevertheless does not omit items of information which are sometimes unfavourable to the Umayyads.

The second work which has been preserved, the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, has been published by M. Ben Cheneb in his *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, Algiers 1915-20, as a continuation of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Abū 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*]. These *Ṭabaḳāt*, which the *ḥāfiẓ* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] utilises freely in his *Madārik* under the title of *Taʾrīkh al-Ifrīḳiyyīn*, calling the author in familiar fashion Ibn Ḥārith, contain biographies of scholars who did not belong to the Mālikī school, and most remarkably, of converts to Shīʿism established in Ifrīḳiya by the Fāṭimids. It is the opinion of R. Brunschvig (*Un aspect de la littérature historico-géographique de l'Islam*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 250-8) that this exile, unable to come to terms with the doctrine imposed upon his native land, may have written this work at the demand of al-Ḥakam, who was eager to know about the situation there, in this respect, the *Ṭabaḳāt* are interesting for the information which they give on the Fāṭimids, but the author, far from being impartial, paints a gloomy picture of the *ʿulamāʾ* who remained behind in Ifrīḳiya and were compelled, according to his view, to rally to the new masters, either out of financial cupidity or from fear of persecution.

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KHUSHHĀL KHĀN KHAṬAK, Pashtun poet and a warrior chieftain (1022-1100/1613-89), Khushhāl Khān is recognised as the national poet of the Pashtūns.

1. Life. Son of Shaik-bāz Khan and grandson of Yahyā Khān who, in turn, was the son of Malik Akōray, leader of a clan of the Khaṭak [*q.v.*], the boy Khushhāl accompanied his father in tribal wars. After his father's death in a tribal battle, Khushhāl succeeded him as *khān* or chieftain, and was recognised as such by Shāh Djahān, the Mughal Emperor. Khushhāl served Shah Djahān in his army's campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshān in 1055/1645, but later, in the time of the Emperor Awrangzīb, the governor of Kābul aligned himself, along with some of Khushhāl's uncles and cousins, against Khushhāl. In 1074/1664, Khushhāl, then 52 years old, was summoned by the governor to Peshāwar, where he was arrested and dispatched in chains to a fortress in Dhaypūr. He was released two years later, but was not allowed to return home until 1080/1669. For the rest of his life, his sympathies rested with the rebel Pashtūn tribes. In his poems he preached unity of the Afghān tribes to resist Mughal domination. Khushhāl greatly admired the Afrīdī chieftain Daryā Khān, who defeated the Mughal army at Landī Kōtal in the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR Pass] in 1083/1672, while leading a confederation of Afrīdī and Muhmand tribesmen. Accompanied by one of his loyal sons, 'Abd al-Kādir Khaṭak, Khushhāl fought and defeated the Bangash tribe, which supported Mughal rule. He also had to fight his third son, Bahrām, whom the Mughals sponsored in attempts to replace Khushhāl as chieftain. In 1085/1674, he voluntarily relinquished his chieftainship to his eldest son, Ashraf, also a poet who was later (1044/1683) jailed by the Mughals. Khushhāl declared himself a rebel and spent rest of his life with Afrīdī friends in the inaccessible eyries of Tīrāh, a zone "never effectively occupied by any government in all history". He travelled from tribal area to tribal area, seeking assistance and refuge. He was relentlessly pursued by his treacherous son, Bahrām, but evaded capture and died in the Afrīdī country in 1100/1689. The armed resistance which he encouraged by his pen and emphasised by his sword is "to be counted among the causes that brought about the dramatic collapse of the Mogul Empire in India" (Sir Olaf Caroe).

2. Literary Works. Khushhāl, a prolific poet, constantly chanted his love of beauty, honour, and justice. As part of his opposition to Awrangzīb and his forces, Khushhāl preached union of all Afghān tribes and encouraged revolt against Mughal rule:

> "My sword I gird upon my thigh
> To guard Afghān honour and fame;
> Its champion in this age am I,
> The Khaṭak Khān, Khushhāl my name".

Khushhāl also celebrates his successes and laments his subsequent misfortunes. He chastises those Pashtūns who accept gold rather than give battle to the Mughals.

As well as poetry, he wrote manuals on falconry, folk medicine, a dialogue between the pen and the sword, an account of his imprisonment and exile, and a geography of Swāt. "His lyrics and epics, alike present his religious devotion, occasionally in mystic terms, his patriotic feelings, his moral code, his many loves in object or joyful mood, and many other subjects" (D. N. MacKenzie). Khushhāl rightly claims to be the originator of Pashtō poetic form and metre, but it must be remembered that he had a predecessor, Mirzā Anṣārī. Both these early Pashtō poets used the Dari or Persian poetic mould, but instead of strictly applying the classical rules of prosody to Pashtō, they adopted the metres of popular Pashtō songs to *verse* forms known in Persian. "This metre is syllabic in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable" (MacKenzie).

Khushhāl further left many *ghazals* in Persian under the pen name of Rūhī, and a Persian *kaṣīda* or ode on the futility of this world in same metre as the *Bahr al-abrār* of Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, this Persian poetry is amongst the best of that written in the so-called *Sabk-i Hind* or "Indian style".

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(Ravan Farhadi)

KHUSHḲADAM, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd Sayf al-Dīn as-Nāṣirī al-Muʾayyadī, Mamlūk sultān of the Burjīs (regn. 19 Ramaḍān 865 - 10 Rabīʿ I 872/22 June 1461 - 9 October 1467). By origin a Rūmī (i.e. perhaps a Greek, but the term had a wide range of connotations), he was born ca. 815/1413. Brought as a boy to Egypt by the slave-merchant Khwādjā Nāṣir al-Dīn, he was purchased by the sultān al Muʾayyad Shaykh, whence his two *nisbas*. He rose through the grades of promotion of the Royal Mamlūks as *khāṣṣaki*, *ʿalāʾī* and *amīr*, finally succeeding al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad b. Ināl as *atābak al-ʿasākir* in Egypt when the latter became sultān in Djumādā I 865/Feb. 1461. The *atābakiyya* was at this time the highest in rank of the great offices of state, but had no specific functions, its holder was also styled *amīr kabīr*, i.e. the senior *amīr*. The reign of al Muʾayyad Aḥmad was soon disturbed by the intrigues of Djānim al-Ashrafī, the governor of Damascus, who sought to usurp the sultanate with the support of his *khushdāshiyya*, the Ashrafiyya, i.e. the Mamlūk household of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (*q.v.*). The Ashrafiyya were at first opposed by their rivals, the Ẓāhiriyya, i.e. the household of al-Ẓāhir Čakmak (*q.v.*), whose chief Djānibak al-Ẓāhirī (formerly governor of Dūdde) skilfully won the agreement of the two factions to the deposition of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad and the installation of Khushḳadam as a compromise candidate until the arrival of Djānim from Syria. Since Khushḳadam was not of "the Nation" (*al djins*, i.e. not a Circassian), it would be easy to depose him at will. Thus Djānibak alleged, but he rightly calculated that once Khushḳadam was recognized as sultān, he would be difficult to oust. He was accordingly proclaimed, and his supporters captured the Citadel of Cairo with little resistance, al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad being arrested and sent to imprisonment in Alexandria.

The new sultān was thus faced at the outset with both an over-mighty kingmaker and a powerful rival. Djānibak, who was appointed *dawādār kabīr* (a great office of state of growing importance in the later Circassian period), was at first the effective ruler (*mudabbir al-mamlaka*). When Djānim al-Ashrafī advanced to Khānḳāh Sirysākū, north of Cairo, Djānibak succeeded in obtaining an oath of loyalty to the new sultān from him, and Djānim returned, loaded with gifts, to Damascus (Shawwāl 865/July 1461). Some months later, Djānim was removed from office, and died in Dhū ʾl-Ḥidjdja 867/August 1463, an event which was followed by the arrest of leading members of the Ẓāhiriyya faction. Khushḳadam's coup against the Ẓāhiriyya was, however, abruptly halted, probably because of a conspiracy against him in his own Mamlūk household. A reconciliation was effected through Ḳāyitbāy al-Ẓāhirī (the future sultān), and the offices and *iḳṭāʿ*s of the Ẓāhiriyya were restored.

There were no major foreign developments during the reign. Suzerainty was maintained over King James of Cyprus (who had been installed with the help of a Mamlūk contingent sent by al Ashraf Ināl (*q.v.*) in 864/1460), although in a clash between the king and the sultān's resident in Cyprus, the latter was killed, and Famagusta, which he had held, passed into the king's possession (868/1464). Another vassal state, the march-principality of Elbistan (*q.v.*) under the Turcoman dynasty al Dulḳādir (Dhu ʾl Kadr (*q.v.*)), was disturbed by a succession-struggle following the murder of its ruler, Malik Arslān, in 870/1465. Two pretenders, Shāh-Budak and Rustum, successively backed by Khushḳadam, failed to hold their position against a third Dulḳādirid, Shāh-Suwār, who had Ottoman support and at the end of the sultān's reign was threatening northern Syria. Khushḳadam sent orders to the governors of Tripoli and Ḥamāh to assist Aleppo and made provisional arrangements for an expeditionary force from Egypt (Muharram 872/August 1467). There are some indications of a resurgence of Arab tribal power during the reign. Five expeditions were launched between 866/1462 and 869/1465 against the Labīd tribe of al-Buḥayra, while a few months before the sultān's death, he sent a punitive force against Shaykh Mubārak of Banū ʿUkba, who had plundered the provisions for the pilgrims in the vicinity of Ayla. One of his last acts was to approve an expedition to Upper Egypt, where the *kāshif* had been defeated in a fight with Yūnus b. ʿUmar, the chief of the powerful tribe of Hawwāra (*q.v.*). The sultān died a few days later. Shortly before his death, on assembly of magnates had elected the *atābak* Yalbāy al Ināli al Muʾayyadī to succeed him.

Bibliography : Contemporary memoirs of the reign are given by (1) Ibn Taghribirdī in *al Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo edn., xvi, 253-355. California edn. by W. Popper, vii, 685-821, tr. W. Popper, *History of Egypt 1382-1469 A.D.*, vii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, 32-123, also W. Popper (ed.), *Extracts from ... Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ii, Berkeley 1932, 398-602; (2) Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al zuhūr*, ii, ed. Mohamed Mostafa, Wiesbaden, 1972, 378-458.

(P. M. Holt)

KHUSRAW (see also Khosrew, Amīr Khusraw, Khosrew, Kisrā, Parwīz)

KHUSRAW FIRŪZ, name of the last Būyid ruler, better known by his *laḳab* of al-Malik al Raḥīm. He succeeded his father Abū Kālīdjār in ʿIrāḳ in 440/1048. Most of his reign was spent in disputing with his brother Fulādh Sūtūn the possession of Fārs and Khūzistān and in trying to maintain discipline amongst the Turkish troops of his general al-Basāsīrī (*q.v.*). There is no discernable doctrinal reason for his adoption, in defiance of the caliph, of an epithet reserved for God. In any case, the enfeeblement of the Būyid dynasty allowed the caliph in question, al-Ḳāʾim, to recover a certain amount of political authority, seen in the appointment once more of a vizier to the caliph, Ibn al-Muslima (*q.v.*). A group within the caliphate, in which Ibn al-Muslima was a driving force, hoped to throw off the Būyid tutelage as the Sunnī sultān, the Saldjūḳ Toghril Beg approached, at the invitation also of Fulādh Sūtūn. In 448/1055 Toghril entered Baghdād, after having promised to respect al Malik al-Raḥīm's position as his vassal, but a rebellion gave him a pretext to arrest the Būyid ruler, and the latter died two years later in prison at Rayy.

Bibliography : See the main histories of the period, and especially Ibn al-Djawzī's *Muntaẓam*, Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* and Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī's *Mirʾāt*. H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS* (1928),

and in general, the bibliography to BUWAYHIDS, to which should be added, H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Irak (945 bis 1055)*, Beirut Wiesbaden 1969. (CL. CAHEN)

KHUSRAW MALIK [see GHAZNAWIDS]

KHUSRAW PASHA [see KHOSREW PASHA]

KHUSRAW SHĀH [see GHAZNAWIDS]

KHUSRAW SULṬĀN, eldest son of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] by the daughter of Rādja Bhagwān Dās, was born at Lahore in 995/1587. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign (in 1015/1606), was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghānistān, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Aṣfargarh near Burhānpūr in the Deccan in 1031/1622, in suspicious circumstances, and was in all probability murdered by Shāh Djahān. His sister had his body buried in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād. His two sons, Dāwar Bakhsh, otherwise Buzurg, and Garshāsp, were put to death at Shāh Djahān's accession.

Bibliography The principal source is the *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*; see also the bibliography to DJAHĀNGĪR. (H. BEVERIDGE)

KHUSŪF [see KUSŪF]

KHUṬBA (A.), sermon, address by the *khaṭīb* [*q.v.*]. The *khuṭba* has a fixed place in Islamic ritual, viz. in the Friday service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. On the Friday it precedes the *ṣalāt*, in all the other services the *ṣalāt* comes first. A short description of the rules for the *khuṭba* according to al-Shīrāzī (*Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 40), one of the early Shāfi'ī doctors [*q.v.*], may be given here.

(a) One of the conditions for the validity of the Friday service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The conditions for the validity of these sermons are the following: the *khaṭīb* must be in a state of ritual purity, his dress must be in accord with the prescriptions; he must pronounce the two *khuṭbas* standing and sit down between them; the number of auditors required for a valid *djum'a* must be present [see ṢALĀT].

Regarding the sermon itself, there are obligatory: the *hamdala*, the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both *khuṭbas*, prayer (*du'ā'*) on behalf of the faithful, and recitation of a part of the Kur'ān in the first *khuṭba* or, according to some doctors, in both. It is commendable (*masnūn*) for the *khaṭīb* to be on a pulpit or an elevated place, to salute the audience when directing himself towards them, to sit down till the *adhān* is pronounced by the *mu'adhdhin*, to lean on a bow, a sword or a staff; to direct himself straightway to his audience; to pray (*du'ā'*) on behalf of the Muslims; and to make his *khuṭba* short.

(b) Regarding the *khuṭbas* on the days of festival the same author says (42) that they are like those of the Friday service, except in the following points: the *khaṭīb* must open the first with nine *takbīrs*, the second with seven. On the *'Īd* he must instruct his audience in the rules for the *ṣadaḳat al-fiṭr*, on the *'Īd al-aḍḥā* in the rules for the sacrifice of this day. It is allowable for him to pronounce the sermon sitting.

Regarding the *khuṭbas* of the service during an eclipse, al-Shīrāzī (43) remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid, and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allāh's pardon, in the opening of the first *khuṭba* nine times, in the second seven times; further, he must repeat several times the *ṣalāt* on Muḥammad as well as *istighfār*, recite verse 9 of Sūra LXVI, elevate his hands and say Muḥammad b. *Idrīs*' (which is communicated by al-Shīrāzī in full). Further, he must turn towards the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] in the middle of the second *khuṭba* and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it as ill he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Islamic pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *khaṭīb* must sit down between the two *khuṭbas*. It explains why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow, for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the *khuṭba* precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions *ṣalāt* comes first. *Ḥadīth* tells us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the first to change this order by pronouncing the *khuṭba* before the performance of the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *'Idayn*, *bāb* 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, *'Idayn*, trad. 9).

It is also said that Marwān was the first to hold the *khuṭba* on these days on a pulpit, the old custom being a service without *minbar* or *aḳāma*. According to other authorities (cf. Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 78, 79, and al-Nawawī's commentary) the *khuṭba* before the *ṣalāt* was an institution going back to 'Uthmān or even to 'Umar. The common opinion of traditionists is, however, that it was an innovation due to the general tendency of the Umayyads in favour their own dynastic interests rather than those of religion. If this opinion should be right, the innovation as well as the holding of the *khuṭba* in a sitting attitude may be looked upon as an endeavour to go back to the pre-Islamic judicial rites concerning *minbar* and *khuṭba*.

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (*du'ā' li 'l-mu'minīn*) it must be observed that in this prayer before the Friday *ṣalāt* it has become customary to mention the ruling sovereign. The history of Islam is full of examples of the importance which was attached to this custom, especially in times of political troubles, the name mentioned in this *du'ā'* betraying the *imām*'s political opinion or position. Though it is not prescribed by law to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the *khalīfa* to suspicion. In countries where Muslims lived under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler could expose the *khalīfa* to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam and Phonography*, 13 f. = *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 430 f. Idem, *Mr L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht, to Ind. Gids*, vi/2, 809 f. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 214 f.) The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the 5th century B.C. to the Aramaic papyri of Elephantina (Pap. J, line 26; cf. also Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, i, 286).

Several of the characteristics of the *khuṭba* prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in *ḥadīth*. The *khuṭbas* of Muḥammad usually begin with the formula *amma ba'du* (al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, *bāb* 29). Side by side with the *hamdala* (Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 44, 45) the *shahāda* occurs (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 302, 343: "A *khuṭba* without the *shahāda* is like a mutilated hand". In a large number of traditions it

is stated that Muḥammad used to recite passages from the Kur'ān (e.g. Muslim, Ṣalāt, tr. 49-52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 86, 88, 93 etc.). The *khuṭba* must be short in accord with Muḥammad's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *khuṭba* short" (Muslim, Ṣalāt, tr. 47). Just like the *ṣalāt* the *khuṭba* must be right to the purpose (*fiḳh*, Muslim, Ṣalāt, tr. 42). The audience must be silent and quiet, "who says to his neighbour 'listen', has spoken a superfluous word"; al-Bukhārī, Ṣalāt, *bāb* 38). The two *khuṭbas* pronounced by the standing *khaṭīb*, who sits between them, are based on Muḥammad's example (al-Bukhārī, Ṣalāt, *bāb* 27; Muslim, Ṣalāt, tr. 35 f., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 35, 92, 98). During the *adhān* Muḥammad used to sit on the *minbar*, the *iḳāma* was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the *khuṭba* standing), this order was observed by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 449 *bis*).

Neither the term *khuṭba* nor the verb *khaṭaba* in their technical meaning occur in the Kur'ān. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the *ṣalāt* which is mentioned (Sūra LXII, 9-11). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the *khuṭba* did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muḥammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the different kinds of service were accurately regulated from the beginning. *Ḥadīth* has preserved descriptions showing that Muḥammad's *khuṭba* often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 13, reports, for example, that the Prophet pronounced two *khuṭbas* at the end of a complaint raised against a collector of the *ṣadaḳa*. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds as may appear from the following traditions. According to one of them related on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī it is said that Muḥammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the *ṣalāt*; then he pronounced the *khuṭba* "and his *khuṭba* actually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 56 f.). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, ʿIdayn, tr. 9. "When Muḥammad had concluded the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival by the *taslīm*, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it, he used also to say: give alms, give alms; . . , then he went away. This state of things lasted till Marwān, etc.". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muḥammad's time. Yet it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to contrast the simple service of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who even had a *minbar* built on the *muṣallā*. According to another tradition, the Prophet once interrupted his *khuṭba* in order to reply to a stranger who had asked for instruction in the Muslim faith (Muslim, Ṣalāt, tr. 60), he is also portrayed as interrupting the *khuṭba* to call out directly to a man (*ibid*, tr. 54 f.).

However uncertain the value of these traditions may be, it seems not out of place to suppose that a fixed order of service on Friday and the days of festival arose only after Muḥammad's lifetime. This order reposes on three elements the early Arabian *khuṭba*, Muḥammad's *sunna* and the example of Jews and Christians.

In his study on the history of Muslim worship C. H. Becker endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the mass on the other. But this view was opposed by Mittwoch, who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to *adhān* and *iḳāma*, to the *kawāsa*, the recitation of the Tora (first *khuṭba*) and the recitation from the Prophets (second *khuṭba*). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question, probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muslim worship.

It is customary to pronounce the *khuṭba* in Arabic; nevertheless, this rule is not infrequently broken in non-Arabic speaking lands.

The history of the *khuṭba* in Islam remains to be written, and the study of oratory from the *minbar* or pulpit likewise remains to be undertaken. On the latter point, the enquirer might utilise with profit the texts (of varying degrees of authenticity) of those sermons of the Prophet given in the *Sīra*, in the *ḥadīth* collections and in historical texts, as well as in those *adab* works which have preserved specimens of famous *khuṭbas*. Collections like those of Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriḳī [*q.v.*] and the specially compiled anthologies of sermons used by the professional *khaṭībs*, just as the secretaries used collections of model letters, would also be found useful. Collections of this latter type are often arranged according to the calendar, i.e. there are four sermons for each month plus supplementary ones for festival days, the Prophet's birthday and his *miʿrāḏ* or night-journey (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab Hss.*, iii, 437).

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mah. Wet*, Leiden 1925, 71 f., 109 f.; Shaykh Niẓām, al-*Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828 ff., i, 205 f., 210 f., 214 f., Abū ʾl-Kāsim al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Ṣifāt al-Islām*, Calcutta 1893, *i*, 44, 48, C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Nöldeke Festschrift*, Giessen 1906, 331 ff., idem, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374 ff., E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, (1913), no. 2, see also KHAṬĪB.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHUTTALĀN, Khuttal, a region on the right bank of the upper Oxus river, in what is now Soviet Central Asia, lying between the Wakhsh river and the Pandj river (sc. the head waters of the Oxus), called the Wakhshāb and Dparyāb in mediaeval times. It was bounded on the west by the topographically similar regions of Čaghāniyān and Wakhsh [*qq.v.*], and was often administratively linked with Wakhsh (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii 402). Khuttal was a land of rich pastures in both the river valleys and on the upper slopes of the hills, where the famed horses of Khuttal, known even to the Chinese, were reared; the geographers advert frequently to the Khuttalī and Tukhārī breeds, and the men of Khuttal were celebrated for their knowledge of horse-breeding, farriery and veterinary science, and for their skill in making saddles and other accoutrements (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 113). The valleys ran northwards towards the Buttamān mountains, which separated Khuttal from the upper Zarafshān river valley, gold and silver were mined there, and there dwelt in these mountains two fierce and predatory groups, the Kumādhīs and the Kandjina Turks, both of them probably remnants of Hephthalite peoples [see KUMĀDHĪS].

The form Khuttalān, with the plural ending, is early attested, for this is found in the very early New Persian satirical verses composed by the local

people against the Arab commander Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī when he unsuccessfully raided Khuttal in 108/726-7, see Ṭabarī, ii, 1492, 1494, 1602. Later Persian poetry requires forms like Khuttalān or Khetlān, whilst the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 129, spells Khatulān. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, gives both Khatlān and Khuttal, with his main entry under the latter form. In the Chinese annals we find forms like K'o-tu-lo, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-300. An etymological connection with the name of the Hephthalites, within whose northern kingdom Khuttal certainly fell [see HAYĀṬILA] is certainly not impossible.

The principal town of Khuttal and the residence of its ruler was at Hulbuk to the south of the modern centre Kulāb/Kulyāb, whilst Nuḳāra or Andiḳāraḳh is described as the main trading centre. Other towns enumerated by the geographers include the important centres of Hallāwand and Munk, the latter probably corresponding roughly to the modern Baldjuwān; according to Yaḳūbī, Munk was on the borderland with Rāgh and the Turkish lands, &c. those of the Kumīdjīs etc. Clearly, Khuttal was a prosperous and well settled region at this time.

In the pre Islamic period, the local rulers bore the titles Khuttalān Shāh or Khuttalān-Khudāh and Shēr I Khuttalān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40). The Arab invaders did not gain full control of Khuttal till the end of the Umayyad period. The rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*] received support from the local ruler, and in retaliation, Asad b ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī led two expeditions into Khuttal in 119/737. These provoked an appeal for help to the Khāḳān of the Türgesh or Western Turks Su-lu, and the Arabs had to retreat hastily (Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 81-3). The region was not fully secured till 133/750-1, when Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, governor of Balkh, drove out the ruler (*malik*) of Khuttal, who fled first in the Turks and then to China, where he was granted the honorific title of *Yaḳġu* (Gibb, *op. cit.*, 95; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 168, 218).

In the ensuing century or so, Khuttal came under the rule of the Banū Ḳurāḳ or Abū Dāwūdids, who exercised power on both sides of the upper Oxus. In the Sāmānid period, the *amīrs* of Khuttal were in loose tributary status only in the Sāmānids, sending presents but not taxation to Bukhārā (Muḳaddasī, 337), and they exercised suzerainty south of the Oxus, for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 109, says that the *dihḳān* of the small principality of Yūn in Badakhshān was tributary to the *amīr* of Khuttal. In the warfare of 336-7/947-9 between the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr and Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, all the vassal rulers (*muḳāṭaʿa-i afrād*) along the upper Oxus were stirred into revolt by Abū ʿAlī, including the *amīr* Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar of Khuttal, the *amīr* of Rāgh and the Kumīdjīs (Gardīzī, ed. Nāzim, 36-7, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 157-8, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*[1], 248).

Under the early Ghaznawids, Khuttal was strategically important as being in the buffer zone between the Ghaznawids and their Ḳarakhānid rivals. Khuttal is included with Čaghāniyān and Kubādhiyān amongst the territories enumerated to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph's investiture diploma of 422/1031 to Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd (Bayhaḳī, in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 34), but it was also claimed by the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlī tigin [see ILEK KHĀNS], who stirred up the Kumīdjīs to harry the region. Unlike as in the neighbouring principality of Čaghāniyān, where the Muḥtādjī *amīrs* remained, no separate family of local rulers is mentioned for Khuttal at this time, Ghaznavid influence was exercised directly, seen in Mas'ūd's appointment of a *ḥāfiẓ li-ḥudūd* for Khuttal (Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 176).

In the Saldjūḳ period, however, various local *amīrs* are mentioned. An *amīr* of Khuttal rebelled against Alp Arslan in 456/1064, but was killed (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 13), and in 533/1138 there was a campaign by the lord of Khuttal, one Ibn Shudjāʿ Tarkishāh, formerly a vassal of Sandjar, against the important crossing place of Tirmidh, taking advantage of the chaos in Khurāsān consequent upon Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz and then his death; this Ibn Shudjāʿ is said to have claimed descent from the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām Gūr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 255). In the period of the Ghūrids and Khwārazm Shāhs, no separate native dynasty is mentioned. Like Wakhsh, it may have been part of the Ghūrid empire and may have become one of the small principalities into which that empire broke up, see Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i nāṣirī* ed. Habībī, Kabul 1342-3/1962-4, i, 387, 390, tr. Raverty, 426, 438, 490. A Djalāl al-Dīn ʿUmar of Wakhsh, apparently from the Bāmiyān branch of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], was carried off into captivity to Khwārazm ca. 612/1215, according to Nesawī, see Barthold, *Turkestan*[1], 372.

In the 8th/14th century, Khuttal was likewise one of the small states into which Čaghatay's empire disintegrated, Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī records that the ruler of Khuttal Kay Khusraw was killed by Timūr for treasonable contacts with Khwārazm (*Ẓafar nāma*, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 243). Later, Khuttal was one of the dependencies of the region of Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] and was controlled by the later Timūrid *amīr* of Kunduz. Then in the 10th/16th century it passed under Özbeg control. The name Khuttal now disappears from use, being replaced by that of the modern town of Kulāb; one of the last recorded uses of the old name is in the dynastic history of the Özbegs, the *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* of Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī (begun in 1044/1634). After being included in the Khānate of Bukhārā during the 18th and 19th centuries, the mediaeval region of Khuttal now forms part of the Tadzhikistan SSR.

Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402, also mentions a village of al Khuttal in ʿIrāḳ on the Baghdād-Khurāsān high road near Daskara.

Bibliography. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-303; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 57 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 438-9; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Daghlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 81 n. 1; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 109, 119-20, 330 (*map*), 341, 359 ff.; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, index. (C. E. Bosworth)

KHUZĀ'A, an ancient Arab tribe of obscure origin. Muslim genealogists assuming a Muḍarī origin of Khuzāʿa based their argument on an utterance attributed to the Prophet according to which the ancestor of the tribe, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] was a descendant of Kamaʿa (= ʿUmayr) b. Khindif, thus tracing their pedigree to Muḍar (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Sakkā, al Abyārī and Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 78, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 34; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 44-5 bis; Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 7-8, 11; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruwāt*, al-Naḏjaf 1386/1966, 97 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 222 ff.; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al Muʿallimī, *Hyderabad* 1382/1962, V, 116). Some sections in Khuzāʿa asserted that

they were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Nadr b Kinana b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b Ilyas b. Muḍar. The claims for Muḍari descent made by some groups of Khuzā'a were firmly rejected by genealogists, who asserted that both Kināna and al-Ṣalt died childless. (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Ms. Hāl, Add 23297, fol. 4b, ll. 9-10; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi, 15, fols. 84b 86a, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 34 ult., 38-9; Muṣ'ab, *op. cit.*, 11-12). Muṣ'ab, recording the Muḍari genealogy of Khuzā'a, confirmed by an utterance of the Prophet, remarks cautiously that the pedigree uttered by the Prophet is certainly true, provided that it was actually said by him (Muṣ'ab, 8; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al Inbāh*, 58). Harmonising traditions trying in the usual way to bridge the contradictory reports about the origin of Khuzā'a, claim that the mother of Luḥayy married after the death of Kama'a the Yamani Ḥāritha and the child traced his pedigree to the Yamani father who adopted him (al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 46). Another tradition states that Kama'a married, beget children, but clashed with his relatives, left for al-Yaman and allied himself with the Azd (al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 35, ll. 1-2). The Yamani tradition, on the other hand, records a lengthy list of ancestors of Khuzā'a beginning with Luḥayy (= Rabī'a) b Ḥāritha b 'Amr b. 'Āmir b Ḥāritha b. Imru 'l Kays b. Tha'laba b. al-Azd. The pedigree is traced back, of course, to Kahtan (al Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 45, ll. 5-10; Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Inbāh*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. 'Abd al Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 468; al-Ḥāzimī, *'Udjālat al mubtadī*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Kāmil, Cairo 1384/1965, 54)

The traditions about the beginnings of the rule of Khuzā'a in Mecca, ascribing Khuzā'a to Azd, record a lengthy story about the migration of the tribal groups of Azd from al Yaman to the North While some tribal divisions continued their migration to Syria (Ghassān) and 'Umān (Azd Shanū'a), the Khuzā'a separated (*inḳisām*) and managed to get control of Mecca. One of the traditions reports that the leader of the Azd asked Djurhum (*q.v.*), the tribe which ruled Mecca at the time, to permit them to stay in the territory of Mecca until them foragers would find for them suitable pasture-grounds, threatening war if they were denied this. In fact, when Djurhum refused to grant permission, Khuzā'a fought them, defeated them and got possession of the Sanctuary of Mecca. Another tradition, on the authority of Abū 'Amr al Shaybānī, reports that the custodianship of the Ka'ba was gained legally by Khuzā'a, as their leader Rabī'a b. Ḥāritha married Fuhayra, the daughter of al Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al Djurhumī, his son 'Amr b Rabī'a (i.e. 'Amr b. Luḥayy) had thus a legal basis for his claims to the custodianship. In the protracted battles which ensued between Khuzā'a and Djurhum, Khuzā'a defeated Djurhum, who had to leave the city. A third tradition ascribes the decline of the Djurhum in Mecca to their deterioration and moral decay. Afflicted by plagues, God's chastisement for their wickedness, they were extirpated, and only few survivors from amongst them left Mecca, the custodianship of the *ḥaram* was then taken over by Khuzā'a. A diverse tradition gives a quite different account of the events, sc. that Khuzā'a took over the control of Mecca from Iyād (*q.v.*) A peculiar version of this tradition transmitted by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār reports a battle which followed some clashes between the ruling Iyād and Muḍar in which Iyād was defeated. Iyād got permission to leave Mecca on the condition that Muḍari women married to Iyādīs would be returned to Muḍar if they wished. Among the returned women was a Khuzā'a woman named Kudhma Khuzā'a, the report states, traced at that time their pedigree to Muḍar As the Iyād failed to carry with them into exile the pillar with the Black Stone, they decided to bury it. The Khuzā'ī woman revealed to her people the place of the buried Stone and advised them to ask from Muḍar the custodianship of the Ka'ba as reward for finding the pillar with the Black Stone Muḍar complied and Khuzā'a got control of the Ka'ba, and retained this office until the arrival of Kuṣayy (*q.v.*) (al Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 26 f., al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, al-Nadjaf 1384/1964, i, 208; Muḥammad b Ḥabīb, al *Munammaḳ*, ed Ḳhūrshīd Aḥmad Fārik, Hyderabad 1384/1964 344 f.; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al nudjūm al 'awālī*, Cairo 1380, i, 283) Another tradition reports that Djurhum were driven out through a joint action of Bakr b 'Abd Manāt of Kināna and the Banū Ghubshān of Khuzā'a (al Fāsī, *Shifā'*, i, 370, "Bakr b 'Abd Manāt of Khuzā'a", as recorded in the article Djurhum above is an error).

These stories allotting exceptionally long lives to the rulers of Djurhum and Khuzā'a have the character of folk-tradition in which were embedded elements of *mu'ammarūn* tales, edifying stories about righteous and pious men (see e g the story of Wakī' b Salama of Iyād and his servant Harwara, in al Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 26, and Muḥammad b Ḥabīb, al *Munammaḳ*, 346-7), accounts of battles and clashes in the popular style of the *ayyām al-'arab*, and recollections of legends about the migrations of tribes caused by a dam breaking in South Arabia. The tradition focuses around the person of 'Amr b. Luḥayy, almost unanimously putting on him the blame for the wicked innovations in the faith of Abraham and for the introduction of idol-worship, especially that of Hubal, into Mecca There is, however, a contradictory tradition asserting that it was Khuzayma b. Mudrika, one of the ancestors of Kuraysh, who introduced the worship of Hubal and stating that Hubal was consequently called "Hubal Khuzayma" (al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 37, no. 77; al Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 32 init). As in the case of Iyād, some traditions mention among the Khuzā'a a *homo religiosus* Abū Kabsha, who in his search after the true religion worshipped Sirius. The unbelievers used to refer to the Prophet as Ibn Abī Kabsha in the early period of his prophethood, pointing out his deviation from the current beliefs of his people (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 129; 'Alī b. Burhān al Dīn al Ḥalabī, *Insān al 'uyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al ma'mūn* (= *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo 1382/1964, i, 335, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 91, 327, al-Suyūṭī, *al Durr al manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 131, al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, 1387/1967, xvii, 129, al-Makrīzī, *Imtā' al asmā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 77, 158, al-Ḳāzarūnī, *Sīrat al-nabī*, Ms. B.M. Add. 1499, fol 232a b, 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, ed., *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1370/1952, i, 100 (al-Fayyūmī Khidhlī, *Tuḥfat al-ṣāḥib fīman nasiba ilā ghayr abīh*).

These conflicting and contradictory stories seem to indicate that the formation of the tribe of Khuzā'a took place over a long period of time, ramifying into various tribal units. The main area of abode of the tribe was between Mecca and Medina.

When Kuṣayy arrived in Mecca aiming to gain control of the city, he had to subdue the ruling Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt of Kināna, the Khuzā'a and their abettors, the Ṣūfa. The different stories about the enigmatic Kuṣayy resemble in their outline the stories about the former rulers of Mecca; his marriage with Ḥubbā bint Ḥulayl b Ḥubghayya gave legitimacy to his custodianship of the Ka'ba. Another manner of

legitimisation, the sale of how this office was purchased by Kusayy for a goat's skin of wine from the drunken Abū Ghubshān, is recounted in the compilations of proverbs and stories of fools (al-ʿAskarī, *Dhamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Katāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 387, no. 585; Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fī 'l-amthāl al-sā'ira*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Katāmish, Cairo 1972, i, 139, no. 126; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1963, 135, no. 196, al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, i, 216, no. 1167, Ibn al-Diwaytī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā*, Beirut, n.d., 42). The court of Abū Ghubshān (*dār Abī Ghubshān*) was extinct in Mecca in the second half of the 3rd century of the Hidjra (al-Fākihī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Ms. Leiden, or. 463, fol. 456b, l.15). Like the preceding rulers, he fought, according to another account, the two tribes Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa and crushed their power. His wife Hubbā revealed, as in the story of Iyād, the place where the pillar with the Black Stone was buried, and so the true worship of the Kaʿba could be resumed (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ* fī, 73; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1374/1955, xvi, 32). The relations between Kusayy on the one side and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa on the other were settled on the basis of the judgment of the arbiter Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, called al-Shaddākh. The verdict granted Kusayy the custodianship of the Kaʿba and provided that Khuzāʿa should be left in the area of the *ḥaram* (Ibn al-Kalbī *Djamhara*, fols. 52a, inf.—52b, sup.)

In the new régime set up by Kusayy, in which the scattered tribal units of Kuraysh were gathered and settled in Mecca, the groups of Khuzāʿa played an important role in strengthening the power of Mecca ruling Kuraysh to extend their influence among the tribes. Khuzāʿa was included in the organisation of the Hums. Two tribal groups of Khuzāʿa, the Muṣṭaliḳ and Hayā, were included in the organisation of the Aḥābīsh, the allies of Kuraysh (see e.g. Ibn Kutayba, *al-Maʿārif 'l-Kabīr*, Hyderabad 1368/1949, 398 l. 4; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 178, al-Ḥāsimī, *al-Ittiḥād fī ansāb al-nisāʾ wa 'l-mamālīḥ min al-ʿarab*, Hyderabad 1359, 250. Ibn al-Kalbī *Djamhara*, fols. 48b-49a sup.; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 41, Yāḳūt, s.v. Makka; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā ʿistaʿdjam*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945, 845, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1885, 28). Together with Mudjār tribes, Khuzāʿa worshipped al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, together with the Dawsī they worshipped Dhū 'l-Kaffayn (Yāḳūt, s.v. Manāt; Ibn ʿArabī, *Mukhtaṣar al-abrār*, Beirut 1388/1968, i, 415, Ps. Aṣmaʿī, *al-Aṣnām*, the section *Tasmiyāt al anbiyāʾ*, Ms. B M Or. 1403, fol. 27a, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 328). The involvement of Khuzāʿa and Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in the affairs of Mecca and their influence can be gauged from the story about the agreement between Kuraysh and Thaḳīf concerning the mutual rights of these two tribes to enter Mecca and Wadjd. the Thaḳīf complied with the demands of Kuraysh, fearing the strength of Kuraysh, Khuzāʿa and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al Munammaḳ*, 280).

The considerable number of names of Khuzāʿīs married by Kurashīs recorded in the sources bears evidence of the close relations between Kuraysh and Khuzāʿa. Indeed, when Khuzāʿa decided to ally themselves with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, they stressed that he was "borne" by Khuzāʿī women (*fa had waladnāhu*) In the same style the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Sālim addressed the Prophet with the words *had kuntum waladan wahunnā wālidā* when he came asking his help against the Banū Bakr and Kuraysh (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al athar fī funūn al maghāzī wa'l-shamāʾil wa 'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356, ii, 264-5, 282).

When the Prophet was on his hidjra to Medina he met, according to one tradition, Burayda b. al-Ḥusayb of Aslam (q.v.) with a large group of his people, he and his people embraced Islam and prayed behind the Prophet. These Aslam, a branch of Khuzāʿa, allied themselves very early to the Prophet and warriors of Aslam took part on the side of the Prophet in his campaigns. The agreements of the Prophet with Aslam (see Hamīdallāh, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾik al-siyāsiyya li 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l khilāfa al-rāshida*, Cairo 1376/1956, 191-4, nos. 185-70) bear evidence to the friendly relations between the Prophet and Aslam. After the murder of the people of the expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna (q.v.), the Prophet invoked God's blessing for Aslam (*wa-Aslam sālimahā Allāhu*; al-Wākidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 550). When the Prophet mobilised the forces for the conquest of Mecca he summoned the Aslam, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Medina, as present themselves in Medina. In fact, 400 warriors of Aslam, among them 30 riders, took part in the conquest of Mecca. The two standard bearers were Burayda b. al-Ḥusayb and Nādjiya b. al-Aʿdjam of Aslam (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 123; Ibn Hadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, vi, 398, no 8647; al Wākidī, 799-800) Aslam, along with Ghifār, Muzayna and Djuhayna, were pointed out by the Prophet as surpassing in virtues the mighty tribes of Tamīm, Asad, ʿAmr b Saʿsaʿa and Ghaṭafān (al-Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, Cairo 1327, vi, 13; Ibn Hadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1301, vi, 395 7) Commentators of *ḥadīth* are unanimous in saying that this high position was granted to them because they hurried to embrace Islam

The attitude of the Muṣṭaliḳ, another branch of Khuzāʿa allied with the Banū Mudlidj of Kināna and included in the Aḥābīsh organisation linked with Kuraysh, was however quite different towards the Muslim commonwealth of Medina Their leader, al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dirār, gathered the forces of his tribe for an attack against Medina. The forces of the Prophet attacked the Muṣṭaliḳ at Murayseʿ on 5/627, defeated them and took captives and booty. The Prophet married the captured daughter of the leader, Djuwayriyya (al Wākidī, 404 13).

Another branch of Khuzāʿa, the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, played a decisive role in the struggle between Mecca and the Prophet. The dissensions and clashes between the Kaʿb and their neighbours, the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, led the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr to opt for an alliance with the Prophet in the pact of al Hudaybiyya, whereas the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt allied themselves with Mecca. A group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt aided clandestinely by some leaders of Kuraysh attacked the Kaʿb b ʿAmr at al Watīr and killed some of them The orator of the Kaʿb, ʿAmr b. Sālim, appeared at the court of the Prophet in Medina and addressed him, reminding him of the alliance of the Kaʿb with ʿAbd al Muṭṭalib, pointing out the killing of the Kaʿb at al-Watīr, and urging him to revenge his allies. The Prophet responded and promised aid for victory (*naṣr*). The request of a man from the ʿAdī b. Amr, the brethren of Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, to be included in the promise was answered by the Prophet's remark that Kaʿb and ʿAdī are one corporate body (*wa-hal ʿAdiyyun illā Kaʿb wa Kaʿbun illā ʿAdī*: Nūr al-Dīn al Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, vi, 184, Ibn al Bakkāl, *al Fawāʾid al munṭaḳā*, Ms. Ẓāhiriyya

mashāhid'a, 60, fol. 85b; *al-Tabarānī*, *al-Mu'jam al-saghīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad 'Uthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 73 sq). It is evident that the tendency of this tradition is to establish the position of the 'Adī b. 'Amr in the Prophet's invocation and to stress their role in the expedition against Mecca. Whether the Ka'b b. 'Amr were already Muslims when they applied for help is disputed by scholars (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ii, 182, penult. says that they were unbelievers, al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā'*, ed. Mustafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo 1389/1970, ii, 288, that they were Muslims; and see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, iv, 36, n. 2). According to some commentators of the Kur'ān, vv. 13-13 *al Sūrat al Tawba* ordering fighting against the people who had broken their solemn pledges (*alā tuqātilūna kawman nakathū aymānahum*) were revealed in connection with the wicked attack of the Banū Bakr b 'Abd Manāt against the Ka'b b 'Amr (al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62 (nos. 16555-16547); al Suyūtī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, iii, 214-15; idem, *Lubāb al-nuqūl*, Cairo 1373/1954, 124; al-Kurtubī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 86-7, al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī l-Kur'ān*, ed. Ahmad Yūsuf al-Nadjātī and Muhammad 'Alī al Nadjdjār, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 415).

When the Prophet went out against Mecca, he was joined by the tribesmen of Ka'b who stayed in Medina, the main troop of Ka'b joined the forces of the Prophet in Rudayd. The troop of the Ka'b, numbering 500 warriors, had three standards carried by Busr b. Sufyān, Abū Shurayh (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, Damascus 1349, vi, 400, Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, Beirut 1377/1957, iv, 294-5; al-Wākidī, but ["Ibn Shurayh" in *ibid.* l.2 is an error]) and 'Amr b Sālim. It is noteworthy that the Prophet permitted the Ka'b to fight the Bākr b. 'Abd Manāt in Mecca for some additional hours after he had ordered all other troops to stop fighting (*wa ibat* 839, *al-Maghāzī*, *op. cit.*, i, 388; al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 144, al-Hārimī, *al-I'tibār*, 153. 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, iii, 97 *ult.*) It may be remarked that a group of the Bakr b 'Abd Manāt hasted to join the forces of the Prophet. When Abū Sufyān looked at the marching troops of the Prophet and noticed the force of the Bakr he remarked sadly "By God they are an inauspicious people, because of those Muhammad raided us " (al Wākidī, 820, then 'Asākir, vi, 401).

The meritorious attitude of Khuzā'a towards the Prophet is fairly reflected in Muslim tradition. The Prophet is said to have stated that Khuzā'a was intimately linked with him. (*Khuzā'atu minnī wa-anā minhum*; *Khuzā'atu l-mihāmu wa-anā l-muhāmā* wa, e.g. al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-akhbār*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 78b, 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, iii, 83, al-Muttakī al Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad 1385/1965, xiii, 33, no. 316). The Kur'ān is said to have been revealed to the Prophet in the dialect (*lugha*) of the two Ka'bs, Ka'b b Lu'ayy and Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Lubayy, because they shared the same abode (al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, ii, 53, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 99) A special privilege granted by the Prophet to Khuzā'a was that he awarded them the rank of *mukhtaṣṣīn*, permitting them to stay in their abode (*ibid.*, 100). It was a Khuzā'ī, Tamīm b. Umayd, whom the Prophet entrusted with the restoration of the border marking stones (*ansāb*) of the *haram* of Mecca (Mughaltāy, *al Zahr al bāsim fī sīrat Abī 'l Kāsim*, Ms Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 319a, inf.-319b, al Fāsī, *al 'Iqd al thamīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo 1389/1964, iii, 387, no. 861)

The leader of the Ka'b, Busr b. Sufyān, according to one tradition, was appointed by the Prophet as the tax-collector of the Ka'b in 9/630 they were prevented from handing over their taxes by groups of the Banū 'l-'Anbar and Banū 'l-Hudjaym ("Ibn *al 'Utayr*" and "Banū Dhakwān" in al Wākidī, 974 are errors) al Tamīm, against these two Tamīmī groups the Prophet sent a troop commanded by 'Uyayna b. Hisn (al Wākidī, 974 f.). In the account it is emphasised that the Ka'b were believers, paying the *sadaka* willingly A special tax-collector was sent to the other branch of Khuzā'a, the Banū Mustalik (Ibn Sa'd, iii, 440 inf.)

'Umar b al-Khattāb used to carry the *diwān* of Khuzā'a to Rudayd and distributed there payments to the people of the tribe (al Baladhurī, *Futūh al-buldān*, ed. 'Abd Allāh and 'Umar al-Tabbā', Beirut 1377/1957, 634. Ibn Sa'd, iii 298).

Khuzā'ī warriors participated in the conquests of Islam and groups of Khuzā'a settled in the various provinces of the Arab empire. Some people of Khuzā'a took part in the revolt against 'Uthmān in Medina (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al 'Iqd al-farīd*, ed. Ahmad Amīn, Ahmad al Zayn, Ibrāhīm al Abyārī, Cairo 1381/1962, iv, 300, l.19). Some groups of Khuzā'a joined 'Alī and fought on his side in the battle of Siffīn, and some Khuzā'īs in Khurāsān were among the 'Abbāsid agents who paved the way for the new dynasty.

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AL-KHUZĀMĀ (A.) "lavender" has for a long time been considered as the origin of the name of Alhucemas, on the coast of the Rīf of Morocco, and this etymology is still given in *EI*[1] (art. ALHUCEMAS) Since the problem raised by this toponym has not yet been satisfactorily resolved and since moreover Alhucemas has now, since Morocco's achievement of independence, been "arabised" to al-Ḥuesyma, it is under AL-ḤUSAYMA that an article on the place will be found in the Supplement.

KHŪZISTĀN, a province of south-western Persia, and the land of the Hūz/Hūz/Khūz (Ḥusā/Kusa), the Οὐξίοι/Uxii of Strabo and Pliny. The province of Khuzistān corresponds more or less to the ancient Elam and to the classical Susiana, and the names of its present capital, Ahwāz [*q.v.*], its ancient capital Susa [*q.v.*], and the town of Hawiza [*q.v.*], all reflect the name of its inhabitants in Elamite times.

Essentially, the province consists of alluvial fans formed by the Karkha and the Karūn [*q.v.*] rivers and situated between the Zagros mountains and the sea, near the Persian Gulf, partially saline mudflats merge into a zone of tidal marshes, and the coastline is pierced by deep tidal estuaries known as *khor*. The province is bounded on the east by the Irano-'Irāḳī border, on the north by Luristān [*q.v.*]; on the south by the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the river Tīndiyān or Hindiyān. The chief towns are: Abādān [see 'ABBĀDĀN], Ahwāz [*q.v.*]; Khurramshahr [*q.v.*], Dasht Mishān, Dizfūl; and Shūshtar [see SHUSHTAR] The population of the province (1,614,576 in 1956) is mainly hybrid Arab-Persian.

The climate of Khūzistān is hot and, in summer, so humid that water drips from the trees. Both the Greek and Muslim geographers speak eloquently of the heat. Strabo, quoting an unknown source (Nearchos?), says that in Susa at mid-day lizards and snakes could not cross the streets quickly enough to avoid being frizzled, and that barley spread out in the sun jumped as though it had been placed in an oven (*Geography*, xv 3.10) There was general agreement that snow rarely fell in Khūzistān, and water rarely froze. The great heat is accounted for by (1) the lack of elevation (average altitude in southern Khūzistān = 10 metres/32.80 feet, rising to 100 metres/328 feet in central Khūzistān), (2) the southerly inclination of the land, which exposes it to the maximum effect of the sun's rays; (3) the hot winds in summer from the Syrian desert and Arabia; (4) the clayey nature of the soil, which retains the heat, (5) the lack of open water, snow-covered mountains or forests to the west to moderate the heat of westerly winds. Because of its climate, Khūzistān did not have a good reputation as a place in which to live, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 130, describes the people of Ahwāz as "yellow-faced", and quotes a popular belief that "whoever establishes himself in Ahwāz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there loses its scent on account of the climate". Despite this, the province was noted for a perfume manufactured there from violets (B Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 389)

Despite the disadvantages of its climate, Khūzistān from earliest times was noted for its prosperity Unlike the regions of the Iranian plateau, Khūzistān has never lacked for water, which is provided in abundance by the Karkha, Diz and Karūn rivers and their tributaries. The province was the breadbasket of the Achaemenid empire. Strabo states that "Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes two hundredfold" (*Geography*, xv 3 11). In Sāsānid times, extensive urban settlements, and cultivated lands watered by large-scale irrigation works, were protected from the destructive raids of the bedouin by a defensive ditch known as *khandaḳ Sābūr*. In the 4th/10th century, Khūzistān had a monopoly of the sale of cane-sugar throughout Iran, 'Irāḳ-i 'Arab and Arabia Other important crops included citrus fruits, dates, melons, cotton and rice. The waters of the Persian Gulf provided abundant fish. The other basis of the province's prosperity was trade, from early times, Ahwāz had been the centre of an important road network and a recognised crossing place on the river Kārūn.

Under the two great pre-islamic Iranian empires, that of the Achaemenids and that of the Sāsānids, Khūzistān was firmly under the control of the central government. To the Achaemenids, it was the province of Uvaja, and Susa was the administrative capital of the empire; for the Sāsānids, it formed part of the "super province" (*pādhāshīh*) of Nēm-rōz (the South), and was divided into seven *kūras* In 17/638 the Muslim Arabs, after a reconnaissance raid across the Kārūn, launched a major attack on Khūzistān under 'Utba, captured Ahwāz, and completed the subjugation of the province by 19/640 In the 3rd/9th century Khūzistān, and particularly the city of Ahwāz, suffered as a result of the Zandj [*q.v.*] rebellion, and considerable damage was done to the irrigation systems. During the succeeding four centuries, Khūzistān was governed in turn by the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS], the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] and the Ilkhānids [*q.v.*].

In the 9th/15th century, following the onslaughts of Timūr on the Iranian world, a local Arab Shī'ī dynasty, the Mushā'shā' [*q.v.*], established itself at Hawiza, on the old course of the Karkha river on the western edge of Khūzistān, and enjoyed about seventy years of independence In 914/1508, however, Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī [see ISMĀ'ĪL I], after his capture of Baghdād, occupied Hawiza, Dizfūl and Shushtar, and received the submission of the Mushā'shā' *sultāns*. Like the rulers of other petty states along the Ottoman-Ṣafawī border during the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the Mushā'shā' *sultāns* played one side off against the other, often very much to their own advantage. As a consequence of Mushā'shā' rule, the western portion of Khūzistān became known, from early Ṣafawī times, as 'Arabistān In later Ṣafawī times, the title of "*wālī* of 'Arabistān" was conferred on the Mushā'shā' *sultāns* In the Ṣafawī administrative system, the *wālīs* were the highest in rank of the four categories of *umarā yi sarḥadd*, or "*umīrs* of the marches", and, of the four *wālīs*, the first in rank was the *wālī* of 'Arabistān, who was "higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a *sayyid* family, his valour and the number of his tribes" (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, London 1943, 44). When the Afghāns invaded Iran in 1135/1722, the Mushā'shā' *sultāns* threw in their lot with the invaders. In 1140/1727 Khūzistān was temporarily occupied by the Ottomans, but in 1142/1729 Nādir Khān Afshār [see

BANŪ MUʿAMM reoccupied the province and made the Muḥammaʿira shaykhs sultāns his vassals.

In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the Muḥammaʿira dynasty steadily lost ground to Arab tribesmen of the Banū Kaʿb and Banū Lām (*q.v.*). The former had begun to migrate in large numbers from central and southern Arabia into southern Mesopotamia and south-western Iran during the 11th/17th century, at the height of their power, in the latter part of the 12th/18th century, their sway extended from Basra to Bihbihān (in the province of Fārs, just east of the Khūzistān border). The Banū Lām were nomads inhabiting regions along the lower course of the Tigris, and between 1788 and 1846 some 17,450 families from this tribe moved into Iranian territory. These immigrants lived a life that was neither completely settled nor truly nomadic, but gradually a sedentary way of life became the norm. The Banū Kaʿb not only intermarried with Iranians, but adopted Shīʿism, and wore a compromise style of dress consisting of Persian tunic and trousers under an Arab ʿabāʾ. Still later Arab arrivals, however, the Muntafiḳ (*q.v.*), who in 1811 migrated to Hawīza and ousted the Kaʿb from that area, have remained Sunnīs. As a result of this great influx of Arabs, the name of ʿArabistān was, by the 19th century, usually applied to the province as a whole. In the 19th century control of the province virtually passed from the hands of the central government into those of the shaykhs of Muḥammara (Khurramshahr), and it was not until 1925 that Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī (*q.v.*) overthrew the Shaykh of Muḥammara and restored the proper name of Khūzistān.

After the collapse of the Ṣafawid dynasty (1135/1722), the prosperity of Khūzistān sharply declined. A number of factors seem to have been involved. (1) hostility between Iranian and Arab elements; (2) the extensive damage to agriculture and to the settled communities caused by both the recent Arab immigrants and by the indigenous transhumant tribes like the Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs (A. K. S. Lambton, *Land lord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 157 ff.); (3) the constant raiding of trade caravans by the Banū Lām; (4) the breakdown of the authority of the central government, which led to general neglect and maladministration, and the instability caused by frequent changes of governors; (5) oppression by tax collectors. In some areas the Arab shaykhs levied taxes five or six times a year (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 292). It was only after the discovery of oil at Masjid i Sulaymān in Khūzistān in 1908 that the economy of the province began slowly to recover, and this trend was accelerated by the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938; the line ran through Ahwāz, and its southern terminal was Bandar i Shāhpūr.

In the last twenty years, Khūzistān's prosperity has increased exponentially. Many large oilfields are connected by road and pipeline with the refinery at Ābādān and with the terminal at Bandar i Māhshahr (formerly Bandar i Maʿshūr). Ābādān, a virtually uninhabited site fifty years ago, is now Iran's fifth city (estimated population, 1975, 320,000). In 1961, the deep-water tanker terminal on Khārg Island was opened. The construction of the massive Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlawī dam on the Dīz river (1962) has not only provided the province with hydro-electricity but with water for the large-scale development of market-gardening and other agricultural projects, including the resumption of the cultivation of sugar-cane, other dams are planned. Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf. More recently, the development of the natural gas industry has taken place on a large scale. In 1973, 8.7 billion cu. m. of natural gas were exported to the U.S.S.R. The petrochemical industry is expanding at a great rate. The rapidly developing Djundīshāpūr University at Ahwāz now has over 2,000 students. The words of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, written one thousand years ago, now once again hold true: "This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. Its countryside is flourishing and its mountains are full of utility" (129-30).

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KHVARSHĪ (self-designation, Kedaes bikwa, Khunzi, Khvarshal, in Russian, Khvarshints) an ethnic group in the Caucasus whose language forms, with Bezheta, Gmukh, Dido and Khunzal (*q.v.*) the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 1,019 ethnic Khvarshīs, of whom 1,018 gave Khvarshī as their maternal tongue. They formerly lived in five *auls* (including Khvarshī and Inkheraki) on the upper course of the Ori-Tskalis, a southern affluent of the Andi-Koysu in the south-west of the Dagulal district of the Dāghistān ASSR, in 1944, they were resettled in the district of Vedeno in that same republic. They lived originally in an isolated region of high mountains, which long preserved them from any marked degree of outside influence and allowed them to retain their patriarchal customs. They are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī legal school.

Their traditional economy was based on sheep-rearing, with a system of transhumance, and also on terraced agriculture and various crafts, their present-day economy is essentially similar, with the added element of cattle-rearing.

Khvarshī is purely a vernacular language, Avar is used as the first literary language, and also as the second (sometimes first) spoken language, since it is used as the medium for primary education. Russian is the second literary language. Both linguistically and culturally, the Khvarshīs are now being assimilated to the Avars [*see further* AVAR, DAGHISTĀN. DIDO, AL-KABK].

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QIBLA, the direction of Mecca (or, to be exact, of the Kaʿba or the point between the *miʾlāb* or water-spout and the western corner of it), towards which the worshipper must direct himself for prayer.

1—Ritual and Legal Aspects

From very early times the direction at prayer and divine service for the worshippers was not a matter of choice among the Semitic peoples. There is already an allusion to this in I Kings, viii, 44 and it is recorded of Daniel (Dan , vi, 11) that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (which has remained the Jewish *ḳibla* to this day). As is evident from the names of the quarters of the heavens, the whole life of the Semitic peoples was turned eastwards. The Essenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syriac Christians also turned east wards at prayer (*Ancient Syriac documents*, ed. Cureton, 24, 80, *Acta martyrum orient*, ed. Assemani, ii, 123). It may therefore very well be assumed in agreement with the tradition that Muḥammad appointed a *ḳibla* at the same time as he instituted the *ṣalāt*. It is certain that in the period immediately following the *hijra* the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. Tradition places the alteration in the *ḳibla* to 16 or 17 months after the *hijra*, in Radjab or Shaʿbān of the year 2, probably rightly, for in this period we have the important change in Muḥammad's attitude to the Jews. Disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among the Jews of Yaṯrib, he began to turn more and more to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Ibrāhīm the basis of all monotheistic religions. The Kaʿba was brought into prominence as a religious centre and the *ḥadjdj* began to be talked of as a Muslim rite. At the same time a beginning was made with the eviction of the Jewish tribes of Yaṯrib. The alteration in the *ḳibla* is a not unimportant fact in this series of events and this train of thought. The Kurʾān verses, II, 136 ff., refer to this: ' What has induced them to abandon their former *ḳibla*? Say: to Allāh belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleaseth unto the right path .... We only appointed your previous *ḳibla* to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels .... Turn then thy face toward the holy *masdjid*; turn your face to it wherever you are '

The importance placed by Muḥammad himself upon the change is clear from these words. It is not necessary to assume with the tradition that it was brought about by scornful remarks of the Jews regarding Muḥammad's dependence on the prescriptions of their religion (ca Ṭabarī, i, 1280). In other traditions, the new *ḳibla* is represented as that of Ibrāhīm (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 378, ii, 13). Here we have a glimmering of the real truth of the matter, namely the connection with Muḥammad's new politico-religious attitude. According to one tradition (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 32; *Tafsīr*, Sūra II, *bāb* 14) the revelation of the above quoted verses from the Kurʾān was communicated to the believers in the morning *ṣalāt* in Kubāʾ, according to another story Muḥammad had with a portion of the community performed two *rakʿas* of the *ṣalāt* prayer to a mosque at the Banū Salima, when he turned round to the direction of Mecca (Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 139). The mosque received the name of *masdjid al-ḳiblatayn*, "the mosque of the two ḳiblas".

If it may then be considered established that Muḥammad and his community turned towards Jerusalem at the *ṣalāt* during the early years of the *hijra*, the question still remains, what was his *ḳibla* before the *hijra*? In Tradition two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonising the other two. According to one, Muḥammad in Mecca observed the *ḳibla* to the Kaʿba (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 4; Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 138); according to the other story the *ḳibla* had always been Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 3, 8, *Annales*, i, 1280, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 2); according to the third (Ibn Hishām, 190, 228) Muḥammad in Mecca was careful to have the Kaʿba and Jerusalem on a straight line in front of him at the *ṣalāt*. The first view is influenced by the theory of the "religion of Ibrāhīm" for al-Ṭibrīzī also makes ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib already know that Ibrāhīm appointed the Kaʿba as *ḳibla* (*Ḥamāsa*, i, 125). If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Muḥammad's dependence on Jewish practice. This view seems therefore to be the most probable. It is further mentioned as a distinguishing peculiarity of Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr that even in the period before the *hidjra* he would not turn his back on the Kaʿba (Ibn Hishām 294); this tradition would lose its point if the old *ḳibla* had been on the direction of the Kaʿba. Besides these traditional views, others have been put forward in recent years. According to Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala and Stockholm 1926, 4 (cf. Buhl, *Muḥammed's Liv*, 212) the original *ḳibla* was to the east. Andrae bases his view not on the material of Tradition but on the general agreement between early Muslim and Christian religious usages. Schwally said that the Jerusalem *ḳibla* was introduced into Mecca, perhaps as a Jewish Christian institution (*Geschichte des Qorans*, i, 175, note k).

The direction of the *ḳibla* was, or is, not assumed at the *ṣalāt* only and with the points of the toes (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; *Adhān*, *bāb* 131; Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, *bāb* 25; *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 96), but also at the *duʿāʾ* (Bukhārī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 24), at the *shāl* or *shōlam* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 29) and after the stone-throwing at the central Djamra (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 140-2); the head of an animal to be slaughtered is turned to the *ḳibla* and the dead are buried with the face towards Mecca (Lane, *Manners and customs*, Paisley and London 1899, Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ivfr 243; v, 409).

In the *ḥadīth* it is forbidden to turn towards Mecca when relieving nature (Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 61, Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18-20). On the question whether it is allowable to doing this to turn one's back to Mecca and thus in some parts of Arabia be facing Jerusalem no unanimity prevails (cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 14; *Khums*, *bāb* 4, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 29, Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, *trad.* 59, 61-2, Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 4); one should not expectorate in the direction of Mecca (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 33).

The observance of a *ḳibla* is given in old traditions along with the performance of the *ṣalāt* and ritual slaughter as a criterion of the Muslim. The Prophet of God said: "The command has been given me to fight the people till they say: There is no god but Allāh, when they say these words, perform our *ṣalāt* and slaughter in our way, their blood and their property shall be inviolate for us", etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28, cf. *Adhān*, *bāb* 17). One of the terms for the orthodox community is *ahl al-ḳibla* or *ʾl-ḳiblatān*. In many Muslim lands the word has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus *ḳibla* (pronounced *ebla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, whereas in the Maghrib, east.

In the mosques the direction of the *ṣalāt* is indicated by the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], in classical *ḥadīth*, this word does not occur and *ḳibla* is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a *ṣalāt* outside a mosque, a *sutra* [*q.v.*] marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the *ḳibla* (Lane, *op. cit.*, 228). It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately orientated (according to the *ḳibla*, see below). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines on the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of Indonesia where the faithful at the *ṣalāt* take their direction not from the *miḥrāb* but from such indicators.

The laws relating to the *ḳibla* are here given very briefly only and according to the Shāfi'ī school as laid down in al-Shīrāzī's *Kitāb al Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, 20). The adoption of a *ḳibla* is a necessary condition for the validity of a *ṣalāt*. Only in great danger and in a voluntary *ṣalāt* on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the *takbīr*, *ruḳū'* and *sudjūd*. One should turn exactly in the direction of the *ḳibla*, and one who is near it can do so with certainty. According to others, when one is distant only the general direction (*djiha*) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the *miḥrāb* within a mosque, when not in a mosque one follows the direction of reliable people only a man who is in a desert and region is allowed to ascertain the direction for himself by means of certain indications. For details of the laws see the *Bibliography*.

Bibliography: *The Kur'ān commentators on* Sūra II, 136 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 108 n. 20, 133-5; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* iii, register; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, Leiden 1903, 67, note 5, al-Nawawī *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, ed. van den Berg, i, 63-73, al *Fatāwā* of *'Alamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828, i, 86-9, al Muḥabbibī Abu 'l Fayḍ, *Sharḥ'i al Islām*, Calcutta 1855, 28-30 (tr. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1872, i, 56 ff.), al-Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, Paris 1900, 26-7, C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundation of Islam*, repr. New York 1967, 134-5; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index, al. Gandefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1969, index. (A. J. WENSINCK*)

II.—Astronomical Aspects

The determination of the *ḳibla* was an important problem for the scientists of mediaeval Islam. Although essentially a problem of mathematical geography, the determination of the *ḳibla* can also be considered as a problem of spherical astronomy. Thus most Islamic astronomical handbooks or *zīdjs*, of which close on 200 were compiled during the millennium beginning in 750 A.D., contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*. In addition, several dozen mediaeval manuals for timekeeping deal with the topic. In contrast, the number of treatises dealing specifically with the *ḳibla* problem is quite few.

The *ḳibla* at a given locality is a trigonometric function of the local latitude, the latitude of Mecca, and the longitude difference from Mecca. The derivation of the *ḳibla* in terms of these three quantities was the most complicated of the standard problems of mediaeval Islamic spherical astronomy, and the solutions to the *ḳibla* problem proposed by the leading astronomers of mediaeval Islam bear witness to the development of mathematical methods from the 3rd/9th to the 8th/14th centuries and to the level of sophistication in trigonometry and computational techniques attained by these scholars. Already in the 3rd/9th century Muslim scholars had derived exact solutions using the construction of Greek mathematics known as the analemma (in which the various significant planes involved in a specific problem are either projected or folded into a single working plane, whereupon the geometrical solution can be derived graphically or the trigonometric solution can be derived by plane trigonometry) or using the classical Theorem of Menelaos for the complete spherical quadrilateral. Later *ḳibla* methods included trigonometric solutions based on projection methods or on the simpler corollaries of the Theorem of Menelaos. Certain Muslim astronomers contented themselves with approximate solutions, which were adequate for practical purposes. The final mathematical solution to the *ḳibla* problem was the table compiled by the 8th/14th century astronomer al-Khalīlī, displaying the *ḳibla* for all latitudes and longitudes.

The mathematical problem

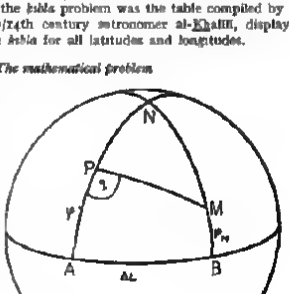

Fig. 1

Fig. 1 shows a locality P and Mecca M on the terrestrial surface. The point N represents the north pole, and the meridians at P and M are shown as NPA and NMB, where A and B lie on the equator. In mathematical terms the *ḳibla* at P is defined by the direction of the great circle through P and M. In mediaeval Arabic the angle φ between the arc PM and the local meridian NPS was called *inḥirāf al-ḳibla*, and the complementary angle between PM and the east-west line through P was called *samt al-ḳibla*. If φ and φ_M denote the latitudes of the locality and of Mecca (= PA and MB), and ΔL denotes their longitude difference (= AB), then φ is a function of φ, φ_M, and ΔL, and can be determined by spherical trigonometry. The modern formula, which can be derived from an application of the spherical cosine-rule to ΔNPM, is:

$$\varphi = \cot^{-1} \frac{\sin \varphi \cos \Delta L - \cos \varphi \tan \varphi_M}{\sin \Delta L}.$$

The exact solutions proposed by the mediaeval astronomers are less direct but ultimately equivalent to this.

Although the problem of determining the *ḳibla* is a problem of mathematical geography, it is mathematically equivalent to the astronomical problem of determining the azimuth or direction of a celestial body with given declination for a given hour angle, and as such it was usually treated by the mediaeval

astronomers. Indeed, the *ḳibla* problem may be transferred to the celestial sphere simply by considering the zenith of Mecca rather than Mecca.

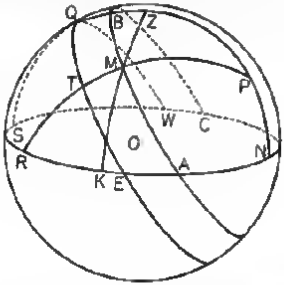

Fig. 2

Fig 2 shows the zenith of Mecca M on the celestial sphere for a locality O. The local horizon is NESW and the local meridian is NPZS. EQW is the celestial equator, P is the celestial pole, and ABC is the day circle of M. PMTR is the meridian of Mecca. Now:

$$PN = \varphi,\ MT = \varphi_M,\ \text{and}\ QT = \Delta L,$$

and the problem is to determine the azimuth of M measured from the meridian by the arc SK = q. Most mediaeval methods involve first finding the altitude of the zenith of Mecca above the local horizon, measured by the arc MR = h. This is equivalent to finding the complement of the distance between the two localities. Thus the problem of determining q (φ, φ_M, ΔL) is mathematically equivalent to determining the azimuth a (φ, δ, t) of a celestial body with declination δ (measured by MT) when the hour angle is t (measured by QT) and the local latitude is φ (measured by PN). Indeed, several Islamic *ḳibla* methods state simply that if one faces the sun on the day when the solar declination is φ_M at the time when the hour angle is ΔL (before or after midday, according as the locality is west or east of Mecca), then one is facing Mecca.

In the sequel a selection of methods is presented to illustrate the variety and sophistication of some of the few mediaeval *ḳibla* determinations that have been investigated in modern times. The notation has been modified in order to relate to that used in Fig 2. For the details of the original constructions the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed in the bibliography. Those methods that are trigonometric in character are represented by means of trigonometric equations, in the original texts the relations are written out in words. The capital notation for trigonometric functions denotes that they are to a base other than unity; thus, for example, Sin θ = R sin θ where R is generally 60 and occasionally, in the case of works following the Indian-Sāsānid tradition, 150. Likewise Cos θ = R cos θ, Vers θ = R vers θ = R (1 - cos θ), etc. The radius of the celestial sphere is taken to be R.

The trigonometric procedures outlined by the Muslim astronomers can also be performed geometrically using a grid of the kind which occurs on the circular instruments known in mediaeval Arabic as *al-dustūr* and *al-shakkāziyya*, or the related quadrants known as *al-rubʿ al-mudjayyab* and *rubʿ al-shakkāziyya*. Most Islamic treatises on these instruments contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*.

Approximate solutions

A popular approximate method for determining the *ḳibla* which occurs in the *Zīdj* of the Syrian astronomer al-Battānī (*fl.* Rakka, *ca.* 297/910) and in several unsophisticated Islamic astronomical works such as *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī 'l-hayʾa* by al-Djaghmīnī (*fl.* Khwārazm, ? *ca.* 725/1325) is the following.

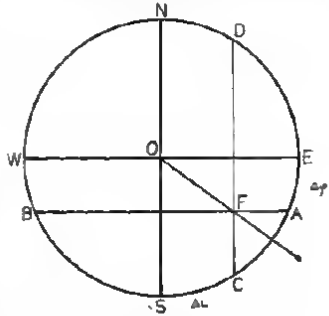

Fig. 3

Fig. 3 shows the construction for a locality where Mecca is to the south east. Mark the cardinal directions NWSE on a horizontal circle centre O and radius R and measure arcs EA = WB = $\Delta\varphi = \varphi - \varphi_M$ southwards and SC = ND = ΔL eastwards. Next draw AB and CD, and denote their point of intersection by F. Then OF defines the *ḳibla*. This method is equivalent to an application of the formula

$$q = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{R\ \mathrm{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\sqrt{\mathrm{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \mathrm{Sin}^2\ \Delta L}}\right\} = \mathrm{Tan}^{-1}\left\{\frac{R\ \mathrm{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\mathrm{Sin}\ \Delta\varphi}\right\}$$

Certain Muslim astronomers also used tables based on this formula and displaying values of q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) for each degree of both arguments from 1° to 20°. A feature of these tables is that the entries for $\Delta\varphi = \Delta L$ are all 45°0′.

Another approximate solution to the *ḳibla* problem is outlined in a treatise related to al-Khwārazmī (*fl.* Baghdād, *ca.* 215/830). Here the formula

$$q = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\left[\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \mathrm{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right]R}{\sqrt{\mathrm{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \left[\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \mathrm{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right]^2}}\right\},$$

with the trigonometric functions to base R = 150 rather than R = 60 is outlined in words. The table displaying q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) that accompanies this treatise was rather popular with later Muslim astronomers and exists in several manuscript copies, some of which are of Syrian, Yemenī, and Turkish provenance. Yet other approximate *ḳibla* tables based on non trivial formulae are found in the *Ashrafī zīdj* of the Persian astronomer Sayf-i Munadjdjim (*fl. ca.* 710/1310), the *Zīdj* of the Persian astronomer Shams al-Munadjdjim al-Wābiknawī (*fl. ca.* 725/1325), and

in a treatise on the quadrant by Ibn Ṭaybughā (*fl.* Aleppo, ca. 752/1350)

Exact solutions

Four exact solutions to the *ḳibla* problem are outlined below. The first and second illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the analemma construction, and the way in which it can be used to derive complicated formulae of spherical trigonometry from a plane figure. The third and fourth illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the Theorem of Menelaos and its corollaries. Al-Khalīlī's *ḳibla* table, which is perhaps the most sophisticated trigonometric table compiled in the mediaeval period illustrates the competence of an 8th/14th century scholar in the algebra of functions and computational techniques

A geometric *ḳibla* construction proposed by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (*fl.* Baghdād and Damascus, ca. 235/850) involves an analemma to which the working plane is considered consecutively as the meridian, equatorial, meridian, and horizon planes. Ḥabash's method may be summarised as follows (see Fig. 4). On a circle centre O and radius *R* mark the cardinal directions NWSE, and then draw arc WQ = φ, arc QR = φ_M, and arc QT = ΔL. Draw the diameter QOR and the parallel chord BC with midpoint G. Mark the point M_2 on OT such that OM_2 = GC and draw the perpendicular M_2M_1 onto BC. Next draw M_1L parallel to WE and M_1IJ parallel to SN to cut WE in I and the circle in J. Finally, construct the point M_3 on M_1L such that OM_3 = IJ and produce OM_3 to cut the circle at K. Then OK defines the *ḳibla*.

This construction may be explained as follows. Firstly, QOR and BGC represent the projections of the celestial equator and the day circle of the zenith of Mecca on the meridian plane. Secondly, M_1 represents the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the equatorial plane. If we then imagine the equatorial plane to be folded into the meridian plane, M_1 moves to M_2, which is thus the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Furthermore, M_1IJ is the projection in this plane of the almucantar through the zenith of Mecca, whose radius is thus IJ. Also M_1I and IJ measure the distances from the zenith of Mecca to the prime vertical and to the line joining the local zenith to O, respectively. Finally, we consider the horizon plane the working plane; by virtue of the construction, M_3 is the projection of the zenith of the Mecca in this plane. Thus OK defines the *ḳibla*.

From such a geometric construction a trigonometric solution for the *ḳibla* problem can be derived with facility. Indeed, from the analemma construction for the *ḳibla* proposed by Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo, d. 430/1039) a single formula for q (φ, φ_M, L) equivalent to the modern one can be derived directly. Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, d. 399/1005) proposed the following trigonometric solution to the *ḳibla* problem. Firstly from the quantity

$$k = \sin^{-1}\left(\frac{\left(\frac{\cos\varphi\,\cos\Delta L}{R}\right)}{\left(\frac{\cos\varphi_M\,+\,\sin\varphi_M\,\sin\varphi}{R}\right)}\right),$$

and then the *ḳibla* is defined by

$$q = \sin^{-1}\left(\frac{\sin\Delta L\,\cos\varphi_M}{\cos k}\right).$$

Ibn Yūnus offered no justification for this procedure, but his formulae can be derived from an analemma construction such as the one proposed by Ḥabash.

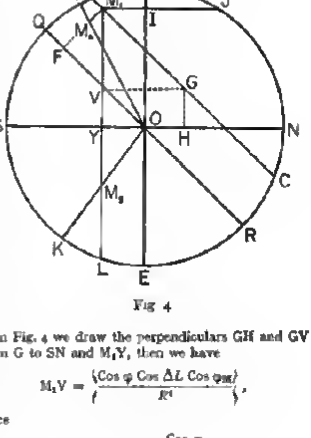

Fig. 4

If in Fig. 4 we draw the perpendiculars GH and GV from G to SN and M_1Y, then we have

$$M_1V = \left(\frac{\cos\varphi\,\cos\Delta L\,\cos\varphi_M}{R^2}\right),$$

since

$$M_1V = M_1G\,\frac{\cos\varphi}{R}$$

and

$$M_1G = OF = OM_1\,\frac{\cos\Delta L}{R} = GC\,\frac{\cos\Delta L}{R}$$

$$\frac{\cos\varphi_M\,\cos\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also

$$GH = OG\,\frac{\sin\varphi}{R}\,\frac{\sin\varphi_M\,\sin\varphi}{R}$$

Furthermore, since the arc JN measures k, we have $M_1V = \sin k$. But $M_1V = MV + VY = MV + GH$. Ibn Yūnus' first formula follows immediately.

Next we observe that M_1Y and M_1F both measure the distance of the zenith of Mecca to the meridian and are hence equal. Thus

$$M_1Y = M_1F = OM_1\,\frac{\cos\Delta L}{R}\,\frac{\cos\varphi_M\,\cos\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also, since the arc JN measures k, and OMI is $\frac{1}{4}$ by construction equal to IJ, we have $OMI = IJ = \cos k$. Ibn Yūnus' second formula follows immediately, since q measures the arc SK.

Ibn Yūnus also compiled a table displaying the solar altitude in Cairo when the sun is in the azimuth of Mecca. His table gives values for each degree of solar longitude, corresponding roughly to each day of the year. Tables of this kind were contained in the main corpora of tables for timekeeping that were used in such centres as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Istanbul, and an isolated table of this kind was compiled for the observatory at Marāgha in north-western Persia. The solar altitude in the azimuth of Mecca is occasionally displayed graphically on the backs of astrolabes.

Al-Nayrīzī (*fl.* Baghdād, *ca.* 287/900) solved the *ḳibla* problem by four successive applications of the Theorem of Menelaos. His solution involves finding

successively the arcs TR, SE, MK and KS in Fig. 4, as follows. Firstly, find TR using

$$\frac{\sin PS}{\sin SQ} = \frac{\sin PR}{\sin RT}\frac{\sin TE}{\sin EQ},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\sin(180^\circ - \varphi)}{\sin\varphi} = \frac{\sin(90^\circ + TR)}{\sin TR}\frac{\sin(90^\circ - \Delta l)}{\sin 90^\circ}.$$

Secondly, find SR using

$$\frac{\sin PQ}{\sin QS} = \frac{\sin PT}{\sin TR}\frac{\sin ER}{\sin ES},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\sin(90^\circ - \varphi)} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\sin TR}\frac{\sin ER}{\sin 90^\circ},$$

whence ER and SE (= $\overline{ER} = 90^\circ - ER$). Thirdly, find MK (= h) using

$$\frac{\sin SP}{\sin SZ} = \frac{\sin PR}{\sin RM}\frac{\sin MK}{\sin KZ},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\sin(180^\circ - \varphi)}{\sin 90^\circ} = \frac{\sin(90^\circ + TR)}{\sin(TR + \varphi_M)}\frac{\sin MK}{\sin 90^\circ}.$$

Finally, find KS (= q) using

$$\frac{\sin KS}{\sin SR} = \frac{\sin KZ}{\sin ZM}\frac{\sin MP}{\sin PR},$$

that is

$$\frac{\sin q}{\sin SR} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\sin(90^\circ - h)}\frac{\sin(90^\circ - \varphi_M)}{\sin(90^\circ + TR)}$$

Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Khʷārazm and Ghazna, d. after 442/1050) proposed several different methods for finding the *ḳibla*, based on a variety of different procedures. In his work on mathematical geography, the *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, al-Bīrūnī derived the longitude difference between Mecca and Ghazna mathematically using the distances between staging posts on the major caravan routes, and then derived the *ḳibla* at Ghazna using four different methods, including spherical trigonometry (using Menelaos' Theorem), solid geometry (using procedures equivalent to those standard in solving timekeeping problems), and the analemma. Al-Bīrūnī's solution to the *ḳibla* problem in his major astronomical work al-*Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, compiled after the *Taḥdīd*, is more elegant than his solution by spherical trigonometry in the earlier work. It was also proposed about thirty years previously as an alternative solution by Ibn Yūnus. Al-Bīrūnī proved its correctness by spherical trigonometry. Ibn Yūnus presented it algebraically with no justification, but he appears to have derived most of his formulae for spherical astronomy by projection methods rather than by spherical trigonometry. Al-Bīrūnī's treatment of the problem illustrates the progress made by Muslim scholars in spherical trigonometry during the tenth century. Whereas his predecessor al-Nayrīzī had laboriously used Menelaos' Theorem, al-Bīrūnī used his simpler corollaries, the spherical Sine Rule and the "Rule of Four Quantities".

Al-Bīrūnī first outlined an algebraic procedure for finding q using four auxiliary arcs which we call θ_1, θ_2, θ_3, and θ_4. Since he used $R = 1$ rather than 60 his trigonometric functions are the same as the modern ones. First find θ_1, "the distance on the day circle", thus $\sin\theta_1 = \sin\Delta L \cos\theta_M$. Then find θ_2, "the local latitude adjusted for the horizon (of Mecca)", using $\sin\theta_2 \frac{\sin\theta_M}{\cos\theta_1}$, and θ_3, "the correction to the latitude", using $\theta_3 = \varphi - \theta_2$. Then find θ_4, "the distance between the two localities", using $\cos\theta_4 = \cos\theta_3 \cos\theta_1$. Finally, q is given by

$$\sin q = \frac{\sin\theta_4 \cos\theta_2}{\sin\theta_3}.$$

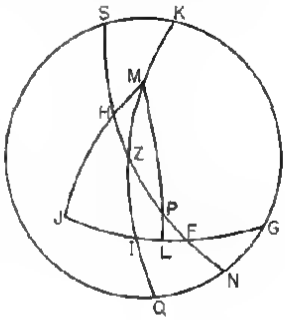

Fig. 5

Al-Bīrūnī's justification of this procedure is equivalent to the following. In Fig. 5, which is essentially the same as the diagrams in the manuscripts of the original text, the base circle represents the horizon, with N and S the north- and south points. The local meridian is SZPN where Z is the local zenith and P is the celestial pole. M is the zenith of Mecca and GLJ and MPL are respectively the horizon and meridian at Mecca. ZMK is the altitude circle of M and MHJ is a great circle with F as pole. Thus PN = φ, PL = φ_M, and MPZ = ΔZ, and it is required to find SK (= q). Al-Bīrūnī observed that (by the spherical Sine Rule),

$$\frac{\sin MP}{\sin MH} = \frac{\sin\angle MHP}{\sin\angle MPH}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos\varphi_M \sin 90^\circ}{\cos\angle P \sin\Delta Z},$$

whence $\angle F$ (= $\angle PFL$) is known. Thus θ_1 is the complement of $\angle F$. Similarly

$$\frac{\sin\angle F}{\sin\angle PLF} = \frac{\sin PL}{\sin PF}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos\theta_1 \sin\varphi_M}{\sin 90 \sin PF},$$

whence PF is known.

Thus θ_2 is FF. Thirdly, since FN = PN − PF = $\varphi - \theta_2$, θ_3 measures FN. Fourthly, al-Bīrūnī states that by the "Rule of Four Quantities"

$$\frac{\sin FZ}{\cos\angle G} = \frac{\sin FH}{\sin HJ}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos\theta_4}{\cos\angle G} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\cos\theta_1},$$

(note that $\sin\angle G = \cos\angle FGN = \cos IQ = \sin ZI$) so that θ_4 measures $\angle G$.

Finally, he points out that (by the spherical Sine Rule)

$$\frac{\sin\angle G}{\sin\angle F} = \frac{\sin FN}{\sin GN}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\sin\theta_3}{\cos\theta_1} = \frac{\sin\theta_1}{\sin GN},$$

whence q = SK = 90° − GN.

Al-Khalili (*fl.* Damascus, *ca* 760/1360) compiled a *kibla* table based on an accurate formula and displaying q (φ, ΔL) for each degree of φ from 10° to 56° and each degree of ΔL from 1° to 60°. Al-Khalili's table thus contains a total of almost 3,000 entries, and the *kibla* is computed to degrees and minutes. The vast majority of the entries are either correct or in error by $\pm$ 1 or $\pm$ 2 minutes, a remarkable achievement. Table 1 shows a section of al Khalili's table.

$$f\varphi(\theta) = \frac{R \sin \theta}{\cos \varphi}, \quad g\varphi(\theta) = \frac{\sin \theta \tan \varphi}{R},$$

$$\text{and } G(x, y) = \text{arc Cos} \left\{ \frac{kx}{\cos y} \right\}$$

The procedure for finding q (φ, ΔL) would be to first find h (φ, ΔL) using the simple formula of al Marrākushī and then to use the auxiliary tables to apply the formula

Table 1

Sample Entries from al-Khalili's *Kibla* Table
(The errors in the minutes are shown after each entry)

ΔL \ φ	34°	35°	36°	37°
25°	66°55′ + 1	64°59′	63° 9′ + 1	61°20′ — 1
24	65 39 + 1	63 39 — 1	61 45 — 2	59 56 — 2
23	64 17	62 16 — 1	60 19 — 2	58 29 — 1
22	62 52	60 50	58 50 — 2	56 58 — 1
21	61 25 + 2	59 28	57 18	55 24
20	59 50 + 1	57 42 1	55 41 + 2	53 46 + 2
19	58 10	56 2 — 2	53 59 + 3	52 2 + 2
18	56 25 + 1	54 14 2	52 10 + 2	50 12 + 2
17	54 33	52 19	50 14 + 1	48 17 + 2
16	52 34	50 20 — 1	48 13	46 14 — 1
15	50 30 + 2	48 15 + 3	46 8 + 2	44 9 + 2
14	48 16 + 2	46 0 + 2	43 54 + 2	42 56
13	45 52	43 38 + 2	41 33 + 2	39 38 + 1
12	43 23 + 3	41 8 + 2	39 6 + 3	37 12 + 1
11	40 42 + 4	38 26 — 1	36 29 + 2	34 40 + 2
10	37 46	35 38	33 43	31 59
9	34 42 — 1	32 40 1	30 50 — 1	29 12
8	31 28 — 1	29 34	27 51	26 18 — 1
7	28 7 + 2	26 19 1	24 44 + 1	23 20 + 1
6	24 31 + 2	22 54 + 2	21 30 + 2	20 14 + 1
5	20 44 + 1	19 20 + 1	18 7 + 2	17 2 + 2
4	16 49 + 2	15 38 + 1	14 36	13 44 + 1
3	12 43	11 48 — 1	11 1 — 1	10 21
2	8 33	7 56	7 24	6 57 + 1
1	4 19 + 1	4 1 2	3 45 + 2	3 33 + 4

Al-Khalili does not describe the way in which he compiled his *kibla* table. However, in his introduction to the table he expresses his approval of the *kibla* method of al Marrākushī (*fl.* Cairo, *ca* 679/1280). This involved first finding h using

$$\text{Sin } h = \text{Sin } (\tfrac{\varphi}{\varphi} + \varphi_M) - \text{Vers } \Delta L \frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \varphi}{R^2},$$

and then applying the standard Islamic formula for finding the azimuth from the celestial altitude, namely

$$q = \text{arc Cos} \left\{ R \left[\frac{\frac{\text{Sin } h \text{ Tan } \varphi}{R} - \frac{R \text{ Sin } \delta}{\text{Cos } \varphi}}{\text{Cos } h} \right] \right\}$$

Both of these formulae can be derived from Fig. 4. If al-Khalili did use precisely this method to compile his *kibla* table, it may be that he also used his universal auxiliary tables (*al ǧadāwil al ʿāmma*) to facilitate the computation. These tables which were specifically designed for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude, display the three functions

$$q(\varphi, \Delta L) = G\{x(\varphi, \Delta L), h\}$$

where

$$x(\varphi, \Delta L) = g\varphi(h) - f\varphi(\varphi_M)$$

This latter procedure is easily shown to be equivalent to the standard azimuth formula.

Al Khalili also computed the *kibla* for 44 localities in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. These are likewise very carefully computed. Sample entries from this list are shown in Table 2. Several other *kibla* lists were compiled by mediaeval Muslim astronomers, and the geographical tables in late Islamic *zīj*s often display the *kibla* alongside the latitudes and longitudes of important localities.

Alignment of Mosques

Now even though the mediaeval astronomer might have been aware of an exact formula for computing the *kibla*, the accuracy of his *kibla* determinations depended on the geographical data that he had at his disposal. Mediaeval longitude determinations, based either on simultaneous observations of lunar eclipses in different localities or on measuring distances between the localities, were generally not very accurate. Mediaeval latitude determinations,

Table 2

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Kitāb* List (The errors are derived using the mathematically correct formula and al-Khalīlī's coordinates)

Locality	Longitude	Latitude	*Kibla*	Error
Gaza	57°0′	32°0′	44°46′	+ 2′
Hebron	56 30	31 35	45 22	— 6
Jerusalem	56 30	32 0	45 14	— 2
Damascus	60 0	33 30	39 4	+ 1
Beirut	59 15	33 20	31 59	— 4
Ba'labakk	60 0	33 50	28 25	+ 1
Hamā	61 45	34 45	20 32	— 2
Aleppo	62 20	35 50	17 42	0
Mārdīn	64 0	37 55	9 48	0
Baghdād	70 0	33 25	13 19	0
Kūfa	69 30	31 30	13 22	+ 1
Mecca	67 0	21 30	-	-

on the other hand, based on observations of the solar meridian altitude, were generally more accurate. Even so, the most popular values used by Muslim astronomers for the latitude of Mecca were 22°, 21° 20′, 21° 30′, and 21° 40′, whereas the accurate value is 21° 26′. This explains why mediaeval mosques may be incorrectly oriented even though their *miḥrābs* [*q.v.*] were erected in a *kibla* direction computed by competent mathematicians.

Another reason why mosques may be incorrectly aligned is that their *kiblas* were not computed from geographical data at all but were inspired by tradition. Thus, for example, mosques in the Maghrib and the Indian subcontinent generally face due east or due west, respectively. Likewise, in early Muslim Egypt, the *kibla* adopted was the azimuth of the rising sun at the winter solstice. Several mosques in Cairo face this direction, which was favoured as the *kiblat al-shahha* but which is about 10° off the *kibla* computed mathematically using mediaeval geographical coordinates and about 20° off the true *kibla* for Cairo. No survey has yet been made of the orientation of mediaeval mosques. Such a survey would be of considerable interest for the history of Islamic architecture as well as the history of science.

Bibliography: Several of the following secondary sources contain descriptions and analyses of mediaeval *kibla* methods. There exist numerous Islamic astronomical works containing *kibla* methods that have not been investigated in modern times. On the *kibla* method of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Samarkand, d. 853/1449), which is none other than the method of Ibn Yūnus and al-Bīrūnī, see L. A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg. traduction et commentaire*, (Paris 1853), 116-21. On the approximate methods of al-Battānī and al-Djaghmīnī, see C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum* (Milan and Rome 1899-1907), i, 318-9 and ii, p. xxvii; and G. Rudloff and A. Hochheim, *Die Astronomen der Mahmūd ibn Muhammad ibn 'Omar al-Gagmīnī*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1893), 213-75 (esp. 272 n.).

The first serious investigations of Islamic *kibla* methods were conducted by C. Schoy (see his article QIBLA in *EI*[1]). The methods of Ibn al-Haytham and al-Nayrīzī were discussed in his *Abhandlung des al Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haitam (Alhazen) über der Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla*, in *ZDMG*, lxxv (1921), 242-53, and in his *Abhandlung von al Faḍl b. Ḥātim al Nairizī über die Richtung der Qibla*, in *SB Bayr. Akad., Math.-phys. Kl.* (Munich 1922), 55-68 (also contains a list of *kibla* values for various cities, taken from an 8th/14th century Syrian source). Schoy's other studies on the *kibla* include *Die arabische Sonnenuhr im Dienste der islamischen Religionsübung*, in *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*, N.F., xi (1912), 625-9; *Mittagslinie und Qibla*, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1925), 252-76; *Die Mekka- oder Qiblakarte (Gegenstumthale mittabstandstreue Projektion mit Mekka als Kartenmitte)*, in *Kartographische und schulgeographische Zeitschr.* (Vienna 1916), 184-5; and *Gnomonik der Araber*, in E. von Bassermann-Jordan, ed., *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Band 1F (Berlin Leipzig 1923) (esp. 38-43 and 84 *ff.* on the methods of al-Battānī, Ibn Yūnus, and Abu 'l-Wafā').

On al-Bīrūnī's *kibla* methods, see his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, ed. M. Krause, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 522-8; Schoy, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des . al-Biruni* , Hanover 1927, 70-1, and F. S. Kennedy, *A commentary upon Bīrūnī's Kitāb Taḥdīd al Amākin*, Beirut 1973, esp. 258-215. Habash's construction is discussed in E. S. Kennedy and Y. Ibl, *A letter of al Bīrūnī' Habash al-Ḥāsib's analemma for the Qibla*, in *Historia Mathematica*, 1 (1974), 3-11.

Al-Khalīlī's *kibla* table is analysed in D. A. King, *Al-Khalīlī's Qibla Table*, in *JNES* (1975), (which also contains references to other mediaeval *kibla* tables and a discussion of the determination of the *kibla* using a quadrant). Ibn Yūnus's table displaying the solar altitude in the azimuth of the *kibla* is discussed in idem, *Ibn Yūnus' Very useful tables for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, x (1973), 342-94 (esp. 368). Considerable additional information on *kibla* determinations is contained in the forthcoming publication by idem, *Studies in astronomical timekeeping in mediaeval Islam ii. A survey of mediaeval Islamic tables for regulating the times of prayer*.

Several lists of geographical coordinates of cities and the corresponding *kibla* values, taken from Islamic astronomers, are given in R. T. Gunther, *The astrolabes of the world*, i, Oxford 1932 esp. 24-6. On mediaeval Islamic longitude determinations, see Schoy, *Längenbestimmung und Zentral-meridian bei den älteren Völkern*, in *Mitt. der kaiserlich-königlichen Geographischen Gesell.*, xii (1915), 57-62; Kennedy's commentary on al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥdīd* (mentioned above), and F. Haddad and E. S. Kennedy, *Geographical tables of mediaeval Islam*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv (1971), 87-101.

On the analemma in mediaeval Islamic astronomy, see the reference cited in the study by E. S. Kennedy and Y. Ibl (mentioned above). On the development of spherical trigonometry and computational techniques in mediaeval Islam, see P. Luckey, *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreiecksrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940), 405-46; Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Maqālid 'Ilm al Hay'a*, in *JNES*, xxx (1971), 308-14, and the references there cited, and King, *Al-Khalīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, to *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, iv (1973), 99-110.

(D. A. KING)

al-KIBRĪT, anhydrous. The Arabic term is derived from Akkadian *kuprītu* through Aramaic *kaḥbhrīthā*.

The Arabs knew both sedimentary and volcanic brimstone. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *K. al-Murshid*, Ms. Paris 2870, f. 100a, mentions a place where "white" brimstone was to be found on the

shore of the Dead Sea and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (see also Mukaddasī, 184), in fact the deposits of brimstone to be found in clay, mixed with gypsum and calcium carbide, on the right bank of the river Jordan at a mile from the Dead Sea (see C. Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, i/1, Leipzig 1904, 68 ff.). Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī (*al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 99, tr. 54-5, ed. P. Bulgakov, Moscow 1960, 34) mentions already a sulphur spring on Mount Dateilwand [*q.v.*] around which brimstone had crystallised, and thus volcano showed immense deposits of brimstone. The same author (*ibid.*, 43 = Yāḳūt, ii, 619) knows also the sulphur springs of Dawraḳ [*q.v.*] in Khūzistān.

In general, four sorts of brimstone are distinguished: yellow, white, black and red (see *WKAS*, i, 536). Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār* (ed. M. T. Dānish Pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 3), however, differentiates these even further into 1. pure, massive, yellow brimstone, 2. pure, granular, yellow brimstone, 3. white, ivory coloured brimstone, 4. white brimstone mixed with soil, 5. black brimstone, adulterated with stones, and 6. red brimstone. Descriptions like *kibrīt ṣāfī* "bright red brimstone", *kibrīt dhahabī* "golden brimstone", *kibrīt dhakar* "male brimstone", *kibrīt baḥrī* "brimstone of the sea", *kibrīt nahrī* "brimstone of the river", etc. are also found. These descriptions indicate the various modifications and qualities brimstone deposited by springs is mostly fine-grained and yellow white, elementary brimstone is often contaminated with bitumen, selenium and arsenic. These various descriptions, however, were of course not used by the Arabs to indicate a strict classification.

A special case was the "red brimstone" (*al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*). According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (ed J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, no. 26, p. 161 = Ibn al-Bayṭar, *K. al-Ḏjāmiʿ*, iv, 49) it shines by night over a distance of many parasangs, as long as it is left in its place of occurence. Others maintained that red brimstone was a mineral to be found in the valley of the ants, marched through by Solomon (Ibn Samadjūn, in Ibn al-Bayṭar *loc. cit.*). These are fairy-tales. Al-Rāzī (*K. al-Asrār*, *loc. cit.*) knew already that "red brimstone" does not exist as a mineral, and this scepticism was wide-spread. Al Djāḥiẓ (*Risāla fī ʾl-Ḥayawān* in *ʿIdda*, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1943, 93, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1364, i, 271) remarks that "red brimstone" is easier to be found than a trustworthy friend, and the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh (279-89/892-902) said that two things exist only in name: the phoenix (*ʿanḳāʾ mughrib*) and *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 154). In this sense is also to be understood al-Maydānī's proverb "more rarely than red brimstone" (see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, i, 118, 920, ii, 149) and Bīlawhar's saying (ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1971, 33) that his merchandise is better than red brimstone. The solution to this enigma is that *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* is a pseudonym for the elixir, by means of which silver can be changed into gold (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 103, *WKAS*, i, 536 no. 25 b).

The position of brimstone in the mineral system has been determined more than once in Aristotles' *Stone book*, compounds of brimstone and arsenic form one group together with salts and boraxes, without a fixed classification. The authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum* (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries) counted red, yellow, black and white brimstone, together with orpiment, realgar, quicksilver, camphor and ammonia among the "spirits" (*al-arwāḥ*, τὰ πνεύματα), as opposed by the "metallic bodies" (*al-adjsām*) and the "mineral bodies" (*al-adjsād*). Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Shifāʾ*, *al-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*, v, ed. Madkūr, Cairo 1965, 10-2) divides all minerals into four classes: the stones (*al ahdjār*), the salts (*al-amlāḥ*), the fusible bodies (*al-dhāʾibāt*) and the brimstone like ones (*al kabrīt*). Brimstone has become here a general notion indicating those substances in which wateriness has been combined with earthiness and smokes and which have then been consolidated by cold. According to al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 203-45, brimstone, together with quicksilver, pitch, naphtha etc. belongs to the viscous substances (*al adjsām al-duhniyya*).

Already in the Middle Ages brimstone was an important mineral raw material. It was for instance used in bleaching. Thus the "brimstone of the river" (*al kibrīt al nahrī*) was also called *kibrīt al-ṣabbāghīn*, the "brimstone of the bleachers" (Galen, *K. al Andsya al mawdjūde bi hull makān*, in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 49, below). Together with bitumen, fats, oil, etc., brimstone was a component part of Greek fire (see NAFṬ), and from the 7th/13th century onwards it was used with saltpetre and charcoal, to make gunpowder.

Brimstone was also widely used in medicine. According to Dioscurides (*Mat med.*, v, 107, Arabic tr. ed. C. E. Dubler, Tetuán Barcelona 1952-7, 423) brimstone avails against a cough, against pus that is stuck in the chest, and against asthma. If a woman is fumigated with brimstone, she will have a sure carriage. Leprosy, cutaneous eruptions and other skin diseases are treated with brimstone, which, if mixed with natron, dissipates itching. Finally, brimstone avails against the stings of poisonous animals, against jaundice, cold, sweat, podagra, ear ache and deafness. The same indications are found at Galen, *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.*, ix, 3, 9 (Vol. xii, 217, Kühn, Arabic tr. in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 50), ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, 122, 224, 272, 322, 334, 407 (cf. W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-Hikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 380-2), Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (cf. *The medical formulary of al-Kindī*, ed. M. Levey, Milwaukee 1966, ff. 93b, 102b, 133b), al-Rāzī, *K. al-Ḥāwī*, xvii, 55, and Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 191. The *Ḥawī al-kibrīt* is one of the important electuaries. It equals theriac and avails against fever, cough, asthma, tetanus, dropsy, against stings of poisonous animals etc. (ʿAlī b. Rabbān 445; al-Maḳḳarī, *K. al-Malāhī*, ii, 536; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ii, 191).

The curative property of sulphurous water is often praised. Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī (*op. cit.*, ed. Minorsky, 12, tr. 43, ed. Bulgakov, 21, Yāḳūt, ii, 317) mentions the sulphurous springs in the neighbourhood of Hulwān [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ, which avail against manifold diseases. According to Aristotles' *Stone book* (no. 26, pp. 113, 162) bathing in sulphurous springs is good for open wounds, tumours, itching, scabies and fever. Baths in sulphurous water avail also against trembling (*raʿsh*) (Philagrius, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, i, 44, see Galen, *De tremore & palpitatione*, vii, 600, Kühn). Finally, sulphurous water is curative of articular pains (Rufus, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xi, 199), hemiplegia (*falaḳ*), ʿAlī b. Rabbān, *Firdaws*, 197) and elephantiasis (*djudhām*, *ibid.*).

To the many palliatives which were recommended for expelling vermin from houses there are always included fumigations with sulphur (Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xix, 310-33), which was also used in magic as an ingredient of talismans (Pseudo-Maḳrīzī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, 243-6, German tr. by Ritter and Plessner, London 1962, 254-8).

Sulphur played a prominent part in alchemy (see AL-KIMYĀʾ). Distillation of sulphur and the action

of sulphurous vapour on metals gave occasion to many observations and conjectures. Since sulphur is liberated in the distillation of most materials, it was believed to be a fundamental part of all minerals. In particular, it was assumed that the metals consisted of quicksilver and brimstone. If the parts of both materials are in an ideal ratio to each other, gold originates (see Dimashkī, *Nukhba*, 50 ff.). Sulphur is therefore also called "the mother of gold" (*umm al-dhahab*, see *K. al-Kanz*, ms. Berlin 4191, f. 51a).

The alchemists invented many pseudonyms for sulphur, like "the yellow, red or white bride") *al-ʿarūs al-ṣafrāʾ*, etc.), "the red soil" (*al-turba al-ḥamrāʾ*), "the colouring spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-mūnḍig*), "the saffron" (*al-zaʿfarān*), "the divine secret" (*al-sirr al-ilāhī*). The breath taking smell of burning brimstone gave it the name "the suffocator" (*al-khannāq*). Because brimstone combines quicksilver, it was also called "the letter of the volatile" (*bayḍ al-ʿIdhāʾ*). Conversely, the term *kibrīt* was also used in various combinations as pseudonym of other substances, e.g. *kibrīt lā yaḥtarik* "incombustible sulphur" (see *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 168) designates the elixir of gold. (For the problem of the pseudonyms, see J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Alchemistische Decknamen*. Beiträge LXVII, in *SPMSE*, lvi lvii (1924 5), 20-33 = E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 599-622; A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arab. alchem. Literatur*, Berlin 1951).

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KIBṬ, the Arabic term for the Copts or native Christians of Egypt. The term is a derivative of the Greek *Aigyptos*, a phonetic corruption of the Ancient Egyptian *Ḥa Ka-Ptaḥ*, i.e. the house or temple of the god Ptaḥ, signifying Memphis. The Greeks used the word for Egypt and the Nile, hence the word "Coptic" is originally the equivalent of Egyptian. Curtailment of both prefix and suffix from the Greek term gives us *Gypt* > Arabic rendering *Kibṭ*. According to Semitic sources, however, this term is derived from Kuftaim, son of Misraim, a grandchild of Noah who first settled in the Nile valley and imparted his name to the city of Kuft or Guft near Thebes or modern Luxor (see §1[7]). This latter theory is commoner among Arab writers who call Egypt *Dār al-Kibṭ*, sc. the home of the Copts who were the Christianised descendants of the ancient Egyptians at the time of the Arab Conquest of 20-1/640 A.

Apparently the Copts were not unknown to the pre-Islamic Arab traders whose caravans penetrated the fringes of the Fertile Crescent and to some extent touched Egypt. More directly, the Copts came into the life of the Prophet Muḥammad through Maryam *the Copt* who *was a gift from al-Muḳawḳas* [*q.v.*] *and* who bore him his short-lived and only son Ibrāhīm. The Prophet is said explicitly to have told ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that ʾAllāh will open Egypt to you after my death. So take good care of the Copts in that country, for they are your kinsmen and under your protection". This is said to have appeared in the first *khuṭba* by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ after the conquest, and in it he subsequently admonishes his Muslim audience to "Cast down your eyes therefore and keep your hands off them!"

Though the caliph ʿUmar was hesitant to grant ʿAmr approval for the conquest of Egypt, certain factors in the Egyptian situation favoured the invaders. The Copts were restive under Byzantine rule. In pursuance to the policies established by Justinian (527-65), the Emperor Heraclius (610-41) in 631 appointed Cyrus (al-Muḳawḳas in Arabic sources) as prefect, army commander and patriarch of the whole of Egypt in order to facilitate the securing of both political and religious uniformity in that crucial part of the Empire. Byzantine taxation was also felt as oppressive. Cyrus forced the Copts to abjure their Monophysitism in favour of the Byzantine Chalcedonian profession and his legionaries pursued their native Patriarch-elect Benjamin I (623-62), who fled to the desert monasteries and remained in hiding until the removal of the Melkite Greeks from Egypt.

It was in these circumstances that ʿAmr crossed the eastern frontiers of Egypt (see §1[5]) and entered the country. Cyrus realised by then that he was fighting a lost battle, because the Copts wanted a change of masters at any cost. While the servitude of the latter was complete in civic, financial and religious matters, the Arabs cared more for the revenues from the province than for interference with the religion of the Copts. They did not distinguish between Melkites and Monophysites, and the Copts as Christians were regarded as a protected people (*Ahl al-Dhimma*), in return for payment of the *djizya* (*q.v.*).

When the Byzantine régime finally ended with the fall of Alexandria in 641, the Greek Melkite population was granted safe conduct to depart with Cyrus, and the native Patriarch Benjamin I was summoned to emerge from hiding. His appearance in Alexandria was honoured by ʿAmr, and the Copts at last regained their religious liberty and even appropriated most of the Melkite churches and foundations then rendered vacant. Thus the new era augured well, and perhaps Muslim monotheism might have been interpreted as bordering on Coptic monophysitism, thus creating a temporary bridge between the two religions in the eyes of those who were unaware of their philosophies to details of doctrine and future developments.

From this moment, the relationship between the Copts and the Arabs was based pre-eminently on revenue and taxation. The Arabs recognised the elaborate system of government in Egypt, and left the administration unchanged in the hands of the Copts. In the first year, ʿAmr was able to raise 12 million *dīnārs* in revenue, but the caliph ʿUmar was dissatisfied and removed ʿAmr, nominating ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. al-Sarḥ (*q.v.*) to succeed him. The new governor was then able to raise 14 million *dīnārs* in the second year.

From 21/642 to 254/868, Egypt was directly under Caliphal control through a viceroy, and ninety-eight governors were appointed by the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. The average tenure of each governor was about two years, too brief a period for any constructive work. But caliphal policy aimed at removing governors before they had sufficient time for

trying to break away from the central government. In the circumstances, a governor's sole concern was simply to squeeze the maximum taxation from the subjects, not only to pay the necessary dues to the central government, but also for his personal enrichment. The depletion of the resources of the country was also often aggravated by low Nile floods and the spread of disease and plague.

The worsening of the economy meant heavier pressure and exactions for the Copts. The results of this situation were three-fold: many Copts fled to the desert monasteries to escape the poll-tax from which clerics were exempted, although this privilege proved to be ephemeral; some turned to Islam for the same reason, although wholesale conversions did not take place because the caliphs usually discouraged them in order to safeguard their revenue, and some rose in revolt, not infrequently reinforced in their insurrection by Muslim settlers.

Perhaps the Bashmuric Rebellion of 214-15/829-30 in the marshlands of the lower Delta was the most serious of those local insurrections. The caliph al-Ma'mūn had to come in person to Egypt to fight the Bashmuric rebels and to pacify the Copts. The outcome of a steadily deteriorating situation was a neglect of the irrigation system, the blocking of canals with sand and silt, and the ruination of the Nile dykes. In addition to a decline in the number of Coptic farmers, the steady shrinkage in the arable soil led to the fall of the revenue to 3 million *dīnārs* by the 3rd/9th century until the last of the ʿAbbāsid governors, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], assumed power in 254/868 and doubled the *kharādj* and the *ghiyār*; now even the clergy and the desert monks lost their customary exemption from payment. In the same year Ibn al-Mudabbir was imprisoned by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. The latter soon introduced numerous financial reforms which earned for him the loyalty of the inhabitants. The leniency and understanding towards the Coptic subjects of the Ṭūlūnids (254-92/868-905) and the Ikhshīdids (323-58/935-69) [*q.v.*] stood in contrast to the rule of Ibn al-Mudabbir, from whose imposts the Coptic clergy were once again exempted.

It would be wrong to judge Ibn Ṭūlūn by his harsh treatment and incarceration of the Coptic Patriarchs Shenouda I (859-80) or his successor Khaʾīl III (880-90), caused by internal dissensions amidst the Coptic clergy themselves. An undeserving deacon and monk who wanted a bishopric hatched conspiracies against the Patriarchs, together with the bishop of Sakha, who had been excommunicated for misdemeanour. They went to the governor with false reports about the Patriarchs, including the worst of accusations in the eyes of a Muslim ruler, that is, trying to bring Muslims into apostasy and sending them to the desert monasteries to become monks. As usual, this was coupled with accusations that the Patriarchs were avaricious and possessed masses of gold. The truth was revealed in the end, and the Patriarchs regained their liberty after signing a warrant for debt, which they tried to repay through money raised from charity and from simoniacal practices.

The state revenue had declined to 3 million *dīnārs* at the advent of Ibn al-Mudabbir, and he aimed at doubling it without mending the cause of its decline. Realising that the cause of this deficit was the decline of agriculture, Ibn Ṭūlūn introduced land and irrigation reforms which ultimately improved the revenue. Even with exemptions, the revenue rose to 4 million *dīnārs* before Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, in addition to accumulated savings of 10 millions in the treasury and the execution of an extensive building program. With the help of the Kātib al-Firghānī, an accomplished Coptic architect, he constructed the Nilometer at the southern end of Rawḍa (Rōḍa) island (see MIQYĀS) and his famous mosque with its external spiral minaret. Muslims commonly destroyed churches in order to use their materials and pillars in building mosques. To save the churches, Ibn Kātib promised the governor to construct the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn without having to utilise pillars from churches. Thus the new pillars were built of massive masonry supporting pointed arches long before their use in Gothic art in Europe, and only two small marble pillars were placed on the flanks of the *kibla*. The mosque still stands as a testimony to the architectural genius of the builder and the return of the country to affluence.

During the years of stability in the rule of both these dynasties of governors, the Copts enjoyed a great degree of tolerance and prosperity. It is recorded that Ibn Ṭūlūn cultivated the habit of retiring to the al-Kusayr monastery south of Fusṭāṭ for rest and recuperation, and the first Ikhshīdid, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj (323-34/935-46) used to participate in the celebrations of the Coptic Epiphany, according to the contemporary 4th/10th century historian al-Masʿūdī. Both dynasties entrusted the Copts with key positions in government.

The really favourable position of the Copts, however, was still to come, viz. under the Shīʿī Fāṭimid dynasty (358-567/969-1171), if we except the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996 [*q.v.*]), who ended by persecuting Copts, Jews and even Muslims. Hence the Copts, whose religious freedom had been undisturbed and who had occupied the highest positions in the administration during the reigns of al-Muʿizz (358-65/969-75) and al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96) now faced forced apostasy or persecution by the unbalanced monarch, and many of their churches were levelled to the ground. However, towards the end of his reign, al-Ḥākim apparently fell under the spell of a priest named Anba Salomon during his visits to the monastery of al-Kusayr on the Bilwān road south of Cairo, and eventually began to wear a monks' garment, while his atrocities ceased.

During the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1020-36), the re-building of churches was again authorised, and Christians who had been forced to apostasise were permitted to return to their faith. Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], who visited Egypt in the reign of his successor, al-Mustanṣir, remarked that nowhere in the world of Islam had he seen Christians enjoy as much peace and prosperity as did the Copts. The strongest Fāṭimid vizier, Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], and his son al-Afḍal, both Armenian converts to Islam, favoured the Copts and relied on their service. Ultimately, the sixty-sixth Patriarch Christodoulos (1046-77) decided to move his seat from Alexandria to Cairo in order to be within easier access to the central government.

Only towards the end of Fāṭimid rule, when internal disorder grew, did Copts and Muslims alike suffer in the ensuing broils and confusion, and the fate of the Copts was further aggravated by the outbreak of the Crusades. It would therefore seem that the Copts reached the height of power and prosperity, but also latterly some of their worst tribulations, during the Fāṭimid era.

The advent of the Sunnī Ayyūbid dynasty (564-648/1169-1250) re-established internal stability and

eliminated the confusion of the age of the last Fāṭimid caliphs, but these times proved rather a mixed blessing for the Copts. In the course of his fighting the Crusaders in the Holy Land and the Christian kings of Nubia in the south, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's suspicions led him to dismiss the Copts from government service. It was probably on this occasion that Zakariyyā' b. Abī 'l-Ṣalṭ b. Mammāṭī (a corruption of the Coptic *Makemaṭi*) of Asyūṭ, a Copt who held the joint secretaryship of the War Office and the Treasury, decided to apostasise with his family and become a Muslim, in order to retain his high office for himself and his descendants. His son al-Asʿad inherited his father's office, and compiled one of the few cadastres of mediaeval Egypt (*al-Rawḍ al-Ṣāfī*), leaving a record thereof in his *Asfār Kanāʾis al-Iskandariyya*. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, Shams al-Dawla, who led the Nubian campaign, destroyed in the years 567-8/1172-3 the monastic settlement of Bawīṭ in Middle Egypt, the Coptic city of Kuft, which sank into insignificance thereafter [see QIFṬ], and the important Convent of St. Simeon (*Anba Hidra*) across the Nile from Aswān. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn further decided to remove the imposing building of the Cathedral of St. Mark in Alexandria for fear that it might serve Crusader hordes with a fortified site, and the Copts tried in vain to ransom this church.

It would however be erroneous to accuse the Ayyūbid sultans of continuous intolerance and persecution of the Copts. One of their first deeds was to suppress Ibn al-Mudabbir's substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar in order to shorten the year and thus get more taxes. They left most of the Coptic churches unheeding, and generally refrained from interference with religious freedom. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself granted the Copts an imposing monastery adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, which they own to the present day as *Deyr al-Sulṭān*. The sultan's successes against the Crusaders and the recaptors of Jerusalem in 583/1187 seem to have terminated his early apprehensions about the Copts. The Copt Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Abī 'l-Maʿālī, surnamed Ibn Sharāfī, became his private secretary. Two Coptic architects, Abū Manṣūr and Abū Mashkūr, were employed to repair and extend the fortified walls of Cairo and to build the Cairo Citadel on the Muḳaṭṭam hills overlooking the capital, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's most enduring monument which became the fortified seat of successive governments and dynasties.

In the reign of Sultan al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn (596-615/1200-18 [q.v.]), the Sephadīh of western chronicles, a Copt by the name of Ibn al-Mikāt assumed the administration of the War Office in the Crusade of Damietta of 1218, the Coptic inhabitants participated in the defence of the city and with their clergy suffered greatly at the hands of the Latins. Again in the Crusade of St. Louis in 1249-50, notably Copts were to be found in the Sulṭān's camp. A number of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid sources show that numerous Copts earned some of the highest titles of honour in the state such as *Raʾs*, *Ḥibat Allāh*, *al-Amjad*, *al-Aʿfaḍ*, *al-Shaykh*, *Nadīb* al *Dawla*, *Tāj al-Dawla*, and *Fakhr al-Dawla*. The Church historian Yaʿḳūb Nakhla Rūfayla collected as a sample some 30 Coptic names bearing these titles.

Two important processes were in progress since the Arab conquest, the Islamisation of Egypt and the Arabisation of Egypt, and these two processes should not be confused. That there should be a measure of conversion to Islam under early Arab rule was inevitable. The apparent kinship between Coptic monophysitism and Islamic monotheism might have played a role in a still amorphous body of doctrine, but the vexatious *ǧizya* or poll tax, increasing at a steady rate, left the impecunious Coptic taxpayer only one way to escape, sc. that of Islam. It is known that most caliphs discouraged wholesale conversion, in defence of a depleted inflow of revenue to the treasury. How can we explain, therefore, the eventual numerical superiority of Muslims as against the shrinkage of the Copts in Egypt? E. L. Butcher implausibly ascribed it to the popularity of the monastic life and called it "suicide of a nation". The Muslim social historian, Aly Mazahéri describes this phenomenon as "ethnic exhaustion", and discards the assumption of wholesale conversion. It does not seem that a single, facile answer can be given here.

The Arabisation of Egypt, on the other hand, is a more transparent process. A study of the papyri indicates that at first the Copts conducted the administrative records in Coptic, and that the Arabs, who did not know the native language, accepted their procedures thus. Then the year 86/705 witnessed the issuance of an edict by the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik imposing on the first time the use of Arabic in state records. At this point, bilingual papyri began to appear in an intermediary stage. Meanwhile, the Copts hastened to master the language of the new rulers, but the clerks persisted in the use of bilingual protocols in the papyri. As to the use of Arabic in public life, this must have been a slower process, although we may note the compilation of Coptic grammars and Coptic dictionaries in the 13th century, which is probably to be regarded as an indication to national Coptic efforts to keep the torch of the Coptic language burning amongst those who were fast losing it. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Coptic was becoming extinct at that early date. The same century produced eminent Coptic writers such as Ibn al-ʿAssāl [q.v.] and other members of his family, who were perfectly conversant with Coptic, Greek and Arabic. As late as 1673, the traveller Vansleb reported that he met the last Copt who really spoke Coptic, and Benoît de Maillet, an 18th century French consul in Egypt, stated that he found whole villages in Upper Egypt whose residents spoke Coptic. In the present century, Werner Vycichl is quoted by the Coptologist William Worrell to have discovered Coptic-speaking communities at Zēnīya and other isolated villages in Upper Egypt. Of course, the liturgy is still celebrated today in Bohairic Coptic, together with Arabic, in Coptic churches. The Arabisation of Egypt is an undisputed reality, but the total extinction of the Coptic language is still a debatable problem.

The later Middle Ages brought difficulties for the Coptic communities. The Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1517) who were originally slave soldiers bought by the Ayyūbid sultans, ended by seizing power from them, and they then continued to reinforce their army by more slave purchases. They were therefore men of varied ethnic and religious origins and had nothing in common with the Egyptians except the bond of Islam; and it is doubtful whether any of them was fully aware of the doctrines of their faith or the language of the Coptic people. Internal insecurity and increasing poverty and isolation now began to drive the Coptic populace into desperation. Skilled Copts continued to work in the Muslim administration, but as soon as they rose to wealth and power, the Muslim mob tended to clamour for their dismissal from office and to start a wave of

church destruction. As mob fury became overpowering, the Mamlūk sultans had often to yield to public pressure and unseat the Copts and condone the assaults on their religious foundations. Yet after a short period, confusion usually supervened in the government machinery, and the sultans were constrained to reinstate the Copts in office once more.

On one occasion, a group of exasperated Copts decided to retaliate against Muslim oppression. In 720/1320, a number of Coptic monks from Dayr al-Baghl ("The Monastery of the Mule") south of Cairo, formed a secret pact to use arson against mosques and Muslim quarters in the capital. Once while the city was ablaze, four of these monks were seized carrying naphthe and other incendiary substances. The Sultan ordered them to be burnt and the Copts were again dismissed from office. The infuriated mob continued their destruction of more churches. From 678/1279 to 851/1447, forty-four churches are reported to have been levelled to the ground in Cairo alone. The Patriarch Yoḥannes X (1363-9) was summoned by the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764-78/1363-76), and he and the archons or elders of the Coptic community were subjected to abject humiliation and confiscation of property, partly to appease the populace and partly to raise funds for waging war against the Cypriots in retaliation for their sack of Alexandria in 766/1365.

Occasional spells of relief for the oppressed Copts came only as a result of foreign intervention from three main sources. The first was from Constantinople, where the Byzantine emperor, himself harassed by the Ottoman Turks, pleaded at the Sultan's court on behalf of the remaining Melkite minority. The second was from Aragon, whose kings were for commercial reasons, usually on good terms with the Mamlūk monarchs, though their intercession was essentially on behalf of the churches in the Holy Land and only incidentally for the Copts. The third and perhaps the most important source of mediation came from Abyssinia, whose Negus had a strong bargaining power on behalf of the Copts in the counter threat of ill-treatment of the Muslims under his dominion, and in the imaginary menace of deflecting the course of the Nile to the detriment of Egypt.

The harassed Coptic patriarchs also hoped tentatively for an undefined form of assistance from the western world, without jeopardising their delicate position with the sultans. One such glimmer of hope appeared at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-9), which aimed at the union of the Churches of East and West, separated since the Chalcedonian schism in 451. We know that a certain Yuḥannes, Abbot of the Coptic Monastery of St. Anthony on the Red Sea, was a signatory to the *Decretum pro Jacobitis* declaring the formal union of the Churches. But the agreement long remained in abeyance until 1586, when Rome sent a delegation to Patriarch Yuḥannes XIV (1572-86) in order to discuss the practical application of the union. The Patriarch and a few bishops were agreeable, though the majority of the community remained apprehensive, the sudden death of the Patriarch ended this abortive mission.

By then the Ottoman Turks had been established in Egypt since its conquest by Selīm I in 923/1517. Egypt became a dependent province with a vast empire, and the sultans derived their revenue from a governor, an Ottoman Pasha whom they invested with the provincial government for brief periods. There was a Turkish garrison headed by a general independent of the governor, while the local administration was left in the hands of the surviving Mamlūk *umarā*. Tax farming (*iltizām* [q.v.]) became the practice and the tax farmers and village headmen were subjected to all sorts of pressures for the payment of excessive dues, not only for the sultan in distant Istanbul, but also for the enrichment of a whole hierarchy of the administration. Within this framework, the Copts worked as clerks and tax collectors mainly to local Mamlūk households. Though they suffered occasional, temporary dismissals from service, they were not goaded by the outbreaks of mob fury as in Mamlūk times; in fact, they suffered, together with the Muslim inhabitants, from the depredations of the Arab nomads who used to descend on villages in the countryside for looting. The land became isolated and its inhabitants sank into lethargy and ignorance until the French Expedition of 1798-1801 arrived under Napoleon and opened Egypt to western influences.

Perhaps the most significant Coptic document after the rout of the Mamlūks and the settlement of the French was a petition submitted to Napoleon by a notable Copt, Girgis al-Djawharī, imploring him to lift Copts disabilities, in keeping with the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution. However, the French, whose leaders feigned conversion to Islam in order to court favour with the Muslim majority, decided to overlook his plea and thus avoided the semblance of partisanship. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to select the best candidates for the administration irrespective of religious considerations. Hence the same Girgis al-Djawharī became the head of the taxation department. They also nominated a commission of twelve to administer local justice. Six of these were Copts and the chairmanship fell to Muʿallim Malaṭī, a Copt about whom we possess no documentary evidence. But the real hero in Coptic annals emerged in the personality of Muʿallim Yaʿḳūb Ḥannā (1745-1801), whose meteoric career began in the predominantly Coptic city of Asyūṭ, in Upper Egypt.

Originally a humble civil servant under Sulaymān Bey, a Mamlūk *amīr* in charge of Asyūṭ province, he learned the equestrian art and the rudiments of Mamlūk warfare from his master and even participated in Mamlūk hostilities against the Turks. Later, when the French attempted to conquer Upper Egypt under Desaix, he played a prominent role in saving the French expedition from collapse. Then after the disastrous naval battle of Abūḳīr, which gave Nelson and the British command of the sea, Napoleon left and Kléber succeeded him with an empty treasury, while Turkish infiltrators played upon religious sentiment and incited the Muslim population of Cairo to rebellion. It was in these precarious circumstances that Yaʿḳūb, with the approval of the French authorities, recruited a Coptic legion of 2,000 Coptic youths to be trained by professional officers under his own command, first as Colonel, then in 1801 as General.

Still more spectacular on Yaʿḳūb's career was his dream of Egyptian independence from both the Turks and the Mamlūks. The documents pertaining to this chapter in his biography were discovered and brought to light by an eminent Muslim historian, the late Professor Shafīḳ Ghurbāl. The departing French made the stipulation that any native desirous to leave with them should be permitted to do so. Thus the General, together with a few companions, left Egypt with the French on the British ship *Fidèle*, in the hope of convincing the rulers of Europe

that the only solution of the Egyptian question was the independence of Egypt. Ya'kūb died on the high seas on 16 August 1801 leaving the fulfilment of his mission to his accompanying delegation. Apart from his secret deliberations with the captain of the *Pallas* Joseph Edmonds, preserved in the memoirs of his interpreter Lascaris, a Knight of the Order of Malta, his correspondence was communicated or signed by proxy and addressed to Bonaparte and his foreign secretary Talleyrand (23 September 1801) as well as to the British Lord of the Admiralty, Earl St. Vincent (4 October 1801).

Curiously, the man destined to realise Ya'kūb's vision was Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), the Macedonian soldier who came to Egypt as the head of a Turkish force and succeeded in founding the dynasty in Egypt which did not end till 1953. Under the new régime, the enfranchisement of the Copts went a long way. With increasing security and acceptance, it became less necessary for them to congregate in fortified quarters for self-defence, and they began to scatter all over the big cities side-by-side with their Muslim compatriots. They even took courage to fight for the removal of a few remaining disabilities in the Coptic Congress at Asyūṭ in 1911, clashing with a countermovement in the Muslim Congress in Alexandria. Both, however, were confined to a war of words and were discouraged by the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1892-1914), eight years later both sides were engaged within the Wafd Party in the struggle against the British protectorate over their common homeland. The only cases of violence in contemporary history have consisted of localised incidents of arson against churches by the Muslim Brotherhood (see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN), whose organization was eventually suppressed by Djamal (Gamāl) ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1966.

In recapitulating the story of the status of the liberated Coptic community in modern times, we should not forget two 19th century movements. The first was an educational and cultural one sponsored by the Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-61), known as the Father of Coptic Reform. He founded public schools including the first girls' school in Egypt, and imported a printing press, the second in the country after the Būlāḳ press. On the international scene, he carried out with success a conciliatory embassy in 1856-8 with the Emperor of Ethiopia on behalf of the Khedive Saʿīd (1854-63). But he did not live to realise his grand dream of an ecumenical union with the Greek Church, the Russian Church and the Anglican Church, it is said that this enterprise disturbed the Muslim authorities and hastened the visionary Patriarch to his grave. The second movement was a natural corollary to the first, for western education created a Coptic élite who strove in the pursuit of establishing a more democratic system of government in community affairs and in the management of church property. This met with staunch resistance in the clerical conservatism of the age of Cyril V (1874-1927), and the project of a Community Council (*Maǧlis Milli*) has been in abeyance ever since.

Within the framework of the Islamic legal structure, the Copts made several gains of capital importance. The abolition of the *ǧizya* came in part in 1855 during Saʿīd's reign, and this was coupled with the acceptance of the Copts into military service. At his accession, the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92) publicly proclaimed the principle of equality of all Egyptians in every way, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion, this was later formalised in a decree of 21 July 1913 and again in the Constitution of 1922.

In a period of more than thirteen centuries of Islamic rule, it seems that the density of population of Egypt has varied from time to time. At the Arab conquest, judging from the papyrus tax returns, the Copts must have been at least 12 millions. Owing to many hardships, occasional failure of Nile floods and diminution of cultivable soil, recurrent plagues, conversions to Islam and flight in the desert monasteries, we must assume the existence of a downward trend in the number of Copts throughout the Middle Ages and Ottoman Turkish times. We note that their number sank to approximately one million souls. However, the latest three official itemised censuses of the population reveal the following figures:

Year	*Total population*	*Muslims*	*Copts*	*Jews*	*Other religions*
1947	18,966,767	17,397,946	1,502,635	65,839	1,347
1960	25,984,201	24,068,252	1,905,182	8,581	2,206
1966	29,943,820	27,919,528	2,018,305	2,484	3,493

It is difficult to accept the above figures unhesitatingly. This is largely due to the fact that Coptic villagers have always shown a reticence in divulging the real size of their families. The newly-founded Census Department in the Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo has been working with the local country priests in assessing the Coptic population, suggestions of a Coptic population from four to six millions to the year 1974 have been put forward.

The basic causes of the survival of the Copts are both internal and external. Internally, the Copts clung to their Church as a cementing element in their private life. Coptic ethnicity and faith became a profound faith, a way of life, and an intangible doctrine of ethnic consciousness. Externally, it is fair to admit that Islam shares in the credit of this survival. Under the aegis of Islamic dynasties, there came dark times when the violence of the majority could well have exterminated minority groups with the concurrence of the rulers; yet this did not happen, despite such difficult periods as the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in the 5th/11th century.

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(A. S. ATIYA)

KIBṬĪ (see ḤINDĀN).

KIDAM (A.) in the technical vocabulary of philosophy and theology denotes eternity. It must be distinguished from *azal* and from *abad* (q.v.). Al-Tahānawī writes, "*Azal* is the constant duration of existence in the past, as *abad* is its constant duration in the future." As opposed to temporal origin (*ḥudūth*), it is the fact of having been preceded by nothing else (*al-lā mashūkiyya li-'l-ghayr*) *azal* implies the negation of a first beginning (*nafy al-awwaliyya*); it is therefore a case of eternity *a parte ante*, and *abad* is eternity *a parte post*. *Azal* and *abad* are essentially identical in God (*umma abadihi 'ayn azalihi*), for they mean that the two relative extremities which are the beginning and the end are both "cut off" from God (*inḳiṭā' al-ṭarafayn al-iḍāfiyyayn 'anhu*). For Him they are negative attributes (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, commentary on the Most Beautiful Names of God, sūra VII, 180; *azalī* and *ḥadīm* are classed among the real and negative attributes. First, *azalī* is regarded as real, accompanied by relationship and negation (*ṣifa ḥaḳīḳiyya wa'l iḍāfa wa 'l-salb*). He is eternal, in the sense of *azalī*, that which is not preceded by nothingness, that which is in existence before any rational conception of a first beginning (*bakiya ta'aḳḳul al-awwaliyya*), and in the sense of *abadī*, that which persists beyond any rational conception of an ultimate term (*ba'da ta'aḳḳul al-āḫiriyya*). Through these various definitions there come to light two conceptions of pre-eternity and post-eternity. The first is that of endless duration (*li nihāyata lahu*) which extends either towards the past, or towards the future (in which case it is also known as *al-le-yazal*, that which does not cease to be). This scheme (cf. below) raises many difficulties to the solution of the problem of the creation of the world since it introduces the concept of an infinite time before the moment of this creation. The second is more philosophical: the two eternities are nothing more than negative conceptions, to which contemplative thought has recourse in order to grasp the idea of eternity in relation to time, but which do not correspond to the reality of an infinite time in the two tenses: they are relative to the thought belonging to the human spirit, which as al-Rāzī points out (cf. below), cannot conceive of itself outside time. The reality which is hidden behind these imaginary concepts is that of God and of His subsistence through His essence (*bakā'uhu bi-dhātihi*), that is, of a being totally unaffected by time and temporality.

So what does *ḥadam* denote? Etymologically, the term should be associated with *azal* since it is a root expressing the idea of anteriority. The *LA* says of it exactly the same as al-Tahānawī says of *azal*: "It is the contrary of temporal origin (*ḍiddu al-ḥudūth*)". Ibn Manẓūr also explains it through the roots *'adiya* and *sabaḳa* ("to precede in a race"). It should in fact be noted that the idea of anteriorness in time or space is linked to that of superior worth, as would appear from the substantive *ḳadam* and from its Kur'ānic use: *ḳadam ṣidḳ* (X, 3) which al-Zamakhsharī interprets as *sābiḳa wa-faḍl wa-manzila rafī'a*, a priority, a higher abode that God is preparing for the Believers. Another explanation is that in advance a gift has been prepared for them on the part of God (*ḳad sabaḳa lahum 'inda Allāh khayr*) which unites the two ideas of anteriorness and of the excellence of the divine gifts. It may be noted further, with regard to *ḳadam* ("step", whence the fact of being a step ahead of the others, of precedence) that the *LA*, as well as al-Ḳurṭubī in his commentary, quotes verses of Dhu 'l-Rumma (q.v.) where the expression of Bedouin mentality may be seen. *ḥadam* is associated there with high nobility and acts of splendour (*mafākhir*). Since the qualities of Bedouin ethic were in general transferred by Islam to God, it may reasonably be supposed that the root *K-D-M* served not only to connote the anteriorness of God, but also His ontological pre-eminence over all things while it must be made clear that this is not an anteriority and a pre-eminence relative to others, as in the case of *mufākhara* which implies rivalry, but qualities that are transcendental and absolute. It is in this sense that the *LA* says that God is *al-Muḳaddim*, because he precedes all things (*yuḳaddim al ashyā'*) and He puts them in their place (*yaḍa'uhā fī mawāḍi'ihā*). But the terms *ḥidam* and *ḥadim* in the sense of eternity and the

eternal, are technical creations (*istilāḥāt*); they are not Kur'ānic. The *Ḥāfiẓ* 'Abd al Djabbār, in the *Sharḥ*, writes that according to the principles of the language *ḳadīm* is that which has existed for a longer time than something else (*mā taḳaddama wudjūduhu*) and he quotes the verse (XXXVI, 39) where God compares the moon to an old palm (*ka 'l-'urdjūn al ḳadīm*) As for the word *ḳidam*, it does not occur in the Kur'ān The revealed Book surveys the idea of divine eternity through that of transcendence. God is al Muta'ālī (XIII, 9), and this name, according to al-Rāzī, belongs to him on the grounds that he is utterly removed (*munazzah*) in His essence, in His attributes and His actions from all that may not be asserted of Him. In consequence, He is outside time, Eternal, and it is thus that the term *ḳadīm*, taken absolutely (*al Ḳadīm*) denotes God Himself.

Al-Tāhānawī also makes *ḳidam* the opposite of *ḥudūth* [*q.v.*]. These two terms denote attributes of existence and are studied together. Essence (*māhiyya*) is qualified only in regard to the qualification of the corresponding existence. They may be applied to nothingness, according to whether it is preceded by existence or not; thus one may speak of an eternal nothingness or nothingness resulting from obliteration. *Ḳidam* and *ḥudūth* may be taken according to reality (*ḥaḳīḳiyyan*) or according to relation (*iḍāfiyyan*).

1. Real eternity consists in the fact of not being preceded by another thing according to an anteriority which is essential and not temporal. This is what is known as essential eternity (*ḳidam dhātī*), which consists in the fact of needing absolutely nothing other than the self in order to exist. This implies the necessity of the being The Eternal in this sense is the necessary Being. On the contrary, origin (*ḥudūth*) is the fact of having been preceded by something in existence according to an essential anteriority, which in this case may or may not also be a temporal anteriority (for example, the world is essentially the result of an origin, it is *muḥdath*, but nothing precedes its time, man is also essentially engendered, but his parents existed in the time previous to his birth). In a certain sense, time is the result of an origin (*ḥādith*), because if it has been preceded by nothing which could have existed before it in a temporal way, an absurd hypothesis, it does not have the absolute existence of necessary Being and at every instant it renews itself. It is possible to understand in particular by eternity the fact of not being preceded by the non-existence of a temporal anteriority: this will then be called temporal eternity (*ḳidam zamānī*), and the eternal in terms of time is therefore "that of which the time of existence has no first beginning." Similarly, one may talk of a temporal origin (*ḥudūth zamānī*) where the existence of a being is preceded by non-existence in time. Thus we define that which is the fruit of a temporal origin (*al-ḥādith al-zamānī*) as that which is preceded in time by its non-existence, according to the well known formula *kam yakun, thumma kāna* ("it was not, then it happened"). In this sense, time is not *ḥādith* because nothing can pre-exist itself

2. As for relative *ḳidam*, it implies that the past time of the existence of a being is greater than that of the existence of another. But this sense cannot be conveyed by the word eternity. It concerns the antiquity of a being compared to the novelty of an other, and *ḳadīm* means ancient, old, like *'atīḳ*) Conversely, *ḥudūth* will be novelty, *ḥadath*, that which is new.

Al Tāhānawī adds that temporal eternity is more particular (*akhaṣṣ*) than temporal eternity, which in its turn is more particular than relative eternity or antiquity. Thus necessary Being, which is *ḳadīm dhātī*, is also eternal according to a temporal point of view, since it is preceded neither by nothingness ons by that which is other than itself But the converse is not true: thus the attributes of eternal Being, which are not preceded by nothingness since they are concomitants of its eternal essence, are not eternal in themselves and so do not have *ḳidam dhatī*. The same could be said of the world which is *ḳadīm zamānī* according to the *falāsifa*, but which is not however *ḳadīm dhātī*, because it depends on its cause, which is other than itself. As for *ḳidam iḍāfī*, it is not co-extensive with *ḳidam zamānī*. In fact, the past time of an existence may be greater compared with that which subsequently occurs for the first time This applies to the father who is *ḳadīm* in relation to his son, but who is not thereby *ḳadīm zamānī*, because he is born of parents. So if we compare the world to a man, both of these have a history made up of successive events. In relation to one of these events, the past of the world and of this man extend over a time greater than that of the new happening Each of them will therefore be called *ḳadīm* in relation to it They are both *ḳadīm iḍāfī*. But the world is not only *ḳadīm* in this context it is so in itself, because there has never been a time where it did not exist. Man is only *ḳadīm* in relation, for example, to the event of his paternity, doubtless he preceded it, but precisely according to an antecedence which is only relative to it. On the contrary, in the context of origins, it is *ḥudūth iḍāfī* which is the most particular, then comes *ḥudūth zamānī* and finally *ḥudūth dhātī*. This is because everything whose existence in the past covers a lesser time-span (*akall* that is to say *ḥādith iḍāfī*) is preceded by nothingness, and is therefore *ḥādith zamānī*. *A fortiori*, it is *ḥādith dhātī*. This analysis has clearly been influenced by the thought of philosophers who tend to associate eternity with the ontological necessity of the *wādjib al wudjūd* and *ḥudūth* with continuity. Theologians simply understand by *ḳadīm* that which is not preceded by nothingness, or in the vocabulary of al Tāhānawī, *ḳadīm zamānī*.

To what does the notion of eternity apply? *Ḳidam* relates first to the essence of God On this point all the philosophers and religious scholars are in agreement. On the question of the eternity of the attributes of God there are differences of opinion among the *mutakallimūn*. God is eternal because He is not subject to an origin, and being cannot be other than *muḥdath* or *ḳadīm*. So if God were subject to origin, in order to exist He would need another being to create him, a *muḥdith*. But the question would apply to the latter too and so on to infinity. So one must affirm the existence of God as eternal Creator, as it is expressed by 'Abd al-Djabbār (al-Ṣāḥib' *al-ḳadīm*) This argument, which bears a philosophical mark, is not the exclusive property of the Mu'tazilīs It is found in the same or similar terms in the *Kitāb al Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī, in the chapter where he shows that the agent which produces beings subject to origin (*fā'il al muḥtathāt*) cannot itself be the fruit of an origin. It is found in the *Kitāb al Irshād* of al-Djuwaynī, where he proves that the existence of the Eternal "does not inaugurate itself" (*mufīd al ḳadīm ghayr mufṭaḥ*); in the same place he gives an interesting and precise observation on the concept of an existence that has no beginning does this not imply an infinite succession of moments? He replies

that the *zamaniyya* of a thing is defined by the fact that it is contemporary with other things. New God is not contemporary with any other thing. So the eternity of God is implied by his uniqueness.

The Ash'ari school admits the eternity of the divine attributes. On the contrary, the Mu'tazilis express the major principle that "God has no co-eternal", according to the formula of 'Abd al-Djabbar in the *Sharḥ* (*li-ḥadīth mā' Allāh*). Nevertheless, they recognise an eternal four attributes: existence, life, knowledge and power. In fact, according to al-Djubbā'ī and the majority of the learned men of the school, these four attributes necessarily belong to God through his essence, therefore they are also eternal. His knowledge is His being in acts of knowledge (*ma'lūmāt*) and the same applies to the other *ṣifāt*. Furthermore, He knows through a knowledge which is Himself (Abu 'l-Hudhayl), etc. They do not say that He possesses eternal knowledge, but that he has not ceased to be in acts of knowledge (*lam yazal 'ālim*), etc. 'Abbād b. Sulaymān refused to say that God possesses knowledge, any more than He possesses eternity (*ḳidam*); but it may be said that He is eternal (*ḳadīm*). Contrariwise, Ibn Kullāb taught that God is in acts of knowledge through a knowledge belonging to Him, and so on. To say that He is eternal, is to assert that He has not ceased to be in His Names and Attributes (*lam yazal bi-asmā'ihi wa-ṣifātihi, Mabāḥith*). The essence of God alone is eternal, not in the sense that it is stripped of all attributes, but on the contrary, clad in all that belong to God. Some of his disciples claimed that God is eternal through an eternity (*ḳadīm bi-ḳidam*), others that He is eternal, but not through an eternity (*ḳadīm lā bi-ḳidam*). We begin to deal here with pure subtleties of language, as in the distinction between the two expressions "God has not ceased to be" and "God has not ceased to be through the eternal attribute of eternity." A passage from the *Mabāḥith* deserves notice, however. "The supporters of the theory of attributes (*aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt*) differ in opinion concerning the attributes of the Creator: are they eternal or have they had an origin? Some say that they are eternal. Others declare: "If we say that the Creator is eternal in His attributes, we do not need to say that His attributes are eternal, so we say neither that they are eternal, nor that they have had an origin." According to al-Tahānawī, Abū Hāshim added a fifth eternal attribute to the four above mentioned, holiness (*al-ḳidhiyya*), which is distinct from essence. This is reminiscent of the *divinitas* of the 12th century theologian of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée. It is no doubt to this thesis that 'Abd al-Djabbar alludes when he writes that, according to Abū Hāshim, the attributes belong to God necessarily, and by virtue of that to which he confirms in his essence (*li-mā Huwa 'alayhi fī dhātihi*). So it is through divinity that these attributes are eternal. For Sulaymān b. Djarīr and other Ṣifātiyya, the attributes belong to God necessarily through "notions (*li-ma'ānī*) which can be qualified neither by existence nor non existence, nor by origin nor eternity" (*Sharḥ*). It is the concept of notional attribute (*ṣifa ma'nawiyya*), a term that has been translated variously as "essential", "qualitative", or even "antitative". It is nothing other than the qualification made necessary by the notion that one has of God. *Ma'nā* is always a notion signifying *cum fundamento in re*. The attribute *ma'nawī* therefore is not essence; neither is it a "thing" in God. It is that which the reality of God demands that one says of God. But, here too, that which is eternal is God and his essence, and the *ṣifa ma'nawiyya* escapes all ontological alternatives. Nevertheless, according to 'Abd al-Djabbār, certain disciples of Ibn Kullāb reified the *ma'ānī* and considered them to be eternal; for them the four aforementioned attributes are letting to God by means of the *ma'ānī nafsiyya*, which may be translated by "eternal entities". (We may note with 'Abd al-Djabbār that here *nafsī* has the sense of *ḳadīm*, as often happens.) The *Ḳāḍī* points out however that these Kullābiyya did not dare employ this formula in its absolute sense, so as not to run counter to the unanimity of the Muslims over the denial of co-eternal attributes.

From the same root as *ḳidam* is the 5th form *maṣdar*, *taḳaddum*, which occurs in a very interesting commentary by Rāzī on Ḳur'ān, LVII, 3: "He is First and Last". The word *taḳaddum* (antecedence) has several meanings: (1) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-ta'thīr* where the antecedent exercises an influence over the consequent, for example, the movement of the finger entails that of the ring; (2) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥudūth*, based on the need which the consequent has of the antecedent, thus the number one is anterior to the number two without being its cause; (3) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-sharaf*, according to worth; thus Abū Bakr has precedence over 'Umar; (4) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-mariba*, according to a hierarchical order, either sensible, such as the place of the *imām* in prayers before the faithful who pray, or rational, such as the place of the genus in relation to the species. (5) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-zamān*, temporal anteriority or *ḳabliyya*; to which al-Rāzī adds (6) "But I think that there is a sixth division which is like the anteriority of certain parts of time in relation to others: this anteriority is not temporal, otherwise it would be necessary for time to develop another time, to the point of infinity. Thus the present would be within another present which would be within a third present... and all these presents would be present at the present moment (*ḥāṣil ḥāḍira fī ḥaḍrat 'l-ān*). But the ensemble of these moments would be posterior to the ensemble of past moments, to the extent that there would be another time for the ensemble of times (*majmū' al-zamān*), which is absurd, for, being a time, it would have to enter into the ensemble of times. Consequently, it would be both within and outside this ensemble, which is impossible. "Furthermore, this anteriority of parts of time as relation to one another is not an anteriority according to causality, nor according to need, otherwise they would co-exist, evidently it is not according to worth, nor according to space. It is therefore a sixth kind of *taḳaddum*. Now the Ḳur'ān shows that God is First (Primus, not prior) for all that is not Him, and al-Rāzī draws here that this qualification only fits the necessary, first and unique Being, for all that is not Him is possible (*mumkin*) and the possible exists only through origin in a *muḥdath*. But what is the nature of this divine anteriority? It is not owed to an act of influence, for the agent and the patient are relative one to another and co-existent. It is not a priority founded on need, since the precedence here is absolute. It is not a precedence owed to worth, for it cannot be said that God is more worthy or more noble (*ashraf*) than possible, since He is incomparable (although in one sense, necessary existence implies a fulness of being besides which the existence of the possible is deficient). As for anteriorities according to time or space, they have no meaning for God, because time and space are possibles which depend on an origin.

God, being anterior to the totality of times, is not anterior according to time, otherwise the divine anteriority would have to enter into the ensemble of times, since it would be a time, but it would have to be exterior to it, because it would contain them all and that which contains is other than what is contained. This would be an absurdity. Apparently al-Rāzī is proposing, as far as concerns God, a sixth kind of anteriority which is not without analogies to the anteriorities of parts of time in relation to one another. However, these are not identical and that is why al-Rāzī, when introducing his sixth division, does not say it is, but only that it is *like* . . In conclusion, we know that God is First in a universal manner (*'alā sabīl al-ʿumūm*), not in a detailed manner (*'alā sabīl al-tafṣīl*). As for grasping the reality of this priority (*awwaliyya*), human intelligences have not the means, since they cannot escape temporal forms. We may note that a similar division of *taḳaddum* is to be found in the *Makāṣid al-falāsifa* of al Ghazālī, except that the *taḳaddum* in *'l-ḥaḳīḳa* is called *taḳaddum* in *'l-ṣifa'*, as a case where the antecedent is not suppressed by the suppression of the consequent, but the consequent is suppressed by the suppression of the antecedent (as with a series of numbers), and except that *taḳaddum* of *'l-in'ḍimām* bears the name *taḳaddum bi 'l-ʿilla* (in the relation of cause to effect).

The doctrine of the eternity of the world [see ABAD] was upheld in Islam only by the *falāsifa*, directly following the systems of thought of the Greek philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria, Proclus, and John Philoponos the Grammarian. The two *Tahāfut* of al Ghazālī and of Ibn Rushd deal with it in a detailed fashion. The fundamental argument is that it is impossible to conceive a temporal beginning to the world, a moment of time in which it was created, in such a way that an empty that preceded the creation. In fact, if, as Aristotle maintains, time is the numerical measurement of movement (a theory taken up by the *falāsifa*, see HARAKA), movement demanding a mobile thing, moving bodies, the physical world and in particular the stars, then it is impossible for time to have existed before the existence of the world. Furthermore, if it existed, it would be eternal or created. But eternity does not conform with time that is changing and elapsing (*sayalān*) each of its parts is new in relation to the preceding part, and time renews itself (*yataḳaddad*) in every one of its instants. If time is *ḥādiṯ* in each of its parts, it has all the more reason for being so in its totality. So it is created; but then the problem arises is it created in time and did a time exist before time? That is absurd. This is the argument as taken on the part of the world. On the part of God, given a temporal creation, what did the Creator do before creating? Was He inactive? That is not his nature and it is written (II, 255) that "Neither weariness nor sleep take hold of Him". Besides, if He was first inactive, then active, a change would have taken place in Him, which is inadmissible. What would have induced Him to create at the moment when He undertook His creation? A *murāḳiḥ*, something which could have turned the scales in the sense of the act of creation? But this *murāḳiḥ* is eternal or created. If it is eternal, the world must also be eternal, unless some other thing could prevent this *murāḳiḥ* from acting, thus is known as *tark al murāḳiḥ*. This *tark* in its turn will be created or uncreated. If it is eternal, there must have been, for creation to have taken place, the intervention of a *tark tark al murāḳiḥ*, and so on. If now the *murāḳiḥ* is created, the question applies to it as to the world.

For their part, the theologians who believe in the creation of the world in time object on the grounds that if the world is eternal it has no beginning, it has never ceased to exist and consequently it has existed for an infinite period of time. Now, according to an Aristotelian principle, it is impossible to traverse an infinite time. If there is an infinity of instants to traverse in order to arrive at the present instant that exists, it is impossible to arrive there and it does not exist. This is a contradiction. The same reasoning is made in considering the infinite chain of causes: the effect that exists at present could not possibly exist. The difficulty arises from the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. But to say that the world is eternal is to affirm that while remaining in the interior of the world and of the time which is linked to the world, one will never find a moment which could be its first beginning. One will need to go back indefinitely, but not to infinity: in other words, we are dealing here with an indefinite, or in the language of Aristotle, with an infinity in power, not an infinity in action. In short, the objection supposes that the expression "not having a beginning in time" means "having a beginning in infinite time." Besides, an infinity may be traversed if it is contained, between two points on a line, an infinite number of points is traversed. Ibn Sīnā seems to have held this view with regard to the problem of the first cause, analogous to the problem of the first beginning. If one considers the ensemble (*ḏjumla*) of causes within this world, it is clear that each one of them is at once cause and effect. Therefore, one cannot insert into this ensemble a first cause which would be without cause. "Every ensemble of which each unit is an effect caused demands a cause exterior to these units." In such a hypothesis of a causal chain "every series composed of causes and effects, whether finite or infinite, shows itself, if it contains within itself only caused effects, to need a cause that is exterior to it, but as definitely in continuity with it, as with a limit (*ittiṣāluhu bihā ittiṣāfan*)". If the components of this ensemble are infinite, we are then dealing with a limited infinite ensemble. That is to say, that in the search for the first cause, it will be seen to stand out as a limit to the infinite which thought can never reach and towards which it strives. But its action does not need to traverse the infinite discontinuity of causes and effects in order to act *hic et nunc*, *ke*, as Ibn Sīnā points out "every cause of an ensemble which is not one of the units of that ensemble is in the first place cause of these units and in consequence cause of the ensemble". Such is one of Ibn Sīnā's points of view on this question, according to the *Išārāt*. Another objection to the theory of the eternity of the world is based on astronomy. We have an example of it in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Having declared that to an infinite time one can add nothing, and having thus shown that the infinity of centuries to come adds nothing to the infinity of centuries passed, Ibn Ḥazm writes: "In its circular orbit, Saturn makes one revolution in thirty years, and it has never ceased to turn. The greatest sphere, in these thirty years, makes approximately 11,000 revolutions, and it has never ceased to turn. Now beyond any doubt, 11,000 revolutions is greater than one alone. Consequently, that which is infinite will be approximately 11,000 times greater than that which is infinite, which is absurd." This is a

crucial variation on the same theme: the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. The reasoning of Ibn Ḥazm is ingenious, but it ignores the powers of the infinite.

And what of the end of the world? Plato apart, the philosophers held the view that that which has a beginning has an end, and correspondingly that which has no beginning has no end. From a creationist perspective, one could, however, admit that God will not destroy that which He has created, in such a way that the world could have been created, but eternal *a parte post*. For the philosophers, the universe cannot perish, but a part of it may disappear. For the theologians who believe in the end of the world, there remain Paradise and Hell which are eternal in the sense of *abadī*; in fact, it is written that the Chosen and the Damned shall dwell there eternally (*ḫumm fihā ḫālidūn*, as the Ḳurʾān says in a number of places). But on the basis of the verse where God describes Himself as the Last, Ḏjahm b. Ṣafwān supposed that Paradise and Hell shall also have an end, and he found a confirmation of his theory in verses 107 and 108 of Sūra XI, "To dwell there eternally as long as the heavens and the earth remain" Thus God will find Himself as absolutely alone in post-eternity as he was in pre-eternity.

Bibliography. See the bibl. to anap. Texts which should be especially consulted: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Bīkilīnī, *K. al-Tamhīd*, Djuwaynī, *K. al-Irshād* ʿAbd al-Ḏjabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-ḫamsa*; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ch. on those who say that the world is eternal, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, 4th principle, 1st question: explanation of the number of the eternal (*azaliyya*) attributes. Studies and articles: M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins*, Beirut 1965; R. Arnaldez, *La pensée religieuse d'Averroès*, in *SI*, vii (1957); idem, *Introd. to the De aeternitate mundi of Philo of Alexandria*, with Fr. tr. of J. Pouilloux, Paris 1969; E. Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt*, Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1965.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

ḲIFT, Ḳuft, Ḳaft, ancient Coptos, a small town of Upper Egypt situated where the Nile approaches its closest to the Red Sea (some 40 km. north of the ruins of Thebes, and about 2 km. to the east of the river). In Pharaonic times it was connected with the exploitation of the minerals in the hills between the Nile and Red Sea and with trade through the eastern part of Egypt, and enjoyed its greatest florescence in the Greek and Roman periods. Strabo describes the organisation of traffic up the Nile to Coptos, then by caravan across the desert to the Red Sea, and calls it a "town inhabited by the Egyptians and the Arabs together". In fact, it was a centre of attraction for the peoples of the eastern desert coming to trade there, above all, for the Beḍja (*q.v.*), who doubtless received from there their Christianity; a bishop of the Beḍja resided at Coptos-Kift. It formed the centre at a pagarchy, then of a *kūra*, but then the position of Kift as a starting-point for trades to the Red Sea (in 132/750 some members of the Umayyad family fled there temporarily, probably with the intention of escaping) lost importance when the mainstream of oriental trade started using the Persian Gulf instead.

The tribes of the Nile Red Sea deserts started attacking the Nile valley; Kift was plundered with impunity in 204/819 by the Beḍja, who were still Christian, and not till 212/828 was a rampart constructed to protect the settlement. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, al-Masʿūdī wrote that Ḳūṣ was more important than Kift, whose lapse into disfavour he connects with the distance of the Nile channel from the town. In fact, the skilful traders of Ḳūṣ had been able to benefit by the river, the only commercial axis still flourishing, because of the commerce with Nubia, whilst the tracks were all deserted; when they were utilised once more, with the revival of oriental trade under the Fāṭimids in the 5th/11th century, Kift revived, but by then Ḳūṣ had assumed the first place by now a provincial capital Kift nevertheless acquired a numerous, mixed population, especially as relations with the Ḥiḏjāz had over a long period led to the settlement there of ʿAlīd families. It was no doubt their influence which explains the considerable expansion there of Shīʿism and its fidelity to the Fāṭimids after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's assumption of power, a conspiracy, leading to a revolt in 572/1177, was savagely repressed. Consequently, Kift left to Ḳūṣ the task of imposing the Sunnī counterrevolution on the Saʿīd. The departure of certain families from the town (e.g. that of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī) is probably to be connected with these events, Kift does not seem to have had a *madrasa* like the other small towns of Upper Egypt, and it soon lost its *ḥāḍī* (it passed under the jurisdiction of the representative of the *ḥāḍī* of Ḳūṣ). Its territory remained a *waḳf* whose revenue went to support the *sharīf*s of Mecca. In the Mamlūk period, Kift was nothing more than a small agricultural centre in a countryside where the cultivation of sugar cane provided the main means of livelihood, and it has remained thus to the present day

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AL ḲIFṬĪ [see IBN AL ḲIFṬĪ].

KIHĀNA (A.) means divination in general. *Lā kihāna baʿd al nubuwwa* "there is no divination after the prophetic mission", if it were necessary to be ancient with this dictum, frequently repeated in the Tradition, such an article as this would be out of place in an *Encyclopaedia of Islām*. But once the precise sense of this term has been established and the range of concepts which it covers outlined, the reader will agree that it is, on the contrary, far from superfluous.

The word itself, both in terms of the conceptual aspect (*kahāna*) and the pragmatic aspect (*kahana*) is a legacy, through its root at least, from the earliest Semitic antiquity (*see* AZLAM) Because of this fact, it covers all the concepts and all the practices which are connected, closely or distantly, to the general concept of divination or the art of knowing that which cannot be spontaneously known. The current division of divinatory methods into inductive and intuitive is also to be found in the immense Arab-Islamic corpus of Arab-Islamic mantic literature, without always taking on the nature of a rigid classification, in that the two types of method may overlap or be used concurrently

It is fruitless to search for a theoretical definition of divination in the impressive mass of divinatory documents contained in the literatures of the Semitic languages, throughout the ancient period At the most, there are to be found descriptive definitions,

consisting of a list of the techniques which it comprised, according to places and periods. It is such a pragmatic definition which may be drawn from the Arabic documentation reckoned to preserve pre-Islamic traditions.

But in the mediaeval era, with the impact of Greek and Hellenistic philosophical thought, there was born, among the Arabs and the Islamised Iranians, a taste for theoretical definitions and methodical classifications. Already, in the works of a polygraph like al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/956) there are recorded a number of attempts at theoretical definitions which have been summarised, by T. Fahd in *La divination arabe*, 43-5, cf. *Murūdj*, iii. 347 ff. = §§ 1233 ff. Some philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, have tackled this problem and attempted to elucidate it (cf. *La divination arabe*, 51-63). Then came Ibn Khaldūn who put together all these speculations (*ibid*; 45-51). He emphasises that as a branch of prophetic practice divination constitutes the lowest echelon. Like prophecy, it is a divine gift entrusted to a privileged group, men and women. In fact, according to al-*Karwīnī*, *there exist illuminated and celestial souls* which possess the faculty of knowing the names of the spirits. These are the souls of prophets and saints, they are also the souls of physiognomists, of soothsaying genealogists and of those who see the future by means of past and present events. "As for the souls of the soothsayers", he continues, "they receive spiritual knowledge and see through it the contingencies of beings which appear in dreams and in other manifestations" (i, 317 ff., *La divination arabe*, 50-51).

So, divination is seen to be theoretically legitimised by inclusion in the mainstream of prophecy (on divination and prophecy see *La divination arabe*, 63-90). But, for practical purposes, it was necessary to strip it of all that was obsolete and too closely linked to paganism. From that point was born, in Islamic literature, a detailed inventory of divinatory practices, with precise definitions of the techniques listed. In their taste for the classification of knowledge, encyclopaedists and bibliographers finished by conferring upon the concept of divination an epistemological quality. We shall begin with the most detailed classification, that of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 34-5), who draws the data of his inventory from his predecessors, from Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*) to Tāshköprüzāde (*Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*).

Islamic divination, a legacy both of ancient Semitic divination and of Hellenistic divination, is divided into three categories:

I. *Firāsa* [q.v.], or physiognomancy, and its ramifications. Under this heading, eleven "sciences" are listed:

1 *ʿIlm al-shāmāt* see *ʿl-khāl*ān "beauty-spots and birthmarks" (see SHĀMAT and *La divination arabe*, 390-3).

2 *ʿIlm al-nāẓir*, "chiromancy" (see AL-KAFF and *La divination arabe*, 393-5).

3. *ʿIlm al-shikl*, "oneiropistoscopy" (see AL-KATIF and *La divination arabe*, 395-7).

4 *ʿIlm ʿiyāfat* (read *riyāfat*) *al-athar* "observation of footprints (on the ground)" (see KIYĀFA and *La divination arabe*, 370-3).

5 *ʿIlm ḥiyāfat al-baṭn*, "divination by morphoscopic and genealogical lines" (see FIRĀSA and KIYĀFA and also *La divination arabe*, 370-90).

6-7-8 *ʿIlm al-ihtidā' fi 'l-barārī* see *'l-ḳiyāfa*, "the sense of orientation in deserts"; *ʿIlm maʿrifat al maʿādin* "the detection of minerals"; *ʿIlm al-ruʾyāfa*, "the detection of wells". These three categories may be put together under the heading of "divinatory observation of the ground" (see AL-ARD and *La divination arabe*, 403 f.).

9. *ʿIlm anwāʾ al-ghayth* "the knowledge of (signs foretelling) rainfall". This consists in meteorological divinatsne with its various techniques: necromancy, capnomancy, anemoscopy, phyllomancy, brelomancy, etc. (see ANWĀʾ, MALḤAMA and *La divination arabe*, 407 ff.).

10. *ʿIlm al-ʿirāfa*, "knowledge of the future by means of past events". This definition suggest that it is a case *stricto sensu* of inductive divination, although initially *ʿirāfa* implied a certain intuitive, and consequently gnostic and esoteric, awareness (see KĀHIN and *La divination arabe* 113-19).

11. *ʿIlm al-ikhtiṭāṭ*, "palmomancy" (see IKHTILĀṬ and *La divination arabe*, 397-402).

II *Siḥr* [q.v.] or magic, and its ramifications.

12 *ʿIlm al-ʿazāʾim*, "divination" (astrological divination, involving incantations and invocations to the stars). Thus the influence of Hellenistic ideas led to the division of divination into two types, traditional *divination* or *ʿirāfa* and astrological *divination*, which underwent a great expansion in the Hellenistic period and which the Arabs came to know through the many translations of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi and Hindu astrological writings (see NUDJŪM and *La divination arabe*, 478 sq.).

13. *ʿIlm al-nīranǧāt*, "white magic" (see NĪRANDJ and T. Fahd, *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 184 ff.).

14. *ʿIlm al khawāṣṣ* "knowledge of the properties of divine names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*), of prayers (*duʿāʾ*), of numbers (see HARF and HURŪF) and various other special things" (see KHAWĀṢṢ AL-KUR'ĀN; *La divination arabe*, 214-45, *Le monde du sorcier*, 175-6).

15. *ʿIlm al-ruḳā*, "sympathetic actions or sorcery" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, loc. *cit.*).

16. *ʿIlm al-ʿazāʾim*, "conjurations of demons or incantations" (see SIḤR and *Le monde du sorcier*, 264-5).

17. *ʿIlm al-istiḥḍār*, "the evocation of spirits in physical form" (see ISTIḤḍĀR and *Le monde du sorcier*, 170 ff.).

18 *ʿIlm daʿwat al-kawākib* "the invocation of (the spirits of) the planets" (see NUDJŪM and *Le monde du sorcier*, 269 ff.).

19. *ʿIlm al filaḥirāt* (φυλακτήρια), "the art of making phylacteries" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

20. *ʿIlm al khafā'*, "the art of making oneself instantly invisible" (see NĪRANDJ and *Le monde du sorcier*, 184 ff.).

21. *ʿIlm al-ḥiyal al-shaʿbadhiyya*, "the art of trickery and *longerv*" (see *ibid.*)

22. *ʿIlm al-bahṭ ad-dakk*, "the art of disclosing frauds" (see *ibid*.)

23. *ʿIlm al shaʿbadha*, "conjury" (see *ibid.*).

24. *ʿIlm taʿalluḳ al'ḳalb*, "charms" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.)

25 *ʿIlm al-istiʿānat bi-khawāṣṣ al-adwiya*, "the art of employing the properties of drugs" (see ADWIYA).

III Judicial astrology (see NUDJŪM) and its ramifications.

26. *ʿIlm al-ikhtiyārāt*, "hemerologies and menologies" (see IKHTIYĀRĀT and *La divination arabe*, 483-8).

27. *ʿIlm al-raml*, "geomancy" (see RAML and *La divination arabe*, 195-204)

28. *ʿIlm al-faʾl*, "omens" (see FAʾL, ṬIYAFA, *La divination arabe*, 432-519).

29. *ʿIlm al-ḳurʿa*, "rhapsodomancy" (see KURʿA; *La divination arabe*, 214-19).

30. *ʿIlm al-ṭīra*, "ornithomancy" (see FAʾAL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431 ff., 498-519).

As can be seen, to this inventory, Islamic divination avails itself of methods belonging to magic and astrology. A single term embraces all these arts: *ʿilm al-ghayb*, "the art of apprehending the invisible". Any method permitting the acquisition of supernatural knowledge or assumed to do so is considered as relevant to divination.

IV. The disciplines omitted in this inventory

31. Divination by dreams (see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ; *La divination arabe*, 147-367; Fahd, *Les songes et leur interprétation selon d'Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, ii (1959), 127-58. The absence of oneiromancy among the divinatory techniques is justified by the fact that it occupies in Islam a higher place than that of divination in the sphere of religious inspiration. It is closer to prophecy, of which it constitutes one of the forty (or forty six) parts (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 343), while divination is the lowest echelon.

32-4. Among cleromantic practices, only rhapsodomancy and geomancy are mentioned. (32) Belomancy (see ISTIKSĀM, *La divination arabe*, 181-8), (33) lithobolY (see RAMY AL-ḤIṢĀ; *La divination arabe*, 188-95), (34) *sooyeir* (see AL MAYSIR, *La divination arabe*, 204-14).

The absence of these practices in the above inventory is due to the fact that they were associated with pagan culture and they were for this reason prohibited in the Kurʾān.

35-42. The use of the oracle (in its various forms: *zadj*ʿ, *raḳṣa*, *khaṭṭ* [q.vv.], ventriloquism, and necromancy; see, *La divination arabe*, 148-9), which was still popular in pre-Islamic Arabia, (36) naturipiscine, (37) hepatoscopy, (38) teratomancy, (39) medical diagnoses, (40) lecanomancy, (41) ordeal, mantic disciplines much used in ancient Mesopotamia, are present only as vague survivals in Islamic divinatory literature (cf. the index of techniques and ideas in *La divination arabe*, 501-3, and J. Nougayrol, *La divination babylonienne*, in *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, i, 28-81).

If the diviner ceased officially to exist in Islam, divination survived, but considerably changed, adapted progressively to the taste of the period and enriched by new Hellenistic, Iranian and Hindu practices, to which were added the local practices of the conquered territories. At the end of this period of adaptation and enrichment, Islamic divination progressively lost its primitive oracular nature to become a τέχνη, an art or a science (*ʿilm*). It is thus, for example, that to belomancy, condemned by the Kurʾān because of the its connexions with paganism, there succeeded *ʿilm al-kurʿa* or rhapsodomancy, *ʿilm al-ḳisṭ* and *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa* or onomatomancy, the *Aḥkām al Kurʿa*, a combination of rhapsodomancy and katromancy, *ʿilm al rami* or geomancy and *ʿilm al-zāʾirdja*, a sort of machine for producing omens. To oneiromancy, in the sense of dream-messages received directly from the divinity by a man or by his substitute and often expressed in explicit language, there succeeded *ʿilm al-taʿbīr* or oneirocriticism. To *firāsa* or physiognomancy, there succeeded *ʿilm al-firāsa* or physiognomony and the ramifications indicated above. The sphere of *faʾl* or omens was enriched by the translation of the Arabs from a nomadic to a sedentary cultuse, while preserving nevertheless, its original structure, especially where ornithomancy was concerned (cf. *La divination arabe*, 525-6).

Islamic divination resembles a crucible in which the divinatory practices of Semitic and Hellenistic antiquity were fused. The rich divinatory literature written to Arabic, Persian and Turkish conveys an imposing heritage the study of which will contribute to a better understanding of ancient and mediaeval *Weltanschauungen*.

Bibliography It is impossible to give here all the relative bibliographical items, but see for these T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, cf. esp 529-65. Amongst more general works, there see A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and divination among the Hebrews and other Semites*, London 1938, French tr. Paris 1941, E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927, J. Nougayrol and contributors, *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les regions voisines*, Paris 1965; A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, *La divination*, i-ii, Paris 1968. See also the bibls. of the various articles quoted within the present article.

(T. FAHD)

KĪKĀN / KĪKĀN [see KILĀT].

KILĀB b. RABĪʿA, an Arab tribe belonging to the group of tribes called ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [q.v.]. The territories and pre Islamic history of the tribe are described in that article. Kilāb was considered to have ten main divisions, of which the chief for a time was Djaʿfar b. Kilāb, from which came leaders of the whole of ʿĀmir. The most serious war of the Fidjār [q.v.] resulted from the killing of ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl of Kilāb by al-Barrāḍ b. Kays al-Kināni. Divisions within the tribe are reflected in hostility to the Muslims and friendship with them. Two men of Kilāb joined in attacking the Muslims at Biʾr Maʿūna (*q.v.*), but al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān became a Muslim and both called on his tribe to accept Islam and raided a recalcitrant section (al Kurṭāʾ).

Bibliography Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Index; al-Kalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 340; al-Wākidī, ed. J. M. Jones, 349, 534, 805, 886-8, 973, 982; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A. A. Bevan, esp. 664 ff.

(W. M. WATT)

KILĀT, KALĀT, KELĀT, the name of a town and of an extensive region, formerly a Khānate, of Balūčistān, now a District of Pakistan.

(1) The town (often called Kalāt-i Balūč to distinguish it from the Afghān Kalāt-i Ghilzay) lies in lat. 28°53' N and long 66°28' E at an altitude of 6,800 feet, and has in recent centuries been the centre of the Khānate of Kalāt, until the rise of Quetta as a military base of British India [see KWATTA] it was the most important town of Balūčistān. The name Kalāt or Kilāt represents Arabic *ḳalʿa* and Persian *ḳulʿa/kalāt*, often pronounced *kilā/klā* in Indo Muslim usage; in Balūčī we have *klāt* "fortress, citadel", cf. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 480, s.v. *khelāt*, this last being the form of the name usually found in Anglo-Indian sources of the period. On locally-minted coins we find the name of the town both as *K.lāt* and as *K.lat* (W. H. Valentine, *The copper coins of India*, London 1914, ii, 223).

In earlier times, the town was known as Kalāt-i Shāwa, from a legendary Hindu king, as as Kalāt-i Niḳārī, after the local Brahūī tribe of Niḳārīs. The name is not found in any of the early Islamic histo-

rians and geographers, but it is very probable that Kalāt marks the site of mediæval Kizkānān or Kīkān, judging by the latter's position in the itineraries, it seems to be the Ki-kiangna of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-tsang (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 275 f). Kīkān and Būkān were raided by the Arab commander Sinān b. Salama al-Hudhalī and then by al-Mundhir b. al-Djārūd al-ʿAbdī as early as 104ʾawliya's caliphate (Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, 455 4). In the 4th/10th century, Kizkānān is named as the residence of the local ruler of the region of Ṭūrān (in which see Minorsky in *EI*[1] s.v.), whom Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 324, tr. Kramers-Wiet 327-8, calls Muʿtazz b. Aḥmad, adding that he recognised the ʿAbbāsids in his *khuṭba* (a point probably made by Ibn Ḥawḳal because the adjacent province of Sind at this time acknowledged the Fāṭimids and the Ismāʿīlī imāmate). However, the capital of the region was located not long afterwards at Kusdār, modern Khuzdār, 80 miles to the south of Kizkānān/Kalāt [see KUSDĀR]. In the early Ghaznawid period, it is recorded that Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd went lion-hunting in the district of Kīkānān (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 126).

Since approximately the 9th/15th century, Kalāt has been in the hands of Brāhūīs of the Kamboʿrānī tribe, from whom the later Aḥmadzay Khāns of Kalāt were descended. In the 18th century, the Khāns recognised the suzerainty of Nādir Shāh Afshār and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*qq.v.*] during their Indian campaigns, and their power in Balūčistān grew. The greatest of the chiefs of this period, Naṣīr Khān b. ʿAbd Allāh, tried to shake off Afghān control, and though Aḥmad Shāh defeated him in battle, the latter was unable to take Kalāt town from Naṣīr Khān, despite three attempts (1172/1758). It was Naṣīr Khān who built the citadel of Kalāt, known as the Mīrī, which became the Khān's palace. We possess descriptions of Kalāt during the first half of the 19th century by travellers such as H. Pottinger (1810), who mentions the mud-brick defensive walls pierced with gun-holes and the ample water supply from a spring, which also turned several mills (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 40-52), and C. Masson (1830s), who describes the colony in Kalāt of Bābī Afghāns, expelled thither by Aḥmad Shāh from Kandahār, and who numbers the houses there at *ca.* 800, giving a population of 3-4,000 (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 30-6, 96-8, 177-8).

In 1250/1834 the Afghān ruler Shāh Shudjāʿ al-Mulk took refuge in Kalāt with Mihrāb Khān b. Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir after his failure to recover Kandahār from Kōhandil Khān, governor there for his brother Dōst Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. During the First Afghān War (1839-42) Mihrāb Khān was drawn into conflict with the British force which advanced on Kandahār in 1254/1838 through the Bōlān Pass in order to reinstate Shāh Shudjāʿ. Kalāt was stormed in 1255/1839 and the Khān killed in the fighting; the districts of Kaččhī, Sibī and Mustang in the northern part of the Khānate were taken from Kalāt and ceded to Shāh Shudjāʿ, temporarily placed on the throne of Kābul, and British Agent installed in Kalāt. This last was killed by Brāhūī tribesmen soon afterwards, leading to a second British occupation in 1257/1842. The ceded territories were soon returned to the Khān, and with the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Panjāb in 1849, British influence was brought right up to the frontiers of the Khānate. The Khāns themselves suffered several decades of disputed authority and tribal turmoil, till in 1876 the Government of India was compelled to intervene, and Capt. (later Sir Robert) Sandeman negotiated an agreement between the Khān and rival chiefs, making Kalāt a protected native state, with a British Political Agent to be henceforth stationed at Quetta. The northern *tahṣīls* of the Khānate, Quetta, Nushkī and Nasīrābād were leased to Britain in perpetuity, to form British Balūčistān, and the right to levy transit dues at the Bōlān Pass commuted for an annual subsidy (see T. H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 39-67, 127-82, etc.). Even so, further intervention was necessary in 1893, when the tyrannical Mīr Khudādād b. Mihrāb was deposed from his Khānate by the Government of India.

The earthquake of 1935 affected Kalāt badly, as well as Quetta and Mustang, demolishing most of the old town and causing widespread economic damage through destruction of the irrigation *karīzes* [see KANĀT]. In 1940 strained relations and clashes between the Khān of Kalāt and the chief of Kharān [*q.v.*] to the north-west of Kalāt led to the recognition of Kharān as a separate native state under the control of the British Political Agent. Early in 1948 the Khān of Kalāt acceded to Pakistan and his Khānate became part of the Balūčistān States Union, with the Khān no longer an independent ruler but enjoying a privy purse from the central government.

(2) The province. This included by the 18th century the districts of Sarawān, Djahlawān, Kaččhī and Makrān, and the tributary states of Las Bēla and Kharān. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, and Kalāt became a separate District under a Deputy Commissioner, whilst Kharān, Makrān and Las Bēla formed separate Districts. Kalāt District is today the biggest in area of all Pakistan, covering 30,931 sq. miles in area and with a population, made up of Brāhūīs, Balūčī, Djāts, etc., of 341,420 (1961 census).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KILĀT (KALĀT)-I NĀDIRĪ, "the most famous fort of Central Asia", located some 70 miles north of Mashhad near the Irano-Soviet border, on a spur of the Ḥarādjān Dāgh Mts. Kalāt-i Nādirī consists of a high valley (altitude 2,500-3,000 feet), some twenty miles long and running west-east, which is converted into a natural fortress by walls of virtually unscalable rock in the north and south. The height of the southern rampart is 700-800 ft., the northern rampart is even higher. These walls are breached at only five points: Darband i Arghūn on the south-west; Nofta on the north; Kushkhaul Darband on the south-east; Čūbast on the west, and Dihča on the north-west.

In 663/1264, the rebellious Mongol prince Arghūn took refuge there after his defeat at the hands of

the Ilkhān Tekūder in 783/1381-2, Timūr launched numerous assaults on Kalāt i Nādirī without success; the fortress eventually fell as a result of pestilence. In 1153/1741, Nādir Shāh, who had previously used Kalat-i Nādirī as the headquarters from which he set out to free Iran from the Afghāns, chose it as the site for the treasure-house in which he deposited the loot from his Indian campaign; the treasure-house was built by Indian craftsmen from massive blocks of Mariāgha marble. After Nādir's death, his son Rizā Kulī and fifteen members of his family were executed at Kalāt i Nādirī by the future ʿĀdil Shāh.

Today, Kalāt i Nādirī has reverted to its earlier name of Kalāt, and constitutes one of the five *bakhsh*s of the *shahrestān* of Darragaz.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

KILBURUN (Kiburun), a sharp cape or headland at the mouth of Dnieper (Ōrī) river on the Black Sea coast of South Russia, this Turkish name was given to it by the Turks because it looked so slender as a single hair (*kil*). It lies at a sea miles's distance from the fortress of Özi or Ozzakof, and at the tip of the cape was a fortress built by the Ottomans. Within the Kilburun promontory as an inner estuary 40 km. long and 8-10 km. wide (P. Minas Bijikyan, *Karadeniz sathı ve coğrafyası*, fr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969, 100). The salt obtained from the lakes in the vicinity of Kilburun increased its importance economically.

Kilburun came into prominence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century as a result of the Cossack invasions towards the Black Sea coastlands (Kātib Çelebi, *Fedlleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 72, 103), hence fortresses were built in various places, including Kilburun, against Cossack raids (Peçewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 152). The one constructed at Kilburun had a staff of 193 persons (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Khāmi Kopeci tasnifi, no. 4891). It became of especial strategic importance to the Ottomans when the Russians started descending the rivers to the Black Sea, and major reconstructions were accordingly undertaken in 1709 and 1733-4 (Mustafa Erdoğan, *Lale devri Mimarı Kayserili Mehmed Ağa*, Istanbul 1962, 58-9, 81). In time of war, the Kilburun garrison worked in collaboration with the garrison of Özi (Ozzakof) opposite to it, in defence of the mouth of the Dnipr. The Russians succeeded in capturing Kilburun for a while during the 1736-8 Ottoman-Russian war, but were later obliged to return it after demolishing it. The fort was again captured in 1772 during the 1768-74 Ottoman-Russian war, and this fact was accepted by Turkey at the settlement of Küčük Kaynardja. Ottoman forces which tried to recapture it during the 1787-91 war failed decisively to do so (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 32). Kilburun fort was occupied by a French force on 17th January 1855 during the Crimean War, but finally demolished by Russia in 1860. Kilburun, on which there is a small fishing village, is now within the Ukrainian SSR.

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(C. ORHONLU)

KILID AL-BAHR [see ČANAK-KALE BOGHAZI].

KILIDJ ALAYI [see TAKLID-I SAYF].

KILIDJ ʿALĪ PASHA [see ʿULUDJ ʿALĪ].

KILIDJ ARSLAN I, also known to the Crusaders, like his father, under the name Soliymān/Soliman, son of Sulaymān b. Kutlumush [*q.v.*], second Saldjūk prince of Asia Minor. At an early age, he was in Antioch when his father was killed in battle fighting Tutush [*q.v.*], and he was handed over as a hostage to Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] who conquered Syria in 1086. On the death of the latter (1092) he managed to escape, and arrived in Nicaea, his father's former residence, where he seems without much difficulty to have had himself accepted as sovereign by the semi-autonomous Turcoman chieftains who were waging against Byzantium a policy of mistrate with the Basileus, who for his part, threatened on all his frontiers, sought to use against his other opponents those of the Turks whom he hoped gradually to assimilate or to neutralise. Kilīdj Arslan was especially anxious to maintain relations with the Turkish East, which other Turks, in particular the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] were threatening to cut off. In summoning his father to Nicaea, Alexis Comnenus had in effect brought his Turks far in advance of what then was still the principal zone of Turcoman population.

It was in these circumstances that the Crusades intervened, enabling Alexis temporarily to abandon the task of dealing with the Turks. Kilīdj Arslan crushed the Peasant Crusade of Peter the Hermit, but was subsequently forced to give up Nicaea, along with his harem, to the Barons' Crusade, and was later beaten by the Christians again on the edge of the Anatolian plateau at Dorylaeum. These victories of the Christians enabled Alexis Comnenus to regain control of the entire Aegean coast of Asia Minor, but the Crusaders did not stay in Asia Minor, and the Turkish forces, who being still semi-nomadic in character had been repelled but not destroyed, returned behind the backs of the Crusaders. The danger had furthermore led to a temporary reconciliation between Kilīdj Arslan and Dānishmend, which led to the annihilation, in 1100-2, of the rearguard troops of the Crusaders, an operation in which Dānishmend, it is true, played the more significant role, the latter, at the head of his troops, deprived the Franco-Armenians of the strategic centre of Malatya, vital to Kilīdj Arslan's links with the East. Also, when Dānishmend died in 1104, Kilīdj Arslan, who had become reconciled with the Greeks to the point of sending them contingents to fight other enemies (1106), came and occupied the place.

From there he was able to control Upper Mesopotamia, where the lieutenants of his Eastern Saldjūk cousins were in conflict with one another. When the enemies of Sultan Muhammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]

appealed to him for help, he confronted the army of the latter on the Khābūr, and was killed (1192). This was for a long time the last intervention by the Saldjūks of Rūm in the East, and the roughly-constituted Turkish state was definitively enclosed within Asia Minor proper

Bibliography: The sources include Anna Comnena, Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian and the Latin historians of the First Crusade; the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr and the chroniclers of Syria (Ibn al-Kalānisī, Ibn Abī Tayyi' in the unedited part of Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn al-'Adīm, ed. S. Dahan) and of al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Azrak, unedited)

The modern bibliography is given in Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, and O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, Ankara 1971). (Cl. CAHEN)

KILIDJ ARSLAN II, son and successor of Mas'ūd I, and one of the most important sultans of Rūm (1155-92).

Mas'ūd had, in dealing with the Greeks, succeeded in restoring the position of the Saldjūks in relation to the Dānishmendids who were divided by quarrels over the succession. Kilidj Arslan at first maintained this policy, and carried it to the extent of offering the Basileus Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople in 1162 a form of allegiance which, in concrete terms, cost him nothing. He was then able to make himself master of a portion of the Dānishmendid possessions, and he would have taken them all had he not been confronted by the powerful ruler of Muslim Syria, Nūr al-Dīn. The latter, champion of the Holy War against the Christians, pretended indignation at Kilidj Arslan's relations with the Greeks. The two princes in fact were alternately allied and at odds, Kilidj Arslan helping Nūr al-Dīn to deprive the Franks of their possessions on the Syro-Anatolian frontiers with the object of sharing them with his rival, and Nūr al-Dīn extending his power over this territory as soon as the Saldjūk sultan withdrew. The conquest of Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenants Shirkūh and Salāh al-Dīn crowned his glory, and Kilidj Arslan's enemies persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to undertake an expedition into Asia Minor which forced Kilidj Arslan to recognise what remained of Dānishmendid territories. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, he annexed them (Malatya in 1177) thus accomplishing, from the Byzantine territories in the West almost to the furthest limits of the East, the political unity of Asia Minor

He no longer needed to deal with the Greeks, and on his side, Manuel Comnenus, though strengthened by the general success of his foreign policy, was uneasy at the growing power of the sultan, and decided that he must put an end to it. In 1176, at the head of a powerful army, he advanced on to the Anatolian plateau, but was crushed at Myriokephalon. This was, after an interval of a century, a replica of Manzikert, which showed that henceforward there existed a Turkey which could never be further assimilated. If Kilidj Arslan showed moderation in his official policy, the pressure of Turcomans on the frontiers led him to reach out to the upper valleys of the Aegean coast and, in spite of opposition from Rhodes, to the sea itself

This expansion could not take place without risk. Trouble with the Turcomans, breaking out to the east of the Saldjūk State, grew more intense, with these Turcomans supplying troops ready to serve any ambitious chief. Whether for this reason or not, Kilidj Arslan divided the territories under his suzerainty between his nine sons, a brother and a nephew. Needless to say, the latter quarrelled among themselves and one of them, Kutb al-Dīn, with support from some Turcomans, forced his aged father to accept his protection at Konya. These events were interrupted by the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, the latter, an enemy of the Byzantines, had established diplomatic relations with Kilidj Arslan who, indifferent to Syro-Palestinian affairs, was inclined to promise him free passage. But Kutb al-Dīn's Turcomans attacked the Germans, who converged on Konya (1190). Shortly after, the old sultan succeeded in escaping from the semi-captivity in which his son was holding him, and took refuge with another of his sons, the son of a Greek mother, who was established on the western borders. It was there that he died, at the age of seventy-seven.

Bibliography: Sources include the Byzantine writers Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniatus, the Armenians Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest, Michael the Syrian, and the Arab authors cited in the preceding Bibliography. References to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in *ibid.* and in R. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Damascus 1968. (Cl. CAHEN)

KILIDJ ARSLAN III, the young son of the sultan of Rūm Rukn al-Dīn, who reigned only a few months (1204-5), after which the majority of the *umarā*, worried of the general dangers inherent in the rule of a minor, deposed him in favour of Kay Khusraw I (q.v.).

KILIDJ ARSLAN IV, better known by his *laḳab* of Rukn al-Dīn, one of the sons and successors of Khusraw II (1246). It was at the beginning of the period of the Mongol protectorate that, the three sons of the late sovereign all being minors, the senior *umarā*, in order to safeguard the unity of the state, sought to *instal*, under their own executive power, a sultanate shared jointly between the three young princes; Kilidj Arslan was sent on a mission to the Mongol chief Batu to persuade him to accept this solution. This very mission alone established a special relationship between Kilidj Arslan and the Mongols, and for many years two opposing parties were in conflict, the one, taking him as its figure-head, believing that the only possible course of action was to submit to the Mongols, the other, rallying behind his brother 'Izz al-Dīn, seeking to organise resistance with the aid of the Turcomans of the West and in alliance with the Byzantines. Successive schisms resulted, leading on each occasion to a divorce, temporary at first, between the territories in the east, favouring the Mongols who were close by, awarded to Kilidj Arslan, and those of the west, left to 'Izz al-Dīn. United for the last time in 1260, the two brothers participated in a campaign against Syria under the orders of the Mongol chief Hülegü. Eventually, 'Izz al-Dīn fled to Constantinople, and Kilidj Arslan remained sole sultan. This did not mean that he exercised power, power to fact belonged to the *parwāna* Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān, the favourite of the Mongols. When Kilidj Arslan came of age and showed resentment towards him, the *parwāna* had him strangled (1265)

Bibliography: Sources include the Muslim historians of Anatolia Ibn Bībī, Aksarāyī and the anonymous author from Konya of the *Saldjūk-nāma*; the Arabic historians Baybars al-Mansūrī (unedited) and Yūninī; and the Syriac one Bar Hebraeus. General references to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in the previous Bibliographies. (Cl. CAHEN)

KILIFI, headquarters of Kilifi District in the Coast Province of Kenya, in lat. 4° S, is a small port which was an independent sultanate until 1592, including the present Kicnl, Kitoke and Mnarani. The large Friday mosque, the wealthy *dīwān* of the adjacent tombs, and the walls and gatehouse, show that Mnarani was the chief amongst these settlements in medieval times. The cemetery is noteworthy for eleven inscriptions in 15th century *naskhī* script. Excavations by J. S. Kirkman in 1954 showed that the site was occupied from the end of the 14th century until some time in the 17th century when, as Capt. W. F. W. Owen recorded in 1833, it was destroyed by Galla tribesmen. The Sultan of Kilifi sent an ambassador to greet the Turkish commander Amīr ʿAlī Bey at Mombasa in 1586, and in 1589 joined him against the Portuguese in Mombasa. Following a long feud with Malindi, Kilifi was razed by the Portuguese with local allies in 1592, but recovered. It was to Kilifi that Sultan al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of Mombasa withdrew in protest against the Portuguese Captain of Mombasa's exactions in 1823.

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(G. S. P. Freeman Grenville)

KILLAWRIYA, Calabria (in Yāḳūt is found Killawriya, and in Ibn Ḏiḥyar, *Kitāb*, Kalawriya, both of these close to the Byzantine Καλαβρία, Kalavria, in Italian Calabria).

It is very likely that the Arabs, coming probably from Spain, launched attacks across the sea against certain coastlands of Calabria even before Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] landed in Sicily in 212/827, thus providing the Muslims with a base for military operations against the Italian mainland.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (M. Amari, *BAS*, Leipzig 1857, text 228), followed by Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid*., 469), the first serious operation against Calabria took place in 225/839-40. With the capture of Messina in 228/842-3, it became easier for the Muslims of Sicily to undertake devastating raids and lengthy sieges, by means of which they were able to keep the Calabrian territory under continual threat from their incursions. This state of affairs lasted until the time when Constantinople decided to take the offensive and operations for the recovery of this region were entrusted to Nicephorus Phocas, who in 272/885-6 inflicted severe losses on the enemy. The Saracens, however, speedily counter attacked. Possibly encouraged by the traditional hostility in southern Italy between the Lombard princes and the Byzantine imperial governors, they managed in the course of the following three years to assemble in Sicily a fleet meant for attacking Calabria. Operations began in 275/888, and ended in the waters of Misazzo by the rout of the Byzantine army, the sack of the town of Reggio and the resumption of the raids, henceforth continuous, into the interior of Calabria.

However, it was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that the Muslim offensive grew more violent, under the stimulus of the savage Aghlabid prince Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm, who had been compelled, as a result of his unbridled despotism, to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh (see AGHLABIDS); in order to expiate his misdeeds, he undertook a "holy war" in Sicily and Calabria, where he wrought, without any scruples, enormous devastations, attacking persistently Cosenza, before whose walls he died in 289/902.

The first Kalbid (*q.v.*) ruler to resume military operations in Calabria with both regular land and naval forces was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who captured Reggio in 339/950 and built there a mosque, which was however diverted from this usage after only four years, two years later, the same ruler gained a great victory over the Byzantine forces beneath Gerace.

The sequence of raids, sieges and movements of resistance on the part of the Christians continued until the point when, in 372/982, the Emperor Otto II decided to end this situation by simultaneously attacking both the Muslims and the Byzantines, whose troops, in this state of affairs, helped each other against the Frankish ruler. The latter's troops gained an initial success, but had to flee when his army was defeated before Stilo. In the period between this defeat and the occupation of Calabria by the Normans towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Calabrian region was once again the scene of clashes (in the course of the naval battle before Reggio in 395/1005, the Pisans inflicted a defeat on the Muslims), of unusual intensity between Christians and Muslims, and of exhausting trials for the local population, which suffered violent raidings and incursions and was never able to benefit from a stable Muslim régime which, in other places and in more favourable circumstances, was often the mediating force for the transmission of the genuine values intrinsic in its culture.

Bibliography. The texts of the greater part of the Arab geographers (above all, al-Idrīsī), chroniclers and historians, which involve Calabria, may be found in M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo sicula* Leipzig 1857, 1st Appendix, Leipzig 1875, 2nd Appendix, Leipzig 1887, and *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², 3 C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-9 (cf. the index *s.v.* Calabria, Reggio, Bruzzano, Gerace, Stilo, Tiriolo and Cosenza).

(U. Rizzitano)

KILLIZ, a town of northern Syria, situated to the north of Aleppo between the two rivers ʿAfrīn and Ḳuwayḳ, north of Aʿzāz and on the road from Aleppo to ʿAyntāb. It was apparently known to the Assyrians, since a letter in cuneiform script (Harper, no. 1037, Brit. Mus. K 13673, obv. 3) mentions a town Ki-li-zi. In Roman times, Killiz was called *Cohors sive Urmagigarii* (*Itin. Ant.*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, 84), in the mediaeval period it seems to have been of no importance. It is mentioned by Ps. Denys of Tell-Maḥré at the time of the revolt against the Patriarch Dionysius in 817. One should read Killiz instead of Kalaz or Shalaz in Bar Hebraeus, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 339, 342, and Killiz instead of Halil in Michael the Syrian, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Chabot iii, 23.

The Arab geographers do not seem to mention Killiz. Yāḳūt is somewhat confused. His Killiz (iv, 138, cf. 168) refers to somewhere which he places near Sumaysāṭ or Samosata, but his Killiz (iv, 299) really does mean our Killiz, a town in the *nāḥiya* of ʿAzāz (Aʿzāz) between Aleppo and Antioch, and he believes that it should be written Killiz. The place in the region of Samosata is probably not Killiz but al-Kalīs or al-Kalls, which Ḳudāma lists among the frontier settlements of Diyār Bakr and which Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 196 (1st edn., 232) places on the May-

yāfārikīn-Malaṭya route, and which is consequently not near to Samosata/Sumaysāṭ but to Shimshāṭ (on this al-Kalīs, see Mackward, *Südarmenien*, 249-50).

Killiz and Murāḏ Killiz are mentioned in verses of Abū Firās (in regard to Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns), which Yāḳūt also cites (*Diwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, 113, v. 128, 150, v. 137). Since his successor Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'īd al-Dawla neglected to pay tribute owed to Byzantium according to the treaty of 359/969, the Domesticus Bardas Phokas led an expedition into Hamdānid territory, stormed Killiz and carried off its inhabitants into captivity. At the time of the Crusades, Killiz fell within the Frankish territories, no doubt after the capture of A'zāz by Roger of Antioch in 1118 or 19, for in 1124 the Turcoman *amīr* Balak, who had become master of Aleppo, attacked A'zāz and his troops laid waste the region of Killiz. Killiz presumably fell into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn at the same time as did A'zāz, *sc.* in 1150.

Although Killiz is some distance away from the important meeting-place of routes near A'zāz, it has nowadays eclipsed A'zāz in importance. The present town is in Turkey (see *Guide bleu* under *Killiz*), and *ca.* 1948 had 24,000 inhabitants; Cuinet had given 29,000 in 1831, 15 000 of which were Muslims. The town was in the 10th/16th century the residence of the Druze Jumblāṭ family (see DJANBULAT). According to Hartmann and Ahlwardt Killiz was the modern Tannūr Khān, where can still be found enormous pieces of stone, whilst the little garden Ḥarī Bāghčesi, "20 minutes' journey to the sort of Killiz, is traditionally pointed out as being the ancient site of the town or at least of part of it, since it is assumed that Ḥarī contains the name Killiz, and there are at that site traces of an ancient settlement.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 158, 999, Sayf al-Dīn, *Murāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 440, 508; Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen (Rozen), in *Imperator Vasiliy Bolgaroboyca, Izvlečenija iz letopisi Yakhi Antiokhiyskago*, 19, 166, 171-2 (repr. London 1972), Ar. text, 17, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, in *Patr. Or.*, 475 (207), ed. Cheikho, 165; Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla, recueil de textes*, 127, 145, 354; *idem*, *H'amdanides*, 224-5, 232, 851, R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, i, 362, 513, 574, ii, 101, 147, 567, Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades*, 139, 298; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 486, M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. des Gesell. für Erdkunde*, xxix, 483, idem, in *Mitteil. der sonder assat. aegypt. Gesellschaft* (1896), 206; Barthélemy, *Rec. de trav. relatifs à la philol. et à l'archéol. égypt. et assyr.*, 1897, 34 (erroneous identification of Killiz with Kurus Cyrrhos), Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 185 ff., R. Hartmann, *Geogr. Nachr. über Palästina und Syrien in Ḥalīl aṣ Ẓāhirs Zubda ...*, diss. Tübingen 1907, 65, Meissner, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 266, Cumont, *Études syriennes*, 1917, 257 ff., Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, viii, 239, 503, 507, Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byz. Reiches*, 95, 104 (M. CANARD)

KILWA, the name of various localities and islands of the east coast of Africa, amongst which should be mentioned KILWA KIVINJE, on the mainland (8° 45' S.) about 140 miles south of Dār al-Salām (Dar es Salam), and in particular, the QUILOA of the Portuguese (Kulwa in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 391 ff., tr. Gibb, ii, 379 ff., and in the mss. B.M. Or. 2666, but Kilwa in Yāḳūt s.v.) This last is today called KILWA KISAWANI, and is situated on an island near to the Tanzanian coast, 150 miles south of Dār al-Salām (8° 58' S., 39° 34' E.). It is the site, covering about one km.², of the capital of a region which stretched from the Rufiji River as Sofala in mediaeval times and was the greatest of the Islamic trading states in East Africa.

Barros, *Da Ásia*, 1552, preserves an anonymous abbreviated *Chronica dos Reys de Quiloa*, composed perhaps before 1507; an independent 16th century *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī aḫbār Kulwa*, by an anonymous Shī'ī author, survives only in B.M. ms. Or. 2666, dated 1862. Neither is complete. A 19th century Swahili *History* is of little value. Coins of at least seven rulers are certain, and with them, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Muḥammad al-Fāsī sustain the historicity of the documents. After 1500, anonymous accounts occur in Portuguese and French sources. In 1960-3 H.N. Chittick excavated the chief buildings.

The chronology is controversial. Chittick's deletion from the text of Barros of some fifteen rulers must be regarded as unacceptable. He dates the earliest occupation to *ca.* 800. The finds agree well with the documentary sources as they stand. They describe a dynasty of "Shīrāzī" settlers from the Gulf established *ca.* 957. The founder, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, bought the island from the preceding pagan ruler, marrying his daughter. For two centuries the expanding trading centre was often at war with neighbouring islands. In the 12th century it acquired the monopoly of Sofala's gold trade with its hinterland; its former governor, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, was sultan of Kilwa *ca.* 1131-70, and "master of the trade" of Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia and the mainland. Essentially, it was an entrepôt trade serving Arab Indian Ocean routes, in gold, ivory and some slaves, against imported textiles, beads, and Near and Far Eastern ceramics. Under Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, *ca.* 1170-89, many important buildings were erected in a new style. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusan, either wise unrecorded, issued the first coinage in the late 12th century. About 1294 Mahdalī *sayyids* succeeded the original dynasty, possibly by female descent. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kilwa in 1331: the people were black, *mālikī* Sh'āfi'īs, and devoted in *ghazā* against mainland unbelievers.

Vasco da Gama sailed past Kilwa in 1498. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was the first Portuguese to levy tribute. Francisco d'Almeida took it by storm in 1505. Contemporary accounts attest its wealth. A Portuguese fort controlled it until 1512; its economy was ruined by the Portuguese seizure of the Sofala trade in 1505. A population of perhaps 10,000 in 1500 had already dwindled to about 4,000 by 1587, when marauding Zimba massacred 5,000 inhabitants. Kilwa never recovered. After the 'Umānī capture of Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1698, Kilwa also was made tributary to 'Umān. In the 18th century the slave trade developed greatly, but Zanzibar was the main entrepôt. Zanzibar finally absorbed Kilwa in 1843, deporting the last sulṭān. When Germany acquired the mainland in 1886, some surviving royalties threw their records in the sea, lest they fall into infidel hands.

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Chittick, *Kilwa, an Islamic trading city on the East African coast*, Nairobi 1974, with detailed bibliography, B. G Martin, *Arab migrations to East Africa in medieval times*, in *Internat Jnal. of Afr Hist Stud* (1975) S. A. Rizvi, in Sa'īd Hamdūn and Noël King, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Black Africa*, 1975; R. W. Beachey, *The slave trade of Eastern Africa*, 1976; see also the Bibl. given by J. Walker in *EI*², Suppl, s.v. (G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

AL-KILY, also **AL-KILĀ**, according to Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Lihyānī also *al-ḥāla* (see al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 170, § 643), the word is derived from aramaic *ḥelyā*), potash, potassium carbonate [K_2CO_3], but also soda, sodium carbonate [Na_2CO_3] (both materials were not clearly distinguished, therefore the Arabic term is kept in what follows.) *Al-Kily* thus indicates the salt which is won from the ashes of alkaline plants, but is also confusingly used for the ashes themselves and the lye As synonyms are given *ghāḍī al-ʿuṭsa* and *ghāḍī al-aṣḥāṣ* (Ibn Maymūn, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al ʿuqqār*, ed M Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no 343). The plants or families of plants *rimṯh* (Haloxylon articulatum Cav.) and *ḥamḍ* (Chenopodiaceae) serve as the standard plants employed. According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (*op cit* 104, § 411 = *LA*, s.v. *ḥ l y* — Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Mufrad*, IV, 32) the best potash is won from *al-ḥurmā* (Alhagi maurorum c.q. Scindixia), the so-called "potash of the dyers" (*kaly al-ṣabbāghīn*) The other sorts sufficed for the fabrication of glass. The extraction of *kily* is concisely but accurately described by al-Layṯ, the editor of the *K* of ʿAyn of al-Khalīl b Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. ca. 170/786) the plants *al-ghaḍā* (Arthrocnemum c.q. Salicornia) and *al-rimṯh* are burnt while green, the ashes are slaked with water which then consolidates into *kily* (see *LA*, s.v.)

Kily is used for various purposes in the absence of soap (*ushnān*), clothes are washed with it (see *LA* Yāqūt, iii, 465). Chemists used it to manufacture pungent lyes (Muḥammad b Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, *K al-Asrār*, ed. M T Dānish Pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 76, tod l ' J. Ruska and K Garbers, *Verschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wassern bei Gābir und Rāzī*, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 1-34).

A prominent part is played by *al-kily* in the manufacture of glass. It is emlted together with sand and magnesia and thus produces the "substance of glass" (*jawhar al-zujāj*, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, v, 407) Above all, it happens that the glass easily absorbs the various colorations (see Dimashkī, *Nukhbat al dahr*, ed. Mehren, 80, J Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätarabischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935)

Because of its biting, burning and purifying effect *al-kily* is used in medecine to treat skin diseases like vitiligo (*bahaq*), leprosy (*barṣ*), scabies (*ḥarash*) and also wounds and sores (*ḥirāḥ, ḥurūḥ*) Morbid growths are also etched with it (Masīḥ al-Dimashkī, who lived in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd in Ibn al-Bayṭār, iv 31; ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, Berlin 1928, 322, Pseudo-Thābit b. Qurra, *K al-Dhakhīra*, ed G Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 114; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 248; *The medical formulary of al-Samarqandī*, ed. M. Levey and N al-Khaledy, Philadelphia 1967, 148; Kazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib*, 233). Many people apply *al-kily* and vinegar on scorpion stings (Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 101).

Bibliography E. Wiedemann, *EI*¹, s.v. *al Kily*; Idem, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, index, 605; E. Seidel, in *Isl.*, i (1910), 256; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna Leipzig 1928, i, 635-50, A. Steiger and J. J. Ness, *Soda*, in *Van Romanica*, ii (1937), 53-76, W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzlichen und mineralischen Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 358 f. (no 594), D. Geltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralsauren in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 234 ff, and index, M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii (forthcoming), s.v. *qily* (M ULLMANN)

KIMĀK (in the texts usually Kīmāk), often wrongly vocalised Kaymāk), an early Turkish people living in western Siberia on the lower course of the Irtish River and on its tributaries the Ishim and Tobol possibly as far north as the confluence of the Irtish and Ob and as far west as the Ural Mts.; they are mentioned in Islamic sources from the 3rd/9th century onwards.

The most detailed accounts of the Kimāk and their territories are in the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (begun 372/982-3), tr Minorsky, 99-100, 364-70, and in Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 257-9 There is considerable confusion in these and other sources on the localisation of the Kimāk, possibly reflecting a major historical displacement of the tribe or else a confusion between their winter and summer pastures, but there must certainly have been confusion from the fact that the two major sources above believed that the Irtish flowed westwards through the Urals becoming the Kama and joining the Volga in Bulghār The *Ḥudūd* places the Kimāk to the west of the Kirghiz and to the east of the Kipcak (*q.v.*), but all the sources agree that to the north of them lay the forest lands inhabited by savage peoples who exchanged their goods by dumb barter The fur-trapping kirghiz tribe of the Ks.y.m (° Kishtim?) mentioned by the *Ḥudūd* as living near the Kimāk may have been Samoyedes or a Yenisei Palaeosiatic people (see Minorsky, *Sharaf al Dīn Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, 107 ff). The Kimāk also had connections with the Oghuz to the south of them, and are said to have visited the Oghuz pasture grounds in summer, possibly explaining why Muqaddasī, 274, says that Sawrān on the middle Sir Daryā is a frontier post against the Ghuzz and Kimāk

A legendary account of Kimāk origins given by Gardīzī mentions seven component groups, such as the Ināl, Ināk, Tatār, Bayandur, Khilcāk, etc , and in his section on the Yaghmā tribe (ed. Ḥabībī, 280), he gives to the chief of the Kimāk the titles *shād* and *tutughlushuk* The *Ḥudūd*, however, mentions that the ruler of the Kimāk is called the Khākān and has under him eleven subordinate chiefs. Two routes northwards to the Kimāk country from the northern fringes of Transoxania are mentioned one from Tarāz or Talas, taking 80 days by swift horse (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Kudāma, the *Ḥudūd*), and another more westerly route from Yangī-andī or Dih-i Naw near the Sir Daryā mouth (Gardīzī) The country of the Kimāk was excessively cold, so that the Kimāk lived in subterranean dwellings in winter and hunted on skis They were in part pastoralist nomads, but were also trappers of sable and marten furs, which were exported to the Islamic lands, also mentioned is the *khalanj* hardwood of the forest zone, brought from the Kimāk lands and used for making bowls and such-like table ware (see Dīnārī, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādiqī, 54, tr. Pellat, 77: *khalanj(iyya kimākiyya)*) The only town, or rather encampment, of any signifi-

cance, was the Khākān's summer residence, Namaklyya (°Yimaklyya?). The Kimāk worshipped fire and water and venerated the Irtish, according to Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī in Yākūt, *Buldān*, iii, 448, the Turks' "magnetic rainstone" belonged to the Kimāk.

The main significance of this remote people, who can never at such have been Muslim and who impinge little on Islamic history is that the much more important people of the Kipčak (*q.v.*), the later Comans or Polovtsi, apparently sprang from them and eventually overshadowed them. By the late 5th/11th century, the Kimāk, whom Mahmūd Kāshgharī, iii, 23, tr. Atalay, iii, 29, names as the Yemak (°Yimāk), were reckoned as a group of Kipčak, but different in origin; it is clear that the remnants of the earlier Kimāk were now being absorbed into the rising tribal confederation of the Kipčak. In the ensuing period, the name "Kimāk" fades into oblivion, although we belatedly hear of the Yemāk in association with the Kipčak and Kanghlī (*q.v.*) at the time of the appearance of the Mongols, thus Nasawī, *Sīrat Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn*, tr. Houdas, 44, 72, says that the Khwārazm Shāh's mother Terken Khātūn was of the Beya'ut branch of the Yimāk.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the article): J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F. xiii (1914), 89 213 and *passim*; idem, *Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von Mittelasien und Sibirien. 2. Die Ibn Ismā'īl*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* viii (1919-20) [= *Festschrift F. Hirth*], 393-6.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KIMĀR, the name given in Islamic geographical and travel literature to Khmer or Cambodia. The geography and political organization of South-East Asia early became of interest to Islamic scholars because of trade links with Further India and China, and information was brought back by, *inter alios*, Arab and Persian merchants and navigators. Some of this information relates to the Khmer kingdom on the lower Mekong River, an outpost of Indian cultural and religious life, which lasted from the beginning of the 9th century to the middle of the 13th century (see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris 1929, 559-68, 587-8; G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*², Paris 1964, ch. vii, § 1, viii, § 2, ix, § 2, § 3, xi, § 1, Eng. tr. *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu 1968).

Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 66, 68, mentions Kimār as a place on the route to the Far East. Some decades later, Ibn Rusta, 132-3, tr. Wiet, 248-50, devotes considerable space to the customs of the kings of Kimār, their justice, their severity against fornication, adultery and wine-drinking, and he remarks on the flourishing state of the ascetic and eremitical life there; Muslim merchants were welcomed and not molested, and one Islamic funerary inscription has in fact been found in Cambodia [see KITĀBAT 8. South-East Asia]. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 169 ff., = §§ 378 ff., has a lengthy anecdote on the relations of the king of Kimār and the ruler named as *al-Mahārādj*, the usual designation in the Islamic sources for the ruler of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Zābadj, Zābidj), centred on Palembang in Sumatra but also controlling the Malayan peninsula. Ibn Rusta names as his source one Abū °Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Ishāk who had resided for two years in Kimār, probably early in the 3rd/9th century under the great king Jayavarman II Parameśvara of Angkor (802-50); information from this authority came first in Ibn Khurradādhbih, who referred to Kimār only cursorily, and was eventually utilised even by al-Idrīsī, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāk fī 'khtirāk al-°Āfāk *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 29, 142.

The *Hudūd al-°Ālam* (372/982), ix. Minorsky, 86-7, mentions three great kingdoms of South-East Asia, sc. Kāmarūpa (Kāmarūpa, Assam [see ASSAM and KĀMARŪP]), Şanf (Champa, southern Annam or South Vietnam) and Kimār, and it states that two of the most precious products of Kimār were elephants' tusks and aloes wood. The aloes wood of Kimār (*°ūd kimārī*) is much mentioned in Islamic sources, as is that of Champa (*°ūd şanfī*), but there is considerable confusion in the sources about the origins of the different kinds of aloes wood stemming from eastern India and South East Asia, with a particular uncertainty over the wood of Kimār and that of Kāmarūpa. Moreover, Ibn Battūta, iv, 240-1, 242-2, when speaking of Djāwa (possibly Sumatra, since Sumatra and Java were frequently confused or even regarded as one island by the Muslims) mentions Kumāra as part of that land (*min bi'l-°ūd bi'l-dikkī*) and the Kumārī variety of aloes wood as being particularly fine. See, in regard to these problems, the discussions about the various varieties in Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 367-8, tr. Wiet, 238-9, and also Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, commentary 128-9, and J. D. Latham, *Arabic into mediaeval Latin: Letter C, M L D*, in *JSS*, xxi (1976), 135-7 (on the linguistic problems involved).

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the article, see *Hudūd al-°Ālam*, commentary, 240-1; Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text 39, tr. 51-2, commentary, 150-4; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913-14, i, 229-30 (= Abū Dulaf al Khazradjī's information on Kimār), and index s.v. "Khmer".

(C. E. Bosworth)

KIMĀR is the most common Islamic term for gambling, which is strictly forbidden according to Muslim law. The prohibition goes back to the references to *maysir* (*q.v.*) in Kur'ān, II, 219/216, and V, 90 f./92 f. *Maysir* was expressly equated with *kimār* in general, supposedly already by °Abd Allāh b. °Umar (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, Cairo 1375, 325). Voices querying this assumption, and the assumption that the Kur'ān had the legal classification of "forbidden" in mind, were rarely raised, and then only for the sake of argument. For all we know, the Muslim ban on all gambling has existed since the time of the Prophet in the same form as later on, and has remained in force throughout. Gambling was conceived as a transaction in which property changed hands arbitrarily and unproductively, something falling also under the injunction of Kur'ān, IV, 29/33, against frivolous and worthless (*bātil*) business transactions. Economic theory, and economic realities, tended to favour a strict view of what constituted gambling.

According to Muslim sources, universal and reckless gambling was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia. Although the Muslim attitude toward the *Djāhiliyya* no doubt contributed to this view, gambling was probably widely practised, and in a variety of ways, among which the drawing of arrows and the stake racing of horses and camels were the most prominent. The actual *maysir* game, as painstakingly reconstructed from stray verses of poetry by later scholars, principal among them Ibn Kutayba, *al-Maysir wa-'l-kidāh* (Cairo 1342), is presented to us as a kind of ceremonial lottery organised for charity.

Several gambling stories lead into the time of the Prophet. Thus, wagering with unbelievers by Abū Bakr "before gambling was forbidden" is mentioned in the Kur'ān commentaries in connection with Kur'ān, XXX, 1-4/1-3; it appears to be a rather old story, though hardly historical. Another, an less famous story, reported in connection with the battle of Badr, that of Abū Lahab gambling with al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām, may also be old, but its connection with gambling can be shown to be mostly a later elaboration. The Kur'ān clearly indicates the social and religious undesirability of gambling. It is something causing quarrels, and it interferes with the performance of worship and prayer. However, the commentators were at a loss to cite any particular occasion for the prohibition. While there is much room for speculation, on convincing historical explanation can be offered, unless there is some significance in the fact that the *asbāb* literature credits a contemporary of the Prophet, al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*], with being the first to forbid gambling.

In spite of its being prohibited, gambling, or what was considered as such, seems to have always flourished everywhere in the Muslim world and at all levels of Muslim society. Lotteries proper appear to have been unknown in Islamic times, and wagering on castaged events is not much attested (cf. for instance, al Rāghib al Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Būlāḳ 1286-7/1869-70, i, 137, 241). Favourite outlets for the gambling instinct were, among board games, backgammon (*nard* [*q.v.*]), played with six sided dice, and, among sports, horse racing [see FURŪSIYYA]. Other board games, such as merels (*ṭurḳ*) and "fourteen" (*shiṭranj arbaʿata ʿashara*), could involve stakes, chess (*shaṭranj* [*q.v.*]) and draughts [see HIZĀNA], when played for stakes, fell into the category of gambling. Important sports suspected of being devices for gambling were archery (*rawy al-nushshāb* [*q.v.*]) and pigeon flying [see ḤAMĀM], as well as competitions such as footracing, swimming (*sibāḥa*), or, more significant as an organised activity, wrestling (*muṣāraʿa*). Fighting games of animals, looked upon with disapproval on the basis of the Prophetic warning against inciting animals against each other (*takrīsh*, *Concordance*, i, 446b, 64-66) and humanitarian principles, included cock (see NIK) and dog [see KALB] fights. Playing cards (*kanādjifa* [*q.v.* to Suppl.]) are attested since Mamlūk times (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk playing cards*, ed. R. Ettinghausen and O Kurz, Leiden 1971). All these activities, of course, could be, and were, undertaken and enjoyed for their own sake without any accompanying gambling, and the gambling habits connected with them differed considerably. According to Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwī* (Cairo n.d. [1384 ?]), iv, 308, *nard* was mostly played for stakes, while chess usually was not. The gambling that did take place was commonly in the form of stakes put up by the participating players themselves or, in the case of sports competitions involving animals, by the owners of the animals. However, although our information on this point is most deficient, it is clear that spectators, too, engaged in gambling on the outcome of the games and sports they watched.

While gambling by outsiders was clearly and undubitably illegal, the main problem for jurists was the determination of what constituted gambling by virtue of the manner in which the stakes were put up. The *ḥadīth* expressly permitted competitions with camels (*khuff*), horses (*ḥafir*), and arrows (*naṣl*) (*Concordance*, i, 480a, 16-18), and there are stories establishing precedents set by the Prophet. Later jurists were inclined to deny the legality of stakes in connection with any other kind of sports contests and, in particular, board-games (of which *nard* was often declared illegal, even when played without stakes, because of its dependence upon dice). However, the permissibility of the legal sports was rationalised on the ground of their usefulness for military preparedness, an argument which, in practice could be extended to other sports, even though jurists were usually hesitant to do so. The crucial question of how stakes, whose they were at all ad missible, could be legally established, was considered under three basic aspects: the establishment of stakes by a non participant such as, for instance, the government, by one of the participants, and by both (or all) participants. The first two cases were legal (with some doubts in the second case as to what is to be done with the stake if the donor himself is the winner). The third constituted illegal gambling. In order to make it legal, the presence of a "legaliser" (*muḥallil* [*q.v.*]) was required, i.e. the participation of someone who did not contribute to the stakes. There exists a *ḥadīth* to this effect (*Concordance*, ii, 402a, 15-17, etc.). However, the legality of this procedure was debated. Mālik personally did not admit the device of the *muḥallil*, with the consequence that later Mālikīs differed to their attitudes. The Hanbalī Ibn Taymiyya and his followers rejected it forcefully. Legal attitudes towards potential gambling games in general can be said to cut across school lines. Shāfiʿī-em, whose basic text on games was *Kitāb al-Umm* (Būlāḳ 1324), vi, 213, was sometimes attacked, with little justification, for its alleged somewhat easy lenient attitude. It should also be noted that by and large the legal literature paid comparatively scant attention to gambling, the reason being not so much the scarcity of gambling activities as the clearcut stand of the law as to its illegality. Occasionally we come across interesting statements, such as the one by the Ḥanafī Kādīkhān, *Fatāwī* (Calcutta 1835), iv, 587, suggesting that a Muslim could legally gamble with non-Muslims in non-Muslim territory.

The official handling of gambling offenders was determined by the peculiar nature of the circumstances under which gambling took place. Sporting events were mostly held in the open, but much other gambling went on in private. In the larger cities, there were gambling casinos (*dār al-ḳimār*, *bunduḳāna*, and other terms), where gambling was encouraged even to the extent of tempting losing gamblers with offers of loans (cf. Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. and tr. K. L. Tallqvist, Leiden 1899, 30/63). Ordinary taverns, as later on the coffee houses [see ḲAHWA], also had the reputation of allowing gambling (in connection with board games) on their premises. These could be raided, if local authorities saw fit to do so. However, unless public annoyance resulted, or complaints were lodged, the legal authorities, presumably represented primarily by the office of the *muḥtasib*, had little power or incentive to intervene with voluntary activities undertaken by mutual consent in the privacy of the home. If brought before the authorities, gamblers were liable to discretional (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]) punishment. Jurists considered habitual gamblers as having forfeited their *ʿadāla* and their capacity to function as witnesses, thus decisively downgrading their social and legal standing. Social degradation was commonly associated with gambling, at least in literature and theory. In real life, this probably affected only those who were unable to afford the losses incident to their gambling.

Excessive gambling, though evidently not un-

common, is not frequently attested. We hear about the gambler in moderate circumstances who brought ruin upon himself and who neglected his family (cf Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, al-Najaf 1381/1961, 210), or the poet al-Talla'farī [*q.v.*] whose compulsive gambling made him a liability in court circles and kept him from advancement, or the—fictitious—Sūfī who intentionally freed himself from all worldly possessions by gambling them away (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 000). Most gambling probably involved the minor losses that the losers were sometimes able to absorb. It lies in the nature of gambling activities, especially where they are illegal, that reliable statistics with respect to them are not obtainable, and *we* have, of course, nothing to go on in the way of statistical information for the Muslim Middle Ages. We can only guess that gambling as such, common as it was, was nevertheless in no way a major economic factor or disruptive social force.

In addition to the legal injunction against it, the social stigma it carried, and its unsuitability for the economic environment created by Islam, gambling also presented a challenge to the metaphysical presuppositions of monotheism. Gambling was felt to be a manifestation of trust in blind fate and of an attempt at interference with, and thus disrespect for, the divine government of the world. A clever story, circulating since at least the 3rd/9th century (cf. in particular, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, *Risālat ḥukmat waqf al-wasd wa'l-ghafrānī*), praised *wasd*, with its reliance upon chance, as representative of the orthodox view of predetermination and trust in God, and blamed chess for the freedom of choice it requires of the player as something akin to Muʿtazilī doctrine. The story appears to have been meant originally as the opposite of what it seems to suggest, namely, as an argument for the superiority of the *Muʿtazilī* view of free will, while taking a dim view of gambling as supporting the idea of blind chance in the realm of metaphysics.

Thus the factors that in Islam fought against the human propensity for gambling were numerous. They were, moreover, reinforced by the generally disdainful attitude toward "play and amusement" (*lahw —laʿib*) in all forms professed by religious scholars and intellectuals. This did not eliminate gambling in Islam but, to all appearances, succeeded in keeping its impact upon society largely under control.

Bibliography: T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, Oxford 1689-94, Mez, *Renaissance*, 382-4 (Eng tr. 403 f). References to gambling are so sporadic in the modern scholarly literature as they are in the primary sources. A first attempt to bring the available information together has been made by F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, which contains the full documentation for the present article. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-KĪMIYĀʾ, alchemy. The word is derived from Syriac *Kīmiyā* which in its turn goes back to Greek χημεία χημεῖα "the art of casting or alloying metals" (see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, 2019). The Arabs believed that *al-kīmiyā'* was a loanword from Persian (Ibn Durayd, al-Djawālīkī), from Hebrew (al-Akfānī) or from Greek and had the meaning of "artifice and acuteness" (*al-ḥīla wa'l-ḥidhq*, according to al-Khafādjī) or "solution and division" (*al-taḥlīl wa 'l-tafrīḳ*, according to Ibn Sallūm, 12th/18th century). As synonyms of *al-kīmiyā'* were used *al-ṣanʿa* (for ποίησις), *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* (for ἡ Θεία τέχνη), *ʿilm al-ṣanʿa*, *al-ḥikma*, *al-ʿamal al-aʿẓam* (for τὸ μέγα ἔργον) etc. In abbreviation alchemy is also called *al-ḥāʾ*, which serves also as pseudonym (see *WKAS*, I, 459b, 29 ff.)

The Arabs have defined alchemy more than once. Its task is to make gold and silver without falling back upon the corresponding ores (*ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿdanihimā*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 352), it should lend colourings to the metals which they did not have before (Djābir b. Ḥayyān, *Textes choisis*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, 141), and it should alter the specific qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) of the mineral substances so that gold and silver can be obtained through certain artifices (*ḥiyal*; Ghazālī, *Takāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 270), through alchemy harm and poverty are done away with (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, iv, 085, 303). The theme of alchemy is therefore the transmutation of base metals into precious ones. And thus certain *limitations* are given. Petrology and mineralogy do not belong to alchemy in the strict sense, although the alchemist must of course have an exact knowledge of minerals (as well as of animal and vegetable substances). In the same way, fabrication of glass and falsification of precious stones (see the *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*, ed. O. Lagercrantz, Uppsala 1913) belong no more to alchemy than metallurgical activities like extracting iron, gold and silver from their ores, so precisely and impressively described by al-Hamdānī (*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968). Nor does the technical chemistry of the craftsman, namely the manufacture of tints, colours and perfumes, come within the field of alchemy. The title *Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr* (ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948) which al-Kindī gives to his book on the falsification of perfumes is as metaphorical as the *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* with which the mystics entitled their writings (see *WKAS*, i, 525b). Finally, it should be mentioned that the notion of "pharmaceutical chemistry" did not exist in the Islamic Middle Ages. The often very complicated "compound medicines" (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are prepared by the physician or the apothecary according to Galen's work *De compositione medicamentorum* or to the many *Aḳrābādhīnāt* [*q.v.*] composed by the Arabs. There were of course points of contact between the various professions: the metallurgists and perfumers worked with the same instruments and appliances as the alchemists. Some of the latter also excelled in the related sciences, like Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, who classified the minerals. Alchemy, however, the art of transmuting metals, has to be singled out from the other more technically orientated professions because of its theoretical foundations.

Alchemy originated among the Greeks. In order to prevent misunderstandings, it should be mentioned that the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology* (the genuineness of which is disputed) is neither a writing about chemistry in the modern sense of the word nor was it a starting-point for alchemy. It discusses only the primary qualities as causes of all changes in nature (see J. During, *Aristotle's chemical treatise Meteorologica, Book IV*, Göteborg 1944, H. Happ, *Der chemische Traktat des Aristoteles, Meteorologie IV*, in *Synusia. Festgabe W. Schadewaldt*, Pfullingen 1965, 289-322). Ca. 200 B.C. Bolos of Mendes knew certain techniques of colouring, and such techniques, combined with neo-Platonic, gnostic and hermetic ideas (Stoic philosophy seems also to have had some influence) helped alchemy to assert itself in Egypt (H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, 2, Leipzig Berlin 1920, 111-34). From the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (see F. Sherwood Taylor, *The origins of Greek alchemy*, in *Ambix*, i (1937), 30-47, J. Lind-

say, *The origins of alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, London 1970) date a number of writings disseminated under the names of Hermes, Thoth, Agathodaimon, Cleopatra, Moses, Solomon, Mary, Jesus, Democritus (or Democrates), Zarathustra, Astanes etc. At the beginning of the 4th century these pseudographs are joined by the writings of Zosimus of Panopolis (→ Akhmīm [*q.v.*]), the genuineness of which is better vouched for. In the 5th century the neo-Platonic philosopher Asklepiodorus and emperor Heraclius wrote also on alchemy. A not inconsiderable amount of these Greek writings were translated into Arabic, but we have no exact information about times and places of these translations. It seems however that the first were made towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and that the greater part of these writings came to the Arabs in the 3rd/9th century (D. M. Dunlop, in *JRAS* (1974), 6 ff., makes it clear that the assertion according to which a work of Zosimus was translated into Arabic already in 58/659, is false). It is possible that in some cases there may have been intermediary translations in Syriac (for Syrian alchemy, see R. Duval in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, ii, Paris 1893), but it is not clear whether Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and his pupils took part in the work of these translations. Most of the Greek writings have only been preserved in a very poor and fragmentary way. The oldest codex is Mertonensis 299 dating from the 11th century (see M. Berthelot *and* Ch. E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, i ff., Paris 1887-8; J. Bidez, F. Cumont *et alii*, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, i ff., Brussels 1927 ff.). Since the Arabic translations are thus two hundred years older, and the Arabs at that period still knew an essentially greater amount of Greek writings than we do at present, the oriental tradition is of the greatest importance. It is certain that the study of Arabic alchemical literature will bring to light Greek works which have been lost in their original language.

Unfortunately, Arabic alchemistic literature has remained until now still a *mare indegnita*. Very many manuscripts have been preserved, but only an extremely small part of their contents has been disclosed through catalogues or published. Consequently, it is not yet possible to sketch out a history of Arabic alchemy. In particular, the beginnings of this science in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries are still largely wrapped in darkness. It may however be stated that already in the period in which the *Corpus Gabrianum* (end of the 3rd/9th—beginning of the 4th/10th centuries) and the works of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] were compiled, an important literature must have come into being, whose authors might have been Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Christian, Persian or Indian wise men and philosophers. This pseudographic literature uses to a great extent the same names that served early Greek alchemy as designations. Some writings are in fact translations of Greek works, others were composed directly in Arabic but are imitations of Greek examples. It should however not be assumed that all sentences of Greek wise men, quoted by the Arabs, are taken from specific writings which are ascribed to these wise men. It seems rather that some of them originate only from doxographical collective works.

Nevertheless, a great number of Greek notions are found in these writings. The etyma of the terms *al-kīmiyāʾ*, *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* etc. have already been mentioned above. The metals are called *al-aǧsād*, corresponding to τὰ σώματα, quicksilver and sulphur are *al-zwāḳ* τὰ πνεύματα. Elixir, *al-iksīr* is the loanword τὸ ξηρίον, the distilling apparatuses *al-uṯāl* and *al-anbīḳ* are derived from τὸ αἰθάλιον and ὁ ἄμβιξ, the processes *tabyīḍ*, *tasʿīd*, *tasʿīm*[1], *taḳṭīr* etc. are adaptations from λεύκωσις μέλανσις, ἐγκήρωσις, ἴωσις. In the same way a number of pseudonyms are imitations of Greek models, e.g. *ʾiṯbāt ṣāḥib* from ἀβράασσαρος ἀνατολικὸς *sahad al-ḥamar* from ἀρροσέληνον, *ḥabīṭa lā ṭāʾiṭa* from Θεῖον ἄκαυστον and *laban al ʿaḏārā* from γάλα παρθενικόν (for other pseudonyms formed with *laban*, see *WKAS*, ii, 25 ff.). To these are added whole theorems: *al-ṭabīʿa ṭāriḥa bi ʾl-ṭabīʿa* is the innumerably repeated ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται and *lam taʿāl al-ṭabīʿa ghayʾan bi ʾl-ṭabīʿa* H *fīʾl-dafāʾ lahā* corresponds to ἡ φύσις φύσιν ποιεῖ μᾶλλον. All this shows without any doubt the origin of Arabic alchemy.

We thus possess a great number of Arabic writings, fragments and quotations in which our attestation is caught by the names of Pythagoras, Archelaus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyrius, Galen, Democritus, Zosimos and Theosebeia, Secundus "the silent philosopher" and many others. Often Hermes Trismegistus [see HERMES] is mentioned, who in the opinion of the alchemists was the first to speak about alchemy (*ʿilm al-ṣanʿa*, see *Fihrist*, 352). The writings attributed to him, *al-Risāla al-ṭabbāniyya al-kubrā*, *Risālat al-Sirr*, *Tadbīr Hirmus al-Hardamīs*, *al-Dhakhīra al-iskandariyya*, etc. have introductions in which on a legendary way is described how these texts were found as temples, caves and sepulchral vaults. The "Emerald table", a brief text full of symbols, was considered to be the key to the ultimate secrets of nature (see J. Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur*, Heidelberg 1926, M. Plessner, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Tabula Smaragdina*, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 77-113). Sentences by Hermes are to be found in almost every Arabic alchemistic work (see e.g. H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis, F. Sherwood Taylor, *The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Muʾ al-Waraḳī of Ibn Umail*, in *Ambix*, iii (1949), 69-90). Apollonius of Tyana [see APOLLONIUS] is considered to be the intermediary of the hermetic wisdom. Under his name a big commentary on the "Emerald table", the so-called *Kitāb Sirr al-Khalīḳa*, an allegorical book on the seven metals, the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām al-sabʿa*, and other writings were disseminated. Agathodaimon [see AGATHODAIMON] is also associated with Hermes. In the *Risālat al-Ḥaṭṭār* he communicates before his death to his pupils the secret of alchemy. Finally they are joined by Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, *Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation*, in *WZKM* lxiii lxiv (1972), 258-75). Many the Jewess, the Persian wise men Dīmāsiānā and Ostanes, Manes, the Indian called Biyūn, Adam, Moses, Korah (Ḳārūn) and many others, whose writings and sentences became known to the Arabs at a relatively early period. This largely still uninvestigated complex of the pseudographs was enlarged by the Arabs since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and rendered even more opaque by stamping on alchemists the Umayyad prince Khālid b. Yazīd, the son-in-law of the Prophet, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Imām* Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*qq.v.*] and the mystics al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhu ʾl-Nūn al-Miṣrī and Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd [*qq.v.*]. The alleged writings and doctrines of all these Greek, Persian, Jewish and Arabic authorities form the groundwork for the two large alchemistic corpora which came into being at the turn of the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, namely the *Corpus Gabrianum* and the writings of

Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (the mutual relation of these two cycles has been discussed by J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wässern bei Gābir und Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, xxv (1939), 1-34). Djābir b. Ḥayyān (*q.v.*), who may have died ca. 196/812, is considered to be the author of the first work. Meanwhile, P. Kraus has proved that these writings cannot have originated before the second half of the 3rd/9th century and that a team of authors must be supposed (for this problem see also F. Rex, in *Isl.* xlix (1972), 305 ff.; idem, in *Deutsche Orientalistik am Beispiel Tübingens*, Tübingen 1974, 86 ff.). Accordingly, the writings of the so-called Ibn Waḥshiyya and the *Mushaf al-diyānāt*, whose Latin translation carries the title *Turba philosophorum*, may have originated at the turn of the century. In the *Turba* a congress of alchemists is pictured, to which Pythagoras takes the chair and Archelaus records the minutes, while nine pre-Socratic philosophers present their doctrines (J. Ruska, *Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, Berlin 1931; M. Plessner, *The place of the Turba Philosophorum in the development of alchemy*, in *Isis*, xiv (1954), 331-8; idem, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung. Studien über Text, Herkunft und Charakter der Turba Philosophorum*, forthcoming). In the 4th/10th century Muḥammad b. Umayl (*q.v.*) was outstanding with writings of a hermetic-allegorical character, followed in the 5th/11th century by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Kātib, pseudo-Mağrīṭī with the *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and Muḥammad b. Bīghrūn. In the 6th/12th century the most important alchemists were the poet and statesman Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī and the preacher in Fās, ʿAlī b. Mūsā, called Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs. Around the middle of the 7th/13th century, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Simāwī (*Book of knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of gold by Abū ʾl-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-ʿIrāḳī*, ed. E. J. Holmyard, Paris 1923) worked in ʿIrāḳ, and in the 8th/14th century the Egyptian Aydamir b. ʿAlī al-Dīdākī [*q.v.*] produced an unprecedented number of books in which he summarised and commented upon everything which had been written before him on alchemy and magic to the following period a number of authors still further appear who are of importance partly as compilers, partly as producers of new original writings, like al-Iznīḳī (= ʿAlī Celebi), al-Maqrīzī, Bel Mughūsh al-Maghribī and others. In the second half of the 11th/17th century Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr Allāh b. Salīm, the court physician of sultan Meḥemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87), tried to introduce into Arabic medicine the chemical concepts of Paracelsus, which gave the alchemists the chance to set about new ways. They did not however avail themselves of these; on the contrary, they continued until recent times the ancient fruitless search for the "philosopher's stone" (G. Salman, *Archives Marocaines*, vii (1906), 451 ff.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 215, Eng. tr. J. H. Monahan, Leiden-London 1931, 162 ff.; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xii; C. Barbier de Meynard, *L'Alchimiste, comédie en dialecte turc osm*, in *JA*, 8e série, vii (1886), 5-66; Osman Nevres, in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, iv/2, Istanbul, n.d., 92 ff.).

In the Middle Ages Arabic works were translated into Latin. We have in Latin versions the *Tabula smaragdina*, the *Tabula chemica*, the *Practica Marie prophetissae*, the *Liber de compositione alchemiae* of Morienus (translated by Robert of Chester in 1144, partly translated by J. W. von Goethe, *Die Schriften zu den Naturwissenschaften*, Part 1, Vol. vi: *Zur Farbenlehre, Historischer Teil*, revised by D. Kuhn, Weimar 1957, 131 ff. Part 2, Vol. vi: *Ergänzungen und Erläuterungen*, Weimar 1959, 439-41), the *Liber secretarum alchemiae* of Calid, the *Liber de septuaginta* and the *Liber misericordiae* of Geber (E. Darmstaedter, *Eine lateinische Übersetzung der grösseren Kitāb al-kīmiā*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xvii (1925), 161-97) and many other works (see M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, repr. Graz 1956, *passim*). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Eine Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935, 10). Thus they introduced a process which leads via Arnald of Villanova, the Latin "Geber" and Paracelsus to Robert Boyle (1627-91), Joseph Black (1728-99), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) and finally to the miracle of modern chemistry. But they also gave important impulses to European cultural history; it may suffice to mention Jakob Böhme, the Rosicrucians, Novalis and Goethe (see K. R. Gray, *Goethe, the alchemist. A study of alchemical symbolism in Goethe's literary and scientific works*, Cambridge 1952).

This concise historical survey makes it clear that Arabic alchemy holds a key position in the development of chemical thinking as a whole. However, in glaring contrast to its importance, it has been regrettably neglected by research until now. Most of what historians of science have written on the Arabic alchemists is second-hand, based on obsolescent literature and disfigured by gross errors. A vast and fertile field lies here open to research; access to it, however, is not easy.

Alchemy is an extraordinary complex phenomenon which combines many divergent trends. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Asrār* exerted himself in particular to build up a sober system. The Djābir-writings contain concepts of the Ismāʿīliyya (*q.v.*) which came into existence ca. 263/877. The authors introduce also into their thinking magical, arithmological, astrological and biological reflections. The hermetic writings and those of Ibn Umayl are marked by gnosis, others are coloured by strong mysticism. So it becomes understandable that Ibn al-ʿArabī (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 337) can indicate alchemy as a "natural, spiritual, divine science" (*ʿilm ṭabīʿī rūḥānī ilāhī*). As a whole, it was a natural philosophy which aimed not only at teaching the transmutation of the metals, but also at the whole connection of the world. For many scientists, however, the effort to refine matter was inseparable from purification of the soul. The alchemists expressed their insight in theoretical discourses, and also in allegorical *stoffen*, myths, visions and poems (Pseudo-Khālid b. Yazīd, Ibn Umayl, Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs). In order to protect themselves against prosecution by orthodoxy or against competitors, they used pseudonyms and availed themselves of obscure, encoded expressions. All this renders the writings apparently abstruse. It was therefore bound to happen that the "Aufklärer" counted the history of alchemy among the *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (J. C. Adelung, Leipzig 1785-9), and even in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* E. Wiedemann still remarked: "Often it cannot be understood how reasonable beings could have written such things". Only the science of religion and depth-psychology have

smoothed the way for a more justified and significant explanation of alchemy. J. Evola, C. G. Jung and M. Eliade in particular have rightly shown how alchemy is dominated by mythical, mystical and gnostic ways of thinking. There remains, however, the task of decoding the Arabic texts through exact historical-philological studies, and thus laying foundations which will no longer permit rash conclusions and approximate assertions.

Until now it has not been possible to say much about the theoretical foundations of Arabic alchemy, and even this little only incidentally. The way theories are built up differs considerably from one author to the other, and even in the corpus of writings known under the name of Djābir b. Ḥayyān and thus claiming unity, they show quite varying concepts. Hence only a few basic notions can be given here, which cannot be generally applied.

Transmutation is possible because the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of metals form only one single species (*djins*). They are differentiated only in accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) which can be proper (*dhātiyya*) or occasional (*ʿaraḍiyya*). The accidents, however, are not stable but changeable, as can be seen in nature. Indeed, the metals grow in the bowels of the earth over long periods. In a sort of maturation process they change from base into precious metals until finally they become gold. According to some scientists, this conversion comes about under the influence of the stars. The alchemist is able to hasten this process in his retorts and to achieve by his skill in one day that for which Nature needs a thousand years. The literature gives hundreds, even thousands of recipes for making gold. Basically three methods can be distinguished:

1. The first method is based on the quicksilver-sulphur theory. In quicksilver water and earth are present, sulphur contains fire and air and thus both substances together hold the four elements. When the particles of sulphur and quicksilver are mixed and enter into a close compound, the heat generates a process of maturation and cooking which result in the various kinds of metals. If the quicksilver is clean and the sulphur pure, if the quantities (*makādīr*) of both substances stand to ideal relation to one another and if the heat has the right degree (*iʿtidāl*), pure gold (*dhahab khāliṣ*, ἄβρυζον) comes into being. If before maturation coldness enters, then silver originates, if dryness, then red copper. The more disturbing factors enter, the more low grade the metals become: thus originate tin (*raṣāṣ abīḍ*), iron (*ḥadīd aswad*), plumbago (*usrub*) and antimony (*ithmid*) (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, ii, 106 ff., Kawākibī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 204 ff.). The alchemist, then, exerts himself to imitate nature. He tries to discover how much sulphur and how much quicksilver is contained in gold and how great the heat must be to bring about the maturation process. If he succeeds in establishing these conditions, he is able to synthesise gold. It should perhaps be added that "quicksilver" and "sulphur" did not necessarily mean for the alchemists the chemical elements Hg and S, but that by these terms they understood rather the basic principles of fluidity and inflammability (they speak of *zʾbaḳ rauḥānī* and *kibrīt muḥarrik*).

2. The second method is based on the doctrine of the relations of quantities (*ʿilm al-mawāzīn*) propagated by the authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum*. The alchemist tries to establish the mutual relation of the metals according to volume and weight (*ḥadjm wa-wazn*) and to construct on the ground of these data a body with corresponding volume and weight (for details of these strongly speculative doctrines, see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 287-303, ch. "La théorie de la balance").

3. The most important and most recommended method, however, consists in projecting an elixir [see AL-IKSĪR]. An elixir can be made from mineral, but also from vegetable and animal matter. It is thrown upon a base metal which precedingly has been transposed into the passive (or black i.e. without any quality) condition; it permeates it like yeast pervades dough, and transmutes it into gold which is more valuable than mineral gold.

All these theories were based on premises which could neither be proved nor refuted. Therefore no real progress could be recorded in the dispute of the Muslim scientists about the possibilities of alchemy. It was significant that among the arguments advanced against the alchemists the reference to the *de facto* failure of all endeavours played only a small part. The alchemists admitted the difficulty of their undertaking, but emphasised that it must be possible to rediscover the secret of making gold, undoubtedly known to the wise men of old. The dispute was above all enacted in the theoretical field. Philosophical and theological arguments were put forward and conclusions based on analogy were often drawn.

ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Djāḥiẓ's [*q.v.*] standpoint towards alchemy is not completely unequivocal. He is sceptical, but poses the question whether once in five thousand years it could be possible to make gold, when the various factors, like the quality of the elements, the right period, the correct position of the stars etc. would coincide accidentally (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 374 ff.). It seems paradoxical to him that it is possible to mend glass from sand, but that it is impossible to transmute brass and quicksilver into gold and silver, although quicksilver more resembles molten silver than sand does pharaonic glass.

Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī composed the *K. Iṯbāt daʿwā ʾl-mudaʿīn ṣanʿat al dhahab wa ʾl-fiḍḍa min ghayr muʿādinihā*, a refutation of those who pretended to be able to win gold and silver otherwise than from ore. According to him mankind is unable to achieve arts which are reserved to nature. This polemic writing was immediately contested by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was of the opinion that transmutation of metals is possible because, according to Aristotle's stonebook, the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of the metals belong to only one single species (*djins*). But it was indeed extraordinarily hard to realise the transmutation, and a thorough study of logic, mathematics and natural sciences was a prerequisite. The alchemistic texts were rightly veiled by pseudonyms and symbols, because otherwise, anybody might be able to find out the secret of making gold, and gold would become useless as means of payment. This economic argument was repeated again and again by later authors (E. Wiedemann, *Journal für praktische Chemie*, clxxxiv (1907), 225 ff.; A. Sayılı, *Fārābī'nin simyanın ihtimal kabiliyetleri risalesi*, in Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten*, xv (1951), 65-79).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) worked with obvious analogies taken from metallurgy, of which he possessed a thorough knowledge. In the same way as iron and steel could reach various degrees of good quality and pureness through metallurgy, i.e. through the skill of man, in the same way man is able to make in an artificial way gold that otherwise matures in a natural way in the bowels of the earth

(*K. al-Dawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968, ab. xxxvi).

But the very assertion that man is able to imitate nature was contested peremptorily by Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī and Abū ʿAlī b. Sīnā: the alchemists were only able to make something that externally resembles the precious metals, but the senses do not perceive specific differences (*fuṣūl*) in the metals after the alchemistic operations, but only attributes and accidents (*lawāḥiq*, *ʿawāriḍ*), the substance (*djawhar*) of the base metals remains untouched (E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, *Avicennae de congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Paris 1927, 85 f; Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Shifāʾ*, *al-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*, v, ed. A. Muntaṣir *et alii*, Cairo 1385/1965, 22 f; G. C. Anawati, *Avicenne et l'alchimie*, in *Convegno internazionale 9-15 April 1969* [*Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti 173*], Rome 1972, 285-341). Because of these utterances, Ibn Sīnā became the target for the polemics of all later alchemists, in particular of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī and Aydamir b. ʿAlī al-Ḏuldakī.

With his *K. Ḥaḳāʾik al-istiṭḳāṣāt*, written in 505/1112, al-Ṭughrāʾī produced the most important writing in defence of alchemy. He meets Ibn Sīnā's objection by stating that the alchemistic processes do not absolutely create a new *differentia specifica* (*faṣl*), but that through them matter is only prepared in such a way that the *differentia specifica* which is granted to it by the Creator. Al-Ṭughrāʾī's argumentation thus takes account of the front of orthodox theologians, whose criticism found a mouth-piece in Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, Ibn Taymiyya and the latter's pupil Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 750/1349).

The latter's *K. Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda* contains a polemic of 200 pages against all secret sciences, especially astrology (see C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 33 f). Like Ibn Sīnā, he is of the opinion that the alchemists only keep up appearances, but are in fact unable to make real gold and silver. The economic argument adduced by al-Fārābī to justify the disguise of the alchemistic writings is used by Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya to refute alchemy itself: if men were able to make gold and silver, the economic order of the world, created by God, would collapse. Gold would lose its value if it were available in abundance. The social order would also be destroyed because nobody would be willing any more to be the slave of a master (J. W. Livingston, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. A fourteenth century defence against astrological divination and alchemical transmutation*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971)).

Ibn Khaldūn also shows himself an adversary of alchemy, which in his opinion is in fact only a kind of *magic* (*siḥr*). With regard to Ibn Sīnā and al-Ṭughrāʾī his point of view is even somewhat more differentiated, without however alleging essentially new arguments (see G. C. Anawati, *La réfutation de Paracelse par Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Vol. mém. A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 6-27). For this kind of polemic literature see also Abū ʾl-Barakāt Hibat Allāh b. Malkā, *K. al-Muʿtabar*, ii, Hyderabad 1358, 231-6; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, ii, Hyderabad 1343, 274-28; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (A Dietrich, *NAWG*, I (1964), no. 2, p. 106); Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 58-61; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *K. al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam*, i, Cairo 1305/1887, 9-23.

The theoretical expositions and speculations of the alchemists were partly complete in themselves, and partly completed by experiments in the laboratory. The experiences gained in such experiments gave again rise to new writings and theories. It is probable that alchemy had a greater part in the development of experimental science than medicine, pharmacology, physics and astronomy (see L. Thorndike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, i-viii, London-New York 1923-58). An important experimental achievement was the oxidation of quicksilver which had been exposed continuously to a very slow fire over forty days. Pseudo-Madjrīṭī describes the process in his *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and emphasises that the weight of the matter was the same before and after the experiment (E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 78). The furnishing of a chemical laboratory is very impressively pictured by Ibn Shuhayd (982-1026/992-1035) (see J. Dickie, *to al-Andalus* xxix (1964), 143-320). There were many apparatuses: the *uṣṭuḳūs* (Latin *alembic*), used to distil and to sublimate, the *ḳarʿ* (*cucurbit*), a receiver over which was placed an alembic (*al-anbīḳ* [*q.v.*]), melting-pots (*būṭaḳ*, pl. *bawāṭiḳ*), kilns (*tannūr*, pl. *tanānīr*, Latin *athanor*) to generate high temperatures, phials (*binnīna*), casseroles (*ḳidr*, *ṭindjīr*), pans (*muḥarrada*) and mortars (*hāwān*). Many apparatus are named after their alleged inventors, like *aṯāl Fīthāghūras*, the "oven of Pythagoras", the *ḳarʿ Zūsīm*, the "pit of Zosimos" and the *ḥammām Māriyā*, the bain-marie (see A. Siggel, *Verzeichnis der Apparate und Geräte, die in arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften vorkommen*, in *Deutsche Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Institut für Orientforschung, no. 1, Berlin 1950, 91-100, E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemical equipment*, in Ch. Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1956, 731-52).

With such apparatus, vessels and ovens the procedures (*tadābīr*), i.e. certain chemical processes, were achieved. The methods of these procedures were essentially the same as those of Greek alchemy, and most of the Arabic *termini technici* see translations of Greek notions. The "solution" (*ḥalāl*, λύσις) of a matter is achieved by water, acids or lyes, the "putrefaction" (*taʿfīn*, σῆψις) is a process of decomposition furthered by water. Distillation and sublimation are indicated with *taṣʿīd* and *tadbīr*, calcination with *tahlīl*. A substance is consolidated and fixed by *tadjmīd* and *tathbīt*. "Blanching" (*tabyīḍ*, λεύκωσις) indicates the making of silver, "reddening" (*iḥmār*) the making of gold. Many alchemists, however, use these and many other expressions only symbolically or in a completely different meaning for fear that they might reveal their secret. Thus the understanding of alchemical texts is made extraordinarily difficult.

Since the alchemists were obliged from the earliest times to keep their esoteric knowledge secret (see *Papyrus Leidensis*, ed. C. Leemans, Leiden 1843, i, 10, ὃν ἀποκρύφῳ ἔχε ὡς μεγαλομυστήριον, μηδένα εἰδέναι), they used innumerable "pseudonyms", not only for the processes but also for the matters and elixirs. The same matter was often indicated with dozens of different names, and conversely, one and the same name was used to design different matters. Those pseudonyms also have a Greek tradition. Thus the names of the planets serve as designations of the metals: *al-shams* is gold, *al-ḳamar* is silver, *al-mirrīḵ* is iron, etc. Certain words contain the characteristics of a matter: *al-farrār* "the fugitive" is quicksilver, *al-aḥmar* "the reddish" is copper. Often names of animals are used: *al-ʿuḳāb* "the eagle" may designate sal ammoniac, *al-ʿaḳrab* "the scorpion" and *ʿunuḳ al-ḥayya* "the snake-neck" may stand for sulphur, *ḥimār al-ḥabāʾ* "the peacock of the Egyptian temple" for copper. The

meaning of such pseudonyms varied from one author to the other and from one workshop to the other, they had no general validity.

The first endeavours to solve this lexical problem were undertaken by the Arabs themselves: they composed glossaries or added to bigger theoretical works lists in which the meaning of the pseudonyms was explained. But the value of these lists is small. Only careful critical editions and competent lexicographical revisions of the sources may enable us to travel further in this thorny field, but in not a few cases it will probably be impossible to uncover now the original meaning of the alchemical recipes.

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(M. ULLMANN)

KIHĀ [see KUHĀ].

KINALIZĀDE, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN 'ALĪ ČELEBI (916-6 Ramaḍān 979/1510-22 January 1572), Ottoman scholar. His grandfather, 'Abd al-Kādir from Isparta, was one of the tutors of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, while his father was the *Kāḍī* Amr Allāh, known also as a poet. His grandfather used to dye his beard with henna, hence was by-named *Ḥinālī* ("the one with henna"). This nickname was applied to other members of the family as well. Kinalizāde 'Alī was born in Isparta in 916/1510 where he had his elementary education. His first tutor was one of his relatives, the *Kāḍī-'asker* Ḳadrī Efendi. Then, he went to different *madrasas* and completed his education under such scholars as Ma'lūl Emir, Sinān, Merḥabā, Kara Šāhi, and Čiwizāde Muḥyi al-Dīn. In 948/1541, he was assigned by the *Shaykh al-Islām* Abu 'l-Su'ūd (Ebüssu'ūd) to the *madrasa* of Ḥusām al-Dīn (the Ḥusāmiyye) in Edirne as *müderris*. He next taught in the *madrasas* of Ḥamza Bey and Well al-Dīn-oghlī Aḥmed Pasha—both in Bursa—and in the two *madrasas* of Rüstam Pasha, one in Küṭāhya and the other in Istanbul, and in *madrasas* of Khāṣṣeki and Semāniyye, also in Istanbul. In the year of 966/1559, when the construction of the *madrasas* of the Süleymāniyye Mosque was completed, he was assigned to one of them as *müderris*, thereby reaching the highest of the academic ranks. In Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja 970/July-August 1563, he was appointed as *kāḍī* of Damascus to succeed Ḳurd Čelebi. He remained in Damascus nearly four years, after which he was appointed to Cairo and then to Bursa. Two years later he was appointed *ḳaḍī* of Edirne, after which he became *kāḍī* of Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, in Muḥarram 979/June 1571 he became *Kāḍī 'asker* of Anatolia. This same year, while in Edirne with Selim II, he died (6 Ramaḍān/22 January 1572) from an attack of gout, a complaint he had contracted during his earlier residence in Edirne. His funeral, attended by many of the statesmen and scholars of his time, took place at the Eski Djāmi', and he was buried in the so-called Nāẓir cemetery on the road to Istanbul. In his youth, 'Alī Efendi was famous for his memory and knew by heart numerous *ḥadīths* and poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He was versed in most of the branches of the knowledge of his time, including mathematics, astronomy and rhetoric, and while in Egypt his mastery of the Arabic language was admired by all. His son, Ḥasan Čelebi, informs us that he wrote marginal notes to the *Ḳashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī and that he corrected other versions of these manuscripts. According to his son's *Tedhkiret al-shu'arā'*, 'Aṭā'ī's *Dhayl al-Shaḳā'ik* and *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*, his works may be summed up as follows: (1) the *Aḥlāḳ-i 'Alā'ī*, his most famous work and an important source for the study of Ottoman culture. He completed this work on 25 Ṣafar 973/21 September 1565 when he was the *kāḍī* of Damascus and dedicated it to 'Alī Pasha, the *Beglerbegi* of Syria, hence its title *Aḥlāḳ-i 'Alā'ī* (For an analysis of the work and its sources, and in particular for its dependence on the *Aḥlāḳ-i Naṣīrī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī cf. the article by A. Adnan-Adivar in *IA*, iv, 710-11); (2) his *Dīwān*, which includes his poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian; (3) the *Ḥāshiya-yi tadjrīd*. He taught *tadjrīd* when he was *müderris* at the Hamza Bey Madrasa at Bursa, and wrote these marginal notes at that time; (4) *Ḥāshiya-yi Durar u ghurar al-aḥkām*; (5) the *Kitāb al-Karāhat min al-Ḥudūd*; (6) *Risālatan fī ḳaḍā al-waṭar*, written as a reply to Shāh Meḥmed Čelebi who had criticised one of his *fatwas* when 'Alī Efendi was *ḳāḍī* of Edirne; (7) the *Es'ilat*, (8) the *Risāle al-sayfiyya wa 'l-ḳalemiyya*; (9) the *Ḥāshiya 'alā Ḥasan Čelebi li Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*; (10) his *Münsha'āt*;

(11) the *Hâşiye-yi Kashshâf*; (12) the *Hâşiye-yi Beydâwî*, (13) the *Tahshît-i Hanafiyya*, (14) the *Sharh-i Kaşîde-yi Burde*.

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KİNALİZÂDE, Hasan Çelebi (953 12 Shawwâl 1012/1546 24 March 1604), Ottoman scholar and biographer. He was born in Bursa where his father 'Alî Çelebi (see the preceding article) was *müderris* at the Hamza Bey Madrasa. He first followed the lectures of Nâşır-zâde Ramaḍân Efendi, who was *müderris* between 967/1560 and 973/1562 at the Yeñi 'Alî Pasha Madrasa founded by Semiz 'Alî Pasha in Istanbul. Afterwards he became a student of Abu 'l-Su'ûd (Edhsuw'ûd) Efendi. He began his career in 975/1567 as a *müderris* at Bursa. One year later, upon the assignment of his father as *ķâḍî* of Edirne, he was transferred to the Çukhâdâr Mâḥmûdî Madrasa as a *müderris*. Later he became *müderris* at the Sulṭânıyye Madrasa in Bursa, after which he taught at several *madrasas* in Istanbul, ultimately attaining an appointment to the Süleymâniyye. In Djumâdâ al-Âkhir 998/April 1590 he was appointed *ķâḍî* of Damascus, following which he received the *ķaḍa'*s of Cairo again, Bursa, Gallipoli, Eyyûb and Eski Zaghra respectively. While in the last post he became ill and returned to Istanbul. He then requested and received the *ķaḍâ'* of the small town of Reshîd in Egypt, where he died shortly after his arrival. Although credited with several minor works, his fame rests on his biographical dictionary of the Ottoman poets, *Teşhîrat al-shu'arâ'*, the autograph of which is in the Library of Istanbul University (TY 1737). This is the fifth work in this genre after those by Sehî, Latîfî, 'Ahdî and 'Âşhik Çelebi. Though completed at 994/1586, his own copy shows later revision and corrections. It is dedicated to Murâd III and includes three sections: the first devoted to the *sulṭâns*, the second to the *shehzâdes* and the third to poets proper, most of whom are also mentioned in previous *teşhîrs*. Hasan Çelebi made use of the *teşhîrs* of *Latîfî* (*q.v.*) and, in particular, that of 'Âşhik Çelebi. As may be seen from the alterations in his autograph, his method was to adopt the information given by these two predecessors, recasting it in his own individual, elegant style. However, he sometimes criticises their views on the merits of certain poets and advances his own opinions. The information he has to give about the poets and scholars with whom he was personally acquainted gives his work a particular value.

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(Mehmed Çavuşoğlu)

KINĀNA 2. Khuzayma, an Arab tribe, genealogically related to Asad (b. Khuzayma) (*q.v.*). The territories of Kināna were around Mecca from the Tihâma on the south west, where they were next to Hudhayl, to the north-east where they bordered on Asad. There were six main subdivisions of the tribe, though more are sometimes mentioned: al-Naḍr (or Kays), the ancestor of Kuraysh (*q.v.*), which is reckoned a separate tribe; Mâlik; Milkân (or Malkân); 'Âmir; 'Amr; 'Abd Manât. The latter was further subdivided. Bakr b. 'Abd Manât was a strong group, and included as parts Mudlidj, al-Du'il and Layth, as well as the more independent Damra. Ghifâr (*q.v.*) is sometimes reckoned to Damra and sometimes said to be Ghifâr b. 'Abd Manât. Al Ḥârith b. 'Abd Manât was the main part of the Aḥâbîsh (see Ḥabash, end), who were probably a collection of small groups without common ancestry (named as 'Adal, al-Kâra and al Dich, all of B. al Ḥân b. Khuzayma, together with B. al Muṣṭalik of Khuzâ'a and sometimes B. Lubyân of Hudhayl).

History. At an early date Fihr, the common ancestor of all Kuraysh, was leader of Kināna when they defeated a Himyarite force. His descendant Kusayy (*q.v.*) had the help of men of Kināna in the fighting which gave him control of Mecca, and his position was consolidated by the arbitration in his favour of Ya'mar b. 'Awf of Layth, though most of Bakr b. 'Abd Manât opposed Kusayy. In the wars of the Fidjâr (*q.v.*) the "day of Nakhla" resulted from the killing of a Kilâbî by al-Barrâḍ b. Kays, a man of Damra rejected by his tribe but protected by al-Du'il, and a *ḥalîf* of Ḥarb b. Umayya (of Kuraysh). In general, Kināna, including Bakr, supported Kuraysh against Hawâzin, but some parts of Bakr continued to feel hostility towards Kuraysh, especially after the chief of Bakr was killed in revenge for a *youth* of Kuraysh. Because of this matter Kuraysh hesitated before setting out for Badr in 624, until a man of Mudlidj guaranteed that Bakr would not attack them from the rear. After this, however, Bakr supported Kuraysh against Muḥammad, and it was an attack by Bakr on Muḥammad's allies of Khuzâ'a which led to his conquest of Mecca in 630. In his force on this occasion Muḥammad had men from Ghifâr, Damra and Layth. Little is heard of the movements of Kināna after this. A prominent member of the tribe, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alî (*q.v.*), is known as a supporter of 'Alî, and is incorrectly alleged to be the founder of Arabic grammar. In 230/844-5 al-Ṭabarî mentions some Kināna as still near Mecca but apparently weak. They are also recorded in the Ḥawrân, and, in the 6th/12th century, in Upper Egypt and the western delta.

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(W. M. Watt)

KINĀYA (A.), a technical term of rhetoric corresponding approximately to "metonymy" and meaning the replacement, under certain conditions, of a word by another word which has a logical connection with it (from cause to effect, from containing to contained, from physical to moral, by apposition etc.) Etymologically, this term implies a sense of dissimulation found also in the word *bunya* (*q.v.*), which is considered by such a grammarian as al-Mubarrad (*Kâmil*, 677) to be derived from *kināya*. *Kināya* constitutes a particular type of metaphor (*isti'âra* (*q.v.*)) and it is distinct from trope (*madjâz* (*q.v.*)) in that the latter is only to be understood if taken in its figurative sense (e.g. *ra'aynâ 'l-ghayth* "we have caused the rain to feed", where *ghayth* can only mean the grass appearing after a fall of rain). For some theorists, *kināya* covers allusion (of which the various forms are called *ta'rîḍ*, *talmîḥ*, *remz*, *ishâra*) and others, but this is not so because, if it may be

taken both in its proper and its figurative sense, it demands, if it is to be genuinely understood, an effort of imagination on the part of the listener, who may otherwise turn a deaf ear; after al Thaʿālibī, Ibn al Athīr saw fit to put together *kināya* and *taʿrīḍ* in *nawʿ* six of *al Mathal al sāʾir*, so as to condemn the errors made by his predecessors in this regard and to make plain the differences which exist between the two concepts. On the other hand, euphemism, antiphrase and other methods of dissimulation of a more popular nature are to be included under the heading of *kināya*.

In general, if we are to follow Ibn al Athīr, *kināya* describes a word or a group of words which may be interpreted either on their literal or figurative sense and are used to replace other words which are to be rejected, sometimes simply for considerations of style, sometimes out of respect for decency, avoiding the use of words likely to shock or judged to be of bad omen; a logical relation must however exist between the literal and the figurative, the *kināya* and the *mukinī ʿanhu*.

Thus is not the place to examine the other definitions proposed by the theorists and to take into account their disagreements regarding classification and nomenclature. We will simply observe that al Sakkākī distinguishes three types: (1) *tamthīl* or assimilation of one thing to another (e.g. *naḳī al-thawb* "clean of clothing" meaning "exempt from moral vice"). (2) *radf* "implication", a term which Ḳudāma (*Nakd*, 88) invariably uses to the exclusion of *kināya* (e.g. *ṭawīl al-nadjādī* "with long crossbelt", meaning "tall in stature', because the one cannot go without the other), in certain cases it is by a series of implications, more precisely of *ridf*s "pillion-riders" that the intended sense is reached (*kathīr al-ramād* "having a great quantity of ash" to express generosity, hospitality: in fact the abundance of ash implies successively abundance of fire, then of wood and of cooking for a large number of guests). (3) *mudjāwara* "proximity" or "association" (e.g. the container for the contained *ruḳāḳa* "bottle" = "wine").

Studies and chapters devoted to *kināya* contain first a number of quotations from the Ḳurʾān and from *ḥadīth*s which may be interpreted as metonomies; thus LXXIV, 4 *wa-thiyābaka fa-ṭahhir*" and your clothing, purify" where *thiyāb* may be understood as meaning the soul, behaviour etc. Another characteristic example is provided by XXXVIII, 22/23: *la-hū tisʿun wa-tisʿūna naʿdjatun wa-lī naʿdjatun wāḥida*, which is translated as "he has ninety-nine sheep and I have only one sheep", but where some, influenced no doubt by popular usage according to which the wife is called *naʿdja* (al-Dībādjī, *Bukhalā*ʾ, 23, tr. Pellat, 42, *Hayawān*, i, 222), see a *kināya*. There seems little purpose in providing extensive examples of the ways in which the followers of allegorical interpretation (*taʾwīl*) can take advantage of this concept of *kināya* in order to justify all kinds of daring interpretations.

It must be said that the *fuḳahāʾ* themselves are sometimes obliged to take it into account where they have to use verses directly concerning the *Sharīʿa*. This is the case for example with *IV*, 46/43, *V*, 6/6 where two *kināya*s appear: *aw djāʾa aḥadun min al-ghāʾiṭi aw lāmastumu 'l-nisāʾ* "if one (of you) has come from the place hidden from view or if you have touched women", then washing is obligatory; *ghāʾiṭ* comes to mean latrines, then excrement, and *lāmasa* may be taken in a literal sense of "touching" or in the figurative sense of "having sexual relations with a woman", as this verb is of a type which provokes discussions. Another notable example is the text which demands, for the application of the legal penalty to the forniciator, the presence of witnesses testifying that they have seen *al-mil fī 'l mukḥula* "the needle in the container for kohl"; but here the context leaves no doubt as to the true sense of the expression.

In these last examples it is a case of euphemisms whose purpose is to "palliate the ugly" (*takṭīn al ḳabīḥ*), as al Thaʿālibī says (*Kināyāt*, 55), and it is the examples of this genre that the authors most often quote, borrowing them from the Ḳurʾān, from *ḥadīth*s, from poetry, generally they concern woman, the sexual organs, defecation, various forms of uncleanness and everything which is of bad omen. Some *kināya*s testify to great finesse, notably that quoted by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 350-4 = § 2550), where in a letter addressed to al-Rashīd, the word *khayzurān* 'bamboo', but also the name of the caliph's mother, is replaced by *ḥadīda*. Others how ever are criticised, notably the use of Abū Aws to describe a stone (*ḥadjar*), because the father of Aws was called *Ḥadjar* (al ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 370). There was thus ample scope for the making of puns, and the humorists did not hesitate to take advantage of this.

In the introduction to the *Kitāb Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l ghilmān*, al Djāḥiẓ makes fun of the hypocrites who cover their faces upon hearing a crude word, recalling that the most pious of the Muslims and the Prophet himself did not hesitate to use such words, and he adds that these words were created in order to be used and that it would be necessary to withdraw them from the Arabic language if one were not allowed to speak them. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (i, 33), he notes the unwillingness of his contemporaries to use the specific term for excrement and their habit of utilising a number of euphemisms to describe latrines: *makhraḏ*, *madhhab*, *ḥalāʾ*, *bayt al-khalāʾ*, *mustawdaʿ*, and excrement *radjīʿ*, *ṣibl*, *ghāʾiṭ*, others could be added to this list. An anecdote probably invented for specific purposes figures in several sources (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 330-3 = §§ 3430 s; al-Thaʿālibī, *Kināyāt*, 32; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ed. Cairo 2314, ii, 270-1, of Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 213-6, etc.) a man is the victim of a joke in bad taste, in that he is asking for the latrines and appealing to a group of singing girls who pretend not to understand him. He tries one by one about eight different terms supposed to belong to various regions of the Arabic speaking world (but the variants are too numerous to permit the drawing up of a linguistic map on the basis of this anecdote), to the words quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ we may add here at least *kanīf*, *mustarāḥ* and *murḥāḍ*.

In this regard, W. Marçais (*Euphémisme*, 395-6) comments that in classical Arabic "the plurality of nomenclature sometimes contrasts with the simplicity of the items described. If the latter are by nature liable to shock, one's tendency is to attribute this discrepancy between names and ends to the practice of euphemism." It is quite possible in fact that, independent of dialectical variants, the abundance of synonyms is sometimes due to the listing, by the lexicographers, of euphemistic terms whose origin is not indicated. It is thus for example that Ibn Mamdūḥ lists, according to Ibn Khālawayh, eight verbs meaning "to menstruate" (s.v. root *ḥ y ḍ*): *ḥāḍat* can in fact be replaced by: *nafisat*, *darasat*, *ṭamithat*, *ʿarikat*, *ʿakarat*, *ʿāḍat* and *ṭamat*.

It is not impossible that certain of the euphemisms which figure in the dictionaries belong to the language

of slang, but it is not always easy to determine the degree of decency of such and such a term of which the satirists make considerable use. In this connection, we quote only one epigram of *Di'bil* (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 204) where the sixth verse contains the word *ṭiṭṭikha*, "cucumber" the sense of which is all the more readily understood because of the appearance in verse four of *tisʿīn* "ninety" which means the anus. This last *kināya* is borrowed from dactylonomy (*ḥisāb al-ʿuḳūd* [*q.v.*]), which supplies a large number of less obscene examples (e.g. "93" or "99" = miser"), see now Ch. Pellat, *Textes arabes relatifs à la dactylonomie*, Paris 1977, 22-2 and passim.

As a result of its undeniable expressiveness, to which the numerous examples cited by rhetoricians bear witness, the *kināya* preserves all its force in colloquial Arabic, for not only do slang expressions abound here, but also convention demands a strict caution in circles where superstitious sentiments to be strong. To antiphrase (*ḍidd*) "clear seeing" for "blind", already found in the *nasab* of Abū ʿĀʾit al-Baṣīr [see AL-BAṢĪR], who lost his sight; with this may be compared Ḳurʾān, XI, 89/87, *innaka la-anta ʾl-ḥalīmu ʾl-rashīd* "truly you are long suffering and just", which must be interpreted in the contrary sense), to designation by a verb without subject *ḥāṣat shayḥa Laylā* "the situation was lamentable"), by an adverb or a pronoun (*ʿand hā hādā* "the is having her menstrual period", cf. in a verse of Abū Nukhayla, *Aghānī*, xx, 382, *barrahtu-hā*, where the pronoun refers to an obscene word not expressed (likewise *aḍrabu-hu*, in Yākūt, *Irshād*, xvi, 209, l. 3 from bottom), and to euphemism pure and simple (in Morocco, *fākhir* "glorious" to describe coal (*faḥm*) because of its black colour), there are to be added voluntary alteration (*tasʿīd* [*taʿsīd*] "you shall be happy" for the number "nine" because *taʿsa* also means "you shall be a beggar"), borrowing from other languages (the Turko-Persian *shāhsen* for "Istrhsen"), the refusal to specify ("those who are not to be named" = the *ḏjinn*) and other procedures. On this subject, one can only refer to W. Marçais, *Nouvelles observations sur l'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghrébins*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves* of Brussels (*Mélanges Isidore Lévy*), xiii (1953), 333-38. For Berber, see E. Destaing *Interférences de vocabulaire en berbère*, in *Mél. René Basset*, Paris 1923, ii, 177-277.

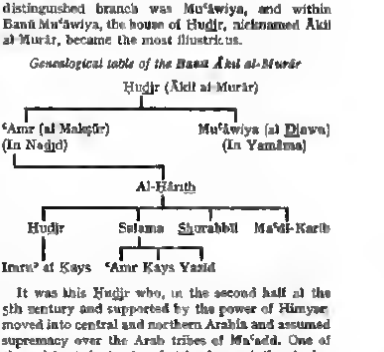
Bibliography: In addition to references given to the article, see Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, 88-90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1356/1937, 472-4, 674-8; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, passim; Aḥmad al-Durdjīnī, *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabāʾ wa-iṯmār al-balaghāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908; Thaʿālibī, *K. al-Kināyāt* no. 'l-taʿrīḍ, at the end of the preceding item; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 368-70, Salḳīnī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937, 189-96, Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vii, 59-66; Mahrao, *Rhetorik*, 42 n. See also KHAMBA, TAWRIYA and the bibl. to IṢṬIʿĀRA. (CH. PELLAT)

KINDA, a South Arabian tribal group, whose descent, real or imaginary, from Kahtān correctly identifies them as Arabs and distinguishes them, as it does the Aad, from Ḥimyar and other ante-Arab inhabitants of South Arabia. The tribe spread all over Arabia in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., from the south to the centre to the north, and played a decisive role in the military, political, and cultural history of the peninsula before the rise of Islam.

1. The pre-Islamic period.

From Kinda (a *laḳab*, nickname for Thawr) are descended Muʿāwiya and Ashras, and from the latter are descended al-Sakūn and al-Sakāsik. The more distinguished branch was Muʿāwiya, and within Banū Muʿāwiya, the house of Ḥudjr, nicknamed Ākil al-Murār, became the most illustrious.

Genealogical table of the Banū Ākil al-Murār



It was this Ḥudjr who, in the second half of the 5th century and supported by the power of Ḥimyar, moved into central and northern Arabia and assumed supremacy over the Arab tribes of Maʿadd. One of the celebrated *Ayyām*, battle days of the Arabs, Yawm al Baradān, involves him with Ziyād b. al Ḥabūla, the Salīḥī client-king of Byzantium. It was his descendants, the Banū Ākil al-Murār, that dominated the political and military scene in Arabia for almost a century. He was succeeded by his son ʿAmr, nicknamed al Maksūr, while his younger son Muʿāwiya (nicknamed al Djawn) ruled over al Yamāma. Neither was distinguished, and it was his grandson, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, who became the best-known member of the house, an international figure known not only to the Arabs of the peninsula but also to Persia and Byzantium and to their Arab clients, the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids. Around 500 A.D. his two sons, Ḥudjr and Maʿdī-Karib, mounted an offensive against the Byzantine border and in 502 A.D. the Empire had to conclude a peace treaty with al-Ḥārith. For a short time he ruled over Ḥīra, adopting Mazdakism during the reign of the Persian king Kawād. Then leaving al-Ḥīra, he went over to the Byzantines, who assigned to him a phylarchate in Palestine, but he quarrelled with Diomede, the *dux* of that province, and fled to the desert where he was killed in 528 A.D. either by the Lakhmid Mundhir or by a member of the tribe of Kalb.

Al-Ḥārith had divided the Arab tribes of Maʿadd among his four sons, Ḥudjr, Shurahbīl, Salama, and Maʿdī Karib. After his death, rivalries broke out among them and brought about a bloody engagement, the first day of al-Kulāb, in which Shurahbīl was killed. Then the tribe of Asad rose against Ḥudjr and killed him. It was at this juncture, after the violent death of al-Ḥārith when the power of Kinda was in disarray, that Byzantium sent its two diplomats, Jubān and Nonnosus, in. 530 A.D., to Ḥimyar, Ethiopia, and Kinda for an alliance against the Persians. The services of Kinda were indispensable, and Byzantine diplomacy was finally able to compose differences between the Ḥimyarīs and the Kindīs by withdrawing Ḳays (probably the son of Salama) from central Arabia and arranging for the division of his dominion between his two brothers, Yazīd and ʿAmr. Ḳays visited Constantinople and was given a command in Palestine.

In the second half of the 6th century, the power of Kinda in central and north Arabia was clearly disintegrating. In addition to the fratricidal wars among the sons of al Ḥārith in Nadjd, the Banū

'l Dīawn branch in al-Yamāma allowed themselves to be involved in the inter tribal feuds of Tamīm and 'Āmir; these resulted in the two battles of Shi'b Dibāla and Dhū Nadjab, which proved disastrous to the Banū 'l-Dīawn. So precarious had the position of Kinda become that the tribe, according to the sources, decided to go back to its original home in Hadramawt.

A century or so of rule over such a vast area in the Arabian peninsula calls for an assessment of the role of Kinda in Arab history. (1) The dominion of Kinda represents the first attempt, however forcible, to impose unity on the tribes of central and northern Arabia, but this unity could not have been achieved without the support of Himyar. (2) Kinda brought from the Himyarī South a tradition of sedentary life; it ruled the Arabs from such urban spots as Ghamr Dhī Kinda, Baṭn Ākil, and Hadjar. (3) The house of Ākil al-Murār adopted Christianity, and must have been an important factor in disseminating it to central and northern Arabia. The most important Arabic Christian inscription of pre-Islamic times, commemorating the erection of a church in al Hīra, is that of Hind, daughter of al-Ḥārith b 'Amr; and the Banū 'l-Dīawn must have done their share in spreading Christianity in al-Yamāma. (4) Kinda contributed towards the spread of literacy among the Arabs and one Bishr b 'Abd al Malik (from the Sakūn) is said to have learnt the art of Arabic writing in al-Ḥīra and to have taught it in Mecca, where he settled and married a sister of Abū Sufyān. (5) Kinda's greatest contribution, however, to the cultural life of the Arabs was Imru' al-Kays [*q.v.*], the foremost poet of pre Islamic Arabia. Through him and through the unification of the Arab tribes for a century, Kinda accelerated the development of a common and standard Arabic language, transcending dialectal differences, a circumstance that attained its fullest significance with the rise of Islam.

While the Banū Ākil al-Murār were making history in the Fertile Crescent as well as in central and north Arabia, other Kindī groups were not idle in the south, where they rebelled against, as well as fought for, the Ḥimyarīs, with whom their relations as auxiliaries and clients remained close. They fought for Ḥimyar against the Lakhmid Mundhir, against Nadjrān and the Ethiopians, and also for Abraha [*q.v.*] A measure of the military power of Kinda, in both the north and the south, is provided by the fact that of the twenty-one Dhurārīn [pl. of Dharrār, "leader of a thousand", chiliarch] of Yaman, eleven were Kindīs. Their military role in the south is evidenced by references to them in the Sabaean inscriptions (see below, Appendix).

The Arabic sources corroborate the Sabaean inscriptions on the importance of Kinda in the south and give prominence to Kays b. Ma'dī Karib, also a member of Mu'āwiya but from the family of Banū 'l Ḥārith. He was the lord of Kinda in Ḥadramawt, and is known to have adopted Judaism. Al-A'shā eulogised him and the famous al-Ash'ath [*q.v.*] was his son. Kinda is counted among the Arab tribes who adopted Judaism in pre-Islamic times, and it must have been this Kinda in the south that became Judaised. Their Judaism could possibly support the view that the Nasa'a (those in charge of intercalation in the pre-Islamic calendar) had been Kindīs before the tribe of Kināna took over the functions after one of them had married a Kindī princess.

2. The Islamic period.

Although it was in pre Islamic times that Kinda, sc. Kindat al Mulūk, "Royal Kinda", had its heyday, the tribe retained some of its power and influence in the time of the Prophet and in Islamic times. In addition to the Banū Mu'āwiya, the Aḥrāsis, especially the Sakūnīs, now come to the fore, and within the Sakūn the Tudjībīs become the most important group. The Kindīs crossed the paths of Muḥammad, the caliphs, and their governors, who enlisted their talents in the service of Islam, as is clear from the many personages listed in the pages of such works as Ibn Ḥazm's *Djamhara*. They appear at critical junctures in the history of Islam, displaying the same unruliness and spirit of independence that had characterised their tribal *ethos* in pre-Islamic times.

Al-Ash'ath b. Kays [*q.v.*] led the delegation of Kinda to Medina and accepted Islam, and so did four other Kindī chiefs, Mikhwas, Mishraḥ, Diarwad and Abḍa'a, leading another branch of Kinda (in some sources the four chiefs are associated with the Ḥadramawt delegation). Tudjīb also sent a delegation and accepted Islam. In 9/630 the Sakūnī Ukaydir b 'Abd al Malik, master of the strategic point Dūmat al-Djandal in northern Arabia, submitted to Khālid b Walīd. Perhaps the best measure of the continuing importance of Kinda in the newly emerging world of Islamic Arabia is the fact that Muḥammad contracted marriages with two, possibly three, Kindī princesses, but these do not seem to have been consummated.

After the death of Muḥammad, Kinda led a furious insurrection in Ḥadramawt, in which al Ash'ath and the four chiefs mentioned above were involved, and it was with great difficulty that the insurrection was finally put down, the four chiefs were killed, and Abū Bakr spared the life of al Ash'ath, who espoused the cause of Islam enthusiastically, fighting at both al-Yarmūk and al-Kādisiyya and later with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. Other Kindīs distinguished themselves in the conquests: Shuraḥbīl b Ḥasana was one of the three or four main commanders appointed by Abū Bakr for the conquest of al-Shām or Syria and his brother was al Urdunn, which he conquered and later governed. Al-Simṭ b. al Aswad, a member of Mu'āwiya, and al Ash'ath b. Mi'nāṣ, a Sakūnī, took part in the conquest of Ḥīra, the first is credited with the division of the city into quarters in which the Muslims settled.

It was during the caliphate of 'Uthmān that Kinda took part in what proved to be the turning point in the history of Islam, namely, the murder of the fourth Orthodox caliph. Many of the Sakūnīs had settled in Egypt, and in the rising against 'Uthmān they formed part of the Egyptian party of rebels which advanced against Medina. The weapon that actually killed 'Uthmān was wielded by a Tudjībī, Kināna b Bishr by name, and two other Sakūnīs are also associated with the murder. A memorable event in the Second Civil War of Islam is also associated with a Kindī. It was al Ḥusayn b. Numayr, a Sakūnī, whose catapults raised stones upon the Ḥaram when in 64/683 he conducted for the Umayyad Caliph, Yazīd, the siege of Mecca, during which the Ka'ba caught fire and was burnt down. More revelatory of the atavistic rhythm in the history of Kinda in Islamic times is the career of 'Abd al Raḥmān, commonly known as Ibn al Ash'ath [*q.v.*], a member of Mu'āwiya, vividly aware of his Kindī and South Arabian origins and worthy of his grandfather al Ash'ath. After exteading the boundaries of the Dār al Islām by his invasion of Zābulistān in 80-1/699 700, he raised the standard of revolt and marched against al-Ḥadjdjādj in 'Irāk, where he was

finally beaten at the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim.

It was, however, in the Islamic Occident, in far-away Spain and as late as the 5th/11th century, during the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, that the Kindīs, unruly and rebellious as ever, achieved what figures such as Ibn al-Ashʿath in the Orient had been unable to achieve, namely, the carving out for themselves of an independent political existence, however shortlived this proved to be. The Tudjībids settled in Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa), Darawḳa (Daroca) and Kalʿat Ayyūb, in which cities they ruled as they did also in al-Maryyya (Almeria), if the Banū Ṣumādih were indeed Tudjībids, as is probable. Claims made by such historians as Ibn Khaldūn that the Dhu ʾl Nūnids [*q.v.*] of Toledo and the Aftasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz were Tudjībids, do not seem to have been substantiated by recent research, which affiliates them rather to a Berber ancestry.

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(J. SIRAWAN)

Appendix. The relations of Kindā with Saba and Himyar.

Pre-Islamic Sabaean inscriptions furnish us with some useful references to Kinda in its epigraphic South Arabian form *Kdt*. Unfortunately, one of the earliest of these references is not at present securely datable, since the precise chronology of the Sabaean texts is still in dispute, however, a date in the 3rd century A.D. seems possible. This text, Ja 576 (published in full by A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqis*, Baltimore 1962), according to a recent re-interpretation offered by A. F. L. Beeston (*Notes on Old South Arabian lexicography VIII*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 446-51), depicts for us a situation to which Malīk king of Kinda was head of a confederation to which a certain Imruʾ al Ḳays b. ʿAwf, called "king of the *KHSŠT*", was a subordinate member; the latter committed an act of agression against Saba, as a result of which the king of Kinda and his *shaykh*s were forced under duress to surrender the person of the actual offender, to pay an indemnity, and to give hostages to the Sabaeans.

In two other texts of approximately similar date (Ja 660 and 665) we find Kinda and Madhḥidj, together with other bedouin groups, placed under the overall control of a Sabaean official with the title "*mkrb* of the Arabs of the king of Saba, and Kinda, and Madhḥidj etc.", and evidently acting as bedouin auxiliaries of the Sabaean army. In an inscription published by Sharafaddīn (*Yemen*, Taʿizz 1961, 44, bottom left), a mixed force of Sabaeans, Kindī Arabs and other elements, was commanded by two individuals bearing the title "*mkrb* of Saba'".

In the early 6th century A.D., the Himyarite king Yūsuf (= Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*]) was similarly employing Kindīs together with members of the Murād and Madhḥidj tribes, under the control of a Sabaean commander belonging to the Yaʿfur (in Islamic sources Yaʿfur) family, as auxiliaries in his campaigns in central Arabia: see Ry 508.7. (G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud arabes. X^e ser.*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxvi (1963), 296) from Kawkab, an isolated rock north east of the Kāra mountains and on the edge of the Empty Quarter.

In the mid 6th century, the Himyarite king Abraha [*q.v.*] claims to have installed a certain Yazīd b. Kabsha as "his *khalīfa* over Kinda", it appears that this Yazīd later revolted, but was defeated by the Himyarites and forced to renew his allegiance in the year 657 of the Himyarite era (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, iv, 542). Five years later, in 662 of the Himyarite era, Kinda was again campaigning in support of the Himyarites this time being given the particular mission of pinning down the ʿAmīr b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa tribe [*q.v.*] while the king was engaged on military operations elsewhere (Ry 506, *op. cit.*, 277).

(A. F. L. BEESTON)

AL-KINDĪ, ʿABD AL-MASĪḤ B. ISḤĀḳ, the name given to the author of a defence of Christianity presented in the forms of a letter written in response to that of a Muslim friend, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī, who invited his correspondent to embrace Islam. The names of these two characters are supplied only by al Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [*q.v.*]) in a reference that he makes in this defence in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, 209). In fact, the author of the two letters, who states to the prologue that he does not wish to mention the names of the correspondents "for a certain reason", speaks only of a Hāshimī and a Kindī. But it should also be noted that the headings of certain manuscripts supply the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ *al*-Kindī, and to be confused with the name of the first Muslim philosopher (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*])

The authorship of this defence is the object, among orientalists, of serious disagreements concerning his period and his sect. Taking as evidence the historical data supplied by the text, mention of the caliph al Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), of the sack of Mecca by Abu ʾl Sarāyā (199/815) and of the revolt of Bābak al Khurramī (201/817), W. Muir believes that the date of the composition of the letter can be fixed at 213/830. But L. Massignon believes the composition to be later than the year 300/912, seeing that the author has borrowed from al Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) his criticism of an opinion of the Ḥanbalī al Barbahārī (d. 329/940). Similarly, observing a parallelism between certain criticisms contained in the letter and in a work of the Muslim heretic Ibn al Rāwandī (d. 298/910), F. Kraus concludes that the Christian author borrowed these criticisms from the latter and therefore the letter can only have been composed at the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

As for the sect to which the author of the apology belonged, the majority of orientalists make him a Nestorian, as is moreover indicated explicitly by his Muslim friend in his letter. The fact that he himself mentions the convent (*ʿumr*) of al-Ḳarīḥ, a suburb of Baghdād, and Sābāt al-Madāʾin, near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, confirm this idea. But Massignon, considering that the distinction between the essence and

the attributes of the act is an "adaptation of Christian theology of the tenets of Islamic *kalām*", in led to identify the author with the celebrated Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 364/974). Similarly, M. Th. de Alverny, on the basis of a passage in the Latin translation which treats the Nestorians as heretics, makes the author of the letter a Jacobite philosopher who, according to a concluding passage figuring only in the Latin version and a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris B. N. syr. 204) must have composed a work against Arius.

Now the publication of the work of a Jacobite theologian of the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Rāʾiṭa Ḥabīb b. Khidma, shows that, contrary to the opinion of Massignon, this distinction between the divine attributes dates from a period considerably before that of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī since it is found in the work of Abū Rāʾiṭa, from whom the author of the letter borrowed it, as well as the whole of the philosophical-theological section dealing with the unity of God (ed. G. Graf, *CSCO*, cxxx, 5-10). As for the fact of a Nestorian author borrowing from a Jacobite a discussion of the unity of God, this is not surprising, since there was no difference of opinion between them on this point.

Similarly, the publication of the Latin version has shown that in this version, conforming to the original Arabic, the Muslim tells his correspondent that of all the Christians, the Jacobites profess the worst doctrine while the Nestorians, his friends, are closer to the Muslims (379); and it is clear that the passage in the Latin version which describes the Nestorians as heretics (423), and which is nowhere corroborated by the Arabic text, arises from the fact that the translator has "revised" the text in a "Catholic" manner (400); as for the concluding passage where there is mention of a work against Arius, it seems, judging from its context and style, that it does not belong to the original text, and that it is a later addition.

Finally, it should be noted that in a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris, B. N. syr. 205), the text of the letter of the Muslim has been revised in manner favourable to the Jacobites, the name of the Jacobite being replaced by that of the Nestorians and *vice-versa*, and the writing of the name of Cyrillos being distorted (fol. 3b).

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Presented as the work of a Nestorian Christian, a senior official at the court of al-Maʾmūn, this defence of Christianity is also a refutation of Islam, and is thoroughly documented, assessing the respective worth of the two religions from a historical and moral viewpoint. Translated into Latin in 1141, by Peter of Toledo and revised by Peter of Poitiers, the letter of al Kindī played a very important rôle, in the East as well as in the West, in the polemic between Christians and Muslims.

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(G. TROUPEAU)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF AL-TUJĪBĪ, historian of Egypt, was born on *yawm al-sabt* [10 Dhu ʾl-Ḥijja 283/18 January 897 and died on Tuesday 3 Ramaḍān 350/Wednesday, 26 October 961. He heard al-Nasāʾī, the author of the *Sunan*, when the latter lectured in Egypt, and appears to have lectured on *ḥadīth* himself. Among his teachers and historical informants, Ibn Kudayd (d. 313/924-5) seems to have been the most important one. His principal transmitters (cf. his *Judges*) was Ibn al-Nabhān (325 416/935-1025). This is about all that is known of his life. The authentic information goes back mostly to his contemporary, the historian al-Farghānī, who mentioned him in his continuation of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*; this information has fortunately been preserved in biographical notices added in Ms. Brit. Mus. add. 23, 324. The name of the town where he was allegedly born is in fact to be read *yawm al-sabt*, this shows that no independent biographical information is preserved in the notice on al-Kindī in al-Makrīzī's *Mukaffā*, reproduced by N. A. Koenig, *The history of the governors of Egypt*, New York 1908, i, n. 5.

Al-Kindī's *Histories of the* (1) *Governors* (wulāt) *and* (2) *Judges* (kuḍāt) *of Egypt* are preserved in the above-mentioned Brit. Mus. manuscript. The definitive edition, provided with a careful introduction, is that of R. Guest, (GMS xix, Leyden-London 1912, reprinted to 1964, re-edition of the *Governors* by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Beirut 1379/1959). The *Governors* end with the year 334/946, they were briefly continued in the preserved ms. for a few decades to the coming of the Fāṭimids. The *Judges* end with the year 246/861 in the preserved text, they were perfunctorily supplemented by two hands through the first third of the 5th/11th century. Both works contain important information, and are early representatives of provincial historiography. As to political history, they afford a glimpse into events on seen from outside the centre of empire. As to judicial history, they reveal a good deal about legal institutions and practices. We may suspect, however, that they do not really compensate for the loss of the older, and sadly Fāṭimid, literature on Egyptian history. In Mamlūk times, al-Kindī's works together with what was then still known of the literature now apparently lost, were much used.

Al-Kindī is further credited with works on (3) the *Mamālīk* (known from a considerable number of quotations), (4) the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt, (5) the *Khandaq* (the trench made by Ibn Ḍabḍam around Fusṭāṭ in 65/684, cf. *Governors*, 46), (6) the *Great Mosque of the ʿAbd al-Ḥikam* (the mosque of ʿAmr), (7) the *Western Continents* (*al-ʿiyūn al gharbī ya al-aḥyāḍ al-gharbiyya*), and (8) *Marwān b. al-Ḥakam*, presumably the last Umayyad caliph (unless it dealt rather with al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam). (3) and (6) may have been parts of (4). The assumption that he also wrote an independent history (see Brockelmann, in *EI*[1], s.v. *al-Kindī*) is quite uncertain.

A brief treatise on the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* was compiled by al-Kindī's otherwise unknown son ʿUmar in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. His authorship is indicated with some confusion at the beginning of the work and appears supported by the list of sources used, ending with Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī and Ibn Yūnus. Its transmitter was again Ibn al-Nabhān. Later authors took it for a work by Abū ʿUmar himself. It was first edited with a Danish

translation by J. Østrup, in *Oversigt over det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Forhandlinger*, Copenhagen 1896, 173-245. Another edition, by I. A. al-ʿAdawī and ʿAlī M. ʿUmar, appeared in Cairo in 1971 (including a reproduction of two pages of the ʿAkkā ms. supposedly dating from the 5th/11th century). Neither edition is complete with respect to the use of the available mss. material.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and Brockelmann, I, 155 f., S I, 229 f.; Sezgin, I, 358; Ḥasan A. Maḥmūd, *al-Kindī al-muʾarrikh*, Cairo n.d.

(F. Rosenthal)

AL-KINDĪ, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāk, "The philosopher of the Arabs" whose distinguished genealogy is obligingly given by the bio-bibliographers, was born before the end of the 2nd/8th century and died in about the middle of the 3rd/9th (perhaps approximately 185-252/801-66).

An eminent universal scholar and philosopher, he lived in a period of intellectual ferment in the sphere of the sciences as well as in that of *kalām*, the period of the translations, and of the controversies concerning Muʿtazilism.

He was a companion of the caliphs al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim. To the latter he dedicated notably his *On first philosophy*, and to his son Aḥmad, who was a pupil of his, he dedicated a number of other treatises. His association with these two sovereigns, plus the fact that he fell into disfavour during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (and was even deprived temporarily of his extensive library), lead one to suspect at least a tendency towards Muʿtazilism on his part. This hypothesis is supported by several passages from his known works (where there are references to the negation of the divine attributes or to the excellence of the works of God), as well as by the titles of works which are known only from the bibliographies. The latter show the extent and the variety of the work of al-Kindī, almost 250 titles (according to the *Fihrist*) concerning all the sciences cultivated in his day (these include astrology but not alchemy, which he regarded as a form of trickery), also technical subjects of particular interest to the ruling classes with whom he was associated: the manufacture of glass, jewellery, armour and perfume.

It is impossible to give a complete account of al-Kindī's thought because of the relatively small number of documents which has survived (less than 40 extant titles, as many of them philosophical as scientific, the task of editing and evaluating a number of unpublished ones is as yet incomplete). In the meantime, one can sketch the general outline, or at least note certain significant features, on the basis of the available texts.

His general philosophical position is best expressed in the introductory chapter of *On first philosophy*. Besides certain definitions and technical statements concerning philosophy, as the principles of philosophy, the four "causes", the four "scientific questions", there is to be found there what is in effect both an advertisement for, and a defence of, philosophy (it should be remembered that this treatise is dedicated to the caliph).

Taking as his inspiration, and sometimes borrowing literally from, the opening of a book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, of which he quotes a passage (without, however, acknowledging his source), al-Kindī describes the progressive accumulation of true knowledge which has come about in the course of time, thanks to the efforts of the philosophers: from this he infers that "the truth must be acquired, from whatever source it comes", and the statements of the philosophers must be re-examined and completed. He violently criticises the opponents of philosophy who attack it in the name of religion, while they themselves, he says, are without religion. The content of "the science of things and their true nature", that is to say philosophy, is identical to that of the message of the prophets: the science of divine sovereignty and divine unity, the science of morality and ethics. Finally, a brief quotation from Aristotle's *Protreptic* (again not acknowledged), according to which it is logically impossible not to be a philosopher, is followed by a prayer invoking the assistance of God in the pursuit of knowledge.

Thus al-Kindī sets forth an intellectual orientation doubly opposed to that of the traditionalists, according to him, knowledge can come from various sources and can still be expected to develop; but equally, he claims to respect the prophetic message. In precisely the same spirit his epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* compares human knowledge (*ʿilm insānī*) with divine knowledge (*ʿilm ilāhī*), whereas the first depends on prolonged effort and preparation regulated according to a precise scheme, God inspires the prophets, when He so desires, and without them having recourse to the methods of "human knowledge", with a type of revelation condensed into a few phrases whose sense the philosopher can only explain at the cost of a lengthy process of elucidation.

This position of al-Kindī's, with regard to the sciences and to philosophy, derived from various sources on the one hand, to revelation and religious speculation on the other, emerges also in some ways from the information supplied by the bio-bibliographers. These emphasise that al-Kindī had an unequalled acquaintance with the ancient sciences (Ibn al-Nadīm), that he of all the Islamic philosophers was closest to Aristotle (Ibn al-Djuldjul), that he studied in depth the various branches of Greek, Persian and Indian wisdom (Kifṭī); but also that he combined in his works the principles of the Law and those of the rational sciences (Bayhaḳī) and that he wrote an essay on *tawḥīd* according to the methods of the logicians (Ibn al-Djuldjul).

Also, in a systematic list of his works such as is first to be found in the *Fihrist*, one notes the section of "books of dialectic" or of "controversy" (*kutub djadalīyya*), many of which must have dealt with specific problems of *kalām*, such as prophecy, *istiṭāʿa*, divine unity, the creation of the body, of the atom, etc.

As regards the Greek philosophers, al-Kindī mentions by name Plato and Aristotle and hardly any others. We know on the one hand that he used the *Treatise on the heavens* of Aristotle, that he commissioned a translation of his *Metaphysics* and revised the translation of the *Theology* which was attributed to him. But careful scrutiny of his works shows that he must have been acquainted, directly or indirectly, with certain others, such as Epictetus, Proclus and probably John Philoponus; we find also echoes of the last phase of the teaching of the school of Alexandria as it is expressed notably in the writings of David. These various references to other authors and implied borrowings pose many problems, both historical and critical, which are far from being solved. Without doubt there are questions still to be asked.

The variety of these borrowings poses in addition a philosophical problem, which could only be solved by examining the entire corpus of works of our author and his precise chronology, and examining the con-

sistency and the development of his thought, and his vocabulary as well.

Without attempting to enter into the details of the philosophy of al Kindī as it is known to us, we can say that he adopted from the Aristotelian tradition a certain number of concepts (the four causes, the categories of change etc.) and of propositions (the finiteness of the world, the impossibility of a corporeal infinitude as an act, the mechanics of intellectual perception etc.), from the Platonist tradition, he takes speculation on the soul in its relationship with the body and with the divine light and on its ascent to and beyond the heavens. Parenetic and neo-mystical in this last case, his style and method are by times extremely precise, very abstract, strained, proceeding freely and methodically by means of askings and deductions of a geometrical regularity.

On the other hand, al Kindī, who ceases to follow the Greeks where they are in disagreement with the Kur'ānic revelation (i.e. with regard to the creation, and the life-span of the Universe), is interested in establishing or formulating agreements between certain philosophical ideas and certain articles of the Islamic faith, even Mu'tazilī ones

Thus the *On first philosophy*, after some reflections on the "one" and the "many", where we detect echoes of Proclus, concludes (that is to say, the first part of the book, which is all that has survived, concludes) with a kind of philosophical *tawḥīd* and with criticism of those who give attributes to God (the same theme is used in the essay *On the unity of God and finite nature of the world*). The epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* contains a philosophical commentary on verses 78-82 of Sura XXXVI and the epistle *On the lowest prostration of the body* another on verse 6 of Sūra LV.

There are other detailed references to other works which could be quoted. It would appear that al-Kindī uses the same method in his choice of language where certain words or verbal roots are common to the vocabulary of religion and to that of the Greek translations (thus he refers to God by the name of *wāḥid al ḥaḳḳ*, which is both Kur'ānic and Neo-Platonist; he uses the word *rubūbiyya*, which belongs to the language of religion, in the title of the *Theology* attributed to Aristotle). It is important to analyse these various agreements and differences at this early stage of the history of *falsafa*.

In so far as one is able to judge from the bibliographical lists and the few treatises, of various lengths, which have survived, the scientific work of al Kindī follows the same scheme as his philosophical work, viz. to revise and develop the findings of the ancient scholars in the light of new interests. He wrote essays on Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy on the astrolabe and on Hippocratic medicine; he also drew to a considerable extent on Asiatic sources, particularly for his knowledge of remedies

On the other hand he followed ideas which were specifically his own, notably in his studies of optics and pharmacology. His article on perspective (known only in Latin under the title *De causis diversitatum aspectus*) follows Euclid, though without following him blindly. Three points are set out here in succession: the rectilinear propagation of light which Euclid postulated and which al Kindī demonstrates; a theory of vision whereby the eye illuminates the object seen—this also is a Euclidean theory which al-Kindī modifies, giving three dimensions to the rays emitted by the eye (whereas for Euclid these were geometric lines), finally, a theory of mirrors. Here too, his study of burning mirrors is an adaptation, that is to say a revision, a criticism and a completion, of what Anthemios of Tralles had written on this subject.

The same method is used in the treatise *On compound medicines*. The ancients had studied the proportions of the four qualities (hot cold, dry, wet) in simple medicines. Now this method had to be extended to compound medicines, and al-Kindī takes pains to explain mathematically the relation between increasing the number of parts of each quality, and the corresponding increase in the effect of the medicine on the organism.

Al-Kindī left a few pupils (Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al Sarakhsī, Abū Ma'shar), but not a school in the strict sense of the word. It is most of all as a universal scholar and as an astrologer that he has survived (to the point that those of his works which were available in Latin, were still being read in medieval times). Ibn Khaldūn quotes him at various points in his *Muḳaddima*, but does not include him in his list of Islamic philosophers

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(J. JOLIVET - R. RASHED)

KINDĪL (see MISḤĀN)

KINKAWAR, Kankāwar, Kangāwar, a small town of western Persia (population in 1975, 13,144) situated in lat. 34°29' N., long 47°55' E., and in the *bakhsh* of the same time in the *shahristān* of Kirmānshāhān. The town is almost equidistant from the cities of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān (*qq.v.*), and lies at an altitude of 1,487 m.; it is first mentioned by Isidore of Charax under the name "Conobar". The *bakhsh* comprises (1975) four *dihistāns*, with a total of some sixty villages and a population of about 38,435. The economy of the region is based on agriculture and trade.

The Kangāwar valley has since ancient times been an important staging post and centre of communications on the great highway from Mesopotamia to the Iranian plateau, and recent excavations have established that nearby sites such as Gawrān Tappa and Sīh Gabī were occupied several thousands of years prior to the foundation of Kangāwar itself, which probably occurred in Parthian times. The important temple to the goddess Anahita, recently discovered at Kangāwar, is thought to date from the 2nd century B.C., its construction was erroneously attributed by early Muslim writers to the Sāsānid monarch Khosraw Parwīz.

In Islamic times, Kangāwar seems to have flour-

ished up in the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century. At about that time, most of the Saldjūk remains were destroyed by fire, and there seems to have been virtually no building on the site from Ilkhānid to Timūrid times, and little under the Safawids and Kādjārs.

In general, the Islamic geographers refer to Kangāwar as Kaṣr al-Luṣūs ("Robbers' Castle"). Al-Ṭabarī, i, 2849, says simply that it acquired this name because the Arab army on the way to meet the Persians at Nihāwand (21/642) had some of its baggage-animals stolen there. Centuries later, this reputation of the people of Kangāwar still prevailed; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-kulūb* (ed. M. Dabīrsiyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957) states that they were "first-class thieves" (Le Strange's translation in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 107, is inaccurate). From the name Kaṣr al-Luṣūs derived the *nisba* "Kaṣrī" (see Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 450).

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(R. M. Savory)

KINNASRĪN, an ancient town and military district in Syria, the name is of Aramaic origin and appears as Kennesḥrin in the Syriac texts. Composed of *knnā* 'nest' and *nasrin* "of eagles", it is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmūd in the form of Kannishrayyā and the European historians of the Middle Ages called the area Canestrine. A distinction must be drawn between the town and the *djund*.

i. The town. At the present day, Kinnasrīn is nothing more than a little village surrounded by ruins, a day's journey to the south of Aleppo, on the right bank of the Kuwaykh which flows into the nearby marshy depression of *al-Matḥ*. The Arab geographers place it in the fourth climate. Yāḳūt, who gives various explanations for the origin of the name, says that the place was already populated in the period when the Amalekites, coming from the south, sought refuge there, and that the town had once been prosperous and strongly fortified, but that in his time (beginning of the 7th/13th century) it was nothing more than a village, owing its survival to its position in the centre of a district where a number of highways converged. In ancient times the town, founded by Seleucus Nicator, was called *Chalcis ad Belum*, and gave its name to the Syrian-Arab *limes*. In the 4th century A.D. Kinnasrīn was a commercial centre and a prosperous agricultural market-town.

Set at a highway intersection and with a much-frequented *khān*, the town occupied an important position in the defensive system of the Syrian frontier from Antioch to the Euphrates and from the *ḥamad* toward Tadmur. It played a strategic role of some importance for the Byzantine empire and at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century A.D. it came under attack from the Persians.

After their victory on the Yarmūk [*q.v.*], the Muslim Arabs went on to conquer northern Syria. At Kinnasrīn, the garrison of local militia offered some resistance to the troops of Abū ʿUbayda, [*q.v.*] and in Shaʿbān 17/August-September 638, the town was taken. Under the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, the town's defences were dismantled. Profiting by the experience of the Byzantines, the Umayyads, in their turn, installed a military headquarters at Kinnasrīn, which rapidly became the capital of the rich agricultural region of which it was the centre. Until the 4th/10th century, the history of the town was not marked by any event of importance.

In 331/943, it was one of the most solidly constructed localities of the region. Two years later, in the spring, the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla was defeated there by the troops of the Ikhshīd of Cairo. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, Kinnasrīn became the object of contention in the struggle between the Byzantines and the Ḥamdānids. At the approach of the Byzantines, in 352/963, the inhabitants fled from the city in panic. After the Ḥamdānid period, Kinnasrīn began to decline to the benefit of Aleppo. In 355/966, when Nicephorus Phocas advanced against Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla fell back upon Kinnasrīn, but being unable to defend it, he evacuated the town and the Byzantines came and burned the mosques. Part of the population settled in the East of the Euphrates and the rest took refuge in Aleppo. Shortly after, the town was repopulated, but in 389/998 it was burnt down and reconstructed once again. In 422/1050, it was again sacked by the Byzantines. Rebuilt at the end of the 5th/11th century by Sulaymān b. Kutulmush [*q.v.*], it was destroyed by his enemy Tādj al-Dawla Tutush, [*q.v.*] brother of the sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]. It remained virtually uninhabited. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, passing that way in Radjab 438/January 1047, saw nothing but a poor village.

In the period of the Crusades, Kinnasrīn was to play only a strategic role and was scarcely populated at all. In Muḥarram 513/April-May 1119, without occupying Aleppo, Il-Ghāzī installed himself in Kinnasrīn, made it a depot for military equipment and made raids against Ḥārim, the Rūdj and Djabal Summāḳ.

Some years later, Tughtakīn of Damascus joined forces with Aḳsunḳur and together they attacked Aleppo. Sawār, *amīr* of Aleppo in the name of Zankī, made Kinnasrīn an operational base. In 529/1134-5 Pons of Tripoli laid siege to the place, which was relieved by Zankī, arriving in haste from Ḥimṣ. The traveller Ibn Djubayr (end of the 6th/12th century) describes the town as being in a state of abandonment and ruin.

From the time of the Ayyūbid period (7th/13th century), Kinnasrīn is no longer mentioned as a town, but its *khān* is noted as a halting place for caravans journeying from Aleppo towards the south, and, beyond the crossroads of al-Aḥārib, towards the west. Pilgrims continued to make their way to Tell Nabī Mand, one of the hills of the town, to the tomb (*maḳām, ḥabr*) attributed to the prophet Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] which is in fact the burial-place of the *amīr* Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. In the Ottoman period, Kinnasrīn was nothing more than an impoverished village, bearing the name Eski Halep. At the present day, it has returned to its original name.

ii. The *djund*. Around Kinnasrīn there extends a

vast undulating plain (*ḥāra*), this is one of the most fertile regions of northern Syria where, with the aid of irrigation, cereals, fruit trees and vines are cultivated. In 375 Saint Jerome, visiting the province where at that time monasticism and asceticism were developing, testified to its agricultural prosperity.

On the horizon, there are visible to the south the Djabal Zāwiya, to the west the Djabal Barīsha, to the north the Djabal Sam'ān and the plain of Marǧ Dābik punctuated by tells, while to the east there are the shining salt marshes of Djabbūl. The Arabs penetrated at an early stage the territory of Kinnasrīn, which corresponded to one of the Byzantine administrative divisions of Syria, representing the Roman "Syria Prima" of which Antioch was the capital. In the 6th century, Arab tribes were encamped in the eastern part of the region between the Euphrates and Kinnasrīn. Among the battles which took place on this territory, one easy note the victory won in 554 A.D. near the source of the 'Uḏhayya by the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith over the Lakhmid al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra.

After the Muslim conquest, Syria was divided into four *aǧnād*, the *ǧund* of Urdunn, that of Filasṭīn, that of Dimashk and that of Ḥimṣ. The creation of the *ǧund* of Kinnasrīn is attributed by some (al-Ṭabarī and al-Dimashḳī) to Mu'āwiya, who installed refugees from Ḥaǧra and Kūfa there in 21/643, by others (al-Balāḏurī, Yāḳūt) to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, who detached some districts from the *ǧund* of Ḥimṣ.

In the 'Abbāsid period, following the conquests of al-Manṣūr and his successors, the *ǧund* grew in size towards the north, at this time it covered its greatest expanse of territory. It absorbed to the north Ḳurṭs, Tīzīn, Duluḳ, to the north-west 'Aynṭāb at a distance of two days' march, and Ḳal'at al-Rūm [*q.v.*] at a distance of five days' march from Aleppo. To the south, it included the districts of the two Ma'arras (Al-Miṣrīn and Al-Nu'mān) and of Ḥamāt, and the territory of Sarmīn.

Under the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), the *ǧund* of Kinnasrīn was deprived, to the west, of the territory stretching from Antioch to the coast, to the east, of the region lying between Aleppo and Manbiǧ, and to the north, of the *thaghūr*, districts which were to constitute the region of the 'Awāṣim [*q.v.*]. The *ǧund* was then limited to the area lying to the south of Aleppo. This was the end of its period of military importance, but economic activity continued, as is shown by the increases in taxation and in the tribute payed to al-Ma'mūn. In the 3rd/9th century, the *ǧund* of Kinnasrīn paid 350,000 *dīnārs* while that of Damascus paid only 120,000. In the mid-4th/10th century, the *ǧund* paid 400,000 *dīnārs* of *Marāṭ*, the same as Dimashḳ, and 370,000 of *ḍarāʾiba* [*q.v.*]. The capital was then Aleppo, and the principal cities Antākiya, Kinnasrīn and Manbiǧ. Its limits were to the west, the coast from Lādhiḳiyya to Bayās, to the north, Mar'ash and the 'Awāṣim, to the east the Euphrates between Sumaysāṭ and Bālis, and to the south, the region of Ḥamāt with Shayzar and Afāmiyya, a region claimed by both Kinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ.

In 349/961, Nicephorus Phocas attacked the region of Aleppo; he returned two years later to sow the ruins, and the population went in search of refuge elsewhere. The intervention of the Basileus led to the disappearance of the 'Awāṣim, to the advantage of the Byzantines who occupied Antākiya. The reconstruction of northern Syria under the Saldjūḳs scarcely touched the *ǧund* of Kinnasrīn. In the 12th century, the latter came under pressure from the Franks of Antioch, especially in 493/1100 when Bohemond demanded tribute. In Ṣafar 517/Dec. 1123, Fulk of Jerusalem and the armies of Antioch attacked the territory of Kinnasrīn and imposed a truce with the addition of tribute upon Sawār, the Aleppo representative of the *Atabeg* Zankī.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the *ǧund*, which retained its name in spite of the dominance of Aleppo, retrieved from the Franks the province of Antākiya and the lands of Sarmīn.

Under the Ottomans, in the mid-11th/18th century, Ḥādidjī Khalīfa still speaks of "the province of Kinnasrīn of which the capital is Aleppo". Later, the *ǧund* of Kinnasrīn disappeared and was integrated into the *livā'* of Aleppo

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

KINTĀR [see MAKĀYIL].

KIPČAK, a Turkish people and tribal confederation, usually also written Kipčāḳ or Kifčāḳ; the forms Kifčāḳh, Khifḍjāḳ, Kifḍjāḳh and Khifčāḳh are also found. The etymology of the name is uncertain: the origin of the Old Turkish word *ḳïpčaḳ* (*ḳïpčaḳ*), which is known only in the form *ḳïpčaḳ boot* "unlucky" (Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 581), is conjectural, as well the connection with the Sagai word *ḳïpčaḳ* "irate, ill-tempered". The proper name Kipčāḳ is recorded in the Uyghur texts. See Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 843-5. In later popular and learned etymologies (first in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin = *Trudy Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vii, 25, later in Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 19) *kipčaḳ* is connected with *kapuk* or *kobi* and explained as a "hollow tree trunk", of the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk, the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khān [*cf.* KIMĀK] and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. The relation of the tribe Kipčāḳ, emerging in the Western Siberian steppes, to the other Turkish tribes is unclear. Gardīzī (text in W. Barthold, *Otčet v poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*,

8a — ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 238) mentions the Kipčak along with the Imāk as a division of the Kimāk [see CUMAN] who lived on the Irtish, [q.v.] although the earlier anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 19a tr Minorsky, 101, § 32, comm. 315 n7) says that the Kipčak had separated from the Kimāk and dwelled to the north of the Pečenegs. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 51, l 9, and, following him, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 329, l. 3, tr. Massé 388, mention the Kipčak along with the Kimāk as a separate people. Maḥmūd al Kāshgharī, i, 273, describes the Yimāk (sic) on the Irtish as a subdivision of the Kipčak, not of the Kimāk. In another passage of the same work (iii, 22) we are told that the Yimāk are a Turkish tribe (*dhū nasab al-turk*), the same ' as we call Kipčak' (*wa hum al-ladhīna yuqālu*) the Kipčak themselves thought they were a separate branch (*thumma atraḥ baʿḍuhā ʿan-nafsihā wa-ntasaba ilayhā*). The Kimāk mentioned by Mukaddasī, 274 l. 3, at Ṣawrān must have been Kipčak. In connection with the advance of the Kipčak from north to south is the appearance (first in the 9th/12th century in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir i Khusraw; cf. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, I, 227) of the name *Dasht i Kipčak* for *Maṣṭaḥ al-Ghuzz*, cf. *ibid*, ii, 168. The Kipčak (Khifčāḳ) are already mentioned by Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 91, as neighbours of Khwārazm. According to Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 202, the Kipčak appear in history for the first time in 514/1120-1 in Ibn al-Athīr x, 390, as allies of the Georgians, according to Marquart (*ibid*, 136) the kingdom of the Kipčak was founded by people who emigrated from Manchuria in connection with the rise of the Čurčē (the Chinese Kin Dynasty), cf. thereon, P Pelliot, in *JA*, ser ii, xv 125 ff. That the term Dasht i Kipčak was also extended to South Russia is shown by the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Kazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* ed. Le Strange, 21, 238, that Dasht i Kipčak is the same as Dasht i Khazar. Altogether it seems to be sure, that in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries a loose political unit of Turkish tribes (including the Kimāk) existed under this name in the above mentioned territories. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Kipčak tribes moved to the Russian steppes, pushing the Oghuz toward the western areas of the Pontus region. [see CUMAN]. After 1064 they became the lords of these territories, which they kept until the Mongol invasion. Among the Kipčak tribes, the Kuman (called Polovtsi by the Russians and Comani by Western Europeans) were the dominant element which played an important rôle in the history of Byzantium, Bulgaria and Hungary. They are often identified with the whole of the Kipčak tribal confederation. The Kipčak in South Russia were exposed not only to the influence of Islam but also to that of Christianity; a prince of the Kipčak (Chinese Ku-ch'a) in the time of the Mongol invasion (the same prince is mentioned in Russian annals) was called George (Russ. Yuriy, hence Chinese Yü li ghi, in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 297 ff, and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 250). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Christian Kipčak of Kerč [q.v.], the so-called "Codex Cumanicus" must be regarded as a memorial of the spread of Christianity among the Kipčak. The name Kipčak survived the Mongol invasion; it was later transferred to the empire of the Golden Horde. The Kipčak military slaves, coming to the Near East, especially to Egypt, played an important rôle in the history of this area as the Baḥrī Mamlūks [see AL BAḤRIYYA and MAMLŪK]. The first exact information concerning the language of the Kipčak is due to al Kashgharī. According to his *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, ii, 253, iii, 23, the dialect of the Kipčak had the same phonetic peculiarities as the dialect of the Ghuzz, with *dh* for *y* at the beginning of a word. The first linguistic record relating to the Kipčak (Kuman) language is the Codex Cumanicus. From the Kipčak Mamlūks, several linguistic monuments are known. From the Armenians in Poland and in Ukraine, speaking a special Kipčak dialect, several literary and other documents have come down to us. One section of the Turkish languages, according to the ethnic and historical relation of these peoples to the Kipčak tribes and regions, is also called Kipčak. The Kipčak are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period like many other early names of peoples (Karluk, Uyghur, Naiman etc.) the name Kipčak is found as the name of a family or of a minor tribal unit among the Bashkir, Nogai, Kirghiz and Uzbek. The Kipčak are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf KHAṬAKĀN.

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KĪR SHEHIR [see KIRGHIR].

KIRĀʾ (A.), a legal term meaning the leasing or hiring out of things. This is a contract to every way like a contract of sale, but with this difference that a sale aims at transferring the possession of something in exchange for the sale price, whilst leasing or hiring out aims at the beneficial use or enjoyment of a thing for a fixed period to tane in return for a hiring use It is accordingly the sale of a beneficial use (*bayʿ al-manāfiʿ*) and is built around the procedure for a contract of sale The only differences are those which are inherent in the differing nature of the two contracts, but both of these come into the category of commutative contracts (*muʿāwadāt*), of which sale is the leading example. The term "commutative contract" is used in practice for all procedures (sale, exchange, loan, leasing or hiring out, settlement, etc.) in which we have the transfer of property (*milk*) or beneficial use (*manāfiʿ*) in return for the handing-over of an equivalent

The essential elements of a contract of leasing or hiring out are (a) the contracting parties, the lessor (*kārī*) and the lessee (*mukārī*); (b) the object in question (*al-maʿḳūd ʿalayh*), i.e. the thing hired out and the sum corresponding to its beneficial use (*ujūr*); and (c) the form or embodiment of the agreement (*ṣīgha*) The effects of a contract of this kind are those of a contract of sale, except for the differences arising out of the specific natures of the two contracts.

The contract is not dissolved by the deaths of either of the two contracting parties; the heirs have the power to re-negotiate the contract. Hiring or leasing can always be annulled when there is an excuse (*ʿudhr*).

The types of objects which may be leased or hired out. Whilst *ijāra* [see IJĀRA] is the hiring out of a service and of movable objects, with the exception of ships and beasts which are used for

transportation, the term *kirā'* is used for these last and for immovable property. Hence in practice, *kirā'* may be a contract for transporting something. According to Ibn 'Arafa, it is in this case the sale of the beneficial use of an animal or of something else like a ship for purposes of transport. But the transporting of objects must be distinguished from the transporting of persons. Mālik sees there a *locatio operis*. Other Mālikīs pronounce in favour of a hiring out of services. The Shāfi'īs consider this contract as a hiring out of objects. But in any case, the hiring out of beasts or burden and ships (*kirā' al-ramākil wa 'l-sufun*) is perfectly admissible, whether the beasts are individually determined or not.

Hiring out can cover land (*kirā' al-arḍ*), and the leasing of rural properties existed before Islam, under two forms: (a) *kirā'* involving payment of money, and (b) *kirā'* involving the making over of a proportion of the produce of the property (*muḥāḳara*). This last form must have been the commoner one, in view of the scarcity of coinage.

The last type of hiring out of an object is *kirā' mu'abbad* or *conductio perpetua*, the lease in return for a quit rent of ancient French law. It is the equivalent of our emphyteusis or emphyteutic lease. In Egypt, this institution is known under the name of *muḳāṭa'a awwila*, in Algeria as *'anā'*, and in Morocco as *kirā' 'alā 'l-ṭābi'a*; all these names indicate the idea of a perpetual lease.

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(A. M. Delcambre)

KIRĀ'A, reading. Applied to the Ḳur'ān, *kirā'a* also means *recitation*. In the present article the term *kirā'a* is used as follows: 1. in the general sense of the recitation (*a*) of single parts of the Ḳur'ān, as prescribed for the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), or the recitation (*b*) of the entire Ḳur'ān, which has become, in the course of years, an accepted spiritual exercise (*kirā'a* = recitation), 2. to indicate a special reading of a word or of a single passage of the Ḳur'ān (*kirā'a*, pl. *kirā'āt* = variant), 3. to indicate a particular reading of the entire Ḳur'ān (*kirā'a* = reading). In the third case one speaks of the *kirā'a* of Ibn Mas'ūd or of the *kirā'a* of the people of Kūfa as opposed to the *kirā'a* of other authorities or to the redaction authorised by 'Uthmān.

The recitation of texts proclaimed by Muḥammad as revelation played from the very beginning a prominent part in the Muslim community. This is already evident from the fact that the collection of these revelations was designated as *ḳur'ān* "recitation". However, the Ḳur'ān had not yet been codified at the death of the Prophet and the form of Arabic letters used to note down single parts of it and later on the whole collection was very incomplete; in a group of consonants a choice between two or more readings was possible. Consequently, disagreements soon arose on exactly how to read the revealed text. The promulgation of a canonical redaction of the Ḳur'ān under the third caliph 'Uthmān (soon after 30/650) was intended to remedy this evil. Copies of this redaction were sent from Medina to Kūfa, Basra and Damascus, the most important cities of 'Irāḳ and Syria. After a relatively short period, this redaction seems to have been generally accepted as the official text, finally even at Kūfa where Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 33/653), the distinguished Companion of the Prophet, who maintained a "reading" of his own, had at first called upon his followers to resist.

On the whole, the text of 'Uthmān had a strong unifying influence, which was felt to an increasing extent. But a really uniform *kirā'a* was not thereby guaranteed. During recitation, which was essentially based on oral tradition, readings deviating from the official edition continued to be followed. In so far as these readings went back to recognised authorities of the early period and to trustworthy witnesses, they were also noted by commentators on the Ḳur'ān and philologists, and turned to exegetic or linguistic account. Thus variant readings of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy b. Ka'b (d. 29/649 or 34/654) and other early "readers", which deviated from the official text, were transmitted in early scholarly literature and have therefore come down to us, at least in extracts. The *kirā'a* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*d.* 110/728) was later even inserted among the "fourteen readings" (see below).

Further development was on characteristic lines. The untrammelled freedom with which the text had been treated in the earliest times was followed by a period of systematisation and limitation of the possibilities of the "readings" which the consonantal text and the oral tradition offered. However, complete unification was not achieved. People neither would nor could simply set aside the power of tradition. Thus the free choice on the *kirā'a* was limited, but not entirely forbidden. While reading the officially accepted consonantal text (already in itself constituting a limitation), the "reader" could still make a choice between a certain number of authorities. In its detail the history of Ḳur'ān reading is very complex. The scanty and sometimes unreliable sources leave much uncertain. In general, however, the course of development is clearly recognisable, thanks in particular to the penetrating studies of G. Bergsträsser (in collaboration with O. Pretzl) and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). In this article only the essential aspects will be briefly mentioned.

Important progress in the standardisation of the "reading" was achieved by differentiating the letters *b, t, th, n, y* etc. by means of strokes (later dots) and by introducing vowel signs. The redaction of 'Uthmān, being officially recognised, gained in importance by this clarification. With the passage of time, other differences were gradually eliminated. Such a levelling seems at first to have been accomplished within single cities (*amṣār*), and later on through the influence of one city on another. Majority readings tended to prevail over minority readings, thus leading towards a general consensus. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324/936), the influential *imām* of the "readers" in Baghdād, publicly and with governmental support brought this process to its logical conclusion. He banned further use of the *kirā'āt* of Ibn Mas'ūd and other unconnected readings. Ibn Shanabūdh, a contemporary and fellow reader of Ibn Mudjāhid, complied with this ban only after he had been arraigned and flogged. In addition, Ibn Mudjāhid declared the reading of the 'Uthmānic consonantal text, standardised by tradition and consensus, to be obligatory, and compelled Ibn Miḳsam, an other fellow-reader, to renounce the claim which he had maintained until that moment that he could decide for himself on the punctuation and vocalisation of the text. As authorities on the traditional reading of the 'Uthmānic text, Ibn Mudjāhid recognised seven "readers" belonging to the 2nd/8th century, among whom were 'Āṣim of Kūfa (d. 128/745) and Nāfi' of Medina (d. 169/785), whose readings have both remained authoritative

to the present day, that of ʿĀṣim in the east and centre of the Islamic world, and that of Nāfiʿ—with some exceptions—in North Africa from Egypt westwards. To the seven "readers" recognised by Ibn Mudjāhid were added later on three others, and afterwards another four, but these never attained the same standing as the first seven. Furthermore, since Ibn Mudjāhid, in mentioning ʿĀṣim—one of the Seven—had often named two others, Abū Bakr Shuʿba (d. 193/809) and Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796), who transmitted ʿĀṣim's reading independently of one another, it became customary to add also the names of two other traditionists to each of the other six and of the "Three after the Seven". Thus originated the bewildering number of names in the list of readers recognised as canonical (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 186-9, Blachère, 118 23, Bell-Watt 49 ff.).

After the readings had been limited to the "Seven" recognised as canonical, and to the other "Three after the Seven" and "Four after the Ten", all the others were eliminated in the practice of recitation. The "readers" henceforward had to keep exclusively to the canonical readings. This however did not completely rule out the uncanonical "deviant" (*shawādhdh*) readings. They were later adduced as useful evidence in the practical interpretation of the Kur'ān and in the elucidation of linguistic problems. Besides his "Book of the Seven" (*Kitāb al-Sabʿa*, ed. Sh. Dayf, see *Bibl.*) Ibn Mudjāhid also composed a "Book of deviant readings" (*Kitāb al-Shawādhdh*), which is not extant. The debate on the uncanonical *ḳirāʾāt* was carried on throughout the centuries in a scholarly literature of growing importance. Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī's (d. 316/928) *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* and Ibn Mudjāhid's works already mentioned, were followed—to cite only a few of the most important names—by the monographs on uncanonical readings of Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980) and Ibn Diʾnār (d. 392/1002), by al-Dānī's (d. 444/1053) classical manual of the Seven Kur'ān readings (verse version by al-Shāṭibī, d. 590/1194) and his works on orthography, punctuation of the vowels and other punctuation marks, by Ibn al-Djazarī's (d. 833/1429) works on the Ten readings and on the classes (*ṭabaḳāt*) of readers, and finally by al-Bannāʾ's (1117/1705) book on the Fourteen readings. For the practice of recitation, the literary tradition constituted, in contrast with early times, an almost indispensable complement to oral instruction.

The knowledge of Kur'ān-reading (*ʿilm al-ḳirāʾa*) had become a distinct theological discipline and had many practitioners, few of whom, however, wrote books on it. In this connection, it becomes understandable that the official Egyptian Kur'ān of 1924 (following the reading of ʿĀṣim in the tradition of Ḥafṣ) is not founded on early Kur'ānic manuscripts, but is the result of reconstructions derived from the literature on the readings (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 5 ff.)

In the recitation by professional "readers" (see above), a distinction is made between an incantatory, a rapid and a moderate tempo (*tartīl* or *taḥḳīḳ—ḥadr—taʾdwīr*). The manner of execution can be designated as recitation, but there are also intricate musical settings (see the studies by K. Huber and M. Talbi). The technique of reciting is laid down in detail in works on the *ḳirāʾāt*.

Special importance is attributed to the rules of pronunciation, including the theory of assimilation (*iḏghām* [*q.v.*], *idghām*), the modification of *a* into *e* (*imāla*), extension (*madd*), forms of the pause (*waḳf*) and the conservation or alleviation (*ibdāl*) of *hamza* (see O. Pretzl's analysis of a typical treatise on the *wuḳūf al-hamzaʾa*, in *Islamica*, vi (1934), 230, 291-332). The time required for private oral instruction is greatly increased by the fact that, since Ibn Mudjāhid, several different *Imams* and Schools of Readers have been officially recognised. According to a distinctive method known as "assembling" (*djamʿ*) "the Kur'ān verse is divided into small fragments, each one of which is recited as often as there are variants of it, each time with another variant" (see the instructive passage, "Koranlesungsunterricht", by Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 36-42). When the whole of the Kur'ān is recited, the separate readings must be considered as self-contained units, the "readers" are thus not free to combine the text of their recitation from different *ḳirāʾāt* (Bergsträsser, *Ibid.*, 29 ff.). These, however, are details which concern only an élite of "readers". The great mass of the *ḥuffāẓ*, consisting largely of blind men, would in any case limit themselves from the start to the study of a single reading (*Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim*, in the west *Warsh ʿan Nafiʿ*). In general, the originally large number of readings has given way in the course of centuries to a far-reaching uniformity both in the practice of recitation and in the theoretical *ʿilm al-ḳirāʾa*.

The history of the text of the Kur'ān and of the *ḳirāʾāt* has also been studied by European and American orientalists, notably Nöldeke and Goldziher, followed by A. Jeffery, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*) Important sources have been published, and separate stages of development reconstructed. Jeffery, and likewise Bergsträsser in association with Pretzl, planned an apparatus criticus for the Kur'ān. Bergsträsser and Pretzl had begun a systematic collection of photostats of early manuscripts of the Kur'ān in the hope of discovering variants not registered in the literature. Because of their untimely death (1933 and 1941), this research came to a standstill. Jeffery also died (1959) without having realised his vast project. The task, however, remains to evaluate the known and still unknown variants for the study of old Arabian dialects and in general for a future historical grammar of Arabic. Whether much will emerge to the profit of the historical interpretation of the Kur'ān remains to be seen. The harvest so far obtained by Bergsträsser and Beck is rather meagre and promises no new results of any importance. During the last years of his life, Pretzl himself had apparently "retreated from the generally high appreciation of the manuscripts and readings of the Kur'ān". August Fischer, who noted this *en passant* in a posthumous article (*Isl.* xxvii (1948), 5 f. n. 4), also cited a passage from Spitaler's obituary of Pretzl (*ZDMG* xcvi (1942), 163 ff.). In Fischer's opinion the Kur'ānic textual variants "*for the most part* (emphasis by Fischer) consist of no more than attempts at emendation made by philologically trained Kur'ān specialists on difficult passages in the ʿUthmānic redaction".

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KIRĀ'A (see TADRĪS)

KIRĀD (also *muḳārada* and *muḍāraba*, cf. below), a commercial arrangement in which an investor (*ṣāḥib al-māl*) or group of investors entrusts capital or merchandise to an agent manager (*'āmil*, *muḍārib*, *muḳārib*) who is to trade with it and then return it to the investor with the principal and previously agreed upon share of the profits As a reward for his labour the agent receives the remaining share of the profits. However, in case of a loss resulting from an unsuccessful business venture, the agent is in no way liable for the return of the lost investment. He loses his expended time, effort, and anticipated share of the profit, while it is the investor who exclusively bears the direct financial loss

The *kirāḍ* combined the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership (*sharika*), and while containing elements characteristic of both contracts, cannot be strictly classified in either category In all Islamic legal writings, it is treated as a distinct and independent contract with a separate section or book (*kitāb*) devoted to it. As in partnership, profits and risks in the *kirāḍ* are shared by both parties, the investor risking capital, the agent his time and effort. However, in the *kirāḍ*, unlike a partnership, an joint capital is formed and the investor does not become directly or jointly liable with the agent in transactions with third parties, indeed, third parties need not ever be aware of the investor's existence. As in a loan, the *kirāḍ* gainfully entailed no liability for the investor beyond the sum of money or quantity of commodities handed over to the agent; and in the event of its successful completion, the agent returned the capital plus a share of the profits (the latter, corresponding to the interest in an interest bearing loan).

The agent's complete freedom under normal trading circumstances from any liability for the capital in the event of partial or total loss and the disjunction between the owners of the capital and third parties are novel and distinctive features of the *kirāḍ* which made it a particularly suitable instrument for long-distance trade.

Although commercial arrangements resembling the *kirāḍ* were known in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world from the earliest times, it appears very likely that its direct origins were indigenous to the Arabian peninsula, having developed in the context of the pre Islamic Arabian caravan trade With the Arab conquests, it spread to the Near East, North Africa and ultimately to Southern Europe. Its introduction in the form of the *commenda* in the Italian emporia of the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D. was germinal to the expansion of mediaeval European trade The *kirāḍ* was the subject of lengthy and detailed discussion in the earliest Islamic legal compendia (late 2nd/8th century) its legal treatment in these early treatises bears the hallmark of long experience with the *kirāḍ* as an established commercial institution. Although not mentioned in the Kur'ān, numerous traditions attribute its practice to the Prophet and his leading companions (e.g. Shirbīnī *Mughnī al muḥtāj*, ii, 309, Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 18-19, Shaybānī, *Aṣl muḍāraba*, fol. 42). From the sparse indications available, it appears that this form of commercial association continued through the early centuries of the Islamic era as a mainstay of caravan and long-distance trade. In one of the very few mediaeval Arabic treatises of commerce, Dimashkī's *The beauties of commerce* (probably 5th/11th century), the *kirāḍ* is cited as one of the three methods by which trade is carried out;

Ghazālī lists it among the six commercial contracts, "the knowledge of which is indispensable to anyone seeking gain in trade" (*Ihyāʾ*, ii, 66). The documents from the Cairo Geniza (5th/11th-12th centuries) are replete with numerous examples of *commenda* agreements which account for a considerable share of the commercial activity reflected in these documents. Thus we may conclude that not only in law, but in practice as well, the *ḳirāḍ* constituted one of the most widespread instruments of commercial activity.

Three Arabic terms are used to designate this contract: *ḳirāḍ*, *muḳāraḍa*, and *muḍāraba* and the terms are interchangeable with no essential difference in meaning or connotation among them. The divergence in terminology was probably originally due to geographical factors. The terms *ḳirāḍ* and *muḳāraḍa* apparently originated in the Arabian peninsula, and the term *muḍāraba* was of ʿIrāḳī provenance. Subsequently, the difference was perpetuated by the legal schools, the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs adopting the term *ḳirāḍ* and, to a lesser degree, *muḳāraḍa*, and the Ḥanafīs the term *muḍāraba*.

As in the case of several other commercial arrangements, Islamic law justifies the licitness of the *ḳirāḍ* contract on the religious grounds of traditional practice (*sunna*), the consensus of the community (*iǧmāʿ*) and, more interestingly, on the practical grounds of its economic function in society. After quoting a series of traditions describing the *ḳirāḍ*'s use in trade by the Prophet and his companions, Sarakhsī adds that it is also allowed: "Because people have a need for this contract. For the owner of capital may not find his way to profitable trading activity, and the person who can find his way to such activity may not have the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained" (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 29).

Sarakhsī's summary of the *ḳirāḍ*'s economic function highlights one of the most important aspects of this contract's rôle in Near Eastern commerce, and helps explain its widespread use in mediaeval trade. For the investor, the *ḳirāḍ* served as a means of hiring trading skill, and for the agent-manager, as a means of hiring capital. Since, in the mediaeval commercial context, profit could be realised only by the combination of capital and trading activity, the *ḳirāḍ*, especially for the purposes of long-distance trade, became an ideal instrument to attain a profitable goal.

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(A. L. Udovitch)

KIRĀN, in Islamic astrology "the conjunction". Without further qualification, this refers to the mean or true conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. The conjunctions of these two planets were combined, apparently by Sāsānid astrologers, with the Hellenistic doctrine of the triplicities to form the basis of one of several methods of predicting the course of history available to mediaeval astrology.

The four triplicities were associated with the four sublunar elements as follows.

Fire	Earth	Air	Water
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer
Leo	Virgo	Libra	Scorpio
Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces

Mean conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter occur once in about every 20 years with a longitudinal increment of about 242,30°; for twelve or thirteen conjunctions, then, or about 240 or 260 years, they stay within the same triplicity, and it takes about 960 years (i.e. approximately a millenarium) for the conjunctions to return to the triplicity in which the cycle started. The return of the conjunctions to the triplicity of Ore (or Aries) in about a millennium was thought to indicate the appearance of a new prophet, the transfer of the conjunctions from one triplicity to the next in about 240 or 260 years was taken to signify a possible change in the dominant dynasty; and the occurrence of each individual conjunction was believed to portend lesser shifts in political, military, or economic status. The details of these predictions depended upon the horoscopes of the beginnings of the solar years in which the conjunctions occurred.

This theory of conjunctions usually appears in consort with various other elements of political astrology, all of which seem to have originated in the Zoroastrian millenarianism of Sāsānid Iran. These other methods are: the revolutions of the world years, the cosmic cycles—i.e. the mighty, big, middle, and small varieties of the *ḥasm*, the *nuṣṣāb*, and the *fardārs* of the planets, the mighty years of the planets, and the planetary lords of the millennia, centuries, decades, and single years. These elaborate systems for predicting religious and political change, together with the related theory of the conjunctions of the maleficent planets, Saturn and Mars, in Cancer every 30 years, appealed strongly to dissident groups in the early ʿAbbāsid period and later, and especially to those with Iranian connections, in particular, one may mention the Ḳarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīlīs. Many leading astrologers wrote expositions of the significance of the conjunctions, including Mashāʾallāh and Abū Maʿshar, through their writings, this form of political astrology was transmitted to Western Europe, where it became extremely popular during the Renaissance.

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KIRĀT [see MAKĀYIL].

KIRD (A., fem. *kirda*, pl. *kurūd*, *akrād*, *kirad*, *kirdān*, *kirdā*), a substantive having the general sense of "monkey", but representing in fact, among the simians of the Ancient World, only the members of two families, the colobids and the cercopithecids, the only primates known in ancient Arabia. Egypt, Abyssinia, Somalia, the Yemen and ʿUmān in fact constitute favorable habitats of baboons (genus *Papio*) and macaques or cynocephalous magots (genus *Macaca*). Both types live there in groups of which the total population can vary from a dozen to a hundred; each of these societies, which are based on polygamous family units, is subject to the authority of a male leader and this animal social organisation has not failed to attract the attention of those Arab writers who have spoken about monkeys. Since ancient times, the peoples of southern Arabia have looked with respect and circumspection tinged with an element of superstitious fear at the colonies of hamadryad baboons (*Papio hamadryas*) and of green baboons (*Papio anubis*) infesting the areas of high ground. In the times of the Pharaohs, the Egyptians deified these monkeys, and there was certainly a time when, in pre-Islamic Arabia, these animals were taboo. Were they demons incarnate, malevolent genii or metamorphoses of men? There was an shortage of questions for the credulous Bedouin to ask himself, and more especially, there was the ever-current legend according to which Solomon made a pact with the race of monkeys, setting them to guard the demons vanquished by the genii. Even in the 4th/10th century, Ibn al-Fakīh al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] and al-Masʿūdī report, with complete seriousness, that among these troupes of monkeys there is found one larger than the rest wearing at his neck the seal bestowed by Solomon. Apart from the involvement of the latter in the world of monkeys, there was alive in the minds of men the legend, al Talmudic origin (*Sanhedrin*, 109a), of the divine curse inflicted upon some of the builders of the tower of Babel, their expiatory punishment was to be changed into monkeys for all eternity. This curse was to be confirmed by the Kurʾān (II, 61/65, VII, 166; V, 65/60) where it is said: "those whom He has cursed, He has changed into monkeys and pigs". Popular belief in such metamorphoses (*masākh*, pl. *masākhā* [*q.v.*]), encouraged by successful fables such as the *Thousand and one nights* (for metamorphoses of men into monkeys, see nights 9, 22, 699, 624), was to persist for a long time in the bosom of Islam, in spite of categorical refutations on the part of the Prophet reported in certain *hadīths* (see al Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 243 a), according to Ibn ʿAbbās. More sceptical, al-Djāhiz did not omit to set these alleged retrograde mutations in the realm of fiction (*Ḥayawān*, i, 309).

By nature less inclined towards superstition than the nomads, the settled people of the Yemen and of ʿUmān were familiar with the baboons of their region and also with other monkeys imported from East Africa, and were able at a very early stage to domesticate the young animals and to use them for such menial services as turning millstones, butchers and grocers used them to guard their goods (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The cunning and agility of the monkey were also exploited by thieves for picking pockets and housebreaking. So the monkey became a part of the every-day life of man, to almost the same extent as the dog, and the term *kird* was no longer sufficient to differentiate between ages and sexes, a terminology based on exterior traits filled this gap. Thus the large male baboon was called *ribāh* or *rubbāh* (whence the form II verb *rabbaba* "to train monkeys"), he was known also as *kurdudh*, *kurdūdh*, *kawdal*, *bīm*, and has thick fur hood earned him the epithets *habbār*, *kawbar*. In the Ḥidjāz he was known as *hidjris*, a name for the fox in other countries. The female and the young monkey, smaller in stature than the male and with less hair, were known according to different places and people, as *dabya*, *hubāba*, *ilka*. In spite of these cases of domestication, which were in fact limited in number, relations between man and monkeys were not always so peaceable, and it happened quite often that as a result of the proliferation of the simian species, rural populations had to take issue with destructive and aggressive hordes, speaking of baboons, al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha...*, 2nd clime, section 6) remarks that, in ʿUmān, it is sometimes necessary to repel them with spears and arrows, and al-Makrīzī notes (*Khiṭaṭ*, end quoted in the *Masālik al-afṣār* of Ibn Taghribirdī) in referring to a *fatwā* of Mogadishu in Somalia, that in about the year 800/1398 this town was actually invaded by monkeys which installed themselves there firmly, and that in 839/1435-6, the date of his meeting with the *fatwā*, this permanent occupation was still going on, causing grave annoyance to the inhabitants.

In spite of a fundamental quality of mischief, encouraged by captivity and a sometimes extreme lewdness, stigmatised by the adage *azna min hidjris*, the Arabs recognised in the monkey qualities lacking to other animals, such as a concern for cleanliness expressed through a conformism and methodical process of delousing, its extreme agility, its astonishing ingenuity and above all its exceptional talent for imitation; these qualities were defined in proverbial expressions such as *aʿlam min hidjris* "more cunning than a monkey", *akyas min hubāba* "more sly than a she-monkey", *anlah min rubbāh* "more pleasing than a baboon", *akhf min ḳird* "more imitative than an ape", and they summed all of this up in the antithesis *al-ḳird ḳabīh lākinnahu malīh* "rascal though he is, the monkey is agreeable".

The maritime trade of slavers and of Arab and Persian merchants in the Indian Ocean made known to the Muslim world a number of new species of cercopithica and a considerable trade in monkeys developed in the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The hunters, sea farers from the coastal region of al Ḥaḍramawt, went by preference via the island of Socotra to the coast of East Africa (the country of the Zandj and the country al Sufāla) in search of the magnificent guereza colobus (*Colobus abyssinicus*) with its fine black pelt, an item of great luxury, exported at that time as far as Central Asia and Europe. Al Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 7) speaks of an "Island of Monkeys" (*djazīrat al-ḳurūd*), in the Indian Ocean (perhaps the island of Pemba or that of Malia?), where the hunters from Khāria Muria and of Socotra went to trap monkeys (that is to say, the green monkeys *Cercopithecus callitrichus*, the vervets *Cerc. pygerythrus*, the moustacs *Cerc. cephus*, the grivets *Cerc. Aethiops* and the nisnas *Cerc. pyrrhonotus*) with the aid of small boats propelled to the coast by the tide and the currents. These boats contained delicacies for bait and on the gunwales

there were towing ropes manoeuvred by cords attached to the ship. Attracted by the food, the quadrumans soon crowded together in the boats and it was necessary only to operate the recovery ropes and to bring on board the teeming cargo - depending on the species, some were killed and their pelts sent to the fur market, and others, with collars on their necks, were sold at a high price either to merchants or to aristocratic collectors of rare beasts or to itinerant animal showmen.

It is known, from the chroniclers, and al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i, § 485) confirms it, that princes of India and of China kept trained monkeys, whose role was to detect poison in food and drink, the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdī was advised by Chinese ambassadors to avail himself of the same precaution. But, a century earlier, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya already had his monkey which accompanied him in processions, mounted on an ass (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil received, from a king of Nubia, two monkeys, of which one could sew and the other model in clay. On the other hand, the sea farers of Sīrāf and of 'Umān, maintaining commercial links with India, the islands of Indonesia and China, were the principal source of information on Asiatic fauna and flora, information exploited by Arab geographers and encyclopaedists from the 3rd/9th to the 7th/13th century; these hardy adventurers brought back, on their return, specimens of quadrumans native to these regions, such as rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*) and crab macaques (*Macaca irus*) and semnopithes or langurs, including the hanuman entellus (*Presbytes entellus*), all of these being untouchable beasts in the Indians. Certain of these monkeys were offered, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, by the *amīr* of 'Umān, to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Muktadir bi-llāh to complete his menagerie (*Murūdj*, i, § 487), with hunting dogs and falcons, monkeys were regarded as princely gifts and they were to figure among the presents sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne on the occasion of the two exchanges of ambassadors between the two sovereigns (181-5/797-801).

For its part the Maghrib was well acquainted with monkeys through the numerous colonies of apes, known as Barbary macaques (*Macaca sylvana*) in the Atlas. Very tame and friendly animals, they are a tourist attraction in the valleys of the Chlifa, in Algeria, and it is well known with what vigilant care the British keep their few specimens imprisoned on the Rock of Gibraltar.

The monkey has always and everywhere had, with its grimaces its mimicry, its mischief and its agility, the power of amuse crowds; among showmen and jugglers, the exhibitor of monkeys (*bayyād*, *bayyādūn*, *bayyādīn*) was assured, in the Islamic countries, of success in the company of strolling players, in public places, at fairs and in markets. Yemenis and Somalians were the experts in this profession, which, while relatively lucrative, was held in considerable contempt by the upper classes; so, according to Ibn al-Fakīh, Khālid b. Safwān, in the course of an oratorical contest between the people of North and South Arabia, threw this insult at Ibrāhīm b. Malikrame al-Kindī - "You other Yemenis, you are nothing but exhibitors of monkeys. . ." In spite of this disapproval of public entertainers who were, it must be said, in many cases rogues, the mass of the people, both rural and urban, were attracted to open air entertainments and to exhibitions of rare and "clever" animals, whether these were monkeys, dogs, bears, or goats. As trained quadrumans were a source of hilarity, the people readily abandoned the term *bayd* to designate them, substituting expressions of a happen psychological effect, thus, in Syria and in Lebanon, the monkey was called *sa'dān* "lucky charm" and his trainer became *the sa'dānī*, while in Iran, 'Irāk, Turkey and Egypt it was *maymūn/ maymūn* "fortune which prevailed and which by a coincidence perhaps ere fortuitous could quite well be linked to the Greek μιμώ "ape" from the verb μιμεῖσθαι "imitate, mimic" In the same spirit, the entire Maghrib instinctively adopted, in parallel to the classical substratum, *bordjoud* (pl. *brād*, *berādja*, *grād*, *grāda*) and the Berber *idis* (pl. *idisan*) and *tādā* (pl. *tādawin*), the arabised Persian adjective *shādī* (pl. *shwāda*, *shwāda*, *shwādī*) "gay, joyous" which must have been introduced by the Turks and which 'Irāk also made its own. Also in the Maghrib, the popular negro *Bū Sa'dayya*, parodying black magicians, to the terror of small children, is often accompanied in his acts by a trained monkey, which he makes dance to the sound of the tambourine to of the *ghayta* (*q. v.*).

Arab authors have said very little about the tricks which the exhibitors of monkeys trained their pupils to perform. Al-Mas'ūdī notes simply that the Nubian *grivet* exhibited in the fairs astonishes the audience by his surprising agility in climbing to the top of a spear fixed in the earth. As for al-Djāhiz who, as an objective naturalist, enquired into the behaviour of monkeys employed by the *ashāb al-hurūb* (*Hayawān*, *passim*), he makes no mention of the kinds of acrobatics that were displayed in public. It is nevertheless easy to imagine them for anyone who has witnessed the displays given in Morocco by the wandering troupes of the Ūlād Sīdī Ahmed ū Mūsā, the native showmen of the Sus, with their performing monkeys, and this on the occasion of local patronal festivals like that of *Lālla Kassāba* (see E. Laoust, *Noms et surnoms des feux de joie*, in *Hesperis* (1921), 44). In addition, the ambience of these travelling shows with their dense crowds of curious onlookers has been finely caught by Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (*q. v.*) in his delightful *maklāma bayḍāwiyya* (*Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1923, 104 *ff.*; Fr. tr. S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1827, iii, 240-7) where the *bayrūd* is none other than the waggish Abū l-Fath al-Iskandarī constrained by vicissitudes to occupy this dismal condition. One of the most familiar street characters, the exhibitor of monkeys, is not absent from the stories of the *Thousand and one nights*, notably in the very salacious tale of the nymphomaniac princess who ravished one of his animals (Nights 355-7).

In Islam, as elsewhere, to liken a man to a monkey was one of the most degrading insults. Among the Muslims of Spain, in periods of friction between the communities, while the pig and the dog were used as epithets for the Christians, the name "monkey" was generally reserved for the Jews, as reminiscence of the Kur'ānic verses quoted above (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1953, 240-1). In Ifrīkiya, under the Aghlabid dynasty, the *fakīh*, in his zeal for *djihād* (*q. v.*), enjoined upon Jews and Christians the wearing on the shoulder of a square of cloth bearing the picture of a monkey in the case of Jews, and a pig in the case of Christians, these same symbols were to be shown on a board nailed to the door of their houses (according to al-Mālikī, *Riyād al-nufūs*, *apud* H. R. Idris, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifrikiya*, in *RAf* (1935), ii, 240). The satirical poets did not hesitate to use derogatory comparisons with monkeys to brand those whom they were attacking; this was

done by the Andalusian Ibrāhīm al Ḥasanī in refuting to the famous *wazīr* al Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (Pérès, *op. cit.*), as was done before him by Abū Nuwās, proclaiming his hatred of the Barmakids (see BARĀMIKA) in this opening verse *kādhā nazanna bi ʾl-ḥurriyyi . . .*, "This is the age of the apes. . ." (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1953, 589, Beirut 1962, 425).

Under the scheme of Ḳurʾānic law, eating the flesh of the monkey is forbidden, since the animal is omnivorous and has canine teeth, an additional and fundamental reason for this prohibition is the instinctive revulsion, which is natural to the primates, the family to which the human race belongs, for the idea of devouring another member of the same family. For the evolved human being, eating the meat of the ape would be close to cannibalism. Nevertheless, ancient medical opinion held the flesh of the monkey to be an effective preventive agent against elephantiasis (*dāʾ al-fīl*). Certain other parts of the animal, such as the teeth, the hair and the skin, possessed "specific qualities" (*khawāṣṣ*) (see al-Damīrī, *loc. cit.*), which modern science has relegated to the rank of absurdity.

Finally, regarding the term *kird*, it should be noted that in astronomy the asterism ζ, λ *Canis majoris* and δ, κ, θ, γ, ζ, μ, ε *columbae* is wrongly called *al Ḳurūd* "the Apes" in some treatises, a mistake arising from a misspelling of *al Farīd* "the Hermits" (see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers (1951), IX, 102).

With *kird*, there has not so far been any reference to other than colobids and cercopithecids, it might also be asked what conception the Arabs had of the large anthropomorphic, or anthropoid, apes. These number no more than eleven species world-wide, seven gibbons, two chimpanzees, one gorilla and one orang outang, none of these species exists in Arabia, and to find them one must go either to Indonesia or to central Africa. It is impossible however, not to see in one or other of these primates the mysterious *nasnās/nisnās* (pl. *nasānis*) of the mediaeval Arab writers, and there can be no doubt that such a "demi-man" with human face, and vertical stance, without a tail and possessing the faculty of speech, but also covered with a thick fleece, usually russet-coloured, was originally nothing other than an anthropomorphic ape observed by sea-faring Arab merchants of the Indian Ocean, and only the gibbon (*Hylobates lar*), found in Malaysia, Indochina, Burma and the Himalayas, corresponds fairly accurately to this description. Ibn al-Fakīh, who is quoted by al-Kazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, in the margin of al Damīrī, *op. cit.*, I, 191) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] say, with reference to Sumatra (*djazīrat al-Ramī* = Lambrī), that "there are found there human beings of both sexes, who go bare-footed and without clothing. Their speech is incomprehensible and they live in the tree-tops. They are entirely covered with hair and they live on a diet of fruit; they constitute an innumerable people who flee at the approach of man. . . these beings are four spans in height, their language is a kind of whistling and their faces are covered with russet coloured down. . ." Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 8) adds that their movement through the trees is accomplished by means of the arms alone and no use is made of the feet, which gives the impression that they are flying from one branch to another. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, II, 136) writes of the colonies of siamang gibbons (*Symphalangus syndactylus*) with black fleece and white mask which he encountered on the southern coasts of the Indies. As for the recently-discovered Asiatic orang-outang, the gorilla and the chimpanzees of Africa, these remained on the peripheries of knowledge until the 12th/18th century. Besides, in so far as they were known, their height, greater than that of man, meant that they could not be identified with the half man which the *nasnās* is, by definition, the root *n. s. s.* evokes in fact the idea of smallness and weakness. The reports of those who saw gibbons were rapidly distorted by the imagination of those who transmitted them to the point where the *nasnās* became a monstrous semi-anthropomorphic creature, one-eyed and one-legged, moving with successive bounds at a tremendous speed, in times past hunted for its meat in the Yemen. With the *ghūl*, another half-human monster the *nasnās* is not without analogy with the *monoculus* and the *satyrus* of Pliny. Understandably, sceptical minds demanded visual proof of the existence of such phenomena and to this end the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil, according to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, I, § 491), instructed the famous doctor and translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] to find for him some of these curiosities, it seems that the scholar brought back from his explorations two authentic *nasnas*, but nothing further is known of the episode.

Modern philologists, like P. Anastase-Marie, have gone so far as to see in the term *nasnās* the Greek νανος "dwarf" (see Amīn Muʿallūf, *Muʿdjam al hayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *Ape*, 23-28), it cannot be denied that the two words have the same sense and one would thus be led to see in the origin of *nasnās*, besides the gibbon, a human pygmy. Al-Djāḥiẓ, while not believing in them, lists a number of these fabulous beings which really existed in the popular imagination, and, this being an interesting fact, he assimilates the *nasnas* to the *wāk-wak* and to the people of Gog and Magog (*Ḥayawān*, I, 159, VII, 278). Now the Arab geographers recognised three countries jointly said to be the land or the island of the *Wāḳ-Wāḳ* (or the *Wāḳ Wāḳs*), the first situated below the country of the Zandj [*q.v.*], beyond Sofāla "of gold" (Mozambique), the second in the most eastern islands of Malaysia (the Philippines, Celebes, the Moluccas), and the third in the extreme north of the Sino-Asiatic continent; it is found that these three countries correspond quite closely to those inhabited by particularly small peoples, the Negrillos and the Akhas in Africa, the Negritos in Malaysia, in Deccan and in the southern Himalayas, and the Lapps, the Samoyedes, the Tungus and other nomadic ethnic groups of the arctic and sub-arctic regions. It may thus be supposed that those who encountered these pygmy people by chance identified them in their accounts with the *nasnas* as had also been the case with the gibbon, and a detail which may corroborate this interpretation is the insistence of the authors on the faculty of speech attributed to the *nasnas*. Nevertheless, there remains the mystery of the alleged existence of the *nasnās* in the Yemen, and we can hardly be satisfied by the *ḥadīth* (see *LA*, under *n. s. s.*) according to which the *nasnās* were the metamorphoses of men from the two cursed tribes of ʿĀd and Thamūd [*q.vv.*]. Was there, in Arabia, a small anthropoid ape, or a race of human pygmies? The question and its solution belong to the realm of palaeontology and of prehistory.

In fact, in historical times, the Arab peoples, having never encountered the fabulous *nasnās* in their own countries, quite naturally applied the term to all the small long-tailed flat-faced African monkeys with which the sedentaries made them

familiar (see al Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 353 q), and modern systematic practice has simply ratified the vox populi to retaining the name "mīnar" and applying it to the Somalian *Cercopithecus pyrrhonotus*. In conclusion, having been born out of confused images of the gibbon and a pygmy in travellers' tales, to become subsequently a monstrous human mutation blighted by divine punishment, the *ʿawānis* has finally been placed, by common logic, in one of the families defined by *bird*.

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KIRESŪN [see GIRESŪN].

KĪRGĪZ, a Turkish people, mentioned as early as the oldest Chinese accounts of Central Asia (from the 2nd century A.D.) under the name Kien-Kuen, which according to P. Pelliot (*JA*, Ser. 2, vol. xv, 137) goes back to a Mongol word, singular *hirkun*. The lands of the Kirgīz are not exactly defined in these sources; according to a very reliable source, the land of the Kien Kuen lay north-west of the land of the K'ang K'iu, *i.e.* of Sogdiana. The name Kirgīz first appears in the Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century; at that time the Kirgīz (as the contemporary Chinese annals also tell us) lived on the Upper Yenisei (Turkish Kem), north of the Kög-men or Sayan mountains. The same name (Kārkamān) is also mentioned in Gardīzī (W. Barthold, *Otčet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 86 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 262); according to this source, the capital of the Khān of the Kirgīz was 7 days' journey north of these mountains. There is also said that the Kirgīz had red hair and a white colour of skin (*surkhī-i muyān-u safīdī-i pūst*) which is explained by their alleged relationship with the Slavs; the same anthropological features, of which there is no longer any trace among the modern Kirgīz, are mentioned in the Chinese *T'ang shu*. Linguistically, the Kirgīz were then already Turkicised. They did not come to the fore politically till about 840 A.D., when they succeeded in conquering the lands of the Uyghur in Mongolia. Nothing was known in Muslim lands of this event; Marquart's endeavour (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 91 ff.) to connect with this the story in Djāhiz of the defeats of the Toghuzghuz, can be utterly rejected; like Kudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262, l. 13) Djāhiz only refers to the hostility between the Toghuzghuz and the Kharlukh [Karluk (*q.v.*)]. Iṣṭakhrī (ed. de Goeje, 9-10) and others mention the Kirgīz (Khirkhīz) as eastern neighbours of the Kimāk [see KIPČAK] and as northern neighbours of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz, in the east their lands are said to have stretched to the ocean. The most important article of export for trade with Muslim lands was musk. The ethnic and historical continuity between the Kirgīz and the people living today under the same name in the USSR is supposed but not proved. The Kirgīz were probably driven out of Mongolia in connection with the foundation of the empire of the Khitāy in the beginning of the 10th century [see KARA KHITĀY] and the advance of the Mongol peoples; on the other hand, a body of Kirgīz must have migrated as early as this century southwards in the present abode of the genuine Kirgīz (Kara Kirgīz); according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 18a, tr. Minorsky, 98, comm. 293 f), even the town of Panīkīt [the modern Ajna in Chinese Turkestan] was in possession of the Kirgīz. The Kirgīz are not mentioned again in this region till the 16th century; what the Chinese Ch'ang Te, who was there in 1259, records of the Kirgīz (especially on the use of dog sledges, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 129) he had only been told, and did not see himself, and these stories probably do not refer to the people of the land he passed through. The main body of the people had probably remained on the Upper Yenisei, the Kara Khitāy when driven out of North China had to fight with these Kirgīz during their trek westwards. In the fertile region of the modern administrative district of Minusinsk the Kirgīz gradually adopted agriculture and a settled mode of life. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 17b, tr. Minorsky, 97, comm. 286) there was only one town among the Kirgīz, called Kemidjkat, where their Khākān lived, and no other towns or villages, but only tents, on the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn says (ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.* vii, 268 f.) that the Kirgīz had "many towns and villages". From these and similar statements Radloff has drawn the conclusion (*JA*, Ser. 6, vol. ii, 328) that the present state of Kirgīz culture is much lower than it used to be.

In the 13th century the Kirgīz no the Yenisei had to submit to the Mongols under Čingiz Khān (*q.v.*) Negotiations for their submission were already begun in 1207, but it was only settled in 1218 when the last rebellion was put down. After the decline of the empire of the descendants of Čingiz Khān the Kirgīz had sometimes to be under the yoke of the Mongols, sometimes of the Kalmucks, and sometimes of the Russians. In 1607 they recognised the suzerainty of the Kazāk, but by 1609 we find them killing a tax collector sent by the Kazāk. In 1642 they were described by the Kalmuck Khān Batur as Kalmuck, in 1646 by the Russian plenipotentiary Daniyil Arkhinskiy as Russian subjects. In 1703 they were transferred by the Kalmucks, by arrangement with Russia, southwards to the region of the modern Semireč'ye they are then said to have numbered 3,000-4,000 tents. As mentioned above, a portion of the Kirgīz had migrated at a much earlier date shortly after 1514 a certain Muḥammad is mentioned as being invested as Khān of the Kirgīz by Saʿīd Khān the ruler of the Mongols (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, London 1895, 141); in the 16th century the Kirgīz were for the most part under the rule of the Khāns of the Kazāk. The Kirgīz were called *Burūt* by Kalmucks; they were nearly all driven out from Semireč'ye on Farghāna and Karātegin; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire by the Chinese (1758-9) that they returned to their old settlements in the southern part of Semireč'ye. At this date the name Kirgīz was transferred to the Kazāk by the Russians; to distinguish these from the latter, the true Kirgīz were called

Black Kirgiz (Karā Kirghiz). The term "Karā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated. In Semireč'ye, the Karā Kirghiz, outwardly at least, professed Islam in their epic, which takes its name from the principal hero Manas, the wars against the Kalmucks are described as wars of religion. Unlike the Kazāk, the Karā Kirghiz had neither princes or nobles, the elders, called *Manap*, were not chosen by any kind of election but owed their position entirely to their personal influence. Owing to the continual state of war, the tribes of the Karā Kirghiz did *not* break up into small subdivisions as was the case with the tribes of the Kazāk, an *aul* (camp) of the Karā Kirghiz comprised the members of a whole tribe and therefore occupied a much greater area than an *aul* of the Kazāk. In the 18th century authority over the Karā Kirghiz was claimed by the Chinese, to the 19th first by the Özbegs to Farghāna and later by the Russians, the final establishment of Russian rule dates from 1864. The prosperity of the Karā Kirghiz has been seriously affected by the Russian colonisation and particularly by the rising of 1916, when a considerable portion of the people migrated to China; the Russian government resolved—but nothing came of it owing to the revolution of 1917—to take from the Karā Kirghiz all their grazing grounds except the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation.

Until recently to both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Kazāk, they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Kazāk, from the Özbeg, cf. ABU 'L-KHAYR and KAZĀK. The whole of the Kazāk people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal, Khān Kāsim (d. 924/1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the 16th century, the Kazāk still had a strong nomadic kingdom at the end of the century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar (*q.v.*) was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr, and later still even held the town of Tāshkent. In the 17th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people, but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Kazāk, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Kazāk into three "Hordes" (called by the Kazāk themselves *žüz* "hundred"), the great horde (*uly žüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi žüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta žüz*). Towards the end of the 17th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative to each of them. In 1727 un successful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted, in 1723 the towns of Sayrām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this, the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Kazāk and the agreement embodying this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse, but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khayr negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the 18th century; but it was not till the 19th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sir Darya, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg, regulations for the government of the Siberian Kazāk were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khāns authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sultans" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Kazāk called "white bones", *ak süyak*), their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Governments. The last popular leader of the Kazāk was Kenesarī, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842 in the mountains of Ala Tau, several risings were stirred up until 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣādik). Another son, Ahmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarī and of his brother Sadik, entitled *Sultanī Kansara i Sadik. Biografičeskiye ocherki sultan Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlya pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnovoim*, Tashkent 1889 (review by V. Reen in *Zap.*, iv, 122-3).

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the 19th century by the Özbegs of Farghāna and Khīwa and partly coloured, the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Kazāk. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestan (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882) (Semireč'ye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestan), the gouvernment of Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand, after the Revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Kazāk stān". Today the Kirgiz form one of the Union Republics in the USSR. The number of the population in the Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic was 3,245,000 in 1923 (43·8% Kirgiz, 24·2% Russians, 12·3% Uzbeks, etc.). The whole number of Kirgiz living in the USSR was 1,452,000 in 1920. The number of Kirgiz living in China and Afghanistan is over 100,000. The Kirgiz language belongs to the northeastern (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages.

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KIRID (see QIRIRSK).

KIRIM, a peninsula jutting out into the Black Sea south of the Ukraine (Russian Krim, English Crimea, French Crimée, German Krim, with an area of 25,500 km²), connected with the mainland by the isthmus ca. 8 km. wide of Perekop (in Turkish Or Kapi), and ending to the east in the peninsula of Kerč (*q.v.*). The northern and central parts are flat; to the south lies a mountainous area consisting of three ranges, the most southern of which, Mt Yayla (1,545 m. high), falls down steeply to the coastal strip. The climate is relatively mild and on the south-eastern coast similar to that of the Mediterranean area. The water of the few rivers and brooks—especially that of the Salghir—is used for irrigation. The flat grounds are cultivated; in the mountains there are pastures besides woods, and wine growing is not without importance. Some minerals are found (iron ore near Kerč, fluorspar near Sevastopol) and at present there is also all kinds of industry.

In antiquity, the peninsula was inhabited by the Scythians. From the 6th century B.C. onwards, Greek colonies existed on the coasts. Around 480 B.C. these formed the Bosporean State, whereas in the 1st century B.C. they belonged for a short time to the Pontian kingdom. From 63 B.C. onwards, the Roman Empire wielded supreme rule (see *Pauly's Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed. by G. Wissowa, vi. Halbband, Stuttgart 1899, cols. 2254-69, H. G. Gundel, *Das Krim um Altertum*, in *Das Gymnasium*, lii (1941), 127-38). In the 4th century A.D. first the Goths came, then the Huns. Until 1239 the Byzantine empire held the Chersonese (Old Russian Korsun'), while the main part of the peninsula belonged to the territory of the Khazars (*q.v.*). During the 10th and 11th centuries there was the Russian colony Tmutarakan' (probably near modern Taman'), important in relations with Byzantium. From around 1030 the peninsula was dominated by the Kumans or Kipčak (*q.v.*), and from 1239 by the Tatars of the Golden Horde. They also wielded a sort of supreme rule over the Genoese colonies that came into existence here (since 1261), especially in Kaffa, mod. Feodosiya, see KEFE). These colonies took over the role of the Byzantine Chersonese and became of great significance for trade with Byzantium and the Mediterranean area until their downfall in 1475. They were to a certain extent tributary to the Tatars. Occasional plunderings of these towns by the Golden Horde (see BATU'IDS), e.g. in 1298-9, or sieges, e.g. 1343, remained incidental.

Kirim is only rarely mentioned by the Arab geographers (and even then partly following the Italian reports, as by Idrīsī). The first contact with Islam dates from a campaign of the Rūm Saldūkid sultan Kay Kubād ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II (*q.v.*) (616-34/1219-36). After the Golden Horde occupied the peninsula, first in 1223 and then, definitively, in 1238-9, the religious situation did not change immediately. At the instigation of the Egyptian Mamlūks (who entertained trade relations with the peninsula) a mosque was erected at Old Kirim (also Solkhat/Solghad), another was built later by the Khan Özbeg (722-42/1323-41) (*q.v.*).

During the latter's reign, Sunnī Islam had gained a firm footing among the Tatars of Kirim, like among the rest of the Golden Horde. From Egypt shortlived influences of the *futuwwa* (*q.v.*) asserted themselves.

Next, there existed of old also Jewish settlements, but little is known about these in these centuries except from tombstones. Karaites or Karāʾītes (*q.v.*) were found at Čufut Kale, and the Orthodox Christians had a bishopric of Gothia at Old Kirim. Western or Latin Christianity, supported mainly by the Franciscans, was represented by the Genoese until the downfall of the latter in 1475. Already in 1261 a Latin bishop is mentioned, and in 1318 the bishopric of Kaffa was founded. Its jurisdiction stretched from Varna (in modern Bulgaria) to Saray (*q.v.*), the capital of the Golden Horde. The bishopric of Cherson, which came into being in 1303, was definitively established in 1333, with parishes in the individual towns. From here efforts were made to effect a union with the other Christians and to start missionary work among the Tatars, but at the end of the 14th century these attempts came to an end for lack of success. From 1351 until after 1370 there had even existed a Latin bishopric at Saray.

In the 14th century, during embittered fights with the Venetians in the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea, the Genoese founded trading factories in Sughdak (Russian Surož), in Balaklava (then Cembalo), in modern Sevastopol, in Tana (Azov, Turkish Azak (*q.v.*)) and in Moncastro (Ak Kirmān [*q.v.*], Rumanian Cetatea Albă, since 1358) to the west of the mouth of the Dnestr. Until 1343 the Venetians had a colony at Tana (Azov). Besides Italians, who had their own rule and system of justice, there were living in these towns Arabs from various Near Eastern lands; Turks from Anatolia; Lurs (*q.v.*); Greeks, and above all, such a large number of Armenians that Kirim was sometimes called Armenia Magna or Armenia Maritima. About the Crimean Goths we are informed by reports of the 13th century, and latterly in the 16th century by Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, ambassador of the Austrian emperor in Süleymān II (see E. S. Forster, *The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselen de Busbecq*, Oxford 1927, repr. 1968; W. von den Steinen, *Vier Briefe Busbecqs aus der Türkei*, 1926). Since that time they have merged with the Kirim Tatars.

The Mongols of the Golden Horde had a governor on the peninsula (*bāsāk* or *wālī*), who kept up his own diplomatic relations with the Nile valley. We hear also of an "*amīr* of the right wing" and "of the left wing of the army". Until the middle of the 15th century Kirim, thinly populated except for the coasts, remained a centre, especially through Byzantine intermediaries on the Dardanelles, for trade with Egypt. For a long period not the Kirim slaves

(Mamlūks) were sent to that country, while all kind of goods (fine shawls, perfumes and the like) found their way from there to Kirim, and further to the Volga along the road of Sughdak, Old Kirim, and Perekop. Trade with Anatolia was also important. The traffic was later taken over by Trebizond, which had remained Byzantine until 1462. The Genoese brought European goods (linen and ceramics) to Kirim and to further on. In the 15th century especially, the commercial highway ran along the bank of the Bug via Lutsk and Lemberg to Breslau.

Both in Old Kirim, the peninsula's seat of government in these centuries, and in Eski Yurt, many goods were warehoused. The currents of trade manifested themselves also in the artistic construction of buildings and in ceramics. These showed influences from Sarāy, Saldjūkid Asia Minor, Egypt and the Genoese colonies, as we know since the excavations of 1924-8. Besides trade, a part was played by the manufacture of salt, the gathering of honey (which went as far as Khwārazm) and grapes, and by horse-breeding and tanning.

Notwithstanding, all these developments, Kirim remained until the 15th century only an annexe of the Golden Horde and occasionally a refuge for ambitious claimants in their struggle for power, like Nogḥay in 1291 and Mamay in 1359. Around 1345 6, 83,000 persons allegedly fell victim to the Black Death, and in 1395 the peninsula was ravaged by Timūr. Attempts of the double kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to push as far as the Black Sea and to endanger also Kirim were foiled in 1399 by the victory of the "mayor of the palace" Edigü (Russian Yedigey) on the Vorskla. The latter had his base here during his struggle with Witold of Lithuania until he died in 1419.

During the civil wars which ravaged the Golden Horde from 1359 onwards, princes of the Mongol ruling dynasty who were descendants of Čingiz Khān and his grandson Togha Temür (the son of Djoči), had settled on various occasions in the peninsula. At the beginning of the 15th century they had apparently adopted the family name of Girāy [q.v.] or Kerey. Relying upon the noble family of the Shīrīn, Devlet Berdi had established himself in Kirim after 1426, and in 1427 he tried to enter again into relations with Egypt. But he (and since 1427 also his brother Ḥādjdjī Girāy [q.v.]) encountered opposition from the ruler of the Great (until then, the Golden) Horde. In August 1449 Ḥādjdjī formally declared himself ruler of Kirim. With the help of the Turkish sultan and the Polish-Lithuanian king Casimir IV, he was able to hold out until his death in 1466, first in his residence Kirk Yer and later in the valley of Bāghče Sarāy [q.v.]. He and later his son again and again took in fugitives of the decaying Great Horde, and they thus became rulers of the strongest among the Tatar states that came into being. On the northern shore of the Black Sea a strip of land where the Moghāys [q.v.] lived, and since 1484 also the Budjāk [q.v.], came gradually under the rule of the Kirim Khāns.

After rather lengthy succession disputes, Mengli Girāy I [q.v.], one of Ḥādjdjī Girāy's eight sons, got the upper hand. He was to become the real founder of the independent Kirim state, in spite of the fact that he had to recognise Ottoman supremacy after the conquest of Kaffa in 1475 by the Sultan's troops. The Girāy family was then recognised as enjoying in Kirim the sole rights of succession and immunity. Since Islām Girāy II (992 6/1584-8) [q.v.], their name was mentioned in the *khuṭba* after the Sultan's; they had the right to strike their own coins; and they could grant asylum. They remained independent in internal policy and had at their disposal a richly ramified officialdom which followed more and more the Ottoman Turkish pattern. Under the continuous political preponderance of the Sultan, co-operation between the two states generally passed off without too much friction, in spite of many dangerous tensions at times. Joint military expeditions were regularly organised, in 1476 and 1538 into Moldavia, in 1543 for the first time into Hungary. From the time when the Turks had conquered Kilia and Ak Kirmān (1484) and the Poles had been defeated in Moldavia (1497), the khanate of Kirim was in direct contact with the Turkish dominions in the Balkan peninsula. To the north-east the Cerkes [q.v.] and Kabards [q.v.] were subjects of the Kirim Khāns, and thus the Black Sea became until 1739 a Turkish Tatar inland sea.

Relations with the Christian powers in the north changed when, from 1470-4 onwards, Casimir IV decided to co-operate more and more with the Great Horde. The Kirim Khāns turned to the Grand Dukes of Moscow, who between 1468 and 1571 were exempted from paying tribute. With certain fluctuations in details, both states remained loyal to this alliance until the fall of the Great Horde in 1502, and even extended it, while the kings of Poland-Lithuania in 1480 and later repeatedly neglected their commitments to the Horde. From that period onwards, this double kingdom was exposed to attacks from both the Muscovites and the Kirim-Tatars, who again and again invaded Podolia, Volhynia and Galicia and more than once laid Kiev, Černigov and other towns under contribution (for the Tatar incursions between 1474 and 1569, see J. Ochmański, *Organizacja obrony przed Tatarami w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskim* ("The organisation of the defence against the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"), in *Studia i materyały do historii wojskowości* ["Studies for the history of the army"], v (1960), 349-98, esp. 361 4). Under these circumstances the Great Horde got into great difficulties, especially after the death of Khān Ahmad in January 1481. Until the very end of this state, officers, soldiers and even princes of the ruling house continued to desert to the Kirim-Khāns (see M. Malowist, *Kaffa kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453 1475* ["Kaffa, the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the eastern problem in 1453 75"], Warsaw 1947 [*Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* ("Publications of the Historical Institute of the University of Warsaw")], ii). Even after a temporary treaty of peace between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Lithuania in 1493, the latter's contact with Kirim remained as close that the Khāns were able to mediate in 1496 for the establishing of diplomatic Russian-Turkish relations, initially in the main for commercial reasons (see V. D. Syroečkovskiy, *Puti i znosheniya Moskvi s Krymom na rubeže XV-XVI vekov* ("Ways and relations of Moscow with the Crimea at the turn of the 16th century"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, iii (1932).

When in June 1502 the Great Horde was finally defeated to the east of Kiev and close to where the Desna joins the Dnyepr, and their last Khān was forced to flee to Lithuania (where he was executed in 1505), the Kirim Khān, in accordance with his claim, assumed the rights of the former Golden Horde and demanded tribute "without subterfuge" from Moscow and Lithuania. To the Grand Duke of Lithuania he offered a treaty "after straightening

out relations". In addition, Mengli Girāy felt himself responsible for the security of the khānates of Kazān [q.v.] and Astrakhān [q.v.] and thus ran into increasing difficulties with Moscow (K. Fułaski, *Mendli Girāy* (sic), *chan Tatarów perekopskich* ("Mengli-Giray, Khan of the Perekop Tatars"), Warsaw 1882). Under these circumstances, a treaty with Sigismund I Augustus (1506-48) of Poland and Lithuania was of great importance to Mengli Girāy I. But the negotiations had not yet been concluded when the Kīrīm Khān died at a great age in 1515 (J. Pajewski, *Przyjaźń przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta* ('A project of treaty between Poland and Turkey under Sigismund Augustus'), in *Księga ku Czci Oskara Haleckiego* Warsaw 1935).

Under Mengli Girāy I, Kīrīm reached its cultural zenith. The area was opened up to Ottoman Turkish culture. Artists from the Islamic cultural environment and also Italians, often Genoese, artisans who had remained to the country after 1475, such as Augustino da Garibaldi and Vincento da Zuguli, found work here, especially as architects and stone carvers. Intellectual and literary circles came also into being. Of special artistic importance was the Khān's palace at Bāghče Sarāy [q.v.], whither Mengli Girāy had transferred his residence from Old Kīrīm. It is actually in ruins today, but the Zenǧirli Madrasa has been preserved.

In view of the position of power which Mehmed Girāy I (1513-23) [q.v.] had inherited from his father (V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Muchammed-Geraj i ego vassaly* "Mehmed Girāy and his vassals"), in *Učënye Zapiski Moskovskago Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, lxi (1940)), the new Khān also aspired to the position of the Golden Horde and wanted to unite all Tatars under his rule. His son Šāhīn Girāy [q.v.] in 1521 succeeded in driving away a Khān of Kāzān who was friendly to Moscow and, in spite of the resistance of Astrakhān, in incorporating his territory into that of his father. Having become Khān (1532-51) after his father had been murdered and Islām Girāy I [q.v.] had been put aside, he did not however succeed in holding out after a defeat inflicted on him by Moscow on the Oka in 1541 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *Tarih-i Sakib Giray han* (*1532-1551*), crit. ed., tr., notes and glossary, Erzurum 1973 (Atatürk Üniversitesi yayınları 222)). On the contrary, Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-84) who had born the title of Tsar since 1547, carefully collected his forces for a campaign which brought under his control Kāzān [q.v.] in October 1552, and Astrakhān [q.v.], firstly in 1554 and definitively in 1556. Thus the Volga valley was opened up to Russia right down to the Caspian Sea, the waterway to Caucasia and the north coast of Persia lay free and the Russians got an extensive new region for settlement. Dawlat (Dewlet) Girāy I (1551-77 [q.v.]) finally saw himself confined to the Kīrīm Khanate and its northern hinterland. After the manifold disturbances of the preceding decades he tried to collaborate again with Poland-Lithuania, which saw itself more and more threatened by Moscow and both of which merged into one single state in the Union of Lublin in 1569 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *1538-1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nın siyasi durumu*, Ankara 1973 (Atatürk Üniversitesi yayınları 269)).

However, the Khān was dissatisfied as was Sultan Süleymān II, by the fact that so many Muslims had become subject to Orthodox Christian sovereignty. The two sovereigns entered upon a close treaty of alliance and for the time being supported Tatar revolts against the supremacy of Moscow, these revolts are echoed in the legends around Cora Batır (Sa'ādat Šākir, *Cora Batyr Eine Legende in dobrudscha-tatarischer Mundart*, Cracow 1935). Dewlet Girāy attempted to relieve them by marching against Russia in 1555. But his fear that the Sultan might enlarge his influence in Kīrīm by stationing his own troops there made him abandon a plan of supporting the Ottomans effectively. Thus the Sultan received little help from the Kīrīm Khān for his attempt to connect with a canal the Volga and the Don, at the place where they draw the nearest to each other (near modern Volgograd). He could rely only on the Noghays [q.v.]. Consequently, when in the winter of 1569 the Turkish troops were defeated between Astrakhān and the Sea of Azov, the enterprise of Selīm II fell through. He had hoped to establish in Kīrīm a base for his campaign against Shī'ī Safawī Persia, and to activate from there economic relations with Central Asia (H. Inalcık, *Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü* (1569), in *Belleten* xii 146 (1948), 349-402, Eng. text in *AUDTCFD* (1947), 47-106; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil boyu 1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-İdil kanalı ve XVI-XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri*, Ankara 1966 (*AÜDTDF* Yayınları 152), P. A. Sadikov, *Pokhod Tatar i Turok na Astrakhan v 1569 godu* ("The campaign of the Tatars and Turks against Astrakhan in 1569"), in *Istoricheskiye Zapiski*, xxii, Moscow 1947, 232-66). When in 1571 the Turkish fleet became decisively weakened by the defeat at Lepanto [see INEBA BAḤRĪ], any plan of a Turkish advance against Russia had to be abandoned. On the other hand, Kīrīm was thus freed from the feared guardianship of the Sultan, although it also lost his direct protection.

The Khān availed himself immediately of this freedom at his rear to march against Moscow. In 1571 the city fell for the last time into Tatar hands and was burnt down. The Tsar was forced to declare himself prepared to resume paying tribute (*tgkliytsā*). It was only Peter the Great who was able to free himself decisively from this obligation. At this point, the Tsar was unable to counter attack, as a result of his military engagements in the west in regard to Livonia.

Kāzān and Astrakhān thus remained in Russian hands. In order to change this situation, Khān Mehmed II, the Fat (Semiz, reigned 1577-84) made new endeavours (Kitābī Abdulla oğlu Hasan, *Ikinci Mehmed Giray Han/Khān Mehmed Girāy II, in Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii (1934), 2). Since Turkish help failed to come because of the war with Persia (1578-90), the Khān sought an alliance against Moscow with Poland, Lithuania and even with Pope Gregory XIII. He held out a prospect of conversion to Roman Catholicism, which caused the Popes to send several ambassadors between 1571 and 1583. A Kīrīm embassy was honourably received at Vilna in 1579 (Stanisław Kryczyński, *Nieudana misya katolicka wśród mahometanów litewskich w XVI w.* ("A failed Catholic mission among the Lithuanian Muslims in the 16th century"), in *Przegląd Islamski* (1935), 3/4, 11-14).

But not even in this way could Mehmed Girāy II achieve a real success. He was forced to put on 5,000 soldiers at the disposal of the Sultan for the war against Persia. When the successor to the throne, the Kalgha [q.v.], was taken captive by the Persians, the Khān himself interfered in the war against the Shāh. This led to friction with the Sublime Porte and to the course of the ensuing unrest in Kīrīm, the Khān was murdered in 1584.

The new Khān, Ghāzī Girāy II (1588-1608) [q.v.],

got the upper hand after lengthy disturbances. He also came forward as a poet (H. Ertaylan, *Gazi Geray Han, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1958; C. M. Kortepeter, *Gazi Giray II, Khan of Crimea, and Ottoman policy in eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1588-1594*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xliv/102 (1966), 139-66). His attack against Moscow in 1591 failed, and during the Turkish campaign against Hungary of 1592-1606 he had, in the same way as his predecessor, to provide troops for the Sultan, which on various occasions led to friction (B. Kocowski, *Wyprawa Tatarów na Węgry przez Polskę w 1594 r.*, Lublin 1948; M. Alekberli, *Bor'ba Ukrainskogo naroda protiv turetsko-tatarskoy agressii vo vtoroy polovine XVII-pervoy polovine XVII vekov* ("The struggle of the Ukranian people against the Turkish-Tatar attack in the 2nd half of the 16th and the 1st half of the 17th centuries"), Saratov 1961.

During these various wars, Kirim itself remained free of military incursions, and so the administration there could follow its even course. Public roads and inns were secure, and documents which survived the conflagration of the Khān's palace (in 1736) testify to well-organised archives and the regular proceedings of the Islamic law concerning justice, inheritance and marriage. Customary law (*ʿāda* [*q.v.*]) also played a rôle. The horse trade and rates of exchange of foreign currency were officially supervised. As in other Islamic countries, the *Divān* [*q.v.*] was the supreme court of judicature. There were 48 judicial regions in the lowlands and 19 in the mountains, where, except for the infliction of the death penalty, convictions could be pronounced without right of appeal "insofar as the conviction was in accordance with the laws." However, in the administration of justice corruption as always played a rôle that could not be disregarded.

The Tatars enjoyed personal freedom and, as in earlier centuries, passed for a friendly and hospitable people. Women were entitled to personal property, and took part now and then in public life, diplomatic negotiations or even in military expeditions; and occasionally they devoted themselves to poetry and literature.

Until the age of fifteen, the education of children of the ruling house was often left to Cirches (*q.v.*), who taught them riding and the use of weapons. (Up to the 19th century other Caucasian peoples, including the Ossets, also had their children brought up by Cirches.) The hardships thereby endured were supposed to influence many khāns up to their old age and to counterbalance Ottoman urban culture. In the course of time, however, rulers and high officials turned more and more to Istanbul for the education of their children, also, many a Girāy prince lived there as a hostage. Thus Turkish cultural influence became more and more important during the 17th and 18th centuries. Ottoman Turkish gradually began to supersede Kirim Tatar as the written language; Turkish melodies (played as drums, clarinets and later also violins) may well have merged into local musical tradition; but confinement of women in harems increased.

In this way, the ties with Turkey were strengthened, but they also reinforced dependency upon the Sultans, who more and more intervened, by deposing, and occasionally reinstating, many a khān. Thus the stability of the regional government was undermined both by the power of Istanbul and by the growing independence of the Begs, who possessed wide powers within their fiefs and fought out among themselves many a personal feud. The noble families, the prominent ones being the Shirin, the Kuluk, the Bārin, the Mangūt and the Sulesh, enjoyed tax freedom. The state revenues consisted largely of certain customs duties, payments by individual governors, indirect taxes (mainly on salt) and an annuity of the Sultan. Direct taxes, as for as they were levied, consisted (at least officially) of the *ʿušr* [*q.v.*] and *zakāt* [*q.v.*].

The interventions of the Sublime Porte bound Kirim the more closely to Turkey because no other policy of alliance was now possible with any power to the north (E. Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624 1629* ("Poland and Tartary in 1624-9"), Lodz 1948). Bad harvests in the Crimea, whose agriculture normally secured the subsistence of its inhabitants, may have caused the Tatars to plunder again and again the south western regions of Poland and Lithuania (W. Czapliński, *Sprawa najazdów tatarskich na Polskę w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* ("The problem of the Tatar incursions into Poland in the first half of the 17th c."), in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* lxx/3 (1963), 713-20; M. Horn, *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605 1633 na Ruś Czerwoną* ("The economic consequences of the Tatar invasions in 1605-33 in Red Russia"), Breslau 1964; J. Goldberg, *Chronologia i zasięg najazdów tatarskich na ziemie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1600 1647* ["Chronology and reach of the Tatar invasions into the land of the Republic of Poland in 1600-47"], in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, viii/1, 3-72). Properly speaking, these incursions had no political motivation, but they were to such an extent prejudicial to relations with the neighbours in the north-west that there could be no more question of combined action against the common enemy Moscow, which now became more and more threatening to both parties, also, the Kirim Khāns themselves suffered repeatedly from the unrest of the nomads. When at the treaty of Pereyaslavl' in 1654 the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmel'nitskiy, who had been supported by the Tatars, changed sides and joined Moscow, the Tsar became a direct neighbour of the Crimean khān. Now at last the Polish Lithuanian king sought alliance with Islām Girāy III (1644-54 [*q.v.*]). They undertook a common military expedition against Moscow, which ended in 1655 with the victory of Ochmatów (J. Rypka, *Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmelnyckyj*, in *Festschrift für Jar. Bidlo*, Prague 1928, idem, *Western Beziehungen . .*, in *Archiv Orientální*, ii (1930); idem, *Další příspěvek ke korespondenci Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým* ("Further contribution to the correspondence. . "), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, 1934, idem, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Kosmchanen im II. Bande von Feridun Münşe'ât*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 249-69; O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 266-98). The Tatars now also took part in the campaigns of the Poles against the allied forces of the Russians, Swedes, Brandenburgers Transylvanians and Cossacks (in the period of the "Deluge") and fought in 1656 together with them before Warsaw, in Prussia and in Greater Poland. Many captives and rich booty were brought to the Crimea. Khān Mehmed Girāy IV (who reigned for the second time 1654-66) concluded a treaty with the Polish king over the partition of the conquered regions, the Islamic areas, like Kāsān and Astrakhān, were to fall to the Crimean khānate. Both peoples fought shoulder-to-shoulder against Transylvania in 1657 and against Moscow in 1660 (the Battle of Tudnov) (I. Rubala, *Wojna brandenburska z najazd*

Rakoczego i wojna maskiewska ("The Brandenburg War, the invasion of Rákóczy and the Moscow War"), Lomberg Warsaw 1923; A. Hajko, *Wyprawa wojenna w 1666 r.* ("The campaign of Tsudnov in 1666"), Warsaw 1932). The Tatar army numbered at this time 20,000-30,000 troops at the most, higher accounts (up to 150,000 and even 200,000) are probably false (O. Górka, *Liczebność Tatarów krymskich i ich wojsk* ["The number of the Crimean Tatars and their armies"], in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, viii/1, 1936). Single military units had their own standards, while the cavalrymen brought spare horses along with them. Victuals consisted mainly of millet, which was milled in leathern mortars. Prisoners of war were enabled to ransom themselves as far as possible, not infrequently they were humanely treated, in accordance with Islamic law, there may have been many freedmen.

The alliance between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean khānate came to an end when Mehmed Girāy was deposed in 1666 and the armistice of Andrusovo, between Poland-Lithuania and Moscow, was concluded in 1667. The political situation changed further when Peter Doroshenko (1665-76), the hetman of the Cossacks "of the left bank", submitted to the Sultan out of dislike for the equalising policy of Moscow (D. Dorošenko and J. Kyrpa, *Hejtman Petr Doroševič a jeho turecka politika* ["Hetman P. D. and his Turkish policy"], in *Časopis Národního Musea*, Prague 1933; Ch. Hilbert *Osteuropa 1648-1681 bei den Ost genössischen osman Historikern*, typewr thesis, Göttingen 1948).

At the instigation of the Turks, Khān ʿĀdil Girāy (1666-71) had to collaborate with the Cossacks and therefore fell out with Poland-Lithuania. The ensuing war made Podolia in 1672 into a Turkish province, and thus the Sultan's empire reached its greatest expansion ever to the north of the Black Sea. Attempts by *Khān Selīm Girāy I* (1672-8) at mediation failed because of the Sultan's uncompromising attitude (J. Woliński, *Pośrednictwo tatarskie w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1674-1675 r.* ["Tatar mediation in the Polish-Turkish War 1674-5"], in *Polityka narodów* iv (1954)/4). The new khān, Murād Girāy (1678-83), tried to free himself from subordination to Turkey and wanted to replace the *Sharīʿa* by "the Law of Čingiz Khān" (*Töre, Yasa*), a daring enterprise which naturally angered the *ʿulamāʾ*. In accordance with his political principles, he remained aloof during the Turkish march against Vienna in 1683, and his army corps did not take part in the battle of the Barren Mountain Kahlenberg. As a punishment, he was banished to Bulgaria (Kirimlı Abdullah oğlu Hasan, *Vaṣyana ömānde Kırım swanrileri*, in *Azerbay san Yurt Bilgisi* ii (1933), 22 ff., 348 ff.). Nevertheless, relations between the Tatars and Poland-Lithuania remained tense until the Peace of Carlowitz (1699 [see KARLOVČAI]).

The Tsars availed themselves of this dissension. After the Cossacks of the left bank of the Dnyepr had come again under their control, two Russian armies marched against the Crimea in 1687 and 1689. While Khān Selīm Girāy (who reigned for the second time in 1684-92) succeeded in defending the peninsula itself, Azov was lost to Peter the Great in 1699, and thus the khānate was divided for several years into two parts, ie. the peninsula and the region towards the Caucasus. In order to counterbalance Azov while it was in Russian hands, the fortress of Yeñi Kal'e was founded near Kerč (B. H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman empire*, London 1949).

During this turbulent period, the cultural significance of the khānate declined. Artistic creativity was small, although Islamic influences from the Crimea and from Turkey are clearly recognisable in contemporary Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku* ["Islamic art in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries"], Cracow 1935, P.-K. Spuhler, *Studien Repräsentationsstepptiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit die sog. Polenteppiche*, doctoral thesis, Berlin 1968).

The victory of the European coalition over the Sultan in the great war of 1682-99 was of serious consequence for Kirīm. Pressure from the north made itself more and more felt. The planned co-operation with the Swedish king Charles XII (1697-1718) and with the hetman of the Cossacks Ivan Stepanović Mazepa, in which Ghāzī Girāy III (1704-7/[q.v.]) was very interested, failed owing to the Russian victory near Poltava in 1709. It is true that the allies succeeded in forcing Peter the Great, hemmed in by Turkish troops near the Pruth, to retrocede Azov, but this was all that could be achieved: a protest of Khān Dewlet Girāy II (who reigned for the second time 1708-13) remained unsuccessful (A. N. Kurat, *Prut seferi ve barışı* ["The Pruth campaign and peace"], Ankara 1951). More and more the Tatars began to fear and reject the adversary from the north (G. Veinstein, *Les Tatars de Crimée et la seconde élection de Stanislas Leszczyński*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et slave*, xi (1970), 24 pp.), especially when the Russians invaded Kirīm in 1737 and 1738, destroying many cultural monuments, among them Bağçe Sarāy (*q.v.*) in 1739 the Tatars and Turks had to abandon Azov definitively to the Russians (J. Vesaš, *Turetskyj traktat ob osmanskikh krepostyakh vnovnoge Prichernomor'ya v nachale XVIII veka* ["A Turkish treatise on the Ottoman fortresses on the north coast of the Black Sea at the beginning of the 18th century"], in *Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov yugo-vostočnoy i tsentral'noy Evropy*, ii, Moscow 1960, 98-139). As in Poland-Lithuania, the strength of Kirīm was diminished by the heavy toll of human life, the demoralising defeats, the increasing interference of the Porte in Crimean affairs, the manifold struggles among the princes of the ruling house, and a fairly protracted revolt of the Noghays (*q.v.*) around 1728 (see B. Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Sa'id Giray Han. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. B., 1975). An attempt at a new alliance between Poland-Lithuania, Kirīm and Turkey remained without further result during the 18th century (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja* ["Poland and Turkey"] *1683-1792*, Warsaw 1935; D. Oljančyn, *Do istoriï torhovli Ukraïny z Krymom* ["Contributions to the history of the trade between the Ukraine and Kirīm 1734-9"], Lemberg 1933). An offer of alliance made to the Crimean khān by Frederick the Great in 1761, at the most difficult moment of the Seven Years' War, led to no result either (H. Scheel, *Ein Schreiben des Krim Giray Khan an den Prinzen Heinrich, den Bruder Friedrichs des Grossen*, in *Jorn Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 213-20).

On the other hand, the devastations of the war years stimulated the zest for living of the Crimean Tatars which, during the last decades of their freedom, flowered into a second cultural bloom, and which found its most important expression in the reconstruction of the khān's palace at Bağçe Sarāy in 1740-3. The Sultan made a present of a valuable library, and in 1763 a new staterooom (*Dīwān*) was erected, richly decorated with paintings and sculp-

tures. Former hydraulic works, like aqueducts and canals, were restored and preparations made for a new period of prosperity.

But already in 1771, Russian armies had again marched into the Crimea. Khān Selīm Girāy III (second reign 1770-3) tried to make a stand against them, in vain, because the Sultan himself pressed hard by a war (1768-74), against the Tsarina Catherine II, was unable to render effective help. Many people perished and many places were destroyed. The Russians marched as far as Kafa and the Khān had to flee to Istanbul (A. Mal'avov, *Bor'ba Tsarstvo Rossiĭ s Turtsiei za obladenie Krymskim Khanstvom* ("The struggle of Imperial Russia and Turkey for the domination of the Crimea", *Moscow 1929*)

Thereupon the nobility decided to appoint a khān who was friendly to the Russians and to accede to the Russian occupation of the fortresses of Kerč, Yeñi Kal'e and Kafa. Thus the independence which the Sublime Porte was forced to grant to the Kirim at the peace of Küčük Kaynardje [*q.v.*] in 1774 (E. I. Druzhinina, *Kyuchukkaynardzhiĭskiĭ mir 1774 goda: ego podgotovka i zaklyuchenie* ("The peace of K. K. in 1774 preparation and conclusion"), Moscow 1955), and the renunciation of its rights over these fortresses, on the Kuban and on the Tarsan peninsula, were only fictions, the more so because Kerč and Yeñi Kal'e were at that time already directly subject to Russia (V. D. Smirnov, *Sbornik vibrannïkh kasatel'stvuyushchikh dokladov i ofitsial'nïkh dokumentov otnosyashchikhsya k Tavricheskoĭ, Rossii i Krimu* ("Selection of the most important reports and official documents with reference to Turkey, Russia and the Crimea"), St. Petersburg 1881 (bearing mainly on the period 1786-74), F. A. Uasl, *Asrım tarihi veya Necati efendinin Ruzya sefaretnamesi 1769-75*, in *Tarih vesikaları* iii (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues), *Mubadele Au Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors [1775/76]*, annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz and M. Mote, Chicago-London 1970).

Even the Russian concession at the treaty of Aynalï Kavak in 1779 to declare the Sultan "in his capacity of caliph" to be the head of all Muslims could not prevent Crimean independence from coming to an end. Already two years earlier, the successor to the throne, Shāhīn Girāy, had succeeded as Khān with the help of the Russians and the Noghays (F. F. Lashkov, *Shagin-Girey, poslednyy krimskiy khan* ("Shāhīn G., the last Crimean Khān"), in *Kiyevskaya Starina*, Sept. 1886, 36 ff.). He was educated in Salonica and Venice, had become acquainted with Russia while living there as ambassador, and was open-minded to European and especially to Italian culture. Like the last Polish king, he thought about reforming the state, mainly after the Russian example. He thus transferred the capital to Kafa, on the sea coast, probably after the example of the Russian transfer of their capital to St. Petersburg. He invited foreign instructors to train his army of 6,000 troops, limited the *waḳf*s [*q.v.*] while indemnifying the *'ulamā'* with a pension, and introduced under foreign supervision a new silver coinage. A council of ministers consisting of 12 members was created, and finances were set up anew by introducing financial registers. These reforms burdened the country with considerable debts, and Russia availed itself of the ensuing discontent. Besides, the khanate became upset by a new revolt of the Noghays in 1782 and a rebellion of two brothers of the Khān, who saw himself forced to flee to Grigoriy Aleksandrovič Potëmkin, the governor of the regions newly conquered by the Russians in the south (the Ukraine). After the Khān had returned to his country with Russian help, Catharine II pressed him under deceitful promises to abdicate. Shāhīn Girāy saw no escape from giving in to this pressure and from abandoning his country to Russia, to which it has belonged ever since (A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, N. F. Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie k Rossii Kryma. Reskripti, pis'ma, relatsii i donesheniya* ("The union of the Crimea with Russia. Rescripts, letters, accounts and notes") i-ii, St. Petersburg 1885, idem, *V'ezd poslednyago krimskago khana Shagin Gireya iz Rossii v Turtsiyu* ("The journey of the last Crimean Khan Shāhīn Girāy from Russia to Turkey"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*, xiii (1883), 132-56).

The annexation of the peninsula to the Russian empire (first as the Tauris region, and then from 1796 onwards as the New Russia Government) brought about shiftings of the population which must be mentioned here. Already in 1779 the Orthodox Christians of the Crimea, for centuries subordinated to "the Bishop of Gothia", had been removed to Southern Russia at the latter's instigation: 31,280 people from 6 towns and 80 villages settled around Mariupol' (A. L. Berthier Delagarde, *K istorii khristianstva v Krimu* ("Contribution to the history of Christianity on the Crimea"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*, xxviii (1910), 1-108; A. I. Markevič, *K voprosu o polozhenii khristian v Krimu vo vremya tatarskago vladicestva* ("Contribution to the situation of the Christians on the Crimea during the Tatar reign"), Simferopol 1910). Also the Armenians left the country (likewise with their own hierarchy) and settled in (New-) Nakhičevan now a suburb of Rostov-on-Don. In order to be able to remain in their home country, many Christians, among whom were probably the last remnants of the Crimean Goths, embraced Islam. (E. I. Druzhinina, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e* ("The northern edge of the Black Sea"), 1775-1800, Moscow 1959). But also, many Tatars left the country at that period and in the 19th century to settle in Turkey (G. I. Levitskiy, *Pereselenie tatar iz Kryma v Turtsiyu* ["The settlement of Crimean Tatars in Turkey"] in *Vestnik Evropï* v (1882), 596-639; A. Markevič, *Pereselentsïa krimskikh tatar v Turtsiyu v 1854 godu i dal'neĭshee nasel'enie v Krimu* ("The settlements of the Crimean Tatars in Turkey in connection with the movement of the population on the Crimea"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1926), 375-405). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, but furthermore some 7,000 Tatars from the Kuban area (M. Pinson, *Russian policy and the emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1860*, in *Gunay Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i, (1972), 57-62). Most of the Crimean Tatars who had remained were moved to Central Asia in 1945 (and have not until now been permitted to return—*New York Times*, 13 July 1972—in spite of their official "rehabilitation" (*New York Times*, 5 May 1967; *Frankfurter Allg. Ztg.*, 25 Sept. 1967).

Until February 1954, Kirim belonged to the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), but has since been combined with the Ukraine.

Chronology of the Crimean Khāns

(1449)-1456	Hādjdjī Girāy I
1456	Baydar, son of the preceding
1456-1466	Hādjdjī Girāy I (2nd time)
1466-1467	Nūr Dewlet, son of the preceding

1467-1474 Mengli Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1474-1475 Nūr Dewlet (and time)
1475-1476 Mengli Girāy I (2nd time)
1476-1478 Nūr Dewlet (3rd time)
1478-1515 Mengli Girāy I (3rd time)
1515-1523 Mehmed Girāy I, son of the preceding
1523-1524 Ghāzī Girāy I, son of the preceding
1524-1532 Sa'ādet Girāy I, son of Mengli G. I
1532 Islām Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1532-1551 Shāhīn Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1551-1577 Dewlet Girāy I, nephew of the preceding
1577-1584 Mehmed Girāy II, the Fat, son of the preceding
1584-1588 Islām Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1588-1596 Ghāzī Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1596 Fetḥ Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1596-1608 Ghāzī Girāy II (2nd time)
1608 Tokhtamish Girāy, son of the preceding
1608-1610 Selāmet Girāy I, son of Dewlet G. I
1610 Mehmed Girāy III, grandson of Mehmed G. II
1610-1623 Djānibek Girāy, grandson of Dewlet G. I
1623-1624 Mehmed Girāy III (2nd time)
1624 Djānibek Girāy (2nd time)
1624-1627 Mehmed Girāy III (3rd time)
1627-1635 Djānibek Girāy (3rd time)
1635-1637 Inayet Girāy, brother of Tokhtamish G.
1637-1641 Bahādir Girāy I, son of Selāmet G. I
1641-1644 Mehmed Girāy IV, the Pious (*sofi*), brother of the preceding
1644-1654 Islām Girāy III, brother of the preceding
1654-1666 Mehmed Girāy IV (2nd time)
1666-1671 'Ādil Girāy, from the collateral line Čoban G.
1671-1678 Selīm Girāy I, son of Bahādir G. I
1678-1683 Murād Girāy, cousin of Selīm G. I
1683-1684 Ḥadjdjī Girāy II, cousin of the preceding
1684-1691 Selīm Girāy I (2nd time)
1691 Sa'ādet Girāy II, brother of Ḥadjdjī Girāy II
1691-1692 Ṣafā Girāy, cousin of the preceding
1692-1699 Selīm Girāy I (3rd time)
1699-1702 Dewlet Girāy II, son of the preceding
1702-1704 Selīm Girāy I (4th time)
1704-1707 Ghāzī Girāy III, son of the preceding
1707-1708 Kaplan Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1708-1713 Dewlet Girāy II (2nd time)
1713-1716 Kaplan Girāy I (2nd time)
1716-1717 Dewlet Girāy III
1717-1724 Sa'ādet Girāy III, son of Selīm G. I
1724-1730 Mengli Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1730-1736 Kaplan Girāy I (3rd time)
1736-1737 Fetḥ Girāy II, son of Dewlet G. II
1737-1740 Mengli Girāy II (2nd time)
1740-1743 Selāmet Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1743-1748 Selīm Girāy II, son of Kaplan G. I
1748-1756 Arslan Girāy, brother of Fetḥ G. II
1756-1758 Ḥalīm Girāy, son of Sa'ādet G. III
1758-1764 Ḳïrïm Girāy, son of Dewlet G. II
1764-1767 Selīm Girāy III, son of Fetḥ G. II
1767 Arslan Girāy (2nd time)
1767-1768 Makṣūd Girāy, son of Selāmet G. II
1768-1769 Kïrïm Girāy (2nd time)
1769-1770 Dewlet Girāy IV, son of Arslan G.
1770 Kaplan Girāy II, son of Selīm G. II
1770-1771 Selīm Girāy III (2nd time)
1771-1772 Makṣūd Girāy (2nd time)
1772-1775 Shāhīn Girāy II, son of Selīm G. III
1775-1777 Dewlet Girāy IV (2nd time)
1777-1782 Shāhīn Girāy, son of Selīm G. III
1782-1783 Bahādir Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1783 Shāhīn Girāy (2nd time)

A list of the Crimean *khāns* can be found in A. W. Fisher, *op. cit.*, 158 (defective) and in Zambaur, 247 f. For genealogical tables of the Girāys, see H. Inalcık, in *IA*, iv, after p. 788, Zambaur, table S, and E. Kellner, *op. cit.*, after p. 265 (18th c.).

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KİRK KILISE, also Kirk Kilise and Kirkilisa (Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, Istanbul 1928, viii, 69) a town in eastern Thrace, modern Kırklareli. This region to the east of Adrianople on Edirne [*q.v.*] had a centre in classical times, but its name is unknown (for the view that this place was called Heraclea, see J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 234) The Byzantine name of Kirk Kilise was apparently Sarante Ekklesiai, and the name Kirk Kilise must mean the church of forty saints and not forty churches (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 392-2).

The later writers Kâtib Çelebi (*Dihân-nümâ*, Rumeli section Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine kütüphanesi, no. 443, f. 17a) and Muneccimbâshi (iii, 295), record the date for the conquest of Kirk Kilise as 770/1368-9 (see Feridûn Bey, *Münşe'âtü 's-selâtîn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 71-2) The early historians do not mention its capture, but the implication is that it was conquered few years after the conquest of Edirne in 763/1362 (for this, see Halil Inalcık, *The conquest of Edirne* (1362), in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, ii (1972)) The first Islamic building constructed in the town after its conquest was the 'Atîk mosque (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Tapu defteri, no. 370, this building was in a ruined condition in 1228/1807) Nomads (*yürüks*) brought from western Anatolia were settled in the region of Kirk Kilise, and were during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries known as "the *yürüks* of Kirk Kilise" (M Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yürükler, tatarlar ve evâil-i Fâtihan*, Istanbul 1957, 84, 180 and *passim*), Kirk Kilise was first attached to the *Vize sanjak* of the province of Rumelia, but was then established as *müsellem sanjak* (idem, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyâleti, livâları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, Ixxvili (1956), 255, 269).

In the 10th/16th century, Kirk Kilise consisted of 6 quarters or *mahalles* Djâmi'-i 'Atîk, Djâmi'-i Kebîr, Hâdjdjî Zekeriyâ, Sultân Bâyezîd Khan Ketkhûdâsi, Yaprakli and Karadja Ibrâhîm, containing 283 households (Tapu defteri, no. 370) During the 11th/17th century, Kirk Kilise was a small town with a few shops and red tile-roofed houses set among the vineyards, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djâmi'), the *bedestân* in covered market, the Köprühashi fountain, and the coffee house, meeting place of the learned man, situated by a fountain (Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat nâme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 79-80) For the remaining monuments of the town today, see *Sâlnâme-i vilâyet-i*

Edirne, Edirne 1309, 143 ff., 247 ff., A. Rıza Durumkaya, *Kırklareli vilâyetin tarih, coğrafya, kültür ve eski eserler yönünden tetkik*, Kırklareli 1947, ii, Öncao Mert, *Kırklareli kitabları*, in *TD*, no. 29 (Istanbul 1972), 533-62. During the 12th/18th century, the Greeks in the town almost equalled the number of the Muslims (see *Racer Yusuf Beşkoç'un 1760 tarihli İstanbul-Lehistan seyahatnamesi ve hatıra defteri*, tr Ismail Eren, in *TD*, no. 26 (Istanbul 1962), 98-9). In the *sandjak* of Kirk Kilise of the province of Edirne there was in 1849 an important number of Greeks and Bulgarians, and the population of the region was 18,325 (*Salnâme-i vilayet-i Edirne*, Edirne, 1327, 398-9). For a time, the town was included in the boundaries of Bulgaria after the treaty of San Stefano (3rd March 1878), but was given back to the Ottomans after the Congress of Berlin (13 June - 13 July 1878). It again passed into Bulgarian hands for a short while during the Balkan War of 1912-3, but was recaptured on 8 July 1913. It was under Greek occupation for two years after the Madros truce (1918), but was recovered by the Nationalist forces on 20th November 1922. The population of the town fell when the Greek population was transferred to Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne settlement in 1923. The name Kirk Kilise was changed into Kırklareli by a law taking effect from 24th December 1924. Under the Republic, Kırklareli has become the centre of a province or *vilayet* of the same name. Its population was 13,000 in 1927, 19,097 in 1955, 27,431 in 1970 and 33,260 according to the latest census (1975).

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(C. ORHONLU)

KİRKLARELİ [see KIRK KILISE].

KİRK WEZİR [see SHAYKHZĀDE II].

KIRKÜK, the biggest town of the region of Mesopotamia (44° 25' E, 35° 25' N.) bounded by the Little Zab in the north-west, the Djabal Hamrin in the south-west, the Diyāla in the south-east and the mountain chains of the Zagros in the north-east. It is identified by some (e.g. C. J. Gadd in *Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.*, xxiii (1926), 64, and by Sidney Smith) as the site of the ancient city of Arrapha, and so Kirkūk participated in the revolt of the son of Shalmaneser II (859-824 B.C.) against his ageing father; again it rose up in the reign of Ashur Dan III (772-754 B.C.). It saw the victorious troops of Nabopolassar pass through in 626 B.C. before being taken by the Medes under Cyaxares at the end of 615 B.C. (G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, London 1964, 247, 255, 312, 314). From the time of the ancient Babylonian empire and during the Assyrian empire the town and its surrounding territories were very exposed to raids by the mountain peoples from the north-east.

Under the Sāsānids (226-651 A.D.) the province of Kirkūk was called Garmakān (Moses of Khoren) and in Syriac sources, Beth Garmai, here the town of Kirkūk itself is called Karkhā of Beth Sēlōkh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, viii/3 (1880), 267 ff.). This name could have come from the king Seleucus I Nicator (ca. 255-280 B.C.) who is said to have had constructed a tower in the citadel. During the Sāsānid period the town also became a famous centre for the Nestorians. The metropolitan of Beth Garmai had his residence there (J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, iii, Beirut 1968). Christians suffered persecution under Shāpūr II (310-79) (Fiey, *Histoires de Karka d'Bēt Slōkh* in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxxii (1966), 203-9) and especially in 445 under Yezdegerd II, who made victims of thousands of them. Their situation later improved when a Christian of the town of Wārdīn became chancellor under Chosroes II (591-628) and achieved such fame that his native town took the name Karkh Wārdīn. (Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, iii, 23-8) Beth Garmai of the Syriac sources is called Bādjarmā by the Arab historians. Yākūt speaks of a town Karkhīnā (iv, 276) which Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 272) believes can be identified, correctly it seems, as Kirkūk. Even today the people of Shakkāwā and ʿAyn Kāwā, when setting out for Kirkuk, still say that they are going to Karkhīnā (Fiey, *op. cit.*, iii, 44).

In the 6th/12th century the region of Kirkūk belonged to the territory dominated by the Begtegīnī dynasty [q.v.], who had their residence at Irbil. After the death of Muzaffar al-Dīn Kökbūrī in 629/1232, the possessions of this dynasty reverted to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, but not long afterwards were conquered by the Mongols. The name Kirkūk appears for the first time in the history of Timūr of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (*Zafar nāma*, written in 823/1424-5, tr Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, ii, 259). Then came the reign of the Ak-koyunlu, followed by the conquest of Mesopotamia by Shāh Ismāʿīl I in the early years of the 10th/16th century. When finally Mesopotamia and ʿIrāk had fallen into the hands of the Ottoman sultans Selīm I and Sulaymān I (according to the first Turco-Persian truce at Amasya, 29 May 1555), Kirkūk again took on its rôle as an important bulwark against the enemy from the East.

The town fell again to the Persians after the fall of Baghdād in 1032/1623, but was reconquered by Khosrow Pasha [q.v.] in 1039/1630, in 1044/1638 Murād IV passed through the town on his march to reconquer Baghdād. But the true masters of these regions were the local Kurdish hordes, lords of the province of Ardalān (Hādidāt Khalīfa, *Dīshān-nāma*, 445). But shortly afterwards the Ottoman power became established there by the activity of the *pashas* of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr [q.v.]. Thus *eyālet* was composed of 32 *sandjaks*, of which one was that of Kirkūk, and this town became the residence of the *pasha* of Shahrizūr after the castle in the town of this name had been razed by Shāh ʿAbbās (1571-1629) (*Dīshān-nāma*, *loc. cit.*). In 1732 the future Nādir Shāh besieged the town in vain. A great battle took place near Kirkūk in the following year, when the Turks were completely beaten under the grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, who died there. In 1743 Kirkūk fell again into the hands of the Persians, but was returned to Turkey after the truce of 1746.

The town remained in the Ottoman empire until the end of the First World War. It was occupied by the British on 7 May 1918, but abandoned fifteen days later. It was re-occupied at the end of October and remained occupied until the time of the Mudros armistice. Having remained outside the sphere of activities of Shaykh Mahmūd (November 1918 until May 1919), Kirkūk and its district were administered peaceably. There was even a Turkish newspaper published there and sixteen schools were opened. At the time of the referendum of July 1921 Kirkūk

rejected the Amīr Fayṣal as king of ʿIrāḳ, and from that moment Turkish propaganda developed in the region, supported by a Turkish committee founded at Kirkūk by the family of the Naḳīzāda and other Turcophiles. On 17 March the Turks named a *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Ruwanduz, and at the end of July, Col. ʿAlī Shafīḳ, who was called Öz Demir, "Pure Iron one", appeared and made some advances towards the territory, but he was unable to retrieve all the *wilāyat* of Mosul. The Turks tried again to claim it at the Lausanne Conference (20 November 1922 until 4 February 1923) but without success. The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) still left the question of Mosul undecided, and so it was referred to the League of Nations. A committee of enquiry was sent by them, and in its 54th session in Geneva on 16 December 1924, the Council gave a definite ruling: ʿIrāḳ was given the territory south of the so-called "Brussels line". Thereafter Kirkūk was incorporated into the kingdom of ʿIrāḳ.

The present day town is built partly on top of an artificial mound or *ḥaḍr* about 40 m. high, and partly at its base, on the two banks of the Khāṣa Çay. These waters join with those of the Awā Spī to form the Aghaym which flows into the Tigris 30 km. south of Balad. On the right bank of the Khāṣa Çay, in the middle of a fertile plain, rises the residential district of Arrapkhe. In 1912 the population was estimated to be 15,000 (by E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan...*, 220), in 1922 to be 25,000 (by C. J. Edmonds), and in 1965 official statistics, determined according to maternal language, gave 184,000 inhabitants, comprising 73,000 Kurds, 55,000 Turcomans and 46,000 Arabs, plus others. The present population is certainly over 200,000. It should be noted that, for many years, the authorities have made strenuous efforts to replace the Kurds by Arabs. Kirkūk is the centre of an administrative region, formerly a *livāʾ* and now since 1975 a *muḥāfaẓa*, and has had its name changed; it is now called al-Taʾmīm ("Nationalisation") in honour of the nationalisation of oil on 1 June 1972 and also in the intention of "de-Kurdicising" the town (though the latter has however kept its Kurds). The population of the *muḥāfaẓa* is rapidly increasing thanks to the development of the oil industry, its 338,900 inhabitants of 1957 increased to 525,000 in 1970, with a majority of Kurds. The Kurds, Arabs and Turcomans of the town are Sunnī Muslims, but the Turcomans of the villages belong to an unorthodox and secret sect, the Kākāʾīsh. The Christians are mainly Chaldaean (about 4,500) with an archbishop, and the Nestorians, who are less numerous, have a bishop at Ḥarīr. There was a small colony of Jewish merchants, one of whom was sent as a delegate to the Parliament in Baghdād and another was at the head of the Department of Finance of the *livāʾ* of *Kirkūk*, but it has disappeared since the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. It is thought they were the descendants of the Jews who were deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar after the capture of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and they continued to speak Aramaic. The little mosque of Nabī Dānīyāl on the slope of the hill of Kirkūk commemorates the Hebrew Prophet who was deported at the same time. This must be an ancient church which existed until *ca.* 1700, just like the Ulu Djāmiʿ mosque. The oldest church in the world was that of the martyr Mar Tahmasgerd, built by the metropolitan *ca.* 470 A.D., to the east of the citadel of Kirkūk; it was known as the Great Martyrion, but during the Turkish retreat of 1918 it was being used as a powder magazine and was blown up (C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 267, Eley, *Assyria*, iii, 54).

Urban planning in Kirkūk has made the centre a large circle of broad streets. Christians have been established there since earliest times, and seem always to have maintained positions of greater or lesser importance. The presence of a Turcoman minority in Kirkūk, within its Kurdish majority, must go back considerably before the conquest by the Ottoman sultans; their origin could be sought in a Turkish garrison which the caliphs may have installed there in the 3rd/9th century, or in an immigration at the time of the Saldjūḳs, and the Begteginids or Atabegs of Irbil (C. J. Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 267, has drawn attention to other opinions). Whatever may have been the circumstances of their coming to the region, the Turcomans of Kirkūk have always provided strong support for the Ottoman empire and its culture, and an abundant source for Ottoman officials (see *Türk Yurdu*, 1935).

Kirkūk's position as an administrative centre has varied through the ages: "In the 18th century Kirkūk was the chief town of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr which included the modern *livāʾ*s of Kirkūk, Irbīl and nominally of Sulaymānī under a *mutaṣallim* appointed by Baghdād. With the reforms of Midhat Pasha, *wālī* of Baghdād from 1869 to 1872, the name of Shahrizūr was given to the *sandjaḳ* of Kirkūk, corresponding to the present-day *livāʾ* of Kirkūk and Irbīl, whereas the historic Shahrizūr remained outside, in the new *sandjaḳ* of Sulaymānī. The *wilāyat* of Mosul was formed in 1879 and Kirkūk remained an important garrison town" (Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 265-6). Under the Turkish régime, the *wilāyat* of Mosul was divided into three *sandjaḳ*s or *livāʾ*s: Mosul, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī, to which three *ḳaḍāʾ*s situated to the north of the Little Zab were detached from Kirkūk to form the *livāʾ* of Irbīl. In the constitution of 1923, the new Iraqi state was formed of three Ottoman *wilāyets*. Baghdād, which became the capital, Baṣra, and Mosul. The *livāʾ* of Kirkūk was composed of four *ḳaḍāʾ*s, Kirkūk, Kifrī, Čamčamāl and Gil. Today, the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Taʾmīm, with a *muḥāfiẓ* at its head, includes five *ḳaḍāʾ*s, as follows Kirkūk, Tuz Khurmātū, Čamčamāl, Hawaydja and Kifrī. Each *ḳaḍāʾ* has at its head a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. The *ḳaḍāʾ* of Kirkūk has five *nāḥiya*s, as follows. Tuz Khurmātū, Ṣarā Ḥasan, Altun Köpri, Dibs and Shuwān, and each *nāḥiya* is administered by a *mudīr*. Kirkūk is the seat of the regional court and of a court of appeal, and it possesses a garrison and an airport. There is also an association of Turcoman writers.

Kirkūk is an important commercial centre and an agricultural market for the cereal and animal products of the neighbourhood. It is well served by good roads to Baghdād through Taʾūḳ and Kifrī to Mosul through Altun Köpri and Irbīl, to Sulaymāniyya through Čamčamāl with branches to Sarāndadj and Ḥamadān to Iran. A narrow-gauge railway links Kirkūk with Baghdād to the south and with Irbīl to the north. The region around Kirkūk is undulating and it is populated mostly by Kurds. The Mesopotamian steppe begins to the west of the town and it is inhabited chiefly by Arabs. The immediately-surrounding district produces much fruit.

The region of Kirkūk abounds in sulphur and bitumen products and it is especially rich in petroleum deposits, extensively exploited even in ancient times. It should be noted that the petroleum had a

certain importance in Ottoman times, being used by the army (V. J. Parry, *Materials of war in the Ottoman empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 220. A *firmān* of 1049/1639 recognised the monopoly of rights over this petroleum to a group of Turks in the region of Kirkūk, the Neftčizādeler. But their systematic working dates from March 1925. At that time a concession was granted to the Turkish Petroleum Company (T.P.C.) which was founded in 1914 to exploit the deposits of the *wilayets* of Mosul and Baghdād; royalties of 4 gold shillings per ton of extracted petroleum were payable. Before the end of 1925, geological work was begun and roads were constructed, water supplies, pipe lines and buildings were installed in the *wilayet* of Mosul, and there were 30 British and 2,500 Iraqis employed in the work. The drilling sites were chosen in the Djabal Hamrīn, near Tuz Khurmātu, in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk. The drilling programme was formally inaugurated in April 1927 by King Faysal I, and the first oil gushed forth on 27 October 1927 at Bābā Gurgur, near Kirkūk. The years 1927 to 1932 were given to preparing the whole region of Kirkūk for production by test drilling, scientific observation and arranging the necessary services; productive wells, reservoirs, workshops, housing etc. were established and at the same time negotiations were conducted with the Iraqi government to extend the period for selecting areas, according to the convention of 1925 in March 1931 the company, which had become the Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) in 1929, was able to operate in the whole territory in the north-east of Iraq, on condition that by 1935 they constructed a pipe-line to the Mediterranean with a capacity of 3,000,000 tonnes, with a branch at Hadīdja on the Euphrates to Haifā and Tripoli, and that they make an annual payment of £ 4,000 as an overall payment to the government.

It was also in 1931 that the operational headquarters of the I.P.C. was moved from Tuz Khurmātu to Kirkūk, and the headquarters for pipe-line operations was established at Haifa. The drilling for crude oil at Kirkūk began at the end of 1934 and, from 1935 onwards, the annual production of 4,000,000 tonnes put Iraq in the eighth position among the oil producing countries. In January 1935 the double 12" pipeline from Kirkūk in the Mediterranean was formally opened, but became of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the branch leading to Haifā was closed. This caused a loss of almost 7,000,000 tonnes and the corresponding royalties. The Tripoli pipe-line was, however, doubled by a second (16") pipe in 1949 and this trebled the export figure. In 1952 a third (30") pipeline was brought into service between Kirkūk and Banias (Syria). From then on the world market for Iraqi oil was in increase to 14,000,000 tonnes per year. On 3 February 1952 a new agreement was signed between the Iraqi government and the I.P.C. for the distribution of personnel, production and revenues. A maximum production of 12,000,000 tonnes was expected annually from 1953 and a revenue of £ 30,000,000, in 1952 to reach £ 60,000,000 in 1955. The profits gained from the oil workings would be shared equally.

The Iraqi revolution of 1958 did not change the agreements between the government and the petroleum companies. The objective was to obtain exports wuith 200 to 10 revenue from a capacity of 90 *m.* tonnes per year. This target was reached in four years, but a few problems of interpretation persisted. In April 1961 negotiations were begun and, after different interruptions, they finally reached deadlock. They were concluded by Law 80 of 11 December 1961 which dispossessed the company of 99.5% of the territories where they had prospecting rights and left I.P.C. with only 22 sites, 12 of there at Kirkūk in an area of about 478.75 sq. kms., 6 at Bay Hassan of about 182.5 sq kms., and 4 at Djambar, of about 86.5 sq kms. (Vernier, *L'Irak* .., 455). New installations were planned between May 1964 and June 1965 and were completed, with future plans taking into consideration the Iraqi National Oil Company (I.N.O.C.) which had recently been founded on 30 October 1964. More new laws were enacted as a consequence. Law 97 (6 August 1967) forbade any new concessions to foreign companies and Law 123 (October 1967) authorised the I.N.O.C. to exploit the remaining sectors, which seemed to put an end to the monopoly of oil production which the foreign I.P.C. enjoyed. On 14 June 1972, the I.P.C. itself was nationalised, and thus Iraq gained for itself all the profits from its rich petroleum deposits. The annual production of crude oil in Iraq has regularly increased from the 47.5 *m.* tonnes in 1960, by 1975 it had reached more than 110 *m.* tonnes, 60 *m.* of which were from the Kirkūk region. In 1973 the Iraqi reserves of crude oil were estimated to be 4-143 billion tonnes.

If the petroleum industry with all its subsidiary operations gave a favourable social status to its workers, for their standard of living is superior to that of other workers in the country, it did not suppress all the movements for social reform. Several important strikes were called in Kirkūk among the oil workers. The most notable were those of 1937 which coincided with the workers' strikes at the Kūt barrage, the drillers of the B.O.P., the railways, the stevedores at Basra and the weavers of Nadjaf. These showed a hardening of class-consciousness and the discovery of a new political weapon (Longrigg, *Iraq*, 252). In July 1947 a serious strike aggravated by politicians of communist leanings broke out at I.P.C., and it claimed several victims (*ibid.* 338).

Other demonstrations have had a more political tone. The mere announcement of the Treaty of Portsmouth (15 January 1948) produced a general strike for those days. At Kirkūk the British consulate was attacked, but the most tragic of these events was the so-called 'purge of Kirkūk". On the occasion of the first anniversary of the republic (14 July 1959) Communist elements helped by bands of Kurds, massacred the Turcomans of the town, for they were considered to be anti-Communist. There were probably 120 killed and about 100 wounded. The participation of the Kurds in the affair was interpreted not as a sign of an antagonistic nationalistic rivalry against the Turcomans, but one of social competition. The Turcomans, who are more socially and culturally advanced, occupied more high ranking positions in the I.P.C., while the Kurds had to constitut themselves with more subordinate work (cf. M. Khadduri, *Republican 'Iraq*, 125).

It must not be forgotten that one of the obstacles in a definitive solution to the Kurdish problem is precisely the claim of the Kurds to the territory and the revenue of the Kirkūk oil-fields, which they would like to see included in the territory of an autonomous Kurdistan. These claims are categorically refuted by the central Iraqi government. In October 1970 a plebiscite was to settle this point of contention, but it was adjourned indefinitely (E. O'Ballance, *The Kurdish revolt*, 161 f.). This at least in part provoked the outbreak of hostilities in

March 1974, just as the Kardo-Iraqi agreement of 11 March 1970 was being implemented. The law of 11 March 1974 awarding autonomy to the region of Kurdistan defined this region in terms of the 1957 census, carried out under the monarchy. At that time, the Kurds were afraid to declare themselves as such, and thus the census did not give a Kurdish majority to Kirkūk; hence the town and the *mukāfaṣa* were accordingly excluded from the autonomous area.

A well-known personality of Kirkūk was the Kurdish poet Shaykh Riḍā Ṭālabānī (m. 1840-1910). More-or-less an agnostic character, but at the same time fanatical also, he had gifts of satire and improvisation and a sometimes obscene verve, and composed poems in Kurdish, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. They were published in Baghdād in 1935 and 1946 and he is remembered as one of the most popular poets of Iraqi Kurdistan (cf. E. B. Soane, *op. cit.*, 134-5; Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 57 n, 290-5; Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaikh Riza Talabani*, in *JRCAS*, xxiii (1935), 222-37).

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 846, 854 ff.; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, Berlin 1840, 552 ff. based on descriptions by the travellers Niebuhr, Shiel, Ker Porter and Ainsworth), H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1865; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, iii, Berlin 1921, 329 ff.; E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, 2nd ed. 1926, H. C. Lukas, *Mesul and its minorities*, London 1925, *League of Nations, Questions de la frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak*, C. 400, M. 147, (1925), vii, 38, J. Lebeurt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, Paris 1904, C. J. Lonergan, *Four centuries of modern 'Iraq*, Oxford 1925, idem, *'Iraq 1900 to 1950, a political, social and economic history*, Oxford 1953, 2nd ed. 1956 Idem, *Oil in the Middle East*, London 1968; A. M. Hamilton, *Road through Kurdistan*, London 1937, 5th ed. 1958, C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: Politics, travel and research in North-Eastern Iraq, 1919-1925*, Oxford 1957; B. Vernier, *L'Irak d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1963; Majid Khadduri, *Republican 'Iraq: A study in 'Iraqi politics since the revolution of 1958*, Oxford 1969; E. O'Ballance, *The Kurdish revolt 1961-1970*, London 1973; Guide Bleu, *Moyen-Orient, Liban, Syrie, Jordanie, Iraq, Iran*, Paris 1965, *Petroleum Times*, 1956 ff.

(J. H. Kramers - [Ta Bois])

KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv, 2, 14), and which is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital, Carmana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, vi, 8, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 48. See further Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 30, on the name Carmania, and Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 143, for the later popular etymology of the name).

The Province.—The province of Kirmān is situated to the south west of the great central desert of Persia, the Dasht-i Lūt, which narrows to some 120 miles in width where it divides Kirmān from Sīstān. It is bounded on the north by Yazd and Khurāsān, on the east by Sīstān and Makrān (Balūčistān), which was regarded by most of the early geographers as separate from Kirmān, though Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it paid tribute (*kharādj*) to Kirmān (*Nuzhat*, 241), on the south by Makrān and Fārs and on the west by Fārs. Its boundaries have varied slightly from time to time. Ibn Rusta states that Fahradj was part of the tax district of Kirmān but that the ruler of Makrān claimed that it belonged to him (286). Khabīṣ, which is today included in Balūčistān, and Rīgān were both reckoned by Iṣṭakhrī to belong to Kirmān, though the former was, he states, part of the tax district of Sīstān (162). Idrīsī, on the other hand, includes Khabīṣ in Sīstān (427). Shahr-i Bābak was at various times included in Fārs, at others in Kirmān. In 1258/1842-3 it was placed, for revenue purposes, under Yazd (Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī, *Tawdīḥāt-i-yī mamlakat-i Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, xiv/1-4, 163). Bāft, which had earlier belonged to Kirmān, was also placed under Yazd about the year 1774 (Wazīrī, 175), though Khināmān, one of its districts, continued to belong to Kirmān. During the reign of the Saldjūk *malik* of Kirmān, Arslān Shāh (494-536/1100-41), Yazd and Tabas appear to have been under Kirmān (Afḍal al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran 1311, 76). Furg and Tārum both placed in Fārs by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (129), were considered by Afḍal al-Dīn to belong to Kirmān (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 75). Ibn Balkhī states that Rūdān, which had belonged to Fārs, was put on the Kirmān side of the frontier in the reign of Alp Arslān (*Fārs nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 122), but according to Idrīsī, although it formed one of the dependencies of Kirmān, it was under Fārs for tax purposes (416). Hurmuz [*q.v.*] was sometimes counted as belonging to Fārs, sometimes to Kirmān, and has often been in different hands as its hinterland.

According to the Arab geographers, the western part of the province, which included Shahr-i Bābak, Sirdjān, Urzūya, Aḥṣāʾ, Kushk, Ṣawghān, Isfundaḳa, Djīrufṭ and Rūdbār, was in the third clime, and the eastern part, including Anār, Kūbanān (Kūhbanān) Zarand, Guwāshīr or Gwāshīr (also known as Bardsīr and later as Kirmān), Bāwar, Khabīṣ, Rāʾīn, Sardūya, Bam and Narmāshīr, in the fourth clime, while Hurmuz, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was in the second clime (*Nuzhat*, 141).

In the variety of its topography the province is not dissimilar from Persia as a whole. A series of mountain ranges, with a general trend from north-west to south east, runs through the province. Much is tangled broken country, but there are many fertile upland districts, pastures and mountain valleys with orchards, cultivated places, and many streams. Some of these have a high elevation: Saʿīdābād, near the site of the old city of Sirdjān, lies at an elevation of 5,600 ft. and Pārīn at over 7,000 ft. There are also numerous arid waterless mountain districts and desert tracts. The main desert area is in the north and north-east on the borders of the Dasht i Lūt, and is encroaching on the neighbouring fertile districts. The Lūt is defined in the south by the Bam-Zāhidān road and thus excludes Narmāshīr and the desert regions of south-eastern Kirmān and Rīgān, though physically these belong to the Lūt proper. There are also some stretches of arid land between the south west highlands and the Djibāl Bārīz which run south-east from Sirdjān to east of Djīrufṭ. Salt swamps (*kaṣa*) are found in isolated depressions, notably the Kafad Kaṭrū near Sirdjān (for a description of this, see K. E. Abbott, *Geographical notes taken during a journey in Persia in 1849 and 1850*, in *JRGS*, xxv (1855), 66-7). In some parts of the province the towns and villages tend to be separated from each other by broad stretches of uncultivated land (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 163, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309). Along the nor-

them littoral of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of 'Umān these is a narrow coastal plain.

The most northerly of the mountain ranges stretches from the neighbourhood of Yazd to Khabīṣ (the modern Shahdād) and south-eastwards towards Sarvistān. The fertile upland district of Kūbanān to the north, and, further south, the arid district of Rāwar lie along its eastern base. A second range, further to the west, which contains Mt. Dūpār (13,000 ft.) south of Kirmān city, and Mt. Hazār (14,500 ft.) to the south-west of Kā'in, runs towards Bam, while a third, still further west, runs south-eastwards from north of Shahr-i Bābak though Sirdjān and Bāft, and contains Mt. Chiltan (12,000 ft.) Mt. Cahārgumbaz (13,000 ft.) and Mt. Lālazār (14,350 ft.). A lesser range, with Mt. Cāhkazār (9,480 ft.), lies to the south of Sa'īdābād, while the Mt. Dinā range of Fārs is prolonged on a south easterly direction to near Bandar 'Abbās. South of Sarvistān and to the east of Djīruft, lies the Djibāl Bāriz range [see DJABAL BĀRIZ in Suppl.], which also trends from the north-west to the south-east and rises in 13,000 ft. in the north and 12,450 ft. in the south. The Djibāl Kufs region of the Arab geographers (see Iṣṭakhrī, 164; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124, al-Mukaddasī, 471; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309-10, C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Coffs* in *Persian history*, in *Iran*, xiv (1976), 9-18) probably lay in the south-east to *Bashākird*, *on the borders of Makrān and Rūdbār*

In the upland districts, notably in the Djibāl Bāriz, there exist remnants of a dry forest, consisting mainly of thin stands of pistachio trees, several species of almond, maple, celtis, juniper and other shrubs; stands of pistachio trees, almonds and other drought-resistant species are also found at lower levels. In the *garmsīr* the vegetation tends to be scattered trees and shrubs with a steppe like ground cover. The *kunār* tree (*zizyphus spina Christi*) has a wide distribution, as also do several species of acacia, myrtle, tamarisk and oleander. Deforestation from charcoal burning and annual grazing has taken place, and present day cover, though in places still considerable, would appear to be appreciably less than the 'forests' of both the early and mediaeval geographers and the 19th century writers.

There are no important rivers reaching the sea. The largest of them, the R. Mināb, rises in the hills of Bandar 'Abbās. It has a considerable drainage and flows into the Persian Gulf some 30 miles east of Bandar 'Abbās. The only considerable inland river is the R. Halīl, which is joined by its tributary, the R. Shōr, in the neighbourhood of Djīruft and disappears in the Dīz Hurūn. According to Iṣṭakhrī, it had enough water to turn 20 (306), or, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 30 mill wheels (ii, 311). The province relies, for the most part, on *kanāts* (*q.v.*) and mountain streams for water. In many districts the sub-soil water is brackish and the soil is often impregnated with salt. Rainfall is low and decreases towards the south-east, though the relief of the land gives rise to many local variations. The maximum precipitation is in winter. Kirmān town has an annual average rainfall of 7.9 in., Bandar 'Abbās 10 in., and Bam 3 in. Drought, sometimes accompanied by famine, has not been uncommon in the history of Kirmān. The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* mentions one such in the *kharādjī* year 370 (97). In 1879 and 1880 Kirmān, like many other provinces, suffered severely from drought. Flash floods are also a hazard, such as the floods which occurred in Kirmān (and many other places) in 1001/1593 (Muḥammad b. Hidāyat Allāh Nṭanzī, *Nuzhat al-akhbār*, ed. Ihsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran 1972, 531).

According to the Arab geographers, some three-quarters of the province belongs to the warm regions (*ḥārr*, *garmsīr*) and one quarter to the cold regions (*sard*, *sardsīr*). In the *garmsīr* the districts bordering the central desert have a hot dry climate, but in the southern parts of the province, especially in the Persian Gulf littoral, the climate in summer is hot and unhealthy. Bam is thus reckoned to have a better climate than Djīruft (Iṣṭakhrī, 166) The latter is described by *Aʿḍāl al-Dīn* as a paradise for four months of the year but as hell for the rest of the year (*Tuḥfa al-ʿālā*, 69) The 5th/11th century Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī adds to the latter's text the statement that the climate of Hurmuz was noxious (ed Iradj Afshār, Tehran 1340, 139). The upland country of Aḳṭāʿ and Sirdjān has a temperate climate, while Kirmān, Baftān, Zarand, Rāwar and Kūbanān have a hot summer and mild winter. Barley is harvested in Rūdbār at the Persian New Year (21 March) and wheat twenty days afterwards. In Aḳṭāʿ barley is not harvested until five months after the New Year and wheat a month later.

Outside the coastal area, where the annual range of temperature is lowest, the difference between the coldest month, January, and the warmest, July, is considerable. At Kirmān, with an elevation of 5,680 ft., the average maximum temperature in January is 55.4° F and the average minimum 33.8° F, with an *absolute maximum and minimum of 75.2° F and -7.6° F* respectively and a mean monthly average of 42.8° F in July the average maximum and minimum temperature is 95° F and 64.4° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 105.8° F and 48.2° F and a mean monthly average of 80.6° F. At Bandar 'Abbās the average maximum and minimum temperatures in January are 73.4° F and 57.2° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 86.2° F and 42.0° F and a mean monthly average of 66.2° F, while the comparable figures for July are 102.2° F and 87.8° F, 113.0° F and 82.4° F and 95.0° F. In some parts of the province, notably Kirmān, high surface winds are common at certain times of the year, especially in spring. In the Khabīṣ district a poisonous wind (known as *bād-i sumūm*) blows in the desert in the middle of the day for about forty days in summer.

Ibn Rusta states that Kirmān was divided into five *kūras*, Bardsīr, Sirdjān, Narmāshīr, Djīruft and Hurmuz, each *kūra* being called after its chief town (288) Mukaddasī also states that the province had five *kūras*, but lists them differently, omitting Hurmuz and including Bam (460). Hamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it consisted of fifteen districts (*ghalla*) (*Nuzhat*, 139) By the 8th/14th century the province was differently divided. In the 19th and 20th centuries there appears to have been a further proliferation of districts (*bulūkāt*), the names of which are variously given. Wazīrī in his *Djughrāfiyā-yi rūmlākhat-i Kirmān*, written between 1874 and 1876, mentions the following districts. Gwāshīr (the modern city of Kirmān and its surroundings), Kūhpāya, Khabīṣ and Gawk (which two, he states, in reality formed one *bulūk*), Bam, Narmāshīr, Rā'in, Sardūya, Djīruft, Djibāl Bāriz, Iskandarīya, Rūdbār, Kūhk and Ṣawghān, Bardsīr, Aḳṭāʿ (earlier known as the district of Baft), Urzūya, Sirdjān, Shahr-i Bābak, Rafsandjān, Bāfḳ, Zarand, Anār, Kūbanān (which, he states, had been administered with Yazd for revenue purposes for nearly a hundred years) and Rāwar. Later the districts appear to have been slightly redrawn. Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya were united into one district, as also were Bam and

Narmāshīr, Bāfk was transferred to Yazd, the district of Khunārān only remaining with Kirmān, Pārīz and Rābur, which had formerly belonged to Sirdjān and Akṭā', respectively, both became separate districts while Rūdbār was now called Rūdbār and Bashākird (Hoefum-Schindler, art. *Kerman in Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, xv, 756). Under Rīḍā Shāh the province was divided into six *shahrdārs*, Kirmān (which included the sub-districts of Zarand, Kūhpāya and Kūhanān), Bam (which included the sub-district of Rā'in), Djīruft (which included the sub-district of Sardūya, which in turn included Isfandaka, and Kahnādj, which in turn included Rūdbār), Bandar 'Abbās (which included the sub-district of Rūdān), Sirdjān (which included the sub-districts of Pārīz and Bāft, which in turn included Urzūya, Rābur, Rūshk and Sawghān) and Rafsindjān (Ḥusayn 'Alī Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii).

Agriculture and Livestock.—The Arab geographers describe Kirmān as a rich and prosperous province. The Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī mentions that it produced all kinds of fruit (139), while Yāḳūt states that it was rich in date palms, cereals, cattle and beasts of burden and that it produced fruits belonging to both the cold and the hot regions in great variety, including an abundance of walnuts and dates (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 483). The author of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* notes that Djīruft, Bāft and the mountain country between Djīruft and Manūdjān, known as the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim, were prosperous and pleasant places (124). According to Mukaddasī, the last-named district had many date palms (467) Rūdbār is described by the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* as consisting of woods, trees, and meadows (124). The mountain region between Sirdjān and Bardsīr was also very prosperous and pleasant according to the same authority, and contained 200 populous places. Mukaddasī mentions a multitude of orchards and an abundance of fruit in Sirdjān (464), and many orchards and citrus trees in Mughān (467). Afḍal al-Dīn speaks of the excellence of the pastures of Rūdbār and states that animals thrived in them (70). He also praises the fertility of Narmāshīr and states that it produced the fruit of both the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr* (72). Mukaddasī notes the great quantity of fruit belonging to the *sardsīr* and the *garmsīr*—dates, walnuts and citrus fruits—in Djīruft (466, cf. Iṣṭakhrī 168). Plenty prevailed in the Djibāl Bāriz, which, like the Kufs Mts., were difficult of access (Iṣṭakhrī, 164; Ibn al-Ḥawḳal, ii, 310) Bam and Khwāsh had many date palms (Iṣṭakhrī, 168; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313), which also grew in great profusion in Hurmuz (Iṣṭakhrī 168 Ibn Ḥawḳal ii, 311) and in the Kufs Mts. Honey was also produced there (cf. Idrīsī, 429). Indigo and cumin were cultivated in Djīruft and the district which extended from Mughān and Walāshgird to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz, and also sugar cane (Mukaddasī, 467 Iṣṭakhrī, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312) Idrīsī mentions the excellence of the quality of the indigo and states that the inhabitants of Mughān and Walāshgird occupied themselves much in its cultivation and took a great deal of trouble over it because it was a source of considerable profit to them (424). Wheat and barley were grown in the *sardsīr*, but in Hurmuz millet was the staple crop and the food of the inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 127, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 124, Idrīsī, 424) Cotton, as well as grain and dates, were grown in Sirdjān and Shahr-i Bābak (*Nuzhat*, 141). Silk was produced in Bam (*'Ibd al-'Alī*, 71). Asafoetida and gum tragacanth were found in parts of the province.

In the Middle Ages, apart from a period of prosperity under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān, agriculture suffered a decline. There were temporary fluctuations and local variations, but in general the agricultural recession continued until the second half of the 19th century At that time a wide variety of crops were cultivated Wheat and barley, though grown in most parts of the province, were not important in terms of the amount grown and some districts had a deficit. In the province as a whole, the yield was low. Some millet, and a small quantity of rice was also grown. Pulses, roots and edible gums were also produced. Cotton was grown in Rafsindjān (which was later, in the 1930s, to turn much cotton land over to the cultivation of pistachio trees), Kūhpāya, Dārzīn (Dardjīn), Bam, Narmāshīr, Djīruft, Zarand and Anār. Dates were still one of the most important products of the province and came from Bāfk, Khabīs, Bam, Dārzīn, Rūdbār and to a lesser extent from Kūshk and Sawghān. Rāwar was noted for its figs, Bāfk for its apricots and Khabīs for its citrus fruits. Cumin was grown mainly in Kūshk and Aḳṭā'. Pistachios, almonds (mainly from Sirdjān and Shahr-i Bābak) and walnuts (from Sardūya, Bardsīr and Aḳṭā') were important products Sugar and indigo were no longer grown except on a very small scale, though an attempt was made by Wakīl al-Mulk to re-introduce sugar cane together with indigo, pepper, ginger and various other Indian plants into Khabīs (Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879 . . .*, in *ZG Erd. Berlin*, xvi (1881), 357) Dye plants included henna in Narmāshīr, Khabīs, Djīruft, and Urzūya and madder in Sirdjān, Rafsindjān, Bāfk, Kūhanān, Anār and Zarand By 1880 the cultivation of henna in Bam had brought about in some measure a revival of prosperity in that district (Firūz Mīrzā Farmān Farmā, *Safarnāma-i Kermān* ms *Bahāristān*, ed. Manṣūra Nāẓim Māfī, Tehran 1963, 6). Silk, though a little was still produced in Bam, Rafsindjān, Bāfk, Dūpār, Bāghīn and Kūhanān, had also lost its importance, though some attention appears to have been given to the cultivation of mulberry trees during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) (R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 354) Tobacco was grown in Zarand and Bāfk, and potatoes in the district between Sirdjān and Pārīz. From the late 1870s opium cultivation became important in Māhān, Dūpār, Narmāshīr, Sirdjān, Bāfk, Kūhanān and elsewhere. Honey came from Aḳṭā', Bardsīr and Sardūya. (See further Watelī, who gives a list of the agricultural produce of each district (*bulūk*), and also references in E Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i, 264-238)

Sheep and goats were important throughout the province. There was much movement of flocks from the mountain districts to the plains in winter. Those from Rābur, Isfandaka and the neighbouring districts went mainly to Rūdbār and Djīruft. Much wool was produced, including a fine soft wool (*kurk*) produced by a special breed of goat. In Rūdbār there were also many herds of cattle. Buffaloes were found only in Djīruft.

Minerals.—Various minerals existed in the province and many of these were exploited. Ibn al-Faḳīh states that there were mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, sulphur, and zinc oxide (206), but their location is not clear from his account. Mukaddasī describes how zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*) was mined and fired to produce tutty (459, 470). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the process as carried out in "the village

of the tutty makers" as follows: the crude ore was brought out from the mine, moistened and made into bars (*mil*) one gaz long, dried and put into a furnace, the action of the fire then causing the tutty to form in a thin film (*Nuzhat*, 203). Marco Polo, who locates the mines in Kūbanān, gives a somewhat similar account. Mukaddasī also states that there were iron and silver mines in the province (470), the latter presumably located in the Silver Mine Mountains west of Djiruft (cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 65). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mentions lead, copper and iodoasme in the mountains between Djiruft and Bam (63). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that there was a turquoise mine and a lapis lazuli mine in Kirmān but that the turquoises were immature and unformed and therefore not of much value (*Nuzhat*, 204, 206). Marco Polo also mentions turquoise in the mountains of Kirmān, while Wazīrī states that there was a turquoise mine near the mountains of Maymand in the Shahr i Bābak district (264). He also mentions lead mines in Sirdjān and Zarand, of which the former produced the best quality lead (256, 278). Abbott records the existence of a lead mine in the mountains of Zarand near the village of Tugrādja and states that the government took 10% of it produce (*op. cit.*, 27). Wazīrī mentions a sulphur mine in Kūbanān, which was in operation when he was writing (175), he also states that there were copper mines in Sardūya (123), a copper mine in operation in the mountains of Bazindjān in Aḳṭāʿ (139), and many disused copper mines in the mountains of Rābur (142–3). Salt was obtained from deposits near Khabīs, Sirdjān, Rāʾīn and elsewhere. Curzon mentions coal north of Kirmān city and in Kūbanān, manganese oil in Rāwar, borax in Shahr i Bābak and asbestos in Kūbanān (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 328). Extensive mining operations are being carried on in various parts of the province at the present day. Coal and other minerals are mined in the mountains between Rāwar and Zarand and copper in the Pāriz district.

The cities of Kirmān.—The main city of Kirmān under the Muslims until the middle of the 4th/10th century was Sirdjān (the form Shīrādjān is also found), which was situated some five miles to the east of the modern town of Saʿīdābād (Le Strange, *Lands*, 309). It was here that the governor (*wālī*) resided (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 49). Ibn Rusta describes Sirdjān as the greatest city of Kirmān (289), as also does Iṣṭakhrī (167). Ibn Ḥawḳal (ii, 312) and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The last-named states that it was the capital of Kirmān and the seat of the king (122), though by the time the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* was written, Ibn Ilyās, the Būyid governor, had, in fact, moved the capital to Bardsīr. Mukaddasī states that it was the biggest town in the province (although an longer the capital) and more extensive than Shīrāz (464). Ḥāfiz Abrū refers to Sirdjān as the second city of Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā*, f. 140a), although it had, in fact, been destroyed in 798/1396 (before he wrote) after a long resistance by the armies of Timūr. After the city was laid in ruins, the name Sirdjān was nevertheless still applied to the district of which it had been the centre. Towards the end of the 18th century Saʿīdābād was founded near the site of the old city. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, describes it as one of the most flourishing towns in Kirmān (*op. cit.*, 63). In 1881 it had some 8,000 inhabitants and appeared to be in a flourishing condition (Stack, i, 281; cf. also Wazīrī, 252). At the present day, the town of which Saʿīdābād is the centre is known as Sirdjān.

Bardsīr (Bardasīr), which became the capital of the province under the Būyids, is the mediaeval name of the city now called Kirmān (Le Strange, *Lands* 303). It was also known as Guwāshīr. The two names, Bardsīr and Guwāshīr, may represent the form Beh Ardashīr, the name of the town built by Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty (Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 46; Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 503). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm uses the names Bardsīr and Guwāshīr indifferently. The copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, writing in 550/1155, states that Bardsīr in his time was a small town. It was, however, very prosperous and its surroundings, which had been brought under cultivation, were more flourishing than the town itself (ii, 309). Aḥmad al-Dīn, writing some decades later, states that it was a large city with a wall (*rabaḍ*) and a suburb (*shahristān*). Adjoining the city outside the wall and surrounding it were orchards and villages. It had a temperate climate, good soil and good water (72). By the 10th/16th century the name Bardsīr appears no longer to have been applied to the capital of the province, which, although still called Guwāshīr, was by this time more usually known as Kirmān. It had the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Amān*. The name Bardsīr, although it had thus ceased to designate the capital of the province, was still applied to a district (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, lith. Tehran n.d., 764). This, however, did not include the town of Kirmān or its environs but was bounded on the north-west by Rafsindjān, on the west and south by Aḳṭāʿ and Sirdjān, on the south-east by Rāʾīn and on the north-east by Kirmān (Wazīrī, 133). The main centre of this district, Mashīz, is also known as Bardsīr.

Bam (*q.v.*) was the second major city of Kirmān in the early centuries. The third, Djiruft (*q.v.*), was a prosperous, commercial centre, having trade with Sīstān and Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 166, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312; Mukaddasī, 466; Idrīsī, 402). According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, when the Muslims conquered Kirmān, the region of Djiruft was wooded and occupied by wild animals. The Muslims cleared the country and made villages (140). Djiruft and its suburb Ramādān flourished until the end of the Saldjūḳ period. Its buildings decayed during the reign of Malik Dīnār (582–91/1186–95), although the surrounding district continued to be cultivated (*Tāʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī*, 40). Subsequently the district decayed also. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, states that it possessed only four or five collections of huts which could be termed villages, each of which had a mud fort, for the rest tribal groups from the mountain regions resided in scattered groups over the plain in winter (K. E. Abbott, *op. cit.*, 46). Today the *nāḥiya* which has grown up round Sabzawārān is also known as Djiruft.

The fifth of the great cities of Kirmān in early and mediaeval times was Hormuz (*q.v.*), situated on the Persian Gulf. It was the emporium of Kirmān. Its merchants, perhaps because of its bad climate, lived in the surrounding countryside (Iṣṭakhrī, 168). In 700/1300, because of repeated raids by marauding tribesmen, the ruler of Hormuz moved all the inhabitants to the island of Djarūn where he founded the town of New Hormuz (see further, J. Aubin, *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, ii, *Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée*, iv/5, Geneva 1973). Other important towns were Manūdjān, Zarand and Narmāshīr. Many of the towns and villages mentioned by the early and mediaeval geographers have disappeared or have not yet been identified.

Communications.—In the early centuries Sīrāf was the main centre upon which the principal roads converged. This, no doubt, in part accounted for its importance until it was destroyed in the 8th/14th century. Three roads led from it to Fārs, one via Shahr-i Bābak, another through Ṣāhik and a third to Nayrīz. Other roads went south to Furg, Ṭārom and Sūrū on the Persian Gulf, south-east to Bāft, Djīruft, Manūdjān and Hurmuz, north to Unās in Rūdbār, north-east to Māshīz, Bāghīn and Kirmān, north north-east in Māhān, Khabīs and Khurāsān, and east to Shāmāt and Rāʾīn. From Kirmān (Guwāshīr) two roads went north-west to Yazd, one via Zarand, Rāwar, Kūbanān and Bāft and the other via Rafsindjān and Anār. From Rāwar and Kūbanān roads went north-north-east across the Great Desert to Ṭabas and Khūr respectively. South-east from Kirmān a road went to Māhān, Rāʾīn, Dārzīn or Dārdjīn, Bam and Narmāshīr, where it bifurcated, one branch going to Farādī and Zarandī in Sīstān and the other to Rīgān, where it again divided, one road going east to Khwāsh and the other south-west to Manūdjān. From Dārzīn another road went south to Djīruft (see further Le Strange, *Lands*).

In the 19th and early 20th centuries communications were still very backward. Generally speaking, the roads were fit for pack transport only. Moreover, many were often shut for months at a time owing to the activity of bandits. In 1902 a convention was signed between Britain and the Persian government for a three-wire telegraph line on iron posts from Kāshān to Balūčistān via Yazd, Kirmān and Bam. It was begun in December 1902 and finished in March 1907.

Manufactures and Trade.—In the early centuries, the province had manufactures of silk, cotton and woollen goods, which were important articles of local and long-distance trade. A cotton cloth (*bafta*ʾ*ī*), which appears to have been used as lining for clothes, was produced in Zarand and exported to Fārs and ʿIrāḳ (Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that it was called *al-Zarandiyya* and taken to Egypt and the most distant parts of the Maghrib (ii, 323). There was also trade in cloth made in Sirdjān (Mukaddasī, 470). The people of Bam were noted for their crafts-manship, and the cloths which were made in Bam were of great elegance and lasting quality. They fetched a high price and were exported to Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312, Mukaddasī, 465, cf. also Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Idrīsī states that the cloaks of goat hair made in Bam equalled the best to be found anywhere in the world (423). Turbans of fine material were also made in Bam and were in demand in Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). There had at one time been a royal workshop for *ṭirāz* in Bam (*ibid*.). Cotton cloths (*ahmīsha*) were still produced in Bam at the turn of the 8th/14th century (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 190). In the middle of the century it was apparently still an important trading centre with India, Sīstān, Khurāsān and Kābul (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne, G.M.S., London 1910, 729). By the 9th/15th century, however, the textile industry appears to have no longer existed in Bam (J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XV*ᵉ *siècle*, Wiesbaden 1958, 91-2).

Idrīsī states that there were leather workshops in Zarand and that girths were exported to ʿIrāḳ and Egypt (427). Marco Polo mentions the manufacture of saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, quivers and other arms in Kirmān. Al-ʿUmarī also states that swords were made in Kirmān (*Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the 17th century pottery (blue and white) was made in Kirmān. According to Du Mans, the best examples of this were difficult to distinguish from Chinese porcelain (*Estat de la Perse*, Paris 1890, 197).

There was considerable trade, local and long distance, in agricultural produce. Indigo and cumin were exported to distant regions (Iṣṭakhrī, 167, Mukaddasī, 470, Idrīsī, 424). Narmāshīr had trade with Khurāsān and ʿUmān, and was a collecting centre for dates, which were exported to different parts (Mukaddasī, 463). Djīruft also had a large export of dates to Khurāsān. Mukaddasī states that nearly 200,000 camels used to set out every year. The trade appears to have been carried out on a *mundjafa* basis, i.e. the profit was divided equally between the producer and the camel driver (469). Khabīs also exported dates to distant parts (*ʿIḳd al-ʿulā*, 74).

Afḍal al-Dīn states that much trade from India, Sind, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Egypt, the Arab countries, ʿUmān and Baḥrayn entered the port of Tīz (which he places on the frontier of Kirmān, though usually it is reckoned as belonging to Makrān). Imports included musk, asebergris, indigo, velvets, cloths, and other luxury articles. Hurmuz was also an important trading centre, to which merchants came from the most distant parts (71). Later, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās (996-1038/1587-1629), Bandar-ʿAbbās (Gombroon) (*q.v.*) became an important port, but this did not bring at first much additional trade to Kirmān, since goods appear to have gone into the interior mainly through Fārs rather than Kirmān. How early the long distance wool trade became important in Kirmān is not entirely clear, so when carpets became an article of export and carpet weaving became important in the 17th century wool was being taken from Kirmān and Yazd to Europe. By the end of the century it was an important export of the East India Company from Persia and was used in fellings, sailings, and coverings for buttons, while in the 18th century Kirmān wool for hats and shawls was a commodity consistently sought after. This wool came from goats and in different colours, black, white and red. The last named was highly prized (see *Gombroon diary* for a discussion of the arrangements for obtaining Carmanian wool. See also A. A. Amin, *Britain's interests in the Persian Gulf*, Leiden 1967, 126-7). During the reign of Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1736-47) wool for export was in short supply because it was used for the clothing of his army, and some of the Zand rulers appear to have prohibited the export of wool because they wanted it for the internal manufactures of shawls. The situation was not improved by the desolation which Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār carried out in Kirmān in 1794.

In the early 19th century, the main manufactures of Kirmān were shawls, carpets, felts, silk and cotton cloths, loaf sugar, matchlocks and earthenware (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 366). Macdonald Kinneir in his *Geographical memoir of the Persian empire* states that 'the trade of Kerman is still very considerable, and it is celebrated for its manufactures of shawls, matchlocks, and carpets, which they chiefly export to *Khorassan* and the northern provinces, receiving in return drugs, skins (from *Bockhara*), furs, silk, steel, and copper. These articles as well as pistachio-nuts, carpets, rose-buds for preserves, and balloon, they send to *India*, and import from hence tin, lead, iron, chints, straught silk, spices, indigo, muslin, kheemkhob, gold brocade,

china and glass-ware, broad-cloth, hardware, etc." (London, 1823, 198-9). Abbott, on the other hand, states in a report made in 1849-50 that the commerce of Kirmān was much restricted, though its woollen manufactures thrived. Such little importance as it had was due to the manufacture and trade in shawls and other woollen fabrics. He estimated the number of looms for shawls in Kirmān city at probably 2,000 (though some put the figure at nearly double that number), for other coarser woollen fabrics some 400, and in addition some 325 looms in nine of the surrounding villages (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 881, 165, *K. Abbott's report on commerce of the south of Persia. Trade report. Notes on the Trade, Manufactures, and production of various Cities and of Persia, visited by Mr Consul Abbott in 1849-50*). Wazīrī, writing rather later, states that shawls were exported to Transoxania, Anatolia, Arabia and Turkestan and that there were nearly 12,000 workshops in Kirmān (*Diyā'ī-yi 'asāmīkat-i Kirmān*, 33). His editor states that there was a great expansion at the end of the 19th century in carpet weaving, which displaced the manufacture of shawls, but that carpet-weaving declined again very shortly afterwards (33-4). *Kurbās* (a kind of coarse cotton weave) was woven in many parts of the province, and there was some export from Zarand for the local market. The *kurbās* of Rafsanjān was reported to be of excellent quality (171, 178).

In the mid-19th century some of the transit trade between Central Asia and India passed through Kirmān, and there was also some direct trade between Kirmān and India. Gums, asafoetida, madder, roots, carraway seeds, silk, saffron (from Khurāsān) wool, cotton and dried fruits were exported to India and Arabia via Bandar 'Abbās. There were also some imports of English goods via India. Tabrīz and Yazd (Abbott, *Notes on the Trade, etc.*). Abbott states that caravans from Birdsan reached Khabīs several times a year. They brought wool, grain, dried fruits, silk, saffron (from Kāshān), and clarified butter, etc., a great part of which went on to Bandar 'Abbās for India. Returning caravans brought groceries, spices, indigo and English cotton manufactures for Khurāsān (*Geographical notes, op. cit.*, 34-5). Curzon states that Bandar 'Abbās in 1889-90 was the start of the important caravan route running north to Kirmān and Yazd and ultimately to Khurāsān. Kirmān and Yazd were mainly supplied from India with piece goods, prints and yarn, copper sheets, iron bars, lead, tin, sugar, tea, dyes, spices, glass and china; and exported in return opium, wool, cotton, madder, almonds, pistachio nuts, etc (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 371-2). According to Wazīrī, various districts of Kirmān took part in the long distance trade. Among the articles which went to Bandar 'Abbās and thence to India from Kirmān were cumin and wool from Akṭā' and Bardsīr (*op. cit.*, 136, 138), and a variety of dried and fresh fruit and nuts, namely pears and apples from Akṭā' and Rāhur, quinces from Akṭā', and raisins from Gawk; almonds from Shahr-i Bābak, Gawk and Akṭā', walnuts from Sardūya and Akṭā', and pistachios from Shahr-i Bābak, cotton from Sirdjān (to Bombay) and Anār, peas from Akṭā', and Bardsīr and sometimes wheat from Akṭā' and Urzūya, and barley from the latter district also.

Abbott mentions exports from Kirmān to Yazd and other neighbouring towns and villages, which included shawls, woollens, wool, spices, lead, soap, henna, indigo leaves, figs, gums and wild asses' skins (*Notes on the Trade, etc.*). There was also, according to Wazīrī, some internal movement of wheat from Zarand to Yazd and Rāwar and sometimes from Urzūya to Kirmān; Sirdjān also exported wheat to Yazd and Kirmān. Peaches were exported from Gawk to Kirmān and other districts, dried apricots and dried mulberries from Bāfk to Kirmān, and dried figs from Rāwar to Yazd, whence they were exported to other parts of the country as *anǧīr-i yazdī*, dates from Khabīs to Yazd and Khurāsān; peas and lentils from Shahr-i Bābak to Yazd and Kirmān; henna and *rang* from Narmāshīr to Kirmān, whence they were distributed to neighbouring regions; sometimes henna was exchanged in Sistān for clarified butter and swansdown.

Milk products were an important article of local commerce. Rūdbār exported clarified butter (*rawghan*) to Kirmān. Bardsīr also supplied Kirmān with clarified butter and *kashk* (a kind of whey). Shahr-i Bābak supplied Yazd, Rafsanǧān, and Sirdjān with clarified butter, *kashk* and cheese, while Kūbanān exported *kashk* to various districts beyond the bounds of Kirmān. Lastly, wood was exported from Akṭā' to the surrounding districts and to Fārs (see further Wazīrī).

In 1904 a British commercial mission visited south-east Persia in order to encourage British trade in the area. Russian efforts were also made to increase their trade, and Russian trade agencies were established in Kirmān, Bam and Rafsanǧān.

Population.—The settled population appears to have been mainly of Iranian stock. Strabo states that the customs and language of the population of Kirmān were similar to those of the Medes and Persians (xv.2, 14). Idrīsī describes the inhabitants of Kirmān (apart from the tribal population) in favourable terms. He states that they were remarkable for the purity of their customs and the grace of their character and that the merchants especially were marked by an amiability, sincerity and docility greater than elsewhere (421). Stack, writing several centuries later, remarks on the quiet and orderly habits of the people (ii, 182). Bārthōld, on the other hand, gives an unfavourable account of the people of Kirmān and accuses them of being given to sedition (*Mufarrih al-kulūb*, B.M., Or. 3499, f. 198a).

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries mention a number of tribes as inhabiting Kirmān, namely the Kufs, (Kūdidjīs, Kāf [see KUFS], Balūs (Balūz, Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN]), the Dihbal Bārisīs, and the Akhwāsh, all of whom were harried and, to some extent, displaced first by the Muslim armies, and then by the Saffārids, Būyids, Sāmānids and Saldjūks. When Mas'ūdī refers to Kurds (*Akrād*) in the province it is probable that he meant semi-nomadic or nomadic Iranī dwellers rather than ethnic Kurds. The Kufs were a mountain people, as their name suggests. They possessed herds of cattle (*bara'*) and also practised agriculture. Their main occupation was alleged by Muslim sources to be highway robbery. The Kufs mountains in which they lived consisted, according to Iṣṭakhrī, of impregnable fastnesses. They were bounded on the south by the Gulf of 'Umān on the north by Djīruft, Rūdbār and the Mountains of Abū Ghānim, on the east by Khwāsh and the desert of Makrān and on the west by Manūdjān and Hurmuz. There were seven different mountains each of which had a chief. The early Muslim governments, unable to bring the region under their direct control, gave the Kufs leaders allowances to keep them quiet, but they nevertheless raided the surrounding districts up to Sistān and Fārs. Iṣṭakhrī mentions that they were reported to

have accumulated much wealth. He states that they were lead and swarthy; and that some said that they were, by origin, Arabs (263-4, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 472). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* adds that the government tax-collector (*ʿāmil-i sulṭān*) did not go into the Kufs mountains and that their chiefs were responsible for the collection and payment of the government tax, which would appear to have been assessed by a *muḥāṭa'a* contract. It also states that they spoke a special language (65).

The Balūṣ were, according to Iṣṭaḵhrī, herdsmen and tent-dwellers living along the western base of the Kufs Mountains and were rich in flocks (164; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 472). Iṣṭaḵhrī, writing in the mid-6th/12th century, however, states that they lived at the base of the mountains to the north of the Kufs (429). They were the only people whom the Kufs feared. Iṣṭaḵhrī's claim that they were peaceable and did not commit highway robbery like the Kufs (164) is not born out by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (124) or Muḳaddasī, who couples them with the Kufs in the matter of brutality and bloodthirstiness and in their propensity to raiding the caravan routes (488-90). Muḳaddasī states that the Balūṣ had been very numerous until the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] destroyed them. The language of the Kufs and Balūṣ, according to Muḳaddasī, was incomprehensible and resembled Sindhī (472).

It would seem that, in general, Muslim writers made no clear distinction between the two groups, and frequently mention them together. Miskawayh states that the Kufs and Balūṣ, together with the people of Mand̲ishān, joined Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās when he attempted, with help from the ruler of Khūrāsān, to seize Kirmān from the Būyids. They were defeated by a Būyid force in 360/970, with heavy losses, and suffered further casualties when the Būyid forces pushed down to Hurmuz. The Balūṣ, however, did not remain quiet for long. Spreading into the districts of Sirdjān they made ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Būrīd their leader, and began to commit disorders. ʿAḍud al-Dawla then marched against them in person. They retreated into the Djibāl Bāriz, but were defeated in 362/972 (ii, 298 ff.). Miskawayh states that those who were not killed were removed from the mountains by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who replaced them with peasants who received the land on a crop-sharing agreement and with persons who were not well-off (*al-ʿabara al-muzāriʿīn wa 'l-masākīn min aghnāʾ al-raʿiyya*) belonging to various races among his subjects (ii, 300). There is mention of a detachment (*djaysh*) of Kufs in ʿAḍud al-Dawla's army in 366/977 (Miskawayh, ii, 366, and see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Kāfichīs or Kufs in Persian history*, 9 ff.).

The decline in the power of the Kufs and Balūṣ as a result of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's operations was only temporary. By the beginning of the Saldjūḳ period they were again in control of the *garmsīr* from Dīrkuft to the Gulf of ʿUmān, though, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, their main location was in the Djibāl Bāriz (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 66, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 6 ff.). They were reduced by Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg [*q.v.*] (Afḍal al-Dīn, *Badāyiʿ al-azmān wa makāyiʿ Kirmān*, ed. Dr. Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1336, 6 ff.). By the end of the 6th/12th century they were again operating in Dīrkuft and the *garmsīr* of Kirmān (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 3 ff., 182, *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 5 ff.). There are no references to the Kufs in the later Middle Ages, though there are, of course, many references to the Balūṣ, who were established to Makrān from the 5th/12th century and who may or may not have been the descendants of the Balūṣ [see BALŪČISTĀN].

Wazīrī claims that the Mihnī tribe were the descendants of the Kufs, but produces no evidence in support of this claim. When he was writing the Mihnī numbered some 700 families. They had a separate assessment, i.e. they were not included in the assessment of Dīrkuft and Isfandaḳa, where they had their winter quarters—and this, perhaps, suggests that they had at one time been more important. Wazīrī states that up to fifty or sixty years before he was writing the Mihnī leaders had enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. In 1259/1843-4, the government seized Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, their leader, and confiscated the many estates which he held in Isfandaḳa and Dīrkuft (Dh̲ikr-i ʿimārāt, 56, 113-14, 121). According to a tradition current among the tribe, however, the Mihnī came originally from Khurāsān to Isfandaḳa in Ṣafawid times, when a number of tribes formed a federation under their leadership. This would seem more probable, and would suggest that at most only some of those reckoned as Mihnī today are the direct descendants of the Kufs. Their leaders claim to be descendants of Abū Saʿīd b. Abī 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*]. In 1969 the Mihnī consisted of the following eleven sub-tribes: the Sulaymānī, Larī (who are alleged to have come to Kirmān from the Mecca-sanad in the reign of Nādir Shāh on, according to another account, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās), the Bahr Āsmānī, the Markī, Mukhallī, Sālār Beglighwurī, Lurī, Rūḥī Bārdī, Lakandarī, Kahhūrī, Pushtkūhī, and Muṣaffarī. Wazīrī gives a list of twenty-three sub-tribes (199), which differs slightly from the above list.

The Djibāl Bāriz, according to Iṣṭaḵhrī, were even worse robbers than the Kufs. They did not adopt Islam until ʿAbbāsid times and he alleges that they persisted, in spite of their conversion, in their evil ways. They were eventually pacified by Yaʿḳūb b. Layth and ʿAmr b. Layth and their leaders destroyed. They too had a special dialect (Iṣṭaḵhrī, 164, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 472). Whether as a result of the operations of the Saffārids or because of the movements of the Kufs and Balūṣ, they appear to have been pushed out of the Djibāl Bāriz region. About the beginning of the 19th century the Manṣūr Tawakkulī *ilrs* of the Djibāl Bāriz apparently moved to Bazindjān, where they numbered some 4,500 persons in 1960. Wazīrī mentions Djabal Bāriz in Pārs (199), but whether they were the direct descendants of the earlier Djibāl Bāriz is not clear. Wazīrī states that their prosperity and the numbers of their sheep, cattle and horses had decreased, especially from about 1880. They were engaged to some extent in trade, taking *kurk*, wool and cumin mainly to Bandar ʿAbbās for export to India and clarified butter and *kashk* to Kirmān (220). The *Gazetteer of Persia* records the existence of 50 families of Djabal Bāriz in Akṭāʿ in 1903 (iv [Calcutta 1910], 358). In 1960 there were a few families of Djibāl Bāriz who had summer quarters between Bāft and Rābur and winter quarters near Gulāshgird (Walāshgird).

The Akṭāʿish, the fourth of the tribes mentioned by the early geographers, centred on Kiṭāʿish, were said to be semi-nomads. They had camels and date palms and lived in houses made of reeds (Iṣṭaḵhrī 168, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313). They are not separately mentioned in later times.

Although there appears to have been some immigration of Arabs into Kirmān before the Islamic conquest (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 57)

there does not seem to have been widespread settlement by Arabs in the province during the early Islamic conquests. For the most part, the Arab armies pushed on through Kirmān into Sīstān and Khorāsān. So far as settlement took place, those who settled became, as in other provinces, largely assimilated to the local population. Small groups may also have been settled in the province after the period of the conquests. Yāḳūt records the existence of descendants of the Banū Asad [see ASD] and Banū Muhallab in Djīruft (Barbier de Meynard, 1853). Wazīrī mentions the survival in Djīruft of a few families who still spoke Arabic (*Djughrāfiyā*, 119). The village known as Karyat al-ʿArab, near the city of Kirmān, is believed to have been originally settled by the ʿAmīrī tribe, who came there from Sīmīān. In some of the coastal districts, such as Bandar ʿAbbās however, much of the population was of Arab origin, though not necessarily Arab speaking (cf. Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien* 1879, 344).

Turkish tribes, Ghuzz and others, came into Kirmān from the 5th/11th century onwards. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to trace the changes in their locations and numbers. Whether the Salādjiḳa, who today are to be found in Rābur, are descendants of the Saldjūḳs is extremely doubtful. They do not appear to have any tradition among themselves of such an origin and are now Persian-speaking. They are mainly engaged in trade and for the past forty or fifty years have ceased to move from summer to winter quarters. The Khalīl, reckoned on Rābur with winter quarters in Shāmīl, whom Wazīrī reckoned to be fifty families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 199), are related to the Salādjiḳa. They are so-called because Fatḥ ʿAlī (during the lifetime of his uncle Āḳā Muḥammad Khān) took one of their women, Fāṭima Khānum, to wife after he had defeated the tribes of Rābur. She in due course became his chief wife and was known as Sunbul Bādjī.

On the break up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire there was a new influx of Ghuzz into Kirmān under Malik Dīnār. The Raʾīsī tribe claim to be their descendants. In the middle of the 19th century they numbered 800 families and lived in black tents in Narmāshīr, Rigān and Rūdbār. Their *khāns* lived in the fortress of Kahnū in Rūdbār, which had been built by Malik Dīnār (Wazīrī, 108, 125). In 1903 they are recorded as comprising 700 families (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 337). In 1906 their winter quarters were in Mīnāb and Rūdān and their summer quarters in Uatur, Balward, Sirdjān and Čahārgunbad.

There was further movement of Turkish tribes into Kirmān during the Mongol, Timūrid and Ṣafawid periods. When exactly the Afshār [q.v.], who appear to have migrated westwards with other Ghuzz tribes in the 5th/11th century, settled in Kirmān is not known. There was already an Afshār presence in the province at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (cf. *ʿAlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. Ashʿar Muntaẓir Ṣāḥib, Tehran A.H.S. 1349, 326). Their *khāns* held governments there in the Ṣafawid period. On the death of Nādir Shāh, Shāhrukh Khān Afshār, who was settled in Zarand, temporarily extended his power over the whole province. In the 19th century the Afshār were the most important of the tribes of Kirmān. They consisted in Wazīrī's day of 32 sub-tribes (*ṭīra*) and *ca.* 1,000 families (*ibid.*, 145, 198-9). Sheil, writing rather earlier, put their numbers at 1,500 houses (*Note on the tribes by Sir J. Sheil*, in Lady Sheil, *Life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398), which would suggest that Wazīrī's figures may be an underestimation. Today their summer quarters are between Bāft and Sirdjān and their winter quarters in Urzūya and Daghṭ-i Bar. Their numbers in 1960 were estimated at *ca.* 20,000 and they were divided into 18-20 *ṭīras*. Among other Turkish tribes in Kirmān in Ṣafawid times there were the Karā Oghlānlū, a branch of the Karamānlū, whose *khāns* held governships in Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya towards the end of the period. By the time Wazīrī was writing, the tribe had become much weakened (*ibid.*, 143). A few Tekkelū are said to have fled to Aḳṭāʿ in the reign of Ṭahmāsp and to have been absorbed in due course by the Karā Oghlānlū (*ibid.*, 144). Of the various other Turkish tribes, the most important were probably the Karāʾī and the Bučāḳčī. The former, according to Sheil, numbered 700 families (*op. cit.*, 398). Wazīrī put them at 800 (*ibid.*, 199), but by 1903 they appear to have declined to some 600 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 337). The Bučāḳčī, according to a tradition current among themselves were brought from Karā Dāgh to Fārs in Ṣafawid times to act as wardens of the marches and later moved in Kirmān. According to Wazīrī they numbered 600 families, and many of them were settled in their summer quarters around Balward (*ibid.*, 154, 199). Some of them had winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Bandar ʿAbbās. By 1903 their numbers had changed little (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 337), but by 1906 they numbered some 2,000 families. Some of their *ṭīras* were Turkī speaking, others Persian speaking, and some of them were settled. The Shūl, who formerly belonged to the Afshār federation, had by 1903 joined the Bučāḳčī and numbered some 90 families (*ibid.*). In 1960 there were some fifty families of Shūl Turks settled near Sirdjān, who claimed that their forefathers had come from Fārs at the beginning of the 19th century. The *Gazetteer of Persia* mentions 150 families of Karā Koyunlu in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv, [1910], 338). It is possible that they were descendants of families left behind in Kirmān by the Karā Koyunlu in the 9th/15th century. They appear to have been subsequently absorbed into the Afshār and in 1960 were reckoned among the Afshār *ṭīras*.

In the early 18th century a number of Lak tribes moved from Fārs to Kirmān and established their winter and summer quarters in Urzūya and Aḳṭāʿ respectively (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 144). They numbered some 2,000 families in 1903 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 338-9). Sheil put the ʿAṭā Ilāhī, whom he describes as Laks, at 3,000 tents and houses (*Note on tribes by Sir Justin Sheil*, in *op. cit.*, 398). According to Wazīrī, the Aṭā Ilāhī had cultivated land and cattle in Sirdjān and Shahr-i Bābak. They were Ismāʿīlīs and numbered some 150 families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 137, 199). In 1960 there were some 2,500 Laks in the neighbourhood of Razandjān. There are, or were, various other tribes and sub tribes in the province whose origins are difficult to establish. Most of them are semi-nomadic and their numbers very small.

The internal organisation of these various tribal groups appears to have been broadly similar. Most of the tribes had a *raʾīs* or leader, whose office appears usually to have been hereditary within a family. Larger tribes or federations, such as the Afshār, had an *ilkhānī*. Each tribe was composed of a number of *ṭīras*, under a *kadkhudā*, whose office was sometimes hereditary but more often subject to election by the elders (*rīsh safīd*) of the *ṭīra*. The latter were composed of *ṭāyfas*, i.e. groups of, perhaps, 5-12 families, each under a *rīsh safīd*. The

number and size of the *ḥiras* varied widely with the prosperity of the tribe. Success brought new followers, while failure or weakness caused the dispersal of its existing followers. The collection of taxes from the tribe and the decision of disputes were usually carried out by the *ra'īs-i īl*, though not infrequently an outsider became responsible for the payment of the taxes to the government. Thus Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, the grandson of Ẓahīr al-Dawla, became responsible for the taxes of the Mīnāī tribe and for those of Isfandaḳa and Rāhūr (*ibid.*, 56), while Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī was charged with the collection of the taxes in the Afshār of about 1870 and had the title *īlbegī* (*ibid.*, 61). In recent years the tribal structure has largely broken down.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give a breakdown of the population at different periods. From time to time, conquest brought about a transfer of power from one group to another, a redistribution of land and the emergence of new factions but we are ignorant of the details of these events. It would seem likely, in view of the flourishing trade of Kirmān in the early centuries that the merchants formed a prosperous community, but that their importance declined with the decrease in trade. Aubin in his monograph entitled *Dans sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle* has studied the functions and influence of local religious leaders in the Timūrid period. Some information on the leading families in the 19th century is to be obtained from Wazīrī (*op. cit.*). In Kirmān, as elsewhere, in Persia, the *aʿyān* were composed of landowners, tribal leaders, religious dignitaries and merchants. The dividing lines were not always clearly drawn. Marriage alliances between them were common. Governors and local officials were also included in the *aʿyān*, and often used their official position to acquire wealth and land. In the 5th/12th and 6th/12th centuries the leading officials of the bureaucracy were rich and influential. It is not always easy to decide what was the basis of a family's influence, whether it was government office, trade, landownership or religious leadership, for all might be combined in one family. But governors changed frequently and though they sometimes settled in the province, the government of which they had held, the system did not make for the emergence of families who retained their pre-eminence over a long period. Some of the local *sayyids* were among those who could perhaps trace their influence back furthest. Wazīrī states that there were families of *sayyids* in Bam and Narmāshīr who had held property there for over 400 years (*ibid.*, 202). One, the Kāẓī family of Bam, had held the office of *kāḍī* there from generation to generation (*ibid.*, 97). There appears also to have been some movement among *sayyids*. Thus, the Mīrzā'ī *sayyids*, who came to Bam about 1770, were by origin from Tehrān. One of their number, Ḥadījī Sayyid ʿAlī Khān b. Ḥādījī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was made *raʾīs* of Bam and Narmāshīr by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk (who became governor of Kirmān in 1860) and put in charge of *dīwān* taxation and the *Madīsadāt* of Bam. This however, proved disastrous for the family, he was a spendthrift and was dismissed, and all his estates and those of his nephews were taken in lieu of arrears. But their fall was only temporary, and when Wazīrī was writing they were again a rich and respected family (*ibid.*, 200-2).

As elsewhere it was not uncommon for the religious classes and the merchants to be closely allied, either through marriage or by actual participation in trade. Thus, Ḥadījī Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Ḥadījī Sayyid ʿAbd al-Muʿṭīm, a Riḍawī *sayyid*, who owned numerous villages and hamlets and many herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats, had agents and partners in Bandar ʿAbbās, Yazd and elsewhere who traded on his behalf (*ibid.*, 158-9). There was also movement from merchant families and craftsmen into the religious classes. Ḥādījī Āḳā Aḥmad b. Ḥādījī ʿAlī Kirmānī, who belonged to a merchant family, studied *fiḳh* and became a *mudjtahid*. He owned much property in Rafsindjān and elsewhere (*ibid.*, 44-5).

Two families were especially prominent in Kirmān in the 19th and 20th centuries, those of Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān b. Mādī Kull Khān b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār Kuwaytu and Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk Nūrī, both of whom had been governor of the province. Their fortunes illustrate the ease with which government officials were able to acquire wealth and property and become part of the local *aʿyān*. The first, Ẓahīr of Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who became governor of Kirmān in 1216/1801-2, settled in the province where he and his descendants acquired property (*ibid.*, 54 *ff.*). He himself bought some of the estates of the heirs of Āḳā ʿAlī Wazīrī (see below) in lieu of arrears due from Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī (*ibid.*, 170). His grandson, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, acquired villages in Isfandaḳa and Djīruft through marriage to a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Mīnāī. He also founded new estates in those regions (*ibid.*, 56). Ḥādījī Mūsā Khān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla's daughter married Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān family. Wazīrī alleges that whoever in Kirmān married into the Ẓahīr al-Dawla family tended to become puffed up with pride because of the wealth of his wife (*ibid.*, 69-70). The second, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, whose family came from Nūr in Māzandarān, was sent as *pishkār* to Kirmān and Balūčistān in 1275/1858-9. In 1277/1860 he became governor of the province, holding office until his death in 1284/1867-8. He exerted great efforts in the development of Kirmān and Balūčistān. He made a number of *bandas* and gardens, and revived much *khālṣa* land which had fallen out of cultivation or into a bad state of repair. He rented these for a lump sum which transaction proved extremely profitable. He was also a great builder and made many caravan-sarais, *ḥammāms*, *masdjids* and other buildings. His son Murtaḍā Kull Khān Wakīl al-Mulk was governor from 1286/1869-70 to 1295/1878 (see further Asad Allāh Nūrī Isfandiyārī, *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Iṣfandiyārī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1329). Both Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān and Murtaḍā Kull Khān acquired extensive estates in the province and established links with the local *aʿyān* through marriage alliances. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān gave one of his daughters to Mīrzā Ghulām Ḥusayn b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm, who owned estates round the town of Kirmān. This Ghulām Ḥusayn belonged to a family of *sayyids* originally from Djīruft (Wazīrī, *op. cit.*, 69), and his maternal grandmother was a sister of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr (see below).

In the local government offices there was often a hereditary tendency. For example the office of *kalāntar* (q.v.) of Kirmān had been in the Kalāntarī family since the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. From towards the beginning of the 19th century they also held the office of *ṣābiṭ* of Khabīṣ and Gowk and from about the middle of the century the collection of taxes of the environs (*ḥawmas*) of the town of Kirmān was also entrusted to them. Muḥammad Zamān Kalāntar

and his father Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar were blinded by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī in 1252/1836-6. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Abu 'l Ḥasan b Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān, a nephew of Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar, was the *kalāntar* and *ʿāmil* of Sirdjān, and also the head of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. Another member of the family, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b Mīrzā Yūsuf, acquired many *mazāriʿ* and gardens in Khabīṣ and Gawk, where he was for years in charge of the collection of *divān* taxes. Mīrzā Mihdī Khān b Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān was also an overseer (*mubāshir*) in the tax administration in Khabīṣ, where he acquired desirable estates. He was a capable man, but tyrannical in the matter of tax-collection (*ʿāmilī*) (*ibid.*, 63-5).

Another family which seems to have risen to prominence through the holding of government office was the family of Mīrzā Khalīl, who was made *mustawfī* of Kirmān in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. His son, ʿAlī Akbar, became *ḥadjdjūdā* and *dārūgha* of Kirmān city and *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* in Sirdjān in 1258/1842-4. While holding the latter post he acquired riches and bought property in the environs of Sirdjān and in Bardsīr, but dissipated much of his wealth towards the end of his life. His son, Yaḥyā, became *kalāntar* of Kirmān. Another branch of the family held the office of *ḥadjdjūdā* of Kirmān. When Wazīrī was writing, Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was *ḥadjdjūdā* and known as the *ḥadjdjūdā bāshī* although he did not have any authority over the *ḥadjdjūdās* of the other quarters (*ibid.*, 65 f).

Among the oldest families of Khabīṣ was the Wazīrī family, who traced their origins back to the Kuttuwī Khān, Barāk Ḥādjib [see BURĀK ḤĀDJIB], the founder of the Karā Khiṭāy or Kuttuwghkhānī dynasty (q.v.), who died in 632/1234 (see below). At the turn of the 18th century the family was mainly engaged in trade but also owned land, Āḳā ʿAlī, the head of the family at the time, having many estates in Aḳṭāʿ, Kushk and Khināmān. He was taken as a hostage by Karīm Khān Zand to Shīrāz, where he became acquainted with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. On the death of Karīm Khān, Dja'far Khān gave money to Āḳā ʿAlī and sent him back to Kirmān on the understanding that he would bring Kirmān over to Dja'far Khān's side. After the death of Dja'far Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī threw in his lot with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and refused Luṭf ʿAlī entry to Kirmān. The latter, when he subsequently took Kirmān seized Āḳā ʿAlī's possessions, put two of his nephews, Ḥādjī Khān and Ṣādik Beg, in prison, and fined his son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn, heavily. He also took one of his daughters to wife and gave another to his uncle, Naṣr Allāh Khān. The former was later married to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, the brother of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī (*q.v.* in Suppl.). Āḳā ʿAlī, who had been sent to Tehran by Bābā Khān (later Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh), reported these happenings to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and encouraged him to set out for Kirmān, which he did in 1208/1793-4, accompanied by Āḳā ʿAlī. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, after defeating Luṭf ʿAlī gave the town of Kirmān over to pillage, he exempted from this the residence of Āḳā ʿAlī, and several thousand persons are alleged to have taken refuge there and escaped slaughter. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made Āḳā ʿAlī's son, Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī, governor of Kirmān, which office he held until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, and another son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn (d 1270/1853-4), his treasurer (*yundūkdār*). The mother of the latter, of Iṣfahānī, was a Mīr Muḥammad Rafīʿ *sayyida* on her father's side and a Ṣafawī *sayyida* on her mother's side. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān returned to Shīrāz he took Āḳā ʿAlī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn with him. The former apparently died in Shīrāz shortly afterwards. Towards the middle of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Mīrzā Ḥusayn was appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān, which office he held until about the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. He had many estates in Aḳṭāʿ, Urzūya and Kūshk. The office of *waʾlī* and *ʿāmil* (tax-collector) of the districts of Aḳṭāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān remained in his family for many years, and his descendants owned villages, gardens, flocks and herds in these districts. Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī's grandson, was *ʿāmil* of the districts of Aḳṭāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān and of the Afshār tribe for over twenty five years. From about 1870 he had the title of *ilkhānī* in addition to the properties he inherited, Muḥammad ʿAlī founded many villages in Urzūya and Aḳṭāʿ. His position as tax-collector enabled him to usurp the estates of his uncle Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr and his cousin ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān after their deaths (*ibid.*, 6f). His brother, Abu 'l Ḳāsim Khān also usurped some of the properties of ʿAlī Muḥammad in Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya. He founded other properties as well and gradually became a wealthy man. A third brother, Murtaḍā Kull, had numerous estates in Urzūya, Aḳṭāʿ, Kūshk and Bardsīr, some usurped, some bought and some founded by himself. He put money out with merchants and others. He owned herds of horses and flocks of sheep (*ibid.*, 5 ff., 58 ff., 62). A grandson of Āḳā ʿAlī, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, married his cousin, Bībī Kūčik, a daughter of Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī their son was Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīr, the author of the *Dīnghrāfiyā-yi wilāyat-i Kirmān* and the *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān is said to have brought back six *kanāts* in Ṣawghān into a flourishing condition (*ibid.*, 12) Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, unlike his forebears, did not enter government service, but occupied himself running his estates. He appears, however, to have received a government pension (*muḳarrarī*) (Wazīrī, *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1961, introduction)

Wazīrī mentions another old family, the Āḳāyān of Anār, who traced their origins back to Bahādur Idgū Barlās, who had been governor of Kirmān in the time of Tīmūr. For years this family had held the office of *raʾīs* of Anār, but by Wazīrī's time they had fallen on evil days and become poverty-stricken (*Dīnghrāfiyā*, 183). For the rest, most of the families mentioned by Wazīrī had risen to prominence in recent times.

In the middle of the 19th century, partly as a result of the increase in the price of agricultural products and the revival of long-distance and local trade, there appears to have been a revival in the prosperity of the merchant class and also a strengthening of their links with the landowning class. This was notably the case in Rafsindjān. Wazīrī relates that a certain Ḥādjdjī Āḳā ʿAlī of Rafsindjān had landed estates worth over 100,000 *tūmāns* and partners and agents in Bombay, Yazd, Iṣfahān, Tehran, Mashhad, Tabrīz and Istanbul, whereas thirty years before he had not owned property worth 1,000 *tūmāns* (*ibid.*, 168-9, 172) Among merchant families in Kirmān city, Wazīrī mentions that of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad ʿAlī Amīn al-Raʿāyā b Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Ḥādjdjī Allāhwardī Kirmānī, who was the *waʾīs al-tudjdjār* of Kirmān. His father and grandfather had built many caravanserais, baths and mosques in the city of Kirmān and elsewhere. He himself had acquired many estates in the district of Khabīṣ and in Māhān. According to Wazīrī, he

showed little care for the poor and the deserving (*ibid*, 78).

Wazīrī asserts that between about 1844 and 1874 there was a great increase in the wealth of those holding land, due, he states, to the high prices for cotton and madder which had prevailed for several years in India and for grain in Persia. Persons whose property thirty years before he was writing had been worth 1,000 *tūmāns* were then receiving an income of 2,000 *tūmāns* from their estates, and those who had formerly been prepared to sell a hamlet or piece of cultivated land for a song to pay their tax demands would not then sell for 3,000 or 4,000 *tūmāns*. This was especially the case in Sirdjān, Rafsandjān and Urzūya. He alleges that the condition of agricultural labourers had also improved, so much so that they were better off than had been the owners of hamlets formerly. Many of the agricultural labourers of Rafsandjān had become *kādkudā*s. Flockmasters, because of the rise in the price of *hurk*, had also become rich men (*ibid*., 168-9, 238).

Religion.—In Sāsānid times, there were in addition to Zoroastrians a number of Nestorian Christians in Kirmān. The bishop of Kirmān was under the metropolitan of Fārs. Conversion to Islam after the Arab conquest was slow. The province was exposed to Khāridjī influence in the 1st century and to some Ismā'īlī activity in the late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries (see below). Mukaddasī states that the Khawāridj had a Friday mosque in Bam. According to his account, the dominant rite was the Shāfi'ī one except in Djīruft. The *fukahā'* were not numerous; among them the *ahl al hadīth* formed the majority except in Hurmuz (468-9). Afdal al-Dīn praises the good religion and orthodoxy of the people of Bardsīr. He alleges that Kirmān was free from every kind of heresy and that the people were either Hanafīs or Shāfi'īs. Yākūt states that the inhabitants of Kirmān were virtuous, honest, and very attached to Sunnism and orthodoxy (483). Under the Salawids, Kirmān, like the rest of the empire, accepted *Ithnā 'asharī* Shī'ism. In the 19th century the Shaykhīs [*q.v.*] gained many adherents in Kirmān, as also did the Bābīs [*q.v.*]. The office of *Shaykh al-Islām* in Kirmān was held in the middle of the 19th century by Ridjāl *nazyads*, who were Shaykhīs (Wazīrī, *Dughrāfiyā*, 52-3). Factional strife between the Shaykhīs and Bālāsarīs was common. Under the Timūrids the Ni'mat-Allāhī dervish order, founded by Shaykh Ni'mat Allāh Walī (d. 843/1431), gained many followers in Kirmān and elsewhere. Shaykh Ni'mat Allāh's shrine at Māhān, near Kirmān, has remained one of the main centres of the order.

Zoroastrians appear to have maintained themselves as a community in Kirmān city, though in greatly reduced numbers, until modern times. Nevertheless their numbers at 10,000 in the middle of the 17th century. In the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94) they were removed from the city at the demand of the *'ulamā'*. They built a suburb to the south of the town. They were plundered by the Afghāns in 1133/1720-1 (Wazīrī, *Dughrāfiyā*, 28; *Tārīkh-i Kermān*, 194). Khanikoff states that there were 12,000 Parsī families in Kirmān before its destruction by Āghā Muhammad Khān in 1794. Thereafter, their numbers declined. According to Abbott, there were only 250 families in Kirmān in the middle of the 19th century. Of these some 40 families lived in the villages around Kirmān, and the remainder in the town (*Notes on the trade*, etc.) Wazīrī put the number at 200 families (*Dughrāfiyā*, 40). In 1903 the total number of Zoroastrians was said to be 1,700 persons (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 349). A small community of Hindus from Shikārpūr appear to have settled in Kirmān some time after 1810. They were engaged in banking and trade with Karachi, Bombay, Sind and the Punjāb (Stack, i, 215; Curzon, ii, 244). The export trade of Kirmān was largely in their hands in the 19th century (W. M. Floor, *The merchants* (*tudjdjār*) *in Qādjār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi/1 (1976), 124).

History.—Kirmān in many ways developed along different lines from the rest of Persia. It was distant from the early capitals of the caliphate. Its mountain fastnesses could not be easily controlled and local leaders were often able to assert their independence. Thus each of seven mountains which constituted the Djabal Kufs region had a separate leader in early Islamic times. The Lār prevented easy access from Khūrāsān and Sīstān, while the inhospitable country to the north west discouraged expansion from and into the Dāhil. It was ideal country for dissident groups and was one of the regions where the Azārika [*q.v.*] carried on their resistance to the caliphate. Its abundant pastures attracted tribal groups, but the broken nature of the country militated against the formation of large tribal kingdoms. Lack of communications tended to isolate the province but trade with Central Asia, India and the Far East and with other parts of Persia was, nevertheless, important though subject to interruption by local outbreaks of disorder.

The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūh*, 325, 391 ff.) was begun about 17/638 by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [*q.v.*], then governor of Basra on behalf of the caliph 'Umar. Al-Rabī' conquered Sirdjān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bam. Another Arab expedition was sent about the same time by the governor of Bahrayn, 'Uthmān b Abī 'l-'Ās al-Thakafī, who killed the *marzubān* of Kirmān in the island of Abarkawān. The conquest of Kirmān was not, however, completed. In 29/649-50 Yazdagird, the last of the Sāsānid kings, fled from Iṣfahān to Kirmān and thence to Khurāsān. Most of the Arab army under Mudjāshi' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī sent by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir in pursuit of him perished in the snow at Baynand (in the district of Sirdjān). Mudjāshi' appointed governor of Kirmān by Ibn 'Āmir, subsequently took possession of the chief towns up to the Kufs mountains. A counter attack by the Persians from Hurmuz was defeated. Further details concerning the early conquests are uncertain and variously recorded (see al-Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 286).

Under the Umayyads, Kirmān became a theatre for the activities of the Khāridjīs. In 63/682-3 the Azārika fled to Kirmān. About 73/693 they reassembled and under Katarī b. al-Fudjā'a [*q.v.*] seized Fars and Kirmān, being joined by a number of the local inhabitants. They extended their activities to 'Irāk. Harried by al-Muhallab, they withdrew again to Kirmān. By about 79/698-9 they had been exterminated by him. Kirmān nevertheless continued to be a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. the al-Ash'ath [*q.v.*] took refuge there briefly ca. 82/701-2 or 83/702-3. In 101/719-20, the rebel Yazīd b. Muhallab, who, during his father's lifetime had for a period been governor of Kirmān, appointed a governor over Kirmān. After the failure of his rebellion, from about 102/720 the Umayyads (in whose name several coins struck at Kirmān survive) seem to have exercised control over the province, often through the governor of Khurāsān,

who would administer the province through a deputy. In 120/738 Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Djaʿfar, who had turned out Marwān's governors from Fārs, made inroads into Kirmān but was later routed by the supporters of Marwān. In 131/748-9 an Umayyad army set out from Kirmān to oppose the ʿAbbāsid army under Khāzim, which had advanced on Rayy, and was defeated near Iṣbahān.

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, governors were appointed over the province, which continued for the most part to fall under the general control of Khurāsān. ʿAbbāsid coins struck in the province in the years 165/781-2 and 167/783-4 survive. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd rebellion spread to Kirmān when Hamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharī occupied Hurmuz in 179/795 and extended his authority to Fārs and Kirmān, where there were still a considerable number of Khāridjīs, who appear to have recovered from the defeats inflicted on them in late Umayyad times (see further Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 54 ff.).

Ibn Balkhī gives figures for the revenue of Kirmān at this period. In 200/815-16 Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān were assessed at 2,600,000 *dīnārs*, a new assessment having been necessary because the registers had been destroyed in the civil war. Another assessment made by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in the reign of al-Muḥtadir was rather lower, namely 2,531,880 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān and ʿUmān accounted for 444,380 *dīnārs*. After various deductions the net sum going to the *dīwān* was 364,380 *dīnārs* (Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 171).

A succession of governors, some of whom from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards were Turks, ruled the province until the caliphate of al-Muḥtadir when Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī rebelled in 256/869-70 and seized Fārs and Kirmān. Al-Muʿtamid on his accession to the caliphate sent an army against him. The two armies met near Ahwāz and the caliph's forces was defeated. About the same time Yaʿḳūb b. Layth moved into Kirmān and took possession of it. Some of the supporters of Muḥammad b. Wāṣil joined him, while the remainder set out for Fārs. Yaʿḳūb after spending some two months in Kirmān, marched into Fārs in 253/867. Both he and his brother ʿAmr after him appointed governors over Kirmān. The latter after he was defeated by al-Muwaffaḳ in Fārs, retired to Sīstān in 274/887-8, but in 280/893-4 al-Muʿtaḍid made peace with him and re-appointed him over Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān. After the death of ʿAmr, his grandson Ṭāhir governed Fārs and Kirmān until 295/907-8, when it passed into the hands of Subkarī (?Sabīl-kī), who was defeated by a caliphal army in 298/911 or 299/912. In 317/929, however, the Saffārid Abū Duʾlaf Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Layth was able to send a military force to Kirmān to collect revenue.

Meanwhile, the Sāmānid kingdom was in the throes of revolt. One of Naṣr b. Aḥmad's *amīrs*, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ilyās, had seized Nīshāpūr. When Naṣr recovered the town in 320/932, Muḥammad b. Ilyās went to Kirmān and established himself there. In 322/934 Mākān b. Kākī drove Muḥammad out and took possession of the province on behalf of the Sāmānids. In either 323/935 or 324/935-6 Mākān left the province to undertake operations against Wushmgīr in Gurgān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned and attempted to restore his authority. Meanwhile Aḥmad b. Būya (later Muʿizz al-Dawla) had advanced on Kirmān and when he reached Sīrdjān in 324/935-6 the Sāmānid *amīr*, Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, who was besieging Muḥammad b. Ilyās, withdrew to Sīstān while Muḥammad b. Ilyās retired to Khurāsān. Muʿizz al-Dawla then undertook operations against the Kufs and Balās, the details of which are variously recorded (see above). In 326/937-8 he was recalled to Baghdād. After the withdrawal of the Būyids, it appears that Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned to Kirmān. He acknowledged the Sāmānids in the *Khuṭba* and received in 348/959-60 a banner and robe of honour from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ. Somewhat later, quarrels broke out between Muḥammad b. Ilyās and his sons, and he was finally persuaded to abdicate in favour of Ilyās[1]. In 356/967 ʿAḍud al-Dawla took ʿUmān and invaded Kirmān. Bardsīr fell in Ramaḍān 357/August 968 and Ilyās[1] fled to Khurāsān. ʿAḍud al-Dawla having received a diploma for Kirmān from the caliph, then appointed his son Abū l-Fawāris Shīrzīl (later Sharaf al-Dawla) governor and returned to Shīrāz. In 359/969-70 an abortive attempt was made by the Sāmānids to regain possession of Kirmān with the help of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Ilyās. In 364/974-5 al-Ḥusayn b. (?) Muḥammad b. Ilyās placed himself at the head of a group of malcontents in the *garnīsūn* but was defeated and captured (see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24). The period of the Banū Ilyās was a time of disorder during which the revenues of the province were dissipated (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 315). Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla the province appears to have been highly taxed compared to the reign of al-Muḥtadir. According to Ibn Balkhī, the total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān, together with ʿushr levied at Sīrāf and Mihrūbān on goods imported by sea (*ʿushr-i mughrāḥ-i yi dar?ya?*), in the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla was 3,346,000 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān, Tīz and the coastal districts of Fārs (? *hadūd*) accounted for 750,000 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 172). After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 372/982-3, his descendants began to fight among themselves for the province and a period of some confusion followed. Muḥammad of Ghazna in 407/1016-17 attempted to install his nominee in the province but without lasting success and in 424/1033 Masʿūd b. Muḥammad temporarily occupied it (C. E. Bosworth, *The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 137; see also AND KĀLĪ-JĀR).

In 431/1040 the Saldjūḳs defeated Masʿūd at the battle of Dandānḳān (q.v. in Suppl.), and some two years later in 433/1042 Kāwurd Ḳarā Arslān Beg b. Ḳaghrī Beg b. Mīkāʾīl b. Saldjūḳ [q.v.] was sent by Toghrïl Beg to conquer Kirmān. This attack was repulsed by Abū Kālīdjār in 434/1042-3. A second expedition in 440/1048 was more successful, the governor, Bahrām b. Lashkar, surrendering the province without war. The Kufs, however, resisted but were defeated (see above). Kāwurd, who established his rule in Kirmān, made two attempts to usurp the sultanate. On the first occasion in 458/1066-7, Alp Arslān marched against him and defeated him, but reinstated him in Kirmān on his former position (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 36-7). After Alp Arslān left the province, Kāwurd went to Baḥḥāstān, repaired the port of Tīz and appointed governors over Makrān. He also conquered ʿUmān, which remained in Saldjūḳ hands until the death of Arslān Shāh in 536/1141. When Alp Arslān died in 465/1072, Kāwurd made an second attempt to claim the sultanate. According to one account, he wrote to Malik Shāh stating that he was more fitted to succeed on the

grounds that he was Alp Arslān's eldest brother (Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saljūqiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, 56). According to another account, some of Malik Shāh's *amīrs* invited him to come (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 12-13). He was defeated near Hamadān, and taken prisoner and killed. The Saljūḳs of Kirmān did not, however, come to an end with Kāwurd: the dynasty founded by him was to last some 150 years, during which the province enjoyed, on the whole, prosperity and peace.

The Saljūḳs of Kirmān had a reputation for justice and caring for their subjects. Kāwurd took measures to establish security on the roads, and erected pillars at intervals along the Bam-Fahraj road so that travellers would not lose the way; he also built caravanserais and water tanks (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10-11). Kāwurd, Tūrān Shāh b. Kāwurd, Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh and his wife Zayṭūn Khātūn, and Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh were all great builders. The latter built a library for the Tūrān Shāh *dhimmī*, which contained 5,000 books on different branches of learning. Some of them were also patrons of the religious classes. In the reign of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh, the *'ulamā'* are alleged to have come to Kirmān from far and wide. His son, Muḥammad, gave pensions to the *fuḳahā'* and during his reign there was, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a spread of learning and a tendency for craftsmen to send their sons to study *fiḳh* (29). Some of the officials and *amīrs* of the Saljūḳs were also builders and patrons of the religious classes. The atabeg, Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, made many charitable foundations and constituted *awḳāf* for their upkeep (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 36).

Although the Saljūḳs of Kirmān were familiar with city life, their existence was closely bound up with the well-being of their flocks. They habitually spent seven months of the year in Bardsīr and five (from Āḏar (Nov.-Dec.) to Urdī Bihisht (April-May)) in Dīrūft, their flocks moving with them. Their financial position seems to have been favourable until towards the end of the dynasty, and Bahrām Shāh b. Muḥammad, under whom the decline of the dynasty set in, succeeded to a well filled treasury. Throughout Kāwurd's reign of 34 years the value of the coinage remained stable (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4). Trade probably contributed to this favourable situation. Kamādīn, even towards the end of the period, was still an important centre of long-distance trade and was "a place where strangers from Anatolia and India and travellers by land and sea lodged, and was full of wealth" (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 42, 69). Some of the ministers and *amīrs* owned considerable estates. Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān appears to have let his money out to merchants and others, who presumably worked it for him (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 40). The pay and allowances of the military following of the ruler (*dasham*) were controlled from the centre (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 34). The troops were mainly Turks, but there were also some Daylamīs. They received allowances and *iḳṭā'*s, mainly, according to Afḍal al-Dīn, in the district of Sīrdjān, where "a great *amīr* with a large force was always stationed because it was on the frontiers of Fārs" (*'Iḳd al-'ulā*, 74). The total number of the military following of the rulers and their *amīrs* was not large. Kāwurd, when he came to Kirmān in 433/1041-2 had, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm a force of 5,000 or 6,000 (s). The rival groups who disputed supremacy in the province at the end of the period and during the period of Ghuzz ascendancy were on the whole not large. Malik Dīnār is said to have ruled over 10,000 men (*'Iḳd al-'ulā*, 99). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm credits Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mahārīs and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Shahānkāra *amīrs*, with having a force of 10,000 men, horse and foot, when they came to Kirmān in 596/1199-1200 (279).

Kāwurd was succeeded by his son Kirmān Shāh, whom he had appointed to act in his stead during his absence on the campaign against Malik Shāh. Sulṭān Shāh, who had been taken captive with his father Kāwurd, escaped from captivity and was brought to Kirmān. His brother had meanwhile died, and in 467/1074 he ascended the throne in Kirmān. In 472/1079 so (or according to some sources rather earlier) Malik Shāh went to Kirmān and besieged Sulṭān Shāh in Bardsīr. After some seventeen days the siege was raised, Sulṭān Shāh was confirmed in his government and Malik Shāh returned to Iṣfahān. Sulṭān Shāh was succeeded by his brother Tūrān Shāh in 477/1085. His reign was on the whole uneventful. In 487/1094 he made an abortive expedition into Fārs. He was followed by his son, Īrān Shāh in 490/1097. The latter appears to have been won over to the Ismā'īlīs. A number of *amīrs* had recourse to the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the *Ḥāfiẓ* Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, who issued a *fatwā* for his death. Īrān Shāh fled, but was overtaken and killed, and Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh placed on the throne in Muḥarram 495/October 1101 with the joint support of the *amīrs* and the *ḥāfiẓs*. He reigned for 42 years and under him the dynasty reached its greatest heights. He married a daughter of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. He appointed, as had his predecessors, *shiḥnas* over 'Umān and attempted also to extend his dominion over Fārs. He defeated Čawlī Sāḳā in 508/1114-15, and on the death of the latter in 510/1116-17, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh appears to have considered the threat posed by the Saljūḳs of Kirmān to Fārs to be a real one (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 365). Towards the end of Arslān Shāh's reign, disputes arose between him and 'Alā' al-Dawla, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh b. Mas'ūd, the Ghaznavid, when he was defeated by his brother Arslān Shāh, sought the help of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh. The latter treated him with favour, but refused to help him on the grounds that he did not wish to interfere in affairs which properly concerned Sandjar. In 537/1142, Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh set his father aside because of his advanced age and seized the throne, in spite of the fact that another son, Kirmān Shāh had been appointed *walī 'ahd*. A third son, Saljūḳ Shāh, after making an abortive attempt to seize the kingdom, fled to 'Umān, where he continued to constitute a potential threat to Muḥammad. The fact that the latter is said to have appointed *shiḥna*s in the towns within his kingdom and to have had an excellent information service perhaps suggests that there was unrest or hidden opposition to him. However that may be, Kirmān continued to prosper under Muḥammad. He extended his rule over Ṭabas and his successors continued to appoint *shiḥna*s over that city for some years. There was also a proposal by Rashīd Dīmadār, the governor of Iṣfahān, to hand that city over to Muḥammad, but the death of both parties in 551/1156 brought the plan to nought.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Toghrul Shāh, a somewhat frivolous character, and there was during his reign a decline in public morals. However, Kirmān still enjoyed security and prosperity under his rule (*'Iḳd al-'ulā*, 7; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 30; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 35). There was a total eclipse in the month of Urdī Bihisht 557 *Ḥaraḳāt*/April-May

1169 (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, 8; *Tārīkh-i Afḍal* 30). In the last years of Toghril Shāh's reign, power was in the hands of the Atabeg Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān who, on the death of Toghril Shāh in 565/1170, placed the latter's son, Bahrām Shāh, on the throne, though not before Turkish troops had plundered Djīruft and carried off the cattle (*mawāshī wa sutūrān*) of the non-Turks and the bureaucracy (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 33, 36). His succession was disputed by his brother Arslān, who was joined by the Atabeg Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Buchush, and a period of internecine strife ensued. A third brother, Tūrān Shāh, sought help from the Atabeg Zangī of Fārs and advanced on Sirdjān, but was put to flight by Arslān, while Bahrām Shāh retired to Khurāsān to seek help from the Ghuzz leader, Malik Mu'ayyid. A second attempt by Tūrān Shāh to seize the province was also defeated. Bahrām Shāh, having obtained reinforcements from Malik Mu'ayyid, advanced in 566/1171 via Sīstān and Makrān on Djīruft and put Arslān's forces, which had been weakened by disease, to flight at Ḳamādīn, which the Khurāsān army then plundered. Subsequently, heavy impositions were laid upon the people of Bardsīr, who were reduced to misery. Arslān, meanwhile, with support from the Saldjūḳ ruler of 'Irāḳ, Arslān b. Toghril, returned and besieged Bahrām Shāh in Bardsīr. After six months, Bahrām Shāh and his supporters, who were short of supplies, made peace. Bardsīr, Sirdjān, Djīruft and Khabīs went to Arslān and Bam and Makrān to Bahrām Shāh. Peace, however, did not last; Bahrām Shāh again appealed to Khurāsān for help while Arslān had recourse to 'Izz al-Dīn Langar, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh was put to flight and Arslān entered Bardsīr in 569/1174. Some years later, Bahrām Shāh retook Bardsīr. In 570/1174 he died. A further period of strife and disorder ensued, the main roles being played by the atabegs and *umarā* acting in the name of one or other of the Saldjūḳ princes; inroads into the province were also made by the forces of the atabegs of Fārs, Yazd and 'Irāḳ. Under Tūrān Shāh, who eventually defeated Arslān, the Mu'ayyidī *ghulāms* (i.e. the followers of the Atabeg Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān) played a dominant role (cf. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 79). The Atabeg Rayḥān was persuaded to return to Kirmān from Yazd, to which he had withdrawn some seven years earlier, but retired again almost immediately because of his advanced age. By this time, the province had become impoverished. Afḍal al-Dīn describes its condition in the following words: "every year the unfortunate peasants used to take loans or sell their substance (*bihā u māya*) to buy seed grain from Ṭabas or elsewhere. They would sow it only for another to harvest it and eat it" (81; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 99; cf. also *Ṣilat al-Sīra*, 13 ff., 77 ff.). All kinds of impositions and fines were meanwhile laid upon the population by the contending *umarā* in order to support their forces. Little money remained in the treasury, and in 575/1179 the Turks plotted and killed a number of leading officials of the bureaucracy (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 86).

New disasters were meanwhile in store for Kirmān. About 574 or 575/1179, Sulṭān Shāh turned the Ghuzz out of Sarakhs and some 5,000, with their families and flocks, came to Kūhbānān, plundered the countryside and went on to Zarand and Bāghīn. The Atabeg Takelle of Fārs, who at the time held Sirdjān and Furg, sent a force against them. Together with the Kirmān army, it was defeated in 575/1179-80 and the Ghuzz spread into the *garmsīr*, where they committed pillage and waste. In the years 575-6/1179-80 or 576-7/1180-1 there was a severe famine in Bardsīr (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal* 91; *Ṣilat al-Sīra*, 97). In the winter of 577/1181-2, the Ghuzz again set out for the *garmsīr*. Afḍal al-Dīn states that since they had now come to stay, they began to develop and cultivate the districts of Djīruft and Narmāshīr and paid some consideration (*murā'āt*) to the peasants (*bīzdīr*), and brought from Iṣfahān, Sīstān and Fārs goods, beasts and booty which they took from caravans and accumulated in the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr*. (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 93). They also took several fortresses into which the remnants of the Turkish forces had retired. The *sardsīr*, however, to which the nominal rulers of the province were confined, remained in a state of distress. In 579/1183-4 Tūrān Shāh was killed by a group of *umarā*, who released Muḥammad Shāh b. Bahrām Shāh from the fortress where he had been imprisoned and placed him on the throne. In 580/1184-5 famine again broke out in Bardsīr. In the following year 581/1185-6, Malik Dīnār came with some 60 men to Rāwar and Khabīs from Kūhbānān, intending to join the Ghuzz in Narmāshīr. Some 300 men from Bardsīr set out to prevent his advance, but did not dare to join battle with him (*Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, 103). In 582/1186 Muḥammad Shāh set out for 'Irāḳ to seek help against the Ghuzz. The following spring, Bardsīr surrendered to Malik Dīnār. Muḥammad Shāh, who had failed to obtain help from either 'Irāḳ or Takkele in Fārs, returned briefly to Bam. He then went to Sīstān and from there to the court of the Khwārazm Shāh Takash. He finally took refuge with Shihāb al-Dīn, the ruler of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. In 583/1187-8 an abortive attempt was made to read the *khuṭba* in Bardsīr in the name of a Saldjūḳ princess, Khātūn Kirmānī, a daughter of Toghril (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 148).

Malik Dīnār, having established himself in the district of Djīruft, struck coins and read the *khuṭba* in his own name in Djumādā I 582/July-August 1186 he set out for Bardsīr, but lack of pasture and the role of the countryside appear to have prevented him from establishing himself there, and the town remained for some time in the hands of the Saldjūḳ forces until it surrendered on 5 Radjab 583/11 September 1187. During the next two years, Malik Dīnār was occupied in extending his power and putting down local pockets of opposition. He then made an expedition to the south, took Manūdjān and extracted 1000 *dīnārs* tribute from the ruler of Hurmuz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 154). Revenue was also collected from the Makrānāt (*al-Mudjmal*, 5) Bam, which had been in the hands of an *amīr*, Shihāb 'Alī, did not however submit until ca. 588/1192. In 589/1193 Malik Dīnār was again in the south and met the ruler of Kays, who promised him tribute. The death of Malik Dīnār in 591/1195 was followed by new outbreaks of disorder. He was succeeded by his son Farukh Shāh, who rapidly dissipated the contents of the treasury which Malik Dīnār had laboriously accumulated (*ibid.*, 164). Unable to establish himself, he had recourse to the Khwārazm-Shāh for help, but died in 592/1196 before this could arrive. Meanwhile, on the one hand the Ghuzz began to commit disorders and pillage on an unprecedented scale while on the other the *umarā* were rent by faction and disunity.

The period of Ghuzz ascendancy, was a time of misery and distress for the people of Kirmān. The province was subjected not only to the ravages of the Ghuzz, but also to incursions by the rulers of Fārs and Khurāsān, or their *umarā*, who from time to time established a temporary ascendancy in different

parts of the province. Trade was brought to a standstill and agriculture to ruin, even though the members of the warring factions were small—to be numbered in hundreds rather than thousands. The Ghuzz flocks commonly grazed the crops of the settled people, and in addition they levied a quarter of the share of the crop remaining to the landlord, after the payment of government dues to provide for their followers, although certain persons, mainly belonging to the religious classes, were exempted from this levy (*al-Muḳtaṣaf*, 19-20).

For a time the situation was extremely confused, until the Shabānkāra *amīrs*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārik and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, defeated the Ghuzz in 597/1200, appointed a deputy over Kirmān and retired to Fārs. Shabānkāra rule proved no less harsh than that of the Ghuzz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *183 ff., al Muḳtaṣaf*, 10 ff.). Finally, the population rose against them. Further disorders ensued until a group of the *amīrs*, townspeople and *tāzīks* of Bardsīr, fearing renewed attacks by the Ghuzz, decided to hand the town over to ʿAḍud Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, who, after a period spent at the court of the Khʷārazm-Shāhī ruler, had returned to Rum and placed himself at the head of the Ghuzz in that district. New forces arrived from Fārs under ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zaydān, Saʿd b. Zangī's nephew, and they recaptured Bardsīr. About 601/1205 an expedition into Kirmān was made by Khʷāja Rashīd Zawzanī, a Khʷārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, who had been in Kirmān on several occasions and acquired many estates there. In 603/1207 another expedition came from Fārs. Later Saʿd b. Zangī came himself to Kirmān and undertook operations against the Ghuzz. They submitted in 605/1209 and Saʿd b. Zangī returned to Fārs. When he appointed officials over Bardsīr to that year, he is reported by Aḥmad al-Dīn to have levied a quarter of the net income of the landowners by way of tax, but in 606/1210 this appears to have been increased to one-third and the exemptions formerly allowed by the Ghuzz to certain members of the religious classes and others withdrawn (*al-Muḳtaṣaf*, 20, 42). Waṣṣāf states that the taxes of Kirmān were not sufficient for the needs of the kingdom and the wages of the army, and so Saʿd b. Zangī issued a decree for an additional levy of one tenth (*ʿushr*) on landed estates, which was called *fidāyat al-mulūk*. The people complained of this levy and it was abolished (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). According to Aḥmad al-Dīn, Saʿd b. Zangī bought up much dead land and spent on its development whatever he received from the *dīwān* of Kirmān (*al Muḳtaṣaf*, 42). Meanwhile, Khʷāja Rashīd Zawzanī's forces, who are alleged to have committed great oppression, came into conflict with ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn, Saʿd b. Zangī's representative, and returned to Khūrāsān in 606/1210.

Zangid supremacy in Kirmān was fleeting. In 607/1213, a Khʷārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, Kiwān al-Dīn Muʾayyid al-Mulk, also from Zawzan, asked the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Tekesh to give him Kirmān and in Ramaḍān of that year, having received the title of *malik*, he set out from Zawzan for Kirmān (Faḍlī Khʷāfī, possibly mistaking the *Sharāfī* year for the *hilālī*, appears to put these events in the year 603, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farukh, Mashhad A.H.S. 1939-41, ii, 281). Djiruft and Ḥurm surrendered and also Bāfḳ and, finally Bardsīr in Ṣafar 610/June 1213. Muʾayyid al Mulk then made an abortive expedition against Fārs, which he abandoned when part of his army deserted. In or about this year there was an outbreak of plague (*? wabā'*) which spread from the south to Bardsīr and was accompanied by heavy loss of life (*al Muḳtaṣaf*, 46 ff.).

Among the *amīrs* of the Khʷārazm Shāhs was a certain Abu 'l Fawāris Ḳuṭlugh Sulṭān Barāḳ Ḥādjib (see AUZAK QUAGHRI), who had been in the services of the Gūr Khān of the Kara Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. He rose to the position of *ḥādjib* in the Khʷārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and became atabeg to his son Ghiyāth al Dīn Pīr Shāh. The latter, after the fall of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, appointed him governor of Iṣfahān, but he, seeing the disorder into which the affairs of the Khʷārazm Shāh had fallen, set off with his followers for Kirmān intending to proceed to India. Having reached Kirmān, he joined battle with the governor of the province, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḳāsim, defeated him and besieged his son in Bardsīr. When Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirnī returned from India some months later, Barāḳ Ḥādjib requested from him the government of Kirmān. Djalāl al Dīn, having little choice in the matter, agreed and gave Barāḳ Ḥādjib the *laḳab* of Ḳuṭlugh Khān (for which reason, the dynasty which he founded is sometimes known as the Ḳuṭlugh Khānid dynasty), and went himself to ʿIrāḳ and Āḏharbāydjān. Barāḳ Ḥādjib later apparently demanded and received from the caliph the title of "sulṭān," and the sources refer to the rulers of the dynasty as *sulṭāns* and their rule as *salṭanat*. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn subsequently came to Kirmān and sought to establish himself there, Barāḳ Ḥādjib, after first temporising, finally seized and killed him. He then sent an envoy to Ögedey offering submission and was in return confirmed in his possession of the province of Kirmān, which he held for fifteen years. He had four daughters, the eldest of whom, Sevinč Khātūn, was married to Čaghatay, while the other three were married into the family of the Atabegs of Yazd. His son, Rukn al-Dīn Khʷādjā-Ḳuṭb was sent to serve at the Mongol court and was with Ögedey at the time of his father's death, which took place on 22 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 632/6 September 1235 (the accounts of these events given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Sumṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1327, 22 ff., Djuwaynī, *Djahān-gushā*, and Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, *ed.* and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1891-5, vary somewhat).

After the death of Barāḳ Ḥādjib, the Ḳuṭlugh sultans, although their status was that of local rulers rather than governors, had no real independence. Mongol *amīrs* who had come as *basḳaḳs* to Kirmān are mentioned at the court of Ḳubilay al-Dhū in 655/1257 (*Sumṭ al-ʿulā*, 38). All the contenders for power among them appear to have found it necessary to obtain the support of the Great Khān or the Il-Khān for their cause. Many of them made marriage alliances with the Mongols. Barāḳ Ḥādjib was succeeded by his nephew, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who shortly after his accession, married Barāḳ Ḥādjib's daughter, Ḳuṭlugh Terken. However, when Rukn al-Dīn, who had obtained a *yarlīgh* for the province of Kirmān from Ögedey, approached the province, Ḳuṭb al Dīn felt it necessary to set out himself for the Mongol court to seek support. Rukn al Dīn, having reached Bardsīr in 633/1236, took possession of the province and ruled for some fifteen years. Ḳuṭb al Dīn, unable to oust his cousin, who was supported both by Ögedey and Čaghatay's wife, Sevinč Khātūn, remained for a while at the Mongol *urdū* and was then sent to Maḥmūd Yalawāč, the Mongol governor al Khiṭāy. In 646/1248, when Mangū Ḳa'ān succeeded Güyük, Ḳuṭb al Dīn obtained a *yarlīgh* for Kirmān

and set out for the province. On his approach, Rukn al-Dīn abandoned the province. After appealing in vain for help from the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, he went to the *urdū* of Mengū Kāʾān, where the case between him and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was referred to the Mongol court (*yarghu*). After examination, Mengū handed Rukn al-Dīn over to his cousin, who killed him and then returned to Kirmān. Djuwaynī mentions that he saw Rukn al-Dīn in Almālīgh in Ramaḍān 655/December 1255-January 1256 (*Tārīkh-gushā* ii, 227). When Hülegü crossed the Oxus in 654/1256, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to his camp at Ṭūs and was given permission to return to Kirmān provided he came back with an army to join the Mongol forces in their march on Baghdād. He fell ill, however, in 655/1257 and died the following year.

Terken Khātūn, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's wife, was put on the throne in Kirmān amid general acclaim, and subsequently received, after she had had recourse to Hülegü in person, a *yarlīgh* authorising her to act for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's sons, who were still children. She ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirmān prospered. Many learned men among the *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants resorted to Kirmān during her reign. It was then also that Marco Polo visited the province. When the Čaghatay hordes crossed the Oxus in 668/1270 to attack Abaḳā's domains, Terken Khātūn sent Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to Khurāsān with an army to support Abaḳā. She also tried to strengthen her position by marrying her daughter, Pādishāh Khātūn, to Abaḳā. However, when Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān came back to Kirmān he sought to curtail the influence of Terken Khātūn. She repaired to Abaḳā's court to complain of this and was well received. On her return to Kirmān, Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān retired to India, where he spent the next ten years. Finally, the sultan of Dihlī provided him with an army to retake Kirmān. He set out, but died en route and the army returned to India. (The *Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm* gives 690/1291 as the date of his death. This is presumably an error.)

Djalāl al-Dīn Sūrghatmish b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Terken Khātūn's step-son, who governed the western part of Kirmān on her behalf, also apparently went, with her approval, to Abaḳā's *urdū* while he was in Khurāsān. On his return to Kirmān, Sūrghatmish had his own name inserted in the *ḵhuṭba* alongside that of Terken Khātūn. She complained to Pādishāh Khātūn, and received a *yarlīgh* forbidding the interferences of Sūrghatmish in the affairs of Kirmān. The latter then had recourse himself to the Mongol court. When Abaḳā died in 680/1281, Terken Khātūn immediately set out for Tabrīz to ensure her position. The new Il-khān, Aḥmad Tegüder, however, dismissed her and appointed Sūrghatmish in her stead. She was unable to secure her reinstatement, and spent the winter in Barda'a. The following summer, she went to Tabrīz where she died. Sūrghatmish, who reached Kirmān in 681/1282, took possession of the province unopposed. After the accession of Arghūn (683/1284), Bībī Terken, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and Terken Khātūn's eldest daughter, whose son, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yūlūḳshāh, was powerful at the Mongol court, accused him of peculation in the collection of taxes. He was dismissed, his accounts demanded, and officials sent to Kirmān to collect the taxes. By the expenditure of considerable sums of money, Sūrghatmish appears to have obtained permission to go to the Mongol court and there, by further expenditure, to have reached a compromise with the Mongol authorities. By this his half-sister, Pādishāh Khātūn (who had been married to Abaḳā) was given in marriage to Gaykhātū, while Sūrghatmish was married to Kürdüdjin, the daughter of Mengū Temür b. Hülegü and Abish Khātūn, the daughter of Saʿd b. Zangī, and Sūrghatmish undertook to pay an annual sum for Kirmān of 600,000 *dīnārs*, against which, however, he was allowed the expenses (*ikhrādāt*) for his administration and military forces, etc. 390,000 *dīnārs* (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 57). During Sūrghatmish's absence, there was apparently an outbreak of famine in Kirmān. The price of wheat rose and the Turkomans rioted and plundered the city. He restored order on his return. He then proceeded to expend considerable sums of money on charitable works: he built a *madrasa*, a *khānḳāh* and a hospital, and constituted *waḳfs* out of *khāliṣa* property for their upkeep. He also extended his patronage to the religious classes (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 58). During his reign, Makrān was reduced and tribute exacted. There were, however, renewed encroachments into the province by the Karākwan (Nīkūdārīs), who had already to 677/1278-9 invaded Kirmān from Sīstān. In 680/1281-2 they penetrated to the Persian Gulf and in 683/1284-5 plundered the neighbourhood of Bardsīr (see further P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 283-96 (art. *Caracaras*) and J. Aubin, *L'ethogenèse des Qaraunas*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 85-94).

On the death of Arghūn in 690/1291, Sūrghatmish, taking advantage of the disorders which had ensued, asserted his independence. In the winter of the following year he went to the *garmsīr* and took Hurmuz. Returning to Bardsīr, he reassessed the *tamghas* and had down that the taxes should be collected in three instalments (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 65). Meanwhile, Gaykhātū had sent Pādishāh Khātūn to Kirmān as governor. She immediately seized Sūrghatmish and imprisoned him (693/1292). His wife Kürdüdjin contrived his escape, but he was recaptured and killed in 693/1294 (the sources differ in their relation of these events). In 694/1294-5 Kürdüdjin, encouraged by the rise of Baydū, laid siege to Bardsīr and captured and put to death Pādishāh Khātūn. Kürdüdjin then ruled the province, though there was beside her a Mongol *baḍḥāḳ* (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 77).

Baydū was overthrown almost immediately by Ghāzān Khān, who while still in Khurāsān appears to have sent *ilkīs* to Kirmān to collect money for the Khurāsān army (*māl-i ṭarīḳ-i Khurāsān*) (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 78). Once Ghāzān had established himself as Il-khān, he appointed Muḥammad Shāh b. Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān, who had been at his court, over Kirmān. During the early years of Ghāzān's reign, Kirmān was the scene of internecine and factional strife between Muḥammad Shāh b. Ḥadjdjādj and Shāh-shāh, son of the sons of Bībī Terken and brother of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yūlūḳshāh, and between rival *amīrs* and officials (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 79 ff.). Demands for ever more revenue, including taxes for the Khurāsān army, were made, on one occasion a *yarlīgh* was issued for the payment of two years' taxes from Kirmān (*Siyāḳ al-ʿulūm*, 83). There were also renewed attacks by the Karākwan in 695/1295-6. In the following year, Fakhr al-Dīn, who had been appointed *muṣrif* of Kirmān by Ghāzān, proceeded to the province accompanied by a number of *amīrs*. His behaviour provoked an uprising and he and his followers were seized and killed. The revolt spread. The rebels took refuge in the town of Bardsīr and were besieged by the Mongol forces, which, although they received reinforcements from Fārs, Luristān and Yazd, were unable to take the town. Ghāzān, who at the time was in Diyār Bakr or the neighbourhood, summoned Muḥammad Shāh and sent

him back to Kirmān as governor with a number of other officials. The siege continued for ten months. The defenders were reduced by famine and finally, according to Waṣṣāf's account, the city's defences were destroyed by siege engines brought from Fārs, where they had been made by experts summoned from Mawṣil, and the city fell. The ringleaders were put to death and Shāykhshāh was sent to Tabrīz, where he was executed (*Sharḥ al-ʿulāʾ*, 85 ff., Waṣṣāf, 446 ff.). The province was in a miserable condition and the treasury empty. The Karāwun meanwhile renewed their attacks. A substantial remission of taxation was given (*Sharḥ al-ʿulāʾ*, 94), but the ensuing improvement was cut short by the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 703/1303-4 (Waṣṣāf gives the date of his death as 6 Djumādā I 704, 434) Shāh Dhāhirb Suyūrghatmish, who was at the time at Ghāzān's court, was appointed to succeed him. At some time during the reign of Ghāzān or Öldjeytü, Rashīd al-Dīn's son Muḥammad appears to have been governor of Kirmān and to have committed extortion against the people of Bam (*cf. Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, 20 ff., and also 261). On the death of Öldjeytü, Shāh Dhāhān attempted unsuccessfully to establish his independence. He was dismissed after a reign of some two and a half years, and with him the dynasty came to an end. He was replaced by Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Burhān, a descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, in 704/1305 (Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Öldjeytü*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 43).

Kirmān was ruled for the next few years by Mongol governors until it was taken in 740/1340 by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar, who was married to Kutlugh Khān, the daughter of Shāh Dhāhān b. Suyūrghatmish. An attempt made by Kuṭb al-Dīn b. Dhāhī al-Dīn b. Kuṭb al-Dīn to regain the city with the help of reinforcements from Harāt was repulsed and Mubāriz al-Dīn, who had temporarily withdrawn, retook the city in 741/1340. Bam, which was ruled by a governor appointed by Abū Saʿīd, held out and was not captured until three or four years later. Meanwhile, the Ilkhān empire was rent by war and faction. In 748/1347 Abū Ishāk b. Muḥammad Shāh, the Ingū Timūrid ruler of Iṣfahān, attacked Sīrdjān and destroyed the town, but left the citadel unreduced. After continuing his march on Kirmān, he then retired to Shīrāz without joining battle with Mubāriz al-Dīn. During a second expedition, he was defeated by Mubāriz al-Dīn and again retired to Fārs. Meanwhile the Djurmāʾīs and Ughānān, some of whom may possibly have been the descendants of the Mongol detachment which had been sent to Kirmān in or about 683/1284 under the leadership of Ughān (*Sharḥ al-ʿulāʾ*, 58), were committing renewed disorders in the south of the province. Mubāriz al-Dīn marched against them. The campaign was inconclusive and the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs continued for many years to disturb the provinces, in spite of the fact that they frequently served in the ruler's army (in which they proved to be an extremely unreliable element). In 753/1352 renewed encroachments into Kirmān by the Ingū Timūrids were repulsed near Rafsandjān. Mubāriz al-Dīn then extended his power over Fārs and appointed his son Shudjāʿ al-Dīn governor of Kirmān in 754/1353 (though he did not reside permanently in the province, taking part in military expeditions in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam). In 757/1356 Mubāriz al-Dīn was again briefly in Kirmān and undertook a campaign against the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs, who had been committing disturbances. Mubāriz al-Dīn's death in 765/1364 was followed by a period of internecine strife and faction. In Kirmān, the governor Pahlawān Asad rebelled. After an inconclusive battle with Shāh Shudjāʿ near Kirmān, Pahlawān Asad retired into the city, but submitted after a siege of several months (Ramaḍān 775-Raḏjab 776/March-December 1374). On the death of Shāh Shudjāʿ (786/1384), his son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, went to Kirmān as governor. In 787/1385-6 he read the *Khuṭba* in the name of Timūr. When the latter set out for Fārs in 789/1387, Sulṭān Aḥmad repaired to Timūr's camp, was favourably received and given the government of Fārs, ʿIrāḳ and Kirmān. Internecine strife, however, continued among the Muẓaffarids in Kirmān and elsewhere, until finally they were overthrown by Timūr in 795/1393 and Idgu Bahādur Barlās appointed governor of Kirmān (see further, the supplementary chapter on the Muẓaffarids in the *Tārīkh-i gazīda*). The province was in a state of disorder, and Idgū had to establish his authority by a series of military operations. On Timūr's death in 807/1405, he recognised Shāhrukh. The province was nevertheless subject to pillage and disorder in the struggles which ensued between the various Timūrid princes. Idgū died in 812/1409 and was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Sulṭān, who was assassinated almost immediately on the instigation of his brother, Sulṭān Uways. Disorders continued (see further, J. Aubin, *Deux tayyids de Bam au XVe siècle*, 20 ff.). Agriculture declined. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Bāysunghurī* that wherever the army of Mīrzā Iskender (*d.* 818/1415-6) passed through, no building or cultivation was left, and in the *Diughatāyī* he says that wherever Mīrzā Iskandar went he sacked everything, destroying buildings, cutting down trees and sending troops into all districts so that there was not a single corner of Kirmān which was not devastated (quoted by Aubin, *op. cit.*, 35-6). In 819/1416 Sulṭān Uways was besieged in Kirmān by a Timūrid army, and in the following year there was a severe famine in Kirmān accompanied by a heavy loss of life. Shāhrukh then sent Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn to the province to restore agricultural prosperity. He devoted his efforts to the revival of *nuḳṭa* which had fallen out of cultivation. In the first year 250,000 *manns* of wheat were sown. Various tax reductions and remissions were also given to the peasants (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Diughatāyī*, f. 173b, quoted by Aubin, 50). On the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, there was renewed anarchy until Dīnārshāh b. Karā Yūsuf, the Karā Koyunlu, sent his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kāsim Mīrzā to take possession of the province. Conditions showed little improvement (see Abū Bakr Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, ed. F. Sümer, Ankara 1964, ii, 334 ff., and Aubin, 58 ff.). Heavy taxes and dues were imposed on summer and winter crops and irregular levies made on the peasants; many properties were usurped by the government and *waḳf* revenues seized for the payment of the military (Aubin, 69-70). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Mīrzā adopted the practice of billeting his followers on the province with all the attendant evils of such a practice (*Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya* 302). On the death of Dīnārshāh, confusion and disorder prevailed in Kirmān until the Ak Koyunlu succeeded in establishing their rule. For a time Kirmān was governed by Zaynal, the third son of Uzun Ḥasan.

In 909/1503 the province came into the possession of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Some six years later, Kirmān was invaded by the Uzbegs and suffered much damage (*Ḥabīb al-siyar fī Shāh Ismāʿīl*, 326 ff., 333). According to Wāzirī, the first Ṣafawid governor of Kirmān was Muḥammad Khān Ustādjlū (*Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, 283;

see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 11). From 930/1524 to 1000/1590 the province was under governors belonging to the Afshār tribe (*ibid.*, 32, 37). According to the late Safawid manuals, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* and the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, Kirmān was one of the thirteen *beglerbegis* of the Safawid empire (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, G.M.S. London 1943, 163, Muḥ. Taḳī Dānishpażhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā-Rafīʿā wa tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Salmān*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines*, Tehran, xvi/1-2 (1968), 75). For one or two years from 998/1590, however, part of the province, and from 1068-9/1658 to possibly 1206/1694 the whole of the province, was *khāṣṣa* (i.e. under the direct administration of the central government) (Röhrborn, 120, 122). From 1015/1596 to 1031/1621-2 it was under the governorship of Gandj ʿAlī Khān, though during that period he was frequently absent from the province with the Kirmān army on military campaigns with the shāh. During his government he built a number of caravanserais and bazaars in Kirmān city and elsewhere in the province.

During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Kirmān was subject to renewed inroads by the Balūč. In or about 1133/1721 the Kirmānīs appear to have appealed to the Afghān Maḥmūd for help. He came to Kirmān and stayed for nine months, when he returned to Kandahār because of disturbances there. In the following year he came back, but it seems that the people were not prepared to receive him on this occasion and resisted his entry. He laid siege to the citadel, which fell. After plundering the countryside he continued his march to Iṣfahān (Mīrzā Mahdī Astarābādī, *Durrah-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran A.H.S. 1342, 22). In 1139/1726 Mīrzā Sayyid Aḥmad, who was descended from Shāh Sulaymān's eldest daughter, who had married Mīrzā Dāwūd Marʿashī, seized Kirmān and assumed the title of *shāh*. From there he went to Fārs, where he was defeated. He came back to Kirmān, but whatever support he may have had there had disappeared, and so he went via Bam and Narmāshīr to Bandar ʿAbbās, which he temporarily occupied. Eventually, after further adventures, he was captured by the Afghāns and executed in 1140/1728 (J. R. Perry, *The last Safavids, 1722-1773*, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 59 70). After Nādir Shāh defeated Ashraf at Iṣfahān in 1141/1729, the Afghāns abandoned Kirmān.

Under Nādir Shāh, the province suffered further disasters. In the winter of 1145/1732-3 he marched through the province on his way to Kandahār and exacted from the people of Kirmān supplies that there was famine for seven or eight years afterwards (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 119). Disturbances in southern Persia in 1156/1744 and in Sīstān in the spring of 1159/1746 brought the province into a state of confusion, and in the summer of that year a revolt broke out. It was on a small scale, and was speedily suppressed. In 1160/1747 Nādir Shāh again passed through Kirmān and treated the province with great severity (*ibid.*, 259). His death in that year was followed by anarchy and renewed encroachments by the Afghāns and Balūč.

It was not until 1172/1758 that Khudā Murād Khān Zand took possession of Kirmān on behalf of Karīm Khān Zand. During the period of his rule, Kirmān was less troubled by disorders and impositions by the government than had been the case under the Afghāns, and on the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779 remained little affected by the struggle between the Zands and the Ḳādjārs until 1205/1790, when Luṭf ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the last of the Zands, marched against Kirmān. Its governor, who had been appointed by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, agreed to submit but refused to come to Luṭf ʿAlī's camp. The latter thereupon besieged the town. Lack of supplies forced him to raise the siege and leave the district. Subsequently, having been defeated by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān near Shīrāz on 1206/1790-1, he fled to Ṭabas. Offers of support from some of the *khāns* of Narmāshīr induced him to return to Kirmān. He attacked the city and took possession of it in 1208/1793-4. Āḳā Muḥammad meanwhile advanced and laid siege to the town. After some four months, the population were reduced by hunger and a group of the defenders opened the gates on 29 Rabīʿ I 1209/24 October 1794. The surrender of the city was followed by a general massacre—the culminating disaster in the long series of calamities which the province had suffered during some four centuries. Luṭf ʿAlī escaped, but was captured in Bam and handed over to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. Meanwhile Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī b. Āḳā ʿAlī (see above) became governor of Kirmān and held office until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān.

There appears to have been some fear that the disaffection caused by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān's brutality towards the people of Kirmān, coupled with the failure of the government to control raiding and disorder by the Balūč might give rise to a desire for secession from Persia. Because of this, and partly, perhaps, as an result of the influence of Sunbul Bādjī, Fatḥ ʿAlī's Kirmānī wife (see above), Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh appointed Ibrāhīm Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla (see above) governor in 1228/1813. He held office until his death in 1240/1824-5 and was the first of a number of Ḳādjār princes to be appointed governor of Kirmān. Under him the province enjoyed for the first time for many years a period of security. He repaired *ḳanāts*, fostered trade and agriculture (acquiring many estates himself in the process), and encouraged a revival of learning, inviting to the province *ʿulamāʾ* from Bahrayn, Khūrāsān, Fārs and elsewhere (Shaykh Yaḥyā Aḥmadī Kirmānī, *Farmānfarmā-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344, introd., 3). He also made a successful expedition into Balūčistān. This favourable situation did not, however, last. His son, ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān, who succeeded him as governor, attempted to throw off control, and as the succeeding years there were a number of disturbances and perennial outbreaks of disorder by the Balūč. In December 1831 ʿAbbās Mīrzā was sent to the province to restore order. His efforts were only partially successful. After he left the province there were renewed disturbances by governors and others, and in 1835 further inroads by the Balūč. Meanwhile, Muḥammad Shāh had succeeded Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and in 1835 or 1836 appointed Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī, the leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, as governor of Kirmān. On his withholding revenue from the central government, a force was sent to collect arrears. Unable to resist, Āḳā Khān fled in 1837 to Bam, where he was besieged by Firūz Mīrzā Nuṣrat al-Dawla. He surrendered and was sent to Tehran. Later he was allowed to return to Kirmān in 1840 and renewed his rebellion. After a number of skirmishes he was defeated, and took refuge in Afghanistān and later India, whence, it was alleged, he carried on a secret correspondence with his supporters in eastern Persia. His brother, Muḥammad Bākir, made a movement into Balūčistān in 1844 or 1845 but was repulsed. Balūčistān was

meanwhile gradually reduced by the governors of Kirmān, and by the middle of the 19th century Persian control had been extended southwards from Hampūr over the Makrān east of Djask.

From about 1858 Kirmān once more had a period of security and good government, this time under Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Nūrī Wakīl al-Mulk (see above), first as *pishkār* during the nominal government of Gayūmarth Mīrzā, and then as governor from 1860 until his death in 1284/1867-8. His period of office was marked by an increase in prosperity which continued during the subsequent decade. During the government of his son, Murtaḍā Kulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, who was governor from 1869-1878. Čāh Bahār was brought under the control of the Persian government. In 1877 there was an outbreak of factional strife between the Shaykhīs and the Bālāsarīs, which led to the resignation of Murtaḍā Kulī Khān and the despatch of a force from Tehran to restore order. Towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh there appears to have been considerable intellectual activity in Kirmān, and when the movement for reform became overt towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, a number of Kirmānīs, notably Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Bardsīrī Kirmānī (who became the editor of *Akhtar*, the Persian newspaper published in Constantinople) and Nāṣim al-Islām, played an important part (see DUSTŪR, and also, Nāṣim al-Islām, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-i Īrāniyān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī Sirdjānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349).

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The principal sources for the 1st and 2nd centuries A.H. are al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, and al-Masʿūdī; for the 3rd and 4th centuries, al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Miskawayh and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, for the Saldjūḳ period, Afḍal al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿula li 'l-mawḳif al-aʿlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran A.H.S. 1311; idem, *Badāyiʿ al-azmān fī waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, reconstructed text by Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326; idem, *al-Muḍāf ilā badāyiʿ al-azmān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1331; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. T. Houtsma *Recueil de textes relatives à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, I, Leiden 1886, Ibn al-Athīr, Khwārizmī *Akhbār al-sulṭān* for the Karā Khiṭāy dynasty of Kirmān, and the 7th and 8th centuries A.H., Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī-yi Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā li 'l-ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328, Dīwāyanī, *Dīwān-i ghazal*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Djughrāfiyā*, ms. B.M. Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Yazdī, *Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326; *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Muẓaffar*, included in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne; Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957; for the 8th and 9th centuries A.H., ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī, *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328; Saʿīd Mihrābī Khaṭīb, *Mazārāt-i Kirmān*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshimī and Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1330; *Risāla-i Mahmūdī-i ʿwaṣf-i yām*, ed. J. Aubin, in *Farhang-i Īrān zamīn*, II, A.H.S. 1333, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳalāntar, *Rūznāma-i ḥālāndar-i Fārs*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1315, Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i Kirmān (Sālāriyya)*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1340, Afḍal al-Dawla Kirmānī, *Tārīkh wa Djughrāfiyā-yi Afḍal al Dawla*, Central Library, University of Tehran, ms. 2856 / 470, Mīrzā Muḥammad Kirmānī Nāẓim al Islām, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-i Īrān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī Sirdjānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349, Shaykh Yaḥyā Aḥmad Kirmānī, *Farmāndihān-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344. For a discussion on these and other sources for the history of Kirmān, see Bāstānī Pārīzī, introd. to Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī *Tārīkh-i Kirmān (Sālāriyya)*. See further Maḥmūd Ḥammat Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i mufaṣṣal-i Kirmān*, Tehran A.H.S. 1350, Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Gandj-i ʿAlī Khān wa āthār-i ū dar kirmān*, in *Proc. Fac. Letters*, Iṣfahān, 1/1-2, 1345 60; C. E. Bosworth, *The Kāfichīs or Qufs in Persian History*, in *Iran*, XIV (1976), 9 28, idem, *The Banū Ilyās of Kermān (320-573/932-1183)*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, A. H. Schindler, *Die Parsen in Persien*, in *ZDMG* (1882), 54 88, Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*[2], 1884; A. H. Gleadowe Newcomen, *Report on the British Indian Commercial mission to south-eastern Persia during 1904-5*, Calcutta 1906, P. W. English, *City and village in Iran: settlement and economy in the Kirmān basin* (Madison, Wisc. 1966), A. Smith, *Blind white fish in Persia*, London 1953; W. M. Floor, *The merchants (tudjdjār) in Qādjār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, CXXVII/2 (1976), 101 35; D. L. R. Lorimer, *Farhang-i mardum-i Kerman Folklore of Kermān collected by D. L. R Lorimer*, ed. F. Vahman, Tehran A.H.S. 1353; C. Scarcia, *Kerman 1905: La guerra tra Sardi e Bālasarī*, in *AIUON*, XIII (1963), 186-203; H. Algar, *The revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī imamate to India*, in *SI*, XXIX (1969), 55 81, Murtaḍā Mudarris

Čahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī Bābīgarī*, Tehran A.H.S. 2345. (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KIRMĀNĪ, AWḤAD AL-DĪN ḤĀMID B. ABĪ 'L-FAḌĀʾIL (not to be confused with Rukn al-Dīn Awḥadī of Maragha in Āḏarbāyǧān who was also called Awḥad al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and who died in 738/1337-8) was an eminent Iranian mystic (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīḫ-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn-i Nawāʾī, Tehran 1339/1960, 667 f., Ḏīl, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī b. Tawḥīdī Pūr, Tehran 1336/1962, 588-92). He was a pupil of Rukn al-Dīn al-Sīǧāsī (Sinǧāsī), of the affiliation of Kuǧd al-Dīn al-Abharī and Abū Naǧīb al-Suhrawardī. On his numerous travels, he came to Damascus where he became acquainted with Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, who mentions him to his *Fuṣūṣ al-makārim* (ch. viii), and was deeply influenced by his ideas. Awḥad al-Dīn knew Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī (cf. B. Furūzānfar, *Risāla dar taḥqīq-i aḥwāl-u sarguẕašt-i Mawlānā Ḏiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad maʿrūf ba-Mawlawī*, Tehran 1333/1954, 33 f.), and probably met also Ḏiyāʾ al-Dīn Rūmī, ʿUṯmān Rūmī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī. He spent the last period of his life as a well known mystical teacher in the neighbourhood of Baghdād and was honoured by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 632/1234-5. He died probably on 3 Shaʿbān 635/21 March 1238.

Awḥad al-Dīn belongs with Aḥmad Ġazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī to the representatives of *shāhidbāzī*, the contemplation of the divine beauty in earthly forms, preferably in beautiful boys. The basic concepts of his mystical philosophy are *ṣūrat* (outer form, image) and *maʿnā* (inner meaning, essence), in conformity with Ibn ʿArabī's key terms *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. The famous *maṯnawī* poem *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, often attributed to him, was actually written by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardasīrī Kirmānī. The poetical heritage of Awḥad al-Dīn is marked by short forms (i.e. only some *tarǧīʿ-bands* and a few *ġazals*, but a large number of *rubāʿiyyāt* which are grouped into 22 chapters), and is of a gnostic-mystical character. The *rubāʿiyyāt*, which are sometimes influenced by ʿUmar Ḫayyām, are not always of the best literary quality, but they show a deep mystical thought and experience, (as is found in verses of Ḏiyāʾ al-Dīn Rūmī, Aḥmad Ġazālī, ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamaḏānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī.

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AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ḤĀMID AD-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, was a prominent *dāʿī* of the Fāṭimids during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021) as well as the author of many works on the theory of the Imāmate and on Ismāʿīlī philosophy.

The life of al-Kirmānī is known only in its main outlines, which can be traced on the basis of statements contained in his own works. Some other details can be derived from unpublished Ismāʿīlī sources, as has been done notably by Muṣṭafā Ġālib (*op. cit.*, 42 f.), who, however, does not specify these sources. His *nisba* points to his origin from the Iranian province of Kirmān. It is evident from his works that he continued to be in touch with the Ismāʿīlī community in this area. It is not very likely that he was a pupil of the well-known *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿqūb al-Siǧzī [q.v.], as Ġālib states, for Abū Yaʿqūb was not only al-Kirmānī's senior by half a century but there appears to have been a difference of opinion between the two on many doctrinal points as well. A great part of his life seems to have been spent in the service of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in the missionary district (*ḥaḍīra*) of ʿIrāq. The title *ḥuǧǧat al-ʿIrāqayn*, which is often added to his name by way of an honorific rather than as a designation of his rank (cf. W. Ivanow, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Bombay 1948, 44; W. Madelung, *op. cit.*, 63 f., n. 117), implies that this district also included the parts of Iran where al-Kirmānī's *Aḏlām*. At least one of his larger works (*Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ*) was composed in Iran, while two shorter *risāla*s (*al-Ḥāwiya fī 'l-layl wa 'l-nahar*, dated 399/1009, and *al-Kāfiya fī 'l-radd ʿala 'l-Ḥarūrī wa 'l-Ġasānī* were addressed to a subordinate in Dīnawar (Kirmān). The title of his *Kitāb al-Maǧālis wa 'l-Musāyarāt* which has not been preserved, refers to his personal activities in these cities of ʿIrāq. Ġālib ascribes to him a part in winning over the ʿUqaylids of Mosul to the cause of the Fāṭimids. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, al-Kirmānī came to Cairo, where a serious crisis had developed among the Fāṭimid *duʿāt* concerning the nature of the imāmate as it was represented at that time by al-Ḥākim. Quite a few of them, among whom are the founders of the religion of the Durūz [q.v.], propounded the doctrine of the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Either at the request of the chief of the religious organisation, the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* Ḫaṭṭigīn al-Ḍayf, or of the caliph himself, al-Kirmānī interfered in the controversy. In 405-6/1014-15 he wrote the *risāla* called *Mubāḥaṯa al-Baġdādī* upholding the tenet that the imāmate of al-Ḥākim was, in spite of its exceptionally blessed condition, of an ordinary kind and that the theory of his divine nature was incompatible with the Ismāʿīlī dogma of the absolute transcendence of God. The *risāla* called *al-Wāḥiḍa fī nafy daʿwa al-ḥulūl* or *al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh* (ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, in *Maǧallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* (Cairo), xiv/1 (1952), 1-20), composed in 408/1017, was a reply to a pamphlet by al-Ḥasan al-Akḥram al-Farġānī, one of the supporters of the extreme point of view. Apparently, al-Kirmānī returned afterwards to ʿIrāq where he completed his major work, *Rāḥat al-ʿaql*, in 411/1020-1. The latter date provides also a dating *post quem* for his death.

Works. The fate of al-Kirmānī's work after his death has been determined by the further dogmatic history of the Ismāʿīliyya. While the later writers of the Fāṭimid period appear to be hardly influenced by him, he left a lasting imprint on the religious literature of the Ṭayyibiyya [q.v.] which continued a part of the Fāṭimid tradition in the Yaman and in India. This influence can be traced from the time of the second *dāʿī muṭlaq* of the sect, al-Ḥāmidī [q.v.], up to the present day (cf. e.g. R. Strothmann, *Gnosis Texte der Ismailiten*, Göttingen 1943). Thanks to this continuous tradition of Kirmānī studies, the main part of his works has been preserved, although all the copies that have been brought to light as far are very recent.

The defence of the theoretic basis of the Fāṭimid Imāmate, which al-Kirmānī regarded as one of his most important concerns, was not only directed against deviations within the movement itself. He also attacked the claims of the ʿAbbāsids (in *Maʿāṣim al-ḥudā*, a refutation of al-Ḏahabī's *Kitāb al-ʿUlā*

mānāyya) and those of other Shī'ī pretenders (*as al-Kāfiya*, being a warning against the propaganda of the contemporary Zaydī Imām Abū 'l Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi 'llāh al-Hārūnī). In his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-kātib wa 'l-muṭāliʿ*, the polemics against these opponents are combined with a plea in favour of the validity of the religious law for anyone without exception, addressed towards the antinomian strain current in the Ismā'īlī movement. His fullest treatment of the theory of the *imāmate*, constructed as a support of the claim of al-Ḥākim, is contained in *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*. In the course of his argument, al-Kirmānī frequently resorts to Jewish and Christian scriptures, which he quotes in Hebrew as well as in Syrian (cf. Paul Kraus, *Hebräisches und syrisches Zitate in ismailitischen Schriften*, in *Isl* xix (1930) 243-63, and A. Baumstark, *Zu den Schriftzitaten al-Kirmānīs*, in *Isl*. xx (1932), 308-13).

Of equal importance in the work of al-Kirmānī is his preoccupation with metaphysical speculation, to which his most important works are devoted. In the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ fī 'l-ḥikam ilayn al-yāḍayn yāḥkuḥ al-Iṣlāḥ ma 'l-Nuṣra* (ed. by 'Ārif Tāmir, Beirut 1960), he attempts to settle the debate over a great number of philosophical questions which had been going on among the Ismā'īlīs in Iran during the preceding generations. The starting-point of this discussion was the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, a work by al-Nasafī (d. 332/943), to whom the introduction of neo-Platonism in the speculations of the Ismā'īlīs has been attributed. Al-Nasafī had been criticised on several points, which according to al-Kirmānī are of fundamental importance, by Abū Ḥātim al-Warṭānī (*fl*. about 320-34/934-46) in his *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*, but the tenets of the former had been defended by Abū Ya'kūb al-Sijistānī (d. after 360/971) in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Nuṣra*. Kirmānī, who on most issues takes the side of Abū Ḥātim, approaches these problems from a point of view to which he attributes an authoritative weight and which he denotes as "the canon of the guiding mission" (*ḥudūd al-daʿwa al-hādiya*); see further W. Ivanow, *An early controversy in Ismailism*, Leiden 1948, 123 sq., and ed. Bombay 1935, 87 sqq.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* (ed. by M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Cairo 1371/1952, ed. by Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1967) contains a summa of Ismā'īlī philosophy written for adepts who have prepared themselves for the study of the fundamental truths both morally, through the fulfilment of the commands of religious law, and intellectually, by the study of less abstract works of earlier Ismā'īlī authors and of al-Kirmānī himself. The subject-matter has been arranged in chapters and paragraphs which have been styled "walls" (*aswār*) and "crossroads" (*maḥājir*) according to the allegory of a city of gnostic knowledge. By travelling along the fifty-six crossroads enclosed within the seven walls of this city, the searching soul acquires an awareness of the real structure of the universe, which consist of four separate but fully congruent worlds: the world of Divine creation (*ʿālam al-ibdāʿ*), transcending the purely spiritual beings, the world of bodily existence or the realm of nature (*ʿālam al-ajsām, dār al-jasadiyya*), the world of religion (*ʿālam al-dīn*), which is the hierarchy of the Ismā'īlī da'wa, from the *nāṭiq* up to the lowest delegate (*mukāsir al-ḥudūd*), and, finally, the world of the *Maʿād* where this universe returns to its primordial one-ness in its second perfection (*al-kamāl al-thānī*). In complete analogy to this macrocosmic process, the individual human soul, which by origin is only a virtually-existing first perfection, through acquisition of true metaphysical knowledge, can realise itself completely as an intelligent being.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* is the earliest attempt at a complete and systematic exposition of Ismā'īlī philosophy. In comparison to older works, and even to al-Kirmānī's own *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, it shows a profound influence of the metaphysical theories of the *falāsifa*. This is particularly evident in his concept of the world of creation as a decade of intelligent beings which has come into existence by way of "being sent out" (*inbiʿāṯ*) from the universal intellect, the first created being (see further ISMĀ'ĪLIYYA. Doctrine).

Like many other Ismā'īlī *dāʿīs*, al-Kirmānī attacked the writing of the arch-heretic Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī. In the *Kitāb al-Aḥwāl al-ghāṣṣāṭiyya fī 'l-ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, he supported the criticism of his predecessor Abū Ḥātim on al-Rāzī's ideas about the therapy of the mind expounded in the latter's *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (cf. P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, v (1936), 361; idem, *Razis fil. philosophus*, in *Opera philosophica*, i, Cairo 1939, *passim*; and the excerpts from the first part of al-Kirmānī's treatise in the notes to the edition of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*).

Bibliography: The editions of al-Kirmānī's works mentioned in the article all contain more or less extensive introductions to his life and work. Surveys of his works and of the manuscripts known to exist are given in W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaili literature*, London 1933, 43-6, 2nd ed. *Ismaili literature*, Tehran 1963, 40-5, Brockelmann, S I, 325-6, Mu'izz Goriwala, *A descriptive catalogue of the Fyzee collection of Ismaili manuscripts*, University of Bombay 1965, 37-57, nos. 52-65, Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 580-2. Fragments of some of the works of al-Kirmānī are contained in the great Ismā'īlī compilations of 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs (d. 872/1468), *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-akhbār*, and Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūchī, *Kitāb al-Azhār* (written 931/1525), which are still unpublished. Excerpts from his *al-Risāla al-lāzima fī yawm ghadīr Ramaḍān* have been edited and translated into Urdu by M. H. Aʿẓamī, *Nuṣm al-yawm 'inda 'l-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Karachi 1961, 18 to. A work of doubtful authenticity has been edited by 'Ārif Tāmir, *Arbaʿ rasāʾil ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1958, 59-66. On the *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-nāṭiq*, which is really the work of a pupil of al-Kirmānī, see W. Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936, 10-2. See further E. Griffini, in *ZDMG*, lxix (1915), 87, M. F. Hamdānī, in *JRAS* (1933), 372-5, idem and H. S. Mahmūd, *al-Sulaṭāniyyūn wa 'l-ḥarakāt al-Fāṭimiyya fī 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1955, 258-61, and passim; W. Madelung, in *Isl*., xxxvii (1962), 229-67; Henry Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, passim; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 130-2; S. H. Nasr, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 436, 440.

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

KIRMĀNĪ, Kamāl al-Dīn (see Supplement).

KIRMĀNSHĀH, a town and province in western Persia. The province is situated between lat. 34° N. and 35° N. long. 44° 5′ to 48° 0′ E. It lies to the east and north of 'Irāk and Luristān i Kūčik (or Pusht i Kūh) and to the south and west of Kurdistān and Asadābād. In the early 20th century the province was divided into nineteen *bulūks*. These were Bālādih, Wastām, Miyān Darband or Bilawar, Pusht i Darband or Bālā Darband, Dinawar, Kuli 'yā, Sahna, Kangawār, Asadābād, Harsīn, Čamčamāl, Durū Faramān, Māhidasht, Ḥārūnābād, Gūrān,

Kirind, Zuhāb, Aywān and Hulaylān (Government of India, General Staff, Army Headquarters, Intelligence Branch, *Gazetteer of Persia*, ii, Simla, 1914, 358). At the present day it is bordered by Sanandadj on the north, Asadābād on the north-east, Shāhābād on the south, Nihāwand and Tūyserkān on the east, Khurramābād on the south-east, and Kasr-i Shīrīn and Rawānsār i Djawānrūd on the west, and contains the following districts: Sunkur and Kuliyā'ī, Kanguwār, Sahna, Harsīn, Sandjābī, Gūrān and Thalāth (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Irān*, A.H.S 1329 32, v). The town of Kirmānshāh (also known as Kirmānshāhān, a name which appears to be used first in the 4th/10th century) is situated approximately at lat. 34° 19 N and long. 47° 3′ E. at a height of 1322 m. on the Kara Sū River, which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction until it joins the River Gāmāsiyāb (Gawmīsa) (also known as the River Saymara) which flows into the River Karkha. A series of mountain ranges, trending from north-west to south-east, run through the province. Between them there are extensive plains and valleys, containing pastures and cultivated lands. From Asadābād, with an elevation of 2,340 m., there is a gradual descent through a succession of peaks and valleys to Kasr-i Shīrīn, which is at 575 m.

The climate is mild in summer but cold in winter, except in the Zuhāb district and the plains near the ʿIrāḳī frontier and in the lower parts of the Kalhur country (in the region of Mandalī) where it tends to be hot in summer. Snow on the mountains is heavy in winter and spring rains are normally plentiful. The maximum July temperature of the town of Kirmānshāh is 37.2° C and the minimum January temperature −3.5° C. Annual rainfall is 372.7 mm (H. M Ganji, *Climate*, in W B. Fisher, ed., *Cambridge history of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, 1, 247).

Parts of the province in the south, notably districts in Hulaylān, Bilawas and Gūrān, are wooded. Oak, elm, sycamore and some coniferous trees and walnut trees are found in the mountains; willows, poplars and oriental planes are common throughout the province, palm trees are found in Sar-i Pul-i Zuhāb and Kasr-i Shīrīn. Fruit is abundant in some districts, especially in Kandūla, Harsīn and Sahna; Kirmānshāh produces excellent seedless grapes, Rīdjāb is famous for its figs and Gahwāra for its apples. Gum tragacanth was formerly plentiful in the province, but indiscriminate tapping has caused supplies to diminish. Gum mastic (*sakīz*) is obtained from Hulaylān and was formerly exported to Russia (Government of India, H. L Rabino, *Gazetteer of Kermanshah*, Simla 1907, 163, 163).

Dry farming is practised in most parts of the province. In the valleys river water is used for irrigation. *Kanāts* are not numerous. The province is rich in grain land. Formerly, in a normal year the province had a large grain surplus, though from time to time this would be cut by insufficient rainfall, ravages by locusts and other pests, and by disorders. Surplus grain was exported to other parts of Persia, Ottoman Turkey and, later, to ʿIrāḳ. The proportion of wheat to barley was usually two-thirds wheat to one-third barley. Both are grown as unirrigated crops. Grain land is left fallow in alternate years or in many districts for longer periods. Rice is grown in some of the river valleys, including Razyān, Bilawas, Dīnawar, Čančamāl, Zuhāb and Kalhur. It is of inferior quality and mainly consumed locally. Peas (*nukūd*) are produced in quantity and exported to other parts of Persia. Sugar beet has been an important crop since the 1930s and is grown especially in Māhīdasht. Cotton, castor oil, tobacco, saffron, opium, the cultivation of which on a significant scale probably did not begin until the late 19th century (United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual series, 3189, *Report on the Trade of Kermanshah and district for the year 1903 04*, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, *The Persian Constitutional Revolution. the economic background 1890-1905*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 132 ff.) indigo, maize, clover, alfalfa, and vegetable crops, such as melons, water melons, cucumbers, egg plants and tomatoes, are, or were, grown for local consumption (see further Rabino, 153 ff.).

The province has rich pasture lands. Transhumance is widely practised. Formerly, nomadic tribes commonly migrated annually across the Ottoman-Persian frontier and later across the ʿIrāḳī-Persian frontier. Animal husbandry is of great importance, not only among the nomadic tribes but also among the settled peasants. After grain the most important product of the province is wool. Part of the spring wool crop was formerly exported. The autumn wool was less in quantity and inferior in quality and mainly used for the manufacture of felts (*namads*). Formerly, the manufacture of carpets was a thriving industry in the villages and among the tribes, but declined towards the end of the 19th century. By the 20th century it had virtually disappeared. Goat's hair was made into tents, saddle bags, ropes and yarn. Goat skins were dried and exported and were used for coverings for clarified butter and water skins. The markets of Tehran, Hamadān, Kumm and Baghdād were largely supplied with sheep from Kirmānshāh (see further Rabino, 158-9).

Mules and horses were bred in considerable quantities in the 19th century. The horses, which had much Arab blood in them and were well adapted for both draught and saddle, were highly esteemed (cf. J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, London 1856, 26; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 342).

The extensive oil belt extending from Kirkūk in ʿIrāḳ to Khānaḳīn passes through the south western part of the province of Kirmānshāh, and the extraction of oil has been carried on at various centres since antiquity (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343). Other mineral resources include marble, porphyry and lime.

The province is mainly inhabited by Kurds, nomadic and sedentary, and Lurs. Most of the tribes have their own winter and summer quarters (see further ILAT). A rough estimate of their numbers in the early 20th century put them at some 80,000 families or some 300,000 persons. Among them were the Kalhur, partly settled and partly nomadic, who were estimated at 12,000 families. They owned large stretches of irrigated land in the fertile plains of Māhīdasht, Gūān and Kalleh Shahīn, the two last-named purchased by the Kalhur chiefs from their Turkish proprietors at the beginning of the 19th century (United Kingdom Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular reports, Miscellaneous Series, 590 (1903) *Report on the trade and general condition of the City and Province of Kermanshah by Mr. H. L. Rabino*, 46). The Gūrān, also partly settled and partly nomadic, were estimated at 4 5,000, the Sandjābī at 4,000, the Kuliyā'ī, mostly sedentary in Sunkur, at 4,000 and the Zangana, who were mainly settled in Māhīdasht, at 2,500 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 339, Rabino 171 ff.). Apart from some tribes near the ʿIrāḳī frontier, who are Sunnī, most of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmānshāh are Shīʿī. ʿAlī Ilāhīs are also

found in considerable numbers (*cf.* Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran lith. 1315, 490; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 356).

The town of Kirmānshāh or Kirmāsīn (var. forms Kirmāsān, Karmāsān, Karmāsīn, Karmanshīn) as it was known by the early Arab geographers was founded in the Sāsānid period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes its foundation to Bahrām IV (388-99 A.D.) (*Nuzhat*, 108), who had acquired the title Kirmānshāh as governor of the province of Kirmān (*q.v.*). The town founded by him was, however, more probably the small town of Kirmānshāh situated between Yazd and Kirmān (*cf.* Tabarī, in Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 72) Another tradition attributes the foundation of Kirmānshāh to Kawādh b. Fīrūz (488-532 A.D., cf. esp. Mukaddasī, 257 ff.) The Sāsānid kings often resided there, and their example was from time to time followed by later rulers, notably the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Buyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Mukaddasī, 393) The province is rich in monuments of the Achaemenians and Sāsānids, such as the sculptures at Ṭāḳ-i Bustān, three miles east of Kirmānshāh, the rock inscriptions at Bīsutūn (*q.v.*) and various remains at Kanguwār [see KANGAWAR].

Kirmānshāh was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the capture of Ḥulwān in 21/640 (Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 301). It became part of the province of the Djibāl and was known, together with Dīnawar (*q.v.*) as Māh al-Kūfa. Although situated on the great Khurāsān road almost midway between Baghdād and Hamadān, it was less important in the early centuries than Dīnawar or Hamadān Ibn Ḥawḳal does not mention it among the best known towns of the Djibāl, though he describes it as a pleasant place with running water, trees and fruit, in which living was cheap, and as having abundant pastures, where numerous flocks grazed, and much water. Many articles of commerce were also to be found there (i, 259) Later, Kirmānshāh with Hamadān, Rayy and Iṣfahān became one of the four great cities of the Djibāl, though it did not rival them in importance it was ruled successively by the ʿAbbāsids, the Būyids, the Hasanūya [see HASANWAYH] and the Saldjūḳs.

In 394/1197 Kirmānshāh was laid waste by the Khwārazmshāhī *amīr* Mīrāduḳ (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 398). After the Mongol conquest, the Djibāl appears to have been divided into two unequal parts, the larger in the east being known as Persian ʿIrāḳ and the smaller in the west, which included Kirmānshāh, as Kurdistān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Kirmānshāhān (which, he writes, was known in books as Kirmīsīn) had been a medium-sized town (*shahri wasaṭ*) but that in his time it was a mere village (*Nuzhat*, 108). Čančarāsī near Bīsutūn, because of its excellent pastures, was a regular camping ground of the Mongol establishments, and, according to Ḥamd Allāh, Öldjeytü b Arghūn built a town (*barzahī*) there (*ibid.*, 107). It would seem from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's account that there was a decline in production in Kurdistān as in the neighbouring provinces after the Mongol invasions (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 572).

During the 9th/15th century Kirmānshāh lay outside the main course of events in Persia, but with the rise of the Safawids Kirmānshāh became a frontier province facing the Ottomans. Many of the Kurdish tribes enjoyed a degree of local independence, and it does not appear that central control was established throughout the region in the early Safawid period. The sources make little mention of Kirmānshāh, though there is mention of Safawid governors in Dīnawar—Seljuḳ Husayn Takkalū in the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Čiraḳ Sulṭān in the reign of Ṭahmāsp (Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Tehran A.H.S. 1343, 410, 476) Intermittent warfare with the Ottomans kept the frontier regions of Kirmānshāh in a state of instability and often disorder, though the main theatre of operations was Ādharbāydjān. By the peace treaty made by Shāh ʿAbbās in 999/1590 the western provinces of Persia, including Kirmānshāh, were ceded to Turkey, and it was not until the campaign begun in 1011/1602 that Persian rights were reasserted and the lost provinces recovered in the following year After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās an Ottoman expedition led by Khusraw Pasha penetrated up to Hamadān (1039/1630) When peace was again signed in 1048/1639, Sulṭān Murād IV recognised the frontier more or less along the line which it occupies at the present day.

About the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Zangana family began to emerge as the most powerful of the local leaders, and from then on frequently held the government of Kirmānshāh, which usually included Sunkur and, from the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42), Kalhur (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 9) Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zangana became governor under Shāh ʿAbbās II in or about 1056/1646 (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran, A.H.S 1339, viii, 474). Members of the family also held important offices at court, which further strengthened their position Shaykh ʿAlī Beg became *amīr ākhūr* to Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94) His son Shaykh ʿAlī Khān, who also held this office, became governor of Kirmānshāhān and finally Iʿtimād al Dawla, which office he held for fifteen years. He died in 1101/1689-90 (*ibid.*, viii, 490).

After the fall of the Safawids, Kirmānshāh was again occupied by the Ottomans in 1136/1723, the deputy governor Ḥusayn ʿAlī Beg submitting without resistance. By the terms of the peace made by Ashraf with the Ottomans in 1140/1727 Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Sanandadj, Ardalān and Nihāwand and various other places were allocated in perpetuity to Turkey (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 292). Kirmānshāh was retaken by Nādir Ḳulī (later Nādir Shāh) in 1142/1729-30 (Mīrza Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwarī, Tehran 1962, 119 ff.), and when peace was again made in 1145/1732 Kirmānshāh remained with Persia. It was reoccupied by the Ottomans later in the year, but evacuated after a brief siege by Nādir The Zangana *khāns* were still powerful, and in 1156/1743-4 Ibrāhīm Khān b Ẓahīr al-Dawla Zangana was appointed *sipahsālār* of Kurdistān and Luristān (*ibid.*, 490) On the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, who had been made governor of Kirmānshāh by Nādir, took the part of ʿĀdil Shāh against his brother Ibrāhīm. The latter, sent an army to Kirmānshāh, which plundered the town and took temporary possession of the district (*ibid.*, 429), but when Ibrāhīm defeated and dethroned ʿĀdil Shāh, Muḥammad Taḳī made himself virtually independent In 1179/1766 Karīm Khān took the town of Kirmānshāh after besieging the fortress for two years The defenders were finally reduced by famine ʿAlī Murād Khān was then made governor of Kirmānshāh. (See further Abu 'l Ḥasan b Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna, *Muḳīmī al-tawārīkh*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344.)

In the 19th century the commercial and strategic importance of Kirmānshāh increased. It became the capital of Persian Kurdistān. The latter formed a separate province from Ardalān [*q.v.*]. The capital of Ardalān, which was also known as Kurdistān, was Sinna. Already in 1800, Sir John Malcolm noted the importance of Kirmānshāh as a mart for trade between Turkey and Persia (Melville papers, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 288). Sir John Macdonald Kinneir states that it was a flourishing town in 1801, containing about 12,000 houses (*Geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 132), which would have given a population of some 60,000 persons.

Fath ʿAlī Shāh appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, as governor-general of Kurdistān and Luristān in or about 1806, and it became one of the most thriving provinces of Persia. Muḥammad ʿAlī disposed of a considerable army, mainly cavalry, composed largely of Kurds and trained by French officers, and under his rule Kirmānshāh formed a bulwark against the advance of the Ottomans. Because of the rivalry which existed between him and his brother ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the *walī ʿahd* and governor-general of Āḏarbāyd̲j̲ān, and the likelihood of a struggle between them in the event of Fath ʿAlī Shāh's death, he felt the need to attach the population to his interests. Ferrier states that he "administered the affairs of his government in a truly paternal manner. His charities enriched the town and the people lived in the enjoyment of plenty" (*Caravan journeys*, 24). Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn also comments on the expansion of the town under Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā's government. He states that the number of its buildings surpassed those of most other towns in Persia (*Bustān al-siyāḥa*, 492). In addition to buildings in the town, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā surrounded the town by walls, flanked with loop-holed towers, and by a moat three miles in circumference.

Prior to the Turco-Persian war of 1821, the south-western boundary of Kirmānshāh had been some seven miles west of Kirind at Sar i Pul. Muḥammad ʿAlī, having embarked on successful operations against the Ottomans, annexed Zuhāb and advanced on Baghdād, but was forced to abandon his advance by an outbreak of cholera, to which he himself succumbed. The war continued until 1823. By the terms of the treaty then concluded, the districts acquired by either party during the war were to be respectively surrendered and the frontier line was to be restored to where it had been in Ṣafawid times. Zuhāb, although claimed by the Porte, nevertheless remained part of the province of Kirmānshāh. Having been acquired in war, it became *khāliṣa* [*q.v.*] and was farmed by the chief of the Gūrān tribe (H. Rawlinson, *March from Zoheb to Khuzistan*, in *JRGS* IX (1839), 36).

After the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, the town of Kirmānshāh decayed as a result of the extortion and tyranny of the governors who succeeded him. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, writing about 1832, states that there were then no more than 10,000 houses in Kirmānshāh (*loc. cit.*), while Ferrier, writing in 1845, states that its splendid bazaars were deserted, nine-tenths of the shops were shut and three-fourths of the population had emigrated, the townspeople to Āḏarbāyd̲j̲ān and the nomads to Turkey (*op. cit.*, 25). All sign of Muḥammad ʿAlī's fortifications had disappeared by the 20th century. Cholera, plague and famine added to the misfortunes of the town, notably the plague of 1830, which is said to have reduced the population to 12,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355; *cf.* also Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, *loc. cit.*), and in 1832 floods washed away about one fifth of the populated area with heavy loss of life (*ibid*). These disasters, coupled with the rapacity of the governors, reduced the province to a low ebb. Consul Abbott, writing in 1849-50 states that there were some 5,000 inhabited houses (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F. O. 60 165, *K. Abbott's report on the commerce of South Persia . . .*), which would have given a population of about 25,000. Another report written in 1851 estimated the population at 30,000 (*Report on Persia, accounts and papers 1867-68*, 19, quoted by Issawi, 28). By the end of the century there had been some degree of recovery, and in 1924 the population was put at 60,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 353). This figure, which was probably a conservative estimate, was the same as that given by Sir J. Macdonald Kinneir rather over a century earlier.

Various Ḳād̲j̲ār princes held the government of Kirmānshāh after Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā. The first was his son Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Dawla, who held office for some ten years. Another of his sons, Imām Ḳulī Mīrzā ʿImād al-Dawla, also held the governorship for some twenty-one years under Muḥammad Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. In 1842 relations with Turkey again became critical, and a mixed commission was appointed to delimit the frontier, an operation which was not finally completed until 1914 (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.) When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh passed through the province on his way to Karbalāʾ and Nad̲j̲af in 1871, a huge petition was presented to him complaining of the oppression of the governor. It was not answered. From 1821 to 1838 the province was included in the immense region coming under Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the governor of Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. When he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān, his nominees in Kirmānshāh and Kurdistān were dismissed. For some years after that the government of Kirmānshāh was given to the highest bidder with the result that the people were greatly oppressed.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the volume of trade coming through Kirmānshāh markedly increased (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343-4). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of a steamer service on the Tigris, it became the port of entry for all goods entering Persia from Baghdād and coming from England and India via the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. By the end of the century the province equalled, if it did not excel, any other province in its general state (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 336-7). Consul Preece wrote in 1899 that "There are but few towns in Persia which show to-day so flourishing a condition, from a trade point of view, as Kermanshah, and this in spite of oppression by the local Governor, and badness and unsafety of the roads radiating from it" (quoted by Rabino, 206). There was a customs post at Kirmānshāh, which was normally farmed. In 1881 the sum paid was 20,000 *krāns*. For the year ending 20 March 1897 the figure had risen to 480,000 *krāns* and for the year ending 20 March 1899 to 670,000 *krāns*. On 21 March 1899 the customs were taken over by the Belgians (see further *Gazetteer of Persia*, 350 ff.).

Kirmānshāh also benefited greatly from the pilgrim trade, lying as it did on the direct route from Persia to Nad̲j̲af and Karbalāʾ. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries it was estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 pilgrims passed annually through the town. They brought money to exchange or tried to pay their way by selling things, and so gradually

added to the well being of the town (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 344).

In 1914 there were about 200 merchants in Kirmānshāh dealing mostly in Manchester goods obtained direct from Manchester or through Baghdād, in sugar from Marseilles, and in opium, gums, goat skins, carpets and wool, which they exported to Baghdād and England. One of the most prominent of these was Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Wakīl al-Dawla, who combined trade with banking and landownership (for the career of his father and the rise of the family to wealth and influence, see Silbermann, 207). There were about twenty Ottoman Jews, who had in their hands the greatest part of the foreign and export trade. Kāshī merchants imported from Kāshān tobacco, native silk goods, copper ware, to a total amount of some 100,000 *tūmāns*, which they covered by exports to Kāshān of prints and foreign goods received from Baghdād. Yazdī merchants imported henna and Yazdī silk from Yazd to the amount of 40,000 *tūmāns*, and exported an equal amount of foreign goods to Yazd. Iṣfahānī merchants imported native prints and cotton goods, such as *ḳalamkārs*, prints, *lahāfs*, *ʿabās*, etc., and *ǧadjs* and glass from Iṣfahān, and exported to Iṣfahān Manchester prints, iron, tea, cowhides, wool and *ǧalīms*. Their imports came to 100,000 *tūmāns*, but were exceeded by their exports. Hamadān merchants imported naphtha, rice, Russian prints, glassware and hardware (coming from Rasht) and exported to Hamadān dates from Mandalī, gall-nuts, grease, ghee, raw hides, tea, spices, iron, lead, Manchester goods and window glass. The exports exceeded the imports. Some Hamadān merchants worked exclusively as commission agents for releasing goods from the customhouse and forwarding them to Hamadān (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355-6). There were also a few Persian Jews, who lived by small trade and hawking, and a very small number of Chaldean Christians, some engaged in trade and some living by the manufacture of *arak*.

Kirmānshāh played little part in the constitutional revolution, but in 1911 Sālār al-Dawla entered Kirmānshāh in the name of the ex shah Muḥammad ʿAlī. In the following year he advanced on Tehran with a force of Kalhurs, Sandjābīs and other Kurdish tribes. He was defeated near Hamadān and government troops retook Kirmānshāh. Operations continued until the autumn, during which time Kirmānshāh repeatedly changed hands. In the first world war Kirmānshāh was one of the centres of the *muhādjarat* movement. A local committee for national defence was set up (*Anǧumān-i difāʿ-i milli*) and in December 1915 the central committee, which had retired from Tehran to Kum and Iṣfahān in November of that year, withdrew to Kirmānshāh. A provisional government had barely been established when the *muhādjirīn* evacuated Kirmānshāh in March 1916 in the face of a Russian advance. Turkish forces later occupied the town but evacuated it in 1917 (see further Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran n.d., iii, 323 ff., Husayn Samīʿī Adīb al-Sulṭana and Amīn Allāh Ardalān ʿIzz al-Mamālik, *Awwalīn dawra-i mashrūṭiyyat-i milli*, Tehran A.H.S. 1332, 30 ff., 75 ff., P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*[3], London 1963, ii, 446 ff.).

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KIRMĀSTĪ, chief-lian of a *ḥadd*[a] in Anatolia, 13 miles south east of Mikhalitch (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 211) and 40 miles S.W. of Bursa with about 26,900 inhabitants (1960). The town lies on both banks of the Edrenos Çay (Rhyndacus), now called the Mustafa Kemal Paşa Çay. The origin of the name, often wrongly written Kirmāsī, which points to a Greek *Κερμαστή or *Κρεμαστή, is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kremastis in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 743) mentioned in Xenophon, *Hist. iv*, 8, 15 to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Anrata is said to have been here, where the troops of Alexios Comnenus under Kamytzes were defeated in 1068/1113 by the Saldjūḳs (cf. Anna Comnena, ii, 279 ff.). In any case there is close to Kirmāstī a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edrenos Çay at Kesterlek and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ulubad (Lopadium) and Bursa to keep back the advance of the Ottomans. In the town, which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a *türbe*, and 14 *masdjids*, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliyā Čelebi (v. 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 77, 85, ii, 93) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was in 1923 renamed Muṣṭafā Kamāl Paşa in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid ʿAlī Wilāyet (d. 929/1520-3 in Istanbul), son-in-law of the historian ʿAṣḥḳī Paşa zāde (cf. Ṭaşköprüzāde-Meǧdī, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, 352, 13), known from the *Menāḳıb-i Ṭāǧī wa ʿArīfān* (i.e. Sheykh Ebū ʾl-Wefā); cf. Pertsch, *Lat. Türk. Handschr. Gotha*, 137, No. 166 and Tornberg, *Cat. Upsal.*, 222, No. ccccvii.

Two hours' journey from Kirmāstī are two hot mineral springs, called Dümbüldidah and Akardja.

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(F. BABINGER*)

KIRMISIN (see KIRMANSHAH)

KIRSH (see SIKKA)

KIRSHEHIR, modern Turkish Kırşehir (formerly *Kirşehri* "town in the steppes", incidentally also called euphemistically *Gülşehri* "town of the roses"), a town in central Anatolia, ca. 490 m. above sea level, situated at 37° 9' N. lat., and 34° 10' E. long., on a small river called the Kılıç Ozu which flows into the Kızıl Irmak [q.v.], the ancient Halys. The town, with a total population of 24,268 in 1950, lies on the road from Ankara (295 km. distance) to Kayseri (240 km. distance). Another road leads after some 25 km. to the Kesik Köprü, a long bridge over the Kızıl Irmak of 13 pointed arches, built in 640/1248 by a Saldjūk vizier called 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad (see Taeschner in *Festschrift Ernst Kühnel. Aus der islamische Kunst*, Berlin 1959, 290-2, and A. Dietrich in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 320-23). Close to the bridge, on the eastern bank of the river, is a khān or caravanserai, erected in 667/1268 by Nūr al-Dīn Djahrā'īl b. Bahā' al-Dīn Djadja, *amīr* of Kirshehir (see K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karawanserai des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbuler Forschungen, xxii/1, Berlin 1962, no. 21, 74-7). In the neighbourhood of the town are medicinal springs.

Kirshehir is certainly an old settlement, as may be deduced from the *höyük* (a hill indicating ancient cultivation) in the centre of the town, which however, has not as yet revealed its secrets. The ancient name of the town is not known, the denominations proposed for antiquity are disputed. So far as is recorded by inscriptions and architectural monuments, its history starts only in the early Turkish (Rum Saldjūkid) period. Then and shortly afterwards, from the middle of the 7th/13th until the middle of the 8th/14th centuries, the town must have been an important cultural centre.

After the battle of Malāzgird (1071), the Turks took possession of great parts of Anatolia, and Kirshehir became also Turkish, but the control of the city changed more than once sometimes it fell to an *amīr* of the Danishmandids of north-eastern Anatolia (Sivas and Malatya), sometimes to a sultan of the Anatolian collateral line of the Saldjūkids, the so-called Rūm-Saldjūkids who resided in Konya. Under sultan Kilič-Arslan II, the amirate of the Danishmandids was incorporated (ca. 1173) in the territory of the Rūm-Saldjūkids, who remained the overlords of the town until the end of their power in 1307. Then governors of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Iran started to rule the whole region, including Kirshehir, which served as a place of coinage for these until 728/1328. In his *Nuzhat al-kulūb* (ed. G. Le Strange, i. Text, London 1925, 99, *ll.* 23 ff., ii. Tr. London 1919, 99, *ll.* 22 ff.), Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī designates Kirshehir as "a big town with high sacred constructions ("*imārāt*), which enjoys a fine climate, the revenue of its *Diwān* amounts to 57 000 *dīnārs*".

After the disintegration of the Il-Khānid state, Kirshehir again became a controversial issue between independently behaving governors, like those of the Eretnids [see ERETNA] and other dynasties, until it was taken by the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I. After the latter's defeat near Ankara in 1402, the town was at first added by the conqueror Timūr to the territory of the Karamānoghlu (Konya and Laranda), but afterwards changed masters several times until it became definitely Ottoman when Selīm I incorporated the principality of the Dulkadir, to which Kirshehir had belonged ultimately. As capital of a *liwā* (*sandjak*), the town was attached to the *eyālet* (*wilāyet*) of Karaman.

When the *wilāyet* system was reorganised in the middle of the 19th century, the *sandjak* of Kirshehir was assigned to the *wilāyet* of Ankara. The town became a *wilāyet* in 1924 when the former *wilāyets* were abolished and the *sandjaks* raised to *wilāyets*. But in 1954 the *wilāyet* of Kirshehir was suppressed, parts of its territory were added to the *wilāyets* of Ankara and Yozgad, but the greater part was assigned to the newly formed *wilāyet* of Nevshehir.

The heyday of Kirshehir was the late Saldjūkid and Il-Khānid period between ca. 1240-1340. The town must then have been really important, there was in any case an active intellectual life and a mystical religious character, as may be seen from imposing architectural monuments which have survived until today (see Ali Saim Ülgen, *Kırşehir'de Türk eserleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1942), 255-62, figs. 1-25, Halûn Baki Kunter, *Kırşehir hatibleri*, in *ibid*, 432-36, figs. 4-23, W. Ruben, *Kırşehir'in dikkatımızı çeken abu'ol ahadeleri. A*, in *Belleten*, xi [Ankara 1947], no. 44, 603-40, pls. CX-XCVI, idem, *B*, in *Belleten*, xii [Ankara 1948], no. 45, 173-93, pls. XXXVII-XLVI; idem, *Ergenarıge Denkmäler aus Kırşehir*, in *ibid*, 294-303; Cevat Hakkı Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi üzerinde araştırmalar*, Kırşehir 1938, idem, *Tarihte Kırşehir - Gülşehri ve Bahailer - Ahiler - Ekhiazâtlar*, Istanbul 1948).

The oldest cultural institution in Kirshehir is possibly the *madrasa* of Malik Muzaffar b. Bahrāmshāh, called Malik Ghāzī, of the Mangūtekdynasty, whom sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād I had invested with Kirshehir as compensation for the principality he had taken away from Ghāzī a family. Of the *madrasa* allegedly built in 644/1246, only the relatively simple portal has been preserved. When the ruins of the *madrasa* were carried away, the portal was used in 1312/1893 for the reconstruction of the 'Alā' al-Dīn Mosque on the hillock of the town. The still-standing graceful mausoleum of Malik Muzaffar, the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, constructed by his consort in the style typical for the high-Saldjūkid period, indicates the original site of the *madrasa*.

For the next period, the *madrasa* of the *amīr* Nūr al-Dīn Djahrā'īl b. Bahā' al-Dīn Djadja served as a centre of intellectual life. It belonged to an extension foundation on which a deed of foundation (*waḳfiyya*) in Arabic and Mongol, dated 670/1272, provides information (see Ahmed Tevfik, *Kırşehir emiri Cacaoğlu Nur el Din'in 1270 tarihli Arapça Moğolca vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1959). Of the constructions belonging to this foundation, only a group of buildings in the centre of the town has survived. It consists of the *madrasa*, built in 671/1272 and presently used as the Friday mosque, its minaret and the tomb of the founder. The tomb is included in the north-eastern angle of the *madrasa* and can only be reached from the inside; on the outside, it is only marked by a window in the northern wall, of the same style as the portal of the *madrasa*.

To the north-west of the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, at a distance of ca. 200 m. from the Djadja Beg Madrasa, lies the Lāla Camı ("Tulip mosque"). A tale has it that its name is derived from a tulip of particular beauty, which the builders received from a pupil of the Djadja Beg Madrasa; proceeds of its sale then allegedly enabled him to build the Lāla Camı. The building, which lies in ruins and does not bear any inscription so that nothing is known about its construction and original use, apparently was not a mosque at the outset, during the Il-Khānid period it served as the mint, but was used as a mosque later,

probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its *miḥrāb* built to Saldjūkid style.

In the north-eastern part of the town, on a hillock in the Imaret ward, lies the tomb of Shaykh Süleyman-i Turkomānī, who is said to have introduced to Kirshehir the Mewlewī order, and to have built a Mewlewī khān, nothing of which has survived. The tomb has no inscription and so nothing is known about its construction or about the death of the man who is buried there. A wooden panel on the tomb gives 693/1294 as the year of his death, but this can not be correct since there exists a foundation deed (*waḳf-iyye*) of Shaykh Turkomānī, dated Muharram 697/October-November 1297 (see C. H. Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi*, 82-5). The biographical work *Nafaḥāt al-uns* of the Persian poet Djāmī (Turkish tr. Lāmiʿī, Istanbūl 1289/1872, 652, M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Türk edebiyyātında ilk mütaṣavvıflar*, Istanbul 1918, 236, n. 1) mentions 714/1314 as the year of his death; this seems more probable. Until recent times, descendants of Shaykh Süleymān I Turkomānī have been known in Kirshehir, as may be seen from *later sites* their tombs, all of which carry Mewlewī characteristics. It seems probable that the dignity of Shaykh of the Mewlewī community to Kirshehir was hereditary in their family.

The poet Gülshehrī to all probability also originated from Kirshehir. He was one of the first to write poetry in Rūm Turkish, and by doing so was largely instrumental in this language's, the later Ottoman-Turkish, finding its place among the literary languages of Islam. Nothing is known about his life, nor is there any trace of his tomb in Kirshehir or elsewhere. But on the basis of his pen-name (*maḵhlaṣ*) Gülshehrī (q.v.) there can be no doubt that he originated from Kirshehir. Because his *Mantiḳ al-ṭayr* contains many references to the prophet Süleymān (Solomon), it has been supposed that Gülshehrī can be identified with Shaykh Süleymān-i Turkomānī. The identification, however, is in no way proved and remains controversial.

From an artistic point of view, the most important building to Kirshehir is the *türbe* of the poet ʿĀshik Pasha (*q.v.*; see also M. Fuad Köprülü, *in IA*, s.v.), born of Kirshehir to *569/1272*. His grandfather Bābā Ilyās had been the founder of the Bābā'ī sect, and one of his followers, Bābā Ilyās, had been the leader of the great dervish revolt which had been crushed with great difficulty in 1242 on the Mālkiyye plain near Kirshehir. ʿĀshik Pasha, himself a dervish also, died in the odour of sanctity on 23 Ṣafar 733/3 November 1333, his tomb at Kirshehir became a highly visited place of pilgrimage. The magnificent *türbe*, which guards the mortal remains of the poet, was built after his death and has a style of architecture all of its own. It has nothing in common any more with the Saldjūkid tombs, generally called *kümbet* ("cupola"), but it departs also from the customary style of the Ottoman *turbes*. A characteristic feature of ʿĀshik Pasha's *türbe* is that before it extends a closed entrance hall which is accessible at the side through a grand portal.

From an historical point of view the most remarkable monument of Kirshehir is perhaps the modest sanctuary of Akhī Ewrān which consists of the saint's *türbe*, a *tekiyye* and a mosque. On the role of this sanctuary in the economic life of Kirshehir, see AKHĪ BABA AND AKHĪ EWRĀN. When in 1925 the dervish monasteries were closed, the role of the *tekiyye* of Akhī Ewrān came also to an end, and so Kirshehir was reduced to the status of a provincial town.

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KIRṬĀS stands for 1. papyrus, papyrus roll, 2. parchment, and 3. later also rag paper, from the Arabic texts, it is not always clear which material is meant. The word *ḳirṭās*, *ḳarṭās*, *ḳurṭās*, or *ḳarṭas*, *ḳaṭṭas*, has been adopted from the Greek word χάρτη through the Aramaic, from the Arabic, it has been adopted by the Spanish as *alcartas* meaning "bag", and by the Portugese as *cartas* meaning "paper, permit; placard". In the *Ḳurʾān*, it is mentioned in the singular, *ḳirṭās* (Sūra VI, 7), and in the plural, *ḳarāṭīs*, meaning "[written] papyri" (Sūra VI, 91). Sometimes a genuine Arabic word is used *waraḳ al-bardī*, "reedy sheet", and *waraḳ al-bardī* or *al-ṣaʿīdī*, "sheet made of the papyrus plant" (see KASAR, PAPYRUS). The Arabs attribute the invention of the *ḳirṭās*, "papyrus", to the biblical Joseph (Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 274, etc.). Nothing is said about its production. Only in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), 21, and in al-Bīrūnī's *Indica*, 81, completed in 421/1030, are there two statements that *ḳirṭās* is obtained from the reed of the papyrus (*ḳaṣab al-bardī*), or else from its pulp (*lubb al-bardī*). Only to the 7th/13th century after the termination of the production of papyrus in the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-Baytār (d. 646/1248) related in his *Djamʿ al-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1291/1874-5, i, 87 from his teacher Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī (d. 637/1239), that the Egyptians, in former times, used to split the stalk of the papyrus in two parts, cut [the pulp obtained thereby] into strips, put them [crosswise, in two layers] on an even pad made of wood, spread size on them which they had obtained from the seeds of the bhīs lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.), dry [the strips combined thereby], and beat them carefully with a beetle until they got an even [piece].

Ḳirṭās was not usually sold as pieces, but rather as rolls of pieces stuck together. From these rolls, pieces could be cut, irrespective of the glued joints which were usually not visible. The smallest piece used in trade was a sixth of a roll, which was called a *fāmūd* (Greek τομάριον) or *fāmūr ḳirṭās* (Greek τομάριον χάρτου). On the front surface (*recto*), the strips of the papyrus ran horizontally, hence parallel to the writing, while on the reverse-surface (*verso*), the strips ran vertically. In the early ʿAbbāsid period several sheets were, sometimes, bound into a booklet (*ḥarīsa*). Because of the high price of the material, it was usual to write on the reverse surfaces as well as to wash the written papyri and write on them again (thus forming an opistograph or palimpsest). The sizes of the sheets were probably generally the same as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was 30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width later was increased. The manufactories producing the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government or were under governmental supervision; it seems that this governmental control was certified by an official note on the back side of the first sheet of a roll.

The word *ḳirṭās* did not remain confined to

"papyrus", "roll of papyrus", but was used for "bag" and, in medical science, for "dressing", "a kind of absorbent gauze", and things like that (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *op. cit.*, i, 87, and his sources, ss. Dioscorides, Galen, Ibn Sīnā, etc.), or else was applied to writing paper obtained from other materials, e.g. "parchment" [see QIRṬĀS, RAḲḲ] and "rag paper" [see KAGHAD].

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AL-KISĀʾĪ, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bahman b. Fayrūz, *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, well-known Arab philologist and Kurʾān-reader (*ca.* 119-89/737-805). Descendant of an Iranian family from the Sawād, he was born in Bāb-amshā, Dujayl, north of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 458 s.v., M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1901, ii, 226) and when still a boy, came to al-Kūfa (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 535). It is related that he had difficulties with the *ʿarabiyya* and therefore sought to attach himself to the grammarian Muʿādh al-Harrāʾ (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404). Al-Khalīl's [*q.v.*] authority in the field of Arabic philology allegedly caused him afterwards to go to al-Baṣra, at his advice, al-Kisāʾī is said to have stayed for some time among the Bedouins in order to become fully conversant with the secrets of the *ʿarabiyya* by direct association with them. As is shown by the explanations and interpretations of details which are to be found in grammars and lexicographical works of the native philological literature and which are to be traced back to al-Kisāʾī, it is in any case certain that he attributed more importance to linguistic usage than to learned systematisation, as was aspired to by Sībawayh (*q.v.*), another pupil of al-Khalīl, who laid this down in his voluminous *al-Kitāb*. Even if al-Kisāʾī, in his discussions and investigations, made use of the generally accepted method of analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), he nevertheless, in his learned observations, left, as was fitting, wide space to the anomalous ways of speech as presented especially by colloquial speech or dialect, be took care not to squeeze into a system such anomalies, exceptions and discrepancies from the general rule (against Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 190; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 336). In this way, he and those who followed him in this method preserved for us vestiges of the everyday language, which was not acknowledged by other scholars and therefore concealed and suppressed. Three or four generations later, in connexion with the controversies between al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*] in Baghdād, the more independent treatment of the Arabic language by al-Kisāʾī, and not least that of his pupil al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], became straightaway the method of the grammatical school of Kūfa, *ex eventu*, be and his teacher al-Ruʾāsī [*q.v.*] have entered the history of Arab philology as the real founders of that school. In his introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* (Leiden 1913), G. Weil pertinently characterised this method as the "anomalous" one, in opposition to the strictly "analogous" one of the school of Baṣra, which has generally prevailed among the Arab grammarians. Apart from the material preserved in the *Kitāb al Inṣāf* with respect to the school of Kūfa and in particular to al-Kisāʾī's teachings, see also Thaʿlab, *Madjālis Thaʿlab*, Cairo 1960, index; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis al ʿulamāʾ*, Kuwait 1962, index; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo 1958, iii, index; idem, *al-Aghānī wa ʾl-radjāʾir*, Haydarābād 1360/1941, iii, 15, 18, 42; al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kanghrāwī (?) al Istadrābādī (1278-1349/1862-1931), Kaṣhāla, *Muʿdjam*, v, 27, 292), *al-Mūdjiz fī ʿilm-i nāḥw al-kāfī*, ed. M. Bahdjat al-Bayṭār, in *MMIA*, xxiv (1949), 417-32, 560-82, xxv (1950), 223-46, 399-414, 521-34, xxvi (1951), 83-100, 299-321, 407-22, 577-89 (cf. too A. al-Himsī, Ẓahiriyya, Nahw, 519. al-Kanghrī).

Al-Kisāʾī's learned studies more concerned with a description of reality than with scholastic systematisation, apparently sprang from a basic attitude, which must also have enabled him to maintain for many years those manifold good and close relations with the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdād, where he had moved. There the scholar, as original in knowledge as he was in ideas, was all the more welcome as teacher of the princes since he was also able to act as a Kurʾān-reader (Azhari, *Taḥdhīb*, 15). The caliph al-Mahdī had entrusted to him the education of the young al Rashīd, who in his turn later caused his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn to be taught by al-Kisāʾī (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 286, 294 ff.) Al-Rashīd promoted his teacher al-Kisāʾī among his personal companions and confidants (*al djulasāʾ wa ʾl-muʾānisīn*) and requested him to accompany him on the *ḥadjdj* and other journeys (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 283, 286) thus manifesting the intimate relation between pupil and teacher. During one of these journeys probably the road to Khurāsān in 189/805 (Ṭabarī, iii, 702 ff.), al-Kisāʾī died at the age of seventy (Kifṭī, *Inbāh* ii, 269), probably in Rambāya in the neighbourhood of Rayy. Fragments of an elegy on him and on the jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] by his antagonistic colleague Yaḥyā al Yazīdī [*q.v.*] have survived (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 240; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 140; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 423 ff., and ii, 180, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 824 f., idem, *Udabāʾ*, v, 283, 299. Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 540); for the *laḳab* "Kisāʾī", see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404 f., Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 445 etc., O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, 1963-4, viii/i, 108.

It is evident that the opinion of al-Kisāʾī's colleagues on a man who seemed to be favoured personally by fate because of his good relations with the court of the caliph, was not always positive (Abu ʾl Tayyib, *Marātib*, 74), all the more so because—as indicated above—in controversial questions he preferred to rely on the reality of the spoken language rather than on speculative assertions of the learned (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 280). It was the Bedouins, as disputed authorities on the current language, who assisted him at the famous discussion with Sībawayh on the so called *al masāʾala al zunbūriyya* (Zadjdjādjī, *op. cit.*, 8 ff., Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 288, Kifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 358 f., etc.; A. Fischer, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 150-6). He is also reproached with being a pederast and fond of date-wine (*nabīdh*) (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 284, 289, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 185, 194, 198).

Al-Kisāʾī's authority as a Kurʾān-reader was generally recognised, both at the court and among the public of Baghdād, al-Rakka and elsewhere (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 403). At first, he represented the reading of his teacher Ḥamza al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], but in the course of time he developed his own (*Fihrist*, 30). How highly al Kisāʾī's reading was appreciated is shown by the fact that it became the seventh of the seven canonical readings [see QIRāʾĀT]

Probably his reading was as little established by its reader, al-Kisā'ī, as were the others by their readers. This was first done by al Kisā'ī's pupil Abū 'Ubayd [*q.v.*], when he compiled 32 *ḥurūf*. As in parallel cases, the *Mufradāt al Kisā'ī*, which exists in Ms. Tehran University 4867,1 (M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, xiv, 3897), could be a later extract from the *Shāhbiyya*, the *Taysīr* or a similar work (see R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976, i, 38 f.).

Of al-Kisā'ī's 14 or 15 works enumerated in the *Fihrist*, 65 ff., 165—for some of them, see Asharī, *Tabāʾīn*, 23 ff. and Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 178 (or should we read Sībawayh here instead of al Kisā'ī?)—nothing apparently has come down to us. According to the titles, they were devoted to questions of grammar, lexicography and the Kur'ān, and also of poetry, of which he allegedly did not have much knowledge (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 193; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 457). According to Brockelmann, I, 128, S I, 178, three other treatises which are connected with his name and are lacking in the enumeration of the *Fihrist*, have been preserved: *Risāla fī laḥn al ʿāmma* (ed. Brockelmann, in *ZA*, xiii (1898), 29 46; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ibid*., xxi 25, 'Abd al-'Azīz al Maymanī, Cairo 1935, and R. 'Abd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1967, 121 f.); *Kitāb al Mutashābih fī l-Kurʾān* (other mss. e.g. in Ẓāhiriyya [ʿIzzat Ḥasan, Kur'ān, 592], Chester Beatty [A J Arberry, 3165,1] or Baghdād, Awḳāf ['A. al-Djubūrī, i, 144, no. 433], a remark on the *istiʿādha* formula in a verse (British Museum [Ch. Rieu, Supplement 1203, 12]), preserved in detail in Ṭaḳīdādī, *op. cit.*, 338-42 (for similar traditions, see e.g. Marwazūnī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 285, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 406).

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(R. Sellheim)

KISĀʾ [see LIBĀS].

KISĀʾĪ, Majd al Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan, a Persian poet of the second half of the 4th/10th century. In some later sources his *kunya* is given as Abū Isḥāḳ, but the form given above can be found already in an early source like the *Ṭahīr mahālī*. The *Dumyat al ḳaṣr* by al Bākharzī contains a reference to the "solitary ascetic" (*al-mudjtahid al muḥtin be nafsihi*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al Kisā'ī of Marw who might very well be identical with this poet (cf A. Ateş, *gerig* to his edition of *Kitāb Tarcumān al balāgha*, 97 f.). The pen name Kisā'ī would, according to 'Awfī refer to the ascetic way of life adopted by the poet, but it can also be explained otherwise e.g. as a *nisba* derived from the trade of tailoring. From the very beginning the title *al-Ḥakīm* has been attached to his name.

His origin from Marw is confirmed by the early sources. It is also certain that he made at least a part of his career as a poet in that city. In one of his poems, a lament of old age, he has inserted a precise dating of his birth Cahārshamba, 26 Shawwāl 341 (Wednesday, 16 March 953) as well as the statement that he had reached the age of fifty. From this poem, the conclusion has been drawn that he must have died in or shortly after the year 391/1000-1. The actual date of his death is, however, unknown.

The *dīwān* of Kisā'ī was still extant in the 6th/12th century. After that time, its transmission appears to have been discontinued. Hardly any complete poem has survived. The fragments that have been collected so far from a great variety of sources are generally not longer than a few lines. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the statements concerning the nature of his work that have been made both by ancient and modern writers. It can be regarded as certain, anyhow, that Kisā'ī did enjoy a great reputation as a religious poet during the two centuries following upon his death as well as on his own lifetime. 'Awfī describes him as the first place as a poet who practised the genres of devotional poetry (*zuhd*) and religious admonition (*waʿẓ*), and quotes a few specimens of his eulogies (*manāḳib*) on the members of the House of the Prophet. The *Kitāb al Naḍḍ*, an apology of the Imāmī Shī'a written about the middle of the 6th/12th century, establishes Kisā'ī with some emphasis as a Shī'ī poet.

The Ismā'īlī poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw (died ca. 465/1072), who cultivated the same genres as Kisā'ī, acknowledged his indebtedness to this predecessor, indirectly, by using a claim to the superiority of his own poems over those by Kisā'ī as a *topos* of the epilogue in a number of *ḳaṣīdas*. As E. G. Browne has pointed out, these instances of poetical *faḵr* need not be taken as evidence of a sectarian controversy between these two poets (as it had been suggested by H. Ethé). The opposite conclusion reached by Sa'īd Nafīsī—namely, that they both belonged to the same branch of the Shī'a—is equally untenable. The exchange of poems between Kisā'ī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw quoted by Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat from the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* by Taḳī Kāshī, is an anachronistic forgery made up from poems that actually belong to the *dīwān* of the latter only.

The paucity of the primary sources available now does not permit us to estimate how far Kisā'ī specialised in the writing of religious poetry. It is also impossible to define the social groups to which he addressed himself in these poems. It is evident, on

the other hand, that he did not stay aloof entirely from the profane practice of poetry. He was patronised by a minister of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, and in his later days he wrote at least one panegyric ode to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. ʿAwfī praises his descriptions and quotes several specimens which show that Kisāʾī used all the poetical themes current in his age.

Bibliography The fragments of Kisāʾī's poetry were collected for the first time by Ethé, *Die Lieder des Kisâ'î*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1874), ii, 233-53. This collection, based on manuscripts of a number of *taḏkiras*, is now outdated. More material has come to light from various other sources, such as dictionaries and *maǧmūʿa*-manuscripts. New collections have been published, in particular by M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, *Ganǧ-i ḥaz-yāfta*, ii, and *Pīškišangān-i sabk-i pārsī*, Tehran 1352/1972; see also *Lughat-nāma*, no. 262 (1352/1972), s.v. *Kisāʾī*. The most important primary sources on his life and work are of Nāṣir al-Dīn, al-Kazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al Naḳḍ*, ed. Ḏjalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṯ i Urmawī, Tehran 1332/1952, 252, 628; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī, *Tarǧumān al-balāġha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1946, printed text 23, 11, 46, 47, 108, Asadī, *Luġhat-i Furs*, ed. M. Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957, passim, Naṣīr i Khusraw, *Dīwān-i aš'ār*, ed. Naṣrat Allāh Takawī, Tehran 1348/1969, passim, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-6, *main* 44, *taʿlīḳāt* 89-97; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, ii, 33-9, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 270-4, *taʿlīḳāt* 660-8, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, ii, 7-9; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Āḏhar, *Ātaškada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 236; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Maǧmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā'*, lith. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 488-5. See further Ethé, in *Gr. I Ph.*, ii, 281 f.; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 160-4, B. Furūzānfar, *Kisā'ī-yi Marwazī, in Armaġān*, i (1309/1930) 27-34 (= *Maǧmūʿa-yi maḳālāt wa aš'ār*, Tehran 1352/1972, i 7), idem, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān*², Tehran 1350/1971, 38-42, ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Irānšahr*, i (1340 A.H.), 337-42, ʿAlī Kawīm, *Armaġhān*, xxiv (1328/1949) 241-51, Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīḫ-i adabiyyāt dar Irān*⁴, i, Tehran 1342/1963, 442-9.

(J. H. Kramers-[J. T. P. de Bruijn])

al-KISĀʾĪ, Ṣāḥib Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, unknown author of a famous Arabic work on the lives of the prophets and pious men prior to Muḥammad. Some small passages of this book were first edited in 1898 by I. Eisenberg in his thesis on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī. A complete edition was published in 1922.

In his thesis, Eisenberg tried to prove that the author of the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* was the well-known philologist al-Kisāʾī, to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd had entrusted the education of his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. But what renders this identification impossible is that Ibn an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* does not make any allusion to any book of the philologist, the contents of which could have been the legends of the old prophets; furthermore, the name of al-Kisāʾī the philologist is Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamza, and not Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as indicated in the text edited by I. Eisenberg. Thus the identity of the author of the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* remains an enigma.

Moreover, recent enquiries into the subject have proved that the legends of the prophets as written down in the numerous manuscripts of al-Kisāʾī's *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* belong to the popular narrative tradition of mediaeval Islam and can be compared with works such as the romance of ʿAntar, so far as the narrative style is concerned. So it would be of little use to search for an individual author al-Kisāʾī who could have compiled the *Kiṣaṣ al anbiyāʾ* at a certain date, he is as vague a figure as the narrator al-Aṣmaʿī in the romance of ʿAntar. The mediaeval story-tellers (*quṣṣāṣ* [see ḳiṣṣa]) apparently held al-Kisāʾī's *Kiṣaṣ al anbiyāʾ* in high esteem, but they were not anxious to preserve one standardised text of the legends. It is for this reason that the manuscripts, the oldest of which date from the early 7th/13th century, differ considerably in size, contents, and even arrangement of the stories.

The legends of the pre-Islamic prophets as related in these compilations under al-Kisāʾī's name, or handed down unto us in many other anonymous manuscripts, must be considered as the vivid expression of the religious feeling of the average mediaeval Muslim. It is to this respect that al-Kisāʾī's *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* are sources of great value for scholars who want to carry out further investigations of the popular religious life of the Islamic world, a task which has been somewhat neglected up till now.

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(T. Nagel)

KISANGANI, the former Stanleyville, is a city now of well over 250,000 inhabitants, the third city in Zaire, and the capital of the province of Upper Zaire, formerly Province Orientale. The most important urban centre in north-eastern Zaire, it is situated on the bend of the river Zaire, formerly called Lualaba (upstream) and Congo (downstream from the city), just where it turns west and a few miles north of the equator.

In 1877, Henry Morton Stanley set up camp here to rest from the exhausting weeks during which he negotiated the seven cataracts still called Stanley Falls. In 1882, Hamed Muḥammad al-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tibb [q.v.], founded a town on the northern shore of the island in the Zaire river that was formed by a creek called the Abibu. The new settlers, about 1500 in number and all nominal Muslims, called their town Kisangani, Swahili for "On the sandbank". In 1883, Stanley returned with instructions from King Leopold II to found a government station at the upper end of the navigable part of the Congo river. This became Stanleyville, with its centre on the right bank just north of the original Kisangani. By that time the Muslims (called "Les Arabisés" by the administration) had settled on the left bank, calling their new town Kisingitini, Swahili for "On the threshold". Their language of culture and literature is Swahili, their tribal background is mainly Kusu, Tetela and Genia, the Genia (Wagenia) being the original inhabitants of Wane Rusari or Wanye Lesali, the island of which Kisangani formed part. Stanleyville became an important trading centre, exporting coffee, cocoa, palm oil, timber and ivory. Modern Kisangani has a university; it was part of the policy of authenticity of President Mobutu to replace the name Stanleyville by Kisangani as the name for the whole city

The Muslims flourished with the city. More adaptable to urban culture and more conscious of their cultural dignity than the tribal peoples, they were more self-confident in their attitude vis-à-vis the Europeans, since their religion claimed equality with Christianity. The Belgian Congo government tried to restrict the activities of the Muslim missionaries, but could not prevent Islam from spreading to the country districts south of the city. The Muslims called themselves Waungwana "free man", the name by which all the Swahili peoples once called themselves. Their language is called Kiungwana, a dialect of Swahili (*q.v.*). This Swahili became the lingua franca of the entire country east of the Lomami river.

Always rebellious against the colonial administration, the Muslims were among the first groups to form a nationalist party about the time of independence, sc. the Mouvement National Congolais, from which the late Patrice Lumumba drew an important part of his support (he was a Tetela himself). No longer isolated, the Muslims in Kisangani, although they number only some 10,000, are in contact with and receive support from, those in Egypt, Arabia and Pakistan. Two neighbouring states, Uganda and the Central African Empire, have been ruled by Islamic governments until 1979.

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KIṢĀṢ (A.), synonymous with *kawad*, retaliation ("settlement", not "cutting off" or "prosecution"), according to Muslim law is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal, called in the former case *kiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* (blood vengeance) and in the latter *kiṣāṣ fi-mā dūn al-nafs*.

1. For *kiṣāṣ* among the pagan Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 186 ff.; Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*, the collection of essays *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung, gestellt von Th. Mommsen*, Sections v VII; and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islämischen Gesetzes*, 284 ff.

2. Muḥammad takes it for granted that the bloodvengeance of Arab paganism—in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Procksch, *op. cit.*, 6 and n. 5)—is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain. Kur'ān XVII, 35, XXV, 68, VI, 152 (cf. KATL, i, 1, in these passages only the *jus talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another, already in XVII, 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty one), II, 173 ff. (before Ramaḍān of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *kiṣāṣ* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother, he shall be dealt with equitably ... and pay him compensation as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *kiṣāṣ* you have life, you of understanding ..." (the first verse says that a free man can only be slain for a free man, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a free man, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally, of course, only the guilty one, and that in all other cases the payment of compensation (*diya*) takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the free man in relation to the slave is a matter of course, according to old Arab views, and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muḥammad's based on them (there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Procksch, *op. cit.*, 75 n. 5). The commentators had difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments (cf. below, 4). Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 (see below): By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed, pardon is the abandonment of *kiṣāṣ* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved); v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medinan Jews, but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for them (the Jews) in it (the Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *kiṣāṣ* for wounds, but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins) ..." (this verse of course does not cancel II, 173). In the years 3-5, with IV, 89 ff. there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (cf. KATL, i, 1); in this the application of *kiṣāṣ* is excluded. In II, 190 (before the campaign of the year 6), *kiṣāṣ* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sīra*, the records of the life of Muḥammad are in agreement with this. In the so-called constitution of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medinan period, it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt as a trial before the authority—Muḥammad—is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *kiṣāṣ*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the

murderer and must take an active part against him. Here the *ḳiṣāṣ* is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (*umma*), which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood avengers for their blood spilt for the sake of Allāh; but it is also throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, and no-one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, logical from the standpoint of the *umma*, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions, when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treated with Muḥammad, he did not allow *ḳiṣāṣ* to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community), and even paid the compensation himself, his utterance regarding the possibility of *ḳiṣāṣ* a propos of the second of these cases is, however, illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in one case he cursed the murderer—again an illogical attitude. Muḥammad in his turn after the capture of Mecca, in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation on the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection, he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. GATL, i, 5). But Muḥammad also intensified the operation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between *ḳiṣāṣ* and compensation, the proscription and execution of murderers who were also *muḥāribūn* (*q.v.*, cf. GATL, ii, 5), is however to be interpreted differently, from everything, it is clear that Muḥammad also supervised the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*.

Taking the evidence of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sīra* together, it is evident that Muḥammad did not recognise the blood-feud, but allowed *ḳiṣāṣ* to survive as personal vengeance. Moreover, he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muḥammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (*ḥadīths*) is one that must be genuine, according to which Muḥammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim *ǧāriya* (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when Ḳur'ān, II, 179 (cf. 2. above) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as *ḳiṣāṣ* for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the Ḳur'ān passage one only concerned with Muslims. But this Ḳur'ānic prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-Ḥasan of Baṣra, 'Aṭā' and *Ṭāwūs* are quoted as representatives of the Ḳur'ānic view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (al-Zamaḵẖsharī on Ḳur'ān, II, 173) but Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, al Sha'bī, Ibrāhīm of Naḵẖa'ī and Mālik had held the opposite view (*ijmā'*), and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition (al Zamaḵẖsharī's statements on the point are not quite accurate), at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that *ḳiṣāṣ* could be inflicted on several, on account of one individual, if they had committed the crime jointly, an unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the *ḳiṣāṣ* is to be executed is also disputed, the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muḥammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a case can be put to death on proof by *ḳasāma* (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are quoted for both, the historical truth is perhaps that Muḥammad wished to apply *ḳasāma* in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself, besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed *ḳasāma* as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there one only *ḳiṣāṣ* and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Ḳur'ān, II, 174) and that Muḥammad granted the blood-avenger a request to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3.)—in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally, we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the ones most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations mentioned and still to be mentioned, and need not therefore be quoted, especially as the *ḥadīths* on this subject are collected in Guillaume, *The traditions of Islam*, 107 ff.

Summing up the results of the traditions as the expression of opinion of authoritative circles of Islam to the early period, as must notice in contrast to Muḥammad a period the important change in the treatment of women, which marks an undeniable advance, just as the request for forgiveness is evidence of a loftier point of view.

5. The *ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-nafs* according to the Sharī'a. In the cases of illegal slaying noted in the article GATL, i, 5 7, *ḳiṣāṣ* comes into operation, i.e. the next-of-kin of the slain man, who in this capacity is called *walī 'l-dam* ("avenger of blood") has the right to kill the guilty man under certain conditions From what has been said above, it is obvious that this punishment still partakes for the most part of the character of personal vengeance; this is also clearly seen in the regulations—disputed in points of detail—prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way qualifies the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up (Thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot take place, *ta'zīr* intervenes, the competent authority is therefore regarded as the *walī* of one who has no *walī*, therefore anyone who kills a *ḏhimmī*, *mu'āhad* (an unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a *musta'min*

(an unbeliever who enters a Muslim country after being given a safe conduct) must, according to Mālik, be put to death and the *walī* has no right to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*. On the other hand, however, it is laid down that anyone who kills a *mukātab* slave goes scot-free. But that this point of view is found at all is a step forward, for Muḥammad's decisions in this connection (cf. above, 3) were only dictated by the demands *at* the individual case, in other matters also, he certain points one see a loftier attitude adopted, at least in some of the schools.

For the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*, the fulfillment of the following conditions is necessary: (1) The life of the person slain must be absolutely secured by the Sharī'a, this is the case with a Muslim, *dhimmī* and *mu'āhad*, at least so long as they are in the *Dār al-Islām* [q.v.], and *Dār al Ṣulḥ* [q.v.] (in the case of the slaying of a Muslim prisoner in the *Dār al Ḥarb* [q.v.], it is unanimously agreed that there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, and for the slaying of another Muslim there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*; according to the Ḥanafī school; there are corresponding regulations for the *dhimmī* and *mu'āhad*) in contrast to the *musta'man*, *murtadd* and *ḥarbī* (but *ḳiṣāṣ* may be inflicted on a *murtadd* if he kills another *mustadd*, and Mālik makes *ḳiṣāṣ* the general rule if anyone kills a *murtadd*, without the authority of the Imām). This point of view is to be distinguished from the conception of the illegality of the slaying (cf. KAFL, i, 5) although the two ideas have a certain amount in common, the killing of a *musta'man* is illegal, but there is no *ḳiṣāṣ* (apart from the special case just mentioned). (2) The slain man must not be a descendant of the slayer, nor the slave of the slave of one of his descendants, nor must there be a descendant of the slayer among the heirs of the slain man. (3) It is further taken for granted that the man when he committed the deed was of years of discretion and was in full possession of his faculties. (4) The further conditions are disputed (cf. below).

Any alteration in these relations of the doer after the deed makes no difference to the old blood guilt (it is, however, to be noted that the adoption of Islam by a *ḥarbī* wipes out all previous blood-guilt) with the exception of lunacy (in which case *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be inflicted), nor does, for example, no alteration in the relations of the slain man after the doer has decided on the deed but before it is actually committed (but there are various views on this point). If one of several men who have slain someone jointly cannot be put to death for one or other of these reasons, the others also escape *ḳiṣāṣ*; this is also the case if a further reason for killing leads to the action of the slayer. If the slayer dies before *ḳiṣāṣ* is carried out, all claims by the avenger of blood ceases according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik; according to al Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, compensation can still be claimed.

Mālik, al Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal further demand, before *ḳiṣāṣ* can be allowed, in addition to the conditions mentioned, that the slain man is at least the equal of the slayer as regards Islam and liberty, so that they certainly uphold Muḥammad's intentions, while the Ḥanafīs—of course interpreting differently the evidence cited—take no account of this, and therefore occupy an undoubtedly higher position. A particular view of Mālik's has already been mentioned. According to Mālik, the slayer can further be put to death, if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant, and this view is also admitted in the Shāfi'ī school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al Shāfi'ī, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Mālik alone excluded *taghāwu* (cf. below) on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*, on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Ḳiṣāṣ can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as to another case; in *Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* there is however also the old Arab institution of the *ḳasāma* (cf. GASAM and Goldziher, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft* viii, 412 ff; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 187 ff) which Islam allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Shāfi'ī's earlier opinion, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Mālik on one only) if the *ḳasāma* is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the later view of al-Shāfi'ī, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation, among the Shāfi'ī's, with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict *ḳiṣāṣ* does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with *ta'zīr*.

The execution of *ḳiṣāṣ* is open to the avenger of blood, and according to Abū Ḥanīfa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon, if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with *ta'zīr*, but not imprisoned. According to Mālik and al Shāfi'ī, the guilty person, with certain limitations, is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Ḳiṣāṣ takes place—among other conditions—only when the next of kin (*walī*) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it. If there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood, all must express this desire, if one of them remits *ḳiṣāṣ*, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The *walī*, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the *ḳiṣāṣ* and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations an detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. *Ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* according to the Sharī'a. If any one deliberately (with *'amd*, opposite of *khaṭ'*; cf. KATL, i, 5) and illegally (this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellow man, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without permission) has inflicted no injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in no exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the *Fiḳh* books), he is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* on the part of the wounded man, [except that Mālik makes it be inflicted by an expert], if the conditions necessary for carrying out the *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* are present with the following modifications: according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ḳiṣāṣ fī mā dūn al-nafs* is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is accord

ing to Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik further allow no *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* between free men and slaves. According to Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, this *ḥadd* is inflicted for one on several, but not according to Abū Ḥanīfa. A sound limb may not be amputated for an unsound one; if the guilty person has but the limb, there can *at* course be no *ḳiṣāṣ*. In the case where he loses it after committing the deed, there is a corresponding difference of opinion, as to the case of his death before the execution of *ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-nafs*.

The further regulations correspond to those quoted in section 5.

7. If retribution is not permitted as if the person entitled to *ḳiṣāṣ* voluntarily remits his claim, compensation may nevertheless be demanded, for an unlawful slaying, the blood money (*diyat* [*q.v.*]) is to be paid to the avenger(s) of blood, in an unlawful but not mortal wounding, according to the particular case either the full *diya* or a definite part of it or a contribution defined by the law (*arsh*) or a percentage of the *diya* laid down by the judge (the so-called *ḥukūma*) to the injured person, all this, of course, on the supposition that *in maxam datore*; cf. e.g. Girard, *Nouvelle Revue Historique* (1887), 440 ff.).

8. Of the regulations of the Shī'a *fiḳh* books, which need not be gone into fully here as they are essentially the same as the Sunnī, we need only mention that among the Twelver Imāmīs, for example, it is taught that if a man has killed a woman, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be carried out if the *walī* of the woman pays the relatives of the man the difference between the bloodmoney on each side, an isolated interpretation explains Ḳur'ān, II, 173, in this way. Here we can scarcely have a late effect of the Ḳur'ānic rule regarding woman, as similar calculations are also made in other cases.

9. On the practical carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*, cf. ḲAṢṢ, ii, 10, to which we may note that breaches of his regulations are recorded *at* even the Prophet's companions.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "Ḳiṣāṣ"; Schacht, in *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Berlin Leipzig 1935, index s.v. *ḳiṣāṣ*; idem, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 205 f. and index s.v. "Penal law"; J. N. D. Anderson, *Homicide in Islamic law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii [1951], 811-28, Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 181-7; Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-sharī'a al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1944, Aḥmad Fatḥī al-Bahnasī, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1964; Aḥmad Muṣṭafā, *Bayn al-sharī'a wa 'l-ḥudūd fī 'l-sharī'a al-islāmiyya wa 'l-ḳānūn. I. al-Ḳatl ghīla al-'amd, al-sharī'a wa 'l-ḳarḍ, al-sariḳa*, Cairo 1966; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Sharīʿa wa 'l-ḥayāt fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī, I. al-Ḳiṣāṣ*, Cairo 1966; al-Bahnasī, *al-Sharī'a fī 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī, dirāsa fiḳhiyya muḳārina*, Cairo 1968. (J. SCHACHT)

ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ', the "legends of the pre-Islamic prophets", is the title of several works relating the lives of the prophets of the Old Testament, the story of Jesus, and some other events into which pious heroes or enemies of God are involved (on the etymology *cf. ḳiṣṣa* = "story", see ḲIṢṢA). Very famous and widely spread books on this subject were the *'Arā'is al-madjālis* by Abū Isḥāḳ Aḥmad of Tha'labī (d. 427/1035) and the different versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ* written down in the name of a certain Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kisā'ī [*see* AL-KISĀ'Ī].

The origins of this type *of* literature must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia. Knowledge *of* the tales of the Old and New Testaments and the apocrypha must have been transmitted to the Arabs through the Jewish influence in Yaṯrib and through Christian missionary work, the effect of which can be ascertained not only in the regions close to the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires, but also *on* the shores *of* the Red Sea and in South Arabia (*see* Baumstark, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562 ff.; Altheim and Stahl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, iv, 306 ff., v/1, 316 ff.). Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*], a poet *of* al-Ṭā'if and contemporary *of* Muḥammad, seems to have made use *of* some of these oral traditions, there are pieces of poetry ascribed to him dealing with Abraham, Isaac, the Deluge, etc., though their authenticity remains doubtful.

It was the Prophet of Islam who gave to these legends an entirely new meaning, finding the events of his own life reflected in them, his vocation for prophecy, his being rejected by his own people, the impending punishment, which might have meant the destruction of his own people. All these psychological implications of the Ḳur'ānic legends, and their didactic aspects, were studied at length by Khalafallāh in his book on the Ḳur'ānic art *of* story-telling. From the Muslim point of view, the lives *of* the pre-Islamic prophets are awful examples (*ʿibar*) warning against the evil fate *of* those who are disobedient to God and His messengers. Thus the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* became part *of* universal history, an history as general was often considered as a series of *ʿibar* (cf., Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, *prefatio* and pre Islamic period).

The edifying character of the legends became even more stressed when they were separated from historiography, this was, so far as we know, first done by Tha'labī. Moreover, Tha'labī's narrative is mainly based on the *tafsīr*-literature. It must be mentioned that even to modern times the legends retained their importance for studying sermons, as is proved by 'Abd al-Wahhāb an-Nadjdjār's compilation, which was published in Egypt in the thirties of this century. The wide-spread and various versions *of* the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* which were written down to the name of al-Kisā'ī show another form of this type *of* literature, they are the result of the imaginative art *of* story-telling cultivated by the popular narrators (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [*see* ḲAṢṢ]), and they are an abundant source for the study of the religious feeling and thinking of the average mediaeval Muslim.

The historical sources allude to the activities of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* since the first Islamic century, but the oldest manuscripts of the popular legends date from the 7th/13th century. In certain circumstances, the activities of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the legends of the prophets could acquire a political significance; thus the story about Moses and Pharaoh was used in the anti-Umayyad propaganda, and the early Shī'a held that the history of the Muslim community was similar to that of the Israelites during Moses' lifetime, the Shī'a being the equivalents of those few who did not apostatise from the true faith when Moses was up on Mount Sinai.

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KISH, Hisman, the later Shahr-i Sabz, a town of mediaeval Transoxania, now in the Uzbekistan SSR and known simply as Shahr, but in early times in the region of Soghdia (Ar. Sughd [*q.v.*]). It lay on the upper reaches of the landlocked Khashka Daryā in an area where several streams came down from the Sayām and Buttamān Mountains to the east, forming a highly fertile valley, intersected with irrigation canals. The town lay on the Samarkand-Tirmidh high road, two days' journey from Samarkand, after passing through Kish, this road continued for four more days' journey to the famous Iron Gate, the Bozgala defile (see DARBAND-I AHANIN) which guarded the approaches to the Oxus. Further down the Khashka Daryā lay Nakhshab or Nasaf or Karshi (see KARSHI), a town with which the fortunes of Kish were often linked.

Kish was clearly an important town in pre-Islamic Soghdia, and had its own prince. According to Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 299, tr. Wiet, 222, at the time of the Arab conquests in the early and/8th century, Kish was the chief town of Soghdia and was accordingly, by the common process of applying the name of a district to its main urban centre, actually known as Sughd also. It appears in several Chinese sources, e.g. in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang as Kie shang-na; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 82, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 55, 303-4, giving various Chinese renderings of the town's name.

When the Western Turks were defeated in Central Asia by the Chinese invasion of 645-8, the Chinese forces are said to have penetrated as far as Kish and the Iron Gate, after which the whole of Transoxania was nominally annexed to the empire and placed under the viceroyalty of Fīrūz, son of the last Sāsānid Yazdgird III. The raid across the Oxus of the Arab general Sa'd b. 'Uthmān in 56/676, when according to Ṭabarī, ii, 179, the Arabs defeated the Soghdians and captured their city, may well have reached to Kish rather than to Samarkand (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 19-20, 22). When Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] became governor of the East, al-Ḥadjdjādj ordered him to "crush Kish, destroy Nasaf and drive back [the local Soghdian ruler] Wardān" (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199). But he was unable to in 88/707 to make headway against the Soghdian defending forces and had to fall back on Marw. It was not until 91/710 that he returned to subdue a revolt by the local ruler of Shumān in upper Caghāniyān [*q.v.*], and then marched through the Iron Gate and seduced Kish and Nasaf. The Arabs seem thereafter to have held on to Kish during the period of the Turkish revanche in Central Asia, but the town did rebel in 133/750-1, at the time of the final appearance of a Turkish army west of the Altai, in the expectation of Chinese aid. However, Abū Muslim's general Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm killed the local prince or Ikhshīd (*al-Ikhshīd* in the text of Ṭabarī, iii, 79-80) of Kish at Kandak just north of the Iron Gate, looted his treasures (which included many luxury goods from China) and appointed his brother Tārūn in his place (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 196; Gibb, *op. cit.*, 38, 96).

Two or three decades later, in the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), the Kish district figured prominently in the anti-Muslim religious movement of Mukanna', known as al-Muḳanna', "the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān". The revolt began in the Sayām Mountains just to the east of Kish, and it was in the Kish and Nasaf district that al-Muḳanna' drew strong support. Narshakhī states that the first village to join the rebel leader was Sūbakh in the Kish district (cf. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, f. 316b) under a local leader 'Umar Sūbakhī, who hailed the Arab *amīr* there. Kish welcomed al-Muḳanna' and supplied him with much wealth, and it was in a nearby fortress that al-Muḳanna' finally shut himself up against the Arab general Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī, dying there in 163/779-80. Even two centuries later, the common people of the Kish and Nasaf districts were still accounted Mubayyida "wearers of white" and awaiters of the messianic return of al-Muḳanna' (Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran n.d. 1939, 77-89, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge Mass. 1954, 65-75; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 304, tr. 238; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 299-300; E. G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 318-23; Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 163-86).

The geographers of the later 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries give good descriptions of Kish. The town, whose buildings were of clay and wood, had the typically eastern Islamic tripartite division of a citadel (*kuhandiz*), an inner city (*madīna dākhila*), in which lay the prison and Friday mosque; and an outer city or suburb (*rabaḍ*) called al-Muṣalla, where was situated the *Dār al-Imāra* or government headquarters. In Ibn Ḥawḳal's time (mid-4th/10th century) the citadel and inner city were both ruinous. The *madīna* had four gates, and the *rabaḍ* two. The whole administrative region or *'amal* of Kish contained 16 rural districts or *rustāḳs*, stretching up river to the mountains. It was watered by two constituent streams of the Khashka Daryā, sc. the River of the Fullers or the Butchers (Ḳaṣṣārīn or Ḳaṣṣābīn, on this ambiguity, present in both the Arabic and the Persian sources, see *Turkestan* 534, n. 2) and the Asrūshb, and was highly productive, its early fruits and vegetables being exported to Khurāsān. Also stemming from the region were manna, therapeutic substances found in the mountains, red salt (the red rock salt of the Oxus lands was known since the time of Pliny, see Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 76-7), and mules and other livestock. Mukaddasī nevertheless comments on the unhealthiness of the place, a judgement endorsed by later travellers. The salaries (*ṣilāt-i'iyya*) of the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd*, the Ḳāḍī and other officials of the Sāmānid administration there amounted to 300 *dirhems* each per annum. The ruinous state of the inner parts of the town show that under the Sāmānids, Kish had declined in status and given place to Bukhārā and Samarkand, so that only the *rabaḍ* was occupied and a new town was being built on to it (see ISTAKHRĪ, 324; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 470, tr. ii, 452-3; Mukaddasī, 282; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, tr. 113, § 25.25; *Turkestan*,

134-6; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 469-70)

In the period of the Karakhānids and Saldjūḳs, little specific is heard about Kish, which seems to have continued its decline into secondary status. In spring 1222 the Taoist holy man and traveller Ch'ang-ch'un passed through what he calls Kie-shi on his way from Samarkand to Čingiz Khān's encampment south of the Oxus; and in autumn 1235 Hülegü sent Arghun, governor of Khurāsān, and certain Persian magnates, and spent a pleasant month at Kish (Djuwaynī Boyle, ii, 521; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 125, 147; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 452, 483).

Kish revived, however, under the Čaghatayids and Timūrids, and Tīmūr himself was born in the Kish district in 736/1336 (according to Ibn 'Arabshāh, at a village called Khōdja-Ilghār). Since the mid-7th/13th century, the region had apparently been occupied by the Barlās tribe of subsequently Turkicised Mongols, from whom Tīmūr sprang and from whom he derived much support in his struggles to achieve power in Transoxania (cf. Barthold, *Ulugh Beg*, to *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 14-16). He seized control of Kish from the chief Ḥādjdjī Barlās in 761/1360, and used it and the Barlās tribesman for further expansion. Tīmūr's fondness for the Kish district perhaps depended less on a sentimental feeling for his birthplace than on his need to draw on the support of the Barlās there, after Tīmūr's death, towns were a numerous element in Ulugh Beg's army during his campaign into Moghulistān of 844/1425. In 781/1380 Tīmūr made Kish his summer residence and the second capital of his empire after Samarkand. He rebuilt the town, constructing a *madrasa* and a mausoleum for his dead first-born son Djahāngīr, and above all, a splendid white-walled palace, the Aḳ Sarāy. This new importance of Kish doubtless accounts for the detailed description of K'o-shi in the Chinese Ming annals, which expatiate on its fine palaces and mosques, and the Spanish traveller Clavijo, who passed through Kish in 1404, mentions the still-unfinished mosque of Tīmūr there (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 4, ii, 28. 28; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 273 4, *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 83-4)

It is in the post-Mongol period that the old name Kish was gradually supplanted by that of Shahr-i Sabz "the green city". The 8th/14th century was the transition period, the Čaghatayid usurper Būyān Ḳulī Khān struck *dīnārs* at Shahr-i Sabz in 752/1351, whereas other coins of his bear Kish as the mint named on them. But the old name still persisted to literary usage for some time, since Bābur uses Kish as the primary name for the town (*Bābur-nāma*, loc. *cit* and *passim*). The new name must derive from the greenness of the whole oasis, as Yazdī states, and was applied by the local people to the whole area, as well as to the town; local legend also gives other, fanciful explanations for the name. The identification of the recent Shahr i Sabz with the older Kish seems fairly conclusive.

In the time of the florescence of the Özbeg Khāns, the towns of Shahr-i Sabz and Kitāb just to its north were often semi-independent under a beg of their own. It was therefore the constant ambition of the Khāns of Bukhārā in the 18th and 19th centuries to bring Shahr i Sabz under their own control, although the desert to the west and the mountains to the north acted as effective barriers against attacks from the directions of Bukhārā and Samarkand respectively. In the 19th century, the Mangit Khāns Haydar Tūra, his son Naṣr Allāh and the latter's son Muẓaffar al-Dīn all repeatedly tried to reduce Shahr i Sabz, and in 1856 temporarily captured it. It only lost its virtual independence in 1870, when the Imperial Russian General Abramov was sent by Kaufmann against it. He besieged Shahr i Sabz, and captured it after fierce resistance. The Beg fled to Khokand, and the Russians handed over Shahr-i Sabz to the Khān of Bukhārā. See E. Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 243 ff., ii, 60-76 (who estimated the population of Shahr-i Sabz at approximately 20,000 and that of Kitāb at 15 000), and F. H Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 214-15, 219-20, 256

In the 20th century, Imperial Russian and then Soviet scholars have shown considerable interest in the place and its antiquities, and a full-scale archaeological and architectural survey was commissioned in 1942, special attention has been directed to the imposing ruins of Tīmūr's Aḳ Sarāy, to a mosque built by Ulugh Beg and to the two buildings known as the Dār al-Siyāda and the Dār al-Tilāwa. For a detailed account of these and the other surviving monuments, see M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugachenkova, *Shakhri Syabz pri Timure i Ulug Bege*, in *Trudi Sredneaziatskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, xlix (Tashkent 1953), 17-96, Eng tr J. R. Rogers, in *Iran, Jnal of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xvi (1978), xvii (1980), and also *BSE*[3], xlvii, 557-8.

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(C. E Bosworth)

KĪSHLAḲ (T, < *kīsh* "*winter*"), winter quarters, originally applied to the winter quarters, often in warmer, low lying areas, of pastoral nomads in Inner Asia, and thence to those in regions like Persia and Anatolia into which Türkmens and others from Central Asia infiltrated, bringing with them their nomadic ways of life; Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 464 5, defines *kīshlāk* as *al mushattā* Its antonym is *yaylaḳ* 'summer quarters" (< *yay* "spring', later "summer") denoting the upland pastures favoured by nomads for fattening their herds after the harsh steppe or plateau winters (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 857-8, Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 670, 672-3, 980-1).

The basic terms *kīsh* and *kīshla-* "to spend the winter" are ancient Turkish ones, appearing in the Orkhon inscriptions In the Čaghatay Turkish of Central Asia, the sense of *kīshlāk* evolved from that of "the Khān's residence, winter quarters of the tribe" into the additional one of "village". Within the Iranian world, the word spread into such tongues as Kurdish, Pashto and the Pamirs languages; through Ottoman Turkish, it spread into Balkan languages, but here with the derived Ottoman sense of 'barracks" and the form *kışla* (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische*, iii *Türkische Elemente bei Neupersische*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 479-82, No. 1496). This meaning has in fact passed into the Arabic colloquials of Syria and Egypt, as has also that of "hospital, infirmary", so that in Egyptian Arabic we have both *kushlāk* "barracks" and *kashla* "hospital" (S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, 488, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 552).

In Arabic, we find such terms for "winter and summer quarters" as *mashtā* and *maṣīf*, e.g. in the 4th/10th century geographers (the original sense of

the name for the Umayyad palace to Jordan, Mshatta (q.v.), is presumably that of "winter residence", *mughattā*).

In Persian, approximate synonyms to *sīrsīr* and *yayla* are *sardsīr* (lit. "cold region") and *garmsīr* ("hot region"). But as well as denoting the seasonal pasture grounds of nomads, these Persian words were early used as geographical terms to denote, on the one hand, cooler, temperate highland regions, and on the other hand, hot, desert type or sub-tropical lowland climates. Already by the time of the classical Arabic geographers, these topographical terms had been borrowed into Arabic, e.g. by Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasī. Thus the geographers use *garmsīr* or its erubised form *ǧarm*, pl. *ǧurūm*, for the hot, coastal region of the Persian Gulf shores and the regions bordering on the great central desert, and *sardsīr*, arabised form *sard*, pls. *surūd* and *masārid*, for the mountainous Zagros hinterland of Fārs and Kirmān (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 249). This distinction is carried further into the realm of their characteristic products, called by e.g. Muḳaddasī *al-aṣḥ'a' al-mutaḍādda* "products of the two opposing regions" (cf. A. Miquel, *Ahsan at taqasim ... traduction partielle*, Damascus 1963, Glossary 390, 404 s.), and of local populations (cf. the Ǧurūmiyya, inhabitants of the part of Kirmān bordering on the Straits of Hormuz, attacked by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's forces in 360/970, Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 299, 359, tr. v, 321, 398).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

Kishlāḳ (Dialect-yi Kishm, or in Arabic, Ǧazīra al-Ṭawīla, "the long island") is the largest island in the Persian Gulf. It lies off the southern (Lāristān) coast of Persia between Linga and Bandar ʿAbbās (q.v.), and is separated from the mainland by Clarence Strait, the width of which varies from three to twelve miles. The island measures nearly 70 miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and an average of seven miles in breadth (20 miles at its widest point). Its general formation is that of an eroded, sloping plateau, inclining northwards from a sharp, rocky scarp on the seaward side. The highest point, almost in the centre of the island, is 1,300 feet.

Kishm now is virtually a desert, though it once produced grain, vines, fruit and vegetables in quantity. Salt is still mined from the great salt caverns, and there are workable deposits of sulphur and ferrous oxide, along with some naphtha springs on the south coast, near Salīḫ. The population, some few thousand souls, mostly Arab and Sunnī, lives by fishing, limited cultivation and salt mining. Kishm town, at the north-western tip, is the only populated centre of any size.

The fleet of Alexander the Great, under the command of Nearchus, anchored at Kishm on its voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates in 326 B.C. The sporadic references to Kishm that appear in the next dozen centuries or so tell us nothing of its history. By the middle ages it was a dependency of the kingdom of Hurmuz (q.v.), and it remained so until Hurmuz fell to Portuguese in 922/1515. When the Portuguese were driven from Hurmuz by Shāh ʿAbbās I, with the assistance of ships of the English East India Company, in 1032/1622, Kishm was incorporated in the Ṣafawid empire. It was occupied in 1133/1719-20 by Masḳaṭ Arabs who were to turn expelled by Nādir Shāh in 1150/1737-8. Sometime after his death in 1160/1747, Kishm fell under the control of the Banī Maʿīn (or Muʿayn) Arabs, who held it, along with Bandar ʿAbbās, in farm from Karīm Khān Zand (regn. 1163-93/1750-79). They retained possession of the island, despite attempts by the Kawāsim (q.v.) of Raʾs al-Khayma and Linga to dislodge them, until 1208/1793-4 when Kishm, together with Bandar ʿAbbās and Hurmuz, was conquered by the Āl Bū Saʿīd ruler of Masḳaṭ, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad. He was afterwards confirmed in possession of Bandar ʿAbbās by a *firmān* from the Ḳāǧār court, granting him the lease of the town and its dependencies in return for an annual rental.

In 1219/1804-5 the Masḳaṭ garrison was evicted from Kishm by the Banī Maʿīn and the Kawāsim in combination. Subsequently, the Banī Maʿīn joined the Kawāsim in piratical attacks upon British Indian shipping, and in reprisal their stronghold at Lāft, on the southern coast of Kishm, was attacked and destroyed in Shawwāl 1224/November 1809 by the British expeditionary force sent from India to subdue Raʾs al-Khaymā and the other Kāsimī ports. After the reduction of Lāft, Kishm island was returned to the authority of the ruler of Masḳaṭ, now Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1220-73/1806-56).

Two years later, after the second expedition to the Pirate Coast, a British military detachment was stationed on Kishm, from Shawwāl 1225/July 1810 to Rabīʿ II 1238/January 1823, to keep watch on the Kawāsim. The Persian government objected to its presence on the grounds that Kishm was Persian territory. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, however, maintained that his father, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad, had acquired title to Kishm by right of conquest, and that the island had passed to him in full sovereignty. It was not listed among the dependencies of Bandar ʿAbbās in the original *firmān* granting the lease of the town to Masḳaṭ, nor was it mentioned to any of the annual receipts for the rental of Bandar ʿAbbās. When the British detachment was withdrawn from Kishm—because of the island's unhealthiness and the danger of the detachment's becoming involved to military operations on the Arabian mainland—the sovereignty issue was left unresolved. In Rabīʿ II 1239/December 1823 a stores depot for the Gulf squadron of the Bombay Marine was established at Basīdū, at the western end of Kishm, without protest from the Persian government.

The Masḳaṭ lease of Bandar ʿAbbās and its dependencies was renewed in Shaʿbān 1272/April 1856, shortly before Saʿīd b. Sulṭān's death. Kishm and Hurmuz were declared to be Persian islands, and were classed as "dependencies" of Bandar ʿAbbās. The lease, which was restricted to Saʿīd and his sons, was terminated in 1283/1866-7 after Saʿīd's successor, Thuwaynī b. Saʿīd, had been murdered by his son, Sālim. A new lease of eight years' duration was awarded to Sālim in Ǧumādā I, 1285/August 1868, only to be rescinded two months later when Sālim was overthrown. Despite attempts by Turkī b. Saʿīd after his accession in 1288/1871-2 to renew the lease, it was never granted again.

The British stores and coaling depot at Basīdū fell into gradual disuse, and it was finally abandoned in Muḥarram 1334/April 1935 to humour the wishes of Riḍā Shāh.

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(J. B. KELLY)

KISHN, a small town on the south coast of Arabia, some 40 miles west of Ras Fartak. Formerly it was the mainland capital of the Mahri sultanate of Kishn and Sukūtra (Socotra), which up to 1387/1967-8 formed part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. After that date it was designated the sixth governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The inhabitants of Kishn live mainly by fishing, pastoralism and trading, the principal exports being frankincense, dried fish and salt. The ruling family, now dispossessed, was the Bin ʿAfrār clan of the Mahra. The reigning sultan, from the senior branch of the family, traditionally resided on Sukūtra, while the head of the cadet branch acted as his deputy at Kishn.

Kishn was several times raided by the Portuguese during their operations off the Hadramī and Mahri coasts between *ca.* 929/1522-3 and *ca.* 956/1550-1. The period of Portuguese activity coincided with a successful war of conquest by the Kathīri sultans of Shihr against the Mahra, which culminated in the capture of Kishn in 952/1545-6. The Bin ʿAfrār appealed for help to the Portuguese, who responded by expelling the Kathīr from Kishn, reputedly in Safar 955/April 1548.

A revival of Ottoman interest in South Arabia after 1287/1870 led the British authorities at Aden to secure an undertaking from the sultan of Sukūtra and Kishn in Dhu 'l-Ḥijjā 1292/January 1876 not to alienate Sukūtra or its island dependencies to any foreign power. A treaty of protection followed in Rajab 1303/April 1886, which was extended in Shaʿbān 1305/May 1888 to include Kishn and the mainland dependencies. The treaties lapsed when British rule over Aden colony and protectorates ended in 1387/1967.

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KISMA (A.), KISMET (T.), a term used for "fate, destiny". In Arabic, *ḳisma* means literally "sharing out, distribution, allotment", and one of its usages is as the arithmetical term for "division of a number". It later came to mean 'portion, lot', and was then particularised to denote "the portion of fate, good or bad, specifically allotted to and destined for each man". It is in this final sense, and especially via Turkish, that *kismet* has become familiar in the West as a term for the fatalism popularly attributed to the oriental (the first attestation in English being, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, in 1849, see also K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen . . . Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, 95, No. 1187).

As noted by H. Ringgren, the noun *ḳisma* does not occur in the Kurʾān in this sense (*Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1955, 106), but only in its basic sense of "division, apportionment" (IV, 9/8, LIII, 22, LIV, 28). In a verse like XVII, 14/13, the word *ṭāʾir*, originally 'bird of ill omen', seems to convey the idea of a man's personal destiny as decreed by God (elsewhere in the Kurʾān, this word means rather "evil augury"), cf. Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 87 f., and T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 218, 436-6, 518). Concerning the more usual terms of early Islamic theology and philosophy for "determinism, predestination" see QAḌāʾ and AL-QAḌāʾ WA 'L-QADAR; however, it should be noted that *ḳisma* makes an appearance in Arabic poetry of the 1st century A.H (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Djamīl) in the sense of "the share of human life allotted to a man by God" (Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 151, 156).

By Ottoman Turkish times, *ḳismet* was less a theological and philosophical term than one denoting a general attitude of fatalism: the resigned acceptance of the blows and buffetings of destiny (the same concept being often expressed in Persian and Turkish poetry by words like *falak*, *gardūn* and *ḫarḫ* in reference to the blind, irrational influences of the heavenly bodies of mankind). The climate of popular belief in fate and chance is well seen in many stories of the *Thousand and one nights* (see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA) and in much of the Perso-Turkish moralistic literature; thus these attitudes loom large in the stories in chs. v and vi of Saʿdī's *Bustān*, on *riḍā* "acceptance" and *ḳanāʿat* "contentment" respectively.

Also in Ottoman usage, *ḳismet* was a technical term of the *ḫarāmilik*, the official department of state responsible for the division of estates between the various heirs, the military branch of this being the *ḳismet-i ʿaskeriyye maḥkamesi*. For this service, a fee called the *resm-i ḳismet* was exacted, for further details see KASĀM.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text) Sāmī Bey Frashērī, *Kāmūs-i ʿarabī*, s.v.; *EIE*, vi, 794-6 art. "Fate (Muslim)" and vii, 738-9 art. "Kismet" (both by Carra de Vaux), E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tubingen 1924 s.v. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KISRĀ, Arabic form of the Persian name Khusraw, derived from Syriac *Kasrō* or *Kasrē* by the 6th century A.D. The consonant and vowel changes occurred because ◌ was used for both *ḳ* and *ḫ* in Syriac, and used here for the Persian *ḫ*, became *k* in Arabic. The first *u* became *i* by vowel dissimilation in Syriac, and the final vowel became an *alif maḳṣūra* by approximation to the *fiʿl* form. Arabic lexicographers said there was no Arabic word ending in *-aw* with *ḍamma* after the first consonant, so Khosraw was put in the *fiʿl* form and the *kh* became *k* to show that it was Arabicised.

Although Khusraw occurs in Arabic, Kisrā was usually employed for proper names, especially for the Sāsānid rulers Kisrā Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.) and Kisrā Aparwīz (591-628 A.D.). Because these two Kisrās dominated the late Sāsānid period and Arab memories of it, their name was identified with the dynasty. Arabs came to regard Kisrā as the name (*ism*), surname or title (*laḳab*) of Persian kings, the Sāsānid dynasty as the house of Kisrā (*āl Kisrā*), and crown lands in ʿIrāḳ as *arḍ Kisrā*. Women of the royal family were called "daughters of Kisrā". By the 2nd/8th century, the tendency to call all Sāsānid rulers Kisrā produced the broken plurals *akāsira* (the one most commonly used), *kasāsira*, *akāsir*, and *kusār*, all contrary to analogy

Kisrā personified Sāsānid royalty for the Arabs, who viewed him with an ambivalent combination of envy, awe and fear. They called Ctesiphon *Madā'in Kisrā*, the great audience hall there the *Īwān Kisrā*, the defensive ditch the *Khandak Kisrā*, spoke of the crown, treasure, dazzling carpet, sword and armour of Kisrā, and associated polished manners, lavish hospitality, *haute cuisine*, golden tablewares and the arbitrary exercise of power, with his court. Kisrā provided a symbol for Arab assimilation to Persian high culture, for feelings of common nobility, and represented the Persian monarch in lists of kings of the world and in the murals at Kuṣayr ʿAmra. He was a poetic symbol of past glory and of fate that overtakes even mighty kings.

Kisrā's worldliness contrasted with Muslim spiritual values. *Ḥadīth* emphasised Muḥammad's lack of pretence, his avoidance of royal trappings, and his followers' greater respect for him compared to Kisrā and other rulers. Kisrā tore up Muḥammad's letter inviting him to Islam, and *ḥadīth* promised the destruction of Kisrā and Kayṣar and that Muslims would spend their treasures. In the simile ascribed to Hurmuzān, Kisrā is the main enemy of Islam (the head of the hostile bird).

A fictionalised Kisrā emerged by the 3rd/9th century as a vehicle for edifying tales, a person who conversed with a Bedouin on the virtues of manners or exchanged the lethal gift of a leopard for an eagle with Kayṣar. He was quoted as a source of proverbs and someone who knew these stories might be nicknamed "Kisrā".

Relative nouns *kisrawī*, *kisrī*, and *kisrawānī* were formed from Kisrā. The form *khusraw(ān)ī*, directly from Persian, referred to the greatest of the *ashāra* and meant a kind of drink or a very fine, royal silk used for clothing and used to cover the Kaʿba in the late 12th/7th century.

Bibliography For lexical matters, see al-Kaswīnī, *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lugha*, Cairo 1389-93/1969-72, v, 171, al-Djawharī, *Tādj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, Bulāḳ 1282/1865, i, 394, Ibn al-Diawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿdjamī*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, 60, 99, 123, 128, ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1389/1969, 183-4, 266, 319, 330. Ibn al-Athīr, al-*Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, iv 20, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1308/1966, v, 142; al-Fīrūzābādī *al-Kāmūs al-muḥīṭ* Calcutta 1817, i, 322, 648, al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, Kuwayt 1385/1965, iii, 176, 479, 522, E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, 2082, S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 43-4, Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, 152 f., F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 134-9; A. Shīr, *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-farsiyya al-muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908, 54; A. Siddīḳī, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 39, 40, 62, 72, M. Kamal, *Persian words in ancient Arabic*, in *BFA*, xix (1957), 62-3. For royal symbolism, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1389/1969, 612, idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1304/1964, i, 52, 156, 314-5, 339, ii, 221, 371, Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh* i, 1260, 2358, 2436-7, 2447, 2453, iii, 1599, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 357, ii, 292 = §§ 395, 724, O. Grabar, *The Six Kings at Qaṣṣayr ʿAmrah*, in *Ars Orientalis*, i (1954), 185-7, K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1969, i, 400-8, pl. 71, a. For the fate of the mighty, see ʿAdī b. Zayd, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1385/1965, 178, al-Mufaḍḍal, *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. and tr. C. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918, i, 354, ii, 288, al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1300/1883, 208 ff., Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 123, Ṭabarī, iii, 320. For anti-Islamic symbolism, see Ibn Isḥāḳ, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858, i, 972, Abu Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 215-7, Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 608, al-Bukhārī, *al-Dīnawarī al-sabīḥ*, Cairo 1390/1971, iv 427, v, 112-3, 239, 239-40, ed. M. Muḥsin Khān, Gudjranwalla 1972, v, 307-8, Ṭabarī, i, 1161-2, 1473, 1537, 1707. For the fictional Kisrā, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 96, iii, 199, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 214. (M. Morony)

al-Kisrawī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mahdī al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭabarī, *rāwī* of the 3rd/9th century who was also a poet and man of letters. He was the teacher of Hārūn, the son of ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim, and transmitted historical and literary traditions, and especially on the authority of al-Djāḥiẓ. He was in contact with Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī (*q.v.* in Suppl.) and exchanged verses with Ibn al-Muʿtazz. His knowledge of *adab* led him to compose several works, amongst which are cited a *Kitāb al-Khayl*, a collection of literary traditions, maxims, proverbs and poetry, a *K. al-Aʿyād wa ʾl-nawāʾir* and a *K. Murūnāt al-ikhwān wa-mukhāwarāt al-khillān*. His poetry consists mainly of occasional verses which were improvised. He died at some point between 283/896 and 289/902, although Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Istanbul, i, 703, places his death in ca. 330/941-2.

Bibliography: Fihrist, 214, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 88-96, Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 336, Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, index, *DM*, iv, 351. (Ed.)

Kiṣṣa (a.), pl. *aḳṣāṣ*, the term which, after a long evolution, is now generally employed in Arabic for the novel, whilst its diminutive *uḳayṣa*, pl. *uḳayṣāt*, has sometimes been adopted, notably by Maḥmūd Taymūr (*q.v.*) as the equivalent of "novella, short story", before being ineptly replaced by a calque from the English "short story". *Kiṣṣa khaṣīra*. The sections of the following article are largely devoted to these literary genres as they are cultivated in the various Islamic literatures, even if the word *kiṣṣa* is not itself used by them. Although some Berber tongues use the Arabic term (*iḳṣṣi*), it has not seemed necessary to add a section on the story in that language (see amazigh), but a brief section is devoted to the *kiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The ensuing article is accordingly divided as follows:

1. The semantic range of *kiṣṣa* in Arabic.
2. The novel and short story in modern Arabic literature.
3. (a) The *kiṣṣa* in older Turkish literature.
   (b) The novel and short story in modern Turkish literature.
4. The genre in Persian literature.
5. The genre in Urdu.
6. The genre in Malaysia and Indonesia.
7. The *kiṣṣa* and its modern developments in Swahili.
8. The *kiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

1. The semantic range of *kiṣṣa* in Arabic.

Judging by the contents of the articles in the Arabic dictionaries devoted to the root *k-ṣ-ṣ*, one may consider this as the result of a convergence of several different "roots". Among the various meanings shown here, two of them seem to be totally distinct from each other: "to chip the hair, wings, etc." (cf. Hebr. קצץ and words made up of "קצ") and "to follow the tracks of a man or animal"

Taking into account the realities of Bedouin life, this last sense, to which *kiṣṣa* can easily be connected, is certainly old, if not the primitive signification. It is from the verb *kaṣṣa* taken in this sense that the name of the *kiṣṣ*, pl. *kuṣṣāṣ* "a kind of detective responsible for examining and interpreting tracks and marks on the ground" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 343 = § 1227, cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Kamūs al-ʿādāt* . ., ʿAmmān 1973-4, iii, 85, who points out the use in Jordan of *kaṣaṣ* with the generally-developed sense of *kaʾnf al-athar* [see ATHAR]) has evolved. Moreover, the Kurʾān provides two attestations of this old meaning of the root *k ṣ ṣ*. Moses' mother says to his sister *kuṣṣīhi* "follow his tracks" (XXVIII, 10/11), and in XVIII, 63/64, it is said that Moses and his page boy "followed their tracks back again, retracing them" (*fa-rtaddā ʿalā āthārihimā kaṣaṣā*). Nevertheless, the verb *kaṣṣa* is most frequently found in the Kurʾān with the derived sense of "to tell a story, narrate", or more exactly, "to give a circumstantial account of some happening, to recount an event by giving all the details successively"; this nuance is usually lost in translation, though it may sometimes be conveyed through an adverb like "exactly". One may note, with repetitions within the same verse, 29 occurrences of this verb: the account is given by God to the Prophet (IV, 162/164, VI, 57, VII, 6/7, 99/101, XI, 102/100, 121/120, XII, 3, XVI, 119/116, XVIII, 12/13, XX, 99, XL, 78), by the Kurʾān (XXVII, 78/76) and by Moses to Shuʿayb (XXVIII, 25). Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream to his brothers (XII, 5), divine messengers recite to mankind the miraculous "signs" of God (VI, 130, VII, 33/35), and God instructs the Prophet to recount "the affair" (VII, 175/176).

In this last verse, the word *kaṣaṣ*, which but the general sense of "narrative, explanation, report, story" to its five other attestations (III, 55/62, XII, 3, 111, XXVIII title and v 25), has been translated by "affair". Doubtless one should not neglect the nuance of precision and exactness contained in *kaṣaṣ*, but it is perfectly certain that the term's sense tends to become attenuated in order to assimilate it to that of *ḥadīth*. It could be perfectly easily substituted for the latter word in at least five occurrences out of 23 (XX, 8/9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 23, LXXXV, 17, LXXXVIII, 1), and furthermore, the verb *ḥaddatha* is clearly equivalent to *kaṣṣa* in three verses (II, 71/76, XCIII, 11, XCIX, 4). Also close to *kaṣaṣ* are *khabar* (XXVII, 7, XXVIII, 29) and especially the pl. *akhbār* (IX, 65/94, XLVII, 33/31, XCIX, 4), and also *naba'*, with 12 attestations out of the 27 in the singular (V, 30/27, VI, 34, VII, 174/175, IX, 71/70, X, 72/71, XIV, 9, XVIII, 11/12, XXVI, 69, XXVIII, 6/3, XXXVIII, 21/20 and LXIV, 5) and 7 out of the 11 in the plural (III, 39/44, 52, 122/120, VII, 99, XII, 103/102, XXVIII, 66 and LIV, 4) corresponding fairly exactly in *kaṣaṣ* in the sense of "narrative, story, tale". Thus four terms of very different origins converge here in the Kurʾān and tend to assume a common signification, whilst losing at the same time the nuances implied in their original etymologies [see HEAVA].

Kiṣṣa itself does not appear in the Holy Book, but one can point to some examples in the *ḥadīth* with a general meaning of "thing, affair" (= *amr, shaʾn*), close to one of the meanings of *kaṣaṣ*, but this term seems however to have kept well its original nuance of meaning in the traditionists' vocabulary, to judge by the expression *ʿālim al-ḥadīth bi-kiṣṣatihi* "he cited the *ḥadīth* in all its details, giving it word-for-word" (Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, *Salām*, *bāb al-siḥr*, trad. No. 44). The word also very rapidly became a technical term of Arabic grammar. Sībawayh certainly uses the verb *kaṣṣa* in the sense of "to narrate" (i, 60) and the noun *kiṣṣa* in those of "narrative" (= *ḥadīth*, i, 60) and "affair" (i, 415, 426, 432), but above all he applies it (5a instances) to the idea of "state" (= *ḥāl*, see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 172), consequently the expressions *ḏamīr al shaʾn* and *ḏamīr al kiṣṣa* are absolutely synonymous (W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, index).

At the moment when Sībawayh wrote his work, the verb *kaṣṣa* meant, from the time of the Prophet onwards, "to practise as a popular preacher of sermons and edifying tales" (see 6.555), this profession being called *kaṣṣ* or *kaṣaṣ* (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 391-2, 394, 565). The more serious among the *kuṣṣāṣ* made a speciality of giving a commentary to their audience on the miraculous events referred to in the Kurʾān and of recounting, in particular, in reference to the lives of the prophets, edifying stories. The *kaṣaṣ* of the Kurʾānic text was then specialised in meaning, as we have just seen, and replaced, in order to designate the material in the répertoire of the popular religious story-tellers, by *kiṣṣa*, pl. *kiṣaṣ*, without the term having, at least at the outset, the least element of the pejorative in its sense. However, in the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ, following other authors, reserves for *kiṣaṣ* the sense of "religious tale", but sometimes adds, with his usual irony, some fairly precise nuances of "story full of marvels and somewhat unbelievable", of "myth" and of "traditional explanation of a supernatural happening" (see *Tarbīʿ*, index).

At this period, the *kuṣṣāṣ* were already mingling with their discourses stories totally lacking in edification, but it seems that *kiṣṣa* did not yet mean a secular tale, and even in the next century, Ibn al-Nadīm does not use the word in the chapter devoted to stories in the *Fihrist*. Moreover, a few decades later, *kiṣṣa* appears with the religious sense which it had when used by the first *kuṣṣāṣ*, in the title of al-Thaʿālibī's [q.v.] popular work, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*; the expression *kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [q.v.] was to become the title of quite a considerable number of works. Despite the precise meaning implied by this latter expression, the lexicographers, who devote quite a lot of space to the root *k - ṣ -*, hardly give the precise sense of *kiṣṣa* at all. The *LA* limits itself to asserting that the term is well-known, and then glosses it by *khabar, ḥadīth* and *amr*, though it does however give a pejorative nuance for *kaṣṣ*, in fact equivalent to "words, chatter", opposed to *ʿamal* "action". In the *Miṣbāḥ*, *kiṣṣa* is defined only by *shaʾn* and *amr*; and in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, *amr* and *ḥadīth* are further used to gloss this term, whose plural *kiṣaṣ* would therefore only be used for the *kiṣṣa* when it was written (likewise, also, in the *LA* and *Kāmūs*). Assuming that we are probably not concerned here with the *kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, this rather enigmatic explanation is probably to be used with a technical sense different from that signalled in grammatical terminology, starting from the meaning of "affair", easily attested and found from Kurʾānic times onwards, *kiṣṣa* very soon came in fact to mean "a written exposition of an affair or matter, a mémoire presented to a judge, a request placed before a ruler, a petition". Quatremère, in his *Sultans mamlouks*, i, 236 n. 111, gives a certain number of examples of this meaning and mentions the existence of an official, the *kiṣṣa-dār*, who was

concerned with such requests (see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. XLIV; Douy does not appear to have interpreted the material in the dictionaries relative to the written *ḳiṣṣa* in the same way as we have done, since he includes this term in his *Supplément*). Al Ḳalḳashandī, in *Ṣubḥ*, iii. 487-8, does not cite the *ḳiṣṣa-sīra* but provides some details about the manner in which *ḳiṣaṣ al-mashāʾikh* were treated.

Since some *ḳuṣṣāṣ* began regularly to narrate stories which had no religious character at all, *ḳiṣṣa*, without ceasing at the same time to characterise a serious, even a historical narrative (e.g. the 27 mss. called *ḳiṣṣat ghazawāt*... "narrative of the expedition of ..." classified by Ahlwardt in his Berlin catalogue) tended to be applied to any story, sacred or profane, and to become a synonym of *ḥikāya*, and secondarily, of *ḥadīth* and *ḵẖabar*. As an indication, the above-mentioned catalogue has a total of 216 works beginning with *ḳiṣṣa*, that of the mss. in the B.N. of Paris drawn up by G. Vajda has 115 (of which 75 have been restored according to their contents), *ḥikāya* appears there 47 times, *ḥadīth* 12 times and *ḵẖabar* 4 times. In the group as a whole, there are certainly some edifying stories (e.g. the *Ḳiṣṣat Abī al-Ḵẖayr*), but titles like *Ḳiṣṣat Sulaymān maʿa Bilḳīs* or *Ḳiṣṣat Tawaddud* reveal true romances. In this way, the modern use of the term is to be justified, and this, conversely, has brought about a revival of *ḳaṣaṣ*, now specialised in the sense of "narration", the narrative genre and the narrative art", leading to the creation of the word *ḳaṣaṣī* "narrative" (adj.). (Ch. Pellat)

2. In modern Arabic literature.

The modern and technical meaning of this word "fictional narrative", "novel" has come to be accepted without eliminating the more general, older sense of "story", "account". Furthermore, it should be noted that, in this case as in many others, the neologism has not been immediately accepted and does not cover the same semantic field for all those who use it, even today. From the start, it is seen to alternate with other words.

In an article appearing in *al Ahrām*, on 11 May 1881, where the *shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh drew attention, without otherwise deploring it, to the taste of his contemporaries for the novel, we find the word *rumūziyyāt*. The definition of the genre remains somewhat hazy since the eminent reformer included under this heading *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the stories of traditional *adab* along with the recent translation of the *Aventures de Télémaque* by al-Ṭahṭāwī and the serial stories then published in *al-Ahrām*. Besides this borrowed term—which was not long to remain in use—there are words drawn from the Arabic vocabulary which come to mean the same as *ḳiṣṣa*. Understandably in the case of works on the borderline of the novel genre, the terminology appears uncertain. the *ʿAlam al-dīn* (1884) of ʿAlī Mubārak is presented by its author as a *ḥikāya* (story) while Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī gives the title *ḥadīth* (talk) to his very interesting *maḳāmāt*. *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām* (1907). It is all the same curious to note that in 1927 a certain Dhubrān Khalīl Dhubrān, suggesting to the editor of the review *al-Hilāl* the holding of a competition for the best story—to promote a genre that has proved its worth in Europe—uses the term *ḥikāya* to describe the genre. Little by little, however, *ḳiṣṣa* came to prevail, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was seen claiming back his liberty as a creator and refusing to apply rules whose validity he did not recognise by saying in substance, the *ḳiṣṣa* is taught nowhere, and besides, what I write is not a *ḳiṣṣa* but a *ḥadīth* (cf. Ṣāliḥ, in *al Muʿallimūn fī ʿl-ʿarab*).

In fact, the lack of precision remains, mainly as a result of the differences in length among the various kinds of story. It is possible to account for these without departing from the root *ḳ ṣ ṣ*. For the abstract "narration", "narrative literature" we have *ḳaṣaṣ*, while the "story" of indeterminate length is called *ḳiṣṣa*, the novel being distinguished from the "tale" or from the "novelette" by an adjective (*ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* in the one case, *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra* in the other). The range of meanings may be conveyed in a still more precise fashion: a suitable adjective expresses the midway term, the long short story as popular with the British (*ḳiṣṣa muṭawwala*), while *uḥṣūṣa* (pl. *aḥāṣīṣ*) denotes the very short story, the short novelette.

But in practice, things are not so simple. The first Arabic story-teller to be universally known, Maḥmūd Taymūr, published successively two collections of stories, calling the first *aḥāṣīṣ* (*al-Shaykh Dyaṭ wa-aḥāṣīṣ uḵẖrā*, 1925) and the second *ḳiṣaṣ* (*Ammu Metwalli wa-ḳiṣaṣ uḵẖrā*, 1928). At the other end of the scale, there are some who prefer *rumūza* to *ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* to denote the novel, this neologism was more specifically reserved at the end of the 19th century to denote a "theatrical piece." Without it being an absolute rule, it may be stated that at the present day *uḥṣūṣa* is more frequently used in Syria and Lebanon in the sense of short story, while *rumūza* is preferred in Egypt with the meaning of novel.

Considerations of length are not the only ones to be of relevance. It should also be noted that some have tried to solve the ambiguity inherent to the word "tale" which exists also in English. If one wishes to differentiate the brief, realistic, truthful or plausible narrative (the short story) from a narrative of the same dimensions but imaginative, extraordinary or extravagant (the tale), one must call the latter by the name *ḳiṣṣa* (or *uḥṣūṣa*) followed by an adjective (*khayāliyya* or *ḵẖurāfiyya*), while being careful not to use the word *ḵẖurāfa* in isolation lest it be understood in a non-technical sense and with a pejorative flavour "a cock-and-bull story".

The birth and evolution of Arabic fictional literature. The modern *ḳiṣṣa* owes nothing to Arab tradition. It is linked neither with the folklore of the *Thousand and one nights* nor with tales of chivalry nor with narratives of *adab*. The tradition of classical *maḳāma*, although taken up by two men of imagination and dual culture (Fāris al Shidyāḳ for *al-Sāḳ ʿalā ʾl-sāḳ*, 1855, and Muḥammad al-Muwaylihī, cf. above, 1907) has left no legacy. It is from Europe that the Arabs have borrowed this literary genre totally unfamiliar to them, sc. the novel.

The press, which has been remarkably prolific in Cairo and Beirut ever since its first appearance there in the middle of the 19th century, has in a short space of time put into circulation stories of various lengths translated from French and English. Some periodicals, like *Ḥadīḳa al-aḵẖbār* (founded in Beirut in 1858) publish examples from time to time, others, like *al-Diyānāt* (Beirut 1870) regularly devote a part of each issue to such translations, and the same applies to the reviews that the Lebanese resident in Egypt have subsequently launched in Cairo (*al-Hilāl*, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, *al-Diyāʾ*). Even the daily *al Ahrām* founded in Alexandria in 1875 has its serial story. Furthermore, some weekly or monthly

entertainment publications are entirely devoted to them (*Silsilat al-fukāhāt*, Beirut 1884; *Muntaḫḫabāt al-riwāyāt*, Cairo 1894). A certain degree of decentralisation has even been achieved with the appearance of *Silsilat al-riwāyāt al-ʿuthmāniyya* at Ṭanṭā in 1908 and *al-Samīr* at Alexandria in 1911. The second stage is the editing of the translated novels in volumes.

The essential object of this type of literature is to entertain. Publishers and translators search out stories of extraordinary adventures, of unhappy love-affairs, of poignant grief, rather than works of established quality whose authors are universally known. Fidelity to the original text was not regarded as an obligation in the period where the translator most in demand, Ṭanyūs ʿAbduh, a Lebanese who had settled in Egypt, was renowned for the imagination which he put into his work. The tendency was to adapt rather than to translate.

Quite naturally "original" composition has followed translation adaptation and obeyed the same rules. It has even in some cases been exactly contemporary with it, and there are times when the translator is at the same time an author. This was the case with Salīm al-Bustānī, who published no less than five original works in serial form between 1870 and 1884 in *al-Djinān*, at the same time as he was translating French novels. His sister Alice and his cousin Saʿīd were also involved in the same sort of work. In serial stories of this kind as well as in the copied models there abound *coups de théâtre*, unexpected meetings, unsuspected relationships, etc. In order to avoid offending a very sensitive public moral sense, the scene of the plot still tends to be exotic, or if the action takes place in Egypt, the whole or the majority of the cast of characters must be foreign (*Fatāt al-ahrām* by Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Fatāt Miṣr* by Yaʿḳūb Sarrūf). Saʿīd al-Bustānī discovered to his cost the powerful force of this unwritten rule: a resident of Egypt for ten years, a friend of Shaykh ʿAbduh, this Lebanese was nevertheless savagely criticised in conventionally-minded circles for having published *Ḏhāt al-ḫiḏr* (1894) which claims to show the disastrous results of an ill-matched marriage ... in a wealthy family supposedly living in Alexandria!

Obliged to show some degree of discretion, limited in its intellectual ambitions, this newly arrived genre would doubtless never have interested an enlightened Arab public had it not found sponsors and promoters. Shaykh ʿAbduh took an interest in it, as has been seen, because he reckoned it capable of having a reformatory effect, if carrying a well formulated message. For Djirdjī Zaydān (1862-1914), it was the ideal didactic means to put into the service of history, and this Christian author of a *History of Islamic civilisation* therefore brought to the novel the caution of the scholar. Whereas Djamīl Mudawwar had published in Beirut in 1881 a single historical novel about ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, he was to publish twenty-four such novels between 1889 and 1914, of which the majority appeared in serial form in Cairo in the review *al-Hilāl* which he edited. Serious information being in his view the essential part, the amorous element of the plot would serve only to lure the reader, this element seems therefore to be somewhat stereotyped from one volume to another, but at least, the construction is solid and the language clear and precise.

After reason, sensibility. It would be impossible to overestimate the role of Manfalūṭī (1876-1924) for, in his two collections (*al-Naẓarāt* (1910-1921) and *al-ʿAbarāt* (1915)), he superbly arabises French romanticism to the point where, under his pen, translations, adaptations and original creations seem to flow from the same source. Having found a style and a tone, he knows how to stir emotions while dealing, in a context of traditional morality, with the problems posed by the irruption of European civilisation into the modern Orient. At the opposite extreme as regards content but with a similar degree of emotional intensity, is the message of "The American" Djubrān (1883-1931). Tears flow in abundance here too, but the romanticism is noble, protesting at the injustice practised by the powerful of this world as observed in the microcosm of the Lebanese village where the mayor and the priest seem to be constantly united in the effort to prevent the children from loving each other; *al-Aḏniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) hardly deserves to be called a novel, it is rather a long poem in prose devoted to an unhappy love affair of the author. "Broken wings" and "Tears", these are the two works, of Egypt and the *mahdjas*, which have moved as irritated several generations of Arabs all over the world.

But the first Arabic novel owes nothing to Manfalūṭī or to Djubrān. It was written in Paris—and perhaps partly in Geneva—by a young Egyptian student. Haykal (1888-1956) was feeling homesick when he wrote *Zaynab* (1914), and it is the Egyptian countryside that he attempts to re-create with its poetry, its variety, and also its characters, simple and poverty stricken. But this evocation is centred around two victims of injustice in Egypt, sc. the peasant and the woman. Even though the first edition is signed under the pseudonym *Miṣrī Fallāḥ*, the poverty of the farm worker hardly holds our attention, while the fate of two women, equally unfortunate, illustrates the sorry condition of an entire sex and recalls the courageous protest of Kāsim Amīn at the beginning of the century. The hero ultimately makes his indictment: life has no appeal in a land where youth passes too quickly, where love is not allowed, and where the individual has no time to look at what is beautiful.

Even if the problems of writing and construction are not always perfectly solved, even if the influence of *La nouvelle Héloïse* of Rousseau is too obvious, this rich composition does not only have a historical interest, for it conveys an authentic tone, that of a desperate confession.

In spite of these promising beginnings, other novels were not to appear for a further fifteen years. In the interval, it is only short story writers who make a name for themselves, putting forward within the dimensions of shorter narratives technical solutions borrowed this time from the best European specialists. The stories that they tell, on the other hand, always deal with the reality that surrounds them. In "wringing the neck of rhetoric", these young pioneers feel that they are laying the foundations of a new literature. The first of them,—and paradoxically the only survivor—Mikhāʾīl Naʿayma (born in 1889) began publishing his stories at the beginning of the First World War in *al-Sāʾiḥ*, then in *al-Fanūn*, the two reviews edited by Syrian Lebanese settlers in New York. The best, later collected in an anthology (*Kāna mā kāna*, Beirut 1937), are striking for their simple language, the transparency of the characters, the significant choice of situations—where ancestral customs like the journey to America play a central role—and perhaps even more for the firmness with which the story is

told, a story where, however, emotion and humour make themselves discreetly felt. On Egyptian soil, slightly later, Muḥammad Taymūr (d. 1921) published in *al-Sufūr* some stories of which the best known dates from 1919—an important year for Egyptian nationalism of which this writer was a passionate advocate. Add to this element the interest taken in social injustice and in poverty, and we have the principal source-material of the stories of Muḥammad Taymūr and of his comrades-in-arms. This expression is not an exaggeration when applied to his brother Maḥmūd, who describes himself as taking the torch from the hands of his brother, dead at the age of thirty. It is without doubt Maḥmūd Taymūr (d. 1974), the greatest story writer of the time, who has exerted the strongest influence in Egypt and in the other Arab lands, one of the most prolific of modern Arab writers and one of the most widely translated too. Following the school of Maupassant—to whom his brother introduced him—he learnt to construct a plot firmly centred on a character who is bizarre to say the least, or on an exceptional incident. But he does not ignore the dominant themes of Egyptian social life, to which the brothers ʿUbayd and Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lāshīn (d. 1955) also come to apply themselves, each according to his temperament and his special talent, Lāshīn being of the three the one whose palette would appear to be the best equipped both for varieties of subject and of resources of expression. Let it also be noted that this writer has written one of the few Arabic novels to appear before the Second World War: *Hawwāʾ bilā Ādam* ("Eve without Adam"), 1934.

Furthermore, it may be appropriate to note that this novel is distinct from the others in that its subject (the pitiable failure of a feminist school-teacher who believed in love and social advancement) owes nothing to the life of the author, while Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973) Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Māzinī (d. 1949), al-ʿAqqād (d. 1964) and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (b. 1902) had written nothing before 1939 but works largely autobiographical in character. What these men have in common is that they are not true imaginative writers, but rather they are part of the Egyptian intellectual élite. It should therefore surprise no-one that they look for material for their stories in their own experience. Besides, for these great thinkers of their generation also, this is the means of assessing the exact condition of their country, *"or carrying on,* in short, the worried analysis conducted by Haykal in *Zaynab*. As chance would have it, the year 1929 saw both the second edition of this novel and the publication of the first part of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām*. The accuracy in tone of this book, written with finesse and modesty, explains its immediate success in Egypt and the rest of the world, one feels that the blind boy struggling in a world that is hostile or indifferent to stupid symbolises more than an individual destiny. Even before the appearance of the second part of *al-Ayyām*, *Adīb* (1935) represents a split in the personality of the author, whose Egyptian half looks on helplessly at the folly and wreck of the Europeanised part.

The debate between the two civilisations—with their customs and culture—also interests Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm in two of his autobiographical novels, while in the two others (*ʿAwdat al-rūḥ*, 1933, *Yawmiyyāt nāʾib fī l-aryāf*, 1937) we find a number of the elements of the dossiers opened on Egyptian society by the short story writers. Superficially, the enquiry is less emphatic, there are times when the reader roars with laughter, but do not the laughter and the careless airs conceal a deep disquiet into which the faint-hearted lover and the Deputy Prosecutor are both plunged?

In drawing his self-portrait in *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931), Māzinī speaks of disappointments in love which may be fictitious, but he is most certainly honest when he shows himself irresolute and easily discouraged. As if in spite of himself, he gives us suggestive insights into the three milieux that he sets himself to evoke and, when he does not overstep the bounds, his gibness does not lack charm.

Outside Egypt, a single novelist deserves mention for this period, the Lebanese Tawfīk Yūsuf ʿAwwād, who published *al-Raqīm* in 1939. It is the Lebanon of the period of the First World War, the Lebanon "in the hour of the Turk", ravaged by famine, that we find here, the repression of nationalist movements coming to an end on the gallows of Beirut's Place des Canons. With a great deal of sobriety, a very sure sense of crowd-scenes, a propetly romantic conception of history and politics, here is a writer who knows how to give to his narrative a depth which nobody else, Ḥakīm included, has yet succeeded in obtaining.

ʿIrāk of that time was still at a hesitant stage, with Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid (d. 1937) publishing from 1921 onwards, in Cairo stories which are admittedly rudimentary but where the effects of Turkish rule on ʿIrāqī society are succinctly shown, with Anwar Shāʾūl (first collection of stories 1930), the influence of Taymūr is clear. In his stories and those of ʿAbd al-Majīd Luṭfī (b. 1908), influenced by Tolstoy and Gorky, one feels that the seeds of a promising harvest have been sown in ʿIrāq.

Among the pioneers mentioned above, a certain number have lived on after the war. Their prestige has increased and they have attained immortality. Young Arabic literature has found in them its ancestors, its sponsors, its classics, it could be said. Each of them otherwise remains imperturbably faithful to his style. It is still the same self-centred man dissatisfied with home and love that Māzinī indulgently analyses (*Ibrāhīm II*). From an incident of everyday life, the Lebanese Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma draws the material of an intimate diary (*Mudhakkarāt al-arbaʿīn*, 1949), where meditations on good and evil, the solitude of the soul and its mystical vocation, count more than the narrative plot. In the same way that Tawfīk al-Ḥakīm hardly descends from his ivory tower to stigmatise feminine duplicity and to comment ironically on the sacred bonds of marriage (*al-Ribāṭ al-muqaddas*, 1944), Ṭāhā Ḥusayn pursues his dialogue with destiny, but through interposed characters, in a tragic family chronicle with slow tempo (*Shajarat al-buʾs*, 1954). The famous Maḥmūd Taymūr still composes short stories—his last collection appeared in January 1967—but he also writes novels where he expresses in the same pure language the qualities for which he is well known, very close to his times in *Hāʾulāʾ l-bādiʿ ayyuhā l-bahw* (1959), he is halfway to fantasy in *al-Maṣābīḥ al-rusūd* (1960). In this group, it is without doubt Haykal who has produced the least expected work for *Hākadhā ḥaqīqat* (1956) presents, on the eve of his death, a portrait of a woman that contrasts totally with the *Zaynab* of his youth, this cold, dominating female really existed, as well-informed contemporaries assert.

But the new-comers are henceforward very numerous, some of them belonging to Arab countries not

mentioned above. Reviews have been founded in Egypt of course, but also in Bahrayn, where a literary periodical of this name appeared when the first printing-press was installed in the Gulf (1939), most of all in Beirut where *al-Adab*, founded in 1953, and *al-Adib* give young writers the opportunity to become known, in Tunis where, since 1944, the review *al-Mabahith* awards a prize (*Bahlawan*) to a writer every year. Henceforward, Arabic fictional literature is sufficiently vigorous and varied to convey trends which are to be noted elsewhere in the world.

The romantics. It is clear that romanticism has solid roots at its disposal—it is enough to recall the genre of the first European novels translated, the importance of Manfalūṭī, the tone of *Zaynab*. A younger generation dissatisfied with its condition finds at last the means of expressing its revolt and its dreams. Evidently it is love that polarises all attention. This lyricism is a phenomenon of youth in three senses: the youth of the writer, the youth of literature and the youth of the public. The theme of the impossibility of amorous relationships is treated at length by the Tunisian Rashīd Ghālī in the short stories that he has published in the review *al-Fikr* since 1960, an encounter without future constitutes the subject of *al-Bahr li-mā? fīh*, a story which gives its title and dominant tone to a collection published by the Libyan A. Ibrāhīm al-Fakīh in 1966; the Sudanese Sabbār (b. 1927) published ten years ago a novel on a small scale, *Sirr al-dumū'*.

It should not, however, be assumed that this type of novel is always attributable to an "indiscretion of youth." Writers of considerable renown who are no longer adolescents have built their success upon this specialised genre, and their prolific output shows that they know how to pluck the string of emotion. In this context, one could hope for no better example than the Egyptian trio of Yūsuf Sibā'ī (d. 1978), 'A. H. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1973) and Ihsān 'Abd al-Kuddūs. The systematic exploitation of sentimental problems is their common denominator, as well as their ability to impose their personal style. The first emphasises the dramatic, or melodramatic quality of the situations that he imagines; the second does not flinch from a certain moralistic purring owed for the most part to the very literary nature of his language; finally, the third darts with scandal, and his gallery of pretty girls at once innocent and greedy for liberty has aroused many adolescent dreams.

Readers unmoved by the magic of these masters perhaps would allow themselves to be seduced by more subtle forms of romanticism. In Egypt, 'Abd Allāh Tūkhī finds in his native countryside (*Fī dam' al-hamar*, short stories, 1960) or in a cruise on the Nile (*al-Nahr*, a novel 1962) the appropriate setting that his dreams require, while Muṣṭafā Mahmūd (b. 1931) studies the relationship of married people (*al-Mustahīl*, 1960) with much tact and sensitivity. In Syria, the short story writer Shāhīd Rūmī (*al-Kuft?ī*, 1960) even seasons his outpourings with a fair dose of fierce satire. Finally, we draw attention to a short story by the Algerian Tāhir Waṭṭār (*Mamarr al ayyām*, in *al-Fikr*, 1959) for this disillusioned statement by one of his heroes: "There is no youth in the Arab world. The Arab knows only two ages: childhood and adulthood." We shall have occasion to speak again of this sense of realism.

The realists. These writers have inherited a populist or poverty-oriented tradition that is not very old. On the eve of the war, the Syrians T. 'Awwād, K. M. Karam, and the 'Irāqī Dhū'far Khalīl were concerning themselves with fraternity, tearful commiseration or indignant horror at the sufferings of the lower classes.

We find this same interest in poor people with a great number of writers of the following period and in countries that have come to the novel more recently. From Morocco, we may mention two collections of stories, *al Sajf* by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū 'Allū and *Raqṣat wa-mar'a* (1969) by Zaynab Fahmī. Teymūr has really created a school, for we witness an impressive parade of pitiable or laughable "cases". Y. Hakkī's petty tradesmen, the charlatans of the Tunisian Muṣṭafā Fārisī, the baggage carriers of the Syrian Samīm Sharīf, the water-carriers of the Egyptian Sibā'ī. These specimens of an idle or poverty stricken humanity, true to type even when they live on the fringe of society, clearly lend themselves to living in novels. Who could deny the vividness of the portrait of Tarnannūh, idler and football fanatic, product of the imagination of Rashīd Ḥamdāwī (Tunis, *al Fikr*, 1959) or that of the "maker of grotesque cripples", the negro Zīta who introduces a kind of Court of Miracles in the lane (*Zuqāq al-midaqq*, 1947) described by the Egyptian Najīb Maḥfūẓ.

Apart from the hero, the writers strive to recreate a whole ambience to which they are deeply attached. Thus, thanks to the pen of a Tayyib Tarīkī or of a Ḥamdāwī, there appear before us the coloured quarters of Rabat and of Turbat al-Bey in Tunis, while the shrines of Old Cairo, Sayyidnā Ḥusayn and Sayyidatnā Zaynab, inspire the best works of Hakkī and Mahlūf, and the seascape of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab is recreated in a story such as *Dhikrayāt al-madīna* (1975) by the 'Irāqī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Maqlīd al-Rubay'ī.

It would be surprising if the countryside were to remain outside the fictional repertoire, when we recall that, with *Zaynab*, the Arabic novel was born there. It is in fact the same love of nature that shines through in a simple account of olive-picking in Tunisia, told by Muḥammad F. Ghālī (b. 1927) in a short story (*al-Fikr*, 1962). But it is most of all in the novels of the Egyptian Sharqāwī (*al-Ard*, 1954, *Kulāb Abāliya*, *al-Fallāh*) that the rural life is conveyed in all its richness, at a time when new ideas are shaking the system of traditions that used to be thought immovable. On the contrary, Ḥusayn Nasr (Tunisia) evokes the full force of the past in a few pages, this "On that my father left us" (*al-Fikr*, 1961) is slow to die and imposes his presence when the young men, rejecting the experience of the old, wish that the page had been decisively turned.

It will come as no surprise to find political involvement accompanying this meticulous survey of an entire people. At the same time that *al-Arḍ* appeared in Cairo, Hannā Mīnā published in Damascus *al-Maṣābīḥ al-ruṭub*. We may thus see side-by-side two exemplary narratives: a peasant revolt in the Delta, and the resistance of the Latakians to the French Mandate at the end of the Second World War. The heroic times of such and such a country have inspired a considerable mass of stories. The Moroccan Khanātha Bannūna celebrates inter-Arab solidarity sealed in combat in a recent collection of short stories (*al-Nār wa 'l-ikhwān*) and his compatriot Mubārak Rabī' makes the participation of Moroccan troops in the battle of the Golan Heights, in 1974, the central subject of his novel: *Rifāt*

al silāḥ, *ana 'l-ḥamar* (1976). Sometimes one finds them to be too verbose and not sufficiently alive. This is especially the case with the entire output of Muṭīʿ Safadī (Syria), a real propagandist of the Arab Revolution (*Thaʾir mukhtaraf*, *Dīl al-ḥadar*, *Aṣḥāb ahlī*, 1959). On the other hand, an ʿA. H. ben Haddūḳa (Algeria) succeeds in interesting us in the conscience of a man who has just committed a political crime (in *Zilāl ghaniʾriyya*, 1960). It is the analysis of the social and psychological consequences of the war of liberation which interests him in his first novel appearing ten years later (*Rīḥ al-ghaḍab*), of which the form catches the attention. His compatriot Ṭāhir al Waṭṭār also distinguishes himself in his two recent novels by the originality of his vision of guerilla warfare (*al Ard*) or the traumatic after effects of independence (*al Zilzāl*). Similarly, the Palestinian tragedy is presented, free of forced sentimentality, in fascinating novels by the Lebanese Ḥalīm Barakāt and the Palestinian Ghassān Kanafānī (*Rijāl fī 'l-shams*).

Oriental society is evolving to a varied rhythm in its different aspects. Industrialisation, for example, has scarcely been reflected by the appearance of workers in romantic literature. To our knowledge, only two writers have taken an interest in this: H. Mīna (Syria) mentioned above, who has made a study *à la* Gorky of type-setters in a printing press, *The invisible thread*, 1960, and Muḥammad Ṣidḳī (Egypt), who through the experience of a self taught man trained in a number of occupations, gives us an insight into the daily life of the working classes (in the collections *al Anfār* and *al Aydī l-khashina*, 1956 and 1958).

On the other hand, the number of Arab women writers is already remarkable. Quite naturally, they are interested in problems that are specifically feminine. Since professional involvement of women is still somewhat limited in their countries, it is most of all "psychological realism" that they aim at. The older ones—Bint al-Shāṭiʾ and S. Kalamāwī in Egypt, Widād Sakākīnī in Syria—have born witness to the deep transformation affecting the female mentality. The younger women writers—Samīra ʿAzzām in Irak, Colette Sulṭayl in the Lebanon, Ṣafīʾ ʿAbd Allāh in Egypt—seek to re-establish, with regard to their sex, the truth misunderstood or distorted by men. The Egyptian Laṭīfa al Zayyāt does not claim to make any extraordinary revelations in her novel *al-Bāb al mafṭūḥ*, 1960, but points out succinctly that the noble protests of the sterner sex are not yet fully convincing.

So as not to distort the perspectives, it is important to draw special attention to the work of three Egyptian novelists whose renown extends over the entire Arab world. Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ. The name of the first, who was born in 1905, is linked with the difficult emergence of the Arabic short story in the years around 1925, but he has only become well known since the war. His first collection *Kindīl Umm Hāshim* dates from 1945. His collections of stories, his short novel (*Sāḥa 'l-nawm*, 1954) and his memoirs (*Khalīkhī 'alā 'l-lāh*, 1959) have made him known to the public at large as a writer of prose that is firm but not prudish, and one who treats his characters with sensitivity and humour.

As for Yūsuf Idrīs, he has been writing "committed" stories since 1949. With the appearance of his first collection (*Arkhaṣ layālī*, 1954), there is the feeling of a talented writer making himself known. His subsequent works (*al-Ḥarām*, novel, 1959; *al-ʿAskarī al-aswad*, a short story, 1961, among many others) testify to his dramatic sense, and his condensed style, on the borderline of grammatical correctness, counts as one of the most original of all.

Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ enjoys an even wider readership. He owes this perhaps to his uncompromising adherence to the classical language but most of all to the seriousness and depth of his analysis and to a remarkably prolific output—some twenty novels and a dozen collections of short stories published to date. His *Trilogy* (1957, 1958) is considered to be the perfect masterpiece of Arabic realism. It gives us the key to an understanding of the generation of contemporary Egypt through a wealth of passions reminiscent of the Russian novelists, but with a concern for detail that is exclusively his own, and most important of all, frees a perspective such that every Arab reader feels himself involved.

The existentialists. In a society in a state of flux, there are some who feel resentful, disillusioned, alienated and who find in existentialism a philosophy in tune with their mood. The Lebanese Suhayl Idrīs has done much to install this philosophico-literary doctrine in the Orient. He has been the prime mover in a major series of translations that have introduced the Arabs to Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in particular. But his role has not been limited to that of translator nor to that of editor-in-chief of the major review *al Ādāb*. He is also the author of a number of novels. In the first (*al Ḥayy al-lātīnī*, 1953) he too examines the reactions of the oriental to the European way of life, but the analysis is different from one given by Tawfīḳ al Ḥakīm in *ʿUṣfūr min al sharḳ* nearly twenty years earlier in spite of his love for a European sweetheart—shared this time—the Arab student returns to the Lebanon to place himself beneath the yoke, and perhaps the protection of the customs of his homeland. His resigned acceptance of the absurdity of life shows that his stay in the Latin Quarter has left deep marks on him.

The Lebanon is thus the favoured land for existentialism. There are some who take pleasure in a type of fiction that is closer to the debate of ideas than to the novel as strictly defined, like Emile B. Abī Mādir in *al Fāriḳ* (1961). But the more interesting writers are able to bring to light in their plots the unplaceable character of life. A story by George Shāmī shows to what extent a personal sentiment, however sincere and profound, is helpless in the face of the tyranny of the family spirit, and another by Djamīl Djabr (*Ḳalaḳ*, 1961) finds the correct tone for describing, in the first person, an impossible love. The Lebanese novel does not however attain the level of despair except in the work of the woman-writer Layla Baʿlabakkī, in *Anā ahyā* (1958) and in *al Ḥubb al-mansiyya* (1960) there is a vivid account of the revolt of a feminine sensibility stifling in a male society, made—taboos included—for men.

Although she has become known more recently, the Syrian Ghāda Sammān is closely akin in ton. One of her collections of short stories (*Layāt al-ghurabāʾ*, 1960) presents us with a study fundamentally of a single character in a variety of settings: the woman who feels herself involved neither with the family nor with the revolutionary ideal, a "stranger" always and everywhere, her too-clear intelligence and her too-vivid sensibility making of her a person who suffers and sees no other future than this suffering, which she broods over with a kind of masochistic delight.

'Irāk throws up another kind of existentialism, less intellectual, more visceral. Among story-writers of talent, the first place belongs to 'Abd al-Malik Nūrī (born in 1922). Between 1946 and 1954 (*Nahḍat al arḍ*) he has created a genre from the first to the last line, his fiction expresses malaise, an infinite despair or a fatal torpor. With Mahdī 'Isā Ṣaḳr and Fu'ād Takarlī (*al-Wadjh al-ākhar*, 1961) we are steeped in the same unrelieved black that seems to be the dominant colour of young 'Irāḳī literature.

The basic problems. During its sixty or so years of existence, Arabic fictional literature has been obliged essentially to cope with two basic problems.

The one, purely internal, concerns language. For obvious reasons, the novelist must choose the type of language that he is to lend to his characters, dialect or *fuṣḥā*. A writer so eminent as Maḥmūd Taymūr has, to his credit, carefully tried each of the two alternatives and subsequently remained absolutely faithful to the academic language, of which he is besides a perfect master. The no less eminent Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī has shown a quite original attitude, proclaiming everywhere his loyalty to Arabic and wielding in a delicious manner in his short stories the Cairene of his childhood as the Ṣa'īdian patois dear to his heart. These examples should not be misinterpreted; the question does not only apply to Egypt. Throughout the whole Arab world, from 'Irāḳ to Morocco, there are novelists who believe that they would be betraying their mission as creators and artists if they were to avoid using a type of language that is natural, living and immediately evocative of the correct sentiment, the spontaneous idea. Conversely, in every Arab country there are today writers who would consider themselves unworthy of their art and traitors to Arabism if they were to adopt—even in dialogues—a language other than "pure" Arabic obeying the rules of declension, more or less modernised in its vocabulary, but effectively unchanged in its syntax. The question of the two languages has been debated so often since the beginnings of the *nahḍa* that there is nothing to be gained by dwelling on it here. The adherents of one or other mode of expression may be confident of finding themselves in excellent company and having no shortage of arguments. In particular, the equation frequently proclaimed in the last fifty years (dialogue in dialect = literature in the service of the people) is no longer put forward today, when the purists too are "committed". At the most, we may attempt a risky generalisation, the tendency to use the spoken "popular" language is more widespread in countries where the literary public is greatest and which, believe, rightly or wrongly, that they have a better-established "Arab" character—thus in Egypt, rather than in Algeria. Whatever the answer may be to these formal—and important—questions, there is no likelihood of provincialism gaining precedence over a common Arab heritage that is easily recognisable through the entire spectrum of fictional literary production from "the Ocean to the Gulf" and through all the trends that we have attempted to unravel.

The other problem concerns the relationship of the Arabic novel to Europe, the masters, in both senses of the word, pedagogic and colonialist. This relationship first applies on the level of content. The dialogue of a floundering East with a West that is too sure of itself constitutes one of the themes and sometimes the central theme of novels that have become famous. It is natural, with regard to novels, that this ill-fated or violent confrontation should take the form of an amorous encounter between a practical or fickle or dominating European woman and an Arab emigrant, usually a student, convinced that he owns a share of the truth but naive and maladroit. Furthermore, the character of the latter and the general physiognomy of the work change in the course of the years. In *'Uṣfūr min al-shark* by Tawfīḳ al Ḥakīm (Egypt, 1938) Muḥsin is an incorrigible idealist, an incompetent pursuer of working girls whom the author mocks and admires at once, while the hero of *al Ḥayy al lātīnī* discovers nausea in Paris, but returns to the fold of ancestral custom in Beirut. The English girl married by *al-Dukkān Ṭāḥ̲ūn* by Dhū 'l-Nūn Ayyūb ('Irāḳ, 1959) is only the first stage of an ambition which comes to light on his return to his country. If Ismā'īl repudiates his God on leaving Mary's embrace, he finds Him again on the banks of the Nile (Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Kandīl Umm Hāshim*, Egypt, 1949). The experience of Adīb (Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Adīb*, Egypt, 1935) is at the same time more profane and more desperate, less that described by the Sudanese al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ in *Mawsim al-hidjra ilā 'l-shamāl* (1966) is violent, and it disconcerts because hatred here is innocent.

Nobody is deceived, whether sex and suffering intervene or not, it is always the impact of a culture that is in question, an invading, besieging, disruptive culture. Two Moroccan novels examine in detail its traumatic aspects: *Dafanāt 'l-māḍī* by Ghallāb (1956) and *al-Gharība* by La'rwī (1971). Quite naturally, another level of connections with Europe appears. Has this literary technique been learnt, assimilated or, on the contrary, has there been constant re-adaptation to a model which, so time passes, remains indispensible? It is in reality impossible to answer this question. It may simply be stated that this common Arab heritage mentioned above adapts itself well to the most recent trends in universal fiction, that the surrealism of Zakariyyā Tāmir (*Dimashḳ al ḥarā'ik*, Damascus, 1973) with its nightmare universe, takes up and carries to an obsessional and hardly bearable degree, the taboos and desires of a sick society. It is madness—superficially, for what the mastery resides in the cascade of images and the narrative twists!—that succeeds the meticulous and classic analysis of 'Abd al Salām al-'Ujaylī and the cruel realism of Fāris Zarzūr, two Syrian novelists who have achieved renown in the sixties. Echoes of such trends arise from elsewhere, from Egypt, of course, where established novelists like Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ have begun in the sixties and at the present day in turn towards the short story in preference to the novel, a wild and implacable type of short story, to which the stirring compositions of a writer such as Ṭāhir al-Waṭṭār; this is taken even further in Bahrayn, where 'Abd al-Ḳādir 'Alīl sets in motion with *al Nasf* a series of dream like sequences that express his continuing anticipation of revolutionary liberation.

Finally, if such and-such a name made famous by the European "new novel" suggests itself to the readership of one of these narratives, it should be recognised that the Arab intelligentsia is henceforth in sympathy with the evolution of ideas and tastes throughout the world, that purely internal lines of influence are clearly visible in Arabic fiction and that the contemporary proliferation of works, the

multiplicity of devoted talents in all provinces of Arabism, are signs of the flourishing state of the *kiṣṣa*.

Bibliography Arabic journals. The literary journals are very numerous and some have only a short existence. Among the most important are *al-Adāb*, *al-Aʾdāb* (Beirut), *al-Madjalla*, *al-Taʾrīfa* (Cairo), *al Maʿrifa* (Damascus) and *al-Fikr* (Tunis). Those in European languages include *MIDEO*, *Orient*, *OM*, *Jnal. of Arabic Literature*, and *Bulletin d'études arabes of the IPEA* of Rome.

For the beginnings of the novel, the general histories of Arabic literature may be consulted [see ʿARABIYYA, V].

Anthologies give a very representative picture of contemporary novel writing, general introductions and valuable biographical details about the authors covered: *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1964 I R. and M. Makarius, *Le roman et la nouvelle*; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ed., *Arabic writing today, the short story*, Cairo 1968.

Studies—most of these on the Arab short story and novel centre upon Egypt. In particular, note ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ṭāhā Badr, *Taṭawwur al-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha fī Miṣr (1870-1938)*, Cairo 1963; R. Francis, *Aspects de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Beirut 1963, Yaḥyā Ḥakkī, *Fadjr al-kiṣṣa al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1962?, ʿAbbās Khiḍr, *al-Kiṣṣa al ḥaṣīra fī Miṣr mundhu nashʾatihā ḥattā sanat 1939*, Cairo 1385/1966; H. Kilpatrick, *The modern Egyptian novel*, Oxford-London 1974; Fatma Moussa-Mahmoud, *The Arabic novel in Egypt (1914-1970)*, Cairo 1973; Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm, *al Kiṣṣa fī ʾl-adab al ʿarabī al-ḥadīth* (1870-1914), Beirut 1962, Hamdī Sakkut, *The Egyptian novel and its main trends (1913-1952)*, Cairo 1971; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt since the revolution* (ch. on cultural life by Louis Awad), London 1968; Ch. Vial, *Contribution à l'étude du roman et de la nouvelle en Egypte, des origines à 1960*, in *ROMM*, iv (1967), idem, *Le personnage de la femme dans le roman et la nouvelle en Egypte de 1914 à 1960*, in the press. (CH. VIAL)

3(a) In older Turkish literature

As a generic term, *kiṣṣa* in Turkish texts is often synonymous with story, tale (*ḥadīth*) and legend (*menḳabe*, *efsāne*). Fakīrī in 772/1367 calls his version of the romance of Farhād and Shīrīn [*q.v.*] a *kiṣṣa*; Meḥmed, writing in 800/1397, says that a copy which he found was old but the *kiṣṣa* (story) was new, and Sheykhī [*q.v.*], in the first half of the 9th/15th century, found the mere telling of a *kiṣṣa* (story) no longer sufficiently enjoyable (B. Flemming, ed., *Fakrīs Hosrev u Širīn*, Wiesbaden 1974, vv. 2915-26 and p. 240 f., S. Yüksel, ed., *Mehmed Işk-nāme*, Ankara 1965, v. 404, F. K. Timurtaş, *Şeyhī'nin Hosrev ü Şirin'i*, Istanbul 1963, v. 1563).

Narrative works in verse and prose dealing with epico-religious and heroic themes (see HIKĀYA, iii) were often called *kiṣṣa*, the term alternating with *destān*. This is true for the ʿAntar, Abū Muslim, Saiyid and Ghāzī Dānishmand stories (see NAMĀSA, iii) or the tales around *Kirāz i Ḥubbī* and Bahmān Shāh b. Firūz Shāh (see A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi I Giriş*, Ankara 1972, 113, and KAHRAMĀNNĀMA) and Delhī Shāh and Dhemālī Perī (see H. Schwiedе, *Türkische Handschriften* Teil 3, Wiesbaden 1974, 276, no. 316); not a few tales still await examination.

The lives of holy men and great Ṣūfīs of Islam such as Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] were treated collectively in the genre called *tadhkira*, the most famous being the extensive Persian prose work *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* by ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*]. An early Turkish example is the *Tedhkire-yi evliyāʾ* adapted from the Arabic and presented to the prince of Aydın [*q.v.*], Muḥammad Beg, by an unknown author (MS Istanbul, Veliyüddin 2643).

In a more restrictive sense, *kiṣṣa* designated stories of the Prophets before Muḥammad, whose own life history gave rise to the *siyar* genre [*q.v.*], whereas events of the lives of members of his family inspired other books such as the *ghazawāt* of the caliph ʿAlī, the *mathālī* works commemorated miracles and happenings around the martyrs of the house of the Prophet, particularly his grandson Ḥusayn [see HAMĀSA, iii and HIKĀYA, iii], especially famous being the *Ḥadīkat al-suʿadāʾ* by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*].

In the *kiṣṣa* some prophets were dealt with separately, such as Moses (*Kiṣṣa-yi Mūsā we Khiḍr*, see Levend, *op. cit.*, 126), and Solomon; such works being also known as *nāme* [see HIKĀYA, iii] the most voluminous of the *Süleymān-nāme* being the compilation made by "Uṣūlī" Firdewsī [*q.v.*]; Iskandar [*q.v.*] was also treated separately (see M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 2, 161, no. 254 and ISKANDAR-NĀMA, iii).

Joseph or Yūsuf [*q.v.*] was a favourite hero of the histories of Prophets, his ascetico-mystical romance with Zulaykhā, based on the *Sūrat Yūsuf*, has been treated in many Turkish *mathnawīs* and prose works. The oldest appears to be the *Kiṣṣa-yi Yūsuf* by a certain ʿAlī, a work of uncertain provenance supposedly composed in the Crimea in 630/1232 (see N. Pekolcay, *Islami türk edebiyatı* I Istanbul 1967, 77 ff., Levend, *op. cit.*, 92, 125).

In Anatolia, Sheyyād Ḥamza wrote a *mathnawī* version (ed. D. Düçar, Istanbul 1946); ten Caghatay, Mamlūk, Āḏharbāydjānī, and many Ottoman versions see the list compiled by Levend, *op. cit.*, 128 sq., for 19th century Kazakh versions, see *Fundamentia*, ii, 744.

Collectively, the prophets have been dealt with in the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*], which made their appearance in Turkish literature in the 8th/14th century. In 710/1310 Nāṣir al-Dīn al Rabghūzī, working for a Mongol *amīr*, composed his Eastern Turkish *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* on the basis of a Persian version (facsimile ed. K. Grønbech Copenhagen 1948). Other Turkish authors consulted the Arabic *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* by al-Kisāʾī, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* by al-Thaʿlabī and others (see K. Fraʾnkan, *Kisā'i'nin Beda'i u Dünyā ve Kıṣaṣı l-Enbiyā adlı eserinin İstanbul'daki tercümeleri*, in *TDED*, xviii (1970), 125-32, N. Hacıemiroğlu, in *TDED*, xi (1961) and xiii (1964), on an anonymous translation in the MS Bursa, Ulu Camı 2474, and A. Ateş, in *TDED* viii (1958), 93 f., on the Yozgat MS. of the translation made by Izniḳī (d. 833/1429-30).

In 987/1579 an Ottoman writer, Ḥindī Maḥmūd, composed a *Kiṣas-ı enbiyā*[3] [G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Traces of a lost autobiographical work by a reuriter of Selim II*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii/3 (1960)]. Later, more complex titles were used for the genre, such as *Muʾnis el safā fī aḥwal el-anbiyāʾ* written by Kara Çelebizāde (d. 1068/1656).

A highly esteemed educational *Kiṣaṣ-ı enbiyāʾ* written by the Ottoman statesman and historian Aḥmed Dāwūd Pasha [*q.v.*] as late as the end of the 19th century, in no less than twelve volumes, is evidence for the tenacity of the genre.

Bibliography In addition to the works cited in the article see the relevant articles in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, F.

Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih yazmaları kataloglarına. Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, Istanbul 1943 ff., J. R. Walsh, *The Turkish manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh*, in *Oriens* xii (1959), 175-89, esp. no. 2, F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, F. Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir. I*, Istanbul 1964, idem, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım. I-II*, Istanbul 1966-7; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften. Teil 2*, Wiesbaden 1968. The impetus which the *hiṣṣa*, *siyar*, and *maḳāl* genres gave to Turkish religious iconography can be seen in N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974, and the literature cited by them.
(B. Flemming)

3(b). More recent Turkish literature.

After the *Muḥāyyelāt* of ʿĀṣīm ʿĀṣīm [*q.v.*] (1796), which form a transition between the old and the new, a series of translations, mainly from the French, followed some sixty years later, e.g. Fénélon's *Télémaque* as *Terǧeme-yi Telemaḳ* (1862), Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* as *Maġdūrīn ḥikāyeti* (1862), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, as *Ḥikāye-yi Robinson* (from the Arabic, 1864), followed by Bernardin de Saint Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1870), Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1872), Alexandre Dumas père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1873), Lamartine's *Graziella* (1878), Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, Octave Feuillet's *Le roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (1880) and many others. Except for the *Télémaque*, which was translated in a most flowery and ornate style, in the best Ottoman *inšāʾ* tradition, most of the rest were rendered in a comparatively simple language, not far removed from spoken Turkish. This translation movement as activity coincided with the emergence of the literary *Tanẓīmāt* school, and the first generation of modernist writers provided the early examples of Turkish short stories and novels in the modern sense.

1. The short story

The pioneer of the short story is the popular author Ahmed Midhat [*q.v.*]. Although he did not belong to the literary school initiated by Šināsī [*q.v.*] and his associates, and was looked down upon by them as a conservative in outlook, as informal in style and as lacking in technique, and was consequently unfairly judged, he was avidly read by the general public and youth intellectuals alike and greatly influenced the succeeding generation of writers as witnessed by many of them (see NUMAYN MAḤMŪD and MAḤMŪD DIYĀʾ). Ahmed Midhat published two collections of short stories *Ḥikāyeler* (1870) and *Letāʾif-i rivāyāt* (in 25 parts, 1870-93). His mostly romantic stories with an occasional touch of realism, some adapted from the French, became immensely popular and soon made the genre fashionable.

To this formative period belongs a collection of short stories in three volumes, the *Müšāʿereh-nāme* ("The Book of mirrors", 1872-3), inspired in structure, by Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and written by one Emin Bülend, a civil servant about whom we know almost nothing. These are entertaining stories of uneven value, a mixture of traditional narrative and the new approach. Different from Ahmed Midhat's works, the *Müšāʿereh-nāme*'s language and style vary in places from the ornate to the straightforward colloquial. A younger member of the *Tanẓīmāt* literary period, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī [*q.v.*], is also reckoned among the pioneers of the modern Turkish short story. His modest output (two volumes, of which *Küčük šeyler* "Little things", 1308 Rūmī/1892), began the realist trend in the short story. He used a good technique and developed a tidier style and avoided ornate language. The great master of the Turkish short story is, however, Ḫālid Ḍiyāʾ of the *Ṭaṣvīr-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary school, who perfected the genre, of which he made a study in his work *Ḥikāye* (1307/1891). Ḫālid Ḍiyāʾ, who tends in his novels to concentrate on the life of Istanbul upper and upper middle classes and to use a precious language, by contrast in his numerous short stories (collected in 20 volumes) describes mostly ordinary people of the middle and working classes, and uses a comparatively less ornate style. Among minor writers of the same school, the novelist Meḥmed Raʾūf and the critic and journalist Ḥüseyn Ḍjāhid [*q.v.*] also wrote short stories of uneven value. Two prominent writers who remained outside the *Ṭaṣvīr-i Fünūn* school, the novelist Ḥüseyn Raḥmī and the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] contributed realistic short stories which are vivid sketches of everyday life in Istanbul of the 1890-1920 period.

The restoration of the Constitution (July 1908) followed by the movements of Turkism (see TÜRKÇÜLÜK), Populism (*Ḫalḳcı degāʿa*) and the New Language (*Yeñi lisān*), sponsored by Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp [*q.v.*] and ʿÖmer Seyf ed-Dīn [*q.v.*], revolutionised the whole approach to narrative in Turkish literature. Most short story writers (and novelists) switched from the capital (Istanbul) to the provinces and made an attempt to introduce colloquial Turkish into literary language and secured, on the whole, elaborate psychological analysis for straightforward realism.

The prominent woman novelist, Ḫālide Edīb [*q.v.*], wrote realistic short stories mostly based on her own experiences or observations. ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn (1884-1920), who left ten volumes of short stories (posthumously collected in book form), led the reaction against the precious language of the *Ṭaṣvīr-i Fünūn* school and wrote in spoken Turkish stories on the reminiscences of his childhood or on episodes of Turkish history. A hasty writer, his easy, even facile language is not always polished. But his deliberately direct style, avoiding the "literary", established a new tradition in Turkish narrative. The outstanding essayist and political satirist Refīk Ḫālid Karay [*q.v.*], wrote his famous *Memleket ḥikâyeleri* ("Stories from the provinces", 1919), during his five years' exile in Anatolia. These stories on the types and customs of the villagers and provincial townspeople are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style and powerful realism unprecedented in modern Turkish literature.

Most novelists of the period (e.g. Y. K. Kara-ʿOṯmānoġlu, R. N. Güntekin, Peyāmī Ṣafā, etc.) also wrote short stories. But others excelled in the *genre*; Memdūḥ Šewket Esendal [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a politician and diplomat, wrote, at irregular intervals, stories which are different in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical" Maupassant-type stories of his contemporaries. F. Ḏiyāʾ el-Dīn, a psychiatrist by profession, left remarkable sketches and short stories, written in a very personal style, about eccentric types and harmless maniacs of Istanbul, against an authentic "local" setting of the Hüseyn Raḥmī tradition. They are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people, with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, without any elaboration or embellishment and imbued with human warmth and optimism. The

novelist Halikarnas Balıkçılı [q.v. in Suppl.] who belongs to the 1920s generation, but who published his work in the Republican period, after the age of fifty, wrote fascinating stories on the life and struggles of the sea folk of the Aegean.

The 1930s inaugurated a new era in contemporary Turkish literature, and witnessed the emergence of two prominent but very different story writers: Sabāh al-Dīn ʿAlī (also a novelist [q.v.]), who pioneered social realism, writing powerful stories on the true life experience and hardship of the village and small town communities of Anatolia. Saʿīd Fāʾik (1906-54), perhaps the greatest name in the Turkish short story, described, in his compelling stories and sketches, written in a forceful and romantic style, the life and milieu of the simple people: workers, fisherman, vagabonds, etc of Istanbul, based mostly on his personal experiences, with a deeply human touch. Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar (*q.v.*), poet, critic and novelist, and adept of the neo-classicist Yahyā Kemāl (*q.v.*), wrote nostalgic evocative short stories where unresolvable psychological issues are the *leitmotiv*. The playwright and essayist Khaldūn Taner (b 1915) writes stories flavoured with humour and social criticism. Ilkhān Tarus (1907-67), a civil servant, described in his stories the intricacies of bureaucracy in the provinces.

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, most novelists (e.g. Kemal Tahir, Kemal Bilbaşar, Orhan Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, Yaşar Kemal, etc.) also wrote short stories in which concentration is on the plight of the peasantry, provincial townfolk and suburban dwellers (see below). This is particularly true of writers of peasant origin (e.g. Fakir Baykurt, Talih Apaydın, etc.). Aziz Nesin (b 1915) the great humorous writer of unsurpassed popularity, has been writing innumerable stories and sketches where he uses his art to fight social evils and bigotry by ridicule. Oktay Akbal (born 1913) writes individualistic and romantic stories, mostly based on personal reminiscences, full of nostalgia for things past. Necati Cumalı (b 1921), poet, playwright and novelist, differs from most of his contemporaries in not concentrating on any one given theme, but writing stories on a variety of subjects in a warm and flowing style.

Contemporary short story writers dwell as a rule on the social, political, economic and cultural problems of Turkey, a society in rapid transformation, linking these to the personal problems of the individual. From several dozen names (some of them also novelists), the following stand out: Mehmed Seyda (b 1919), the poet S. K. Aksal (b. 1920), Yusuf Atılgan (b. 1921), Vahʾat O. Bener (b. 1920), Muzaffer Buyrukcu (b. 1928), Bilge Karasu (b 1930), Tahsin Yücel (b 1933) and Bekir Yıldız (b. 1933). Among women writers one notes Nezihe Meriç (b. 1925), Adalet Ağaoğlu (b 1929), Leyla Erbil (b. 1931), Pürüsan (b 1933) and Sevgi Soysal (1936-76) who dwell on the problems of women of all classes in present day Turkey.

2. The novel.

The outstanding lexicographer and scholar Shems al-Dīn Sāmī (*q.v.*) wrote the first Turkish novel in the modern sense: *Taʿashshuk-i Talʿat we Fitnat* (1872). This is a love story used as a background to criticise the traditional marriage custom, marriage of partners unknown to each other. Nāmik Kemāl (*q.v.*), the great poet and patriot of the *Tanzīmāt* school, experimented with a romantic (*Intibāh*, 1876) and a historic (*Djezmī*, 1880) naval. One of his younger colleagues, Sāmī Pasha Zāde Sezāʾī (1860-1936), wrote an anti slavery novel (*Sergüzasht*, 1889), while another, Redjāʾī Zāde Ekrem (*q.v.*) produced a social satirical novel (*Araba sewdāsī*, "Devotees of the *hansom cab*", 1889, published 1896), which is a forerunner of later novels where the "westernising snob", the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed (see below); and Nābī Zāde Nāzim (1862-93) wrote examples of realist novels (*Kara Bebik*, a long short story, 1890, and *Zehrā*, 1895).

Outside this literary school of the "élite", the most important representative of the genre was the prolific popular writer, publicist and journalist Ahmed Midhat who flooded the post-1870s period with several dozen novels on subjects of all types: adventure, history, social satire, science fiction, realist and naturalist narrative, etc. He owes a great deal of his narrative technique, his dialogue and his handling of episodes to the traditions of Turkish popular art and literature (i.e. *Karagöz*, the *meddāh*, the *pulʿat* technique in the *Orta oyunu* and folk tales of various kinds), and also to the French novels of adventure. Many of his novels, particularly *Hasan Mellāh* (1873), *Hüseyn Fellāh* (1873), *Süleymān Mujīl* (1876), *Hırsız ve yahūd yanşlında* (1882), *Dündāne Ḥākim* (1882), were enormously popular and read avidly by generations of readers of all classes until the 1920s. His novel *Efelīlōn Bey ile Rākīm Efendi* (1896), pioneered a series of novels which satirise the *alla franca* way of life of Istanbul snobs.

In the following period of the *Tarwīt-i Fünun* school, the great representative of the novel is Khālid Diyāʾ. Although as a boy writer, like most of his contemporaries, he greatly admired Ahmed Midhat, there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment even in his early novels of the formative period, which were romantic love stories with some elements of realism. He completely broke with traditional methods of story-telling and developed a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digression or asides to the reader. Khālid Diyāʾ perfected this technique in his later novels (e.g. *Māʾī ve siyāh*, "Blue and black", 1897, and *ʿAshk-i memnūʿ* "Forbidden love", 1900), inspired mainly by the method and style of the French realists. His works remained the best examples of realism in Turkish literature until the mid 1930s. The setting and characters are often chosen from the upper and upper middle classes of Istanbul, the type of people with whom he came into direct contact during the strict Hamidian régime. He chose, in his novels, to write, like most of his colleagues of the movement, in an extremely precious and artificial language, thus deviating from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanzīmāt* writers) who had made an attempt to create a style which could be understood by a larger audience.

As Khālid Diyāʾ dominated the scene in prose, minor writers were hardly noticed. One of them, Mehmed Raʾūf (1875-1935), a naval officer, wrote a (probably autobiographical) novel, a poignant story of desperate love: *Eylül* ("September", 1901), which is the only work still remembered of his dozen novels.

Hasan Rahmi, who did not join any particular literary group, began his career during the time of the *Tarwīt-i Fünūn* movement, and remained one of the most popular novelists from 1890s until the late 1920s. At the beginning, he followed in the steps of his master Ahmed Midhat, but he gradually pol-

ished the elements taken from Turkish popular arts and adopted them to his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly of Maupassant and Zola. With his accurate observations of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families in the period approximately 1850-1920, his penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time and his acute sense of humour and satire, Hüseyn Rahmi is perhaps the most original of all Turkish novelists. Like his prominent contemporary the essayist Ahmed Rāsim (q.v.), his work is of great documentary value. He studied meticulously the everyday life of families and individuals and their development within disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of Western ideas and customs. His best novel, *Shāpsevdī*, "Always in love" (written and partly serialised in 1901, published in book form 1911) is a further development of the theme already treated by his predecessor and himself: a character study of the "Westernising snob".

During this period, two works were the pioneers of the so-called "village novel" (*köy romanı*) which was to develop during the Republican period: Nabī-Zāde Nāzim's long short story *Kara Ibishi*, already mentioned, and Ebūbekir Hāzim Tepeyran's (1864-1947) *Kulāk Pasha* (1910), which describes life in a central Anatolian village during the last decade of the 19th century.

During the post-1908 era, with the freedom of the press restored and in the midst of warring ideologies (Ottomanism, Pan Islamism and Turkism), we see that most writers of the young generation gather around a new trend called "National literature" (*Millī edebiyyāt*), led by the sociologist and guiding spirit of the intellectuals of the epoch, Diyā' Gökalp and his associates (particularly 'Ömer Seyf el-Dīn, see above). In this period, the prominent woman writer Khālide Edīb's early novels have considerable autobiographical elements, and with their passionate, independent, strong-willed heroines, outline the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman. Under the impact of the Pan-Turkish-movement, she wrote *Yeni Türān*, 1912, and her contemporary colleague, a minor woman writer Müfide Ferīd (Tek, 1892-1971) followed her example with a similar novel *Aydemir*, 1918). However, Khālide Edīb later rejected this ideology and espoused the new nationalism of the resistance movement in Anatolia which she joined in April 1920. She wrote novels on the national struggle and life in Anatolia, based on personal experiences as observations (e.g. *Ateshten gömlek*, 'Shirt of fire", 1922; *Vurun kahpeye* "Strike the whore", 1923). During her long exile abroad (1925-39) and after her return to Turkey, she continued to write, mainly period novels. Already by 1930 the approach to the novel was beginning to change (see below). Khālide Edīb's prominent contemporary, Ya'kūb Kadrī Kara 'Othmanoghlu (1889-1974 [q.v.]) the most powerful novelist of his generation, excelled in studies of periods and institutions. In a series of novels he described the disintegration of a family caught between the old and the new: towards the end of the Empire (*Kiralik konak*, "Mansion to let", 1922); life in a convent of the decaying Bektāshī order of dervishes (*Nür Baba*), party strife in the post-1908 period (*Hüküm gedjesi*, "The night of the judgment", 1927), life is occupied Istanbul in the early 1920s (*Sodom ve Gomôre*, 1928), a poignant description of the gap between an educated man and the peasants (*Yaban*, "The stranger", 1932), a pioneer "village novel", the life of a young Turk exile in Paris (*Bir sürgün*, "An exile", 1932), etc. He also experimented with a *roman-fleuve*, covering the second and the third decade of the Republican era (*Panorama*, 2 vols 1953-4).

The humorist and essayist Refīk Khālid Karay is the author of some twenty novels, mostly of mediocre literary value, except for the first, *Istanbulun iç yüzü* (1920, Roman script edition as *Istanbul'un bir yüzü*, 1939). This is written in the form of a diary and is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul 'society' between 1900 and 1920, in which the tart vestiges of the *ancien régime*, the influential magnates of the all-powerful Committee of the Union and Progress and the degenerate *nouveaux-riches* of the war years are depicted with brilliant, merciless sarcasm. Feyāmī Safā (1899-1961), a self-taught writer, produced in the early 1920s novels which described various characters of the changing Turkish society, emphasising the clash between the traditional and the new (e.g. *Sürde bitlar*, 1922, *Makber*, 1924, *Fatih-Harbiye*, 1931), later he studied cases of psychological stress and crisis and also supernatural phenomena. His partly autobiographical *çamur hamziye tokatı* ("External ward No. 9", 1936) is one of the best examples of the psychological novel in Turkish literature.

The best seller of the early 1920s was *Calikushu* (1928, Eng. tr. *The autobiographs of a Turkish girl*, by Sir Windham Deeds, 1950) by Reshād Nurī Güntekin (q.v.), who published several similar novels (e.g. *Akşam güneşi*, 1926, Eng. tr. *Afternoon sun*, by Deeds, 1951). These were sentimental romances mixed with realistic observations of Anatolian life. With the publication of *Yeshil sedje* ("Green night", 1928), where the influence of religious fanaticism in Anatolia is studied, Reshād Nūrī changed his manner and wrote a series of novels dealing with social change brought about by the reforms of the 1920s, (e.g. *Yaprak dökümü*, 1930) Güntekin perfected the literary language based on spoken Turkish initiated by 'Ömer Seyf el-Dīn and was recognised as one of the masters of modern Turkish prose until the middle of the 1930s, when a profound transformation of the language, style and literary taste began to take place.

The early generations of novelists of the Republican era inaugurated a new approach to the novel which began in the 1930s, and gathering momentum in the 1940s, matured in the 1950s and 1960s. For the majority of contemporary writers, the novel is only a vehicle to convey ideas, to prove a point and to discuss the burning problems of modern Turkey. Except for sporadic cases, for nearly forty years novelists have been concentrating mainly on the following themes:

(1) The background and various episodes of the War of Liberation; (2) The plight of the villages and provincial townspeople, (3) The struggle of the peasants against exploiting land owners and corrupt bureaucracy, (4) Unemployment in the villages, and peasant migration to labour areas (cotton fields, etc.); (5) The peasant migrations to the cities in search of work and its consequences; (6) Peasants turned brigands as a result of gross injustice; (7) The problems of the peasant populations of the shanty-town (*gecekondu*) in city suburbs, (8) The problems of illiteracy and educating children (particularly girls) in villages, (9) The influence of religious exploitation on the masses in villages and towns, (10) The plight of peasant migrant workers in Europe,

particularly Germany; (11) Problems arising from long-sojourn of Turkish worker-families in Europe; (12) The exploitation of the defenceless citizens by the *nouveaux-riches* business classes in the cities; (13) The ravages of partisan politics in villages and provincial towns; (14) The problems of women in general and working women in particular, etc.

In short, all the problems of a rapidly developing and industrialising, once mainly rural, society where a population explosion and a universal yearning for better living defy the dexterity of all government. The days of the "art for art's sake" principle of the *Thervet-i Fünun* days are left far behind: the contemporary Turkish novelist has no time or leisure for telling stories of personal woes.

Leading names of the modern period are: the pioneer Şâhâb al-Dîn ʿAlî (1907-48), already mentioned) whose novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* ("Yusuf from Kuyucak", 1937) is a masterly description of life in a small western Anatolian provincial town at the beginning of the century; Orhan Kemal (1914-70), who wrote with a warm and deeply human style the epic of the Turkish "little man"; and Kemal Tahir (1910-73 [*q.v.*]), who spent long years in Anatolian prisons where he collected his material on a series of novels on the life and problems of the central Anatolian peasantry and small town communities. He also wrote several period novels on episodes of early and modern Turkish history. Further, Sabahattin Kocagöz (b. 1916) wrote on the peasant landowner relationship in the Aegean area and also related episodes of the Anatolian resistance movement; Yaşar Kemal (b 1922) excels in describing, with an epic style inspired by Turkish folk tales, the life and struggles of the peasantry in the Adana area, and Fakir Baykurt (b 1929), of peasant origin himself, describes the life and problems of southern Anatolian villages, etc. [The majority of short story writers cited above are also known as novelists, and most of them should be counted in this category.]

Outside this category, there are novelists who belong to previous generations but who published their work in the 1930s or later. The short story writer Memdûh Şevket Esendal (1883-1952), published a remarkable novel *Ayaşlı ve Ankaralar* ("The man from Ayaş and his tenants", 1934), a powerful study of a group of disparate types during the early years of the new capital, Ankara. Midhat Cemâl Kuntay (1885-1956), a minor epic poet and biographer, wrote a single novel, *Üç İstanbul* ("Three Istanbuls", 1938). Planned as a period novel, it is rather a series of loosely-connected sketches on the life and character of Ottoman society and government in Istanbul during the period of decay and disintegration of the Empire (1850-1926). It is a fascinating panorama of events and of personalities, Ottoman, Levantine and foreign, told with a personal, elaborate and, in places, precious style. ʿAbd al-Hakk Shinâsî Hişâr (1883-1963 [*q.v.*]), who published some poems and critical essays in the 1920s, produced his first novel in 1941 at the age of fifty eight, *Fahim Bey ve biz* ("Fahim Bey and our family"), a powerful character study of an Istanbul type at the turn of the century, an inefficient civil servant turned businessman. After the great success of this novel, Hişâr wrote several others, all in an anachronistic style which nostalgically evoke the Istanbul of 1900. Lastly, the unusual writer Halikarnas Balıkçısı the famous exile of Bodrum (Halicarnassus), must be mentioned, who produced his first novel at the age of sixty (*Aganta, Burnu, Sarnıaz*, 1946) and devoted his entire work to the epic of the sea and seamen of the Aegean.

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4. In Persian literature.

In Persian the term *ḳiṣṣa* (together with its approximate synonyms *ḥikâyat afsâna*, *dâstân*) covers a number of different literary forms, and while this article must be concerned primarily with the modern application, it is also true that the more traditional manifestations have had some influence on recent developments. One of the earliest uses of the term seems to have been in the sense of "biography". Examples of this range from the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyâ'*, the title given to a number of works, of which one of the earliest and most popular is that by Mawlânâ Muḥammad Nîshâpûrî, said to have been written in 352/963, containing biographies of the prophets from Âdam to Muḥammad, to, at the other extreme, the *ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamâ'* written by Muḥammad b. Sulaymân Tunukâbunî in 1239/1823 and consisting of accounts of leading Shî'î divines, in which frequent reference is made in E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iv, 354-449 *passim*. A condemnation of this work was published in 1941 by Muḥammad ʿAlî Djamâl-zâda under the title *Ḳiṣṣa-yi ḳiṣṣa-hâ*.

A second group includes pseudo-biographical works of a largely fictional nature. A classic example of this *genre* is the *ḳiṣṣa-yi Ḥamza* or *Ḥamza-nâma*, the hero of which was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad and the story of whose exploits is said to have been commissioned by a namesake who led a rebellion in Sîstân at the end of the 2nd/8th century. The story is extant in a number of versions, some parts of which, judging from their style, may well go back to the 3rd/9th century. Another example in a slightly different class is the *Bakhtyâr-nâma*, the account of the deeds of a putative descendant of the legendary hero Rustam, said to have been a contemporary of the Sâsânid monarch Khusraw Parwîz, the earliest surviving version of this is the *Râḥat al-arwâḥ*, composed (in prose) by Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad Dabâyîdjî Marwazî in the 9th/12th century.

From this phase we move by a natural progression to the traditional romance with few or no historical or religious overtones. Some of these are by known authors—ranging from the famous *mathnawîs* of classical poets like Nizâmî, Amîr Khusraw Dihlawî and Djâmî, retelling the stories of Layla and Madjnûn, Khusraw and Shîrîn, Yûsuf and Zulaykhâ, and so on—to the works of lesser or otherwise unknown writers, like Fakhr al-Dîn Gurgânî's *Wîs u Râmîn*, ʿAyyûḳî's *Works on Gulâhâ*, or the prose version of *Samak-i ʿAyyâr* by Barkamar b. Khudâdâd, all these dating from the 5th/11th century. Many such romances have been handed down orally in more or less corrupted versions, until they finally achieved permanence in manuscript or, most recently, in "chapbook" form. Characteristic examples are the stories of Husayn-i Kurd, Bahrâm and Gulandâm, Hâtim-i Tâ'î, Shîrîn-u Farhâd and Khusraw-u-Mariyam,

Malik Djamshid, Nashat-yi Shirazi and Nush-afarin. Many of these must be of considerable antiquity, while others (for instance, the story of Amir Arslan, known to have been composed, though doubtless on a foundation of traditional material, by Nasr al-Din Shah's storyteller, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Naqib al Mamalik, during the second half of the 13th/19th century) are comparatively recent. Such stories, often qualified by such epithets as *shirin, shirin-i-dastan*, are part of the stock-in trade of the *nakkal* or *kissa-gu*, both professional and amateur, who provide entertainment alike for the chiefs of coffee-houses, the children of private households, and the peasants of rural villages. In a similar tradition are the humorous anecdotes of Mulla Nasr al-Din and Molla Buhlul-i 'Akil, whose Iranian versions have not yet been given the attention they have received, for instance, in the Turkish folk-literature area. This vast reservoir of oral narrative, which in addition to the long romances provides innumerable examples of every category of folk-tale —animal tales, fairy stories, tales of magic, moral and satirical anecdotes—has been sadly neglected in the past (in spite of early collections like *Kalila wa Dimna*, *Marzban-nama*, *Sindbad-nama*, *Djawami' al-hikayat* and *Riyad al-hikayat*), and it is only within the present century that serious attempts have been made by scholars and anthropologists, both privately and officially-sponsored, to collect and preserve this treasury of popular literature.

This neglect may account for the fact that when the art of story-telling and novel-writing was revived on the literary level during the early years of the present century, models were sought not in Iran's own literary tradition but rather from the flourishing ateliers of Western Europe. Indeed, it is significant that the Persian language does not yet have a word for "novel", but still uses the French *roman* (*ruman*). In making this judgment, we are consciously leaving out of account such works as *Ru'ya yi sadika* (1900), *Maralik al-mukasirin* (1903), and *Siyahat-nama yi Ibrahim Bayg* (1903-9), since the story element in these is subordinate, the primary purpose of the semi-anonymous authors being to expose social and political abuses in pre-Revolution Iran through the medium of a fictionalised travelogue. The authors of the first novels proper may indeed have had similar motives in setting their tales in remote historical periods, but the European influence is unmistakeable, not only in the clear debt owed to the historical novels of such writers as Alexandre Dumas (several of which had been translated into Persian), but even in the use of European forms of Persian names from the Achaemenid and Sasanid periods. Among the more noteworthy of these novels are the trilogy by Muhammad Bakir Khusrawi, *Shams u Tughra*, *Mah-i-Wirtis* and *Tughrul u Humay*, published in 1909-10, three independent novels whose common link is their single hero and their setting in the period of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century; another trilogy by Shaykh Musa Nathri, *Yahya u sallasani*, *Sitara yi Iskit* and *Sargudhasht-i Shahzada Khanum-i Babuli*, published in 1919, 1924-5 and 1932-3 respectively, and set in the reign of Cyrus the Great, *Dastan-i Bastan*, by Hasan Badi', the Achaemenid background of which is a mixture of elements drawn indiscriminately from the *Shah-nama* of Firdawsi and the works of Herodotus, and a long series of works by 'Abd al-Husayn Sani'at-zada Kirmani, beginning with *Damgustaran*, a two-volume novel published in 1921 and 1926 and set in the period of the rebellion of Mazdak and the fall of the Sasanid dynasty, and continuing with stories from such widely separated historical periods as the reign of Shapur the Great (*Dastan-i Mani-yi nakkash*, 1927), the rise of the Sasanid dynasty (*Salshakur*, 1933), the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the 'Abbasids (*Sayih falakan*, 1944), the reign of Nadir Shah (*Nadir, fatih i Dihli*, 1936), and even the science-fiction future (*Rustam dar sarn-i bist u duwwum*, 1935). Most of these works are noteworthy as pioneering efforts rather than through intrinsic literary value. Their language is literary, and even in the dialogues shows little attempt to adjust style to speaker, let alone to use colloquialisms, they are discursive and rambling, and historically full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Their inspiration comes from the romantic historical novel of 19th century Europe rather from any native source. If they do reflect any particular society, it is rather that of the writers themselves, and in this respect at least the novels throw interesting light on contemporary Iran.

However, the popular success of these early works encouraged many other writers to follow their example, and a long list of such books, of varying merit, have appeared and continue to appear up to the present day. A fairly comprehensive list will be found in Kamshad's *Modern Persian prose literature*, 52-3, and it is sufficient here to mention a few of the outstanding names. The list includes a number of recognised scholars—Sa'id Nafisi, Yahya Karib, Rida-zada Shafak, Dhabih Bihruz—whose writing is marked by a greater attention to accurate detail than some of their rivals, like 'Ali Djalali, Rahimzada Safawi, Husayn Masrur, Haydar 'Ali Kamali Djawad Fadil, Shirazpur Partaw, and others whose novels show almost a tendency to revert to the style of the popular romances. Few writers have ventured into the field of contemporary history. A notable exception is Husayn Rukn-zada Adamiyyat's *Daliran i Tangistan*, first published in serial form in 1931 and recounting as episode in the southern tribal disturbances during the first World War, though it appeared a year or two later in book form, it was subsequently suppressed and only reappeared after the abdication of Rida Shah.

However, although contemporary history was too dangerous a subject for most writers, this did not apply to general social criticism, which indeed was quite consonant with the reforming mood of the years of Rida Shah's reign. The theme that attracted most attention, partly perhaps because of the opportunities it offered to less talented and scrupulous writers to exploit sensationalism, was that of the position of women in traditional Iranian society. One of the first novels to take up this subject was Mushfik Kazimi's *Tehran-i makkar* (1922), a somewhat rambling work woven round the subject of true love thwarted by family greed and social custom. Like a number of his successors, Kazimi devotes a good deal of space to the discussion and description of prostitution. 'Abbas Khalili, Rabi' Ansari and Djahangir Djalili are other writers of this period who base their criticism of social conditions and the frustrations of youth on the oppression and in particular prostitution of women. The chief merit of these works is the light they throw on Iranian society, particularly of the middle class, under the impact of modernisation and western influences. Otherwise their style is rambling and discursive, with frequent digressions into moralising, while the language is still literary and ponderous.

A few writers of this category deserve fuller

mention. Muḥammad Mas'ūd (Dihātī), who was assassinated in 1947 in consequence of his editorship of an outspoken and often slanderous newspaper, *Mard-i sharīf*, wrote a trilogy in 1932 4—*Tafrīḥāt-i shab*, *Dar talāsh-i ma'āsh* and *Asrār-i makhlūqāt*—in which he draws on his own experience of lower middle class life in the provinces and Tehran. These novels were variously praised for their frankness and condemned for their pessimism and ribaldry. A later unfinished trilogy—*Guftār-i ān dar ghahanmān mīrāyad* (1942) and *Bahār-i 'umr* (1946)—is in the same vein, but shows a greater degree of maturity and objectivity. 'Alī Daghīī is also well known as a journalist and politician, and in addition has achieved distinction as an essayist and literary historian and critic. He earns mention here, however, for his three novels *Fitna* (1943), *Dzādī* (1952) and *Hindū* (1955). Like the others, these take the position of women in society as their central theme, but here it is the women of the upper classes that are under the microscope, and Daghīī's work has been criticised for its concentration on a rather narrow and repetitive stratum of Iranian life. His language, while no better suited to his subject than the others, is enjoyable for his skill in the handling of words and for his admittedly sometimes rather forced employment of Arabic and European terms. Muḥammad Ḥijāzī is noted for a series of novels—*Hume* (1947), *Parīlāh* (1950), *Zībā* (1956-58), *Parwāna* (1952) and *Sirāḥ* (1953)—which also, as the names of the first four imply, have a woman as the central character. Ḥijāzī's view of middle-class society, however, is less satirical and caustic than those portrayed by Daghīī and Dihātī, and sentimental philosophising expressed in high-flown language plays a greater part. Ḥijāzī may also be regarded as one of the pioneers of the art of the short story, which during and since his time has tended in Iran to overshadow the full-length novel, perhaps because of its conciseness and discouragement of diffuseness and prolixity. Ḥijāzī's many short stories are buried in some half dozen collections of essays and sketches, notably *Āyina*, *Andīsha*, *Nusīm*, published at intervals over the period 1932-80. Other novelists who deserve mention include Mahdī Ḥaerīdī, for his three-part novel *Yāh-i dar-ḥ-dar* (completed in 1940), though he is better known as a poet, Fakhr al-Dīn Shādmān for his *Tārīkī ou rawshnā'ī* (1950), and 'Alī Muḥammad Afghānī for his two encyclopaedic novels *Shawhar-i Āhu Khānum* (1961) and *Shādhmān-i ḥarra yi Kara-ká* (1966), the first of these being hailed at the time as a major breakthrough for the Iranian novel, though apart from its length it cannot be regarded as more than a worthy continuation of the tradition set by its predecessors mentioned above.

The true innovators are rather to be found in the field of the short story, and here the first name to be mentioned is that of Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzāda, whose first collection appeared in 1921 under the title *Yakī būd o yakī nabūd*. The title itself is indicative of a new approach to the art of story-writing, for it is the conventional phrase used to open the traditional folk-tale ("Once upon a time"). In fact Djamālzāda's stories do not owe as much to folk-literature as this might suggest, though at least one of the six in this collection takes its basic plot from a well known folk tale (*Dāstān yi Khāla Khīrza*). His contribution to the development of Persian prose lay rather in his insistence on the importance of using language that the ordinary people can understand, and although he does not go quite so far as to employ colloquial and dialect forms, except occasionally, his writings are nevertheless a rich mine of idiomatic and proverbial expressions. Indeed he has been criticised for using this stock rather in the manner of a card-index, instead of attempting to reproduce the tones and rhythms of common speech. Djamālzāda, like most writers of his time, indulges in social criticism; but the effectiveness of this is largely discounted by the author's long residence abroad and his consequent ignorance of present-day conditions. After his first volume of stories, Djamālzāda published nothing more for twenty years, but then there followed four more volumes of short stories, *'Amū Hasan 'Alī* (1942, extensively revised as *Shāhkār*, 2967), *Talkh u Shīrīn* (1955), *Ghayr az Khudā hīchas nabūd* (1961), and *Āsmān u Rīsmān* (1964), and six novels, *Dār al-majānīn* (1942), *Sahrā-yi mahshar* (1944), *Kulthūm-i 'amū* (1945), *Rāh i-ib-nāma* (1947), *Ma'shama-yi Shīrāz* (1953), and *Sar u tah-i yak karbās* (1955). Djamālzāda's literary life of more than forty years has assured him a high place in Iranian literary history, even though the momentum of his original incursion into the field was not maintained in his subsequent writings.

The credit for changing the direction of Persian prose writing must go rather to a somewhat younger man whose literary career lasted only half as long, as well as to others who associated with him or followed his example. Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat's [*q.v.*] first published work dates from 1923, when he was only twenty, but his contribution to story telling began in 1930 when, shortly after his return from studying in Paris, he published *Zinda bi-gūr*, a collection of eight short stories. The next four years marked the first fruitful period of creative writing, during this time he was the leader of a group of friends known to themselves and others as the *Rab'a*, the "Group of Four", who included in addition to Hidāyat himself Mas'ūd Farzād, with whom in 1934 he collaborated on a volume of satirical sketches (*Wagh wagh sāhāb*), Mudjtabā Minwī, with whom he wrote an historical drama in three acts (*Māzyār*, 1933), and Buzurg 'Alawī the only other member of the Four to achieve distinction as a writer of fiction (the other two had noteworthy careers as scholars). From Hidāyat's pen came two volumes of short stories, *Sih katra khūn* (1932), *Sāya yi rawshan* (1933), and a short novel *'Alawiyya Khānum* (1933), as well as a satirical play, *Afsāna-yi Āfarīnash* (written in 1930 but not published until 1948), books and articles on literary topics, folklore and magic, and translations from French. The range of this output shows the lines along which Hidāyat was developing. Like Djamālzāda, he wanted to write in the language of the people; but he achieved this not by having at his elbow a stock of idiomatic expressions, but through an ear well-attuned to the speech of his contemporaries, particularly those of the lower social classes. Moreover, he did not confine himself to any one milieu or class, but wrote with equal insight of all, though his sympathies were always with the underdog. This period in his writing culminated in an astonishing work, *Būf-i kūr* (not published until 1937, and then only in a privately duplicated edition in India—full publication had to wait until 1941). So much has been written about this essay in surrealism that it would be futile to attempt to add anything here, and it is sufficient to say that this one work has established Hidāyat as a writer of international calibre.

After the change of régime in 1941, Hidāyat began

to write fiction again (the intervening six years had seen only a handful of literary articles and some translations from Pahlavī), and by 1947 he had published two more collections of short stories (*Sag-i wilgard*, 1945, and *Wilangārī*, 1944), a novel (*Hādjādji Ākā*, 1945), and two long stories (*Ab-i zindagī*, 1944, and *Fardā*, 1946), as well as a quantity of articles and translations. The work of this period shows a greater awareness of political questions and even for a time a degree of optimism quite out of character with the prevailing trend of his writing. However, this mood was not to last. In 1947 he wound up his fiction writing with a searing and in places scurrilous satire on Iranian society, cast in the form of a mock history of the Pearl Cannon that used to stand in the centre of Tehran and served as a point of pilgrimage and petition for the uneducated women of the city (characteristically, the manuscripts of this work, which has never been published, carry the "spoonerised" "bylins" Hādī Sidīkat). Also possibly from this period, though probably earlier, is another unpublished and undated work, *al-Bi'that al-sidmiyya ilā 'l-bilād al-afrandjiyya*, a satirical account of a fictional Muslim mission to Europe, in which he takes the opportunity to lampoon typical figures in the religious and political establishment. Four years later Hidāyat died in Paris by his own hand.

His close friend and colleague, Buzurg ʿAlawī, though sharing many of his aims and ideals, differed from him in a number of respects. He took less interest in literature and folklore, and was more deeply influenced by Freudian psycho-analysis and Marxist political theory. This latter enthusiasm led to his imprisonment in 1937 and to prominence in the newly formed Tūda Party after his release in 1941. Prior to that experience he had written only one volume of short stories (*Čamadān*, 1934), apart from a single story contributed to the volume *Aširān* (1931), one of the other two contributors to which was Hidāyat. In 1941 he published a second volume of short stories (*Warsā-pāra hā-yi zamān*), and in 1952 a third collection (*Nāma hā*) and a novel (*Čašm hā-yash*). In 1953 he left Iran for East Berlin, whence his output of fiction has been negligible. The fact that his reputation stands as high as such a small foundation is a tribute to the quality of his writing, which shows a strong sense of realism and a profound understanding of character.

The "school" of writing started by the *Rab'a* attracted a number of imitators and followers, some of whom achieved status as independent writers. Among these must certainly be mentioned Sādik Čūbak and Djalāl Āl-i Ahmad [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Čūbak's reputation was established with his first book of short stories, *Khayma-i shabbāsī*, published in 1945, and this was followed by a second collection, *Antarī ki lāyiyash murda bād* (1949). Like his colleagues, he is interested primarily in the lives and characters of members of the lower classes, and he depicts these with a strong sense of realism, which often leads him to use expressions and idioms that shock his elders. He is also one of the first writers to use colloquial language freely throughout. His second volume of short stories was followed by more than ten years of silence, but in 1963 he published a novel, *Tangsīr*, set in the Tangistān area of his home province of Fārs, which gives a vivid picture of the provincial and tribal life of the south of Iran. Two more volumes of short stories followed, *Rūz-i awwal-i bahr* (1965) and *Čerāgh-i Āḫīr* (1966), and finally (for so far nothing else has appeared) in 1967 a long kaleidoscopic novel, *Sang-i ṣabūr*, written mainly in dialect, and with passages in dramatic dialogue form introducing characters from history, poetry, and so on.

Djalāl Āl-i Ahmad, who died in 1969, has a wider range of writing than Čūbak, being interested in sociology, folklore, and political questions, on all of which subjects he wrote articles and books. In the field of story-writing he has four volumes of short stories, *Dīd u bāzdīd* (1945), *Az rangī ke nībarīm* (1947) *Sitār* (1948), and *Zan-i zīyādī* (1952). A further five stories were published posthumously under the title *Panǧ dāstān*. He also published four novels or long stories, *Sargudhasht-i Kandū hā* (1954), *Mudīr-i madrasa* (1958), *Nūn wa 'l-kalam* (1961), and *Nafrin-i zamīn* (1968). Āl-i Ahmad's sociological interests show clearly in much of his work, but this is not a criticism of his writing, which is concise and economical, allowing his characters to develop in their own words (which are usually in their colloquial form) rather than through the author's description. Other writers who may be considered as having been influenced by the same school of writing include Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī (Bīt-Āghtn), Ibrahīm Tūlistān, Ihsān Tabarī, Raḥmat Muṣṭafawī, Sharīf-zamādārī (Darwīsh), and Djalīl Āl-i Ahmad's widow Simīn Dānishwar.

The interest in folklore shown by Sādik Hidāyat was shared by other writers, some of whom could indeed claim to have preceded him, for instance, Amīr Kull Amīnī, Kāhī Kirmānī, and Ṣubḥī Muḥtadī. Only the last-named, however, ventured briefly into the field of original fiction, with a short novel in folk-tale form, *Hadjdjī Mullā Ẓulf ʿAlī* (1947). The two threads rejoined in the writings of Ṣamad Bihrangī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ghulām Ḥusayn Sāʿīdī. Both these writers, born in Tabrīz, use the folk-tale form as a medium for allegorical works commenting on contemporary social questions. Bihrangī, who was drowned in 1968, is the author of a series of ostensibly children's stories, all published between 1966 and 1969, of which mention may be made of *Ūldūz wa huldjī hā*, *Kalak-i khūr-hās*, *Afsāna-yi mahabbat*, *Māhī ya ziyāh-i hātūlī*, and *Kūrughlū wa Kalak-i Ḥasan*. A posthumous collection of short stories, *Talkhūn*, was published in 1970. Sāʿīdī, who writes his fictional work under the pseudonym Gawhar-i Murād, is best known for his plays, mimes and film scripts; his short story collections include *Ādjna-hā-yi ghayr-i Kayy* (1953), *Shab-nishīnī-yi Mashhad* (1960), *Dandil* (1966), *Wāḥima hā-yi Ḥasīm-ūmghān* (1967), *Tors u dz* and *Tāp* (1968). Like Āl-i Ahmad, he is interested in sociology, and is the author of a number of monographs. Other writers in this category include Sādik Humāyūnī, Djamāl Mīr-Ṣādikī and Shāpūr Karīm.

The latest phase in fiction-writing shows a trend towards a more introspective approach, perhaps encouraged by current political and social conditions, which are felt to preclude open discussion of current questions. The writers of this category choose a somewhat obscure and allusive mode of expression, which leaves the reader free to make his own interpretation; they are also more concerned with inner feelings and psychological states. One of the first writers in this vein was Taki Mudarrisī, whose novel *Yaklīlyā ou tawhīd-i ṣ* appeared in 1956. This was followed in 1966 by *Sharīf Dīdn*, a novel of the 1930s. Bahman Farsī is known chiefly as a playwright, but his collection of short stories, *Zir-i dandān-i sag* (1964), attracted favourable notice. Two poets, Mahmūd Kiyā-Nūgh and Mahmūd

Tayyāri, are also known as story writers. Two other writers deserve special mention. Hūshang Gulshīri for his three novels *Shāda Ibtidāʾī* (1968), *Kristāl wa Kāh* (1971), and *Maṣṣām-i dawrawn* (1972), and Nādir Ibrāhīmī, who since the late sixties has published a steady flow of novels and short stories. Other names include Kāẓim Sādāt i Ishkawarī and Bahrām Ṣādiḳī.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

5. In Urdu.

Until the beginning of the 19th century, prose literature was almost unknown in Urdu. A few prose works had been written in the Deccan as far back as the early 17th century, but they were mostly on religious subjects. A notable exception, however, was Wajhī's story *Sab Ras* (1635). This is based on the Persian allegorical *mathnawī*, *Dastūr al-ʿushshāḳ*, by Yaḥyā b. Sībak, who is generally known as Fattāḥī Nīshāpūrī (d. 854/1448). *Sab Ras* is written in ornate rhymed prose, and like its Persian source, it tells the story of the romance of Princess Ḥusn (Beauty) and Prince Dil (Heart). All the characters bear similarly allegorical names. The work appears to have been an isolated piece, and it cannot be considered a progenitor of modern Urdu fiction.

There did exist a kind of versified Urdu fiction in the 18th century, namely, the narrative *mathnawī*, of which the outstanding example is *Sihr al-bayān*, by Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. At its best, the *mathnawī* included some of the essential elements of the novel—a story with a logical sequence of connected incidents, characterization, however rudimentary, and vivid description of scenes and social customs. But the plots relied too heavily on the incredible and supernatural.

Another precursor of modern Urdu fiction is to be found in certain collections of short stories within a "frame", which were recited to general audiences, as well as to royal courts and rich households. They are the Urdu equivalents of Arabic collections like *Alf layla wa-layla* and *Sīrat ʿAntar*, and are termed *dāstān* (pl. *dāstānāt*). Ralph Russell (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 107) refers his readers to E W Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* for a "generally accurate account of how the dastans were recited in India" These cycles of legends were subsequently printed in Lucknow in the press established there in 1858 by Nawal Kishōr (d. 1895) *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāḥib Ḳirān ki ḥikāyat* recounts the wonderful exploits of a famous uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad in 17 volumes totalling about 17,000 pages The most popular sections were *Ṭilism-i Hōshrubā* (7 vols.) and *Nawādir-i ʿAmma* (2 vols.) Vying in popularity with this vast collection was the seven-volume *Bustān-i Khayāl*. These works are generally considered to be of Persian origin, but it is not clear whether the reciters employed by Kishōr to produce his Urdu versions were actually translating Persian texts themselves, or using existing Urdu sections which had been passed from mouth to mouth The language is highly coloured and uses rhyme, but the stories recounted were apparently well known and appreciated in India. The *dāstānī* were tales of chivalry, and, like the *mathnawī*, contained a strong element of the supernatural. But whereas a *mathnawī* might have a well-formed story, the *dāstān* consisted of a series of short stories or incidents, with little attempt at characterisation.

In the evolution of the Urdu novel, we find the *dāstān* gradually giving way to the European-style novel. Indeed, in some measure the one gradually merged into the other But the prelude to this transformation takes us to Calcutta, where, in 1800, the British East India Company established Fort William College to train British officials in the languages, laws and customs of India. The first Principal, John Borthwick Gilchrist, assembled a number of Indian writers, whom he commissioned to produce prose works which could be used as text books for Urdu and other languages. While not discouraging a sense of style and a medium of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language A number of Urdu books were written, some of them fiction, which became popular classics They were all adaptions from other languages, chiefly Persian but occasionally Sanskrit The emergence of the Urdu novel later in the century diminished the importance of these works, though they served until the Second World War as text-books for British officials and army officers

The best-known was Mīr Ammān's *Bāgh o bahār* (1801) based on a Persian tale by Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] It tells the story of four dervishes who are supernaturally guided to a city. There, aided by the king, they discover their long lost loves. The name is supposedly Istanbul, but it is described like Dihlī in the last years of the Mughals. Since the original Calcutta edition, this book has been frequently reprinted, and so English translations by Duncan Forbes appeared in London in 1862, S. A. B.

Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 18) describes it as "the first prose classic in Urdu. ... still read for enjoyment". Like other Fort William products, it is written in reasonably straightforward language, and includes good dialogue and characterisation. Amongst other Fort William fiction were *Ārāʾish-i maḥfil* by ʿAlī Afsōs, and Mirzā ʿAlī Kāẓim Djawhe's *Shakuntalā* based on the drama by Kālī Dās. Not all the fiction written for John Gilchrist was published at the time. Two previously unpublished ones have recently been added by Ṣābdat Bareilwī. They are by Mazhar ʿAlī Khān Wilā. *Haft gulshan* (Karachi 1964) is a collection of fables; while *Mādhōnal aur Kām Kandalā* (Karachi 1965) is a short *dāstān*, in 20 chapters. Finally, mention must be made of another Fort William publication which provides a link with the *mathnawī*—Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusaynī's *Naẓr-i Ḥusayn* (Calcutta 1803). It is a prose version of Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥr al-bayān*, including verses quoted from the poem from time to time. Strange to relate, it was published two years earlier than the *mathnawī* itself.

Whether the fiction produced at Fort William forms a definite stage in the evolution of the Urdu novel and short-story, or was merely an interlude, is a matter subject to dispute. Muḥammad Ṣādiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 212) denies that it was a "formative factor in the development of modern Urdu prose". He adds that, had it never existed, Urdu prose would not have developed any differently. On the other hand, Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 22) maintains that it not only furthered the simplification of Urdu prose, but also popularised prose romances. It is certainly arguable that the simpler prose fostered by the ʿAlīgarh Movement, and exemplified by the writings of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Altāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, and even ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar, is at times reminiscent of "Fort William prose". But of those three, only Sharar wrote fiction.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the Fort William products, they were important enough to stimulate controversy as to what features constituted good Urdu literary prose. Many considered the Fort William prose style too thaqīl to be literary. In fact, the first original prose romance in Urdu, *Fasāna ya ʿadjāʾib* by Mirzā Radjab ʿAlī Bēg Surūr (d. 1867), was regarded, and perhaps intended, as a reply to the Fort William style. He wrote it in about 1824, but it was not published until between 1839 and 1842. It may fairly be described as a *dāstān*, for it is a series of stories of chivalry, with a certain amount of the supernatural, set in a "frame", but it is in one volume only. The frame is the love-story of Prince Djān i ʿĀlam and Princess Andjuman-Ārā. The stories or incidents describe the dangers, and fights with men and magicians, that the hero has to face in order to win her. The frame is a familiar one, and recurs in Sarshār's *Fasāna-yi Āzād*. The language contains much rhetoric and rhyme, and it is interesting to note that Surūr wrote it in Urdu only because he feared that his command of Arabic and Persian was inadequate.

However, it was not until the 1860s and 1870s that the Urdu novel, in the European sense, emerged. There were good reasons for this. English became not only the language of government and higher education, but also a common medium of communication between the various peoples of India. English novels became familiar in the original language. Later, a number were "translated", or, more accurately, adapted into Urdu, as were selections of short stories. But as far as can be ascertained, these "translations" did not become common until after the First World War, by which time the Urdu novel was already flourishing. Another factor favouring Urdu fiction was the appearance of numerous newspapers and magazines, which published novels either in instalments, or as supplementary special issues. Fiction therefore became cheap enough to attract a wide readership. Thirdly, the ʿAligarh Movement made prose a respected literary medium, and also demonstrated that prose need not be artificial, full of rare words, balanced sentences and rhymes, to be artistic. During the last thirty years of the life of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1813-98), the novel became an established form.

Of the three great novelists writing in this period, the first, chronologically, was Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912). But it is more logical to discuss Pandit Ratna Nāth Sarshār (1845-1903) first, as his stories retain some features of the *dāstān*. Born in Lucknow, after a sketchy education he worked for the newspaper *Awadh pandj*, then for its rival, the *Awadh akhbār*, of which the proprietor Nawal Kishōr appointed him editor. His gigantic picaresque novel *Fasāna-yi Āzād*, on which his fame rests, appeared in this newspaper in instalments in 1878 and 1879, and was then published in book form in Lucknow in 1880, in four volumes totalling about 1700 double-columned pages. It is more like a collection of short stories and anecdotes than a novel, reflecting both Sarshār's untidy and disorganised way of life and the demands of serialisation, which required him to produce regular instalments with or without inspiration. According to Khūrshīd (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 183), the idea of the work arose from a discussion about *Don Quixote* among members of the staff of the paper Sarshār's book was a tremendous success, and it was imitated by many subsequent novelists.

The "frame" of *Fasāna-yi Āzād* is that the noble and chivalrous Āzād, of the city of Lucknow, falls in love with the beautiful Ḥusn-Ārā. In order to win her hand, he has to go and fight for the Turks against the Russians, and his adventures are recounted in the book. He has a companion, Khōdjī, who is a figure of fun. In fact, in many ways, the roles of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are reversed in Āzād and Khōdjī. The work is as rich in characters, incidents and scenes that it defies description in a brief account. There are major sub-plots as well as the main "frame", and the incidents described are both numerous and varied, ranging from fighting and flirtation in discussions of poetry. It is notable for its pictures of Lucknow life. But above all, it is full of dialogue, often racy, and suiting the language to the speaker. A Western reader picking it up for the first time might think, from many pages, that it is a drama, with each speaker's name in bold letters at the beginning of the line, followed by "stage directions" and then what he or she says. This method of setting out dialogue was followed by a number of Urdu novelists—for example, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar.

The hero, Āzād, resembles the *dāstān* hero—handsome, brave, a great lover and a champion of what is right. The realistic pictures, however, are modern, sometimes reminding us of Dickens, and there is very little of the supernatural. Thus it is a transitional work, between the *dāstān* and the novel, though by the time it was published, three of Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels had already appeared, with their realistic contemporary social themes. However, Sarshār wrote to entertain his readers. The abundant variety of characters, including many from the underworld

and the demi monde; the wit and humour; the basic realism, despite a veneer of exaggeration—all these appealed so strongly to the readers, that it is said that when it first appeared in serial form, each new instalment was avidly awaited and people rushed to buy the *Avadh akhbār* because of it.

Such a tour-de-force is hard to repeat; and Sarshār's Bohemian life-style, especially his addiction to alcohol seems to have affected his work. Of his later novels, *Khudā'i faujdār* is an abridged and adapted version of Cervantes' novel. His *Āzmā* is his only novel with a Hindu background—which is rather surprising, since he was himself a Hindu.

Nadhīr Ahmad (1836–1912) is considered by many to be the first modern novelist in Urdu, especially by those who prefer a novel to be a study of contemporary social life, and who like it to have a message. Strange to relate, he became a novelist by accident. Educated at Delhi College, he worked first as a schoolmaster, then an inspector of education, and subsequently in various posts in the Revenue Department. His first "novel", *Mirā'at al-'arūs* ("The bride's mirror") (1869) was written for his own daughters to read privately; it was a moral tale to teach them the qualities required of a good and successful *wife*. A British Director of Public Instruction saw the manuscript, and urged Nadhīr Ahmad to have it published. Because of its educational value and high moral tone, the Indian Government bought a thousand copies. Nadhīr Ahmad achieves his didactic aim by describing two sisters and comparing their married life. Akbarī is a spoilt girl who proves incapable of running a house, while Asghari is efficient and practical, almost a model of all the virtues. In 1873 he followed it with a sequel, *Binat al-na'sh*. Its subject is girls' education, but it is more like a series of lessons than a story. *Tawbat al Nasūh* (1877) is a more ambitious family tale. It tells how Nasūh, while ill, repents, and, having previously allowed his children to do as they like, he now tries to reform them as well as himself. *Fasāna yi-Mubtalā* (1885) treats of the evils of polygamy. *Ibn al-waqt* (1888) describes the troubles of an Anglicised Indian who thinks his fellows Indians. But when his only British friend leaves the country, he finds himself isolated. All these novels then, are stories with a moral, and the very names of many of the characters are descriptive of them: thus Nasūh (repentant) and Hubtalā (afflicted).

These novels struck a new note and have many attractive qualities. They are straightforward stories of manageable (one-volume) size in uncomplicated yet elegant style, dealing with the contemporary social scene and its problems. Their high moral tone, somewhat reminiscent of Victorian England, made them suitable reading for people of all ages and both sexes; and they were widely read, and frequently re-printed up to the Second World War. Nadhīr Ahmad improved with experience, and his later novels are superior to his earlier ones in both character development and plot construction. But his earlier ones remained the most popular—especially *Mirā'at al-'arūs* and *Tawbat al Nasūh*. More recently, *Ibn al-waqt* has attracted attention, because of its relevance to the last years of the British Rāj.

The main objection to these novels has been on grounds of the domination of the didactic aim: so much so, that it has been suggested that they are not real novels at all, but pleas for social reforms in the guise of novels. There is also a lack of humour in them. Nevertheless, they mark the advent of the social novel in Urdu.

Two distinct genres of novel, then, had emerged by the last quarter of the 19th century—the picaresque type of Sarshār, and the social type of Nadhīr Ahmad. Both writers were imitated, and there was a burst of activity in both genres. The picaresque type gradually lost its appeal, and though many later examples could be mentioned, none achieved anything approaching Sarshār's success. The social novel, however, was continued unabated until the present time, and in 1899 an outstanding example appeared—*Umrā'o Jān Adā*, by Mirzā Muhammad Hādī Ruswā (1858–1931). Ralph Russell describes it as "the first true novel in Urdu" (*op. cit.*, 132). It is the story of a retired high-class Lucknow prostitute, whose name forms the title, and who tells her life-story to the author. Like Sarshār, Ruswā tells much of the story in dialogue form, and the book is very readable and entertaining. As Muhammad Sadiq says (*op. cit.*, 355), the didactic element emerges before the end. But what is remarkable in Ruswā's approach is his sympathetic and perceptive attitude to his heroine. He does not blame her, neither does he condone her sinful life, which has made her virtually a social outcast. He shows understanding without being sentimental. Ruswā wrote several other novels, but was unable to repeat the success of *Umrā'o Jān Adā*.

As the 19th century drew to its close, a third genre of Urdu fiction appeared, the historical novel. Its pioneer was 'Abd al-Halīm Sharar (1860–1926), a journalist and historian and a leading figure in the 'Aligarh Movement. Born in Lucknow, he worked there for 5 years as Assistant Editor of the *Avadh panch*. In 1887, he started the magazine *Dil gudāz*, which he continued, with interruptions, until his death. His earlier novels were first published in serial form, but later ones were published whole, and sold cheaply as supplements to the magazine. The idea of writing historical novels came to him while reading Sir Walter Scott's *Talismān* during a train journey. Struck by the unfavourable light in which Scott depicted Muslims, he decided to try to redress the balance, and produced *Malik-i-'Azīz aur Warjāna*. He had previously published a social novel, *Dilkusā*. But though he did not completely abandon this genre the majority of his novels, numbering about 35, are historical. They contrast unashamed propaganda for Islam, and paint Christianity in a poor light; but they are vivid and exciting stories of heroism and romance, with brave heroes, cruel villains, and beautiful heroines—the latter often Christians girls who fall in love with Muslims. They achieved enormous popularity, because Sharar knew how to write a good story and sustain interest. His descriptive passages are convincing without being over long, and there is considerable dialogue. But the drama often deteriorates into melodrama. His denouements are frequently bloodthirsty, and he lingers too long over cruelty and killing for modern tastes. Historical veracity is often lacking, and there are anachronisms. Still, there is no doubt that he could draw characters credibly if not subtly. His language is eclectic and attractive, without being forced, and it still reads well. And though overladen with Arabic expressions for some tastes, this suits his themes.

His novels span the Islamic world from Spain to Africa, Turkey, the Middle East and India; whilst in time they range from the 7th to the 19th centuries. *Flōrā Flōrinda* (1897), a tale of Christians and Muslims in mediaeval Spain, is regarded as one of his best novels. The heroine, Flōrā, is the daughter

of a Muslim father who is brought up as a Christian. She is later raped by a "patriarch", whose child she bears, and whom she kills in the end. The story is highly involved, and the swift denouement which occupies only 15 pages out of a total of 350, leaves almost all the main characters killed. Equally popular was *Firdaus-i baṭīn* (1899), which to the present writer, is more convincing. The background to the story is the conquest of the valley of the Assassins (*Ḥashīshiyya*) and their fortress of Alamūt by Hūlāgū Khān in 1257. The hero and heroine, Husayn and Zamurrad, have been in the power of the Assassin leader, Khūrshāh, but in the end they side with Hūlāgū against him. There is a vivid description of the final battle and the destruction of the "sublime paradise" of the Assassins, with the hero Husayn playing a major rôle. Finally, Hūlāgū arranges for Husayn and Zamurrad to marry, and they leave together for Mecca and the Pilgrimage. This accords somewhat ill with Husayn's obvious enjoyment of prolonging the agony of those whom he kills in the final battle. But it is the sort of melodrama which doubtless appealed to the readers of 1899.

It is difficult to single out names of 20th century Urdu novelists who continued social and historical novels. Some of these, like Prēm Čand and M. Aslam, are better known as short story writers. Rāshid al-Khayrī (1868-1938) was one of the most successful, and though best known for his social novels, he also wrote a number of historical ones. His social novels, though not without humour, earned him the nickname of *Muṣawwir-i ghamm* ("depictor of sorrow"). The main theme is the position of woman in Islamic society. His trilogy *Sukh-i zindagī*, *Shām-i zindagī* and *Ṣubḥ-i zindagī*, is worthy of note. Among his historical novels, *ʿArūs-i Karbalā* deserves mention. The "bride" of the title is a Christian widow who feels drawn to Islam, and finally marries ʿUbayd, a partisan of al-Ḥusayn at the battle. Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 128) regards Rāshid al-Khayrī's historical novels as "poor stuff", lacking social colour and realism.

The Urdu short story is held by most Indian and Pākistani critics to be an importation from the West, although some of its elements may be seen in stories and anecdotes of the *dāstān*, especially *Fasāna-yi ʿAjāʾib* and *Fasāna-yi Āzād*.

M. Aslam in his introduction to one of his short-story collections, *Hamārī kahānī kaun sunāyegā* (Lahore 1972, 3) maintains that the reverse is true, and that the Europeans really took the short-story from the Muslims! He goes on to say that the short-story originated in religious literature such as the Old Testament and the Kurʾān, and attempts to substantiate this from stories in the Kurʾān. However, there is no doubt that the creator of the genre in its modern sense, in Urdu, was Prēm Čand (real name Dhanpat Rāʾē) (1880-1937). Born near Benares, he was a Hindu, and wrote in both Hindi and Urdu; indeed some of his fiction appeared in both languages —or in both scripts, Arabic and Devanagri. He started his writing career as a novelist, then turned to the short-story, which was at that time in its infancy in India. He was a prolific writer, and his short stories were collected in a number of volumes, including *Prēm pachīsī*, *Prēm batīsī*, *Prēm čālīsī*, *Wārdāt* and *Zād-rāh*. Prēm Čand is noted for his pictures of village life. He depicts the poor and humble as inherently good, but compelled to do wrong by the pressures of poverty and temptation. They are exploited by landowners and rich employers, and are a prey to fear, superstitions and religious bigotry. For such people little acts or accidents may have dire effects. Prēm Čand, then, was no less a pleader for social reform than Nadhīr Aḥmad. But whereas the latter concentrated on the middle class, Prēm described the lower classes, especially in villages. A master of characterisation, style and form, he made the short story his métier, and whilst his novels are now neglected, many of his short stories are acknowledged masterpieces.

Among later short story writers, mention should be made of M. Aslam (*Em Aslam*) the author of over a hundred books. Many of his short stories are romantic, and he depicts the instability of middle-class society in a period of change. Finally, there have been several brilliant writers of humorous short stories, and essays in story form. They include Shawkat Thānawī, Mirzā ʿAẓīm Bēg Čughtāʾī and Patras Bukhārī (1898-1958).

A word must be said about the nomenclature of Urdu fiction, which includes Hindi, Persian, Arabic and English terms. *Dastān* has already been mentioned. *Kahānī* was used chiefly for fables, anecdotes and short stories. Throughout most of the 19th century, the term *fasāna*, with its variant, *afsāna*, was current. Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels were called *ḥikāyat*, but as we have seen, he also used the term *fasāna*. *Ḥikāyat* has been used considerably, particularly for the short story. It seems likely that Sharar was the first to employ the English word "novel" (Urdu, *nāwal*) and this is now the commonest name for a novel. A short story is now usually called *afsāna*—more properly, *mukhtaṣar afsāna*.

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(J. A. MAYWOOD)

6. In Malaysia and Indonesia

In dictionaries of older Malay, *kissa* is defined as "story, narrative episode". It occurs regularly in this sense in literary works from the 17th century onwards, and, in addition, is used in Malay historiographical works and romances as a kind of percope marker to introduce a new stage or episode in a longer narrative.

It appears in the title of a Malay adaptation of the Stories of the Prophets, *Kişaş al anbiyā'* (largely the version of al-Kisā'ī) which became popular from the 17th century onwards, and in more recent times was the title of an Indonesian magazine, *Kisah* (Jakarta 1933 8) devoted to the short story. It appears in the title of a collection of short stories, purely western and totally secular in theme and content by Armijn Pané, *Kisah Antara Manusia*. Nevertheless, it did not establish itself as the title of a genre. For shorter length narratives, the Sanskrit-derived *cerita* (story) was preferred, with, in imitation of European usage, the qualifying adjective *pendek* ("short"), the two words now being abbreviated to *cerpen*.

The short story is currently the most popular literary form in Indonesia and Malaysia. Its roots are to be found in local fables and animal stories, in short narratives of Perso-Arabic origin, especially those set within frame-collections, and in the flowering of the genre in late 19th century Europe. Although none of the great Arabic collections of stories such as al-Bukhalā', of *Aghānī* or the *Alf layla wa layla* has accompanied the islamisation of the Malay world, one of the very oldest Malay MSS (a. 1615) is a fragment of the Persian *Tūṭī nāma* a rendering in Malay of a Persian version of the *Sukasaptati* or "Tales of a parrot". Other frame-stories such as *Kalila wa-Dimna* and the *Sindibād nama* established themselves to Malay renderings relatively early. The large number of MSS of such works is an adequate index of their popularity.

All of these stories belong to the popular domain. The composition by individuals of realistic short stories did not begin until the 20th century with the development of a popular press, and the possibilities that newspapers and periodicals offered for the development of such a form of narrative fiction. It established its present popularity in both regions during the 1950s.

In Malaysia, during the 1930s, the authors of short stories were graduates of Malay stream education and religious schools. The majority of their stories were moralistic, concerning such issues as the backwardness of the Malays, the problems of forced marriage, and the need for a reformist understanding of Islam. In Indonesia during the same period the secular stream was dominant. But just as since Malaysian independence in 1957, the short story in Malaysia has become secularised, in Indonesia some short stories by Muslims have brought a consciousness and sensitivity to the perception of religious experience which is characteristically modern. In many cases, the concern is purely with man as man, and while a religious dimension is suggested, it is not worked out within the dogmatic frame work of a single identifiable religious tradition. In a few, however, and A. A. Navis (*see Bibl* below) presents the best example, a religious problem lies at the very heart of the story, and is the reason for its existence. Nevertheless, apart from contributing the word *kissa* to the Malay vocabulary, the Muslim religious and literary tradition has played only a limited role in the shaping of the short story in Malay. The Western secular tradition has been, far and away, the most important single influence.

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7. In Swahili.

In Swahili literature, the word *kissa* was first used in the context of the *Kişaş al-anbiyā'* [q.v.]. The numerous Swahili authors (i.e. writers as well as composers of oral traditions) had at their disposal rather more elaborate versions than those of al-Kisā'ī or al-Tha'labī from which to borrow their themes for the prophets' legends, extremely popular in East Africa. Also, several of the Swahili versions of the legends have their parallels in Indonesia, see J. Knappert, *The Qiṣaṣu 'l-Anbiyā' as moralistic tales*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, VI (1976), 103-26.

In written Swahili literature, the legends of the pre-Islamic prophets are always treated in verse. Full-length epic poems are extant about Adam and Eve, Job (Ayyūb) and Joseph (Yūsuf), but fragments have also come to light dealing with Mūsā, Ya'kūb, Yūnas, Sulaymān and Dāwūd, Ibrahīm (Ibrāhīm), and Zakariyyā' and 'Īsā, see Knappert, *Four Swahili epics*, London 1964; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 2, idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, I, ch. 3. Many of these legends, and especially those with miraculous elements, circulate in oral tradition, see Knappert, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, London 1970. It is

probable that these tales have come to the Swahili Coast with sailors from Arabia, Persia and India, the latter country in particular seems clearly to have influenced Swahili literature.

From this semi-religious usage, the word *kissa* (now spelt *hisa* with purely Swahili plural *visa*) acquired an extended range of meaning to that of "miraculous tale in general", "fairly tale of the type found in the *Alf layla wa-layla* collection" [q.v.] The connection here is obvious, since many of the latter tales are variations on *Kisas al-anbiyā'* themes or employ their characters, e.g. the tale of the fisherman who found a bottle that had been sealed by King Salomon, a tale well known amongst the Swahili. These prose stories were not written down by the Swahili themselves, but missionaries with folkloric interests collected them in the 19th century; see e.g. E. Steere, *Swahili tales*, London 1869, and C. Velthe, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Berlin 1898. These *visa* were never composed in verse, until very recently, whereas the *hadithi*, traditions about the Prophet Muhammad or other holy men, were often composed in verse and written down, in Arabic script of course. As well as the above two genres, traditional Swahili storytellers distinguish also the *ngano*, an invented tale or fable, of which last there are several in Swahili oral literature, some apparently derived from the Indian treasure house of fables, of the type represented in Islamic literature by *Kalila wa-Dimna* [q.v.] and the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [see KAGHATI].

It is only in the last thirty years or so that the word *hisa* has come to be used in the meaning of the modern novel, though Swahili novels have another the extended treatment nor sophistication of European-language novels. Indeed, secular Swahili prose literature as a medium for artistic expression is still very much in its infancy. In the earlier, traditional society, prose was the vehicle for the conveyance of factual information, such as topics of history, law and theology. Artistic expression was channelled exclusively into poetry, even for subjects that in the West have not been represented in poetry for a century or so, such as theology and the rules of personal behaviour. Fable and fairy tale belonged to the realm of the (often illiterate) story-teller. The short story and novel have only come to the scene a generation after the influence of English literature, bringing with it an entirely new appreciation of the possibilities of prose writing, has affected the minds and creative faculties of Africans educated in mission secondary schools. Hence a major problem is now the adaptation of the Swahili language—previously largely a trade language, apart from its function in didactic and epic literature, where it has been bound by rigid conventions—into a flexible, modern medium for literature and belles lettres.

The names of some recent Swahili novelists, with details of their works, are given below. No claim to completeness nor to any attempt at ranking in importance can be given, in view of the uncertain future course of development of Swahili prose. Muhammad Said Abdullah has written the first Swahili detective novel, *Mvua ya mali ya kale* "The ghost of the old people" (1960), with a sequel *Kisima cha Gisingi* "Mrs Gisingi's well" (1968), in both, the chief character is Bwana Msa, a taciturn, pipe-smoking detective, obviously inspired by Sherlock Holmes. A. J. Amir's *Nahodā fikirani* "A captain in thoughts" (1971) is a semi-historical novel describing life on the Swahili Coast and to sea. Haji Chuma's first novel is *Kisa cha ndugu saba* "The tale of the seven brothers" (1969), after his two epics *Vita vya Uhud* "The battle of Uhud" and the unpublished *Utenzi wa Nushuru* "The Day of Judgment", born in Zanzibar, he writes within the Islamic tradition. David Dra is a writer of short stories (*hadīth*) in the Islamic tradition, and one of the first modern writers in this genre. Abdullah Saleh Farsy, from a prominent family of Islamic scholars in Zanzibar, has written *Kurwa na Ndoto* "K and N," about two young people getting married, with a concentration on the rites and ceremony of the Swahili wedding. Salim A. Kibao's *Malafu ya thamani* "Three priceless proverbs" (1975) describes how these proverbs save the life of a young man who buys them and make him into a king, the story has echoes of the Kur'ānic Yūsuf story so popular in Swahili. G Ngugi wa Thiongo's novels are set in central Kenya and have the life of the Kikuyu as their background. *Mlawa mweusi* "The black hermit" and *Usilie mpenzi wangu* "Don't cry, my darling". F. V. Nkwera's *Mtasha wa habu saa nadhi* "The one who buries his father will receive his blessing" (1967) is partly autobiographical. Abdulla Shariff Omar's *Kosa cha Hasan al Basri* "The story of Hasan al-Basir" is an adventure story in the Arabian Nights' mould, still very popular in Swahili. Shaaban Robert is the only Swahili author of more than local fame, a poet, essayist and storyteller, and a writer of fine prose with a strong religious philosophy behind it; his *Kusadikika* "The credible country" (1951, 1960) and *Utubora* "Human excellence" both have moral implications behind their stories. John Ndeti Semba's *Alipanda pepo na kuvuna tufani* "He planted the wind and reaped the storm" (1969) and *Kuishi kwingi na kuona mengi* "To live long is to see much" (1968) both deal with the author's own experiences in up-country Kenya.

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(J. KNAPPERT)

8. In Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber

The written and oral Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber literature is a genre of intellectual activity which has a place in the cultural field of the Muslim West which is by no means negligible. In this sphere of the expression of Jewish thought, the *kissa* enjoys a certain favour both among the educated and among the wider public and the masses. The themes and genres are very varied: rhymed versions of Biblical stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or of lament (*hinot*), eulogies, and panegyrical and hagiographical pieces glorifying the saints of Palestine in Jewish antiquity (Rabbi Shim'on Bar Yohay, buried at Meron in Galilee, and Rabbi Me'ir Ba'al Hanes, buried at Tiberias) or local saints (Mūlāy Ishāq, Rabbi Ḥayā Lakhḍar, etc.), venerated by means of *hillulas* and by local pilgrimages. Also connected with the *kissa* are the songs of folklore celebrating family ceremonies (e.g. *rites de passage* such as circumcisions, burials and periods of mourning), except that these form a genre devoid of any literary or intellectual pretentions, made up in a language closer to the local spoken tongues, whilst the *kissa* proper has a more studied form and a more precise expression. It is written in a special language, comparable to the *malḥūn*, a kind of poetic found in Arabic dialect given literary touches, largely stripped of Hebraisms or outside linguistic influences, and generally to be understood by the Jewish communities of the Maghrib as a group, even though differing from the current spoken language.

As well as the folkloric setting which it describes

and the precious linguistic materials which it represents, the *kiṣṣa* reveals on examination deep structures and a content attaching it, on the one hand, to the general cultural ambience of the Maghrib, but on the other, to universal Jewish thought. A rigorous and minute analysis of the written text or the oral discourse, and of their direct or allusive references, throws light on their literary formula and on a cultural substratum of great richness.

The present author has given a sketch of all this in various publications (*REI*, *REJ*, *JA*, *ROMM*, etc.). Thus *L'histoire de Job en judéo-arabe du Maroc*, in *REI* (1968), 279-315, surveys a considerable number of Jewish, Arab Muslim, Morisco and Coptic chronicles and legends, the (Greek) apocryphal text of the Testament of Job, as well as the conflicts and speculations of the Biblical text.

The pieces involving parodies, published in *REJ*, cxxviii (1969), 377-93, as *La parodie dans la littérature hébraïque et judéo-arabe, folklore de Purim au Maroc*, borrow from local ceremonies, the Jewish homiletic literature of the *Midrash* and *Aggadah*, and Arab-Muslim legends. *L'hymne à Bar Yohay*, in *REJ*, cxxvii (1968), 366-82, is a *kiṣṣa* from Tinghir of the Todgha which derives its sources from local mystical folklore combined with the texts of the Zohar, the Kabbalah, the Talmud and the *Midrash*.

(H. ZAFRANI)

KIST [see MAḤĀYIL].

KI-SWAHILI [see SWAHILI].

KIṬ'A [see MUKATTA'A].

KITĀB (A., pl. *kutub*) "book". The beginnings of the Arabic book go back to the early Islamic period. According to traditions, sheets (*ṣuḥuf*) with verses of the Kur'ān were collected and put between wooden covers (*lawḥayn*, *daffatayn*,) kept thus and called by the Ethiopian word for "book", *muṣḥaf*/*maṣḥaf* [q.v.]. Following Christian and Jewish patterns, this form of a codex was generally maintained for the Holy Book since the authoritative redaction done under 'Uthmān by that means, the Kur'ān was distinguished, by its material form, from profane writings in rolls made of papyrus [see QIRṬĀS] and from the *ḥisāb* pure and simple which meant, in that early period, "something written", "notes", "list" or "letter". As writing material, sheets of parchment [see JILD, RAḲḲ, ṬIRṢ] were used, which, folded into four pages and placed within one another, became quires (*karārīs*); it is uncertain whether these quires were sometimes stitched. Presumably covers made of wood or papyrus were covered over and kept together with leather and, like contemporary Coptic or later Islamic covers, decorated with coloured wood, bone or ivory.

With the rise of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, books and book knowledge, additional to knowledge of the Kur'ān, became a general aim of Islamic society. The interest of the government was evoked by questions concerning the legitimation of its power and by problems of administration connected with these questions, as a background to the theocratic claim to power [see MIḤ'ŪNIYYA]. During this period Arabic learning concerning problems of theology [see MU'TAZILA], *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, history, philology, etc. and medicine, alchemy, etc., had its heyday, and this florescence was connected with the emergence and spread of rag paper [see KĀGHAD] from the end of the 2nd/8th century onwards. These scholars wrote books at the suggestion of or on order from the caliphs and the ruling classes, in the expectation of being honoured by presents and payments, in opposition to the organs of state and their policies, or just for the sake of belief (cf. Sūra LXVIII, 1; XCVI, 4). Apart from treatises on different subjects, general works were written by authors who were employed as secretaries or *ḥādis* in state chanceries and offices, where the rather expensive writing materials were at their disposal. Others copied books not only for personal purposes, but for their living; moreover, they dealt in paper, ran a bookshop or a book bindery, or combined one with one the other. It is surprising to note how quickly books were widely disseminated and did not remain confined to schools and learned institutions [see MADRASA], where also notes taken in lectures, enlarged by additional material, were made into books. Certain kinds of transmission of books and their authentication, including lists of students in a lecture audience, were formed [see IJĀZA], adoptations or quotations from other works were often marked by special terms, texts and copies were compared with each other, collated, complemented and glossed. In writing rooms which were sometimes associated to public libraries [see MAKTABA] books were multiplied commercially. An author could safeguard himself against dubious activities of scribes in these writing rooms through issuing his books by authorisation, only, e.g. al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [q.v.]) himself wrote a *nuskha* in 700 copies of his *Maḳāmāt*, during a period of ten years. The production of such books and their trade was immense in quantity and was widespread. Titles of books which had in the past been simple and short became ornate and flowery in the course of time, consisting of two phrases rhyming with one another (*sadʿ*). First the titles were given in the prefaces, which usually contained the author's name and which started on a b-page, later the previous page (a-page) became the title page with the author's name. Already in this period, autographs or copies made by learned men or calligraphers [see e.g. IBN AL-NAWWĀJA] were sold for high prices. There was a big demand for the libraries of learned men; some of them went to pious bequests [see WAḲF], others were put into the stocks of an academy when an attachment to heretical ideas of their deceased owner was known. Bibliophiles, from the caliph to the craftsman, competed in searching for valuable or rare books. As early as the *Fihrist* of Ibn al Nadīm (d. 380/990 [q.v.]), compiled in 377/987, we find that this work gives, before its information on books and biographical notes on their authors or compilators, informative details about these matters. There is also the voluminous biographical literature, with its innumerable names of learned and literary men, secretaries, calligraphers, etc., and the multiplicity of manuscripts with their countless, often very personal, notes of the owners and readers, to be found in libraries situated even in remote places and containing thousands or tens of thousands of volumes. These considerable survivals, give us an ample idea about books and their quality in the Islamic Middle Ages; these books have in common one thing only, sc. the *basmala* [q.v.] at the beginning.

The upright quarto size was widespread, sizes in folio to oblong sizes being usually reserved for special occasions, e.g. presentation copies for high-ranking persons. The cover, writing materials, format and type of script [see KHAṬṬ] were determined by these purposes. The kinds of leather used for the covers, their colouring, workmanship and decoration sometimes refer to patterns of the Pre-Islamic period, e.g. in Egypt to Coptic, and in Persia to Sāsānid ones; they were developed in forms charac-

teristic for the respective countries, e.g. regarding the different kinds of workmanship in leather. Moreover, in regard to the arrangement of the areas on the covers, there are, apart from general principles like lines parallel to the edges of the book, features characteristic of certain places or periods, e.g. the treatment of the centre, and the application of innumerable geometrical patterns and ornaments in certain variations by using brasses. The triangular flap to protect the edge and the clasp and eyes, appear at an early period. Asphodelos paste was used in the Syrian Palestinian area, and paste made of wheat in South Arabia. While rag paper was used for books in general, parchment was sometimes used for copies of the Kur'ān and other de luxe editions. Fine paper imported from China was reserved for books valuable to their owners, like books of texts. These books were not written with the usual ink [see KITĀBA] only, but also with ink made of silver and gold, and their pages and lines were decorated with coloured ornaments (arabesques [q.v.]). There were always illuminations [see ṢŪRA, TAṢWĪR], in spite of the prohibition of depicting living beings with a *rūḥ* or soul, but these were exceptional. A quire (*kurrāsa*) usually consisted of five double sheets, and several quires combined together, sometimes by chain stitches, made a sewn book. The quires were marked by consecutive numbers which were written out in words, and the right order of the sheets was controlled by catch-words, which appear early. The pagination of sheets or, sometimes, of pages, is only found later or in modern times; the pagination of sheets was more widespread. Many books ended with a colophon containing the name of the scribe, and often the date as well as, though not as often, the place, but in certain cases, the dates given there are not correct; e.g. when taken from texts which had been copied. For the post-Mongol period, the following features of the books should be noted. The sizes and the writing became smaller, and the kinds of paper became thinner, stronger and smoother. Coloured paper was used and, from the Ottoman period, imported paper from Europe also, firstly from Italy, and with watermarks. The ink became darker and more shiny; the writing surfaces were framed with lines in different colours or in gold, and an *'unwān* [q.v.] was drawn on the first page of a book. Owner's stamps appear in considerable number for the late period, and bookbinders' brasses with their names shaped like a medallion, can be found on the covers, even on lacquered ones. Splendid, calligraphic specimens of large size, with covers superbly wrought (these being mostly works of Persian poetry), often illuminated by unique miniatures), were produced mainly at the courts of the Timūrids, Ṣafawids, Mughals and Ottomans, splendid copies of the Kur'ān were produced also at the court of the Mamlūks. The painter is often identical with the decorator, the "gilder" (*zarkashī*), he came next in prestige to the highranking calligrapher. The bookbinders formed their own guild from the time of Bayazīd II (886-918/1481-1512 [q.v.]) onwards. Even after the introduction of printing [see MAṬBAʿA], books were written by hand, increasingly by European ink and nibs, and bound in the traditional way until the beginning of this century.

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(R. SELLHEIM)

KITĀB al-DJILWA, one of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs [q.v.], which with the *Maṣḥafrēš* contains the fundamentals of their religion. As the religious language of the Yazīdīs is Kurdish and all the prayers of the Yazīdīs known to us are in Kurdish (for example, the chief prayer, the morning prayer, the formulae used at baptism and circumcision, the proclamation at the assembly of the *sanǧāḳ*, and God Himself in the apocryphal continuation of the *Maṣḥaf-rēš* speaks Kurdish), it is rather remarkable that these two sacred books, the existence of which has long been known and of which copies of the originals have come into the possession of Europeans, should be in Arabic, namely the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* (*Kitēb-i Jilwa*), the "Book of Revelation" (the form *Djalwa* which Sharaf al-Dīn gives from the manuscripts available to him, seems to be a slip on the part of the copyist), and the *Maṣḥaf-rēš*, the "black book", "black" obviously means something sacred, for example God descends upon the "Black Mountain" (*Maṣḥaf*, xvi). The explanation of the name from the forbidden words, said to be covered over with black wax, is wrong, as in this case the Kur'ān is substituted as the sacred book of the Yazīdīs.

Father Anastase Marie of Baghdād was the first to succeed in getting exact tracings of the alleged

original parchment copies of the two sacred books by bribing the keeper of the books of the Sindjār in 1904 6; they were written in Kurdish in a simple transposition cipher. The text written in this cipher shows clearly that it was copied from an original written in Arabic script. The possibility of a fraud was, however, not excluded especially as, stimulated by the interest of European scholars in Yazidī beliefs, sharp guarantors in Mawsil were always endeavouring to discover new texts. Mingana endeavoured to show that a former Nestorian monk of the Alkoš monastery, named Shamm̄ās Ēraḫā Shāmir of the diocese of Kirkūk, who died in 1906, forged all the texts published by Chabot, Gianoli, Isya Joseph and Browne, but the authenticity of the Kurdish text was accepted in Bittner's monograph, *Die heiligen Bücher der Jesiden oder Teufelsanbeter*, with *Nachtrag*, in the *Denkschriften d. Wiener Ak. d. Wiss.*, lv, Vienna 1913. The syntax of the text is, according to Edmonds, basically that of the present day dialect of *Sulaymānī Kurdish*. Both Bittner and Edmonds agree that the Kurdish version is not the original, but must be a translation from the Arabic, as some linguistic peculiarities suggest (plays on words which are unintelligible in Kurdish).

The *Kitāb-i Djilwā* might nevertheless conceivably have been originally written in Kurdish, as the Kurdish text is in many passages more lucid and coherent than the Arabic, while in the *Mashaf rēš*, the Arabic text is better than the Kurdish. According to Sharaf al-Dīn, the *Kitāb al Djilwa* in its present form could not have been written by an Arab, as the language is modern; there are a number of expressions which are either not used in classical Arabic or only came into use very late. In places also the construction is un-Arabic. These considerations could, of course, be arguments in favour of a recent forgery. The Arabic of the *Mashaf rēš* is even more modern, as it shows undeniably the influence of the spirit of Otto-man Turkish.

So far, we know of at least four versions of the two sacred books: one in the possession of O. Parry in 1895; one in the hands of Isya Joseph, who possessed two versions in addition to the one published in *AJSL*, xxv; two procured by Father Anastase Marie, one of which, the so called Sindjār version, was copied in 1869 by a Sindjār Yazīdī for a Yazīdī apostate, while the other was copied in 1904 by Anastase himself from the original in the possession of a Mawsilī.

The *Kitāb-i Djilwā* (also *Kitb-i Djalwā*, *Diclwa*), the original of which according to Joseph was in 1892 still in the house of Molla Haydar in Bā'adhrayya and was taken twice a year to the tomb of Shaykh 'Adī, is quite short. In book form it covers 8 pages and has 209 lines. It is ascribed to the reputed founder of the religion, Shaykh 'Adī (d. 555/1160 or 557/1162, see 'Adī b. Musāfir) who is said to have dictated it to Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn.

The fact that the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* is not mentioned in the *Rasā'il ahl 'l-Rāfida wa-Yazīdiyya et mukhālifīn fī 'l-milla al-islāmiyya al muhammadiyya* written in 725/1325 by the well informed Ibn Djamīl (Abū Firās 'Ubayd Allāh) who belonged to the Euphrates district, nor in al-Makrīzī in connection with his description of the destruction and burning of the tomb and bones of Shaykh 'Adī in 817/1414, makes Sharaf al-Dīn think its date of composition cannot be put earlier than 725/1325 or 827/1424. As Ewliyā Čelebī does not mention the work, this would bring the date even further down, to 1655.

The above facts seem rather to indicate, however, that the Yazīdīs have been able to maintain the secret of the book with success. In spite of the advantages which might have accrued to them as *ahl al-kitāb*, they have preferred to deny their possession of sacred books. Only in the Catechism of the Shaykh Hasan Ismā'īl Bek 'Abdī Bek Oghlu Nazlī Rāhānī Yazīdī for the Russian Yazīdīs is there a reference to "the glorious *Djilwa*", *Gylawan*, as a source of the tradition.

The contents of the *Kitāb i Djilwā*, the form and text of which are in keeping with its high purpose, are as follows. Melek Tāwūs who existed before all creatures sent 'Abṭāwūs (= 'Abd Tawūs = Shaykh 'Adī) into the world in order to guide rightly his chosen people, the Yazīdīs, by oral instruction and later by means of the *Kitāb-i Djilwā* which no outsider may read (preface). He then speaks in the first person of his pre existence and eternality, his omnipotence over all other creators and gods (not "creatures" as in the Arabic), of his omnipresence and *providence*, the erroneousness of other sacred books and the clear perceptibility of good and evil, his rule over the world and his inscrutable decree, to which in every age we owe the sending of a great man upon earth (ch. 2). Further, he deals with his power of rewarding and punishing, which also allows those who do not deserve it to receive benefits, with the dying of a true Yazīdī and the migration of souls (ch. 2); he says that he alone has power to dispose of the creatures and things of the world (ch 3). He warns against strange doctrines, so far as they contradict his own ones, and against three unnamed things, and promises his followers his powerful protection if they keep together (ch 4). He asks that his cult and the orders of himself and his servants should be followed (ch. 5).

The *Mashaf-rēš* is more comprehensive. The Yazīdī Kurdish original is in the form of rolls and contains 152 lines in cipher. It is much more mundane and banal and less coherent than the *Kitāb Djilwā*. It is full of contradictions and breaks off abruptly. According to tradition, it was composed about 200 years after Shaykh 'Adī (ca 743/1342) by the great Hasan al Baṣrī [q.v.]. The original was said to have been at one time in the house of the Kahāye 'Alī to Kasr 'Azz al-Dīn near Semail on the Tigris, but it seems now to be in Sindjār like the *Kitāb-i Djilwā*.

Cosmogony. In a very confused fashion, without divisions into chapters, the *Mashaf rēš* deals with the creation of the world in three contradictory versions. According to what seems to be the more original story of the creation, God completed the creation alone. He made a white pearl which he put on the back of a bird Anfar (in many manuscripts, Anghar) created by him and was enthroned on it for 40,000 years. He then created the seven angels of God who are identified with the mystic *Shaykhs*.

On the Sonday, God created 'Azrā'īl (Azāzīl, Zazā'īl) = Melek Tāwūs, who is supreme over everything, on the Monday Melek Dardā'īl = Shaykh Hasan (al Baṣrī). The Yazīdī pronunciation is Shēkhsin, as the invocation in the chief Yazīdī prayer shows (Sydjadin Shēkhyain = Sadjdjād al-Dīn Shaykh Hasan) (the conclusions which have been drawn from an alleged *Shaykh* Sīn who is compared with the moon god *Sin*, e.g. by Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*', Paris 1922, 200 n. 2, are quite wrong); on Tuesday he created Melek Isrāfā'īl (Isrāfīl) = Shaykh Shams (al-Dīn), on Wednesday Melek Mikā'īl = Shaykh Abū Bakr,

on Thursday Melek Djibrā'īl = Sadīkādīn (Sidkādīn, Sadīdi'l al-Dīn); on Friday Melek Shamnā'īl (Shamnā'īl, Semanā'īl) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; on Saturday Melāk Tūrā'īl (Nūrā'īl) = Fakhr al-Dīn.

Then he created the seven heavens, the earth, sun, and moon, whereupon the last named angel of God Fakhr al-Dīn took over the rest of the work of creation and created man and the animals.

God now came out of the pearl with the angels and caused it to burst into four pieces with a loud cry. On the ore which was formed by the water rushing out of the pearl, God sailed for 30,000 years in a ship created by him. Djibrā'īl, created in the form of a bird, created from the pieces of the pearl sun, moon and stars, the mountains, plants, fruit trees and the heavens (cf on the rôle of the pearl, M. Mokri, *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes fidèles de vérité (Ahl-e Ḥaqq)*, in *JA* [1960], 463-81).

Parallel with this is the rather different conception of the seven deities, who arising through emanation, are light of the light of God just as light is lit from light, and among them the supreme god, Khudā, only appears as *premus inter pares*.

The statements regarding the creation of the religious community of 'Asrā'īl (= Melek Ṭāwūs) i.e. the Yazīdīs, to whom God sent Shaykh 'Adī from Shām (Syria) to Lālish (*q.v.*), are fragmentary, as are the statements regarding the descendants of Shahr b. Safar the son of Adam and Eve, the ancestors of mankind. After God had been worshipped for 40,000 years by the 30,000 newly-created angels, he created Adam out of the four elements with the active assistance of Djibrā'īl and put him in Paradise, ordering him to eat of all the fruits of the earth, except wheat (according to one Yazīdī legend, the prohibition concerned grapes).

When, after 100 years, Melek Ṭāwūs reminded God that there could be no increase in Adam's race, God gave him permission to do what he thought fit. Melek Ṭāwūs induced Adam to eat of the forbidden wheat, whereupon Adam who had as yet no opening in his bowels was driven out of Paradise by Melek Ṭāwūs and suffered great discomfort until God sent a bird to pick an orifice in him. After another 100 years, God sent Djibrā'īl to create Eve from the lower part of Adam's left armpit.

Another story of the creation in the *Maṣḥaf reš* says that God, who was sailing about on the ocean on a ship created by Him, created a pearl but crushed it after 40 years; from its cry of pain arose the mountains, from the noise the hills and from its vapour the heavens. God then created six other deities by emanation from His light. Each of these deities in their turn then created something: the first the heavens, the second became the sun, the third the moon, the fourth created the heroines, the fifth the morning-star and the sixth the atmosphere.

There are further a few confused statements regarding the very early history of the Yazīdīs in the *Maṣḥaf*, which include a few features worth noting after Melek Ṭāwūs had given Eve to Adam as a companion, he descended to earth to the Yazīdīs who, as descendants of Adam alone, had nothing in common with the rest of mankind. He appointed for them as far the Assyrians, who had been in existence from the earliest times, rulers namely: Nashrūḥ (Nasrūkh, Asavr, Nasrech) = Nāṣir al-Dīn, Djambūsh (Kāmūsh = Kamos) = Melek Fakhr al-Dīn and Artēmesh (Artimīs = Artemis) = Melek Shams al-Dīn. After them Shābūr (Shāpūr) I and II reigned for 150 years. From him, all their notables are descended, especially the family of the Yazīdī princes. The Yazīdīs had four rulers not definitely named. One of their kings, Ābāb, ordered names of their own to be given to them (which names is not stated). Ilah Ābāb (i.e. Ba'labakk) is now called Pirbāb. Among other Yazīdī rulers were Bukhtnaṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) in Babel, Akhashwerosh (Akhashverosh) in Persia and Aghrinkalūs (Aghrikalūs) in Constaetmople.

The *Maṣḥaf* further contains prohibitions. The forbidden foods include lettuce (Yaz. *kāsū*, Arab. *ḥass*, which is prohibited on account of the resemblance of the name to that of the prophetess Khāsla); beans (*lobiā*); fish (*māsi* = *mākī*, on account of the prophet Yūnān = Yūnus), gazelles (*āsek*); for the *shaykh* and his disciples, the flesh of poultry (*kāzhir*) and gourds (*kāzhā*) are forbidden.

As among the Sabians, the colour dark blue is prohibited. The following are also expressly forbidden: to micturate standing, to dress while sitting down, to use a closet and to wash in a bathroom (bath and closet are regarded as the abode of evil spirits). It is forbidden to pronounce the following words: *shaytān* ("the name of their god"); *bayṭān* (noose), *shaṭṭ* (stream), *sharr* (evil); *mal'ūn* (accursed), *la'na* (curse) and *nafṭ* (horseshoe).

Not mentioned in the *Maṣḥaf*, but traditionally regarded as forbidden, are words beginning with *shīn* also *saraṭān* ("crab"); *bayḍa* ("hedges"); *bustān* ("vegetable garden"); *baṭṭ* ("duck"), *naṭṭ* ("jump") and others; reading and writing, shaving and complete removal of the moustache are also forbidden, as are the use of combs and razors belonging to others, taking wood from sacred forests, the rearing of bastards and drinking from gurgling vessels.

Bibliography: Cf. the Bibl. of the article YAZĪDĪ in *EI*[1], Ismā'īl Beg Ċōl, *al-Yazīdiyya ḥaḍīran wa-bādiyan*... ("The Yazīdīs past and present"), ed. C. Zurayk, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series No. 6, Beirut 1934, cf. thereon R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, XXII (1935), 323-4; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yézidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjâr*, Beirut 1938, T. Bois, *Les Yézidis. Essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Machriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 290-247; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967, 49-56, 87-8 (TH. MENZEL*)

KITĀBA [see Supplement]

KITĀBĀT (A.), inscriptions.

1. Islamic epigraphy in general.

The study of Arabic inscriptions today constitutes a science full of promise, an auxiliary science to be sure, but a science indispensable to the scholarly exploitation of a whole category of authentic texts capable of throwing light on the civilisation in the context of which they were written. From a very early period, seeing that the first dated Arabic inscription available to us goes back to the year 31/652 and that we are aware of previous inscriptions and graffiti known as "proto-Arabic", there appeared in Islamic circles the practice of engraving, on stone or other hard material, in a more or less skilful fashion, the symbols then used in so-called archaic Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. This practice subsequently spread, benefiting from the prestige soon to be enjoyed by a writing capable of giving material embodiment to and preserving the very letter of the Kur'ānic revelation while responding to the needs of the new society born simultaneously with the Arab-Islamic empire and state. This corpus

of inscriptions drawn up in the Arabic language, disseminated and preserved up to the present day throughout a particularly vast geographical region, that of the Muslim countries where Arabic writing was practised, may today be suitably considered in its entirety, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the massive scale of the regions in question and in the inadequacies of the researches hitherto undertaken.

In its capacity as an original discipline, Arabic epigraphy, in common with the subsidiary sciences which it more or less borders on, like numismatics, glyptic or diplomatic for example, or even those which it partially overlaps, like palaeography *stricto sensu*, was among the disciplines subjected to specific study, at the end of the 19th century, by enthusiastic Western scholars curious about Oriental civilisations. Its methods, inspired principally by those of classical epigraphy, and the first attempts at their application, were owed to their zeal. It enabled various Western Arabist and Islamic scholars to obtain historical and archaeological results which guaranteed its vigour. It was not however until several decades later that it came to be recognised as a science by Arabic speakers themselves, in regions where the traditional taste for calligraphy had hitherto reigned unchallenged but had never taken the form of the searching out or the study of texts of this type decorating the walls of buildings or the surfaces of pieces of furniture, it is in fact no accident that the early Arab sources, anxious to describe the stages in the development of writing and to give the names of its eminent exponents, mention only the names of copyists or scribes distinguished in their use of the pen, while remaining silent on the bene of so-called lapidary writing and refer only exceptionally to the existence of the monumental graphic compositions that are so remarkable.

A modern science therefore by its very definition, Arabic epigraphy saw some of its rules codified as a result of the personal efforts of the Swiss orientalist Max van Berchem. The attention which this passionate enquirer tirelessly brought to bear on the remains of Arabic inscriptions preserved in Egypt and in Syria was in fact accompanied by a detailed consideration on his part of the fundamental principles according to which their study should best be conducted, some spectacular initial progress was marked in his lifetime and under his inspiration by the establishment of the first corpora of Arabic inscriptions

This progress went far beyond anything that had been previously attempted They should not, however, condemn to oblivion those earlier efforts which can be set back as far as the 18th century with reference to Tychsen, but which owed most of all, at the beginning of the 19th century, to the personality of J J Marcel, the French palaeographer, a member of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, who devoted his energies to deciphering reproducing and annotating in tentative fashion some Kūfic inscriptions of Cairo with the aim of gaining insights into the evolution of ancient Arabic writing. His studies, like the works of other pioneers upon whom there is no space to expatiate here (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques étapes et perspectives de l'épigraphie arabe*, in *SI*, xvii [1962], 5-22, also the references in epigraphy in the detailed historical chapter entitled *Die Entwicklung der arabischen Paläographie* in *Abendlande*, in A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Graz-Vienna Cologne 1967, 32-85), gave clear indications of what was to follow. They even gave birth, alongside the ambitious and fruitless efforts of Lanci for example, to works that remain, even today, as indispensable for reference purposes as is the catalogue of inscriptions on objets d'art drawn up by Reinaud in connection with an important collection of his time (Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans et turcs du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, 2 vols., Paris 1828) The uneven quality of the results obtained emphasised even at this early stage the difficulties of a sphere where the best-conceived programmes—and this was the case with J. J. Marcel's programme at the dawn of the 19th century—most often came into confrontation with insurmountable obstacles of a material order and where the enthusiastic work of numerous specialists failed on every occasion to satisfy requirements, the importance of which they themselves had understood and asserted.

In fact, it was not at that time solely a case of showing that Arabic inscriptions deserved to be collected in the same way as Greek and Latin inscriptions. There was also a need to work rapidly in the field of new research, where the volume of exploitable documentation was remarkably copious. The initiative was taken by Max van Berchem when, having produced a large number of manifestos in commendation of Arabic epigraphy, he published, in the early years of the 20th century, the first volume of his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. But his ambitious and authoritative project of publishing systematically, region by region and monument by monument, a corpus of hitherto neglected epigraphic material soon had to be abandoned. The exemplary collections of inscriptions which he himself accomplished or supervised with regard to Cairo (M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypte* i, Cairo 1894-1903, *Mém. mission arch. fr.*, xix), Tripoli (M. Sobernheim, *CIA Syrie du Nord* i, Cairo 1909, MIFAO, xxv), Siwās and Diyārbakr (M. van Berchem and H. Edhem, *CIA Asie mineure*, i, Cairo 1910-17, *MIFAO*, xxix) and finally Jerusalem (M. van Berchem, *CIA Syrie du Sud*, Cairo 1920-3, *MIFAO*, xlii xliv), were followed, after his death in 1921, only by a later supplement on Cairo (G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, Cairo 1929-30, *MIFAO*, lii) and the publication still later, in the form of posthumous work taken over by other hands, of the results of a survey of Aleppo begun by Morita Sobernheim, in the lifetime of Max van Berchem, and subsequently resumed by Ernst Herzfeld and Etienne Combe (*Syrie du Nord*, ii, Cairo 1954-6, *MIFAO*, lxxvi-lxxvii)

The terrain prospected on this basis remains, at present, minimal in comparison with that approached by less complete studies. Certainly there are other works of broad scope, undertaken in a different spirit, which also deserve mention. These have striven for example to deal with the question in their own way with regard to countries where Arabic inscriptions attracted attention at a very early stage the inventories of Michele Amari for Sicily (*Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, Iscrizioni edite*, Palermo 1875, *Iscrizione sepolcrali*, 1879 81, *Iscrizione mobili e domestiche*, 1885, re-edited by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971) or of E. Lévi-Provençal for Spain (*Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden 1931), not to mention the various fascicules published in Calcutta under the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. But beside these, of far greater number are studies that are currently out of date, such as the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie* (G. Colin, *Département d'Alger*, Paris 1902, and G. Mercier,

Département de Constantine, Paris 1902), works that have quite recently been supplemented by the various published fascicules of the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie* (1st part: S M Zbiss, *Inscriptions de Tunis et de sa banlieue*, Tunis 1955, *Inscriptions de Gorjani*, Tunis 1962, *Inscriptions de Monastir* Tunis 1962), or the volumes devoted to various epigraphic collections of the Iberian region (M Ocaña Jimenez, *Repertorio de inscripciones árabes de Almería*, Madrid-Granada, 1964; G. Rosselo-Bordoy, *Corpus basar de epigrafia árabe*, Mallorca 1975; F. Valderrama Martinez, *Inscripciones árabes de Toledo*, Madrid 1975). Moreover, there are numerous tentative works which are still at the project stage, although more than ever there is an awareness of the fundamental need for studies conducted on a regional basis, taking advantage of opportunities for verification on the spot (see in this context, the remarks of Sourdel-Thomine *Perspectives nouvelles dans le domaine de l'épigraphie* in *Bulletin de la association espagnole de Orientalistas*, v [1969], 183-90, and M Sharon, *Un nouveau corpus des inscriptions arabes de Palestine*, in *REI*, xlii [1974], 185-92).

As a consequence, the uneven quality of results obtained and their partial insufficiency remain the principal defects of collections made up to the present day. This assertion, banal though it may be, cannot be passed over in silence, even if the reasons for it are easily explained in a world stretching from India to the Pyrenees and from Anatolia to Black Africa, covering an immense territory that is little-known from an archaeological point of view and of which certain parts are particularly difficult of access, and which in any case considerably overstepps the limits assigned today to the Arab world as strictly defined. It is not only that Arabic inscriptions are dotted throughout areas that have since reverted to a desert state and that some provinces laboured at a late stage, like Anatolia, are not the least rich in hitherto unsuspected treasures; but there is also the fact that these inscriptions that have remained so long outside the canon of research are also distinguished by their diversity of appearance according to the regions, as witnesses to a society where writing, spread broadly throughout all areas, was subject to numerous stylistic variations [see KHAṬṬ]. The difficulties of decipherment are thus magnified by the effect of these local practices, and the traits and qualities peculiar to Arabic writing itself from the time of its appearance, which have subsequently conditioned its development, continue to be partially responsible for the shortcomings of a discipline where scientific progress is confronted by uncertain readings and by problematic interpretation of scripts, since there are numerous instances where letters are easily confused and uncertainties are further multiplied and complicated by a concern for ornamentation, which in most cases takes priority over legibility (cf. R Ettinghausen, *Arabic epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation*, in *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. K. Kouymjian, Beirut 1974, 297 317).

Such conditions were hardly favourable to the intensive and systematic publication of documents in the series of *Matériaux pour un Corpus* inaugurated by van Berchem. They were no more favourable to the establishment of the other fundamental study apparatus envisaged a little later by Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet in the form of a *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* which had the object of assembling, year-by-year and in an approximately geographical order, the texts of Arabic inscriptions already published, accompanied by their French translation and indispensable bibliographical information. To be sure, sixteen successive volumes of this *Répertoire* (Cairo, FIFAO, 1931 ff.) have so far appeared and more than six thousand inscriptions have been edited covering the first eight centuries of the Muslim era. But since 1931, the date at which the enterprise was begun, the rhythm of discoveries has been more rapid than the rhythm at which the inventory has been assembled; the latter remains incomplete and today it swarms with inaccuracies in its most ancient sections, making it a vehicle for defective copies and sometimes of duplications. Even to consult it, in its present state of incompleteness, is to encounter difficulties which are barely alleviated by the publication of the *Index géographique* to its first six volumes, quite recently brought about through the good offices of the Centre d'Épigraphie Arabe of the École Pratique des Hautes Études IVe section of Paris. Even if it may be hoped that forthcoming volumes (vol. xvii prepared by L. Kalus, in press), profiting from experience acquired and designed to respond to more precise critical objectives in an age where our knowledge of Arabic inscriptions has considerably developed, will avoid some of these defects, they will continue to be no less restricted by the inadequacies of the previous publications on which they cannot help being based.

The *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* is, in any case, the only existing attempt at systematic grouping of inscriptions, in a sphere where the means employed are, to this day, seldom sufficient for the extent of the tasks to be accomplished. Also to be asserted is the almost total absence of studies of Arabic epigraphy constructed on the principle of the series, the non existence of functional corpora, organised according to material and category for example, the only means permitting a thorough investigation of the limited types of documents which inscriptions are, by definition. It is appropriate to mention in this connection, insofar as concerns the signatures of craftsmen, the inventories, designed to form a *Corpus of Muslim artists*, with which L. A. Mayer hoped to bring about a re-evaluation of our knowledge concerning the artistic schools as well as the functioning of their influences, and the publication of which was, also, interrupted soon after the death of the inaugurator of the collection (see Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956, *Islamic astrolabists and their works*, Geneva 1958, *Islamic metalworkers and their works*, Geneva 1959, *Islamic armourers and their works*, Geneva 1962).

The bibliographical guides and the synthesised surveys are also inadequate to enable a confident orientation in a mass of studies that are too often indebted to fortuitous discoveries and consequently scattered through the most diverse of volumes, ranging from "epigraphic appendices" accompanying reports of explorations, accounts of journeys or archaeological publications to museum catalogues or monographs dealing with themes such as Islamology, history, palaeography or even aesthetics. Such in fact is the variety of subjects covered by Arabic inscriptions of an equally varied interest. Such also is the slow progress of research, which has been principally concerned with a copious proliferation of notes, correspondences and brief articles of unfortunately uneven quality.

Nor do we have at our disposal, it should finally

he made clear, manuals providing an introduction to Arabic epigraphy and guiding the efforts of those who wish to become conversant with it, familiarity with the works of their predecessors, especially with the articles of Max van Berchem, loaded with methodology (*Notes d'archéologie arabe*, I and II, in *JA* [1892], i, 421-495, and [1894], i, 377-407 *Recherches archéologiques en Syrie* in *JA* [1895], ii, 485-515, in particular *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. égyptien*, iii, 417-520), with the volumes already mentioned of the *Matériaux pour un Corpus* and the specimen publications of subtly-deciphered and annotated inscriptions offered by some articles of J. Sauvaget (such as his publication of the *Diarra mamelouks de Syrie*, in *BEO*, ii [1932], 1-52, iii [1933], 1-29, and xii [1947-8], 5-80, as well as his *Quatre diverses seljoukides*) remains for the aspiring student the only possible path to follow, apart from various items of specific information provided here or there. More regrettable, however, is the fact that numerous aspects are to be distinguished in a body of inscriptions influenced simultaneously by regional practices and by the disparities between schools marked by the proliferation of dynastic centres. We know in fact that diverse currents presided, according to places and periods, over the drafting of inscriptions, the best of which evolved in parallel with the development and stylistic ramifications of so-called lapidary writing (which has in fact applied to various materials), a writing the history of which is an important chapter of the history of Arabic writing [*see* KHAṬṬ]. Influences of every kind were manifested here equally in the form of politico-social transformations and historical events which it would be impossible to evoke in this article in the context appropriate to each, geographically distinct, group of inscriptions.

But this continually renewed variety should not cause one to forget certain traits characteristic of Arabic inscriptions which may be underlined here, in regard to their nature and customary content, and which will enable us to stress the value of the conclusions to which their study leads.

One important feature to be emphasized is the frequency and significance of religious inscriptions, which have sometimes tended to be overlooked in cases where they are not accompanied by documents judged to be of historical interest and which for this reason, do not figure in their own right in the *Répertoire* and are only briefly mentioned in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus*. These are sometimes isolated inscriptions also capable of supplying an ornamental function on buildings, tombstones or even household objects, sometimes elements belonging to texts where in spite of the profane purpose there is an inevitable collection of pious expressions and customary doctrinal preoccupations. Here we shall assemble in particular examples of Kur'ānic quotations, professions of faith, isolated or linked to the texts of epitaphs, prayers, invocations and blessings.

These religious inscriptions appeared at the very beginning of the Islamic era among the primitive graffiti which covered a large number of the rocks of the desert (see the bibliographic references of Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscriptions et graffiti arabes d'époque umayyade, à propos de quelques publications récentes*, in *REI* [1964], 225 2e). But they were also early situated in ornamental bands forming an integral part of the architectural decor, as admirably illustrated by the interior of the Kubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*]. From this period, their essential theme has been the glorification of the Muslim faith, which could be associated with the personal nature of the testimony left behind by each traveller in the course of his wanderings, as much as with the majestic impassiveness of epigraphic compositions on a grand scale. It would not be enough, however, to say with Max van Berchem, that the dominating feature here is principally the notion of divine power which is one of the two main concepts of the Muslim spirit. Some of these texts, regarded in the most ancient cases as useful means of access to the deity, continue to act as representatives of the dominant religious feeling of the period and their formulae of praise and trust, varied to a greater or lesser extent with requests for pardons, blessings and favours, for a long time remained free of the constrictions of a stereotyped vocabulary. But even when they obeyed more rigid rules, they still maintained an authenticity enabling them to share in the expression of genuine religious options, and traits of commonplace appearance thus continued to reflect diverse doctrinal tendencies to the bosom of the Islamic community, allusions to sectarian beliefs, in the form of eulogies of a Shī'ī flavour for example, echoes of theological arguments like references to the created Kur'ān in professions of faith accompanying Egyptian epitaphs of the 3rd/9th century; maxims bearing the marks of philosophical wisdom and of mystical self-denial observed for example in the inscriptions of Shumaraïkh at Kazwīn at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Even the poetic quotations so frequent for instance in later Sicilian texts could concur to the same design, and variations in formula came to be accentuated with the fragmentation, of a religious as well as a political nature, which the Islamic world suffered towards the end of the Middle Ages (note the originality of the theological texts which adorned at that time the sanctuaries of the Twelver Shī'ī conducting the prayers on the basis of a cult of *imāms* unknown in other Muslim circles).

A common denominator in all these inscriptions may assuredly be found in the constant use of Kur'ānic quotations, multiplied to the extent that they sometimes take the place of any other form of devout reflection. But even here the choice of verses copied in whole or in part obeys specific intentions, which are discernible, if not clearly asserted, and their arrangement is sufficient to indicate the theological or judicial implications of texts which have a doctrinal value for anyone who is able to interpret them. References to *ḥadīth*, the use of extracts from the Kur'ān of a recognised propitiatory nature (the "Throne" verse, for example), the insertion of certain types of prayer, also constitute revealing elements (see in this connection, D. Sourdel, *A propos des "Dix Élus"*, in *REI*, xxxi [1963], 111-14).

It is to be regretted, however, that few Islamic scholars take an interest in material that too often continues to be strange to them, while on the other hand there is a vigorous and widespread school of thought seeking, in the light of illuminist doctrines popular in certain circles of initiates, to decipher every ancient inscription as if it were an esoteric riddle, tainted with "traditional" gnostic philosophy both Shī'ī and Iranian. In fact, besides the traditional use of certain formulae that are legible and loaded with meaning beneath the flamboyant style of the writing—such as for example the remarkable stucco compositions in "square Kūfic" on the names of the Twelve *Imāms* preserved in the sanctuary of Pīr-i Bakrān at Linjān near Iṣfahān—one might hesitate to see a hidden sense in the quasi-mechanical

repetition on certain monuments, of formulae such as *al-mulk li-llāh* "the power is God's", or, on certain pieces of pottery, of expressions of the *al-ʿāfiya* type sometimes evolving towards pseudo-inscriptions. These formulae, reproduced in the manner of respected graphic combinations, doubtless preserved no theological significance more precise than the successions of appeals, such as "fortune, prosperity blessing ... to him who possesses it" *al-yumn wa ʾl-ʿiqbāl wa ʾl-baraka*, etc. .... *li ṣāḥibihi*, which at that time were invariably inscribed on manufactured objects. The connections between sign and signified which may still be legitimately read here, are thus shown to be especially typical of a psychological climate peculiar to Muslim society in the sense of a society marked by religiosity, and correspond to the tight liaison that we have already emphasised between the character, Muslim in tenor and ornamental in appearance, of the majority of the inscriptions in this category: these are works of art endowed in this sense with a fundamental ambiguity as means of expression, both aesthetic and symbolic, of the sensibilities of their period.

A second category of inscriptions that is no less copious is subsequently represented, that of historical texts which have the object of commemorating the individual and his acts, whether the case in question is of a senior government official or of the obscure occupant of a village tomb. To this category we may add construction texts fixing the date of a certain building, title deeds and other documentation of private transactions, foundation texts indicating (according to terminology originating with van Berchem and adopted by the *RCEA*) attestations of pious donations given in perpetuity through the custom of *waḳf* [*q.v.*], funeral texts of all kinds and even the straightforward signatures of *masters* craftsmen and artists which will also be considered here. If these texts partially reflect the notion of "absolute political power" whereon van Berchem saw, according to an insufficiently qualified assertion, the second major concept of the Islamic spirit, and if their principal gravitation is such that the same epigraphist expressed it, evolving around the names of the sovereign, his titles, his major deeds and his contesting praise, they also contain much more, through the evolution that they have undergone in the course of the centuries, they give information on popular beliefs, opinions current among the wealthy or academic classes of society and the functions served or the degree of respect attained, after their death, by certain of their members, as well as on the nature of the buildings, utilitarian or decorative, that the latter took pleasure in constructing. Some of this information of obvious value in the reconstruction of the social, economic and intellectual history of the Islamic world, is accompanied also by precise revelations touching on such-and-such a point of circumstantial history or such-and-such an archaeological detail: these amply compensate for the tedium that sometimes emanates from the stereotyped phraseology and the excessive enumeration of titles that are characteristic of documents tending towards a standard official formality rather than towards any personal touch, which is rarely encountered.

Of all these texts, the most copious category is undoubtedly that of epitaphs, collections of which, either remaining *in situ* in the ancient cemeteries or transferred to museums, are on such a massive scale as to discourage the most enthusiastic researcher and in consequence have seldom been catalogued in a systematic way. The specimens published since the unique example of 31/652 and the Egyptian steles of the end of the 2nd/8th century are nevertheless sufficient to give an idea of the progressive transformation, according to places and periods, of fairly simple types of texts, where the significant features have always been religious maxims and the professions of faith already mentioned (for supplementary details and bibliography, see ḲABR). Their references to certain currents of thought deserve in fact to be given more attention than the study of the dates of inscriptions or the genealogies of the deceased where statistics directed towards onomastic and prosopography, according to local perspectives, would alone be capable, in the longer term, of maintaining interest. But neither should one ignore the titulary inscriptions which are to be noted from the 6th/12th century onward, to a period where the devaluation of titles formerly reserved for sovereigns led to the attribution, to "men of religion" and other representatives of the upper urban classes, of honorific phrases, the history of which has not yet been written and which ought to be studied in the same way as the titles of individuals serving in the higher echelons of the administration (see LAḲAB).

Besides these epitaphs, marked by a discretion of vocabulary which is maintained up to the time of the royal epitaphs of the Ghaznavid Sebüktigin (cf. 387/997) or of the Artukid Balak (d. 518/1124), there are other funerary texts which belong more emphatically to the canon of inscriptions intended to celebrate the glory of the sovereign. These are those which, from the 4th/10th century onward, accompany monumental mausolea varying considerably in architectural structure. A greater freedom of composition, already perceptible in the dated and dedicatory epigraphic friezes of the Iranian tower tombs, is shown when the opportunity offers, notably in the original version of inscriptions specially designed before his death in 607/1210-11 by ʿAlī al-Herawī [*q.v.*] for the decoration of his tomb. These texts are as valuable for the history of monuments as they are for that of the sovereigns, officials or military chiefs who chose them for the commemoration of their graves. Moreover, they become especially significant when the tombs in question are those identified by popular piety as objects of pilgrimage and supplication, whether in SHīʿī circles where the buildings of *imāms* and *imāmzādas* [*q.v.*] were widespread at a very early stage, or to a certain extent throughout the Muslim world from the 5th/11th century, when the practice of *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] developed to the proportions of a veritable "cult of saints" in honour of pious individuals renowned for their posthumous miracles, or of celebrities from the early periods of Islam commemorated now for the first time by newly-built sanctuaries: only inscriptions of sufficient antiquity may in fact give information about the original period of these devotions, inaccurately described in the literary sources, while at the same time supplying the names of rulers or wealthy patrons who promoted them. These data are also useful for the reconstruction of the complicated history of the multi-purpose architectural complexes which became numerous around the tombs of saints from the end of the 7th/13th century and which grew up a little later around royal graves, as is proved by well-known Timūrid and Mamlūk examples (see ḲUBBA, TURBA).

The formulae employed in this particular category of funerary texts also belong partially to that attested by the innumerable construction texts en-

graved on Muslim monuments since the Umayyad period. These latter texts in fact obeyed from the start strict obligations, which imposed the following elements: definition of the work undertaken, name of the initiator responsible, sometimes located between the name of the reigning sovereign and those of the authorities who supervised the progress of the work, and date of the construction or restoration, the whole incorporated within a series of variable additions variously distributed pious formulae which included Kur'ānic quotations appropriate to the nature of the work, but which most of all were requests to God for reward in respect of the work accomplished in his honour more or less detailed appeals on behalf of the founder and optional complementary notes, including the names of the author-scribe and the architect mason. This was the constant framework, and the additions made in ensuing centuries were only such as to incorporate subsidiary details affecting in particular the titles of the builder or those of the various authorities on whom he depended: thus one may find, in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries for example, successive mentions of the caliph of Baghdād, of the Saldjūk sultan, of the local sovereign and the humble figure of the builder is introduced simply as *al-ʿabd al fakīr ilā raḥmati rabbihi* "the poor slave imploring the good will of his Lord". Furthermore, such rigidity of formulae provides the exact scheme that may be expected of inscriptions of this genre, texts that are easily reconstructed where there are lacunae in the details of ritual etiquette or in the order of succession of the various elements, but of scope limited by the constraints of their subject. Only on two points are we likely sometimes to be agreeably surprised: their archaeological interpretation, on the one hand, when care is taken to note their precise location in the building, to the dating of which they contribute, on the other hand, their richness in titles, from which one sometimes perceives the reality of Islamic government institutions which continue to pose numerous questions to the historian.

Comparable information is furthermore to be obtained, in the majority of cases, from foundation texts where the list of the titles of the legators obeys the same rules of precedence and is often clarified when account is taken of the more theoretical notions supplied by some Arabic texts dealing with chancellery practices. But the more original data contained in the disposal of these *waḳfiyyas* are of a topographical or toponymical order, on account of the large number of localities and regions listed as sources of revenue, as of an economic and social order, relating to daily life, sometimes also to urban life in general when the generous benefactor has decided for example to underwrite the excavation of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] or the improvement of some municipal work. The profoundly Islamic character of these arrangements, as well as the attitudes that engendered them, is linked, through the solemn proclamation of the devotional work, to the psychological process according to which the construction of a building took on its true dimension when an inscription text preserved its memory and placed the builder or benefactor in his just position within the Muslim community.

This tendency was superimposed on a concern for the glorification of the individual concerned, which appears to a still greater extent in the inscriptions on material objects, which constitute the final category of Arabic commemorative inscriptions. The texts of these most often consist in fact of nothing more than greetings added to the name and titles which enable the owner to be identified, whether it was a case of a caliph ordering the manufacture of a *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] in a royal factory or of a Mamlūk *amīr* acquiring a bronze or a ceramic plate bearing his monogram. The mention that such an object has been manufactured on the orders of a certain powerful dignitary is sometimes the only information to be conveyed, in the form of a motif that is both epigraphic and decorative. But the sense of pride of ownership also sometimes finds an echo in the professional pride of the craftsmen who at an early stage adopted the practice of signing their works, even if in the briefest manner possible (see in this connection the writings of L. A. Mayer mentioned above).

It remains to consider, in the third and final place, the group which, while being definitely the least important is nevertheless extremely rich in information of all kinds the group constituted by administrative texts. Linked to the functioning of the machinery of power, they are not designed to glorify, except indirectly, the holders of this power, but rather to make certain government decisions known. Represented in early times by inscriptions stamped on coinage, or on weights and measures of glass paste which appeared from the Umayyad period onward, they made way somewhat later for decrees of abolition of taxes. Mamlūk specimens are among the best known: these are, once again, valuable documents of economic and social history, comparable with title deeds and records of donation, to the extent that they provide precise and detailed information regarding fiscal policy or give accurate descriptions of bureaucratic procedures. But the quaint symbolic notations that they preserve are shown in their turn to be extremely rich when one attempts, as Sauvaget has done, to glean from them certain data on the spot and to deduce from them, especially in the sphere of topographical studies, elements of assistance in the reconstruction of certain aspects of urban evolution.

So here we find once more this golden rule for the utilisation of Arabic inscriptions, which seems to be always to consider them as concrete documents, which are not to be separated, beyond the official formulae and the pious expressions that characterise them, from the local and monumental context within which their most original significance is expressed. Some such epigraphic commentaries even when they deal closely with the purport of the various texts the principal tendencies of which we have reviewed above, thus remain subordinate to that which constitutes the prime quality of the documents with which they are concerned that of having been composed to occupy a particular location in lasting fashion and to be integrated into the exterior appearance of the objects or the monuments that they accompany. Nor should one neglect those inscriptions which were capable of being enclosed in the interior of the most varied types of framework (panels, scrolls, friezes of all dimensions, the entire surface of an object or a tightly-limited section), entrusted to the most varied materials according to equally diverse processes (stone engraved or sculpted in depth, stucco elaborately worked on several surfaces, experiments with bricks in relief, mosaic, painting, moulded or incised metal, wood, ivory, ceramic, etc.), sometimes reduced to the subsidiary role of motifs underlining with their shapes the principal lines of the architecture or joining with covering linear décors composed of arabesques and

lattice-work. These details are to be considered with as much attention as the formulae of the inscriptions or as the style as revealed by the idiosyncrasies of the writing. For the reasoned study of this body of facts, with which, in order to be complete, any survey of Islamic epigraphy ought to begin, is the only means that will enable the scholar to put into their just place, for an introduction to the realities of mediaeval Islamic civilisation, the inscriptions which up to the present day scholars have been content to examine in a fashion that is still too incomplete and inevitably superficial.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

2. In the Near East.

It is in the Near East, the cradle of Arabic writing, and more precisely in Syria (Namāra, Zebed, Harrān, Umm Djimāl) that the oldest known inscriptions written in the Arabic language have been discovered. These so-called proto-Arabic inscriptions, sometimes bilingual (Greek-Arabic), have contributed to our understanding of the ancestry of the Arabic characters, which in the final analysis derive from Syriac characters and not from Nabataean, as was previously believed.

The privileged place accorded by Islam to writing allowed the latter to undergo a rapid evolution and a rapid diffusion. From the time of the Umayyad era, inscriptions proliferated in all the provinces of the young Islamic empire. Construction texts, religious texts, milestones, epitaphs, and simple graffiti dating from this period have been and still are being discovered in the archaeological sites of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and ʿIrāḳ.

The formula of these inscriptions was probably influenced by that of the Greco-Roman inscriptions, very numerous in these regions. It is simple, sober and varies in tenor according to the function of the text. It serves as a prototype for later periods which enrich it, while remaining faithful to its broad outlines. Official texts are generally composed as follows: almost always the *basmala*, one or more Kurʾānic verses, religious invocations, the dispositions of the work, the name of the caliph followed by his title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, sometimes the name of the overseer responsible for the work, and generally, the date.

The study of these inscriptions reveals the rapidity with which the crude and maladroit writing of the proto-Arabic inscriptions was transformed to the point of attaining to the monumental inscriptions, a high level of aesthetic perfection. Engraved on rock in finely drawn lines of equal breadth, usually incised, very seldom in relief, sometimes executed in mosaic or in painting, Umayyad writing obeys the same norms: characters composed of simple geometric elements—verticals, horizontals, obliques, circles or segments of circles—set out on a base line which is strictly horizontal. This horizontal base line plays an essential role in Arabic writing. The latter was in fact conceived, after the pattern of Syriac characters, as resting on a foundation, as opposed to Nabataean characters, which appear to be suspended from an upper line. This role is such, that in certain types of archaic and crude writing, the base line is itself an integral part of the characters. These latter are in such cases formed of small simple lines, vertical or oblique, and of rings, resting on the horizontal of the base line, of which the continuity is unbroken (cf. Pl. VIII, 1).

In Umayyad epigraphy, the combinations of these geometric elements give two types of characters: tall letters with vertical strokes and short letters with notches or rings, connected by horizontal segments. This double typology constitutes one of the essential elements of the aesthetic quality of Arabic writing to last, it provides the artist with two areas where he can exercise his genius differently: the lower register, the more dense, where the artistic effect obtained results in a simple inter-play of characters, and the upper register where the spaces between the vertical strokes provide an ideal place for the artist to indulge his taste for audtiple creations.

In the Umayyad period, this upper register was not used, but the stone-masons succeeded, by using the lower register alone, in creating "a harmony at once rhythmic and linear" which makes this form of writing a genuine work of art. The rhythm is obtained by the opposition and alternation of high and low characters, while the linear harmony results from the arithmetical reckoning of the proportions. This reckoning answers a need for equilibrium as much in height (the proportion of short characters to long varies generally between 1/3 and 1/2) as in width. It is to satisfy this latter need that the mason does not hesitate to extend his characters in width and to lengthen the joining segments. The standard of calligraphy definitely varies according to the type of inscription and it is especially in official texts that fine specimens are to be found. We shall mention simply as examples the inscriptions of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in the Kubbat al Ṣakhra in Jerusalem and his milestones (cf. Pl. VIII, 2 and IX, 3).

During the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid régime, the Arabic inscriptions of the Near East underwent an evolution corresponding to that of the socio-cultural development of the entire ancient Baghdād and that of the palaces of Samarrāʾ. The fact that these were constructed of brick, a perishable material, has deprived us of the monumental inscriptions which probably adorned the official buildings and which disappeared as a result of these destructions. On the other hand, we have dating from this period a large number of epitaphs and inscriptions on movable objects, especially on fabrics which benefited from the expansion of state factories (*ṭirāz*) supplying the needs of the caliphs and their court. The formula of these inscriptions, often found on the edges of the fabric, is stereotyped. It begins with the *basmala*, generally followed by the phrase *baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh* followed by the name of the caliph and his title, and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. These inscriptions are executed in archaic, angular characters whose typology corresponds, as broad outlines, to that of the characters of the stone inscriptions.

In this area, undoubtedly the most interesting evidence is provided by the epitaphs, most of them of Egyptian origin, engraved on marble or on sandstone, of which a considerable number of specimens have survived to the present day. The formula of these epitaphs is constituted of different elements of which the combinations vary according to a variety of patterns: the *basmala*, a verse of the Kurʾān, one or more religious invocations, the profession of faith, more or less developed, the dedication of the tomb, the verb introducing the name of the deceased followed by his titles and

profession, the date of his death and an appeal for God's mercy upon him.

These epitaphs provide valuable materials for following the evolution of inscriptions on stone during the first ʿAbbāsid centuries. The change of dynasty did not immediately change the practices of the stonemasons and the characters of early ʿAbbāsid epitaphs are similar in outline to those of Umayyad inscriptions. Nevertheless, differences soon appear in the reckoning of the proportions. The characters diminish in length and correspondingly the joining segments between the letters become shorter. As a result, ʿAbbāsid Kūfic presents a more cramped and less harmonious aspect appearance than Umayyad Kūfic. On the other hand, this evolution is inclined toward a concern for the ornamentation of characters. This is expressed first in the lengthening of the terminal segments in the form of a bevel which tends to grow larger and larger. In the crude types it is sometimes replaced by a small hook or even a ring. To the development of the bevel there correspond a thickening of the outlines of the letters and a more frequent adoption of the techniques of engraving in champlevé (cf. Pl. IX, 4), which allows two parallel expressions of the evolution of characters, corresponding to the duality of engraving techniques. Thus, in incised inscriptions, the vertical strokes of the letters are decorated with hooks, simple, double or triple, pre-figuring the palm-leaf (cf Pl. X, 5), while in inscriptions in relief, the bevels evolve into foils, double foils or triple foils which later open out into leaves, fleurons and palm-leaves, a style of décor much in vogue in the mid-3rd/9th century (cf. Pl. X, 6)

Various other processes of ornamentation are encountered in this period: symmetrical indantations in the parallel vertical strokes of the *alif* and the *lām*, soltening of the lines and the appearance of curves (in the *lām-alif*, the *kaf*), transformation of the lower appendices into rising tails fleurons arising from mouth-shaped letters (*mīm*), the intertwining of contiguous lines, (cf the knot formed by the *alif* and the *lām* of the word Allāh, Pl. X, 6, l. 2). The indentations and arcs which sometimes adorn the joining segments, especially in the word Allāh, roses and fleurons at the end of a word, framing to linear décor (braids, zigzags, mouldings, spirals) or in a décor of plant forms (plant palm leaves alternated on one side and the other by a sinuous line, leaves and symmetrical fleurons), sometimes an even more subtle composition (an arc delineated by a flat moulding with spandrels adorned by an outline in arabesque), combine towards the embellishment of the script.

With the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and its sporadic expansion in Syria-Palestine, new practices are introduced into the inscriptions of the Near East. The formula varies little in its basic elements, but the name of the caliph is almost always followed by mention of his links with the "Family" in a phrase such as *salawāt Allāh ʿalayhi wa ʿalā abīhi-l-imām al-muṭahhir*, and the name of ʿAlī is often mentioned with that of the Prophet (*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh ʿAlī walī Allāh ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalay-himā*).

The effort at the embellishment of calligraphy continues and a real proliferation of types of decorative inscriptions is seen. As characteristic examples, we mention the inscriptions of the 4th/10th century mosque of al Ḥākim in Cairo (cf. Pl. X, 7) and those of the cenotaph of Fāṭima in Damascus (dated 439/1047, Pl. XI, 8) In the former, the linear element maintains a predominant place. The characters show a vigour of design which accentuates their relief on the excised base, completely bare in the lower part, decorated in the upper register by an independent, foliated scroll which glides alternatively above and below the vertical strokes and which gives a free run in the empty spaces to the development of spiral designs which open out as fleurons (cf. Pl. X, 7).

In the cenotaph of Fāṭima, the foliated scroll is sometimes linked to floral elements issuing from the characters and develops in such a fashion as to form a more dense composition (cf. Pl. XI, 8).

In the Fāṭimid period, the typology of the characters is considerably enriched. Curvatures, counter-curvatures, knots and indentations are numerous in the interiors of the characters, offering the stonemason infinite opportunities for improvisation. Purely for the sake of example, let us note the ten different types of *lām-alif* in the single inscription of the cenotaph of Fāṭima.

It would of course be wrong to attribute to Fāṭimid artists alone all the epigraphic innovations in the inscriptions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th century in the Near East. The conquest of Syria by the Saldjūḳs, who imported with them the techniques and the graphical forms used in the eastern provinces of the Islamic empire, was accompanied by the intrusion of a number of the features mentioned in the Fāṭimid inscriptions, such as knots and right angled bends in the vertical strokes of certain characters. There was probably a phenomenon of osmosis between these various regions where exchanges were frequent.

The inscription on the cenotaph of Sukayna in Damascus (end of the 6th/12th century, cf Pl. X, 9) is an interesting specimen of the evolution of monumental Kūfic in the Saldjūḳ period The inscriptions engraved in the wood of the cenotaph are distributed on three levels, in two bands superimposed and separated by a fine braid. The main inscription occupies the full height of the broadest band, while at half way up, the second is intertwined among the vertical strokes of the first. The third, quite independent, occupies the small upper band. These three bands stand out against a background decorated by a fine network of arabesques which cover all of the part crudely excised.

Among the specifically Saldjūḳ types of monumental inscription, mention should be made of epigraphic bands with geometric décor where the vertical lines of the characters are extended in the upper area giving rise to the interweaving of stars and polygons. The inscription of Ṣafwat al-Mulk at Damascus is a living illustration of this.

The Saldjūḳ influence is also shown in the evolution of the formulary of inscriptions of small Syrian dynasties of Saldjūḳ allegiance where the titles become swollen with pomposity (cf. for example the titles of the *atābak* sovereigns in the construction texts of the great mosque of Damascus).

It was in the first half of the 6th/12th century that there was effected the most important transformation regarding the evolution of Arabic script in stone, when Nūr al-Dīn ordered the adoption of the cursive script in official inscriptions, to the detriment of the angular script, which, without disappearing completely, was reduced to repetitions of ancient types. Some fragments of cursive script are mixed, as an intrusion, in the Kūfic inscriptions of the bands of the minaret of the great mosque of Aleppo to 483/1090. There is found also at Buṣrā in Syria an inscription dating from 485/1188, where the characters, while still crude are neatly rounded, but it is not until the first half of the 6th/12th century

that there appears the full flowering of cursive writing expressed in stone, with its full and its slender lines, its supple ligatures and the introduction of points and diacritical lines, not used in the inscriptions of angular type. A parallel transformation is effected regarding the base line which loses its rigidity and its horizontal continuity. The lintels which delimit the bands of writing are cut however eliminated, and they continue to compress the lower appendices, the latter being forced to develop below the base line. To remedy this inconvenience, the stone-masons divide the words and engrave the segments thus obtained on different levels, based on an oblique line descending from the centre of the band towards the chief of the base. This procedure permits a freer development of the lower appendices. The base line appears as a discontinuous line reduced to a series of obliques overlapping segments (cf. Pl. XII, 10). This procedure is accentuated in the Ayyūbid period, and already there appear inscriptions where the words are divided and staggered on two or three levels, almost parallel and superimposed. The word generally begins on the lower line and continues above (cf. Pl. XIII, 11).

In the Mamlūk period, this technique of engraving reaches its apogee. The characters are so interwoven that their deciphering becomes difficult all the more so as the characters used in the majority of the inscriptions of this period are of small dimensions, thick and squat. It is to this type of inscription that belong the Mamlūk decrees, engraved in profusion on the walls of official buildings and constituting precious documents regarding the socio-economic life of the Near East in this period (cf. Pl. XIII, 12).

There exists, moreover, a type of Mamlūk *naskhī* where this dense writing gives way to an elongated graphic style prefiguring the Ottoman script. This last gives the appearance of a transposition on to stone of manuscript writings, in particular the style known as *thuluth*, in which the Ottoman calligraphers excelled (cf. Pl. XIII, 13).

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3. In Muslim Spain.

At the time of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula (92/711), the *khaṭṭ* or Kūfic script had already existed in the Islamic world, as an official and sacred script, for 80 years. It was this script that the conquerors used from the start in their inscriptions. The most ancient evidence that we have of it is constituted by the bilingual coinage struck by the governor al Hurr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thakafī (98/716-17); the uninterrupted continuity of its use is confirmed by all the coinages struck by subsequent governors and *emirs*. From the time of the amīrate of 'Abd al Raḥmān II, this writing figures in pious foundation texts, in funeral and other inscriptions which corroborate this numismatic evidence, as well as testifying clearly to the development of the usage of the Kūfic characters in al-Andalus before the Almohad invasion (541/1147). Following this event, a struggle developed between *khaṭṭ* and *naskhī*, ending in victory for the latter which subsequently took the status of the official scripts of epigraphy, while the former lost ground and its use became limited to religious or profane inscriptions of little importance and intended for purposes of general ornamentation.

The Kūfic features which appear in the oldest Arabic inscriptions of al-Andalus are virtually the same as those which were used during the last decade of the first century A.H. in all the lands conquered by Islam, that is to say, the symbols originating from the city of Kūfa, with scarcely any evolution in design. This Kūfic, on account of its clearly primitive nature, is generally called archaic. It was reproduced, with more or less finesse over the years, by the traditional craftsmen of Spain who never succeeded in mastering it fully and in consequence introduced no novelty of design by virtue of which it might be considered characteristic of, or exclusive to, al-Andalus. In the last years of the amīrate of Muḥammad I, a new generation of rather more erudited craftsmen began to turn the more extreme features of Kūfic script into stylised plinth-forms. At first this innovation was used very timidly because it applied only to a very small number of letters, nevertheless, little by little it found acceptance to the point where it was applied to all the symbols which permitted it. The craftsmen thus succeeded in creating the Hispano-Muslim version of floral Kūfic while it must be admitted that the development of this variant of Kūfic never attained, in al-Andalus, the level reached by contemporary Kūfic writing in other Muslim territories.

In the reign of the second caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh, the religious puritanism and stern austerity which characterised the conduct of this powerful sovereign at the head of the government of al-Andalus made itself strongly felt, needless to say, in the epigraphy of the period. Decorative floral additions were suppressed and attempts made to restore the Kūfic letters to their primitive and classical design. But this was not entirely possible, because the letter-forms possessed henceforward a certain elegance which was lacking in them before; this elegance, far from disappearing as a result of this suppression, manifestly increased. Thus there was born a new Kūfic with streamlined, elegant shapes, stripped of all ornamental addition, commonly called simple Kūfic, which flourished until the downfall of the Caliphate of the West. Previous to this important historical event, there certainly existed a consistency in the style of writing Kūfic

in the whole of al Andalus—as a consequence of the political unity of the region, feebly introduced by the governors and subsequently definitively enforced by the monarchs of the dynasty of the Banū Umayya—and a single cultural centre regulating its art, the metropolis of Cordova. After the downfall of the caliphate, a number of schools of design sprang up, for, with the end of the hegemony of Cordova, each province of al-Andalus followed its own political direction and developed its own artistic practices under influences of very diverse origin. Among the schools the most important were those of Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and Almería, without counting that of Cordova. At Seville, simple Kūfic continued to be used in inscriptions, but the characters developed in height, which made them extremely elegant and distinctive. At Toledo, the craftsmen returned to floral Kūfic, with forms excessively overladen with plant-forms alternated with the use of simple Kūfic forms. Of these two variants, two distinct versions appeared: one traditional, firmly Cordovan in origin; the other authentically Toledan, which consisted in adding to characters carved in relief a central groove, giving them considerable force of expression. The Kūfic of Saragossa had a particular importance. It is known today through the inscriptions preserved at the Palace of Aljafería (al-Dja'fariyya), built by the princeling Abū Dja'far Aḥmad al-Muktadir bi 'llāh (438-74/1046-81); it is known that in the building of this monument, originally called Dār al-Surūr or House of Rejoicing, the craftsmen experimented with numerous innovations, architectural as well as decorative, and inscriptions—an ornamental element of first importance in Islamic art—were no exception. They stylized Kūfic characters to an incredible extent, and by sometimes making them slide on a floral base or at other times cleverly interlacing them with geometric motifs, they succeeded in composing epigraphic bands of great beauty and an originality unusual for the period. As for Almería, principal base of the Umayyad fleet in the Mediterranean, it had been intimately linked with the metropolis of Cordova during the caliphate. Its craftsmen had always represented Kūfic according to the model of Cordova, and they did not change their style when the latter lost its political status. They continued to use the simple Kūfic which was in use at the time of this event; later, this Kūfic evolved very slowly and its most brilliant period, corresponding to the importance and splendour of this naval base, was reached under the aegis of the Almoravids. From the study of the Arabic inscriptions of Almería, of which a fine selection survives, it may be deduced that the Almoravid invasion brought no change in the shape of the Kūfic of al Andalus. By contrast, as mentioned above, the Almohad invasion had very significant effects on epigraphy. At first, the latter respected the Kūfic script and used it, as is well-known, in the first building that they constructed at Marrākush, but, when they were obliged to put into practice a policy of reconciliation of the peoples whom they had subdued by force, they very soon realized that the Kūfic script with its difficulty of interpretation, was not suitable for the development of their policies, and they replaced it with *naskhī* or cursive in all texts relating to new foundations of a public character. For the craftsmen of al Andalus in particular, this change had the effect of enabling them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Arabic characters and to distinguish, in each one of them, that which was essential and invariable from that which was secondary and could legitimately be altered according to the taste of the designer. Thus they came to appreciate the true significance of Kūfic forms hitherto reproduced more or less mechanically. They were no longer content with drawing their designs according to the good taste of the Almohads, but little by little they transformed the shapes. First of all, with the idea of making them attractive and graceful, then by building up their upper portions with complicated interloops, while increasingly filling up with stylized plant-forms all the interstices not covered by the letters in the lines of inscription. In the end, they created ornamental motifs of a type which, on account of its incontestable decorative worth, was subsequently copied by the Mudéjar craftsmen, including those who worked in the Alhambra of Granada, thus undoubtedly conferring upon it a long lasting prosperity. For it is certain that it is by virtue of these copies, made with extreme care and fidelity, that we are acquainted today with the Arabic epigraphy of al Andalus current in the period of the Almohads, since the original inscriptions of this historical period surviving to the present day are very few in number, and discoveries have not been made on the scale which could have been desired. The motif types mentioned above were incorporated into Mudéjar decoration without further consequence, and through incessant use over the course of the years they patently degenerated and became a parody of what they had originally been. On the other hand, their inclusion in the ornamentation of the palace of the Banū Naṣr had the effect of inspiring the craftsmen of Granada to the creation and the development to hitherto inconceivable limits of the geometric Kūfic which is admired today in the Alhambra and which is, beyond doubt, one of the finest ornamental creations contributed by Andalusian craftsmanship to the art of Islam. It was also in the Alhambra that the *naskhī* script achieved the highest point of its development within Muslim Spain. In fact, it is known that among the most important elements contributing to the ornamentation of the Nasrid palace there are epigraphic friezes composed in this script and containing the best works of the most prominent poets of the period, Ibn Zamrak and Ibn Diayyāb, which are thereby available to us in "the most sumptuous edition in the world", to borrow the apt expression of E. García Gómez.

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4 In North Africa.

The oldest inscriptions known to us in North Africa show an originality compared with those of the Near East in the Umayyad and, in particular, the ʿAbbāsid periods. The evolution of styles in Ifrīkiya was to follow a course generally parallel to that of the styles known to Egypt which seems to have constituted the natural link to the chain connecting the Muslim East and West. The Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, by contrast, and especially from the time of the Almoravid period, was influenced by al-Andalus, which for a long time remained faithful to archaic forms of Kūfic but which, under the influence of the ʿAbbāsid East, submitted to the prevailing taste Nevertheless, Muslim Spain was to interpret in its own fashion toe styles of writing and their evolution such as were familiar in the Orient in the Fāṭimid period. This piece of the Orient set in Andalusian soil was to influence Morocco, and then with the victory of the Almohads, the whole of North Africa.

The style of monumental inscriptions in the Aghlabid period differs according to whether it is a case of carvings in relief, or incised engravings, on stone or wood, or of painting The Kūfic carved in relief on stone may well be compared to that of the Nilometer of Rawḍa (199/814-15), notably on the marble at al-Kayrawān (the capitals and the interior of the *miḥrāb*) It may equally be compared to Tūlūnid Kūfic, but some of the details characteristic of the West appear to be quite original, for example the *alif* with 3 horizontal appendage towards toe right in the lower part of the letter The writing, whose essential value lies in the message to be transmitted, tends gradually to become a part of the ornamentation (for example, the inscription painted on wood at the base of the cupola of the Great Mosque of al-Kayrawān where the mis shaping of the *ʿayn* gives a fleuron with three foils while the background is decorated with isolated floral motifs) The first inscription on the façade of the Mosque of the Three Gates at al-Kayrawān also provides an example of this tendency which is emphasised in the marble plaques of the *miḥrāb* of the Zeytūna at Tunis, where the inscription in very fine Kūfic characters forms a decorative framework.

The Kūfic of the foundation-plaque of the *ribāṭ* of Sousse (206/821) appears very archaic in comparison with these inscriptions

Funerary inscriptions are mostly engraved; the formula varies little, the main element being a few Kurʾānic verses, usually taken from Sūra CXII. These inscriptions perpetuate, in the 3rd/9th century, forms which are more emphatically archaic than those of the monumental inscriptions; this is especially notable in epitaphs on pillars, occasionally crudely executed in spite of some fine creations, and in the fine funerary inscriptions engraved on marble plaques or on tall columns. The similarity between the Aghlabid incised inscriptions and contemporary examples from Egypt and the Sudan is quite striking.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīkiya and their installation at Mahdiyya, then at Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya, accentuated the orientalisation of the country. The evolution of Kūfic in the Near East in the 5th/11th century, then in the 6th/12th century, was to be reflected almost immediately in the Maghrib. In the latter as in the former, the problem faced by the artist was how to alleviate the difficulties inherent in Arabic writing, very dense in the lower part of the line of inscription, but leaving important gaps in the upper areas. The solutions adopted consisted in the development of the vertical strokes and in their evolution, sometimes their distortion, in the intertwining of letters, and most of all, use was made of stylised floral patterns to decorating the background. These inscriptions are often divided in two parts by a rigid horizontal band, the lower part being occupied by the body of the letter while the upper register is decorated with a complicated floral design against which the vertical lines stand out. At Sfax, from the end of the 4th/10th century, the letter is seen to develop, the terminal

chamfer of the vertical strokes opening into floral shapes or curling so as to occupy the empty spaces. The influence of Fāṭimid Egypt is undeniable. The characters in general affect a refined elegance. The bordering strips contribute to the décor of the façades (Sfax, Great Mosque) or to that of the *miḥrābs* (Sfax, Zīnā *miḥrāb*), mosque of Sayyida at Monastir (beginning of the 5th/11th century). At Constantine (*miḥrāb* of the Great Mosque, dating from the 6th/12th century), the epigraphic décor reaches a high degree of ornamental quality, recalling that of the finest Fāṭimid *miḥrābs* of Cairo.

Funereal epigraphy also abandoned the archaisms of the Aghlabid period, but after a perceptible delay. Incised inscriptions practically disappeared. The form of the tombs evolved towards prismatic marble stèles, notably at Monastir and at Tunis (cemetery of the Khūrūsānids). The writing, of refined elegance, recalls, by the development of the letters and by the appearance and proliferation of stylised floral designs, the style of the monumental inscriptions.

As for epigraphy on furniture, we have, in the magnificent *maḳṣūra* of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, one of the finest examples of floral Kūfic, with complex interlwining of letters and a background of plaitforms comparable to the Kūfic of Aleppo or to that of Diyār Bakr.

In the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and in the western region of the central Maghrib, very few inscriptions are to be noted before the Almoravid period. That of the Karawiyyīn, dating from 363/877, is in Kūfic of the al-Ḳayrawān type, but, with the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, there appears the Andalusian Kūfic, characterised by well-proportioned letters with long and curved vertical strokes. However, the writing itself is very sober and stands out against a background flowered with arabesques and fleurons and palm-leaves with deep and multiple radiating divisions (Karawiyyīn, Great Mosque of Tlemcen) or against a background of palms, of pineapples and of half-fleurons divided in two parts horizontally by a straight listel.

The epigraphy on furniture shows, on the contrary, an attachment to the old tradition, whence a surprising conservatism in the Kūfic inscriptions of the *minbars* of Nedroma and of Algiers, and in those of the *maḳṣūra* of Tlemcen.

But the most important event of this period is the appearance of the cursive script (*maghribī*). This style appears in Ifrīḳiya from 490/1096, in funereal inscriptions where it is presented in a very elaborate form (the characters are fine, large and supple and well-proportioned, framed with a border and standing out against a rich floral background of oriental type). It is to be supposed that it was by this oriental route that the new alphabet penetrated to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā in the Almoravid period (the inscriptions of Tlemcen and of Karawiyyīn) in about 531/1136 ?. It is in fact impossible, in the absence of precise documentary evidence, to propose an Andalusian influence, as it seems that cursive writing did not appear in Andalusia until much later.

Whatever the case may be, the victory of the Almohads had as a consequence a certain unification of styles in the whole of North Africa with an inclination towards sober, angular Kūfic in the monumental inscriptions and, on the contrary, a preference for cursive in the funereal inscriptions. It is worth noting that no foundation inscription appears in this period in the religious buildings, pious works through which the great caliphs of the dynasty were able to bring honour to themselves.

One consequence of the Ottoman domination of Tunisia and Algeria was a new "orientalisation". The inscriptions lose their decorative quality and adhere to the requirements of the message to be transmitted. They are inscribed in frames or in scrolls in cursive characters, often with diacritical points, sometimes with vowels, on several lines which may overlap. The execution is rather casual, and the use of the Turkish language is limited.

On the other hand, Morocco remained faithful to the Andalusian models and followed their evolution in the period of the Naṣrids of Granada. The type of Kūfic script which distorts the letters, twisting and stretching them into wreaths and fleurons, is hardly distinguishable from the background, where geometric and floral elements are mixed. The cursive begins to take the place of the Kūfic script in the fine framing strips of the *miḥrābs* of the Marīnid period. After the disappearance of the kingdom of Granada, Morocco tended to withdraw within itself, apparently shut off from outside influences.

At no time did the artists of the early Middle Ages make so much use of Arabic writing as an element of decoration. It appears everywhere, in religious buildings, in funereal pavilions, in the houses of citizens as in the palaces of kings, on furniture, on table ware and on the most minor objects of daily life, where the ornamental role is often more important than the meaning of the language. The result is a pseudo-writing without precise meaning, or a constant repetition of a word or part of a phrase, in ornamental friezes, where ease and routine take the place of refinement and, above all, of faith.

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(L. Golvin)

5. In West Africa.

Proof is still awaited that any system of writing was in use among the Negro civilisations of West Africa before the introduction of written Arabic. An animal drawing on a sherd found by F. Willet at Old Oyo in Western Nigeria was considered representational rather than pictographic, whilst K. Han's search for linguistic interpretations of recurrent *motifs* in the art of Benin proved inconclusive. Gold-weights from Ashanti and neighbouring districts seem to represent a proliferate stage, some of the designs symbolising proverbs and injunctions and others perhaps conveying metrological data. Inscriptions in Punic, Greek, Latin or similar Classical languages have not yet been reported from tropical West Africa.

The Saharan Berbers (Tuareg, "People of the Veil") derived their *tifinagh* alphabet from the Libyan script used in North Africa during the second century B.C and subsequently (see BERBERS. vi). *Graffiti* in *tifinagh* are known to extend from Tibesti and Djado westwards to the Niger bend, and even into Mauretania, Mauny (1954) providing the most convenient survey of the literature. A complication in the reading of these inscriptions is the problem of determining their direction. They may run from left

as right, top or bottom, but within each inscription the direction remains uniform, and clues to the orientation are provided by the alinement of certain asymmetrical characters, and the stereotyped opening phrases. In academic usage texts are conventionally arranged to read from the right.

Two main varieties of *tifinagh* script are generally recognised. The older (called variously "*tifinagh* archaïque", "Saharan ancien" and "Libyco-berbère") renders by bars certain characters (ⵟ *ṭ*, ⵜ *t*) which in the modern script are represented by dots (ⵟ *ṭ*, ⵜ *t*). The older script also lacks several characters. A number of the older *graffiti* were interpreted by Marcy (1937). They contain recurrent formulae, commencing with each words *ar* ⵔ ⵄ ⵔ *asaragh asareg*, "I require...", ⵔ | *aneg* "I need...", and often accompanied by a drawing to illustrate *fulfilment of the wish*, *all designed to have* a magical influence. A group of modern inscriptions commences with the word : | *sakh nekh* "I...", followed by the writer's name, and a statement of his purpose or wish. Another group, still known only from modern examples, consists of formulae inscribed on the typical Tuareg stone *amulets* (*akabeg*), and shields. These were presented to a departing lover to preserve his fidelity. Manifestly Islamic personal names in later inscriptions show that they are relatively modern, but much work has still to be done in the chronology, linguistics, and collection of the older *graffiti*.

Of Arabic inscriptions from West Africa, at once the oldest and the most important is the tombstone from Gao reported by Sauvaget. It records the decease on 1 Muharram 494/6 November 1100 of a *gā*ʾ*id* personage designated *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b ʿAbd Allāh b Zāgī. The Kūfic calligraphy of this monument closely resembles tombstones from Almeria (reported by E. Lévy Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Pl. XXVII XXX), and it is carved from similar marble. There is a strong implication that the monument may have been made at Almeria (a part of Spain then subject to rule by the Almoravid Murābiṭ dynasty) for transport across the Sahara to Gao. This situation would present a new aspect of Almoravid connexions in the Southern Sahara. The inscription seems also to confirm the remark attributed to the *Qāḍī* Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥāǧǧī al-Mutawakkil Kuʾt (Kati), that the Islamisation of Gao took place between 472 and 475/1078-9 and 1082-3 (Kati, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, tr. O. Houdas, 332), also the reference of Ibn Khurradādbih, 89 (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 165, 476) to a ruler in West Africa named Zāgī b Zāgī. The exalted *titʾle* appearing in the inscription may imply that the deceased person was himself Sultan of Songhay, but if so, his names are absent from the list given in the literary sources. Other inscriptions from Gao are of a Queen Sārā (502/1108-9), of *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh* Abū Bakr b Abī Kulḥāfa (503/1109-10), of ʿĀʾisha daughter of *al-malik* Kūrī (511/1117-8), and of another possible Sultān Māmā b Knā b. (2)Sāgī (514/1120-1). Further inscribed tombstones from the area of the Niger bend have subsequently been published by Mrs. Vycé, including a specimen of the year 496/1102-3 from Gao, and other from al-Sūk (504/1110-11), Bentia (Kukiya, a former Songhay capital on the Niger above Niyamey) bearing the date 800/1397-8, and El-Kreib in Mauretania, a place thought to represent the ancient site of Aretenna.

Later Arabic rock-graffiti are known from the Saharan zone, but other inscriptions on stone have not yet been reported outside the area of the Niger bend. The well known inscribed swords carried by *sarkis* in Hausaland, being apparently imported, bear conventional Arabic inscriptions not characteristically local. Many West African vernacular languages have, however, been written in Arabic script. A Bornu dialect, apparently Kanembu, occurs in Kur'anic glosses at least as early as 1080/1669 Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe and Yoruba all occur as slightly later dates.—Hausa for example being found in glosses ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī (*ca.* 1761-1828) in a manuscript of *al-Muḥtaṣar* owned by Abū Bakr Ghumai at Kano, the inscription on an iron panel at *Kofar Wa*ʾ*ika*, a gate of Kano city, though of uncertain date, contains several sentences in Hausa. The situation for the languages of the Upper Niger, Songhay, Malinke etc. is however less clear.

Arabic inscriptions in two cryptographic alphabets, called *Suryāniyya* and *ʿIbrāniyya*, were described by Menod and Mauny. Talismanic inscriptions and magic squares are known all over the area, often written in carbon ink on wooden writing-boards (Ar. *lawḥ*), or iron replicas of these boards, also on earthenware bowls, sherds, bones, human skulls and polished stone axeheads, besides everyday examples on paper sheets or scrolls.

For an understanding of the magic squares (*wafḳ*, pl. *awfāḳ*), the most informative study is probably that of Canman, who traces them back to the Chinese origins. In Nigeria and other West African countries, the work on this subject of Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh *al-Būnī* (d 1031/1225 (q.v. in Suppl.)), *Shams al-maʿārif wa laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*, is widely utilised. A Nigerian scholar of some renown, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī al-Kashnāwī (al Katsina, in Hausaland), found in the Egyptian historian Ḥasan al Djabartī, compiled a treatise on the subject entitled *Bahǧat al-ʿĀbid wa-lidāḥ al labīb wa ʾl-ʿagīlāḥ fī ʿilm al burūf wa ʾl-awfāḳ*. Anawati's description of charms on paper from Mālī gives a full bibliography of Arabic talismans and magical symbols. Cryptographic alphabets had a long history in the Near East, and became especially prevalent in North and West Africa. A standard treatment in Arabic is that of Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Waḥshiyya, *Shawk al-mustaḥām fī maʿrifat rumūz al aḳlām* (ed and tr. J Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters*, London 1806), though commentators have found these explanations obscure. One of these alphabets known as *al-Yāsīnī* (and conceivably therefore associated with the spiritual leader of the Almoravids, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) was shown by Dalby to have influenced two of the modern indigenous scripts of West Africa, so that knowledge of it may have lingered from earlier centuries along the Senegal. The oldest of the scripts in question is the Vai syllabary of Liberia (212 characters invented 1833); the other is the Mende syllabary of Sierra Leone (195 characters invented 1921). Five other syllabaries and two alphabets, of differing structure and inspiration, designed for the expression of various African languages, are included in his account, but the currency of each is very restricted. Another item from the Islamic mystical repertoire, the *sabʿat khawātim* or "seven seals (of Solomon)" ۶ ⵠ ||||| ⵔ ⵛⵛⵛ ⵜⵜ ✡ have been recorded amongst the Hausa, amongst the Yoruba inscribed above the doorway of a building at Oyo, and in the Ivory Coast.

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(A. D. H. BIVAR)

6. In eastern Africa

So far some 250 inscriptions have been reported from the eastern coast of Africa lying between Mogadishu, in Somalia, and the mouth of the R. Zambezi in Mozambique, as well as from the offshore islands, including also the Comoros [see QUMR] and Madagascar. The principal sites of most of the coast have been surveyed and some partly excavated, but very much remains to be done, and quite likely more inscriptions will come to light. Especially is this the case in Mozambique and the Kerimba Islands close to its coast, whose Islamic historical archaeology is still virtually unknown, albeit that the existence of mosques and widespread adherence to Islam is attested by 16th century Portuguese writers. Other than those of the present century, an inscriptions have been reported inland. Only one inscription is known completely in Swahili, even though some Swahili words occur in Arabic inscriptions of the 17th to the 19th centuries of the epitaphs of the petty Sultans of Kunduchi, 17 miles north of Dar es Salaam. With these exceptions and a group of 16th and 17th century Portuguese inscriptions in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, with a solitary one in Zanzibar, all the inscriptions are in Arabic.

The two earliest known inscriptions are an epitaph in the Friday Mosque at Barawa reported by Cerulli dated 438/1204-5, and a Kufic dedicatory inscription in the Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi, Zanzibar, dated 500/1106-7, which, if not carved in Sīrāf itself, would appear to have been the work of a Sīrāfī craftsman in Zanzibar [see KIZIMKAZI]. Apart from these a small number of inscriptions in Kufic or floriate scripts have been found in small nuwebers in or near Mogadishu, and at Malindi, Mnarani and Mombasa in Kenya. The remaining inscriptions are all in *nashkī* or cursive scripts. No comprehensive attempt has so far been made to identify or classify their style or provenance so far as it was not local, but at Kilwa certain decorative inscriptions have been thought to have Fāṭimid affinities. On these subjects it would probably be wisest to reserve judgment until more is known of the inscriptions of the Yemen and of the Hadramawt. The greatest number of inscriptions found in eastern Africa are epitaphs, very many of them of persons otherwise unknown. Quite exceptional are sixteen dedicatory inscriptions commemorating the foundation of mosques in Lamu between the 14th and the 19th century, which demonstrate the stages of growth of the town [see LAMU]. At Mombasa a number of inscriptions, mostly funerary, illustrate and provide a solid dating for the varying fortunes of the Macarī family, of whom a number of members served as *wālī* under the suzerainty of 'Umān from ca. 1734 until 1837. At Kilwa there are a number of inscriptions in the Great Palace known as *Husūma* (Swa. from Ar. *ḥiṣn*) but all undated and on whose date agreement has not yet been reached. A curiosity is a carved ivory state horn (*mbau*) with an inscription in Swahili, which has been ascribed to the 19th century; but a reference in the traditional Swahili *History of Fate*, from which town it came, would suggest, however, that its approximate date of manufacture was ca. 1060/1650.

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

7. In Turkey

The Muslim epigraphy of Turkey has not yet been the object of methodical research. It is true that there exist a large number of editions, but most of these are isolated undertakings.

The history of Muslim monumental epigraphy in Turkey does not in fact begin until the middle of the 6th/12th century. There had been building activity in Anatolia before, in the Turcoman states of the Dānishmandids, the Artuḳids, the Saltuḳids and the Mengüdjekids, but most of the constructions of that time were destroyed as a result of the continuous fighting in the area.

Muslim epigraphy in Turkey can be divided essentially into three categories: commemorative inscriptions, pious inscriptions, and epitaphs. The most important of these, both from the historical and the

artistic point of view, is the former, which includes inscriptions commemorating the constructions or restorations chiefly of foundations for the public good—mosques, fountains, *sabīls*, etc.—and, in later times, also of government buildings (offices, hospitals, schools, barracks, etc.) The pious inscriptions either confine only the names of God, Muḥammad or the four *rāshidūn* caliphs, or consist of *ḥadīths* or citations from the Kur'ān that suit the purpose served by the object which they decorate. Thus in mosques one may find such Kur'ānic verses as IV, 104 or XV, 46, on fountains LXXVI, 18 and 21 or the words *man al-mā' ḥulw shay'an bayy*, from XXI, 31, and on libraries the words *fihā kutub bayyina* (XCVIII, 2). Pious texts may also serve as mottoes over commemorative inscriptions. Hence in foundation inscriptions of mosques one may find such sayings of the Prophet as "Whoever builds for God a mosque, even if only like the nest of a sand grouse, for him God builds a house in paradise". The number of inscriptions surviving on tombstones is very large. Especially in Istanbul very fine ones can still be seen. Unfortunately, the amount of research done in epitaphs is still less than that done in the other Muslim epigraphy of Turkey (see also TAʾRĪḪ).

The typical Muslim inscription, including that in Turkey, is a rectangular slab with one or more lines of text, which are separated by narrow lines, the whole being enclosed in a narrow frame. In the Saldjūk and early Ottoman periods the inscriptions were often also in the form of bands along the borders of porches, or, inside mosques, of *miḥrābs*. Some inscriptions from this time consist of one line in *ghubār thuluth* with elongated shafts through which runs a second line in Kūfī, these together against a background of spiral arabesques. In the Ottoman period the lines (in verse texts, the hemistichs) of most inscriptions are enclosed in cartouches with the left and right extremities elaborated in different manners, these inscriptions are sometimes decorated with such motifs as flowers (either separate or in vases), fruits, arabesques, rosettes and, especially in later times, *tughras* and crescent-and-stars. In the relief inscriptions the (raised) letters and decorations may be gilded, and the (sunken) backgrounds painted—mostly green or blue, it is uncertain whether these colours were used in the older inscriptions too, because the original paint of these has mostly worn off.

On the tile inscriptions, it is not the relief but the colours that present the necessary contrast between the text and the background. Inscriptions of this kind are mostly of pious content and undated. They are found in buildings from very early times; after the 12th/17th century their number gradually diminishes. Very fine examples of this kind of inscription are found inside the Selīmiye Mosque (completed 982/1574-5) in Edirne and in the Bāghdat Köshkü (12th/17th century) in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

Since, under the Great Saldjūks, Kūfic was very much used for inscriptions in Iran, it was also in the early Muslim epigraphy of Anatolia. This script, which was employed, roughly, in the period and areas of the above-mentioned Turcoman states, was, under the Rūm Saldjūks, largely replaced in inscriptions by *ghubār thuluth*, although it continued to be used for mere decorative purposes by them and by the Ottomans up to the reign of Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81). *Nasta'līḳ*, which was brought to Turkey by Persian calligraphers in the period of Meḥemmed II, became common especially in the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs made after the middle of the 11th/17th century. (The earliest inscription written in this script in perhaps that of the Mosque of Selīmshāh Khātūn (dated 860/1455-6) in Edirne (Dijkema, No. 16)). This script became so popular because (a) by this time most of these inscriptions were in Turkish verse, which (as is demonstrated in the manuscript *divāns*) it was traditional to write in *nasta'līḳ*, and (b), since this script uses far less different auxiliary signs than does *ghubār thuluth*, it is much simpler to handle for the stone carver. Such scripts as *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *ghubār muḥaḳḳaḳ* and ordinary *thuluth* are very rare in inscriptions. *Ruḳ'a* was used occasionally in the last period of the Ottoman empire, mostly on buildings of secondary importance.

Little is known about the calligraphers who designed the inscriptions in the Saldjūk and early Ottoman periods. Later, the more reputed calligraphers used to sign their works, with such stereotyped formulas as *kataba 'l-'abd al-ḍa'īf* ... or *kataba 'l-'abd al-ḥaḳīr* .... They might omit their signatures, however, if on the same building there was another inscription written by one of the sultans (as is the case, for instance, in the inscriptions on the front of the two fountains of Sultān Aḥmad III in Istanbul).

Under the Rūm Saldjūks and the early Ottomans, the general Muslim tradition was followed of writing inscriptions in Arabic. The earliest inscription in Turkish is perhaps that of the *madrasa* of Ya'ḳūb Čelebi (dated 814/1411) in Kütahya (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, Istanbul 1932, 79), later, especially from the end of the 10th/16th century, this came to be the language of most of the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs, the cause of this rather radical change being probably an increase of the prestige of Turkish vis à-vis Arabic following the Ottoman occupation of the Arab lands in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The Arabic inscriptions are mostly prose, the Turkish ones usually verse. The wording of the Arabic prose inscriptions closely follows the models of the Mamlūk and earlier Arabic epigraphy of Egypt and Syria. In most commemorative verse inscriptions, both those in Arabic and those in Turkish, the dates of the events commemorated are not expressed in figures or words but hidden in chronograms (see ABDJAD AL-DJUMMAL). There do exist also Persian inscriptions, but they are very rare.

The redactors and calligraphers of the Muslim inscriptions in Turkey seem to have had a special liking for mystifying the reader—mostly in such a manner, however, that with adequate knowledge one can discover the true meanings of the texts. Not only is there the chronogram and, in verse texts, the often intricate language, but, for instance, in the inscription commemorating the 1288/1865-6 restoration of the Eski Camī (Dijkema, No. 128) in Edirne, some words are written phonetically. Calligraphers might add to the intricacy of inscriptions, these already sufficiently difficult to read through the interlacing of the letters, by several means: the inscription of the Muradiye Mosque (dated 839/1435-6) (*ibidem*, No. 7) in Edirne, for instance, contains unusual ligatures of letters; in the inscription of the Mosque of Sitt Khātūn (dated 869/1484) (*ibidem*, No. 23), in the same town, some letters are written mirror wise; and in the inscription of the Kadīn Most (dated 876/1471) (ed. by P. Wittek in *Byzantion*, xviii [1946-8], 327, n. 2) near Küstendil (q.v.) in Bulgaria, letters and words are arranged in an unnatural manner.

Damaged or lost inscriptions were often replaced by copies. The student of Ottoman epigraphy can mostly recognise these easily, for they are generally in a better state than originals dated in the same period. Also, the wording may give a hint. Knowledge of the history of calligraphy and decorative art may provide a means to ascertain the period when a copy was made. (The foundation inscription of the Darülhadis Mosque in Edirne, dated 838/1435 (Dijkema, No. 6), for instance, is written in a *nasta'līḳ* of a kind not used as Turkish epigraphy until the middle of the 11th/17th century.)

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(F. Th. Dijkema and A. Alparslan)

8. In South-East Asia

Islamic epigraphy is distributed very unequally in South-East Asia, it being understood that islamisation, although it did take place, was not accomplished everywhere at the same time or with the same intensity. The survey which follows can give only an idea of the importance of documents from Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia*) and from the Federation of Malaysia (*Persekutuan Tanah Malaya*) We shall have only a few words to say about the other regions

A. *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*

The majority of epigraphic documents consist of tombstone inscriptions. Next in number are charters and related texts, and finally there are some brief legendary pieces on various subjects.

These three groups will be subdivided into four geographical regions, although the exigencies of history will not always allow a rigid separation: (a) Java (b) Sumatra (c) Malaysian Peninsula (d) Eastern Indonesia.

Regarding the Javanese year, since the introduction of the purely lunar calendar in 1633 A.D., it should be noted that the latter does not always correspond to the so-called "Arabic" system, because of a different distribution of 'full' years of 355 days, and also as a result of local variations which are not all known to us On this typically Javanese chronology (abbreviated Śākā Jav or S J) and the theoretical conversion of its dates to the Gregorian system, reference should be made to the article *Tāḳwīmhenang*, in *ENI*², v (= Suppl I), 73-9, which is accompanied by tables. For the pre-Islamic chronology (still in use in Bali) which consists of lunar-solar years, we shall use the term Śākā (abbr. Ś.).

1. Tomb inscriptions.

(a) *Java*. It is on this island that the oldest known Muslim tomb in Indonesia has been found. It is the burial place of a girl whose personal name is uncertain or is not indicated, but who is called Bint Maymūn. Without recalling here the arguments concerning the year of her death (there is an error in the writing of the word denoting tens), let us say that it may be read as 475 A.H. or 2 December 1082. This tomb stone is at Leran in eastern Java.

Eastern Java possesses a large number of tombs, among which we shall mention those of the cemetery at Trāḥāyā (usual orth Trolojo). Here there are found, besides a number of undated or uninscribed tombs, ten dated inscriptions ranging from 1298 to 1533 Śākā ,that is 1376 to 1611 A.D It is seen that here the Śākā chronology is still used for Muslim tombs, except in one case where we have a *hijra* date expressed in Arabic numerals Moreover, some of these tombs have a purely Javanese type of ornamentation and symbols which seem to link the interred persons to the court of Majapahit

It is also in the east of Java that there is found the tomb of an individual reckoned by tradition to be one of the nine *Wālis* responsible for the spreading of Islam to Java. His name is Malik Ibrāhīm, but his title cannot be established with certainty. The date is 822/10 April 1419.

In the cemetery of Trāwulan (usual orth. Trowulan) a few kilometres from Trāḥāyā, is the famous tomb said to be that of the Putri Campā (a title interpreted as meaning Princess of Campa), a figure well-known in legend, but the date, inscribed on the tomb in old Javanese numerals is 1370 Śākā = 1448-9 A.D. which does not correspond to the year of her death given by the literary texts The same cemetery contains a very simple tomb dated 1290 Śākā = 1368-9 A.D., which is therefore more ancient and dates back to the glorious period of Majapahit.

There is furthermore in the Soŋdaŋ Duwur complex, still in the east of Java, an inscribed wooden pole bearing the date 1407 Ś. (not 1507 as read by Stutterheim), again in old Javanese numerals. In another cemetery at Goŋdaŋ Lor (in the region of Tulung Agung) there is a tomb bearing the date

1479 Ś = 1548-9 A.D. In these two latter cases, the numerals are to be read from right to left, a mode of writing members unknown to epigraphy in the Aṣak lands but found in a number of cases in Indonesia (though rare in Sumatra), which doubtless arises from the system current in the Hindu period of expressing dates through chronograms.

Finally, in concluding this brief survey of the principal Muslim monuments of Java, let us note that in the burial complex of the famous Queen of Jāpārā (usual orth. Djaparra), Ratu Kali Nyamat, is a chronogram giving the date 1481 Ś = 1559-60 A.D.

(b) *Sumatra*. As a result of a systematic survey carried out between 1912 and 1917 in the region of the ancient kingdom of Samudra-Pasai and in the extreme north of the island, in Atchek to be precise, the *Archeological Service of Indonesia* possesses a rich collection of photographs and casts of epitaphs, most of which however offer us nothing more than pious texts without historical value. Of the sixty dated inscriptions, wholly or partly legible, which we have been able to examine from Samudra-Pasai, the majority (more than thirty) are from the 9th/15th century; ten are from the 10th/16th century; four date from the 8th/14th century, and only one from the closing years of the 7th/13th century. Among these tombs, of which about half belong to women, a dozen or less are of persons of royal or princely rank. Only a few of these epitaphs have been published, and a systematic study has yet to be made.

We may mention among the historically more important, that of the first sultan of Samudra, Sulṭān Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who died in 696/1297, and that of his son al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Shams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, which is of a completely different style and dates from 726/1326. Among the other tombs, we may mention those of a descendant of the penultimate caliph of Baghdad, named 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kādir, who died at Samudra in 809/1406, that of a queen of Samudra, great-granddaughter of the first sultan of the kingdom, dating from 831/1428, the epitaph of a princess with a Persian name, Mihr Shāh, daughter of Khōdja Aḥmad al-Sulṭān al-'Ādil, and finally, the tombs of two individuals, one named Rādja Khān dating from 834/1430 and the other, his son, Khōdja Rādja Khān b. Rādja Khān, buried in 863/1460-1.

One tomb, of unique type, is that of a person named Nā'ina Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Nā'ina Amīn. As well as conventional texts, the tomb bears a poem by Sa'dī and dates from 823/1420.

Of two particularly interesting inscriptions apparently belonging to the same tomb, the one gives us a text in Old Malay written in palaeo-Sumatran characters, the epitaph of a queen whose name is uncertain but who died in 781/1380; the other stone bears an epitaph in Arabic of a princess, with a date almost identical to that of the former, the same day of the week, the same day of the month, the same month, but the years later, 791/3 December 1388. It is probable that there is an error in the dating of one of the two inscriptions. In any case, the text in palaeo-Sumatran characters is very important, since it gives us evidence of the use of this script, which belongs to the pre-Muslim period, in the Islamic era and in the 8th/14th century, a hundred years after the islamisation of the region.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. Among the tombs discovered here are that of the sixth sovereign of Malaka, Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh b. Muẓaffar Shāh, who died in 882/1477 and that of the first sultan of Pahang, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh the conqueror of Pahang, who was the son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh. The latter tomb is dated 880/1475, and it is noticeable that the genealogy here goes back further than in the previous example. The vast majority of tomb inscriptions are in Arabic, but one case is known where the epitaph proper is in Malay. It is that of a step-daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the second sovereign of Pahang; she was in fact the daughter of the seventh sovereign of Malaka and sister of the seventh and last, who was forced to flee before the Portuguese invasion. There are various other royal tombs of the different sultanates, as well as those of eminent individuals dating from the 9th and 10th/15th and 16th centuries.

At Brunei, two tombs from the 15th century A.D. have been discovered. They are totally different from those of the Peninsular as regards the form and the style of the inscription.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. The island of Bali, where there is a small minority of Muslims in the north, has not hitherto yielded a single ancient inscription. There is one, however, on the island of Lombok, of which roughly half the population is Muslim. This inscription is bilingual: the *shahāda* in Arabic and a chronogram in Balinese script. The latter has been interpreted by Stutterheim as representing 1142/1727.

II. Charters and related documents.

(a) and (b) *Java and Sumatra*. On a *mimbar* from the east of Java, of which we have only a facsimile, there is the date 1487 Śāka/1565-6 A.D. inscribed in palaeo-Javanese numerals, but a chronogram which accompanies it causes difficulty. A small stele on at the centre of the island, in Javanese, is dated 1644 S.J./1700 A.D. There are a number of texts in existence which are related to charters. They are written in Javanese and in Javanese characters, sometimes in Arabic characters (*pegon*).

In western Java (the Sundanese country), we have eleven charters dating from the 17th and 18th centuries A.D., (they are dated according to the Javanese Śāka chronology).

From Bantan there are similar texts using both types of script, but dated according to the *hidjra* system. They date from the same centuries and are twelve in number.

Finally, from Palembang (southern Sumatra) there are various documents of which most are dated by the Javanese Śāka chronology. They are written in Javanese language and characters and date from the 17th to the 19th century.

The appointment of a chief of the Badouy (the as yet Hindu population of the Sundanese country) dates from 1124/1712-13. This document is furthermore endorsed by the seal of a sultan of Bantan (the "Bantam" of the maps) which gives the date of the accession of this sovereign as 1108/1690. There are a number of other documents existing from the Lampung country, some written on bark, one on cattleskin.

At Atcheh, documents of various kinds but generally authenticated by a seal, are called *surat-ata*. None of these which have been preserved is very old.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. The most important document from this region is an inscription, unfortunately incomplete, of a type totally different and unique in this part of the world. The text includes a proclamation of Islam, followed by a list of ten in-

fractions, with the penalties laid down for each. The date is unfortunately incomplete but we can at least be sure that it belongs to the 8th/14th century. In this text there are very few Arabic words, and even the name of Allāh is rendered by an expression Hindu in origin, *Dewata Mulya Raya*.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. Especially interesting in this region are texts written in Arabic script but in the language of Ternate, emanating from the sultanate of the same name. They are all recent (19th century), but give valuable evidence concerning this language, which is not part of the Indonesian linguistic family (which henceforward may usefully be called Nousantaran), but which alongside Malay played the rôle of a lingua franca in the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

III. Inscriptions on various objects.

1. *Cannons*.

(a), (b), (c). *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia* Cannons of diverse origin have been found (of French, Dutch or Indonesian manufacture) bearing inscriptions in Malay or in Arabic. They date from the 17th and 18th centuries. On one of these is inscribed the name *Yahetira* (variant of Djakarta) written in Javanese letters. It also bears a date, which is, however, problematical.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. A cannon of Indonesian manufacture, dating from the start of the 18th century, has been found at Soulawesi. It bears the name La Patau, the nephew of the famous Sultan of Boné Aru Palakka.

2. *Other objects*.

(a) *Java*. There are various brief inscriptions on mortars and on carved wooden panels, all of them from the 19th century.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. From this region there are a number of *gantang* (measures for rice) bearing the name of the sultan of the period. They are mainly from the 19th century, and one of them even dates from the beginning of the 20th

B. *Thailand*

From this country we have only one inscription, which is now in the museum at Sukhothai. It consists of five lines in Arabic (the name of the four archangels and the *shahāda*) as well as two lines in Urdu. It is dated 1338/1919 and has therefore no historical value, but it bears interesting witness to the behaviour of an Indian Muslim in a Buddhist country.

C. *Cambodia*

One inscription only has been found in the area of Pnom Penh. The first three lines consist only of pious texts and the fourth, which perhaps contains more interesting details, unfortunately cannot be deciphered.

D. *Campa*

Two tombstone inscriptions have been found at Campa, in Arabic with Kūfic characters. One is from 431/1039. The other is undated, but judging by the palæography, is of roughly the same age as the first.

Bibliography. For convenience, the sources have been divided in the same way as in the text of the article, sc. in three groups: I. Tomb inscriptions, II. Charters and related documents; and III. Inscriptions on various objects. Each of these groups is subdivided also according to the article proper into (a) Java, (b) Sumatra, (c) Federation of Malaysia (including British Borneo) and (d) Eastern Indonesia. In general, only books and articles discussing the epigraphic data are cited here.

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II. Charters and related documents.

a. *Java*: For the older articles, see *TBG* for 1857, 1864, 1868, 1870 and 1911-16, under the names of B. H. Th Friedrich, A B C[ohen] S[tuart], and C. M. Pleyte. On the stele of Surâchâlâ Bosch, *Oudheden in het Zuidersgebergte bij de Kali Opak*, in *OV* (1925), 148-9 and pl. 38, K C. Crucq, (Surâchâlâ), *Epigraphische Aantekeningen*, in *OV* (1929), 267; R. F. Holle, *Pygagim van den vorst van Mataram*, in *TBG*, xiii (1864), 492-6; idem, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Preanger-Regentschappen*, in *TBG*, xvii (1868), (316-) 341-67; J L. A. Brandes, *Drie koperen platen uit den Mataramsche tijd, gevonden in de residentie Krawang*, in *TBG*, xxxii (1889), 339-62; idem, *Nog iets over een reeds gepubliceerden piagem van Sultan Ageng*, in *TBG*, xxxii (1889), 363-7, idem, *Nog eenige Javaansche Pragem's uit het Mohammedaansche tijdvak*, in *TBG*, xxxii (1889), esp. 558-63;

b *Sumatra and Bangka*: On the inscriptions of Bangka: [anon.], *NBG*, vi (1868), 36-8 and 45-6, Brandes, *Nog eenige Javaansche pragim's* [illegible], in *TBG*, xxxii (1889), esp 595-8; On the island of Sumatra: J. J. Meinsma, *Eene proklamatie van een sultan van Bantam [in 1663]*, in *BKI*, 3-viii 20 (1873), 152-7, H. N. van der Tuuk, *Nauw aanteekening van een proclamatie van den Sultan van Bantam*, in *TBG*, xxiii (1876), 134-9, idem, *Lampongsche pâgagims*, in *TBG*, xxix (1884), 191-207; H. C Humme, *Javaansche inscripties*, in *BKI*, 4-viii [32] (1884), 1-20, idem, *Nog iets over Javaansche Inscripties*, in *BKI*, 4 x [34] (1885), 113-8, idem, *Weder een Javaansche inscripie op Sumatra*, in *BKI*, 4-x 34 (1885), 363-9; Brandes (charter of Palemba), in *NBG*, xxvi (1888), 217-21; idem, *Nog eenige Javaansche pragims uit het Mataram maleansche tijdvak*. ., in *TBG*, 1889 1903, [anon.] (On "Mandi Anjo" and Tadjung), *Amerta No 3* (Dinas Purbakala R I.), Djakarta 1935, 15, 27, 28, 36; Th. Pigeaud, *Afhandelingen van Soeltans van Banten voor Lampoeng*, in *Djâwâ*, ix (1929), 123-56, ill., G. A. J. Hazeu, *Een beschreven heperen plaat uit de Lampongs*, in *TBG*, xlviii (1906), 1-11, Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten*, Haarlem 1913, esp. 119-30, idem, *Nog iets omtrent de Lampongsche oorkonde over de oorspronkelijke verhouding tusschen Lampoeng en Banten*, in *NBG*, lvi of (1920), 48-51, *TBG*, 1870, 1876, 1907, 1917-19, 1933, 1936, articles of van der Tuuk, Palmer van den Broek, L. C Westenenk, J Jongejans, van den Berg and Tichelman, [anon.], *Mededeelingen betreffende de Atjehsche Onderhoorigheden*, in *BKI*, lxxi (1916), esp 166.

c. *Federation of Malaysia*: H S. Peterson, *An early Malay inscription from Trengganu*, in *JMalBrRAS*, ii/3 (1924), 252-8, ill., C. O Blagden, *A note on the Trengganu inscription*, in *JMalBrRAS*, ii/3 (1924), 258-83, Linehan, *History of Pahang*, esp *Appendix IV*, in *JMalBrRAS*, xiv/2 (1936), 201-25

d *Eastern part of Indonesia*: F S A. de Clercq *Bydragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate*, 1890 ill., esp 202-44 with pp 28 of Arabic text, V I van de Wall, *Het muzzum Kedaton van Ternate*, in *OV* (1922), 138-42, ill

III Inscriptions on various subjects.

a. Jan. Cohen Stuart, *Een oud vuurmapen van Djakarta*, in *TBG*, xx (1871-73), 70-7, ill. Crucq, *Inscripties op oude hanonenen*, in *OV* (1930), 237-8, ill , idem, *Een aequivalent van Ki Amoek te Batavia*, in *TBG*, lxxvi (1936), 576-8; idem, *De geschiedenis van het heilig kanon te Banten*, in *TBG*, lxxviii (1938), 359-91; idem, *Epigraphische Aantekeningen*, in *OV* (1929), 259-281, idem *Houtenwerk met inscripties in den Kraton Kasepoehan te Cheribon*, in *Djâwâ*, xii (1932), 8-10, ill.

b *Sumatra*: E Metscher, (Cannons), in *NBG*, iv (1868), 271-2, 5[illegible]; C A. Gibson-Hill, *Notes on the old cannon found on Malaya and known to be of Dutch origin*, in *JMalBrRAS*, xxvi/2 (1953), 158, ill.

c. *Federation of Malaysia*: Blagden, *A XVIIth century Malay cannon in London*, in *JMalBrRAS*, xix/1 (1941), 122-4, Rentse, *Gantang of Kelantan*, in *JMalBrRAS*, xi/2 (1933), 248-4, ill.

d. *Eastern part of Indonesia*: Crucq, *Inscripties op oude hanonenen*, in *OV* (1930), 238-9.

C. Cambodia (anon), *La stèle arabe du Phnom Bakhèn*, in *BEFEO*, xxii (1922), 160.

D. Campa: M. F. Ravaisse, *Deux inscriptions coufiques du Campa*, in *JA*, 11/xx (1922), 247-69

(L. Ch. Damais)

g. Iran and Transoxiana.

Before the advent of Islam, the regions of Iran and Transoxiana had long-established traditions of

literacy. On the one hand, use was made of various scripts derived from the Imperial Aramaic of the Achaemenid chancelleries during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. These employed a largely historical spelling for Iranian words, and combined with this, ideographic writing-elements formed from Semitic roots, but with added Iranian terminations (known as phonetic complements) to indicate the inflexions. On the other hand, in the regions of Balkh, Tukhāristān and Bukhkhadh, there had been current the cursive Bactrian script, a slightly modified form of the Greek alphabet, which like its parent employed for this Iranian dialect straightforward phonetic spellings. This survived on the so-called Arab Hephthalite coins until the coming of Islam. Here and there, among the Buddhist communities, Indian Kharoṣṭhī and even Brahmī scripts had formerly been known, but with these, as with the Runic Turkish of Eastern Turkistan, and the undeciphered Kushan linear script of Dasht-I Navor, we are not here concerned.

To the first group, the descendents of Aramaic, belonged Parthian, Sogdian and Khᵛārazmian, besides a little-known variant of the same type used in Māzandarān. Sogdian and Khᵛārazmian lingered on, again on coins, well down into Islamic times. More prominent however, was (Sasanian) Pahlavī, which, in its cursive form known as Book-Pahlavī, co-existed with Islam for centuries as a vehicle of Zoroastrian scriptures. It is found beside Arabic in bilingual Islamic inscriptions of the Caspian region at Rādkān (Neka), Lājīm and Rasgīt (Resget), and perhaps was the only method of writing the Persian language in the earlier Islamic period. Until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj in 76/695-6, Pahlavī had been the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 423) converted the chancery of al-ʿIrāḳ, and ultimately of the Iranian east, to Arabic script and language. In 84/703-4, Book-Pahlavī and Cursive Bactrian occur together with Arabic on a coin of the Gūrgān district in Afghānistān issued by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Sogdian and Khᵛārazmian script continue to occur as coins of Bukhārā and Khᵛārazm, and Book-Pahlavī on the issues of Tabaristān, well into ʿAbbāsid times. Otherwise, the language of the Umayyad "Reformed coinage", and succeeding Muslim issues, is uniformly Arabic, apart from the Marw issue of 79/698-9, which has the city-name in Pahlavī.

The four earliest varieties of the Arabic script, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 8) were *makkī*, *madanī*, *baṣrī* and *kūfī*. The implied differences between these forms still elude modern commentators, who today use the term Kūfic (as opposed to *kūfī* in Ibn al-Nadīm's sense) with general application to all varieties of monumental, angular, and (usually) unpointed Arabic script, employed for the writing of Kurʾāns, in lapidary inscriptions, and in coin legends. It can be observed that the Umayyad "Reformed coinage" actually shows five distinct styles of script that of Damascus with its related mints, that of the earliest issues from Iranian cities; that of Wāsiṭ, with the developed Iranian issues; that of Sidjistān, a curiously awkward script with "thorny" letter terminals; and the thin and delicate script of the closing Umayyad, and revolutionary ʿAbbāsid coinages.

Apart from inscriptions on the coins, the dated Arabic inscriptions of Iran, as at present known, begin surprisingly late. The earliest are a still unpublished series at Bahmandiz, near the border of Fārs and Iṣfahān Provinces. The clearest text reads *ʿamarahā Khāzim b. Muḥammad b. Dja[ʿ]far (?) sanat khams sitta wa-mi[ʾ]atayn*. Another records the birth of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Khāzim on Monday, 27 Shaʿbān 309. The same site has one poorly preserved Book-Pahlavī inscription and many other short texts in Arabic. A substantial list of the known Arabic inscriptions of Iran to 600/1203-4 was compiled by Mīrzā. The earliest of consequence are the famous texts of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā Khusraw [*q.v.*] in the Tachara at Persepolis, recording the defeat of Muḥammad b. Mākān in Ṣafar 344/May-June 955 and the ʿAmīr's interest in the decipherment of inscriptions. One of the texts has been shown to contain several Persian words (R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 231, 290, with fig. 63). Nearby is the inscription of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dated 392/1002-3. Earlier in fact than any known Arabic inscription of Iran or Afghānistān is the enigmatic text from the Tochi Valley in Waziristān, now in the Peshāwar Museum, which is dated Djumādā I 243/August 857. This seems to contain a mention of "the land of 'Umān", which, with the early date, would imply a connexion with the Khāridjite amīrate at Sarakhs [*q.v.*], since judging by the *Taʾrīkh-i Sistān*, caliphal control could not then have extended so far east.

Decorative varieties of Arabic script were equally slow to appear in the Islamic East. The texts of ʿAḍud al-Dawla show no more than occasional barbed terminations, and characters linked by small loops beneath the base-line. Foliation of letter-terminals seems to have developed first in Egypt, and to have been quickly followed there by Floriation (by which is here understood the use of attached, but extended, leaf-decoration, as well as that of circular flowers, either attached or separate). Such features, as Grohmann showed, were known in Egypt as early as 218/833-4, and must have travelled thence to the East, not, as Van Berchem maintained, on the evidence of a restored inscription of Tashkent, from Central Asia westwards. In Iran, strongly Foliated Kūfic often tending to floriation is found in undated (probably 4th/10th century) inscriptions of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Nīyīn. The earliest dated examples of floriation appear to be the inscriptions of Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, a Kurdish ruler in Luristān, one at each end of the Pul-i Māmūlān near Khurramābād, alike dated 374/984-5, and another from the Pul-i Kashkān completed in 399/1008-9, which all record the building of the bridges. Very fine specimens of Floriated Kūfic are those of the minaret of the Fā'yi Minār mosque at Zawāra (461/1068-9), and the tomb-tower of Hormizdyār at Rasgīt (Resget). From a reading of its date that was uncertain, Godard sought to ascribe the latter to the 5th/11th century, but its thick, heavy script and floral decorations are more comparable with the legends of the Khᵛārazm-Shāhī coins of the 6th/12th century; and in any event, the closing words can hardly be taken for a date. In fact, the principality of Khᵛārazm had been slow to develop an ornate calligraphy. That region during the 5th/11th century had adopted an austere and elegant style, unusual only for the sweeping curves of the *dāl*, *kāf* and *lām*, which is exemplified by the foundation-text of Muʾmin b. Muʾmin (dated 402/1010-11), in lead, from a minaret of Urgandj, or Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], now at Tashkent. With this may be compared the silver tray of the unidentified prince Tādj al-Umma wa Sirādj al-Milla Khᵛārazm-Shāh b. Ibrāhīm, reproduced by Smirnov. Further to the west in the Zyārid kingdom,

the inscription of the Gunbad-i Kāhān (395/1004-5) is in a magisterially simple, yet wholly undecorated script. Such austere forms were well adapted to rendering in the brickwork of the many minarets and domes erected under the Saldjūks in Iran such, for example, as the plain and elongated lettering of the founder's inscription of the minaret Nūrān al-Mulk in the sanctuary of the Djāmi' at Isfahān (*AMI*, vii, 2-3, 83) or that in the name of the Sultān Muhammad b. Malik Shāh at Gulpāyagān.

More adventurous calligraphic developments had meanwhile been taking place in the Sāmānid territories of Transoxania and Khurāsān, no doubt stimulated by the introduction of paper manufactore from China, and the stimulus consequently given to penmen. On the slip-painted "Nīshāpūr" pottery, magnificent lettering is found in black or chocolate over a pale ground, and plaited or interlaced letter-forms soon become widespread. In the absence of dated specimens, chronology of the pottery depends on examples in other media. Interlaced letters appear on a *dīnār* of Nasr b. Ahmad dated 324/935-6 from al-Muhammadiyya (Rayy), and similar forms are found frequently on subsequent Būyid coins of North Iranian mints. Thus Plaited Kūfic seems to have been diffused from east to west across the Islamic world, in the opposite direction to floriation. In Iran, the classic example of the plaited style is the epigraphic frieze of Abū Dja'far Muhammad b. Wandarīn on his tomb-tower at Rādkān in Māzandarān, commenced in 407/1016-17 and completed in 411/1020-1. The outstanding specimen to combine floriation with plaited decoration is the script at the tomb of Yahyā b. Zayd (known as Imāmzāde Khurd), at Sar-i Pul in Afghānistān. Undated it mentions one Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Shādān, evidently a relative of Abū 'Alī Ahmad, *wazīr* of the Saldjūk Caghrī Beg, and so should be several decades later than the Saldjūk occupation of Balkh around 435/1042 A. Plaited script appears also on the celebrated arch of Bust in southern Afghānistān, which though ascribed by commentators to the 5th/11th century, has greater affinities, both architectural and epigraphic, with the Ghaznavid period. In view of this last fact, its fragmentary date could suitably be restored merely as *arba'mi'a* (400/1009-10), which would thus be the earliest specimen of Plaited Kūfic in the Ghaznavid area, and belonging consequently to the reign of Mahmūd I.

More typical of the lettering of the Ghūrid period, in contrast to the previous examples, is a Bordered Kūfic which descends from that of the later Ghaznavid minarets, those of Mas'ūd III (492-508/1099-1115) and Bahrām Shāh (512-52/1117-57) at Ghazna. Here the decorative border is independent of the actual lettering, though both stand on a floral background. A forerunner of this convention may be the so-called shrine of Bībā Hātūn or Sīār Ghalī, near Andkhoy, which may even predate the Saldjūk occupation there, and has bordered decoration of a simple kind. This monument of the mature Ghūrid period (late 6th/12th century) show a great variety of scripts, which include a stiff, archaising Kūfic, and a flowing Naskhī (Thuluth, see below). The most characteristic, however, both at Čisht, and in particular at Shāh-i Mashhad, is a form with broad decorative borders developed into complex geometrical forms. Further to the west, under successors of the Saldjūks in Iran, Bordered Kūfic is seen resembling that of the minarets at Ghazna on that at Nigār in Kirmān province. Enhanced with sparse turquoise tiling, it is presumed to date from 615/1218-19.

The Kūfic inscriptions so far discussed are all couched in Arabic. The small number of Persian epigraphs known which were written in this character were discussed by Bombaci in his examination of the long and fragmentary Persian verse-inscription on marble slabs, found in the palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazna (built in 505/1111-12). He notes Persian verses also on the tomb of an unknown person at Ghazna. However, the earliest example of such a text is on the portal arch of Rībāt-i Malik near Bulkhārā (Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, Pl. 273B), ascribed to the Karakhānid Shams al-Mulk Nasr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm (471/1078-9). Other monumental Persian inscriptions are at the tomb of Mu'mina Khātūn at Nakhčīvān (N. Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, in *JA* (1862), 213-15), and especially that at the mausoleum of the later Karakhānid Djalāl al-Dīn al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī at Uzgend (547/1152), where the Persian foundation text is in sinuous Naskhī, and the largely Turkish protocol of the ruler, below, in a rigorously geometrical Bordered Kūfic. In unpointed script Persian has always been found extremely difficult to read, and it was only with the advent of fully pointed Naskhī that the monumental use of Persian became extensive.

In any event, by the close of the 5th/11th century, decorated kūfic was passing out of favour, both by reason of its difficult legibility, and perhaps on account of associations with the Fātimid dynasty, considered hostile by the Saldjūks. Cursive handwritings, the rounded Naskhī, and the flowing and ligatured chancery hands, had always co-existed with the angular script, and now emerged with full monumental status. A Naskhī text on the tombstone of Mahmūd I at Ghazna contains the date 421/1030, but is often considered a later addition, as are the Kūfic inscriptions on the wooden doors from that tomb. Nevertheless, Ghazna played a leading part in the innovation, for the specimen there on a marble panel naming the Sultān Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd is unlikely to be later than his death in 492/1099, in view of its wording. At Dandānkān (*q.v.* in Suppl.), a Naskhī text is placed before 494/1100. A small panel in Naskhī appears on the Čilil Dukhtarān mausoleet at Isfahān (dated 502/1107-9), as also on that of Muhammad b. Malik Shāh at Sāwa (504/1110-11), where the main text is Kūfic. The minaret at Dawlatābād near Balkh is ascribed to the year 502/1108-9. Besides a band of Kūfic it has a fine epigraphic frieze of Naskhī type (of a style which some designate Thuluth). At the Imām-i Kādān shrine at Sar-i Pul nearby, the entrance inscription is in sprawling Naskhī, but unhappily only the units figure of the date is legible (- 9). Thereafter, the historical inscriptions of Muslim monuments were regularly in the rounded script, as at the Imām-zāda Karrār at Buzūn (528/1133-4), which provided Herzfeld with the occasion to prepare a list of Kūfic and Naskhī inscriptions noted in his time. Recent discoveries enable us to add to his list the *mashrabiyya* of Shāh-i Mashhad already mentioned, and the mausoleum of Qorveh (Kurwa) near Kazwīn, ascribed to 575/1179-80. Arabic manuals of calligraphy, followed by several recent commentators, apply special terms (*thuluth*, *muhakkak*, *nasKhī*, *rik'a* and so on) to varieties of Naskhī script. Yet since the application of these in succeeding periods is inconsistent, and the categories appearing on monuments do not always correspond, it is safer to use only the general term. From the second half of the 6th/12th century, Naskhī inscriptions exist in substantial

numbers in Iran. The best general study, no longer, of course, up-to-date, is that of Kratchkovskaya (in Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, iv, 1770-84). Often the Naskhī characters stand, without attachment, on an overall background of vegetable scrolls, a convention found also in the latest phase of Kūfic. In the period of the Ilkhāns and later, wide variations are found in the forms of script under the Naskhī "label". As outstanding specimens, mention must be made of the *sabras* to Öljeytü in the Dīānī[c] of Isfahān, and the *sanduq* of the Mugaffarid Ahmad at Sirdjān, with its massed verticals typical of the *tughrā* style. Yet the fashion for Naskhī, in numerous forms and variations, with increasing use of diacritical points and signs persists down to the time of the Safawids and still more recently. In later centuries, monumental inscriptions stand closer to the traditions of the manuscript copyists. Besides foundation-texts, they often include the detailed provisions of *waḳf*-endowments. However, from the point of view of script, they hardly make the same call as the examples of the Kūfic period for separate treatment.

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10. India.

The Indian sub-continent is very rich in Muslim inscriptions, the study of which affords valuable information not only to the archaeologist and historian but also to the geographer, the economist, the student of religions, the linguist, and of course the calligrapher. Most of these are found on religious buildings (tombs, mosques, *ʿīdgāhs*, *imāmbāṛās*, *madrasas*) and military works (forts, gates, bastions, cavaliers, towers), or as works of public utility (bridges, tanks, *bāʾolīs*, dams, sluices, *sarāʾis*), some are also found on palaces, gardens, pavilions, etc.; and another class is found on movable objects such as guns and swords, ornamental metalwork including Bidrī ware (see BIDAM), and on crystal and jade (see BILLAWR and YAŠM). The greatest part of the public inscriptions is carved on stone; often of a stone identical to that of the main building material, but not infrequently a specially selected fine-grained stone is used for the inscription and cemented into the structure.

Here the question of authenticity must be considered. An inscription may indeed be exactly contemporary with the building on which it appears. But it may also be earlier, preserved through the reverence accorded to the written word or through the ascription to it of some special sanctity, and set into a later unrelated building; or else later, marking say the completion of a building project essentially constructed perhaps half-a-century earlier, as at the Dīānī masdjid of Bidjāpur (*q.v.*), a late ʿĀdil Shāhī building whose inscription records its completion by Awrangzīb, or recording a restoration (as in many works in Dihlī of Firūz b. Radjab, whose inscriptions have to be studied in connexion with the problems of interpretation in his own accounts of his restorations in the *Futūḥāt-i Firūz-Shāhī*: see ORMLI. Monuments); or it may be fictitious—not necessarily mischievously for example, the Persian inscription to the Masdjid Kuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī is probably a *post facto* of sixty or seventy years after the conquest.

The technique of carving stone inscriptions in Arabic, Persian or Urdū is conspicuously different

from that of inscriptions in other Indian languages, where the characters are engraved into the surface of the stone, in the Muslim inscriptions the outline of the letters is first written on the stone, and the ground between the letters then chiselled away leaving the inscription level with the original surface. A similar technique may be applied to inscriptions on crystal and jade, and also to the larger metal pieces, although on any of these fields the letters may be incised and the grooves filled with another material to leave an inscription flush with the surface, in the case of Bīdrī ware this is regularly of silver bar laid into the base metal. Inscriptions in ceramics may be either of letters in a contrasting colour fired integrally in a regularly-shaped tile (*kāshī-rangī* see GHAZAR), or consist of the individual letter-shapes let into a contrasting ground by a mosaic technique. The former ceramic technique is more commonly employed for simple repetitive motifs (*e.g.* the names Allāh or Muḥammad), sometimes combined with a moulded base on which the letter-shapes are raised, as on the merlons of Rukn-i ʿĀlam's tomb in Multān, mosaic tile inscriptions, which do not appear until the 11th/17th century, are best exemplified in the Mughal buildings of Lahore ([see LAHAWR])

The language of the earliest inscriptions is invariably Arabic There are no inscriptional records of the ʿAbbāsid presence in Sindh, although a few were engendered by the Muslim communities which lingered on in Sindh and the Panjāb, with their occasional offshoots in Kačč̌h and the north coast of Kāṯhiāwāṛ [see GUJARAT], to which were added the small communities which grew up around the *khānkāhs* of individual Ṣūfī saints who drifted in to India before the Ghūrid conquest, especially in the Panjāb and the Ganges valley After the Ghūrid conquest of Dihlī, dating inscriptions remain in Arabic regularly until towards the end of the 7th/13th century, when they are replaced by Persian; non historical epigraphs tend to remain in Arabic somewhat longer, and of course Arabic persists up to the present day for Ḳurʾānic quotations on mosque and tomb inscriptions This does not, however, apply to the sultanates of Bengal, where the preferred language of dating inscriptions remains in Arabic until Mughal times. In late Mughal times, in north India Urdū inscriptions appear beside Persian. Away from Dihlī, there are many bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, especially in the Deccan (Persian/Sanskrit, Persian/Marāṯhī, Persian/Kannada, etc), there are a few inscriptions in the Deccan regions in Dakhnī [q.v.]. Not infrequently the date is written in Arabic words in a Persian inscription; and often the Arabic, and to a less extent the Persian, is grammatically incorrect. The date on north Indian inscriptions is regularly expressed in Hijrī years, except for a few inscriptions of the time of Akbar and Djahāngīr which use the Dīn i Ilāhī [q.v.] system, or are dated by regnal years. In the Deccan, various solar calendars are occasionally used, especially the *Shāhūr* san (well studied by Marie Martin, in an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of Colorado) in the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanate of Bīdjāpur, and a *Faṣlī* san in Golkonda and under the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād In Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān, the Mawlūdī era is used. For these eras, see TA'RĪKH

The scripts in use are the common Kūfic, *naskh*, *thuluth*, and *nasta'līḳ* Kūfic is used only in the earliest dating inscriptions, and retained long after its period of active use in Ḳurʾānic quotations. *Naskh* and *thuluth* are in common use for both Arabic and Persian inscriptions all over India, with some regional modifications. *Nasta'līḳ* is regularly used for Persian inscriptions in and after the Mughal period, and for inscriptions in Urdū. Of the regional styles, the most striking is that of Bengal, where the vertical strokes of *alif*, *kāf* and *lām* are much elongated and spaced evenly across the length of the inscription, leaving the significant parts of the remainder of the letters to occupy the lowest quarter or third of the band, sometimes the tails of final or detached *nūn* or *yāʾ* are so disposed in the top part of the inscription to produce the "bow and arrow" effect. A similar style is seen also on some of the coins of Djawnpur Elaborate *tughrās* fall more in the domain of *farmāns* and other such documents rather than in public epigraphs, although they are certainly known in ceramic tile tintay and in *pietra dura* in Mughal buildings, but simpler *tughrās*, in the square seal-script, are not uncommon, consisting usually of repetitions of the names Muḥammad or ʿAlī, or both, or the *ḥalima* None of these seal-script inscriptions approaches the complexity of the Iranian examples. Simple dating inscriptions are usually unadorned but many mosque inscriptions, starting with the *makṣūra* arches of the first stage of the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al Islām in Dihlī, are engraved against an arabesque [*q.v.*] pattern also carved in relief on the ground. The finest example of this, however, is a dating inscription of the governor Tughril from a lost building at Bihār sharīf. Similar arabesque patterns may also set off inscriptions in tilework or painted plaster, and occur also on coins of the Mughal period [see SIKKA] Many inscriptions are of a high order of calligraphic excellence, and the names of many calligraphers in many regions of India are recorded

The information which the inscriptions provide for the historian is sometimes very valuable, at times, they furnish the only sources for doubtful points of dynastic chronology, they supply missing details from the literary histories, or enable confusing points to be resolved where the other documents are in conflict; they enable more complete lists to be made of rulers' families, of the local nobility or court and town officials; and they are a valuable source of information on the history of the buildings on which they are found (subject to the reservation on their authenticity inferred to above). Indirectly, too, their location enables the political status of border regions at certain confused times to be determined, such as the regions in dispute between the Mālwā and Djawnpur sultanates [*q.vv.*], or the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* [see HYDERABAD History]; in many cases, an inscription is the only evidence for a fort or stronghold having been occupied by a particular power at any time. Even when rulers and governors are known from chronicles, the inscriptions often provide essential information on details of their careers, their promotions and postings, their achievements, even on their families. Tomb-inscriptions frequently mention their subject's birthplace, and thereby provide evidence for the extent of immigration and for the settlement pattern of foreign groups.

Administrative and economic details contained in or implied by the inscriptions can also be invaluable information on details of departments, names of offices, and designations of office-holders; on the imposition or remission of taxes, and their varied application to certain classes or trades, on the nature and conditions of grants of land, both to

builders of an *shāh* [*q.v.*] and to charitable institutions such as mosques or *madrasa* as *waḳf* [*q.v.*], on land cultivation or irrigation (well inscriptions, or records of repairs to tanks and dams, often refer to the amount of land intended to be irrigated), on regional boundaries, on markets. Records on works of public utility may include a schedule of expenses on the wages to be paid to employees. Geographical details, including distances, occur in inscriptions relating to roads and bridges, which also provide information on their builders—besides recording the correct forms of place names, which seem singularly liable to corruption by copyists of the chronicles. Building inscriptions often indicate the cost of construction as well as details of the architects; an unusual inscription in the tomb of Hūshang Shāh at Māndū [*q.v.*] records a tribute by visiting Mughal architects of the family of master-builders who were later responsible for the Tādj Maḥall. Gun inscriptions, as well as prescribing essential instructions on the quantity of charge and shot required, frequently provide information on gun founding and the gun-founders—often Turks or Europeans—involved in the industry.

The literary contribution of the inscriptions must not be overlooked. Many inscriptions are in verses composed *ad hoc*, some of considerable beauty and skill, but it must be admitted that the verse of a lot of inscriptions is no better than doggerel. This is especially the case with verses containing a chronogram, where taste is often sacrified in favour of ingenuity. There are occasional quotations from well-known Persian poets, but frequently the authors are local poets not otherwise recorded. Specimens of Dakhnī poetry are preserved in some Deccan inscriptions. Some prose inscriptions also evince literary merit, and may contain traditions not found in the usual collections of *aḥādīth*, such as the saying ascribed to Jesus in the Djāmiʿ masdjid of Fathpur Sikrī (Persian), or the variations on a tradition (Arabic) in the mosque inscriptions of Bengal, basically "The Prophet, God's peace is upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque to God, for him God builds a *bayt* in Paradise'". Sentiments expressed range from strict and self-conscious rectitude through quietist mysticism to wistful nostalgia.

There is also the linguistic contribution of inscriptions. The occurrence of local words (Hindī, Bengalī, Marāṭhī, Gudjarātī, Urdū and Dakhnī in particular) is useful in reconstructing the history (and social conditions of use) of Indian languages. Bilingual inscriptions provide evidence on the extent of use of local languages and their place in communication of official instructions to the public, and the status of a particular local language in a border area, this is especially the case in the Deccan, where Muslim inscriptions in Kannada, Marāṭhī and Telugu are not uncommon besides the usual Persian and Dakhnī.

The Indian sub-continent has been fortunate in the attention which has been paid to Muslim inscriptions for well over a century. Hundreds are recorded in orientalist publications, besides those in specialist journals devoted to epigraphy alone, and India has been well served by highly competent Government Epigraphists appointed specially to oversee Arabic and Persian inscriptions, of whom Ghulam Yazdanī and Zinuddin Desai are pre-eminent. The work of exploration, interpretation and publication is still active.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography would be enormous in view of the great corpus of Indian Muslim epigraphs published as far inscriptions which relate to particular regions of India are listed under regional articles on History. In the 19th century epigraphs were mostly published, usually with translations and notes, in *JASB*. From 1907 the invaluable *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* appeared, which continued until the independence of India and Pakistan. Pre-*EI*1st inscriptions are listed in J. Horovitz, *A list of the published Muhamedan inscriptions of India*, in *EIM* (1909-10). Since the cessation of *EIM*, Muslim inscriptions of India have appeared in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, and valuable comments appear also in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. Articles and studies are recorded in Creswell, *Bibliography*, and its Supplement, and in Pearson and Supplements. Many of the earlier *EIM* articles collect the epigraphs of individual sultans, but recent discoveries have rendered many of these out-of-date. V. S. Bendrey, *Studies in Muslim inscriptions*, Bombay 1944, extracts some historical information from epigraphs published in *EIM* to that date, but since the author knew no Arabic or Persian many significant details were not appreciated, and the work suffers from the limitation of its corpus. There is a valuable chapter on Arabic and Persian epigraphy in the Deccan by Z. A. Desai in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, Hyderabad 1974.

(J. Burton-Page)

KITĀBKHĀNA [see MAKTABA]

KITĀMIYYA [see SHADHILIYYA]

KIṬFĪR, one of the most common names for the biblical Potiphar in Islamic tradition. It is probably a corruption of Fiṭfir, based upon an early scribal error. Other forms of the name based on confusions of similar letters in Arabic script are Kiṭfīn, Kiṭ'in, and Kiṭfin. The form Kiṭfīr is frequently corrupted further to Iṭfīr (so generally in Ṭabarī, Tha'labī, Zamakhsharī, Baydawī, and others), and in some manuscripts Iṭfin. He is given the patronymic Ibn Ruḥayb (also Ibn Ruḥayb and Ibn Rūḥīt in mss.). There is considerable confusion regarding his name, and Ṭabarī, for example, uses several forms. Kisā'ī alone calls him Kuṭfīr, which is closest to the original Hebrew in the Ḳur'ān, he is merely referred to by his title al-'Azīz (XII, 30, 51).

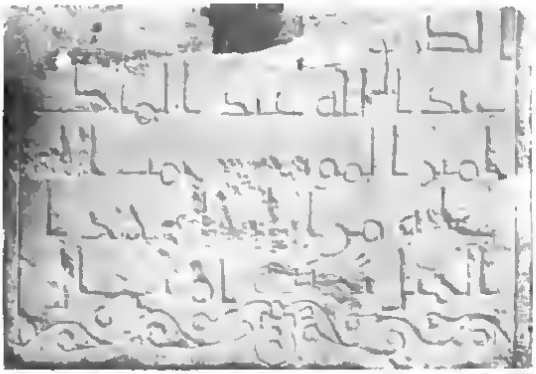
Kiṭfīr was the treasurer of Egypt. Because he immediately discerned Yūsuf's [*q.v.*] fine qualities, he is considered one of the three most insightful individuals (*afraṣ al nās*) in the judging of men, along with Shu'ayb's daughter, who asked her father to hire Mūsā, and Abū Bakr, who chose 'Umar as his successor (Ṭabarī, Tha'labī, Zamakhsharī, Baydawī).

Several reflections of the Haggadic Potiphar are found in Muslim legends. Kiṭfīr dies after Yūsuf's release from prison. Yūsuf in most Muslim sources marries Kiṭfīr's wife and finds her a virgin. This is never explained by the fact that Kiṭfīr was a eunuch, as is common in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (based on a later interpretation of Bible. Heb. *sārīs*), but rather that he was a homosexual as in some Jewish midrashim (comp. Ṭabarī, i, 396, with *Sota*, 13b, and *Genesis Rabba*, lxxxiii, 3). According to Kisā'ī, Kiṭfīr had been unable to have sexual relations with his wife because he was an alcoholic (*'unnīn*). Yūsuf's marrying Kiṭfīr's wife probably reflects the association of Potiphar with Potiphera (Gen. xli, 45) in the midrash.

Kiṭfīr is a minor character about whom little is related in Islamic tradition.

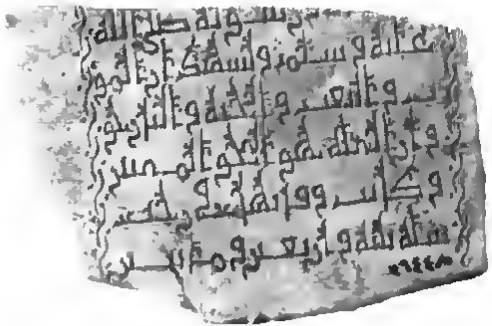
1. Near East. Stele from Aṣwān, 263/876. Archaic type of script (Photo Goult)

2. Near East. Umayyad mosaic inscription in the Kubbat al-Ṣakhra, Jerusalem (Photo K. A. C. Creswell).



3. Near East. Umayyad inscription. Milestone of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik
(Photo. M. Van Berchem)

4. Near East. ʿAbbāsid Kūfic type. Egyptian stele, 204/819
(Photo. S. Ory)



5. Near East. Angular script, carved out, and with hooks which foreshadow palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo G. Wiet)

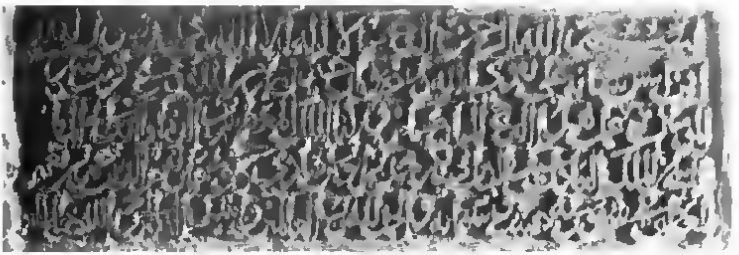
7. Near East. Fragment of a Fāṭimid inscription in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, Cairo, end of the 4th/10th century (Photo. Van Berchem)

6. Near East. Angular script, in relief, and with palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. Wiet).

8. Near East Fāṭimid inscription from the tomb of Fāṭima at Damascus 439/1045 (Photo J. Dufour)

9. Near East Saldjūk inscription from the tomb of Sukayna at Damascus, carved in wood, 6th/12th century (Photo Dufour)

10. Near East: Cursive script type. Grave inscription (561/1166) from the cemetery of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, Damascus (Photo. Kh. Moaz)



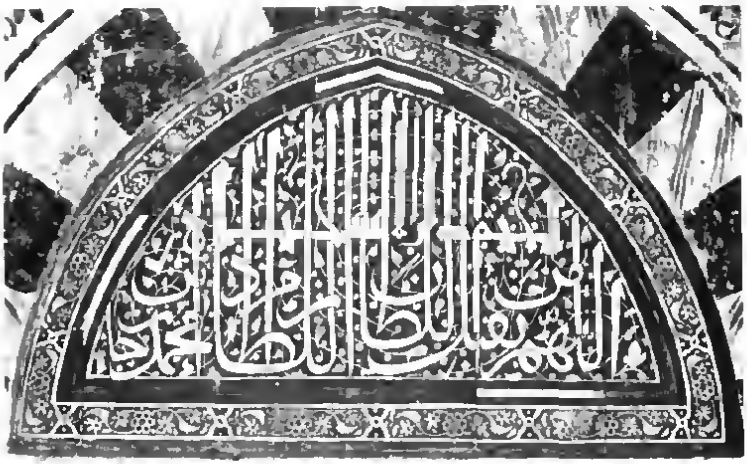
11. Near East Ayyūbid *naskhī* type, citadel of Jerusalem, 619/1213 (Photo. Van Berchem).

12 Near East Mamlūk *naskhī* type Ordinance of 889/1484 at Tripoli (Photo. Van Berchem).

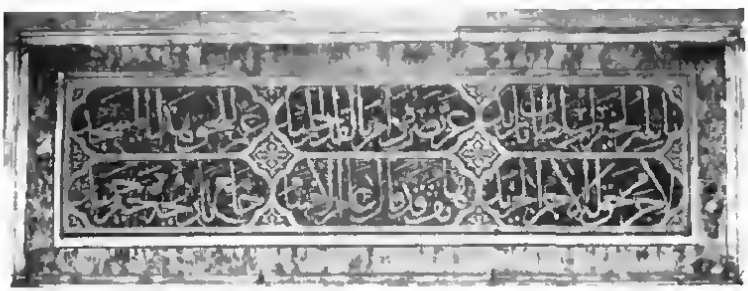
13. Near East Type of Ottoman script which is still very close to Mamlūk *naskhī* Inscription (943/1536-7) of the Bāb al-Nāẓir at Jerusalem (Photo Van Berchem)

14. Spain. Almeria. Epitaph of a <u>sh</u>aykh. 528/1133. Kūfic.
(Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 137).

15. Spain. Granada. Fragments of the inscription commemorating the foundation of the Medersa 750/1349. Andalusian cursive. (Lévi Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 172).



16. Turkey. Tile inscription in the courtyard of the Üçşerefeli Mosque, Edirne. *Ca.* 850/1446-7.

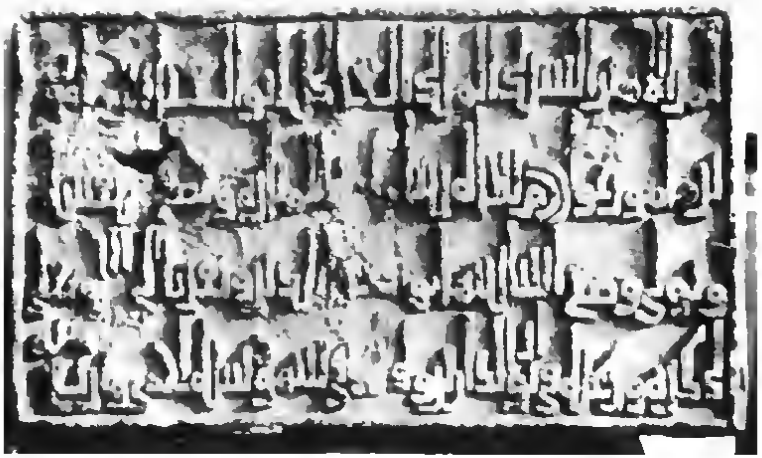


17. Turkey. Inscription over the entrance to the Mosque of Bāyezīd II in Edirne. Engraved on stone and painted. Reportedly designed by the famous calligrapher Shaykh Hamd Allāh. Dated 893/1488

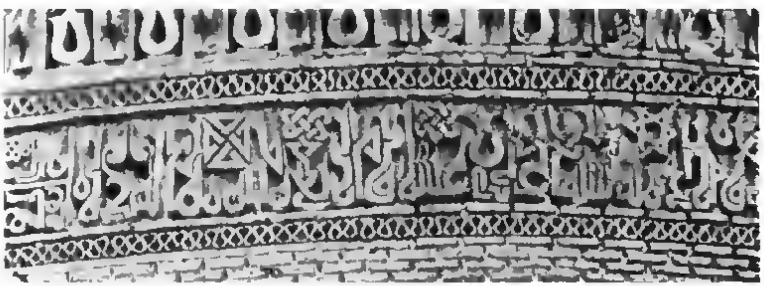
18. Turkey. Inscription on a public fountain (*česhme*) in Edirne. Engraved on white marble. Dated 1080/1669-70

19. Iran Persepolis Inscription of the Būyid ʿAḍuḍ al-Dawla in the Tachara, dated 344/955 6 Simple Kūfic.

20. Iran. Zaware, inscription of minaret, dated 461/1068-69
Reads. *sannat iḥdā wa-sittīn wa-arbaʿ mi'a* Floriated Kūfic (After *Āthār-i Īrān* 1 [1936], 309).

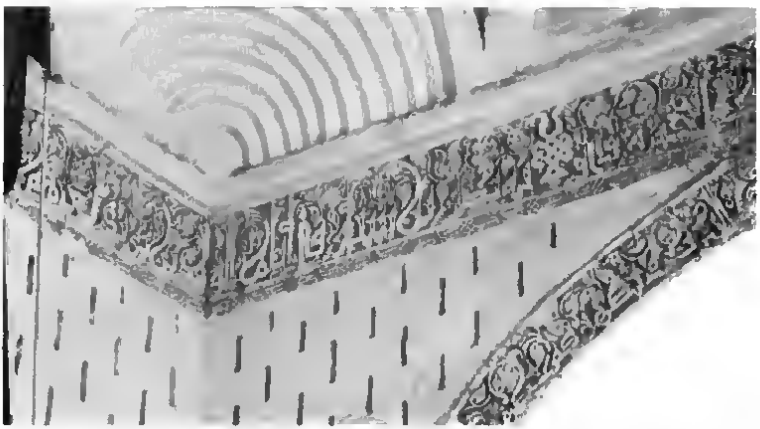


21. Transoxiana. Tashkent Museum. Inscription of Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn from Urgānj, 401/1010-11. Simple Kūfic of Khwārazm.

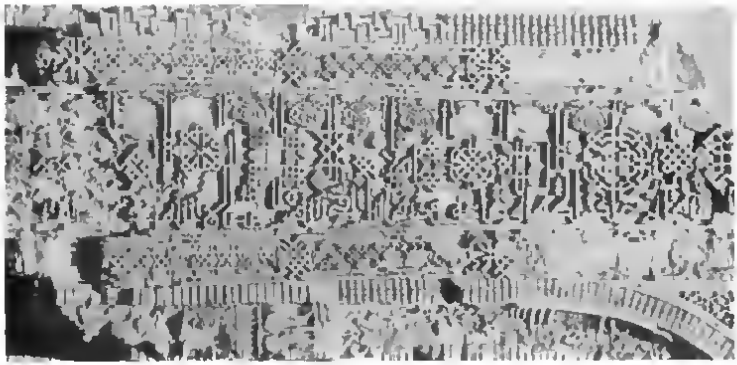


22. Iran. Rādkān (Nekā), Māzandarān Province. Tomb of Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, 407-411/1016-17 to 1020-1. Plaited Kūfic. Reads *wa furigha minhu sanata iḥda ʿashar wa-arbaʿ mi'a min al-hijra*

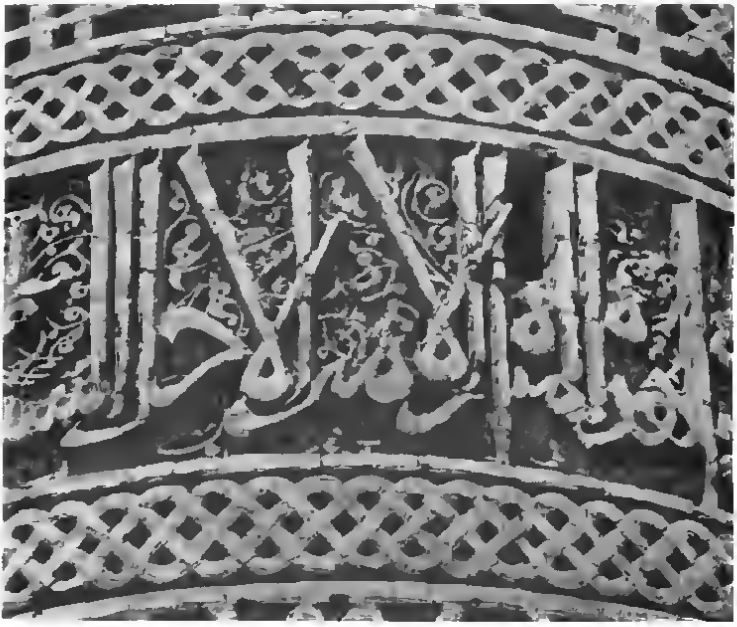
23. Iran. Rasgit (Resget), Tomb of Hormisdyār Inscription over entrance Late Floriated Kūfic, 6th/12th century. Bunāfilāh.



24. Afghānistān. Sar-i Pul Shrine of Yahyā b Zayd, known as Imām i Khurd Late 5th/11th century. Floriated and Plaited Kufic. Reads . . . *bin Abwan fi wilāyat Nasr bin Sayyār fi ayyām al-Walīd b Yazid ta'anahum [Allāh]*

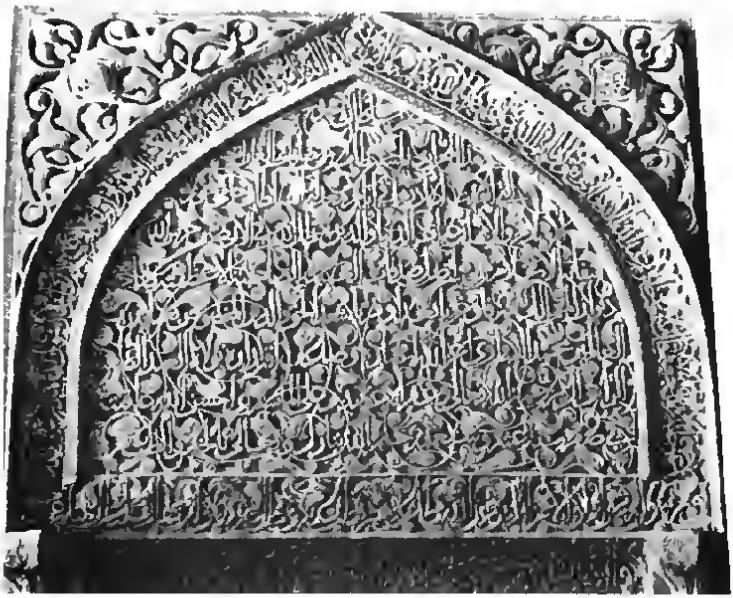


25 Afghānistān Shāh-i Mashhad. *Madrasa* of Malika Mu'azzama, daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muhammad. Late 6th/12th century Bordered Kūfic with geometrical elements. (After Casimir and Glatzer *East and West*, XXI (1971), Fig. 8).



26. Afghānistān. Dawlatābād, nr. Balkh, lower frieze of minaret, 502/1109-10. (As in Y H Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy*, fig 45 Photo Joséphine Powell, Rome)

27 Iran Imām zāde Katrār, Buzūn: plaster *miḥrāb* dated 528/1133-34. Early Naskhī.
(Reproduced after M. Bement Smith, *The Imamzade Katrar at Buzun*, in *A M I*, vii [1935], Pl. II, fig. 2).



28 Iran Iṣfahan, *miḥrāb* of Öldjeytü in Masdjid-i Djum'a

29 Iran, Sirjān, stone *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad, Tughrā script (Nasḵh) derivative with extended verticals) dated 780/1378
(Photo Paul Fox, School of Oriental and African Studies University of London)

30 India, Inscription from Ambūr fort in Victoria and Albert Museum, London (reproduced by permission of Keeper, Indian Section). 1196/1781 *Nasta'līḳ*, with unrelated graffiti in Tamil. Last line is an obscure chronogram.
(Publication by J Burton Page forthcoming)

Bibliography: The principal Arabic sources include Ṭabarī, i, 327 9, 381 f., 391 f. (cf. also Cairo ed. 1960, i, 335, notes, for ms. variants); idem, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1373/1934, xii, 184 8; Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ al anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 161 f. 164, 168; Ṯaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 74 6, 80, Zamaḵẖsharī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1385/1966, xx, 309 f.; Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Fleischer, 456, 464.

For secondary studies, see. L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909, ii and v, D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933, A. Schulman *et al.*, art. *Potiphar*, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

(B. HELLER - N. A. STILLMAN)

KITHĀRA, ḲITHĀRĀ, a musical instrument of the lyre family. It first appears in Arabic literature on music in the 3rd/9th century to denote a Byzantine or Greek instrument of this type. It was made up of a richly-decorated rectangular sound box, two vertical struts fastened together by a yoke and strings which were left free at their greatest width. Ibn Ḵẖurradāḏẖbih in his *K. al-Lahw* (ed. I. A. Khalīfé, Beirut 1969, 19) and in his account appearing in the *Murūj al-ḏahab* of al-Masʿūdī (viii, 92 = § 3216) says concerning the *isṭūḵẖa*: "They (sc. the Byzantines) have the *līrā* which is a *rubāb* (sc. viol), which is made from wood and has five strings; they also have the *ḳiṯāra* with twelve strings". Al-Shīrāzī in his *Maṣāṣiṯ al-ʿulūm* writes that "the *līr* (lyra) is the *ṣanǧ* (harp) in Greek the *ḳiṯāra* is one of their instruments, and resembles the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck)". The approximation of the two instruments in the sources corresponds indeed to reality, because the *lirā* and *ḳiṯāra* were two variations of the same instrument type in vogue since classical times and up to the first centuries of Islam. The *lirā* was a smaller instrument played by beginners and by amateurs, whereas the *ḳiṯāra* was the instrument for professionals who towards the Islamic period used it to show off a virtuosity frequently displayed freely. It is possibly to this that a musical aphorism alludes, this figuring *inter alia* in the *Adab al-falāsifa* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, the *Rasāla fī aḵẖbār ṣināʿiyyāt al-mūsīḳī* of al-Kindī, the *K. al Lahw* of Ibn Ḵẖurradāḏẖbih and the *Risāla fī ʾl-mūsīḳī* of the Ḵẖwān al-Ṣafāʾ: "A philosopher (Orpheus, according to Ibn Ḵẖurradāḏẖbih), having heard the sounds of a *ḳiṯāra*, said to his disciple, 'Take me along to this musician, and possibly he will give us the benefit of a noble image'. But when they came upon him, they heard an unmetrical rhythm and a defective tune. So the philosopher then said to his disciple, 'The sooth sayers assert that the raven's voice portends a man's death, if this is true, then the sound from this musician portends the raven's death'".

It seems that, at a later period, the term is used to denote a different instrument, the guitar, since this is the state of affairs in the *K. al-Imtāʿ* on *ʾl-Muʾānasa*, where the *ḳiṯār* is one of the 32 instruments described in the second chapter (ms. Madrid, Res. 246). In the same realm of ideas, we believe that the name of the North African lute, the *ḳuṯṯra*, derives from the interpretation of the *ḳiṯāra* evolved by the authors of the 3rd/9th century who compared it to the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck) or to the *murabbaʿ* (lute with a quadrangular sound box).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. SHILOAH)

KITMĀN [see KERMĒSTES, TAKIYYA]

KITMĪR [see AṢḤĀB AL-ḲAHF]

AL-KIYĀ AL HARRĀSĪ, SHAMS AL-ISLĀM ʿIMĀD AD-DĪN ABŪ ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AṬ-ṬABARĪ, known especially as al-Kiyā, jurisconsult of the Shāfiʿī school and Ashʿarī theologian, a dialectician known in his days as one of the best practitioners of the art of disputation. (The *nisba* al-Harrāsī = "a preparer of the food called *harīsa*", wheat and meat pounded together and cooked.) A class-mate of *al*-Ghazālī and of the same age (they were born in 450/1058), al-Harrāsī died in 504/1010-11, one year before *al*-Ghazālī.

He first studied in Ṭabaristān, which he left at the age of twenty to study under the direction of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ǧuwaynī (*q.v.*) in Nīshābūr; he was one of his most successful disciples and became one of the most able repetitors (*muʿīd*). He excelled in the field of law, both positive law (*fiḳh*) as well as its theory and methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). From Nīshābūr, al-Kiyā went to Bayhaḳ where he taught Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*; this was very likely after the death of his teacher Ǧuwaynī in 478/1085. His class mate al-Ghazālī had gone to Ṭūs to the court of the Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. From Bayhaḳ, al-Kiyā went to Baghdād to assume the chair of law in the Shāfiʿī *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya*, a position which he kept until his death in 504/1110-11. He also taught *ḥadīṯ*, and one of his pupils in this field was the famous tradition expert al-Silafī (*d.* 576/1180-1).

Al-Kiyā was accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies and was in danger of losing his life, but was saved by a petition signed by notable scholars of Baghdād, among whom his older colleague and sparring-mate in disputations, the Ḥanbalī jurisconsult and theologian Ibn ʿAḳīl (*q.v.*).

Among his works, biographers cite the *Shifāʾ al-murtāḍā*, considered by Tāǧ al-Dīn al-Subkī as one of the most excellent works in the field of *ḫilāf*, and the *Nahḍ muʿtaḍā li Imām Aḥmad*, points of law on which he differs from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Al-Kiyā was in turn criticised by the Ḥanbalī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (704 44/1304 43), in his *al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-Kiyā al-Harrāsī*, as well as by the *Kāfī ʾl-Ḥudūd* al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, a student of Ibn Taymiyya (see Ibn Raǧab, *Ḏayl*, ii 438 (l. 24) and 454 (ll. 3 4), respectively). Biographers also attribute to him a work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and this is borne out by a discovery made by G. Makdisi of a manuscript in the library of the University of Ankara, several years ago, during a search for works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Indications on the title page show that this work of al-Kiyā had three recensions: great, medium and small, the extant copy being the medium recension. The title is given as *Taʿlīḳ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and appears to be the work by the same title cited by Suyūṭī in his *Muzhir*, i, 23. It is not to be confused with his work on *uṣūl al-dīn* as suggested in Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I, 674 (l. 12), a manuscript of which is in the National Library in Cairo, for the work is definitely on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

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(G. MAKDISI)

KIYĀFA (A), the science of physiognomancy and the examination of traces on the ground.

In their concern for the purity of race and the

correctness of genealogical lines, the ancient Arabs perfected a technique which permitted them to verify, and, where necessary, to research into, lines of parentage. This technique consisted partly in experience and partly in divinatory intuition. In primitive times, a specialised personnel maintained the practice but the progressive decline, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of personnel skilled in cultic and divinatory matters led to the accumulation of numerous mantic disciplines in the répertoire of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]. But there were numerous individuals skilled in this sphere of activity who were not necessarily *kāhins* (cf., for example, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 225); certain tribes were noted for their practice of this art (the Banū Mudlidj, Khath'am and Khuzā'a).

Ḳiyāfa, ancestor of the Islamic *firāsa* [*q.v.*], comprised two branches

(i) *Ḳiyāfat al-bashar*, "physiognomancy", which has the object of disclosing the lines of parentage between the child of an unknown father and his presumed father, with a view to his legitimisation. Thus by virtue of traditional *ḥiyāfa*, Mu'āwiya was obliged to recognise, as his consanguineous brother, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. The principle on which *ḥiyāfa* is based in the necessary resemblance between the infant and his father. Certain parts of the body serve as points of reference, notably the sole of the foot, because, in most cases, the child has the same foot as his father (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 338 = § 2222). But those points of resemblance are not always evident; discovery of them requires a faculty of perception and a perfect memory (al-Rāzī, *Firāsa*, 23). The acute eye for detail possessed by the Bedouin contributed greatly to the perfection attained by the Arabs in this art.

(ii) *Ḳiyāfat al-athar*, the faculty of minute observation which the Arab displays, most notably in the course of everyday life. The examination of footprints permits him to find a stray animal, a fugitive chief, a lost path, etc. he distinguishes the footprints of a man from those of a woman, those of a young man from those of an old man, those of a white man from those of a negro and those of a stranger from those of a local resident. He can even tell if the woman is a virgin or not.

This astonishing faculty of observation and deduction extended to the behaviour of animals. The legend of the sons of Nizār, interpreting, in each case according to a particular point, the traces of a camel, on their road, and the origin of the honey, the roast meat and the wine offered to them by their host (Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, iii, 228 ff. = § 2094 ff.), is a perfect illustration of the minuteness with which the *kā'if* dissected the most insignificant facts.

As a spiritual faculty surpassing human intelligence, *ḥiyāfa* possessed, as early as the pre-Islamic period, a sacred character which ensured its survival, as a judicial proof in legal cases concerned with establishing the paternity of a child born of a slave (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmiyya*, 208, 295-223). Shurayh, the famous *ḳādī*, was a *ḳā'if*; al-Shāfi'ī wrote a *Risāla fī 'ilm al-ḥiyāfa* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 452, ms. Süleymaniyye, Mihrimah Sultan, 285, 4, in Turkish).

A product of nomadism and the milieu of the desert where it was applied under many different circumstances, *ḥiyāfat al athar* rather lost some of its *raison d'être* in the Islamic city, where it was to be eclipsed by *firāsa* which evolved on totally different principles.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 370-8; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe et le* K. al-firāsa *de Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī*, Paris 1939. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 333-8 = §§ 1217-21. (T. FAHD)

ḲIYĀMA (A.), the action of raising oneself, of rising, and of resurrection. The root *k-w-m* is employed very frequently in the language of the Ḳur'ān. *Ḳiyama* occurs there seventy times, always in the expression *yawm al-ḳiyāma* "the day of resurrection". The resurrection of bodies follows the annihilation of all creatures (*al-fanā' al-muṭlaḳ*) and precedes the "judgment" (*ḥisāb*), the "day of judgement" (*yawm al-dīn*). This will be the Last Hour (*al-sā'a*). *Al-sā'a*, *yawm al-ḳiyama* and *yawm al-dīn*, taken as a whole constitute one of the "necessary beliefs" which determine the content of the Muslim faith. It may be noted that the word *mushūr* is no equivalent (in the Ḳur'ān) of *ḳiyāma*.

The works of *'ilm al-kalām* and of *falsafa* deal with the whole subject of eschatology under the general title of *al ma'ād* "the return", a word which appears only once in the Ḳur'ān (XXVIII, 85) in the localised sense of "the place to which one returns". Hence very often, in learned discussions, the idea of resurrection will be expressed by "return". We may add that it would be inappropriate to deal with judgement as such and its modalities, or with retribution, under the term *ḥisāb* in this respect, the present article needs to be supplemented by the articles reserved for *al-ḥisāb*, "the reckoning", *al ma'ād*, *al-sā'a* and *yawm al-dīn* [*q.v.*]. We shall confine ourselves here to considering (1) the succession of eschatological events which precede and accompany resurrection, (2) the Ḳur'ānic arguments which demonstrate its possibility, and (3) the setting in perspective of the philosophico-theological problems which arise as a result.

1. The succession of eschatological events.

(a) Prophetic signs. Resurrection will be preceded by the end of the world, by 'annihilation'. The Meccan sūras are insistent on this. 'Signs' will foretell the end, 'the earth will be shaken with its earthquake' and will "yield up its burdens" (Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 1-2) the sky will crack, the planets will be dispersed, the seas "poured forth", the graves overturned (C, 9; LXXXII, 2-4; cf. LXXXI, 1-14, especially LVI, 2-6, etc.); the mountains (will fly) like "tufts of carded wool" (CI, 5), etc. The Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim (viii, 179) gives a systematic list of these "signs". Al-Nasafī, in his *'Aḳā'id*, lists five of them, and the *Tafsīr* of al-Taftazānī enumerates ten "major signs" (see the list in L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane—Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 262, n. 6).

(b) The annihilation. On that day "the Sound shall ring out, and a second shall follow it" (Ḳur'ān LXXIX, 6-7). This "sound" will be the "trumpet" (LXXIV, 8), which according to tradition will be blown by the angel Isrāfīl. Then there will not be, it is sometimes said a single living being that does not die—"every soul shall taste death" (XXIX, 57). This is the final annihilation, where God alone remains in His absolute power, for "all shall perish save His countenance" (XXVIII, 88) in the course of time, this vision of an absolute *fanā'* came to be modified. From commentary to commentary, the number grows of the beings who shall escape annihilation: not because they are endowed with natural immortality, but on account of a "principle of permanence" (*ḥukm al-baḳā'*) which the will of God shall concede to them (list in L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 264-5)

(c) The resurrection. When the "second blast of the Trumpet" has sounded, the whole of mankind, long dead or annihilated in the "great *fazā'*", will be revived in body, soul and spirit. The day when the crier shall cry out from a nearby place, the day when they shall in all truth hear the cry, that will be the day of resurrection" (L, 41-2). Stress is always laid on the suddenness of this "return" to life. Resurrection is a rising up, the immediate passage, without reference to time, from non-life to life.

(d) The gathering (*ḥashr*). God "shall gather" (L, 44; LIX, 2). He shall gather men together "as if they had stayed (in their tombs) only one hour of the day" (X, 45). He will gather the believers (XIX, 85). He will gather the impious (XX, 102; XXV, 17; etc.). He will gather men and *djinn* (VI, 130), men and demons (XIX, 68). He will gather the angels (XXXIV, 40). This is the universal gathering. Also taking part in this, it is decided at a later stage, will be those protected from *fazā'* by divine mercy, and even, according to al-Nawawī, pack-animals and wild animals. This will be the "standing" (*al-mawḳif*) in waiting for judgement. Some traditions maintain that the first who will "rise" and arrive at the place of assembly (*al-maḥshar*) will be the Prophet of Islam. According to the most widespread beliefs, the prophets, the angels and the virtuous will be spared the terrors of waiting. But humanity in general "will sweat with agony"; they will be drenched in their sweat (*al-ʿaraḳ*), which will "muddle" them, as the bit bridles the horse (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, IV, 436-7).

The Kur'ānic texts are abundantly glossed by *ḥadīths* (al-Bukhārī, IX, 46 61, Muslim, VIII, 165-250, etc.). A whole didactic literature is grafted on to this stem. For example, in al-Ghazālī, *ibid.*, the last book of the fourth volume, entitled *Dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu*, 381 ff., in particular on the *yawm al-ḥisāb*, 437-9, and the text attributed to the same author (wrongly, it appears), *al-Durra al-fākhira* (ed. Cairo 1347/1928). See on this subject, as indicated in *EI*[2], Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 559 ff., taking up the "Preliminary discourse" of Sale, section 4, 73-103 of the 1734 edition (the latter itself being based on Edward Pococke, *Porta Mosis*, II, 255-313 of the Oxford 1634-3 edition, which deals at length with Arabic passages and expressions).

Popular imagery abounds with descriptive details and continually builds on the foundations of tradition. But such imagery is irrelevant to faith. On the other hand, the very fact of the resurrection of the body is a cardinal element of the Muslim faith. A meta-historical and unique fact, linked, as if to an "opposite correlative" (*muḳābal*), to the fact, also meta-historical, of creation.

We may further note that the Shīʿī beliefs refer to a first "return" which will precede the universal resurrection and gathering; only the virtuous will take part in it under the guidance of the *Mahdī* of the last times. This is the *rajʿa* ("return to life"), a kind of millenarianism. The Rāfiḍīs, in the early centuries of Islam, insisted on this. It continues to be one of the perspectives of Imāmism, linked to the "return" of the 12th *Imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the "vanished one" (*al-ghāʾib*), who, with this "first return", will be *al-Kāʾim*, "the riser". The Ismāʿīlī "hidden sense" has more than once transposed the foretold *parousia* on a gnostic and extra-temporal basis.

The Muʿtazilīs opposed the Rāfiḍīs and declared this first resurrection to be "vain". Al-Khayyāṭ returns to it in his refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī (cf. al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, French tr. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, *passim*, in particular 93-97/118-20). The Aṣḥʿarī reaction no longer held the idea of *rajʿa*. Sunnī thought as a whole denies or ignores the expectation of a preliminary "return" of the virtuous, a golden age on earth preceding the day of judgement. For Sunnism, the only "return" is that of the last hour which will follow the "great *fazā'*", so that of the resurrection (*bayāmu*) and of the gathering (*ḥashr*).

II. *Kur'ānic arguments.* As suggested by D. Masson (Kur'ān tr., Paris 1967, index, under "Resurrection"), these arguments may be grouped around three themes:

(a) A constant comparison of the creation (*khalḳ*) with the resurrection, which then appears to be a "new creation" (Kur'ān, XVII, 49; cf. XVIII, 48; XXI, 104; XXVII, 64) or "the second creation" (LIII, 47). It is the creative power of God which is invoked in reply to the man who would doubt the resurrection (XXII, 5); and to produce a second creation is "easy" for God (XXIX, 19; XXX, 27). He has created man and "formed him harmoniously" (LXXV, 38). "Is He who has done these things not able to bring the dead to life?" (LXXV, 40; cf. LXXXVI, 5-8).

(b) A second "sign" of the resurrection is the analogy of the production of vegetables and of fruits, and the revivification of the soil by water (XLI, 39; LXIII, 11). "Thus we restore life to the earth after its death. Observe how resurrection (*nushūr*) comes about" (XXXV, 9; cf. L, 11) "God ... brings forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living" (VI, 95; X, 32; XXX, 19)' "thus we shall cause the dead to arise" (VII, 57). And resurrection after death is compared to the day that follows the night (XXV, 47).

(c) Finally, the example of miracles with reference to a dead man revived by God (II, 72-3 and 259). R. Blachère compares this last account with the Ethiopic version of the *Book of Baruch*. It should be noted that the Kur'ān does not speak here, like the *Book of Baruch*, of a waking after a miraculous sleep (cf. "the Seven Sleepers"), but of a new life after death.

III. *Problems posed.* The most diverse "professions of faith" (*ashhād*) steadfastly proclaim the resurrection of the body. But very soon problems of a philosophico-theological nature arise. The influence of the *falāsifa* is predominant. Not only the *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī, but every *Kitāb al-Maʿād* of the major treatises of *ʿIlm al-kalām* has the intention of refuting them, and, for this very reason, to a large extent adopts their methods of examining problems, and sometimes their vocabulary.

(a) The "punishment of the tomb" (*ʿadhāb al-ḳabr*, *q.v.*). First question: is there a survival of the soul or of the spirit? Will the predicted resurrection be of the body alone, or of the whole man, body, soul and spirit? The Kur'ān does not talk explicitly of a survival of the soul or of the spirit after death. Man dies, then is recalled to life on the day of resurrection. Three texts, however (XL, 45-6; XL, 11; III, 169-70), are advanced by the *mutakallimūn* as evidence for the "punishment of the tomb", at a later stage, "the pleasures of the tomb" are reserved for the virtuous. In conjunction with these texts, there are many *ḥadīths*, recognised as authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*), which are quoted, then as "I take refuge with You against the punishment of the tomb" (cf. further, al-Bukhārī, XXIII, 87; LXXX, 37-9). The

punishment of the tomb and the interrogation that precedes it, the formulation thereby of a "first judgment" are mentioned in the majority of professions of faith. The Ash'arīs accuse the Mu'tazilīs of denying them. 'Abd al-Djabbār, on the contrary, affirms them; he locates them, however, not immediately after the "first death", but between the two blasts of the Trumpet" (of annihilation, and of resurrection) that will sound at the last Hour. And his arguments in support of the punishment of the tomb are very close to the arguments habitually propounded by the Ash'arīs (cf. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 732 3).

But what is at issue here is not the survival of a separate soul, by nature immortal. What is being discussed is a first and transitory resuscitation, at once corporeal and spiritual, which is not a true resurrection. It is not necessary, say some authors, that the entire body should revive; it is enough that some fundamental part or other, heart, kidney, etc., be animated afresh. Moreover, if the body has been completely devoured or reduced to ashes, it will not be difficult for God to reassemble it and restore to life a sufficient quantity of matter (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 88-9). Besides, this survival of the tomb is brief. After being thus examined and punished (or rewarded), the man experiences "the second death". For a resumé of the question, see al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 328. It is also declared that the prophets and the *shuhadā'* who have died fighting for God are exempted from the interrogation and from the punishment of the tomb.

Under various influences (Mazdaean? Christian? The *falāsifa*?), or through a simple endogenous development, the belief in a survival of the soul or the spirit is developed whether in the tomb, with, according to the circumstances, appropriate punishments or rewards; or in other places; or even in Paradise for the spirits of the prophets or the *shuhadā'* and, according to some of the Muslim children who have died before the age of reason. These spirits, in Paradise are provided with a temporary body symbolised by "the gizzards of green birds". Furthermore, an exegesis that has come to be accepted of Kur'ān, XVII, 84 "the spirit proceeds from the commandment of your Lord", points to the directly divine origin of the spirit, hence to its immortality (cf. al-Ghazālī, *al-Risāla al-ladunniyya*, the second of the short treatises linked together under the title *al-Djawāhir al-ghawālī*, ed. Cairo 1353/[illegible]934).

We have here a brief revival (body and soul), prolonged or not by a survival of soul or spirit, and what is at issue is, in any case, only a transitory state. The eschatological hour of the *yawm al-ḥisāb* and that hour alone, retains its absolute quality.

(b) The *falāsifa*. The "punishment of the tomb" could hardly be accepted on anything other than a metaphorical sense in the view of the *falāsifa* in general. In their habitual concern to integrate all the articles of faith, they refrain from rejecting it, but interpret it according to the major frameworks of their anthropology. For them, in accordance with their Hellenistic sources, the reasoning soul a spiritual substance, is by nature incorruptible, it belongs by nature to the sphere of separate substances. It is thus that Ibn Sīnā, describing the lot of souls after death, speaks of pleasures, or of purifications, or of intellectual punishments; with this explicit statement that the souls which, on earth, have taken pleasure only in physical enjoyments are now found to be irremediably deprived of them; they will be eternally at grips with tormenting and insatiable desires of lust and anger, and will draw from the celestial bodies the view within their imaginations of their torments (cf. *Nadjāt*[2], Cairo 1357/1938, 297). Their "hell" is to be barred from joining the higher angelic world—which we may take to be the world of separate substances—"where are found supreme happiness and accomplished splendour" (*Sharḥ K. Uthūlūdjiyā*, published by A. Badawī, in *Arisṭū 'ind al-'Arab*, Cairo 1947, 43). It is true, the "humble of spirit" (*bukī*), who have sought after good to the limit of their ability, will enjoy a happiness that is subjectively absolute, objectively relative to imaginative, not purely intellectual happiness, and the celestial bodies here too, will supply them us if with an additional body. Thus, according to Ibn Sīnā, for the mass of humanity, what should hold is that which is said in the prophetic revelation about the judgment of the tomb, about punishments and potential rewards (cf. *Nadjāt*, 298; parallel texts in the *Shifā'*).

Are these spiritual torments and joys of the life to come connected with the *yawm al-ḥisāb*, the day of resurrection of the body foretold by the Book? Resurrection is an article of faith too central to Islam to be explicitly and overtly dismissed by the *falāsifa*. Their position is nonetheless highly ambiguous.

It is appropriate to set aside Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḳūb al-Kindī "the philosopher of the Arabs". He is the only *falsafī* who explicitly maintained that philosophical research could be and should be strengthened and guided by prophetic revelation. Consequently, he professes, from a specifically philosophical point of view, the fact of the creation in time, and the possibility of the resurrection of the body, the latter is possible, he says, since that is what the creation was—thus he adopts too major Kur'ānic argument (cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 372 ff.). In works aimed at the "simple philosophers" (see *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, ed Cairo 1328/1910, 3), Ibn Sīnā confines himself to affirming belief in the resurrection on the basis of Kur'ānic testimony. "The revealed law (*shar'*) maintains, and reason does not deny, that the body also will enjoy pleasures" (or will be plunged into misery and suffering), cf. *Taʿlīḳāt*, Cairo 1326, 124 6; analogous texts in the *Shifā'* and *Nadjāt*. Such is, moreover, approximately the position of Ibn Rushd. It is for the sake of his respect for prophecy and the revealed law that he opposes with such vehemence the accusations of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 580-6, see translation by S. Van den Bergh, London 1954, notes on vol ii, 203 5).

But in fact, Ibn Rushd confines himself to a statement of principle, without replying to the arguments and objections of al-Ghazālī. Now it seems probable that the latter was familiar with the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-adḥawiyya fī amr al-maʿād*, which was translated into Latin (*Liber Mahad*) by Andre Alpago (Venice 1546) and has been edited recently in Arabic by Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo 1368/1949). In this work, the Sīnā attempts to demonstrate explicitly that the resurrection of the body, which he does not mean to deny, should be understood as a symbol or an allegory which has the object of inducing the mass of humanity to persist in virtuous behaviour. In reality "it is known that the true well-being of man is

opposed by the very existence of the soul in his body, and that physical pleasures are other than true pleasures, and that the fact of the soul returning to the body would be punishment for the soul" (*Risāla aqliyya*, 53). We can understand how al-Ghazālī was able to accuse the *falāsifa* of not admitting in its exphert sense, and according to all its demands, the teaching of the Ḳur'ān concerning resurrection, this is the 20th question of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Beirut 1927, 334 ff.).

(c) Responses and attempts at explanation of the Mu'tazilites. Later *kalām* was to judge the *falāsifa* much more by the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā than by their statements of respect towards the religious law. When al-Djurdjānī lists the various attitudes which were or could be adopted (*op. cit.*, viii, 297, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 269), he seems to assimilate the *falāsifa* to those 'deistic philosophers' who only accept "spiritual return", the *radjʿ*, in the sense found in the pseudographic *Theology of Aristotle*, while the man "with certainty of truth" (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*), like al-Ḥalīmī or al-Ghazālī for example, profess a *maʿād* that is both spiritual and corporal. It is in this sense that developments of *kalām* will tend to prove the rational possibility of the "return", then of the "gathering", and to study its conditions. We cannot follow in detail the whole series of discussions, arguments, objections and responses in all their intricacy and multiplicity (cf. L. Gardet *op. cit.*, 266-9, and refs.). Nevertheless, we make some comments.

(1) Curiously enough, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 270) declares that all the earlier prophets preached only the 'spiritual return" and that it is the Ḳur'ān that proclaims the return of the body. His opponent, the Imāmī Shī'ī Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (in the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal* text) states furthermore that the Gospel does not preach the resurrection of the body, and quotes Matthew, xxii, 30 "they are like the angels in heaven". Ibn Rushd (*Tahāfut*, 580) seems to have had a better knowledge of Judaism and of Christianity.

(2) In his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*loc. cit.*), al-Ghazālī, under the heading of a third hypothesis, and in the form of an argument *ad hominem*, concedes to his opponents that the soul may be of a wholly spiritual nature and that in it alone the human personality may reside (in the *Iḳtiṣād*, 88, he declared that this opinion "does not accord with what we believe"). Even in this case, he says, the resurrection of the body is still possible, and so it will take place, since the religious law foretells it. Also, he replies meticulously to three objections of a philosophical order (for the details of this debate, see L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 87 n. 3).

(3) Numerous explanations of the "return of the body" are proposed by the *ʿUlamāʾ al-kalām*. The Muʿtazilīs seem to have professed the "annihilation", then the "return" of substances and of "durable" accidents (real accidents) which are necessarily linked to them (see summary in al-Djuwaynī, *Iḳtiṣād*, ed. and tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 211/315). Al-Djuwaynī himself (*ibid.*, 213/318) and al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87) envisage either the "annihilation" of substances (and therefore of accidents which could not alone remain in the being), and their "return"; or the "annihilation" of accidents, then their "return", the substances remaining. For al-Ghazālī, either hypothesis is possible (*muʿambar*). According to the followers of Ashʿarism as finally evolved, such as al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 171) and of Djurdjānī (*op. cit.*, viii, 297), either God brings back to life (*iʿāda*) an "annihilated" (*maʿdūm*) and the "return" is thus preceded by a reduction to non-existence (*ʿadam*), or else the return follows a total dispersion (*tafarruḳ*).

Discussion of these last two hypotheses led to developments concerning the relationship between substances and accidents, concerning an atomistic or non-atomistic view of the world, and concerning notions of being and of non-being. Three terms are constantly being repeated by the pen of the scholars: the being according to its first existence (*mubtadaʾ*), to the "annihilated" (*maʿdūm*) and to the "similar" (*mithl*). For it is not a "similar" being that returns on the day of resurrection, it is the being itself, the same one that was "annihilated". No difference between the first creation (*ibdāʿ*) and the "return" (*iʿāda*) is spoken of by al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87 f.), al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 169 ff.) and al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 290, 294). Henceforward, declares al-Djurdjānī (*ibid.*, 293 f.), the subject of the first creation and the subject of the return are not at all to be distinguished in terms of their ensemble of determining characteristics (*muʿayyina*), but only in terms of the essence (*huwiyya*) which places them within the being. There is between these two "subjects", that is between the thing and itself having 'returned', an 'interference" (*takhallul*) of non-existence, which al-Ghazālī and no doubt al-Rāzī on the one hand, and al-Djurdjānī on the other would explain rather differently. But the consensus continues to rest on the return to existence of the same being that was annihilated.

This dialectic, subtly conducted, and originally devised as a reply to the *falāsifa*, is characteristic of the procedure of the "modern" *mutakallimūn* (in the sense used by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo n.d., 346-7, tr. de Slane, iii, 60, 62), and of the type of problems that they study. Also to be noted is their extreme sobriety in regard to traditional and descriptive data. We have, thus, in Sunnī Islam, as at were two lines of development: an expression of popular faith, employed to a large extent in the sermons of preachers and of a type to strike the imagination, and an explanatory effort at rational justification. Elementary manuals of a later period take inspiration from both one and the other. To this could be added various "hidden meanings" of Shīʿī traditions. But in opposition to the *Risāla aqliyya* of Ibn Sīnā and his allegorising theses, the existential reality of the basic fact of the resurrection of the body has not ceased to be vigorously maintained.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Gardet)

KIYĀS (ar.), reasoning by analogy, the fourth source of Muslim law.

1. In law

This word is derived from the Hebraic term *hikkēsh*, infinitive *hikkēsh* and from the Aramaic root *n-k-s* which signifies "to beat together". It is employed with reference to (a) the juxtaposition of two subjects in the Bible and the demonstration that they should be treated in the same manner; (b) the action of the exegete who applies the comparison suggested by the text, and (c) the conclusion of the reasoning by analogy which relies on the existence of a common characteristic in the "basic case" and the "analogous case" (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99).

In a broad sense, *kiyās* can indicate inductive reasoning (*istidlāl*), and even deduction (*istinbāṭ, istikhrāḍ al-ḥukm*). It is thus that in *kalām*, *kiyās*

al shaʾn bi-ʾl-shāhid (*Mafātīḥ*, I, 333) indicates the syllogistic procedure which consists in induction from the known to the unknown; it is the *qiyās* *fāsid* that is inspired by Greek syllogism. While the Muʿtazilī Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī retains this meaning for the *qiyās sharʿī*, his disciple Abū ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī rejects it (*Muʿtamad*, II, 697). In the terminology of *fiḳh*, *qiyās* is "judicial reasoning by analogy". It is the method adopted by the Muslim jurisconsults to define a rule which has not been the object of an explicit formulation in a verse of the Kurʾān, a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet or *iǧmāʿ*. It is *qiyās fiḳhī* or *sharʿī*, different from the former in the sense that it "has its own structure and its own complexity" (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 61). This specific structure results from the particular nature of the mode of reasoning by analogy; the absence of a middle term in the primitive form of *qiyās*, then definition of an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) which is not a logical norm, but the prescription of a rule (*ḥukm*) established by God or His Prophet, this is the judicio-religious norm. The complexity of *qiyās sharʿī* results from the diversity of cases to be taken into consideration and from the detailed reflections of the *uṣūlīs* on the different procedures that may be adopted in the execution of *qiyās sharʿī*. The elaboration of the major treatises concerning *uṣūl al fiḳh* [*q.v.*] develops the notion of *qiyās* in a systematic manner, conferring upon it a very strict and elaborate form. The work leads in the work of an author like al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) to a much expanded concept of the fourth source of law, embracing the perspective of "Greek logic and traditional exegetical method" among the Muslims (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 37).

The problem. The establishment of *qiyās* as a new judicial source responds to the need to find solutions not foreseen in the texts and to define rules applicable to new situations. The problem of *qiyās* comes therefore to consist in determining "grounds of procedure" (*usūlīyāt*) which respect the spirit of rules dictated by the text. The putting into effect of *qiyās sharʿī* must, in consequence, appeal to principles of analogical deduction which enable the discovery in the rule of the derived case (*farʿ*) of the grounds which determine the rule of the basis (*aṣl*).

Like *iǧmāʿ* [*q.v.*], *qiyās* was instituted after the demise of the Prophet. With the death of Muḥammad, the community of the faithful was deprived of the "organ of revelation" and of its political and religious chief. *Iǧmāʿ* was born of the need to ensure the coherence of the nascent doctrine of Islam, in the face of the dispersion of the believers and the proliferation of sayings attributed to the Prophet. The institution of *iǧmāʿ* had the purpose of preserving the social and doctrinal unity of the parent community (*umma*). In origin and in its "summary and primitive" form, *qiyās* in ʿIrāḳ was employed as a means of giving the force of law to certain *ḥadīths* attributed to ʿAlī which had not met with success (Schacht, *Origins*, 106-7), the extension of this practice may be considered not so much a factor of unity as of divergence. The putting into effect of *qiyās* would appear more and more to respond to a need for diversification and clarification of the divine law. Also, the risk of divergence (*ikhtilāf*) was the essential motivation of the Shīʿī opposition to the use of *qiyās*. The partisans of the Shīʿa do not accept the rule which considers that every *mudjtahid* speaks the truth (*muṣīb*), a rule implied by the practical application of *qiyās*. Nevertheless, the continuing crop of new cases (*ḥawādiṯ*) that the believer is obliged to cope with justifies in the view of the *mudjtahid* recourse to personal reflection, the practice of which is encouraged by the Kurʾān and the Sunna (Kurʾān, XIII, 3; XVI, 12, 67; XXX, 21, XXXIX, 41; XLV, 12, cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, III, 995). The Prophet said: "The study of knowledge (*ʿilm al-ʿilm*) is a duty (*farīḍa*) incumbent upon every Muslim and the knowledge that must be studied is that of the rules which shed light upon the divine law" (*Sharʿiyyat Mughnī*, xvii, 278). *Qiyās* is one of the means whereby reflection leading to this awareness may be exercised.

Development. The practice of *qiyās* thus comes to be established as a means of establishing a judicial ruling not provided for in the texts. However, reasoning by analogy is, in the view of the faithful, to be treated with caution, for the simple reason that it is exercised by a fallible being who is liable to error. *Iǧmāʿ* must therefore intervene to ensure the credibility and the cohesiveness of the opinions of the *mudjtahids*. Only the information provided by the Kurʾān and the prophetic tradition is a source of integral truth (*ṣaḥīḥ*). Such is the view of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), who may be regarded as the first of the *uṣūlīs*. The ruling that consists in believing that every *mudjtahid* speaks the truth (*muṣīb*, *Risāla*, ed. Shākir, § 1330, *Mughnī*, xvii, 277) will authorise the specialist to make a decision according to that which conforms most closely to the divine intention. By means of *qiyās*, a search must be made, not for certainty (*yaḳīn*) but the proof which will permit the deduction of a peremptory ruling (*ḥukm ḳaṭʿī*). *Qiyās* must be a determinant in a practical sense (*mūdjib li ʾl-ʿamal*, al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, Beirut 1973, II, 139, *Mughnī*, xvii, 291-2). There is thus a need to elaborate a theory of *qiyās* sufficiently precise for its use to confer upon the specialist a decision the greatest possible integrity. In the practice of the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Shāfiʿī schools, *qiyās sharʿī* cannot provide certain knowledge, it amounts only to a "strong putative probability" (*ghalabat al-ẓann* al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, III, 256, al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, II, 140, *Mughnī*, xvii, 277).

It was at a very early stage that *qiyās sharʿī* began to be practised. As early as the 2nd century A.H., Ḥammād b. Sulaymān b. Rabīʿa, master of Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Abī Laylā, and judge at Baṣra, inaugurated its use. But the first to employ it systematically was Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), for which reason the practitioners of his school are known as those who use reason (*aṣḥāb al-raʾy*) to distinguish them from pure traditionists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*). The latter do not accept *qiyās* except as a last resort, according to them, analogy is like carrion, to be eaten only when no other food is available" (L. Milliot, 135). Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 270/884) avoided wherever possible reasoning by analogy, preferring the literal content of the Kurʾān and of *ḥadīth*. In the same way that he restricts the notion of *iǧmāʿ*, he imposes limits on recourse to analogy, without however rejecting it absolutely. According to him, one must bow the head before the inexorable law that the finite cannot contain the infinite and admit analogy in some cases (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 135, al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, II, 118; al-Ṣayrafī, *Masʾala al-ḳiyās*, I, 482 b). With Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the Ẓāhirī school replaces *qiyās* with the implicit sense of the text (*mafhūm*), according to this last, the notion of analogy is vague and arbitrary. *Qiyās* is

rejected by the Ḥanbalīs and the Shī'īs, but adopted by the other schools of law. In practice, it is the Ḥanafī doctrine which prevails.

In his *Risāla* on the foundations of law, al-Shāfi'ī provides the first stage in systematisation of the theory of *ijtihād*. Having established precisely the role of the Kur'ān, of the Sunna and of *ijmā'*, he neatly defines that of reasoning by analogy. It is to him that is owed the fundamental distinction between *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *maʿnā* and *ḳiyās shabah*. The first bases analogy on an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*). This form of *ijtihād* considers a thing according to its original meaning (*aṣl*). In this case, there is no need for disagreement. *Ḳiyās shabah* considers the thing in its similarity (*shabah*) to others, those who employ it may disagree (al-Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, § 2334). Al-Āmidī (d. 632/1235), a Ḥanbalī *uṣūlī* who went over to Shāfi'ism, is at pains not to confuse the ruling of the basic case (*aṣl*), with that of the derived case (*farʿ*). The ruling of the former is given by the text of the Kur'ān or of *ḥadīth* or by *ijmāʿ*, it is certain. The ruling of the latter is deduced (*thamara nātiǧa*), it is putative (*al-ḥukm li ʾl-farʿ ġayr al-ṣaww*, *Iḥkām*, iii, 264). For this reason, the conclusions of *ḳiyās* cannot in their turn provide deductive principles (*ruknu*, *op. cit.*, 277). Analogy on the basis of analogy is not acceptable. Such is not the opinion of the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who adopts the Shāfi'ī teaching and enlarges it. According to him, "there is no difference between the ruling of the basic case which is known through explicit evidence (*bi-ḍ-ḍarūra fī-hi bi ʾl-muḳtaḍā*). The explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) is fruitful, although dissociated from the basic case which has inspired it, it may be taken as operative, for it finds its own guarantee within itself. Thus, God (IV, 25) lays down that the punishment inflicted upon a slave woman should be half that applied to the free woman: as soon as we are aware that the reason for the existence of this *ḥukm* is the fact of slavery (*riḳḳ*), we may apply this ruling to the male slave. Similarly when we know that the reason for the prohibition (Kur'ān, II, 219; V, 90) of all fermented drink (*ḵhamr*) is the existence of wine (*mutaḳaḍḍi*) we shall forbid the consumption of wine. For the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *ḳiyās*, when applied to scriptural or rational material, is dependent on a similar process, that of intellectual effort (*iǧtihād*). Here the role attributed to the action of the subject in interpretation of the *Sharīʿa* is predominant.

Foundation. The various objections raised to the practice of *ḳiyās* which are known to us through the different treatises of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* divide into two types of argument: an argument of fact and an argument of law.

(a) The verses of the Kur'ān and of prophetic tradition which forbid recourse to reasoning by analogy are numerous. "We have presented to you the Book to make all things clear" (XVI, 89), "We have neglected anything in the Book" (VI, 38), "Your Master is not forgetful" (XIX, 64). Recourse to personal opinion (*raʾy*) to extract a ruling from it amounts to imputing inadequacy to the Holy Book. The Prophet, in his turn, accuses of aberration and error those who deduce a non-existent rule from an existing rule (Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 992; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 120).

(b) The argument of law consists in denying that legal status (*ḥukm*) may be founded on reason. The "*reason d'être of law*" (*ʿilla*) is attained through its erroneously convincing nature (*shubha fī ʾl-aṣl*). The text (*naṣṣ*) has never determined explicitly the "properties" (*awṣāf*) which might provide a foundation for legal precepts. The latter are obligatory on the grounds that they result from divine decision (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 122, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 992). Reason has no competence to exact that which only the All-Powerful is entitled to impose. The object of law is beyond reason. The content of a number of divine precepts cannot be subject to personal opinion; these *aḥkām* have no foundation other than divine decision, such is the case with regard to ritual ordinances (*ʿibādāt*). The practice of *ḳiyās*, in substance, far from providing a guarantee of rectitude, can lead only to a misunderstanding of rules (*ġhalaṭ*, al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 122). In the argument of authority there is no place for personal assessment.

According to the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām, the process of *ḳiyās* is far from always respecting the rational model. It is not compatible with reason to impose fasting on the menstruating woman and to excuse her from prayer, when she is better able to pray than to fast. The same applies to the prohibition laid upon the man against gazing at an aged free woman, with repulsive features, while he is permitted to look at no attractive young slave. It is contrary to good sense to cut off the hand of a petty criminal (*sāriḳ al-ḥalīl*) while the judicial rule spares the man who robs on a large scale (*ghāṣib al-kathīr*, al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 9, *Muʿtamad*, ii, 746). In other words, in ethical questions analogy is inoperative. It has the effect of linking together dissimilar cases and dissociating similar cases, which precludes passing from the basic case (*aṣl*) to the derived case (*farʿ*); cf. al-Ṣaymarī, *R. Masāʾil al-ḵhilāf*, f. 48a. It is interesting to observe that the Ḥazmian objection to the principle of similitude in religious questions (Ibn Ḥazm *Iḥkām*, vii, 82) is the same as that of al-Naẓẓām. Such is the criticism of *ḳiyās* raised by these two authors. Classical Muʿtazilism, as represented by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, replies to the objection of ancient Muʿtazilism in declaring that 'neither *naṣṣ* nor *ijmāʿ* should, in the last resort to reason or to *raʾy*, figure in the arsenal of judicial-religious thought ... as regards *ḳiyās*, there is the need to detect, among the elements of basic prescription, the invariants on the basis of which *ḳiyās* will be legitimate, if account is taken of the indication (*amāra*) which specifies them" (R. Brunschvig, *Al-ḥanāfiyya et tradition chez ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 214). The convincing validity (*ḥuǧǧiyya*) of *ḳiyās* is, like that of *ijmāʿ*, based on a text; reason only intervenes in order to put the analogical deduction into effect.

The Shī'ī criticism of *ḳiyās* is directed against the diversity of opinion which is liable to result from it. The Kur'ān condemns divergence of opinion in many places (IV, 82; XLII, 13, VIII, 46, XXX, 32, III, 105). A number of *ḥadīths* attack those who profess divergent doctrines (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 10).

To these objections, the scholars of *ḳiyās* reply in their turn with scriptural and rational arguments in favour of judicial analogy.

(a) God said: "Learn from this, O you who are clear-sighted" (LIX, 2). To learn a lesson is to associate a thing with its "homologue" (*naẓīr*), such is the process of *kiyās*. "If you are capable of interpreting dreams ..." (XII, 3), *kiyās* does nothing other than interpret the rule "These verses are addressed to thinking people" (XII, 3, X, 24, cf. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī *op. cit.*, 995), what is more, the Kur'ān (IV, 146) employs analogy in authorising ablution with sand (*tayammum*) when water is lacking.

It is well-known that the Companions of the Prophet employed *kiyās* and dialectical discussions (*munāẓarāt*) and that they practised judicial consultations (*mushāwarāt*). In a general fashion, the partisans of *kiyās* appeal to the *ḥadīth* where it is related that when the Prophet sent Mu'ādh b. Djabal to the Yemen as *ḳāḍī*, the former asked: "How will you reach a judgement when a question arises?", Mu'ādh replied "According to the Word of God".—"And if you find no solution in the Word of God?"—"Then, according to the *sunna* of the Messenger of God".—"And if you find no solution in the *sunna* of the Messenger of God, nor in the Word?"—"Then I shall take a decision according to my own opinion (*adjtahidu raʾyī*)". Then the Prophet of God struck Mu'ādh on the chest with his hand and said: "Praise be to God who has led the Messenger of God to a solution that pleases him" (Abū Dāwūd, *Aḳḍiya*, b. 11 al-Tirmiḏī, *Aḥkām*, b. 3, al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, Introduction; A. J. Wensinck, KIYĀS, in *EI*[1]).

(b) The person endowed with reason, the *ʿāḳil*, *ḥāḏḏ*, is naturally inclined to assess the invisible (*ghāʾib*) on the basis of the perceptible tokens of experience (*ḥāḍir*). Cracks in a wall foretell its collapse, a cloudy sky and fresh wind are signs of rain, etc. (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, IV, 3). Similarly, in matters of religious law, *kiyās* puts into effect "the cause-norm association" (*ʿilla-ḥukm*) to assist the exercise of reflection on two similar cases, the second not being defined by this association.

The nature of *kiyās*. According to al-Shāfiʿī, *kiyās* and *ijtihād* (*q.v.*) are two terms expressing a single notion; when the rule concerning a specific case is not dictated by a particular indication (*dalāla*), this indication must be sought by a means conforming to truth with the aid of *ijtihād*. Now *ijtihād* is *kiyās* (Risāla, § 1323). The specific nature of *kiyās* is not yet detached, it is subjective opinion (*raʾy*). With the elaboration of the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the concepts are defined and fixed. *Kiyās* can then be defined as the method which consists in assimilating the derived case (*farʿ*) to the basic case (*aṣl*) in virtue of their similarity with regard to the *ratio d'être* (*ʿilla*) of the norm (*ḥukm*). *Kiyās* is thus a form of reasoning which proceeds from particular to particular, linking a new case to an old case: "It cannot be considered as inductive reasoning, since it does not aim at applying to all cases of the same kind the observations made concerning one of them" (C. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, 20). Such is the character of the reasoning which concludes that in a case of formation, a confession repeated four times on the part of the guilty party may be considered a sufficient proof of the offence. The basic case is defined by a Kur'ānic text which prescribes the execution by stoning of the guilty party in the presence of the four witnesses. This assimilation (*taṣḥīḥ*) of ancient origin belongs to a still simplistic concept of *ʿilla*. With the development of the theory of *kiyās*, *ʿilla* takes on a more logical quality. Whence the penalty that reduces by half the punishment applied to female slaves as compared with free women (IV, 25), the *ʿilla* of the reduction in penalty is slavery. By analogy, the reduction will be applied to male slaves as compared with free men. Of the same type is the *kiyās* that prohibits the lending of dry dates or raisins at interest (*ribā*), on the basis of the prohibition of lending grain (wheat, barley), with the demand of eleven measures against ten. The reason for the prohibition is that usury is forbidden.

For *kiyās* to be effective, four elements are necessary: (1) the appearance of a new case which causes a problem, (2) a basic case (*aṣl*) governed by a *ḥukm* defined by a text, (3) a reason *d'être* of the law (*ʿilla*) which can provide the line (*maʿnā ifādī*) justifying the assimilation of the derived case with the basic case. This reason *d'être* is the "sign" (*ʿalāma*) which permits the knowledge that the ruling from a text may be applied to a case not envisaged in these terms. Once this reason is known, the jurist, proceeding by analogy, applies the law thus motivated to the case in which he sees a similar reason to pronounce judgment. This is the *taʿlīl* (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 138), (4) finally, a result which is the *ḥukm* applied to the derived case. Such is the prohibition against striking one's parents drawn from the prohibition against saying to them "fie!" (XVII, 24). As regards the third condition, "the Ḥanafīs only recognise *ʿilla* as endowed with a "transitivity" (*taʿdiya*), that is, susceptible in being put into effect in a derived case on the basis of a basic case (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, II, 167). The Shāfiʿīs, on the contrary, accept that no *ʿilla* may be intransitive (*ḳāṣira*), untransmissible to a derived case". In reality, the opposition between these two doctrines depends on the different manner in which the *ʿilla* is conceived in relation to *ḥukm*. According to the Shāfiʿīs, on the contrary the *ʿilla* is that which confers upon the *ḥukm* its "validity of origin". According to the Ḥanafīs, the *ʿilla* of the basic case justifies itself by the derived case (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 79-80).

From the point of view of modality, several types of *kiyās* are distinguished: (a) *kiyās ʿilla* or *kiyās al-dalāla* (al-Āmidī separates these two) which consists in associating (*ilḥāḳ*[c]) the basic case with the derived case with the aid of the indication of the *ʿilla* and the qualifications which the latter entails (cf. Ibn Kayyim *Iʿlām*, I, 138-9). An example is the association of wine (*nabīḏ*) with alcoholic drink (*khamr*), giving as "middle term" the faculty of upsetting good behaviour.

(b) *Kiyās shabah* is an analogy by "simple similarity" which requires no intervention of motive or of common indication (*man ghayru ḥalli ijtimāʿ*, *Iʿlām*, I, 148). An example is the similarity established between the slave and the free man for the assessment of the *diya* (*q.v.*) when the slave is the responsible for the offence, and that which assimilates his compensation when he is the victim (*Muʿtamad*, II, 692).

(c) *Kiyās al-ṭard* is a re-extensive *kiyās al-ʿilla* and its contrary is *kiyās al-ʿaks* or "reversibility", "reverting to non-*wasf* → non-*ḥukm*" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 81, al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, III, 261). *Kiyās shar*[c] would thus appear with *ijmāʿ* to be a decisive criterion for the interpretation of Islamic law. It permits the establishment of new rules. But in the extent to which it is a process of reasoning which excludes the possibility of having recourse to a purely logical

norm, *ḳiyās ghayr* belonging definitively to personal opinion (*raʾy*), it is for this reason limited in range. From this results the need to resort in certain cases to other methods of reasoning: *istiḥsān* (q.v.) or *benignitas* and *istiṣlāḥ* (q.v.) or *utilitas publica*.

In the modern period, the theory of *ḳiyās* is generally applied in the different schools which adopt it in the spirit of the Ḥanafī doctrine. Because of the major role accorded to personal effort by the Ḥanafī *maḏhab*, the modern *muḏtahid* is generally eager to draw from this the norms enabling him to deduce new rulings; historically, the importance accorded to Ḥanafism results from the fact that the Ottoman empire followed the Saldjūḳ sovereigns in imposing it as an official doctrine. This ascendancy, which prevailed over a large proportion of the Muslim world, had the effect of conferring upon the Ḥanafī *maḏhab* an official status to a number of countries "where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, e.g. in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and Syria" (J. Schacht, ḤANAFIYYA, in *EI*², iii, 163).

Bibliography In addition to the Arabic sources cited, see the bibls. to *Ḳiyās* in *EI*¹ and *Idjmāʿ* in *EI*²; Damascus, *Uṣūl*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Uṣūl 329, *ff.* 244b-253a; Saymarī, *K. Mazāhir al-shahāḳif fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ms. Chester Beatty 3757, and the treatises on the *uṣūl*, R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique par analogie d'après al-Ghazālī*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxiv (1971); idem, *La théorie du ḳiyās juridique chez le Ḥanafite al-Dabbūsī (V^e/Xe siècle)*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, Leiden 1974, 130-4; idem, *Pour ou contre la logique grecque*, in *Convegno internazionale*, Rome 1971; idem, *Rationalité et tradition dans l'analogie juridico-religieuse chez le Muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Ḏjabbār*, in *Arabica*, xix/3 (1972), 213-21; Ch. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxix (1965), 5-23; A. Turki, *Argument d'autorité, preuve rationnelle et absence de preuve dans la méthodologie juridique musulmane*, in *St. Isl.*, xlii, 59-92; R. Arnaldez, *La raison et l'identification de la vérité selon Ibn Ḥazm*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 221-32; L. Milliot, *Introduction à l'étude du droit musulman*, Paris 1953; A. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāḳī*, Algiers 1976, iv, E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 282 ff.

(M. BERNAND)

2. In Grammar.

In grammar, the word *ḳiyās* indicates the "norm", meaning the instrument which enables the grammarian to "regulate" (*ḍabaṭa*) the morphological or syntactical behaviour of a word, where this is not known through transmission (*naḳl*) or audition (*samāʿ*), on the basis of the known behaviour of another word, by means of a certain kind of analogy. It is synonymous with *maḥyās* (pl. *maḥāyīs*). The term is well attested in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (cf. G. Troupeau, *Lexique index*, 179); Sībawayhi does not define it but he says that it may be bad (*radīʾ*, *ḵabīth*), constant (*muṭṭaṣib*, *mustamirr*), flowing (*ḏjārī*), stable (*mutamakkin*) and that it is indispensable (*lāzim*), he insists that one does not "regulate" a thing on the basis of that which is rare (*ḳalīl*) or exceptional (*shāḏḏ*, *shāḏḏ*), but that one "regulates" it on the basis of that which is in frequent use (*kaṯīr*). The expression *ʿala ʾl-ḳiyās*, which is often used, indicates "according to the norm, normally".

It is the Muʿtazilī grammarian al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) who supplies the first definition of the term, in the *K. al-Ḥudūd* (ed. M. Ḏjawād, 59), "*ḳiyās* is the combination (*ḍamm*) of two things, whence results necessarily their combination in principle (*ḥukm*)".

Ibn Ḏjinnī (d. 392/1002) devotes to *ḳiyās* five chapters in the *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ* (ed. M. A. al-Nadidjār, i, 109-33, 357-69, 391 ff.). He asserts that the Arabs love affinity (*taḏāwur*) and resemblance (*taḏābuh*) and that this leads them to assimilate things that are close to one another, and to trace (*ḥaml*) a secondary thing (*farʿ*) to a primary thing (*aṣl*), he comments that this penchant of the Arabs for assimilation (*taḏbīh*) sometimes leads them to trace a primary thing from a secondary thing, and that a rare thing can be the "norm", while a more common thing is not. As regards the links between the "norm" and audition and usage (*sulṭān*), he distinguishes four cases: (1) that which is generalised (*muṭṭarid*) according to the norm and according to usage, this is the optimum; (2) that which is generalised according to the norm, but exceptional according to usage, one adopts the word of most frequent usages; (3) that which is generalised according to usage, but exceptional according to the norm: one adopts that which is commonly heard (*masmūʿ*), but does not "regulate" anything else according to it, and (4) that which is exceptional according to the norm and to usage; this is faulty (*marḏūl*) and should be rejected (*mufṭaraḥ*). Finally, he observes that the grammarians considered that that which is "regulated" according to the language of the Arabs, constitutes a part of their language, even if the Arabs have not used it in speech.

In the *K. Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1182) subjects *ḳiyās* to a lengthy examination (ed. A. Amer, 44 ff.). He considers that it is impossible to do without it to grammar, since the latter may be defined as being the science of "norms" (*maḥāyīr*) drawn (*mustanbaṭa*) from exhaustive study (*istiḳrāʾ*) of the Arabic language. He defines it as the tracing of a secondary thing from a primary thing, by virtue of a cause (*ʿilla*) which demands the application of the principle of the primary thing to the secondary thing. He distinguishes three kinds of *ḳiyās*, according to its basis upon (1) a cause to which the principle is attached; (2) a resemblance (*shabah*) other than the cause to which the principle is attached; and (3) a generalisation (*ṭard*) of principle. Where the assumptions (*ḥikāya*) of the cause is lacking in this case, only the two former kinds are utilised by the grammarians.

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), in the third chapter of the *K. al-Iḳtirāḥ fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, classifies all the data concerning *ḳiyās* supplied by previous grammarians (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 38 ff.). He divides his study into three parts. (1) the primary thing, on the basis of which one "regulates" (*maḥīṭ ʿalayhi*), (2) the secondary thing, which one "regulates" (*maḥīṭ*), (3) the principle; and (4) the cause that unites them (*ḏjāmiʿa*).

Finally, it should be noted that, in the *K. al-Radd ʿala ʾl-nuḥāt*, the Ẓāhirī grammarian Ibn Madāʾ al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 592/1196) objects to the use of *ḳiyās* in grammar and calls for its abrogation (ed. Sh. Ḍayf, 156).

Bibliography given in the text of the article.

(G. TROUPEAU)

KĪZ (n.), basically "girl, unmarried female", but often used with the more restricted meanings of "daughter, slave girl, concubine". It is already found in the Orkhon inscriptions in the phrase *bir oghli* "daughter" as opposed to *eri oghli* "son".

and subsequently appears in most Turkish languages. Through Türkmen forms it passed into Iranian languages like Kurdish and Ossetian, and through Ottoman usage into Balkan languages like Serbian and Bulgarian, often via the Ottoman technical expression (for which see below) *khiṣṣ aghasi* (see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turk Dialecte*, ii, 818-9, G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische* iii. *Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden 1967, 569-70, Ne<u>sh</u>ri, Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 679-80).

In mediaeval Islamic usage, one of its denotations was "Christian woman", doubtless influenced by the meanings "slave girl, concubine", <u>D</u>huwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 357, calls the Georgian King David IV "the son of Kiz Malik", i.e. son of the Queen Ruandam. Under the Ottomans, the term *Kiṣlar Aghasi* "*Agha* of the maidens" was generally used to denote the chief of the black eunuchs in the Imperial Palace, more correctly entitled *Dār al-Sa'ādat Aghasi* "*Agha* of the House of Felicity". This offices was in charge of the sultan's harem, and was in practice the principal officer of the whole palace. From the last years of the 10th/16th century onwards, he enjoyed the prestige of vizierial rank, as a *pasha* of three *tughs*, with the title of *Mutafarrik*, coming in order of precedence only after the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*. After 993/1585 he also displaced the Chief of the White Eunuchs from his control of the *awkāf* or pious endowments of the *Haremeyn*, Mecca and Medina (see N M Penzer, *The Harim*,[2] London 1965, 198 ff.; I H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 272 ff. and index, Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, *i/1*, Oxford 1950, 76-7, 329-35).

The element *kiz* also occurs in two well-known topographical features in the city of Istanbul and vicinity. First, there is the *Kiz taşi* "Maiden's stone", the column of the Emperor Marcian (450-7), in the Fātih quarter, so-called from its alleged power to distinguish virgins (in fact, the genuine "virgin's column" from near the Church of the Holy Apostles was incorporated in the Süleymāniyye Mosque, which rose on that church's site after 1456); see E Mamboury, *The tourists's Istanbul* Istanbul 1953, 339-40, 41, and Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*[2], Leipzig 1914, 180. Second, there is the *Kiz kûlesi* "Maiden's tower", the signal station and lighthouse built on a rock in the Bosphorus just south of Üsküdar in the entrance to the Bosphorus, popularly called "Leander's tower", referring to Leander's death by drowning when trying to reach his beloved Hero (though this occurrence is usually located in the Dardanelles between Cestus and Abydos). The classical name for this rock was Damalis (from the wife of the Athenian general Charas), but the Turkish name is connected with the story of Mehemmed II's daughter, allegedly shut up there in a fruitless attempt to preserve her from death by snakebite (see Mamboury, *op cit*, 496 7, and *Murray's handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brussa and the Troad*, London 1893, 107).

For the social status of women in Turkey, see MAR'A.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KIZIL AHMADLI [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU]

KIZIL ARSLAN [see ILDEGHIZIDS].

KIZIL BASH (T. "Red head"). The word is used as both a general and a specific sense. In general, it is used loosely to denote a wide variety of extremist Shī'ī sects [see GHULĀT], which flourished in Anatolia and Kurdistān from the late 7th/13th century onwards, including such groups as the *Alawis* ('*Alawīs*, see A S Tritton, *Islam: belief and practices*, London 1951, 83).

The 'Alawis were closely connected with the Nuṣayris [*q.v.*] of northern Syria and Cilicia, and the *takiyas* (*takkiyas* [*q.v.*]), in order to protect themselves from persecution by the Ottoman government as schismatics, later "gained the right of asylum under the all-embracing and tolerant umbrella of the Bektāshī organization" (J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 83; see also BEKTĀSHIYYA). The *Kizil-bash* did not constitute a Sūfī order as such, but rather a religious sect (Abdülbāki Gölpınarlı, *IA* art. *Kızıl baş*). The common characteristics of all those designated as *Kizil bash* was the wearing of red headgear. Gölpınarlı, *op cit*, sees the *kizil bash* in this respect as the spiritual descendants of early Shī'ī *ghulāt* groups such as the <u>Kh</u>urramīs [*q.v.*], who were also known as the Muḥammira from their practice of wearing red hats and robes, and even of pre-Islamic heretical sects of the Sāsānid period, especially that of Mazdak (see also Browne, *LHP*, i, 320-23). In its specific sense, the word *kizil-bash* was a term of opprobrium (often *kizil bash-i suwash*, "scoundrelly *kizil-bash*", etc.) applied by the Ottoman Turks to the supporters of the Safawid house [see ṢAFAWIDS], and adopted by the latter as a mark of pride.

In Ṣafawid usage, the term derived from the distinctive scarlet or crimson hat (*tādj*) with twelve gores (*tark*) commemorating the twelve Imāms of the Ithnā 'Ashari Shī'īs, worn by the disciples (*murīds*) of the Safawid *shaykhs*. According to Ṣafawid tradition, in 893/1487 Shaykh Haydar [*q.v.*], instructed in a dream by the Imām 'Alī, devised this headgear (British Museum MS. Or. 3246, ff. 21a-b). When Haydar first showed this "Sūfī *tādj*", as it became known, in the Aḳ Koyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, the latter kissed it and put it on his head (if the date 893/1487-8 is correct, this story is clearly apocryphal, because Uzun Ḥasan died in 882/1478). His son Ya'ḳūb, however, refused to wear it, and this was the origin of the enmity between Haydar and Ya'ḳūb which resulted in the breakdown of the Ṣafawid Aḳ Koyunlu alliance. After the death of Haydar, Ya'ḳūb not only forbade his subjects to wear the *kizil bāsh tādj*, but also tried to prevent the Sūfīs of the Ṣafawid *jarība* from wearing it (R M Savory, *The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timur*, in *Iṣl*, xl (1964), 34 ff.).

Strictly speaking (as noted by Chardin; see V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, London 1943, 188 and n 5), the term *kizil-bāsh* should be applied only to those Turcoman tribes inhabiting eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and the Armenian highlands which were converted by the Ṣafawid *da'wa* and became the disciples of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs* at Ardabīl. However the term was also loosely applied to certain non-Turkish-speaking Iranian tribes which supported the Ṣafawids, for instance the tribes of Tālish and Karādja-dāgh (Siyāh-kūh), and Kurds and Lurs. The great *kizil bāsh* tribes (*oymāḳ*) were subdivided into as many as eight or nine clans (the list in Minorsky, *op cit.*, 16 17, is by no means complete). The most important *oymāḳs* included the Ustādjlus, Rūmlūs, Shāmlūs, Dulghadirs (erroneously Dhu 'l-Ḳadrs), Takkalūs, Afshārs and Ḳādjārs, other tribes, such as the Turkmāns, Warsāḳ and Bahārlūs, are occasionally listed among the great *oymāḳs*. During the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl I [*q.v.*], the Shāmlūs were the most powerful of the *kizil-bāsh*

oymāḳs. The provenance of some of the great *oymāḳs* is clearly indicated by the name of the tribe: for instance, the names Shāmlū, Rūmlū and Bahārlū consist of a place name with the addition of the possessive particle *-lū*, others, such as Afshār, Warsāḳ, and Dulḳadir, are the names of old Oghuz tribes. The origin of some names, such as Ustādjlū, is still obscure.

From the middle of the 9th/15th century, Ardabīl was the nerve centre of an extensive organisation designed to keep the Ṣafawid leadership in close touch with its *khiṭṭ-bāḳ murīds* in eastern Anatolia, Syria and elsewhere. This organisation was controlled through the office of *khalīfat al khulafā'i*, fulsomely called by Minorsky (*op. cit.*, 128) "the special secretariat for Ṣūfī affairs". The *khalīfat al khulafā'*, who was *successarily* a *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* and usually a Turcoman, appointed representatives termed *khalīfa* in the region in which the Ṣafawid *da'wa* was active, and the *khalīfas* in their turn had subordinates termed *pīrs*. The presence of large numbers of *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* Ṣafawid supporters in eastern Anatolia constituted a serious threat to the Ottomans. In 907/1501, Sultān Bāyazīd II transferred large numbers of Shī'īs from Asia Minor to the Morea, yet in 927/1521 there was another serious *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* revolt at Tekke [see BĀYAZĪD II], and Sultān Selīm I, before invading Irān in 920/1514, massacred 40,000 of them in order to secure his rear (see Savory, *The consolidation of Safawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 86 f.).

The *khiṭṭ-bāḳ*, as the *murīds* of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs*, owed implicit obedience to their leader in his capacity as their *murshid i kāmil* ("supreme spiritual director"). After the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the Ṣafawid *shāhs* transferred this *pīr-murīdī* relationship from the religious to the political plane, since they were now not only their followers' *murshid-i kāmil* but their king (*pādishāh*) as well. As a consequence, what had formerly been an act of disobedience on the part of a Ṣūfī against the orders of his spiritual director now became an act of treason against the king or a crime against the state, and as such, punishable by death. The term *ṣūfīgarī*, 'proper conduct for a Ṣūfī", was extended to mean, "conduct becoming to a *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* officer', the converse, *nā-ṣūfīgarī*, came to mean "failure to obey orders, rebellious or treasonable conduct". As late as 1023/1614-15, for instance, when Shāh 'Abbās put to death some *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* who had defected to the Ottomans, the charge was *nā-ṣūfīgarī* (Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafā under the Safawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxiv (1965), 502). A passage in the *Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Tehrān 1334/1955, i, 68, where an officer is described as *mard-i ṣūfī wa pādishāh-dūstkhwāh*, makes it clear that being a Ṣūfī and a *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* was considered to be tantamount to being loyal to the shāh and the régime.

When the Ṣafawid state was established in 907/1501, the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* constituted the military aristocracy. Since they had been largely responsible for bringing the Ṣafawids to power, they considered it only right and proper that they should both fill the principal offices of state in the central administration and also hold the most important provincial governorships. The use of such terms to describe the Ṣafawid empire as *kishwar-i khiṭṭ-bāḳ* ("the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* realm") (*Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 206); *dawlat-i khiṭṭ-bāḳ* ("the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* state") (*ibid.*, i, 152), and *mamlikat-i khiṭṭ-bāḳ* ("the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* kingdom") (*ibid.*, i, 563), makes it clear that, in the view of the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ*, the Tādjīks or Persian elements did not count for much in the new order of things. Similarly, the shāh is commonly referred to as *pādishāh-i khiṭṭ-bāḳ*, again a term which appears to ignore the existence of the Tādjīks altogether.

Initially, the two principal offices of the central administration, that of the *wakīl* and that of the *amīr al umarā'i*, were both held by the same *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* officer. Under Tahmāsp I (*q.v.*), the office of *amīr al umarā'* declined in importance, and was superseded by the office of *ḳurčī-bāshī* [see QURČĪ], which was also a *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* prerogative. The government of the provinces of the Ṣafawid empire during the early period was allotted almost exclusively to *khiṭṭ-bāḳ amīrs*, who ruled as petty princes in their provinces. The provincial governors had courts which were replicas of the royal court, and the system of provincial administration in many respects resembled that of the central administration. These provincial governorships were assigned to the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ amīrs* as fiefs known as *tuyūl* (*q.v.*). The governors, in return for the obligation to provide the king with a stated number of fully-equipped troops when required, were allowed to consume locally the greater part of the revenues collected in the provinces under their jurisdiction, such provinces were known as *mamālik* or "state" provinces.

After the conquest of Khurāsān in 916/1510, Shāh Ismā'īl made Harāt the second city of the Ṣafawid empire, and it became the seat of one of the Ṣafawid princes and frequently of the heir-apparent. The royal prince was placed in charge of the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* governor-general of Khurāsān who, in his capacity as *lala* or *atābeg* ("guardian") of the prince, was responsible for the moral and physical welfare of his ward. It was his duty to see that the prince was trained in archery, horsemanship and the like, and also to see that he received his apprenticeship in statecraft.

Since the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* were "an party to the national Persian tradition" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 188), their assumption that the principal offices of state would automatically fall to their lot led to immediate friction with the Persian elements in the administration. The Persians, or 'Tādjīks" as the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* contemptuously called them, were the "men of the pen' who had traditionally filled the ranks of the bureaucracy in Irān and had provided administrative continuity under a succession of foreign rulers, Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tatars and Turcomans. In the Persian view, the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* were "men of the sword", and were not expected to have any knowledge of statecraft. On the other hand, in the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* view, 'Tādjīks" were fit only "to look after the accounts and *diwāns* business. They had no right ... either to maintain private bodyguards or to command troops in the field. If *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* were asked to serve under a Persian officer, they consider it a dishonour" (Savory, *The qizilbāsh, education and the arts*, in *Turcica*, vi (1975), 169). Ismā'īl I attempted to maintain a balance between these two forces by appointing Persians to the all important office of *wakīl*, but this merely aggravated the tension between them, and the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* brought about the death of three of the five Persians appointed to that office under Ismā'īl I (see Savory, *The significance of the political murder of Mīrzā Salmān*, in *Islamic Studies, Journ. of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi*, iii (1964), 281-91).

When Shāh Tahmāsp succeeded his father in 930/1524, at the age of ten and a half, the *khiṭṭ-bāḳ* took advantage of his youth to assume control of the

state. Their mystical belief in the quasi-divine nature of Ismāʿīl I as their *murshid-i kāmil* had been shattered by the latter's disastrous defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*], and they now reverted to their primary loyalty to their tribe. This led to almost a decade of civil war as the great *khāl-khāl oymaḳlar* fought for political supremacy, and between 932/1526 and 940/1533 effective individual *khāl-khāl* tribes *or* coalitions of tribes ruled the state. In 937/1530-1 the Takkalūs attempted to seize the person of the shāh, but the other great *oymaḳlar* rallied to his defence and, in the ensuing fighting, large numbers of Takkalūs were killed. The survivors fled to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, some of them subsequently entered Ottoman service, and one of their chiefs, the renegade Ulama (Ulāma), was involved in the rebellion of Aḳ-Aṣ Mīrzā (*q.v.*) These events virtually ended the political influence of the Takkalū *oymaḳ*.

In 940/1533 Shāh Ṭahmāsp managed to reassert the authority of the crown, and for some forty years remained in control of affairs, but in 982/1574 when he fell ill, there was immediately a recrudescence of dissension among the *khāl-khāl*. The political situation, however, was very different from the situation obtaining in 932/1526, at the outbreak of the civil war between the *khālkhāl* tribes. The new factor was the introduction of a "third force" to the political scene in the form of Armenians, Georgians and Circassians who became *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*, "slaves of the royal household". These men, many of whom had been taken prisoner in Ṭahmāsp's campaigns in Georgia between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4, or were the offspring of woman brought to Iran at that time, adopted Islām, and were given special training to fit them for service either in some branch of the administration of the royal household, or in one of the newly-constituted *ghulām* regiments. The *ghulāms*, instead of being paid on a quasi-feudal basis like the *khāl-khāl*, were paid direct from the royal treasury, and their primary loyalty was therefore to the shāh and not to any tribal unit. When therefore there was a fresh outbreak of factionalism in 982/1574, "it was no longer a struggle to determine which tribe could outstrip its rivals in a state in which the *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes as a whole enjoyed a dominant and privileged position, but whether the *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes as a whole could maintain their privileged position against the threat from the new elements to Persian society, the Georgians and Circassians" (Savory, *Safavid Persia*, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, i, 407 f). This struggle was not resolved during the remainder of Ṭahmāsp's lifetime, or under his successors Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [*qq.v.*].

When ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] was placed on the throne in 996/1588 by the powerful *khāl-khāl amīr* Murshid Ḳulī Khān Ustādjlū, he realised that not only his personal future but the continued survival of the Ṣafawid state depended on his being able to establish his authority over the *khāl-khāl* as rapidly as possible. The Ottomans, taking advantage of *khāl-khāl* factionalism, had made large inroads into Persian territory in the west, as had also the Özbegs in the east. ʿAbbās's solution of curbing the power of the *khāl-khāl* and increasing that of the *ghulāms*, though successful in the short term, ultimately seriously weakened the military and political effectiveness of the Ṣafawid state. The *khāl-khāl* regarded the *ghulāms* with contempt, and dubbed them *ḳara-oghlu*, "sons of black slaves". The *ghulāms*, though some great commanders emerged from their ranks, did not have a fighting élan comparable to that of the *khāl-khāl*, the only troops in the Islamic world who had earned the grudging respect of the Ottoman Janissaries. Essentially heavy cavalry, the *khāl-khāl* carried a formidable arsenal of weapons—bow, lance, sword, dagger and battle-axe, in action, the *ṭāḳī* was replaced by a helmet with mail cheek-pieces (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 32); as they charged, they set up a rhythmic chant of "Allāh! Allāh!" (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, 699). The basis of their fighting spirit, however, was their fierce tribal loyalty (*taʿaṣṣub-i oymāḳiyyat*, *taʿaṣṣub-i khāl-khāliyyat*). Shāh ʿAbbās I was well aware of this and, in pursuance of his policy of curtailing the power of the *khāl-khāl*, not only reduced the strength of the *khāl-khāl* regiments but also deliberately weakened the all-important attachment of the *khāl-khāl* soldier to his tribe. He did this in a variety of ways. he placed an officer in charge of a tribe who was not himself a member of that tribe, in certain cases, alleging that a particular tribe did not possess an officer worthy of holding the rank of *amīr*, he appointed a *ghulām* as *amīr* of the tribe, he transferred groups of men from one tribe to a district belonging to another tribe. The continuance of these policies by his successors ultimately undermined the military strength of the Ṣafawid empire.

In Afghānistān, there exists a substantial Shīʿī minority group of *khāl-khāl*, living mainly at Kābul and in the high valleys of Folādī in the eastern edge of the Hazāradjāt (*q.v.*). These people are the descendants of garrison troops left behind by Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1150/1738 during his Indian campaign. The *khāl-khāl* hold clerical posts in government offices, engage in trade or are craftsmen, in short, they constitute an important and politically-influential element in the population. Estimates of their total number vary from 60,000 to 200,000 (see H. W. Bellew, *The races of Afghanistan*, Calcutta 1880, 207, D. N. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn., 1962, 49-50, and V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, index *s.v. Qizil Bash*).

As recently as 1945, the fact that the name *khāl-khāl* still had an emotive power in Āḏharbāydjān, the nerve-centre of the Ṣafawid organisation in earlier times, was demonstrated by the choice of this name for the regular troops recruited by the short lived autonomous republic of Āḏharbāydjān.

Bibliography : Given in the text. For a detailed description of the rites and ceremonies of the Anatolian *khāl-khāl*, see article *Kızılbaş*, in *IA*. For additional textual references, see G. Doerfer, *Turkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 470-2.

(R. M. Savory)

KIZIL-ELMA (or **KIZIL-ALMA**), "Red Apple" is an expression which occurs in written sources from the 16th century onwards. It also occurs in Turkish oral traditions from Anatolia and Āḏharbāydjān as well as in modern Greek, Bulgarian and Rumanian folklore, current to this day. It refers to a legendary city which was to be the ultimate goal of Turko-Muslim conquests, and some versions explain the term from the resemblance between a red apple and the golden dome of a building—in this latter case it refers to a large church situated in the area in the Ottoman period Kızıl-Elma tended to be identified with the large cities associated with Christianity—Constantinople, Budapest, Vienna and Rome—which the armies of the *Pādishāh* were hoping

to conquer (see J. Deny, *Les pseudo-prophéties annonçant les Turcs au XVIe siècle*, in *REI*, x/2 (1936), 201-20, E. Rossi, *La leggenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso*, in *Actes du Ve Congrès international des études byzantines*, Rome 1936, 542-53).

Another tradition, which must have developed before the Ottoman one, identifies Kizil Alma with Dāghistān, beyond Demir-Kapu. It has been supposed that this legend originated from the ceremony for enthroning the Shamkhal of Dāghistān, in which the claimant to the throne is involved in throwing a "golden ball"; because of this ball, Dāghistān was called "The land of Kizil-Alma" (see Fahreddin Çelik, *Kızıl-Almanın yerleri*, in *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. and March 1942, Bamsçek Ermeğin, *Kızıl elma efsanesinden hareketle Kızıl-Alma*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 181, Aug. 1964) The idea of Kizil Alma being situated in Dāghistān in the furthest point of Muslim expansion has persisted in the oral tradition of Eastern Anatolia among the residents of Kars, Ardahan, Kağızman and both parts of Ādharbāydjān. The legendary place is mentioned in the 18th century by two poets from the fringes of the Caucasus. The one, 'Āshik Şafi, speaks of it in a song composed to celebrate an expedition of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) against the Russians in Dāghistān (see F Çelik, *op. cit.*) But drawing on information given by a certain Bahrām of Damascus in his geographical work which was translated from Latin (Nūr i 'Othmāniyya Library, ms. 2936), Çelik suggests that the country of the Khazars was called Kizil-Alma since the 4th/10th century

A popular legend, which probably rose in the oral tradition of the Janissaries, has survived in written recensions. One version is dated 13 Sha'bān 1084/23 November 1673 and is found in the National Library at Ankara ("cönk" collection, No. 72). A second, dated 15 Djumādā II 1179/29 November 1765 is in a collection of folk narratives from manuscripts brought together by P N Borotav. The narrative is written in the form of a letter and it combines the motif of ' Kizil-Alma, the ultimate goal of the Ottoman conquests" with that of a Christian king who, having been vanquished and wounded by 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, was plunged into a deep sleep, and is waiting for a favourable day to revive and to take his revenge on the Muslims. In the version of the legend, an attempt can be seen at an identification and a localisation, which has ended in contradiction and anachronism. The Christian king is called Kum Papa "The Pope of Rome", so Kizil Alma is thus being identified with Rome But the narrative also locates the same legendary place at Bec (Vienna), and links this legend with the account of the Ottoman raid carried out during the reign of Süleymān II in 1532 by the historical person Kāsim Voyvoda (see P. N. Borotav, in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, IVe section, 1966-7, 163 4) The motif of the resurrection of a king is certainly Christian and probably Byzantine It is linked with the cycle of pseudo-prophecies at the end of the period of Turkish domination (Deny, *op. cit.*), but later on it must have been integrated into Turkish tradition.

Oral versions of this narrative are still being told today. The present writer has recorded five versions in Turkish folklore (1) Isparitah Hakkı, *Köyümden geliyorum*, Ankara 1971, 34-5 (the material in this book dates from 1916), (2) H I. Erginci, in *Gedik*, No 33 (1944)—cf. P N Borotav, in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1956), 16; (3) Kurt Bittel, *Legenden vom Keshenes-Dağ* (*Kapadokien*), in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1960), 33, (4) a version noted by Borotav in the villages of Han Köy and Ak-Dere (Afyon province) in 1950, and (5) a version noted by Oğuz Tansel in the village of Meyre (near Bozkır, Konya province). The two last versions are part of Borotav's own manuscript collection and are unpublished. A Greek version from Asia Minor has also been recorded, it comes from a village in the region of Ephesus (see Dido Sotiriou, *D'un jardin d'Anatolie*, a novel translated from Modern Greek Paris 1963, 22) For an Arabic version, see Yakoub Artin Pacha, *Sous haddenta, contes populaires recueillis au Caire*, Cairo 1903, 11-12

Bibliography: A full bibliography is provided by J. Deny and E. Rossi in their articles. Apart from works cited in the article, see for the motif of the Kizil Elma Elmas Yılmaz, *Kızıl-Elma efsanesi* in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No 146, Sept 1962 (P. N. Borotav)

KİZİL-IRMĀK (T. "Red River"), the ancient Halys ("Ἅλυς or Alys ("Αλυς), the largest river in Asia Minor. It rises in the mountains which separate the *wilāyet* of Sīwās from that of Erzerūm, waters the towns of Zarra (4,930 feet high) and Sīwās (4,1 in feet high), then enters the province of Ankara where it meets the mountain of Ardīsh and the Kodja Dāgh range which force it to make an immense detour of over 160 miles. Its course is at first southeast, then it turns northwards, and finally it reaches the Black Sea below Bāfra in the middle of marshes. It is nearly 600 miles long Its waters, of a dark yellow colour when they are in flood, diminish enormously in the summer, its bed is wide and its banks high Its principal right bank tributaries are the Kīlīč-şūyu and the Delidje Çay; those on the left are the Şārīmşāk-Çay which flows by Kaysarīyye, the Dewrek-Çay from Tosya, the Gök-Irmāk which comes from the Ilgāz-Dāgh (the ancient Olgassys) and waters the town of Kastamūnu (*q.v.*). According to Strabo (xii, 561), the river Halys ('Αλυς) took its name from the mines of rocksalt, the product of which was exported in the form of large blocks; these mines thirty miles to the north of Yōzgħād (Yozgat) near the village of Şārī-Kāmīsh, are worked among the red sandstone, covered with clay and marl of a reddish colour; this soil washed down by the heavy rains gives the river a reddish colour, whence its name

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotus (i, 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media It seems to have been known to the Arabs by its ancient name, if it is this river that is referred to by the name *Alus* in a verse of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (S de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*[2], iii, text, 45, tr. 109, gives by mistake "Aloue", an error reproduced by Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, ii, 221).

Bibliography: 'Alī Diewād, *Diughrāfiyā lughāt*, 609, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 626, Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 538; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 29, 272, 639, iv, 433; Fr. Spiegel, *Eränische Alterthumskunde*, i, 183 ff.

(Cl. Huart*)

KİZİL-KUM (T. "Red sand"), a desert between the Sīr-Daryā and Āmū-Daryā rivers (*qq.v.*, and also KARA-KUM), falling within the modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan SSRs The country is less uniform, especially in the central part, than or the Kara-Kum; the sand desert is crossed by several ranges of hills, and in some places is rocky. The Kizil-

Kum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Kirlighan ("where man perishes") between the Āmū Daryā and the cultivated region of Bukhārā, consisting of sandhills (*barkhān*), is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In summer, there is absolutely no life in the desert, in the winter, there is vegetation, such as the *saksaul* shrub, and a few springs and wells are visited by Kazakh nomads. Schuyler noted that "Kirghiz" (sc. Kazakh) nomads crossed into the Kizil Kum from north of the Sir Daryā on the river ice and returned in the spring when there were still ice floes in the river. Moreover, the mediaeval Islamic sources show that the winter, when the desert was carpeted with snow, was normally the time for military and other movements across the Kizil-Kum. Thus the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī noted that it was the absence of snow which prevented the Oghuz ruler of Djand, Shāh Malik, from restraining the rebel in Khwārazm Hārūn and his Saldjūḳ allies from invading Khurāsān in spring 426/1035 (*Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 683-4), and in the 6th/12th century the raids of the Khwārazm Shāhs to Djand and against the Ḳipčaḳ were always made in winter [see KHĀNS in Suppl.]. At the south-eastern extremity of the Kizil-Kum lay the Kaṭwān Steppe, to the north of the Samarkand Khudjand road, where in 356/1142 Sultan Sandjar was defeated by the Kara Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. In recent times, the desert sands have encroached on the cultivated fringes, and in the later 19th century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafshān river became buried in the sands.

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(W. Barthold - C. E. Bosworth)

KIZIL-ÜZEN (in Āzarī Turkish "Red River"), the ancient Amardus, a river which flows through Ādharbāydjān and enters the Caspian Sea forty miles east of Sefīd Rūd, "White River", at its junction with the river Shāh Rūd at Mendjil. Its source lies in the province of Ardabīl, and it begins by crossing 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī to the north, its right bank tributary is the Zandjān, on the left it receives the Kurz gōl at Miyāne, then it runs along the southern slopes of Elburz, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crosses this range through the defile of Rūdbār and the narrow valley of Rustamābād, a kind of coulour through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. It was known to the Arabs as Nahr al-Abyaḍ "White River" (tr. of the Persian *Sefīd Rūd*) (cf. Dimashḳī, *Cosmographia*, tr. Mehren, 145), at one time the Turks called it the Hūlān (Hādidjī Khalīfa, *Djihān numā*, 304).

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular poetry of Persia* 479, No. 2; Fr. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 75 ff.; Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, x, 64; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, 98; H. L. Rabino, in *RMM*, xxxii, (1915-6), 262-3, Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 169, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 217, M. de Kotzebue, *Voyage en Perse*, Fr. tr., Paris 1819, 186 (view of the bridge of Kaplān tāgh as frontispiece), Fr. Sarre, *Reise von Ardebil nach Zendjchan*, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, xlv (1899), 225-27. (Cl. Huart)

KIZIMKAZI, in full, KIZIMKAZI-DIMBANI, a small hamlet in south-west Zanzibar situated in lat. 6° 26' S, which possesses the earliest datable mosque in East Africa. Its *miḥrāb* has a dedicatory Kūfic inscription recording its foundation by Shaykh Abū 'Imrān Mūsā al-Ḥasan Muḥammad in 500/1106-7. This is flanked by Kur'ānic verses and two inscriptions in roundels, all of great elegance. The nearest analogy is with a grave cover found at Sīrāf; the *ensemble* was either imported from there or executed in Zanzibar by a Sīrāfī mason. This Persian connection accords with traditions of trading relations attested by inscriptions in Somalia and by the Kilwa histories. Otherwise, the mosque is an undistinguished rectangular structure. H. N. Chittick excavated it and the adjacent site in 1960. The latter settlement dates from the 11th century or earlier: a ruined stone house and defensive enclosures are probably 18th century, when, as is commemorated by another inscription dated 1184/1772-3, the mosque and *miḥrāb* were largely rebuilt, the earlier inscriptions being incorporated into the fresh structure. An oral tradition claims that it was the capital of Bakari, a 17th century Swahili ruler of southern Zanzibar, but this seemingly contradicts the archaeological evidence, the fortified residence and the rebuilding of the mosque are more congruent with the 18th century development of the western African slave trade.

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(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

KIZKĀHĀN [see KILĀT]

KIZLAR AGHASĪ [see AGHA].

KOČ HIṢĀR, a name of several towns and villages in Asia Minor, derived from Koča-Hiṣār, compare such names as Koč Hiṣārī, Koyun Hiṣārī, Koyu Hiṣārī, Keči Hiṣārī and Toḳlu Hiṣārī. Confusion is often prevented by the addition of the name of the nearby provincial capital or of another word, e.g. Čankīrī Koč-Hiṣārī, Sherḥī Koč Hiṣār. For the same reason, the toponyms of places with this name have been changed in recent times.

1. SHEREFLI KOČ HIṢĀRĪ (in modern usage *Şerefli Koçhisar*, centre of an *sīgh* (previously *ḳaḍā'*) formerly called Ereğlī, in central Anatolia nowadays within the *wilāyet* of Ankara (formerly of Konya), 8 km east of the northeastern shores of the Tuz Gölü [*q.v.*]. The town is situated on the road connecting Ankara with Adana via Aksaray, nowadays a major line of communication. The countryside around it is watered by a mountain stream and yields a varied agricultural produce, there is also sheep-raising. Since ancient times salt has been produced at Kaldırım on the lake. In 1930 Şerefli-Koçhisar town had a population of 4,458 and the

ilçe (then called a *kaza*) one of 46,300, the latter including within its boundaries 97 villages.

Bibliography: B Darkot art. s.v. in *IA*, F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, Table 8ª; *Ankara il yıllığı*, Ankara 1967; İ. M. Konyalı, *Şereflikoçhisar tarihi*, 1972.

II Çankırı Koç Hişârî, in modern usage Çankırı Koç Hisar, since ca. 1923 centre of an *ilçe* (*kaḍâ*ª) in the *il* (*wilâyat*) of Çankırı (Çankırî [*q.v.*], Kiǰnghri before 1925) in central Anatolia, nowadays called Ilgaz. In the 13th century it was a *nâḥiya* in the *sanǰaḳ* of Kiǰnghri, in the *wilâyet* of Anadolu, and since 1864 in that of Kastamonu. Situated in the valley of the River Devres (= Devrek) on the southern slopes of the Ilgaz Mountains at an altitude of 903m. the town is an agricultural market centre, lying near the crossroads of the routes from Ankara to Kastamonu via Çankırı and of that from Istanbul via Bolu and Tosya to Erzurum and the east. Islamisation came after the conquest by the Dânişmend *amîrs* in ca. 468/1075. Afterwards the region became part of the dominions of the Isfendiyâroghlu [*q.v.*] as Djandârid dynasty of Kastamonu (Kaştamûnî [*q.v.*]). The Ottoman Sultan Bâyezîd I took it in 793/1393. After the invasion and restoration of the amirates in Anatolia by Timûr (after 804/1402), Koç Hişâr definitively became Ottoman territory in 855/1451. It then became an important halting-stage in the Ottoman network of routes of the so-called "left wing" (*sol kol*) of Anatolia. In 1950 the town of Ilgaz itself had a population of 1,783, and the *ilçe* (then called a *kaza*) one of 24,800, the latter including in its boundaries 76 villages.

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III Koçhişâr (Sivas) nowadays Hafik, centre of an *ilçe* in the province of Sivas situated on the old main road and caravan route from Sivas to Erzindjan [*q.vv.*] and the East 37 km. NE of Sivas on the right bank of the Kızıl Irmak at an altitude of 1340 m. The population of the town in 1970 numbered 3,256 Nearby is Lake Todurgha (Tödürge, new Kaz Gölü or Demiryurt Gölü) Koçhişâr is identical with Hâfik Kal'esi (Hâwik), a stronghold of some importance during the amirate of Sivas of Kâḍî Burhân al-Dîn [*q.v.*]. In the 13th century the town had a mixed Armenian and Turkish population.

Bibliography. V. Cumet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 695, B. Darkot, art *Sivas* in *IA*, with list of older sources, H. W. Duda, ed. and tr., *Des Seltschukhongeschichte des Ibn Bibî*, Copenhagen 1959, 248 and n.b ; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, ii, 2 f., 11 n. 2, 3, table 32, Y. Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970, 32 f., 45 f , 52, 73.

IV Koçhişâr (Mardin) nowadays called Kızıltepe, the centre of an *ilçe* of the province of Mardin in southeastern Turkey (*Diyâr-bakr*) on the Zerkan Sayı, a tributary of the Khâbûr, to the south-east of the city of Mardin [*q.v.*] Its population numbered 16,376 in 1970 In early Islamic times this, Koçhişâr was called Dunaysir (Dunayṣar) [*q.v.*]. During the rule of the Artukids [*q.v.*], the town was an important caravan centre, and a medical school existed here. The present ruins of the Ulu Djâmi' are a monument of that period (ca. 621/1204 f.). At the time of Sultan Selîm I's campaigns against the Şafawids, an Ottoman army commanded by Bîyîklî Mehmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Diyâr Bakr, defeated a Persian force under Karakhân Ustâdjalû near the town in 922/1516. Afterwards the whole region came under Ottoman rule, with Mârdîn as a *sanǰaḳ* (*livâ*) of the new *eyâlet* (*beglerbeglik*) of Diyâr Bakr [*q.v.*]. Koçhişâr was a part of the *kaḍâ*ª of Mârdîn in 924/1518 and remained a subdivision of that district, being a *nâḥiye* of the *sanǰaḳ* of Mârdîn during the 19th and 20th centuries and a *kaḍâ*ª of the *wilâyet* of Mârdîn since the Republic was founded.

In 1766 the well known traveller Carsten Niebuhr visited Koçhişâr (" Kodsje hissar" in Arabic "Ḳunâṣar" or "Ḍunâṣar"), finding five minarets still standing (cf. *Reise naar Arabie*, Amsterdam-Utrecht 1776-80, ii, 366-7).

Bibliography: *Dunaysar Ta'rîkhi*, MS by Hatmish Ömer b Durmush al-Turkî, cited by O. Turan, *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk İslam medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, Istanbul 1969², 283, 293, 367, İ. Artuk, *Dunaysir'da Artukoğullarının Ulu Camii*, in *Belleten*, a (1946), 187-93; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 191, J S Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i, 378 (view of Koçhişâr in 1826), N. Göyünç, *XVI. yüzyılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 18, 23 f., 30, 30, 62-72, 75, 115; *Sâlnâme-i wilâyet-i Diyârbekir 1308*, *13 Def'a*, Diyârbekir 1308/1890, 127.

V Koçhişâr also Konia Hişâr, identical with the Byzantine fortress of Trikokkia in the Sakarya region to the south-east of Izmik [*q.v.*]. This place was conquered by Sultan Orkhan [*q.v.*] in 708/1308 (713/1313)

Bibliography: İ H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, 8; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire* Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972², 110 and n. 1 (A. H. de Groot)

KOČI BEG, also called Gömbüzlü Konia Muṣṭafâ Beg, Ottoman writer of treatises on statecraft.

Koči Beg was a native of Górdiçe (Gorča, Korytza) in Macedonia. He entered the Palace service as a *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] during the reign of Ahmed I and served under successive sultans until his retirement to his native place in the early years of Mehemmed IV's reign. He seems never to have served in any capacity outside the Palace He gained the especial confidence of Murâd IV and Ibrâhîm, and it is for his memoranda to these sultans that he is famous He was also taken by the historian Na'îmâ [*q.v.*] (for a full biographical account see M Çağatay Uluçay, *IA* art *Koçi Beg*).

Koči Beg's best known work is his *Risâle*, presented to Murâd IV in 1040/1630, where he analyses the causes of Ottoman decline and suggests remedies. There are several printed editions of the work Ahmed Vefîk Pasha (ed.), *Koçi beg risâlesi*, London 1279/1862-3, Istanbul 1303/1885-6, A. K. Aksüt, *Koçi bey risalesi* (in Latin script), Istanbul 1939, German translation by W F. A Behrnbauer, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 272 ff., with comments by Fleischer in *ZDMG*, xvi (1862), 271. The work is summarised in J. von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 291. A second *risâle* attributed to Koči Beg was apparently compiled from memoranda submitted to Sultan Ibrâhîm on that Sultan's order. There is no critical edition of the work. The first published version is an incomplete but fairly full

German translation by Behrnhauer, entitled *Das Nasihatnâme*, in *ZDMG*, xviii (1864), 699 ff., based on manuscripts now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Mix. 477 *A. F.* 188, Hist. Osman 150). The translator states that the author is anonymous. The second published edition is in A. K. Aksüt, *op. cit.*, 78 ff. (in Latin script), based on a manuscript in Millet Library, Istanbul, no. 474. In a third published edition, based on a manuscript in Nuruosmaniye Library, no. 4950, the editor attributes the *risâle* to the Grand Vizier Kemânkeş-h Kara Muṣṭafà Paşha (F. R. Ünat, *Sadrazam Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa lâihası*, in *TV*, ii, no. 6, 443 ff.). There are divergences between the published versions and between these and other existing mss. (for details and discussion, see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Koçi Bey'in Sultan İbrahim'e takdim ettiği risale ve arzları*, in *Z. V. Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 177 ff.).

The contents of Koči Beg's *risâle* presented to Murâd IV resemble those of an earlier analysis of Ottoman decline, the anonymous *Kitâb-i müstetâb*, (ed. Yaşar Yüce!, Ankara 1974) and are entirely conservative in outlook. The spread of corruption, he argued, had brought about a decline in the old institutions and bred disrespect for the *sharî'a* and old laws (*ḳânûn* [*q.v.*]). Remove corruption, restore respect for the *sharî'a* and *ḳânûn*, and the Empire would return to its former glory. In the old days before the reign of Süleymân I, the sultan had attended the *Dîwân* personally. Süleymân had abandoned this practice. Before the year 982/1574-5 the Grand Vizier had been independent, with no intermediary between him and the sultan. The sultan's favourites (*müḥemmâ*) had never interfered in affairs of state. Bribery was unknown and *beys* were never unjustly dismissed. There was strict control over the emoluments of Palace officials and they never received lands whose rightful use was as *timars* or *zi'âmets* (*q.v.*).

After 982/1574-5 Palace officials and Sultan's favourites were able to engineer the dismissal of Grand Viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sanḏjaḳ beys* and acquire lands rightfully allocated as timariots, as freeholdings (*temlîk*) or *tîmâr*-holdings (*paşhmaḳlîḳ*, *arpalîḳ*). As a result, the state lost its warriorist officers and no longer had the timariots available for war. A similar decline occurred in the *'ilmiyye* hierarchy. After 1003/1594-5 *sheyḫülislâms*, *ḳâḍî 'askers* and *ḳâḍîs* [*qq.v.*] frequently suffered wrongful dismissal. *Müderrisats* and *ḳâḍî*-ships were offered for sale, allowing ignorant men to enter the profession. Promotion, too, had come to depend on age, rather than ability. In the old days, the *'ulemâ'* had been upright men. Because they had feared God, the people had feared them, and the integrity of the *sharî'a* had been preserved.

The *timar* system had undertaken the Empire's former military strength. In 992/1584-5, however, Özdemir oghli 'Oṯmân Paşha had allocated *timars* to deserving *re'âyâ*. After him, the principle was extended, and unworthy *re'âyâ* and Palace nominees had received *timars*. These made bad and rebellious troops. Few bothered to present themselves for campaigns. Many had contradictory *berâts* (*q.v.*), giving rise to disputes and a decline in the respect due to the sultan's decrees. Finally, the abolition of the *yürüks* and *müsellems*, who had acted as a pioneer corps on campaigns, meant that the timariots, the picked troops of Islam, now had to perform menial tasks. The Janissaries and other *ḳapîḳulu* corps (see ODAU) had also become corrupt. It was again Özdemir-oghli 'Oṯmân Paşha who, in 992/1584, had admitted suitable non-*kuls* into these corps, and after 1003/1594-5 this had become a flood. The *devshirme* system broke down; tradesmen and others secured posts lawfully due only to *kuls*, and admitted their relatives to the corps. The number of so-called *kuls* increased enormously, many of them returning early without performing their military or other duties, and consequently they became a heavy burden on the treasury. Previously, they had resided only at Istanbul, Edirne and intermediate villages. They now resided throughout the empire, often exercising dictatorial powers in a region.

The swollen number of *kuls*, together with a decline in *ḫâṣṣ-i hümâyûn* lands [see KHĀṢṢA], which had either passed to enemies or else been allocated as *paşhmaḳlîḳ*, *waḳf* to vizier's *ḫâṣṣ*, meant a vastly increased burden of taxation on the *re'âyâ*. The sale of tax-collecting rights exacerbated the situation. Excessive taxation had impoverished the *re'âyâ* and this, in turn, led to insufficient treasury revenue. This led to military weakness which undermined the authority of the sultan. The result was internal dissension and military defeat.

Koči Beg's remedy for the decline was as conservative as his analysis of its causes: a return to the imagined perfections of the era before Süleymân I. Bribery should be removed by restoring the independence of the Grand Vizier and centralising the influence of Palace favourites in affairs of state; by keeping *beys* in their posts without fear of unjust dismissal; by dismissing ignorant *'ulemâ'* and replacing them with learned men; by distributing *timars* only to men worthy to receive them, and ceasing the practice of distributing *timar*-lands as *paşhmaḳlîḳ*, *waḳf* or other form of tenure. Only *beglerbegs* should appoint timariots. They should make a roll-call (*yoḳlama*) of present incumbents in their provinces (*eyâlet*), renewing the *berâts* of qualified timariots and removing the unqualified. Çavuş with high pay should receive *ze'âmets*, thus creating a warrior's *timâr* (*ḫâṣṣ*) and removing a burden from the treasury. Able-bodied timariots should serve on campaigns with the number of retainers (*ḏjebelü*) which the old *ḳânûns* specify. This would produce 400,000 to 500,000 troops and provide a counterbalance to the influence of the *ḳapîḳulus*. Similarly, all innovations (*bid'at*) in the Janissary and other *ḳapîḳulu* corps which contravene the old *kânûns* should be abolished. There should be a graduation (*ṭîrâz*) from the Palace once in every seven years, and at these times the *ḳapîḳulu* corps should reserve only enough recruits to replace dead members. Officers (*ḏâbit*) of these corps should never be unjustly deposed.

Koči Beg's second *risâle* is a straightforward description of various state institutions and governmental practices, interspersed with political maxims. Its purpose was to guide the new and totally inexperienced sultan, Ibrâhîm, and its language, in accordance with that ruler's mental capacities, is extremely simple (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *İbrahim*, and IBRAHIM).

Bibliography: apart from works mentioned above, see also: V. D. Smirnov, *Kolybeg Gümülzinskim (ruc) i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII. wka*, St. Petersburg 1873 (Turkish text with Russian tr.); Zuhuri Danişman, *Koçi Bey risâlesi*, Istanbul 1972 (introd. and modern Turkish tr.); Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i 'oṯmânî*, iv, 63; Bursalî Mehmed Ṭâhir, *'Oṯmânlı mü'ellifleri*, Istanbul 1334/1915-16, iii, 119 ff.; F. Babinger,

Geschichtsschreiber, 284 ff., 424 ff. H. L. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in mediaeval Islam*, Cambridge 1968, 226-7 (C. H. Imber)

KODJA ELI, modern Turkish Kocaeli, a region between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, covering a part of ancient Bithynia with its centre Izmid (*q.v.*) (ancient Nicomedia), and the name of a *sandjak* of the Ottoman empire. Nowadays it is the name of a province (*il*) of Turkey (population 585,406 in 1970), with Izmit as its capital. In 1954 the eastern part of the province Kocaeli was separated to form the Sakarya (Sakārya) province with its capital Adapazarı. Since this administrative reform, Kocaeli has comprised the *ilces* (formerly *kadā'ī*s) of (Izmit-) Merkez, Gebze, Kandıra, Gölcük (before 1936, Değirmendere) and Karamürsel. The province is traversed by the main route of communication between Istanbul and Ankara and the East, nowadays by the Anatolian railway (since 1873) and the motorway No 1/E5. Modern industries have been founded along the Gulf of Izmit (Izmit Körfezi) in the Republican period, complementing the already existing ones (*e.g.* the imperial Ottoman textile and carpet factory at Hereke). Thanks to the large forests prevailing in the region (in 1970 42.1 % of the area was still considered as forest land), the province became a centre for ship-building already in ancient times [cf. the mediaeval type of (rowing- and sailing) transport vessel, *Coromandi*, Turkish *Karamürsel*, called after the port of Karamürsel].

The Gulf of Izmit was a base area of the Ottoman navy from the 10th/16th century onwards. A dockyard and naval establishment existed at Izmit till World War I. Since 1926 Gölcük has been one of the main bases of the modern Turkish navy.

Kodja Eli was one of the earliest Ottoman *sandjak*s, formed during the reign of Orkhān in the years 1327-38. Its name is derived from that of one of the *ghāzī* leaders of the first two Ottoman rulers Akčakodja, who with Kara Mürsel and Konur Alp first raided this then Byzantine region, and was buried on Baba Tepe near Kandıra in 728/1327. During the Ottoman interregnum 1402-13 the Byzantines were able to regain their territory, but in 1419 Timūrtāshoghlu Umur Beg reconquered Kodja Eli definitively for the Ottoman Sultan. Before the end of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjak* became part of the *eyālet* of the *kapudān pasha* and its *sandjak beg*s a commander of a naval squadron. In 1867, within the framework of the new system of provincial administration, Kodja Eli was incorporated in the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār (*q.v.*). From 1888 till the end of the Ottoman period it became the independent *sandjak* (*mutasarrīflik*) of Izmid, with the 3 *kadā'ī*s of Adapazarı, Kandıra, Geyve, Karamursel and Izmid-Merkez. In ca. 1890, *V.* Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 303 ff., 371) estimated the population of the *sandjak* at 223,000, of which 129,000 were Muslims, 49,000 Armenians, 41,000 Greeks and 2,500 Jews.

Bibliography Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 454 ff., 532; ʿĀshiḳ-pashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959², 49, 51, 64, 100, 185, 197, *IA* arts. *Kocaeli* and *Izmit* by B. Darkot (where the most important older literature is indicated); F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, 91, 103-9, 112-6, 191-5 and map; İ. M. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 390, 420, 423 n. 1, 448 f., 453, 456; *id.* A. Walker, *Old tracks and new landmarks*, London 1897, 7-46; M. Yücel, *Kocaeli tarihi ve rehberi*, Izmit 1943; A. Bürken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 124, 223.

(A. H. de Groot)

KŌHĀT (P., "mountains"), a directly-administered District of what was the North West Frontier Province of British India and of Pakistan till 1955, covering some 2,694 sq. miles and with its administrative centre at the town of Kōhāt. The District is bounded by the Khyber Agency [see KHAYBAR Pass] on the north, by the Kurram and North Wāzīristān Agencies in the west, by the Bannū District [*q.v.*] on the south, and by the Indus River and the Īsā Khēl *tahsīl* of the Panjāb on the east.

The terrain of the District is that of a rugged tableland lying at an average of 2,000 ft., with low ranges of arid hills which rise to 3,000-4,000 ft., and with more fertile valley bottoms in which agriculture, sometimes by irrigation, is possible. The climate shows considerable variations in temperature and rainfall averages only 15 inches per annum. The region is connected with the Kābul River valley and the Khyber region by the Kōhāt Pass, called locally the *Darra* (2,856 ft.), whose control was in British times much disputed by the local Afrīdī tribesmen, the area round the Pass, a strip of an administered territory, has for long been the site of a flourishing Afrīdī gun-making factory. An important commodity of the Teri village neighbourhood of Kōhāt has always been rock salt, of which there are extensive deposits at Bahādur Khēl, until recent years, these were owned by the *Nawāb* or titular head of the Khaṭak tribes. The Government of India's increase of the tax on Kōhāt salt in 1896 to a level with that on cis-Indus salt was one of the pretexts for the tribal rising along the Frontier in 1897.

The population of the District is essentially Pathan, mainly of the Bangash in the eastern parts, the Khaṭak [*q.v.*] in the eastern tracts down to the Indus shores, the Orakzay and Ādizm Khēl Afrīdīs in the northern parts, and the Nīāzīs along the Indus in the south of the district, of these, the Bangash speak the northeastern or "hard" variety of Pashto, and the Khaṭak and Nīāzī the south-eastern or "soft" one [see AFGHĀN, iii. The Pashto language]

The Khaṭak seem to have moved into Kōhāt from the west in the 8th/14th century, whilst the Bangash entered the district in the following century as allies of the Khaṭak against the Orakzay. The Mughal adventurer Bābur [*q.v.*] made his first foray into India in 910/1505 down the Kābul River valley to Peshāwar, then into Kōhāt and Bannū and through the Deradjāt to the Indus, he scattered the local Pathans, and built towers of skulls of the slain in Kōhāt (*Bābur nāma* tr. A. S. Beveridge, 330-2). In 1039/1630 the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr's general Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*] campaigned in Kōhāt against the Rāshaniyya sectaries [*q.v.*] amongst the local Pathans.

In the early 19th century, Peshāwar, Kōhāt, Bannū and the Deradjāt came under the control of the Sikh ruler of the Panjāb, Randjīt Singh, although Sikh authority was contested by the local tribes. The British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone passed through Kōhāt in early 1809 on his way to the Durrānī court in Kābul, and waxed lyrical about the green valleys and the fruits of "Cohaut" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*", London 1842, i, 49 ff., ii, 50-1). After the downfall of the Sikh empire

and the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849, the British penetrated through the low Khaṭak hills and Kōhāt to the Kurram River valley at Thāl. The regions of Peshāwar, Kōhāt and Hazara were then briefly placed directly under the Board of Administration for the Panjāb in 1876 these three northern regions of the Frontier were formed into the Commissionership of Peshāwar. Then after the frontier tribal wars of the late 1890s and in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the North West Frontier Province was formed in 1901 as an administrative unit separate from the Panjāb, with Kōhāt as one of its four trans-Indus districts; Kōhāt District itself comprised the three *tahṣīls* of Kōhāt, Teri and Hangū. A road was made in 1901 connecting Peshāwar and Kōhāt via the Pass, and a narrow gauge railway was also begun to connect Khush hāligarh on the Indus with Kōhāt itself, Hangū and Thāl, thereby stimulating local trade with Tīrāh and Kābul. Kōhāt town had already become an important garrison centre from which control was exercised over the turbulent Pathan tribes, and Sir Louis Cavagnari, who for more than a decade had been Deputy Commissioner in Kōhāt, had built himself a fine official residence there.

During the inter war period, Kōhāt was, with Peshāwar, Bannū and other parts of the Frontier, the scene of disturbances caused by the political movement of the *Khāksārān* or "Redshirts" of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān. The postpartition position has not been greatly altered since British days. The District continues to be divided into three *tahṣīls*, with the names Kōhāt, Hangū and Karak, Kōhāt town is an important military base for the Pakistan Army and there is also a military airfield. A plan for a barrage across the Toi River, the "Banda Tanda Dam", in order to harness flood waters, has long been mooted. The 1961 census enumerated a total population for the District, including the attached tribal areas in the north, of 627,795, a 45 % increase since 1951, with a population for Kōhāt town and cantonment of 75,000.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, 341-52; *ibid.*, *Provincial series. North West Frontier Province*, Calcutta 1908, 167 ff.; Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 BC-AD 1957*, London 1958, index; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, index; A. Swinton, *The North-West Frontier, 1839-1947*, London 1967, index; D. Dichter, *The North West Frontier of West Pakistan, a study in regional geography*, Oxford 1967, 115-25, 183-4, 186-7, 205, C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908*[3], London 1973, index; *Population census of Pakistan, 1961: District census reports, Kohat*, Karachi n.d.

(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-KŌHĒN AL-ʿAṬṬĀR, Abū ʾl-Muḳā (Dāwūd) b. Abī Naṣr b. Hawāz al-Isrāʾīlī al-Harōnī, Jewish pharmacist who in 658/1260 wrote in Cairo "for himself and his son" a pharmacopoeia under the title (changing slightly in the manuscripts) *Minhāj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-aʿyān fī tarkīb al-adwiya al-nāfiʿa li'l-abdān*, which became very widely spread. About his life almost nothing is known, and his relation to Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ḥassān al-Kōhēn, the author of a *munḳidhat* from which al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār quotes, is uncertain (see Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 133 f.; H. Piessner, in *Orient*, xxiii-xxiv [1970-1], 454. The *Minhāj* has the following 25 chapters: 1. The duties of the pharmacist. 2. Drinks (*ca.* 1/6 of the whole work). 3. Concentrated fruit-syrups. 4. Preserved fruits. 5. Pastes. 6. Electuaries. 7. Powder. 8. Lozenges. 9. Remedies to be sucked. 10. Pills. 11. "Hallowed substances" (*syūrāǧāt*). 12. Eye-powder. 13. Eye salves. 14. Pomades. 15. Oils, etc. 16. Plaster. 17. Tooth-powder. 18. Suppositories. 19. Compresses, wettings sternutatories. 20. Substitutive drugs. 21. List of simple drugs. 22. Apothecaries' measures and weights. 23. Admonitions for a sensible way of living. 24. Professional instructions. 25. Test of the usefulness of the simple and the composite drugs. At the end, the author promises a monograph on generally-known simple drugs, which was probably not written.

Thus the work is a typical dispensatorium (*akrādhīn*, from Greek γραφιδιον via Syriac *graphidhīn*), in which, after the Galenic example, the composite drugs (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are grouped according to classes (κατὰ γένη). In the present work, the simple drugs (*al-adwiya al-adwiya al-mufrada*), usually dealt with in separate works, have equally been treated from certain view points in chapters 21, 24 and 25. The recipes are partly of the author himself, but the majority come from sources mentioned by name. Most conspicuous among the latter are the *Durrat al-bīmāristāni* of Ibn Abī ʾl-Bayān [q.v.], teacher and somewhat older contemporary of al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār, and the *Irshād* of Ibn Ḳumayḥ al-Isrāʾīlī, another pupil of Ibn Abī ʾl-Bayān. In the introduction, al Kōhēn claims to be the first to compose an extended pharmacopoeia especially for chemists; the earlier ones, Ibn Abī ʾl-Bayān's book included, are said to have been written for physicians in the traditional manner. This specialisation has possibly been one of the reasons for the wide dissemination of the work, a second one apparently being the very conveniently arranged survey of the current measures and weights (ch. 22), which must have met a generally felt need. For no officially-regulated standard did not exist, and the units of measures, so countlessly varying, were overseen with more or less care by the *muḥtasib* only. A third reason for the popularity of the work may have been its useful indications for the chemist's profession (purchase, efficient storage, cleaning, protection of the drugs against blight etc., chapter 24). Finally, the abundant use of popular Arabo-Egyptian names of drugs made the work easily accessible to every user.

Bibliography: The numerous manuscripts are listed in M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 237 f., Brockelmann, *GAL*[1] I 648, S I 891, A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 140 no. 50; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 309 f., 320; and also S. Hamarneh, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts on medicine and pharmacy in the British Library*, Cairo 1975, nos. 208, 209, 210, 213, idem, *Index of manuscripts on medicine, pharmacy, and allied sciences, in the Zāhiriyah Library*, Damascus 1969, 320-4 (= Dietrich, *op. cit.*); S. Kaṭṭāya, *Makhṭūṭāt al-ṭibb wa'l-ṣaydala fī 'l-maktabāt al-ʿāmma bi-Ḥalab*, Aleppo 1396/1976, 170-4; Istanbul, Veliyüddin 2554 *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī Maktabat al-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya al-ʿulyā fī Baghdād*, 1968, no. 416, 1, private collection of Dr. Haddād, Beirut, without numbering and 3 thara. A critical edition is urgently needed, the Cairo editions—about half a dozen—being inadequate. See further Kātib Čelebi, *Kešf-el-zunun*, ii, 1872; L. Leclerc *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 1876, ii, 213 f., Steinschneider, *Eine arabische Pharmakopöe des XIII. Jahrhunderts von Abu 'l-Mawa und die Quellen derselben*, in *ZDMG*, lvi (1902), 74-85,

M. Meyerhof, *Un Glossaire de la Matière médicale pur Maimonide*, Cairo 1940, XXIII, L. Nemoy, *The Arabic pharmacopoeia of Abu al Maali al Kūhin al-ʿAṭṭār*, in *Hebrew medical journal (Hasafā Ḥaivrī*, New York), ii (1941), 66-76, 156-65; iii (1942), 88-93, 144-8; iv (1943), 77-85, 144-50; Hamarneh, *The climax of medieval Arabic professional pharmacy*, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* xix, (1968), 450-51 (A. Dietrich)

KOIL [see KOYL]

AL-KŌHĪN [see AL-KŪHĪN]

KŌKHŪKI [see BRETTSPIONTOS].

KOKČA [see BADAKHSHĀN]

KŌMIS [see KŪMIS]

KONGOTEN [see GOUVERNANTE in Suppl.].

KONAKRY (usual orthography, Conakry), capital of the Republic of Guinea.

With its site fixed in the tables of latitudes of Ptolemy, Konakry has only been regularly inhabited since the second half of the 18th century. It is situated on the west coast of Africa in lat. 9° 31′ N and long 13° 49′ W., and occupies three distinct natural sites: part of the Kaloum peninsula, the island of Tumbo and the archipelago of Loos. Manga Dambo, chief of the Soso people, founded Kaporo there in 1780, after having subjugated the Baga and the Mandenyi. The Loos islands, originally occupied by the Portuguese (Los Idolhos), were occupied by Britain in 1848. After the "Mulatto War" of 1865-70, there were four villages, sc. Kaporo, Bulbinet, Tumbo and Camayenne, which were placed together at the time of the first French post's foundation, when the corvette "Goéland" passed there on 26 January 1887. On 1 August 1889, Conakry became the capital of the colony of the Rivières du Sud and Dependencies, and then in 1890 of French Guinea, of which Ballay was the first governor.

It became the departure-point for roads into the interior after 1895, and then for the Conakry Niger railway completed in 1914, and the town and its port enjoyed a rapid development facilitated by the filling-in of the Tumbo channel. Its vitality was shown by the increases of population: 13,000 in 1899, 78,000 in 1938 and 250,000 in 1975. The Loos islands were attached to it in 1904, and also the convict settlement of Fotoba, where the Wali of Gumbu, Tierno Aliou, leader of the revolt of the Houbbous, died in 1912.

It became a Communa Mixta in 1923, with full powers in 1933, and then on 2 October 1958 Conakry became the capital of the Republic of Guinea. It has 1,853 m. of docks, 12 hectares of platforms, a volume of traffic amounting to 2 1/2 million tonnes and an airport with a 3,500 m. runway. It is thus a lively industrial centre. Despite the ending to the mining of Kaleum's iron deposits in 1966 and the slackening of the exploitation of the bauxite of Kassa, it remains the main outlet of the Fria Company, and also possesses many factories, including for tobacco and matches, furniture, tanning, shoes, plastics, brewing, fruit juice, etc. Since 1963 Conakry has had the Gamal Abdel Nasser Polytechnic Institute, with seven faculties, including one for medicine, and it also has several Écoles Nationales (Arts and Crafts, Meteorology, etc.).

The majority of the population is Muslim (72 % in 1955). The conversion of the Baga and Susu was achieved at the beginning of the 19th century by the Yattara family, the Diulas. Christianity came with the Anglican mission at Fotoba in 1864, and the Catholic mission, which built the cathedral of St. Mary, in 1890. On 18 October 1897 Conakry became an Apostolic prefecture, on 18 April 1920 an Apostolic vicariate, and on 15 September 1955 an Archdiocese. The diocese contained 13,400 Roman Catholics in 1965, two-thirds of these in the capital. The strength of Islam is easily discernible from these figures. The main *fatiha* there remains that of the Kādiriyya, which resisted the penetration of the Tijāniyya in the 19th century under the double influence of the *almāmy* of Toube and of the Senegalese auxiliary troops of the French who adopted Muridism. These last built a mosque on the island of Tumbo, still called the Senegalese mosque.

Despite the efforts of Malinka scholars, Wahhābism has remained only embryonic. One should further note a certain persistent strain of animism among the Baga population, characterised till 1963 by the cult of the tree of Bassidole, on the isthmus of Tumbo, cut down then to allow the building of the People's Palace at the expense of the People's Republic of China.

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KONO, corruption of *Kpon*, name of a place in the northern part of the Ivory Coast near to the watershed between the basins of the Comoé and that of the Nzi which flows into the Bandama. Kpon was founded in a very ancient period by the Senoufo of the Fataïala tribe who to this day have retained their predominant rights over the land, while playing now only an unobtrusive role.

Kong is an illustration of the advance of the Malinka towards the south and towards the regions producing gold and kola. This immigration took place in the period following the 18th century and these Dioula who supposedly came from Macina founded Bobo Dioulasso on their way. Having established themselves in Kong they were reinforced at the beginning of the 19th century by contingents of Sohoudji Malinka pagans, with whose help they were able to police the trade routes. There can be no doubt that it was at the end of the 18th century that a Malinka chief, Sekou Ouattara, whose family was linked with the inhabitants of Boron on the Bandama, united a group of Malinka families coming from the north. From Macina he passed through Dé near Bandiagara, Téwélé near Bobo Dioulasso, then Teninguera near Kong where he ousted a red-haired chieftain named Lassiré Gombélé, taking his place and establishing Islam. Lassiré Gombélé would no doubt have been a Mandé, ruling over the autochthonous Fataïala and the Paraïba (Koulango).

Sekou Ouattara established his twelve sons so firmly in the villages that when his brother Famaraha attempted to gain power the resistance offered by the sons forced him to leave and to settle in Bobo Dioulasso, opening a long series of quarrels between the two cities.

From the city of Kong the power of this Dioula aristocracy spread throughout the neighbouring country, largely as a result of the superiority of their cavalry. To assure themselves of a supply of remounts, they founded on the Banï the village of *So fara* (stallions).

While the children of Sekou Ouattara received various appanages, the sixth son, Sambakari, al-

tempted to conquer Lobi and spent several years fighting interminable campaigns against the Léla, the Tegueséé and the Dian. The authority of the Dioula over the land of Lobi seems to have been purely nominal

Among campaigns involving external powers, one was repulsed by the *Tondion* of Biton Koulouballi in 1725. Also, the Ashanti army which, according to Bowdich, had reached as far as Kong, was defeated there and its leader injured by a lance-blow at a place which is still pointed out in the vicinity of the town.

Abo (1720-46), the ruler of the Abron, was pursued by the Ashanti king Opokou Ouaré and took refuge in Kong, where the sovereign's mother handed him over to the Ashanti who put him to death

With its control over the gold and kola routes, the city of Kong took on greater and greater importance, and the authority of the sovereigns extended over the whole of the land from the Comoé to the Marahoué and, towards the Djimini in the south, where the Dioula had constructed terraced dwellings in the Sudanese style. Five mosques with twin pyramid shaped minarets dominated the quarters of the city

The military power of Kong depended on contingents of pagan soldiers. But commercial prosperity induced the more gifted elements to turn away from military pursuits, to such an extent that when the Pallaka pagans rebelled and closed their territory to caravan traffic, the punitive expeditions mounted by Kong came to nothing

Although Mungo Park had heard tell of Kong it was Binger who, on 20 February 1888, arrived in the town and stayed there until the 11th March In December of the same year, French-Laplène made the sovereign of that time, Karamoko Oulé Wattara, sign a treaty placing Kong under French protection This treaty was signed on 12 January 1889 in the presence of Binger, who had occasion to return to Kong in 1892.

Two years later, Kong was visited by Captain Marchand, *Kpaki Bo* (= "feller of the forest"), who had heard of the threats made by Samori against Kong It was then that Lt.-Colonel Monteil was recalled to the area, he had been preparing to attempt a regrouping of forces on the Upper Nile. Mustering at Grand Bassam in August 1894, the column encountered the utmost difficulties in making progress. Joining battle with the armies of Samori in March 1895, it was forced to retreat and on 15 May 1897, Samori razed the city to the ground and massacred those of the inhabitants who had not succeeded in escaping towards Bobo-Dioulasso Only the houses of the Falafala were spared.

In January 1898, a French detachment established a post there, which was soon laid under siege but was relieved by Commandant Caudrelier. With Samori captured, and peace re-established, the French administration invited the refugees to return. Some accepted, but the majority remained in Bobo Dioulasso. Kong was never to regain its former eminence. It was to remain a mere regional capital with some 3,000 inhabitants, and an important centre of Muslim proselytism.

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KONYA (Arabic and Turkish orthography, Konya), known in antiquity as Iconium, an important town lying on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, on a diagonal line connecting the Dardanelles with the Taurus passes leading into Syria.

1. History.

Konya was, during the centuries of Arab invasion, a Byzantine military base which the attackers seem for this reason to have more or less deliberately avoided and circumvented, in preference either for Tarsus [see TARSUS] to the south or especially for Cappadocia by the northern routes; this would seem to explain the fact that the town is seldom mentioned in military histories It is probable, however, that Konya, like other towns had suffered previously in the Persian invasion, and that it occupied only a section of its former territory *It is difficult* to describe with certainty its history in a period for which no archaeological investigation has been performed, but the common and widespread use of older materials in the Saldjūk monuments would seem to indicate that many buildings were in ruins and the town only partially reconstructed. It reappears, however, in a better light at the time of the Turkish invasions of the 5th/11th century and at the time of the Crusaders who passed that away in 1097. The latter found no serviceable fortifications there, but were able to derive benefit from the gardens in the vicinity of the town

It was the Saldjūk régime which marked the zenith of the history of Konya The site, well irrigated in contrast to the neighbouring desert, commanded the southern route at a time when the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] denied the Saldjūks access to the northern route to the Dardanelles, and it must have found favour with the new masters when they became aware of the need for a secure political and military base as a focus for their still semi-nomadic peoples. The real development of the town dates from the reign of Mas'ūd (512 30/1118-55), who resolving to make Konya a capital, built a mosque there and other monuments which his successors must have completed. It was already a city of note when in 1190 the German army raised in Cologne by Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. The progressive unification of Turkish Asia Minor under the rule of the Saldjūks evidently contributed to the prosperity of the capital Besides the principal mosque, from about 1190 onwards the city possessed a number of smaller ones, as well as *madrasas*, *khānkāhs* [*q.vv.*], flourishing markets and reconstructed ramparts The development of the power of the sultans in the first half of the 7th/13th century was also reflected in the town, where apparently social hierarchy was judged by the importance and height of houses rather than by the allocation of separate quarters to the various ethnic groups. In Konya there were evidently Greeks (with their monastery, reputedly dedicated to Plato), Armenians and some Jews, the records make few references to Turks, a term reserved in this context for the Turcomans of the plains, but rather speak of Muslims, a designation normally embracing both indigenous Turks, who in a town of this kind were largely Iranised, and Iranian immigrants, arriving especially in the period following the Khwārazmian and Mongol invasions, who, besides their involvement in craftsmanship, were sometimes promoted to the most important civil posts of the régime. Three social groups deserve special attention, the *akrāsh*, the *akhīs* and the

Sufis or dervishes. The *ʿayyār* were a kind of militia recruited among the half-breed sons of indigenous fathers converted to Islam and married to Turkish women; the *aḫīs* (*q.v.*) were a Turkish form of the Moslim *futuwwa* (*q.v.*), and were to play an important rôle especially in the period of the Mongols and their immediate successors, as for the Sufis, there were a number of different orders, but, from the middle of the 7th/13th century the prestige of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī must have drawn numerous disciples to him, although this was not an organised order (that of the Mevlevīs or Mawlawiyya, from Mevlānā/Mawlānā) until the 8th/14th century. Naturally, Konya also had a military garrison, composed to a large extent of slaves of Byzantine stock captured on the north-western marches of the kingdom. The sultans lived in the palaces which they had built in Konya and the surrounding area. The ramparts of the town had been extended and strengthened in the time of the great sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Kubad (*q.v.*) with the compulsory co-operation of the senior *umarāʾ* of the region. The buildings erected in this period are studied below, but the abundance and importance of the mosques, *madrasas*, *khānkāhs*, hospitals, *khāns*/caravanserais, etc. testify to the considerable development of the Saldjūk capital, which the present day remains continue to evoke, in an original and compelling style.

The progressive establishment of the Mongol protectorate over Saldjūk Anatolia in the second half of the 7th/13th century was naturally pre-judicial to the importance of Konya, although in a slow and partial fashion. The rivalry between the brother sultans ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn Kilidj Arslan represented in fact the struggle between the partisans of collaboration with the Mongols, the naturally dominant force in eastern Asia Minor beyond Kayseri, and the partisans of resistance, whose headquarters was at Konya and who relied to a large extent on the Turcomans of the southern and western frontiers. The decline of central authority was accompanied by a boost to the prestige of peripheral Turcoman principalities, in such a way that centres of political activity, etc. were transferred to new regions, to the detriment of Konya in particular. The episode which marked this evolution for the first time was the temporary occupation of Konya in 675-7/1277-8 by the Karamānids (*see* KARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ) of the western Taurus, who installed there a bogus Saldjūk known by the name of Djimri. Their independent government survived however until 713/1313, but in that year it was definitively annexed, although the Karamānids did not lose their capital, henceforward to be situated at Laranda/Karaman (*see* LARANDA). The cultural and religious importance of the town and the relative importance of its population ensured, however, that it retained a certain vitality, as is attested by a number of buildings and pious foundations erected by Karamānid princes and dignitaries. Once occupied by Bāyezīd Yildirim, the town was definitively annexed to the Ottoman state, together with the remainder of the Karamānid state, in 880/1475, and Ottoman documentary archives give evidence that *awḳāf* and Saldjūk and Karamānid institutions were in general maintained there. Naturally in this vast empire, far removed from all the important areas, Konya could no longer be more than a provincial centre. The fact that it was under its walls that the Ottoman army of Reshīd Pasha was crushed by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, at the end of 1832, proves that the town could still occasionally play a strategic rôle.

A number of travellers have visited and briefly described Konya. One of the most valuable accounts is that of Henri de Laborde, who has left us plans of the town as it was in 1828, a period in which many buildings today in ruins were still standing. The population of the town, which in the time of Cuinet (end of the 19th century), was about 50,000, passed the 100,000 mark in the middle of this century (129,842 in 1960) and has continued to increase slowly since then.

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2. Monuments

There are some eighty monuments surviving in Konya, but many are so heavily restored that only fragments of decoration survive of the first foundation. An example is the Hoca Hasan Mescid, *ca* 1200. Major buildings lost but recorded include the *bedesten*. The number of houses and *konaks* dating from the 18th to the 20th centuries is declining rapidly, but the private Koyunoğlu Museum survives. A study of relative documents was made by I. H. Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1963, and of ceramics by M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, Tübingen 1976. His datings are here accepted unless otherwise stated, while an asterisk indicates buildings dated by inscriptions.

Walls and palaces. The walls were destroyed within living memory. C. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, and others recorded the wealth of antique and Saldjūk decoration incorporated in them, especially in the vicinity of the 128 towers, including fabulous beasts, a decapitated Hercules and extensive verses, all of which were gilded. The grandeur of the city is confirmed by the ruined kiosk of Kilidj Arslān II (1155-92), which was once a square chamber clad in ceramics with balconies carried on large consoles above a vaulted hall. Illustrated in F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1936, it is situated in the citadel area which has yet to be excavated in depth and where such remains of the *hale* as exist are attributed by Konyalı to 618/1221, although it was founded in 569/1173.

Mosques and complexes. Adjacent is the Alaeddin Camı begun by Kaykāʾūs I (*q.v.*). The consequences of frequent repairs are as important on the damage they mask. The area immediately round the *miḥrāb* is the oldest dated by the inscription to Sultān Masʿūd on the outstanding *ambrab*, *ca.* 1155. The west half of the prayer hall was completed in 617/1220* and the east pillared hall was added in 1235 when the *miḥrāb* (its heart mutilated irreparably) in the typical Anatolia ceramic manner was added. Among inscribed names are those of Ustād Hādjdjī Mengubirti (reading provisional) al-Khalīfī (on the *ambrab*), Muḥammad b. Khawlān of Damascus, on overseer, and of Atabeg Ayāz, the official in charge of work 1219-20.

Contiguous with the enlarged mosque and now entered from it is the duodecagonal *türbe* named after Kılıç Arslān and dated 676-17/1219-25. The cenotaphs are covered in white inscriptions on deep cobalt blue grounds. Except for Kaykāʾūs I, buried at Sivas, from 1192 onwards this was the mausoleum of the dynasty.

Externally, the courtyard wall is monumental, with two marble portals in a style developed from that of 12th century Zangid Damascus. The Ipliḳçi Cami, 1220-30, was first rebuilt in 733/1332-3, but the *miḥrāb* survived. The central aisle has three domes, and the three on each side are vaulted. The mosque is now the museum. The Larende or Sahip Ata Cami, 656/1258-9, has lost its second brick minaret in the Iranian or Central Asian style. The stalactite perch, incorporating detritus from Christian monuments, is 13th century workmanship at its apogee which was increasingly heavy and flamboyant. The fine faience *miḥrāb* and semi-domed *īwān* survived rebuilding. It is united with the *khānegāh* (of the four-*īwān* type retaining some original decoration) by the family tomb in a manner suggestive of ancestor worship. This mausoleum is of the domed *īwān* type with a crypt, where the cenotaphs retain some of their faienceswork. The inscription on the mosque to the master Ḳalīḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh (reading provisional) makes this his only dated building. The Sadreddin Konevi Cami, 673/1274-5, has lost two deeply-carved shutters to the Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Museum, Istanbul.

Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*], as patron of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], created Konya's greatest spiritual memorial, which is expressed materially at the Mevlevi complex and museum, to which the mosque of Selīm II is related. The *takke* originated in 628/1231 (Meinecke, 342; Konyalı, 630), but the earliest *sıkan* which contains the cenotaph of the poet is dated 672/1273-4. Its scalloped dome was recovered in Kütahya tiles externally in 1818, 1909 and 1949 (Konyalı, 634) and the wooden cenotaph, 674/1277, completely covered in inscriptions, is hidden under the gold embroidered velvet cloth donated by ʿAbd Ḥamīd II. A second dome was built over the tombs of the successors of the Mewlānā, but the complex is largely 16th century in date. Bāyazīd II restored the mausoleums and added three domed units together with a typical Ottoman minaret in 910/1504, while Selīm I installed the garden fountain, 918/1512. Süleymān I rebuilt the *mesdjid* and *semāʿ khāna*, 973/1565, and Selīm II the *ʿimāret*, now destroyed. The cells of Murād III were transformed in the 19th century. Important repairs were effected by Murād IV, 1044/1634 and 1048/1650, and by Muḥammad IV, 1066/1650. Four typical Ottoman *türbes* of the garden court are dated 1934/1527, Khurrem Pasha, 981-2/1573-4, Sinān Pasha, 994/1585, daughter of Küçük Murād Pasha; 1006/1597, Shaykh Khalīl. The museum houses textiles and other treasures of the order which is active again. The Selīmiye Cami, begun by Süleymān I and completed by Selīm II, has a seven domed portico carried on six Byzantine limestone columns. Its plan is based on that of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, but without a *miḥrāb* apse. Erroneously attributed to Sinān, it is typical of the stark style that preceded his appointment as *maʿmār bashī*. Beside the mosque is the library of Yūsuf Agha, 1209/1794. Pir Paşa Cami, ca. 926/1519, is a typical Ottoman mosque, but with a *türbe* incorporated into a corner of the portico. Şerefeddin Cami was founded 1220-30, rebuilt by the Karamānoghlu Ibrāhīm II, 848/1445, and transformed in 1046/1636 into an imitation of Kılıç ʿAlī Pasha mosque, Tophane, Istanbul. Fragments of 13th century ceramic can be seen in the mortar, and there are patches of brickwork amid the ashlar. Heavily restored, 1299/1882, the interior painting is in the 19th century fairground manner and includes a typical folk art representation of the Süleymaniye Cami, Istanbul, over the *miḥrāb*. Kuşa Cami, 1060/1650 (Konyalı, 429), owes its light, open style to the repairs in 1926/1812. Abdullazīz Cami, *ca.* 1293/1876, also replaces an older building, and its florid Ecole des Beaux Arts appearance is likely to be the work of Sarkis Balyan of the 19th century dynasty of court architects.

Colleges or madrasas. The Sırçalı Medrese, 640/1242-3, is a partially ruined two-*īwān* type. The outstanding faience *miḥrāb* is set in an *īwān* which retains a quantity of its décor. The carving of the portal is also notable. Inscriptions include those to the founder Badr al-Dīn Mudjāhid and the master Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Tūsī.

The Karatay Medrese, 649/1251-2*, ruined, but retaining its famous marble portal, which was an Anatolian variant of the Damascus style (see Aḥmadīm Cami), and also the stancape dome with an oculus over the pool of the court-hall supported by deep fan-shaped tiled pendentives. This monument now houses a collection of Saldjūḳ ceramics. Only the *īwān* remains of the Küçük Karatay Medrese nearby 648/1248-9.

The İnce Minareli Medrese, ca. 663/1264-5, built by Ḳalūḳ (Kölüg) b. ʿAbd Allāh, heavily restored, lost two-thirds of its brick minaret in 1317/1899. It was a foil to the portal's giant inscriptive bands developed out of simple established decorative forms more appropriate to wood. Overweights: decoration which marks structure was the Achilles heel of later Saldjūḳ architecture.

Mosques. These include Beşarebey Mescid, 610/1213 (inscription disputed), and Abdülaziz Mescid, 611/1214-5, both rebuilt with fragments of original ceramics remaining, as with Şekerfurun Mescid, 617/1220*. The Taş (Stone) or Hacı Ferruh Mescid, 622/1225 (Konyalı, 564), has an inscription to the master Ramaḍān and idiosyncratic carved stone porch and *miḥrāb*. The Hatunuye Mescid, 627/1229-30*, retains most of its thick Güdük Minaret, built of glazed brick. The Bulgur Takke Mescid 1240-50, still has its plain, hexagonal dado tiles, as does the Karatay Mescid, 646/1248-9, but the Sırçalı Mescid of the same date retains its brick minaret and its renowned *miḥrāb*. The *miḥrāb* of the Beyhekim Mescid, 1270-80, is now in the Staatliche Museum (Islamische Museum, Cat. No. 82), Berlin. Both the Karaaslan and the Tahir ile Zühre Mescids, ca. 1280, have restored *miḥrābs*.

Of many later examples, the Kadı Mürsel Mescid, 812/1409, has lost its dependencies which once were distinctively Karamanlı in style, including the *miḥrāb*.

Lesser monuments. The Hasbey Darülhuffaz, 824/1422* built by Karamānoghlu Mehmed Bey, has a traditional ceramic *miḥrāb*. The marble panels have fallen from the façade below the sixteen-ribbed dome. A rare, extant *namazgāh* is the Musalla, 948/1541.

Among several, a typical *īwān* type *türbe* is the Gömeç Hatun, 674-84/1275-85, built of brick above ashlar with an ornamental tile façade and crenellations. It has two triangular buttresses and double stairs raised over the sepulchral vault. Fakidede Türbe, 624-60/1472-56, built of stone is transitional in style.

Of the fountains, Kapu Çeşme rebuilt in Ottoman times has claim to Saljūk origins. A standard Ottoman example is the Akçeşme, 936/1555°. The Bahkh Çeşme incorporates a Byzantine plaque depicting two lions.

Monuments in the vicinity. The large, pillared mosque at Mecam of Karamānoghlu Mehmed Bey, 805/1402°, stands beside the *hammām* of Ibrāhīm Bey, 837/1424°, which is fed by the lime springs.

Local mid-13th century caravanserais each with portal, court and hall and all partially ruined, are Kandemir (Yazōnū) Han, 603/1206°, Kızıl Örən Han, ca. 604/1207; Dokuncu Han, 607/1210°, Altunlıa (Altunapa) Han, early 13th century. The Zazadin (Sadeddin) Han, 633/1235-6°, is in better repair and noteworthy for the extensive re-use of classical material and early Christian tombstones.

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(G. Goodwin)

KOPAK [see SIKKA].

KÖPRÜ [see VIZIR KÖPRÜ].

RÖPRÜ HIṢĀRĪ "fortress of the bridge", a village in the Ottoman province of Khudāwendgār [*q.v.*] in northwestern Anatolia, and situated on the Çörük Şū river near Yeñishehir. It owes its historical fame to its being the site of a Byzantine fortress taken in 686/1289 by ʿOthmān b. Ertoghrul, chief of the ʿOthmānlī group of Türkmens based on Eskishehir, after the previous capture of Bilejik and during the course of the extension of Ottoman influence within the provinces towards Bursa [*q.v.*], cf H A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1916, 32-3.

Bibliography. Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3906, Von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 87-9; Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, 18 (illustr or bridge). (Cl. HUART)

KÖPRÜLÜ, a family of Ottoman viziers who rose to prominence in the latter half of the 11th/17th century and dominated Ottoman life for much of that period, bringing a halt to some time to the decline of the empire, instituting internal reform and gaining new conquests. The name derives from the close association of the founder of the family, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, with the town of Köprü [*q.v.*] (then in the *sandjak* of Amasya), which, in turn, was later called Vezir-Köprü through its association with the family (and to distinguish it from the near-by Tash Köprü). That Mehmed Pasha was born in Albania, however, is clearly shown by the *waḳfiyya*, drawn up in Edirne in Radjab 1070/March 1660, in his own lifetime, in which it is stated that his homeland was the village called Rudnik, attached to the *ḥaṣṣ*[1] of Arnawut Belgrade (Ilbasi) His first visit to Köprü appears to have occurred only when he departed the palace service to go there as a *sipāhī*, but he thereafter settled there, marrying and establishing a home to which he repaired when out of office.

The leading members of the Köprülü family are the following:

1. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (?986-1072/?1578-1661), the Ottoman Grand Vizier who gave his name to the family. If, as his contemporary, Findiklili Mehmed Agha asserts (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 226), he died at the age of 86, he must have been born in ca. 986/1578 (for other estimates of Mehmed Pasha's age, see Defterdār Sarī Mehmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ al-ʿOthmāniyya*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 3362; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 6, ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1292-3/1874-6, ii, 69, Ahmed Refīḳ, *Köprülüler*, Istanbul 1332/1914; 1931, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1954, 410) in Albania (as above). Brought to Istanbul in his youth, he was taken into the palace and by 1623 was a cook in the palace kitchens. He secured the backing of Khosrew Agha [see KHOSREW PASHA, MIMAR], then to the *khāṣṣ-oda* [*q.v.*], and entered first the *bayāṭ oda*, then the *khazīne-odasi*. His quarrelsomeness and disobedience led to the termination of his career within the palace, and he went out to the provinces as a *sipāhī*; it was thus that he first went to the town of Köprü in Anatolia where he settled and married ʿĀʾisha Khānūm, the daughter of the valvode of Köprü, Yūsuf Agha, from the Kayadilli *fitlik* in Havza. During Khosrew Agha's tenure as *agha* of the Janissaries, Köprülü again entered his service, and when Khosrew became Grand Vizier (1037/1628) Köprülü became tax treasurer (*khazīnedār*). Following Khosrew's execution (1041/1632), Köprülü served in certain provincial posts, as valvode or *agha*, probably to or near Köprü according to Ḥüseyn Husām al-Dīn, for example, he was *sandjak beg* of Amasya for some eight months in 1044/1634-5 (*Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iv, Istanbul 1928, 62). He subsequently came again to Istanbul where he held a variety of posts such as those of inspector of the Guilds (*Iṣṭnāf aghasi*), inspector of the Arsenal (*Topkhāne nāẓiri*), Commander of the Sipāhīs (of the *altī bölük Sipāhīler aghasi*) and Commander of the Armourers (*Dyebedjī bashi*). Taking part in *sandjak beg* of Corum in the siege of Baghdād (1048/1638), in which he was wounded, he became attached to the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha and was appointed *Kapūdān-bashāwwalāsi* and, later, *Mīr-i-khāṣṣ*. In 1053/1643-4 he held the post of *sandjak-beg* of Amasya a second time, for some five months Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha's successor, Sultān-zāde Mehmed Pasha, gave Köprülü the governorship of Trabzon with two *tughs*. How long he remained in that post is unknown, but he later resided for a time in Köprü and then, in 1057/1647, became *mütesellim* for the *eyālet* of Damascus when that province was given to the seventh *Mīrāsekhī* as a *bash-mākhlūḳ* by Sultān Ibrāhīm (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3/1864-7, iv, 243; Silāḥdār, i, 225). While in this post, he was ordered to campaign, acting as *beglerbegi* of Karaman, against the rebellious

valī of Sīvas, Warwar ʿAlī Pasha, who was advancing on Istanbul. Having fallen prisoner to ʿAlī Pasha in the battle which ensued near Çankırı, he was rescued by Ipshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], who had also been deputed to deal with ʿAlī Pasha (1058/1648, cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-8/1896-1900, ii, 452). The following year Köprülü was sent against Boynu-Yaralī Mehmed Pasha, for whose execution an imperial rescript had been issued because of his oppression of the peasants. Köprülü avoided bloodshed by sending him a letter recommending that he immediately seek pardon from the Wālide Sulṭān, which advice Boynu-Yaralī Mehmed Pasha took and thus was forgiven and spared (Naʿīmā, iv, 459-60).

During the Grand Vizierate of Gurǧiu Mehmed Pasha (1061 s/1651 s), the architect Kāsim Agha [*q.v.*], *ḥekīmbashī* to the Wālide Sulṭān, knowing of her dissatisfaction with the Grand Vizier, recommended Köprülü to her, but the initiative led only to Köprülü's holding the office of *kahve emīni* for a week or so before the jealous Grand Vizier brought about his virtual banishment as *sanǧaḳ beg* of Köstendil (Kara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Risāle-i ʿibret-nümā-yi ḥavādiṯ*, Istanbul University TY3272, fol. 63, Naʿīmā, v, 278). He was later dismissed and, according to Silāḥdār (i, 225-6), scraped a living during this period in certain minor posts, suffering imprisonment for debt. While spending some time in Köprü, he met in Kütahya (February 1655) with Ipshīr Pasha, who was on his way to take up his appointment as Grand Vizier and who appointed him governor of Tarabulus al-Shām. Before Köprülü could take up his post, however, Ipshīr had fallen, and Köprülü, dismissed, returned to Köprü (Naʿīmā, vi, 22, 123). Although Kāsim Agha advised the Grand Vizier Süleymān Pasha to seek Köprulü's help (February 1656), Süleymān Pasha did not heed the recommendation (Naʿīmā, vi, 142), Köprülü met with the newly-appointed Grand Vizier Boynu-Yaralī Mehmed Pasha in Eskishehir a few months later and came with him to Istanbul, some time afterward he was once more appointed governor of Tarabulus al-Shām. But as the result of efforts made on his behalf with the Wālide Sulṭān by such as Kāsim Agha and the *reʾīs ul-kuttāb* Shāmī-zāde Mehmed Efendi, Köprülü was himself proposed for the Grand Vizierate, which post he agreed to accept on four conditions, which were such as to guarantee him absolute independence and freedom from interference. The Wālide Sulṭān accepted these conditions on oath, and the sultan appointed him the next day (26 Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1066/15 September 1656).

Köprülü's appointment to the Grand Vizierate aroused great astonishment at first, since his career thus far had not been characterised by any great success (Mehmed Khalīfa, *Taʾrīḫ-i Ġilmānī*, ed. A. Refīḳ in *TOEM*, supp. [1340], 44), but before long his considerable abilities came to be widely recognised. Among his first acts was to deal with the ḳāḍīʿaskers, who, since the time of Murād IV, had been engaging in troublesome sectarian quarrels in Istanbul and who attempted to provoke such a quarrel after Köprülü had been in office only eight days. Having tried persuasion, Köprülü caused their ringleaders to be banished to Cyprus (see Kātib Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 132-4; Naʿīmā, vi, 227 ff., Silāḥdār, i, 37-9). Köprülü continued his efforts to bring peace and order to Istanbul. Along with causing the executions of certain individuals, among them Abāza Ahmed Pasha, accused of laxity in the defence of Bozǧa-ada which he had surrendered to the Venetians, and the Orthodox Patriarch Parthenius III, who was accused of seditious activities, he succeeded in quelling a rebellion of the *sipāhī* dissidents (*sekbān*) and purging their number (28 Rabīʿ I 1067/4 January 1657; for details, see *Taʾrīḫ-i Ġilmānī*, 44, Naʿīmā, vi, 246 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 62 ff.).

Köprülü then set about preparations for a campaign to end the Venetian threat to the Straits and in particular to recover Bozǧa-ada and Limnos. Having sent the fleet out first, under the Kapudan Pasha Ṭopal Mehmed Pasha, he himself set out, as commander-in-chief, on 1 Ramaḍān 1067/13 June 1657. The Ottomans fared badly at first in the clashes at sea, but their fortunes changed when, on 19 July, a ball fired from the Anatolian shore struck the powder magazine of the flagship of the Venetian admiral Mocenigo, destroying it and throwing the Venetian fleet into confusion (*Taʾrīḫ-i Ġilmānī*, 44 ff., Naʿīmā, vi, 279 ff.; P. Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish empire from the year 1677*, London 1680, 54 [Mehammed IV]). Köprülü rewarded the successful gunner and others who had fought bravely but executed a number of high ranking commanders held responsible for the earlier failures. This action disquieted even his supporters in Istanbul and led to agitation for Köprülü's removal by Ḳara Ḥasan zāde Ḥüseyn Agha, an influential member of the Janissary corps; his efforts were in vain, however (Naʿīmā, vi, 295 ff.). The Grand Vizier meanwhile continued his efforts to take Bozǧa-ada, which goal his forces achieved on 21 Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1067/ 31 August 1657 (for a letter sent by Köprülü to the Kızlar aghası Mehmed Agha, see *Taʾrīḫ-i Ġilmānī*, 47; for other details, see Naʿīmā, vi, 289 ff., Silāḥdār, i, 65 ff.), an event which caused great joy in Istanbul. In an imperial rescript sent to Köprülü, the sultan ordered him to remain until Limnos was taken, and Köprülü's existing forces were strengthened by tumariots from Bursa and other *sanǧaḳs*. Having repaired, supplied and garrisoned Bozǧa-ada, Köprülü dispatched Ṭopal Mehmed Pasha to Limnos. After a 60-day siege from both sea and land, the defenders surrendered the fortress on 8 Ṣafar 1068/15 November 1657 on condition that those in the fortress be allowed to leave with their goods.

Having countered one danger to the state by opening the Straits and recovering the two islands lost to the Venetians in his predecessor's time, Köprülü went to Edirne (25 November 1657) where he had been summoned by the sultan on account of pressing problems in Transylvania (*see* ABDÜL.) The ambitious George Rákoczy II, prince of Transylvania since 1648, had, as a result of an agreement made with the King of Sweden in December 1656, marched against Poland with Transylvanian forces; and when he incited the *beg*s of Wallachia and Moldavia to act with him, in defiance of the Ottomans, the imperial *divān* felt it necessary to take measures against him, deciding that a campaign should be undertaken, first by the Khān of the Crimea, and later under the command of the Grand Vizier (for details, see Szilágyi Sándor, *Erdély és az oszmánlok háború*, Budapest 1892, ii, 244 ff.). The *beg*s of Wallachia and Moldavia were also replaced (N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, Bucharest 1940, vi, 226 f.; Naʿīmā, vi, 321 ff.). Köprülü left Edirne on 22 Ramaḍān 1068/ 23 June 1658 and went to Belgrade. His army was strengthened by Crimean and Cossack forces, by the provincial forces from Buda and Silistria, and

by a force of 12,000 men sent by the King of Poland. Entering Transylvania, he moved first against Yanova (Kiś Jenő), a key point taken to Kānūnī Süleymān's time but subsequently lost, and received the surrender of the fortress on 31 August. Rákoczy, who, under Ottoman pressure, had been replaced at the end of 1657, had returned and driven out the Ottoman-backed prince and re-established himself (see Szilády Áron and Szilágyi Sándor, *Török-Magyarkori állam-okmányok*, Pest 1870, iii, 442 ff.; Hóman Bálint and Szekfű Gyula, *Magyar történet*, Budapest 1935-6, iv, 80; Decel-Gökbilgin, *IA* art. *Erdel*) After the taking of Yanova, Köprülü caused the Crimean and Cossack forces to plunder Erdel Belgrad (Fehérvár), the centre of government, in order to seize Rákoczy, but the latter was understood to have escaped to a fortress on the Austrian frontier. Köprülü's desire to pursue him was thwarted by a summons from the sultan because of a revolt in Anatolia. He therefore appointed Akça Barcsay to prince as condition that he pay *khazāʾin* and that he hand over the arms (*malzamāt*) of the fortresses of Sebeş and Lugoj, together with the cannon and munitions within them; and at the same time he charged the *beglerbegs* of Buda, Kenʿān Pasha, with the oversight of that area (for the appointment of Akça Barcsay, see Uzunçarşılı, *Eleş Barçsay'ın Erdel hükümdarı tayını hakkında bir kaç vesika*, in *Belleten*, vii [1943]; idem, *Barçsay Akoş'un Erdel hükümdarı tayini dair bazı orijinal vesikalar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, iv [1952-3]; Naʿīmā, vi, 334 ff.; Silāhdār, i, 126 ff.).

For some time a revolt of serious proportions had been building up in Anatolia. To the long-standing causes of unrest there were added the uncertainty and fear inspired in many *sipāhīs* and commanders by Köprülü's harsh behaviour. The leader of the dissidents was the *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, Abāza Ḥasan Pasha (*q.v.*), who realized that his past actions constituted a cause for the sort of punishment which Köprülü had meted out to the *sofras* in the capital. With him, in Kayseri, gathered a number of commanders, among them the *wālī* of Damascus, the vizier Tayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha; the *beglerbegs* of Anatolia, and some fifteen other active or retired *beglerbegs* who, fearing for their fates, sought to replace Köprülü with Tayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha. At first replying to the summonses from the capital to join the Transylvanian campaign with excuses, they subsequently openly declared their rebellion, saying that they could not join a campaign with Köprülü, who had caused the deaths of so many Janissaries and *sipāhīs* (Naʿīmā, vi, 344 ff.). Ignoring an imperial command that they should either disperse to their several places or engage in the defence of Baghdād, the rebels came as far as the vicinity of Bursa. Summoned by the sultan, Köprülü arrived in Edirne on 24 Muḥarram 1069/22 October 1658 and was present at an *ayāk dīwānī* three days later in the sultan's presence at which the *fatwā* given by the *Shaykh al-Islām* for the punishment of Abāza Ḥasan was read out. Though a positive force under the *beglerbegs* of Diyār Bakr, Murtaḍā Pasha, was already in the field, it was decided that Köprülü himself should campaign, and, accompanied by the sultan, he crossed in Üsküdar on 23 November 1658. Abāza Ḥasan, meanwhile, using the pretext of the distribution of pay to the army in Istanbul, dispatched some 3000 *sipāhīs* to Üsküdar, ostensibly to collect their pay but as fact to assassinate Köprülü. The latter, however, apprised of the plot, removed the names of 3000 *sipāhīs* from the rolls and executed about 1200 who were caught. The unrest caused in the army by this fresh thow of force led him to abandon the campaign and leave the matter to Murtaḍā Pasha. Although Abāza Ḥasan defeated the latter near Ilgīn (25 Rabīʿ I 1069/12 December 1658), he was compelled to winter in ʿAyntāb. Murtaḍā Pasha, having received reinforcements, pressed the rebels closely from Aleppo, depriving them of provisions and other necessaries. When Abāza Ḥasan's forces began gradually to desert to Murtaḍā Pasha, the rebel leaders went to Aleppo to submit to the government, only to be deceived and executed (25 Djumādā I 1069/26 February 1659 *Taʾrīkh-i Gilānī*, 54 ff., Naʿīmā, vi, 378 ff.; Silāhdār, i, 230 ff.)

Following this outcome, Köprülü busied himself with the solution of internal problems like the local *kul* soldiery in Damascus who had been acting disruptively for some time, whom he struck from the rolls and replaced with five *odas* of garrison Janissaries from Istanbul; and the revolts of Çerkes Mehmed Beg in Egypt and of Muṣṭafā Pasha, known as Kör Beg, in Antalya. Coming to Bursa with the sultan (19 July 1659), Köprülü instituted a sweeping attempt to bring order to Anatolia by summoning Ismāʿīl Pasha, who had been left as *kāʾim-makām* to Istanbul, and charging him with carrying out investigations (*taftīsh*) throughout Anatolia, "from Üsküdar to ʿArabistān", specifically to seize and punish any whom he found to have been involved in the Dialālī revolts (see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.), whatever their rank or station, to restore to *re'āyā* status those falsely claiming to be *ʿasherī*, to deprive those unable to prove their claim in be *sayyids* of their distinctive turbans, and to seize and send to the imperial arsenal any arms or weapons found in the possession of the *reʿāyā* (Naʿīmā, vi, 415 f). But during these years he was also guilty of certain injustices such as bringing about the execution of the famous Deli Hüseyn Pasha (see HUSAYN PASHA DELI), in spite of the opposition of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, by concocting false complaints (Rabīʿ II 1069/December 1658); and of Seydī Aḥmed Pasha (1072/1662-3), long in state service and most recently active in the continuing struggle to Transylvania (for the defeat and death of Rákoczy in this period and for the conquest of Oradea by Kose ʿAlī Pasha (Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja 1070/August 1660), see *IA*, art. *Erdel*)

Köprülü divided the remaining months of his life between Edirne, to which he returned with the sultan in November 1659, and Istanbul. Age and illness greatly weakened him, and while journeying with Meḥemmed IV to Edirne in July 1661, Köprülü recommended, and the sultan agreed, that his son, Fāḍıl Aḥmed Pasha, should succeed him on his death. Aḥmed (Köprülü-zāde) was immediately brought from Damascus and made *kāʾim-makām* in Istanbul. When his father's condition worsened, he was summoned to Edirne and acted as *kāʾim makām* for his father for 48 days until Köprülü's death on 7 Rabīʿ I 1072/31 October 1661. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in the mausoleum near the *dār al-ḥadīth* which he had built near Çemberli Taş (Silāhdār, i, 297 ff.).

During his five years to power, in a period when confusion reigned in all the institutions of state, Köprülü succeeded in crushing the prevailing spirit of rebellion and disorder through harsh and merciless acts. On this latter count, certain historians have characterized him as cruel and bloodthirsty (Silāhdār, i, 208; ʿOthmān-zāde Taʾīb, *Ḥadīkat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271/1854, 166), but while he was not

guiltless of unjust acts, such judgements must be tempered by the recognition of the disabling turmoil which had afflicted the state since the death of Murād IV and of the great services which he performed in office (ʿĀlī², ii, 69 ff.). In fact, historians like Mehmed Khalīfe, ʿAbdī Pasha, Naʿīmā and Rāshid are united in praising Köprülü. When Köprülü came to the Grand Vizierate, he said to those around him that the state expected service, not show from him, and he remained true to this principle to the end of his life (cf. the recitation of Durmush Efendi, the *kātib* of the *Lāle al-ravżāt aghasi*, in Rāshid, i, 28).

Köprülü tackled the *sirkāt* at Çanak-ḳale to be strongly fortified (see ÇANAK-ḲALʿE BOGHAZI). His benefactions, estates, and endowments are to be found in a great many places: for example, a mosque, a school and shops in Yanova, a mosque and school in Rudnik; and a mosque and a school in the town of Tarakli in the *sandjak* of Bolu (see further the listing in *IA*, art. *Köprülüler* (Gökbilgin), vi, 897b). His sons-in-law, Kīlīdj Muṣṭafā Pasha, Kaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha, Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha (Merzifonlu) [*q.v.*] and Siyāwush Pasha, all held high positions during his own and his son's Grand Vizierate.

II. Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha (Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās) (1045-87/1635-76), the elder son and successor of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, was born in Köprü in 1633. Brought to Istanbul at the age of 7 by his father, he studied under the leading learned men of the period, first under ʿOthmān Efendi, later under Kara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi (see KARA-ČELEBI ZADE (4)). Through the influence of his father he was, while only 16, appointed a *müderris*, first at *Ikhrīdjī*, then at *dākhil* level. Now known as Pashazāde, his lessons proved popular, and in 1657 he was raised to the *Ṣaḥn-i thamān*. Shortly after, however, upset by gossip amongst the *ʿulamāʾ*, he abandoned the learned profession and took up an administrative post. In 1066/1659 he was, at the request of his father, appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Erzurum with a vizierate. One year later he was transferred to Damascus. There he won great popularity by causing an imperial rescript to be issued removing two taxes, called *dakhīkha* and *barība*, which his predecessors had levied on the people of Damascus and which and sometimes risen as high as 5-4 million *akčes*. Under orders from the central government he moved against the Durūz [*q.v.*] and defeated the Maʿnids and Shihābids, thereby securing the payment of a tribute of 500 purses and the abandonment of the brigandage in which they had been engaging for some time. He also caused to be made into a *beglerbegilik* the region where the Maʿnids and Shihābids lived together with the areas of Ṣayda, Bayrūt and Ṣafad which till then had been governed by a vaivode (1660 for details see *Dhaylī* of *tawārīkh der aḥwāl-i Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2243, fol. 4, Silāḥdār, i, 214-16). Although he was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, he was summoned to Istanbul as *ḳā'im-makām* before he could take up the post and subsequently succeeded his father as Grand Vizier (see above).

Amongst the new Grand Vizier's first concerns was the continuing unsettled situation in Transylvania. Some measure of order was established there, however, without Köprülü-zāde's direct intervention, by the victory in January 1662, near Sighisoara, of the *beglerbegi* of Yanova over Rákóczy's successor, János Kemény, which secured the control of the Ottoman supported Mihály Apafi. Though a campaign against Venice was mooted for 1663, this was abandoned in favour of a campaign against Austria, which had constantly been attacking Ottoman frontier forts and outposts and which was seen as the most dangerous enemy. The army moved out from Edirne on 5 Ramaḍān 1073/13 April 1663. During discussions in Belgrade and Osijek with Austrian ambassadors, Köprülü-zāde demanded the destruction of a newly built Austrian fortress (Zerinvár) facing Nagykanizsa to western Hungary; the withdrawal of Austrian troops from Transylvania, and the restoration of the annual 30,000 florin *cizye* to which the Austrians had paid from the time of Süleymān I until 1606 (later, in Buda, modified to a demand for a single 200,000 *ghurūsh* payment like that agreed at Zsitva-Torok in 2606). The Austrians were unable to accept the last of these conditions, and Köprülü-zāde set off from Buda against the fortress of Nové Zámky (24 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1073/30 July 1663; see Kātib Muṣṭafā Zuhdī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*, Istanbul University TY2468; Rāshid, i, 23 ff., *Dhaylī* of *tawārīkh*), to which he laid siege on 27 August and which finally surrendered on terms on 21 Ṣafar 1074/24 September 1663 (to September in Montecuculi, *Mémoires de Montecuculi*, Paris 1712, 332 ff.) Having deputed subordinates to take several near by fortresses, among them Neugrad and Nitra, Köprülü-zāde returned with the army to winter quarters in Belgrade, intending to move out from there against the Austrians in the spring. The campaign by the Hungarian commander Zrinyi and General Hohenlohe in January 1664, during which Berzence, Babocsa and Pecs were occupied (*Magyar történet*, iv, 166), led the Grand Vizier to move toward Osijek, but on hearing that the local commanders had gained control of the situation, he returned to Belgrade (21 February 1664).

The fall of Nové Zámky, regarded as the last major block to the Turkish advance into Europe, had aroused great anxiety in Europe and led to contributions of men and money to the Habsburg cause from the Papacy, Spain, some of the German princes and even France and to the formation of a sizeable force under the command of Montecuculi. A Christian force laid siege to Nagykanizsa, in response to which Köprülü-zāde advanced on that fortress. The siege having been lifted at his advance, he took and destroyed Zerinvár (6 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1074/30 June 1664), the building of which had been one of the ostensible causes of the present campaigns, and then moved northward, his forces taking Kiskemárom (14 July), Egerseg Egervár and Kemendvár (*Dhaylī* of *tawārīkh*, fols. 82 ff.) and advancing to the river Rába (Raab). Here, near the village of St. Gotthard, they came face to face with the Imperial forces under Montecuculi. Though Köprülü-zāde was actively engaged in peace negotiations with the Austrian ambassador, he decided to cross the river and engage the enemy. The bridge proved inadequate, however, and only a part of the Ottoman forces got across. In the battle which ensued (8 Muḥarram 1075/1 August 1664), these at first had some success but were ultimately driven back, both sides suffering heavy losses (for details, see Montecuculi, 416; Hammer Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 281 ff., Aḥmed Muḫtār, *Sen Gelar'dın ʿOthmānlī ordusu*, Istanbul 1326/1908).

This defeat, though by no means decisive, forced a more defensive policy on the Ottoman army, which had previously moved as it willed (*Dhaylī* of *tawārīkh*, fols. 90 ff.) But within ten days the two sides had signed the Treaty of Vasvár (17 Muḥarram 1075/10 August 1664) which largely satisfied Ottoman

aims and, in particular, left them in possession of Nové Zámky and assured their influence in Transylvania (for a Hungarian view of the treaty, see *Magyar történet*, iv, 169; for the treaty, see Baron de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottoman*, ix, Paris 1898, 50 ff.; *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmāni*, 90 ff., Silāhdār, i, 367, Rāshid, i, 78 ff.) After advancing to the area of Nové Zámky, which he had heard was to be besieged, Köprülü-zāde received there the confirmed copy of the peace treaty from Vienna and therefore returned to Belgrade where he wintered in order to oversee the implementation of the treaty. He returned to Edirne only in July 1665, and from there to Istanbul, inspecting the fortifications of the Dardanelles in company with the sultan on the way.

At a consultative assembly in December 1665, Köprülü-zāde proposed a major effort to take Kandiya [*q.v.*] in Crete, the siege of which had for years been the cause of heavy losses, and it was agreed that preparations for such a campaign should be put in hand. Departing from Edirne in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1076/ May 1666, Köprülü-zāde crossed from Monemvasia, chosen as the mainland base for the campaign, to Canea in early November. The fleet was strengthened during the course of the winter and spring, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1077/25 May 1667 Koprulu zāde convened an assembly of the leading commanders in which the plans for the conduct of the siege were laid (*Dīwānčhe al-tawārīkh*, fol. 112; Defterdār Sarī Mehmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382, fols. 4 ff., Rāshid, i, 164 ff.). The siege was pressed vigorously, with varying fortunes, until mid-November when Köprülü-zāde, who had lived in the trenches from the beginning of the siege in order to encourage the troops, suspended operations for the winter During this period Köprülü-zāde received Venetian commissioners and was in correspondence with both the Doge of Venice and the Venetian captain general Morosini with regard to negotiations about the fate of the fortress (*Dīwānčhe al-tawārīkh*, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, 231; Rāshid, i, 185 ff.). Both sides gathered reinforcements in the spring and, with Köprülü zāde entering the trenches once more on 12 Muharram 1079/22 June 1668, the issue was again hotly contested through the summer (for details, see *Dīwānčhe al-tawārīkh*, Rāshid, i, 208 ff., Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 311 ff.) Knowing that Köprülü-zāde would accept only the surrender of Kandiya, the Venetians approached the sultan, then in Yeñishehir (Larissa), in Thessaly, for more favourable terms, as a result of which Mehemmed IV demanded to know of the Grand Vizier the situation, warning that it would be impossible to raise men and supplies were the siege to last another year. At an assembly convened by Köprülü-zāde on 8 Radjab 1079/ 12 December 1668, it was agreed that the fall of Kandiya seemed close at hand, and arrangements were made to winter in the trenches (Rāshid, i, 218 ff.). Friction amongst the Venetians and their allies led to the withdrawal of the allied fleet at the end of August 1669, which act left the Venetians little choice but to surrender. After six days of discussion, terms were agreed on 8 Rabī' II 1080/ 5 September 1669 (see Rāshid, i, 240 ff.; *Mu'āhadāt Madjmū'asi*, ii, 141 ff., Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 132 ff.). Köprülü zāde received the 80 keys of the evacuated city and fortress of Kandiya on 27 September. He remained through the winter to repair the fortress and to have a new land survey (*tahrīr*) made in the Mediterranean islands. He also pacified the Mainotes with a letter which he sent, and he forgave their outstanding taxes (for details, see *Dīwānčhe al-tawārīkh*, fols. 122 ff.; Köprülü-Mahmud Asim Bey 724, fols. 231-6; Başvekâlet arşivi, tahrir defterleri; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhat nāme*, viii 498 ff.; Silāhdār i, 538). Returning by way of Tekirdagh, he arrived in Edirne in mid Şafar 1081/early July 1670 and surrendered the sacred standard to the sultan.

(For diplomatic relations with France in the early 1670s, leading to a renewal of the capitulations on 5 June 1673 (19 Şafar 1084), see J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Paris 1811, i; A. Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel (1670-80)*, Paris 1900; Saint-Priest (ed. Schefer), *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie*, Paris 1877; A. Galland, *Journal d'A Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, Paris 1881; L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris 1735, iv; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 341 ff See also TÜRKİYE ii This Ottoman empire, esp. at p 1185a).

In 1672 a campaign was undertaken against Poland on behalf of Peter Doroshenko, hetman of a group of Ukrainian Cossacks, who had accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1669, and on 7 Şafar 1083/4 June 1672, Köprülü-zāde left Edirne with the army, accompanied by Mehemmed IV, who was to take an active interest in the campaign (for correspondence between Köprülü-zāde and the King of Poland in May 1672, see Rāshid, i 261 ff.). The principal object of the campaign, the fortress of Kamenets Podolskiy (see KAMĀNIČA), was taken on 3 Djumāda I 1083/27 August 1672 after a nine-day siege (Nābī Yūsuf, *Ta'rīkh-i Kamānīča*, Istanbul University TY2428; al-Hādjdjī (Hādidī) 'Alī, *Ta'rīkh-i Kamānīča*, Süleymaniye-Lala Ismail Efendi 308; 'Abdī Pasha, *Wakā'i'-nāme*, Süleymaniye-Hasef Efendi 675, Topkapı Sarayı-Bağdat köşkü 217). The rapid Ottoman advance in Poland, and particularly the siege of Lwow, compelled the Polish King, Michael Wiśniowiecki, to sue for peace; and terms were agreed at the recently taken fort (*palanka*) of Buchach (28 October 1672: 'Abdī Pasha, Rāshid, i, 284 ff., Noradounghian, i, 52). The harsh terms of the treaty, which included the loss of Podolia and the Ukraine and the payment of tribute, made it unacceptable to the Polish Diet. Their refusal to ratify it and implement its terms led to further Ottoman campaigns in the following years, of which Köprülü-zāde, once again accompanied by Mehemmed IV, directed those in 1673 and 1674. In the main action of the former year, Köprülü-zāde was appointed commander to axes Khotin (*q.v.*) from the attack of John Sobieski, but the fortress was lost before he could arrive. The latter year saw a successful campaign into the Ukraine (Khotin having been retaken by the Khān of the Crimea) in response to Russian incursions Köprülü-zāde, now in poor health, returned to Edirne with the sultan on 22 Sha'bān 1085/21 November 1674 (see Rāshid, i, 317 ff.), and the campaigns of 1675 and 1676 against the Poles were left to others.

In his last years, Köprülü-zāde's illness worsened through his addiction to drink. Although he followed the sultan when the latter left Istanbul for Edirne with the army in early Sha'bān 1087/mid-October 1676, he was too ill to get even as far as Ergene köprüsü (between Čorlu and Karishtiran), on 26 Sha'bān 1087/3 November 1676 at the age of 42 ('Abdī Pasha), his death resulting from acute

dropsy brought on by drink (Silāḥdār, i, 659). His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in his father's mausoleum near Çenberli Taṣh.

Köprülü-zāde's tenure in the Grand Vizierate was one of the two or three longest in Ottoman history. Tall and stout, with a round face and large eyes, he is described as dignified and inspiring respect. Especially significant is the high praise accorded his virtues by Silāḥdār (i, 659) in view of that historian's harsh judgements on Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. Köprülü-zāde saw to the completion of pious foundations begun by his father, such as a half-finished *khān* and mosque in Rumeli, and also of his foundations in Çeṣbeli Taṣh in Istanbul (*Dīwān̲ī̲ al-tawārīkh*, fol. 14), and, as evidence of the great value which he himself placed on learning, one may cite the library which he established near his residence (formerly that of ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, daughter of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and wife of Ibshīr Pasha) in the vicinity of Ava Ṣofya (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi līfṭ*, 438) and which he enriched with many very valuable books acquired both while as *müderris* and in later times. The *waḳfiyya* for the library, which was drawn up two years after his death, in 1089/1678 and which makes provision for students and the teaching of certain subjects there, is now in the Köprülü library (no 4 of the *waḳfiyyas* of the Köprülü family; M Gökmen, *Köprülülerin-mūzesi nefāʾis*, Istanbul 1950, 30, Shaykhī, *Waḥīd al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University TY81, fol 691). His other foundations include a mosque in Kandiya (for a copy of the imperial grant of the land (*muḳāṭaʿa nāmeʾsi*) given him in Kandiya, dated Rabīʿ II 1081/ August-September 1670, as well as other documents demarcating boundaries, see the above collection of *waḳfiyyas* in the Köprülü library), mosques in Nové Zámky and Kamenetz, and an uncompleted *khān* (later completed) in Izmir (Silāḥdār, i, 659).

Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha was also the patron of a number of men of learning and the arts, among them his private secretary (*muḥarrirī*), Ḥasan Āgha, author of the *Dīwān̲ī̲ al-tawārīkh*, which is based on the documents committed to his charge (there exists in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, a Latin translation of this work, made in 1680 and entitled *Annalium gemma, authore Hasanage .... Cf. A. Caliand, Journal*, tr. N. Ş. Örik, *Hatıralar*, Ankara 1949, 297, n; Babinger, 216-17); Mazīdī, who was with him throughout the siege of Kandiya; Nāʿīm; Zuhdī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*, the *reʾīs al-kuttāb* Ṭālib Aḥmed Efendi, the poet Fenni, and Ḥuseyn Ḥezārfenn (*q.v.*) (*cf. Ṣafāʾī, Tadhkira*, Istanbul University TY3225, fols. 189 ff., 142 ff.; Shaykhī, fols. 680-786).

III Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha (1047-1102/1637-91), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the younger brother of Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha. Born in Köprü in 1047/1637, he began *medrese* education together with his elder brother. Whether he received a *medrese* appointment is not known but in 1070/1655 he is said to have received a *reʾīsīyet* and to have entered the ranks of the sultan's guards as a *müteferriḳa* (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 452). In view of the facts that he was in Crete, together with his mother, for the whole of the final siege of Kandiya (1667-9), that he was at Fāḍil Aḥmed's side when the latter died and that he bore the Grand Vizier's signet ring to the sultan (for the *berāt* granting him a *reʾīsīyet* at this time, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ali Emiri tasnīfi, period of Meḥemmed IV, 229), one may suppose that he spent most of his time with his elder brother, on campaign. On 1 Dhu ʾl-Ḥijja 1090/ 29 June 1680 he became seventh vizier at the instigation of his brother-in-law, the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha (see KARA MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, MERZIFONLU). In November of the same year he served as guard (*muḥāfiẓ*) to the Wālide Sulṭān and the princes Süleymān and Aḥmed when they went to Edirne; and he performed the same function the following year, now as sixth vizier, when they remained in Edirne after the departure of the army for Istanbul (Rabīʿ I 1091/March 1681) following the conclusion of peace with Russia. At the time of the army's departure on the Austrian campaign of 1683 (Rabīʿ II 1094/April 1683) he remained in Edirne as guard to the Wālide Sulṭān, with the posts of fifth vizier and *ḥāʾiz-maḥall* of Edirne. He was later appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Silistria with the addition of Nicopolis (i.e. the Özi *muḥāfiẓlīḳ*) and became commander at Babadaghī (*q.v.*). With Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha's dismissal and execution (December 1683) following the failure of the second siege of Vienna, and on the report that John Sobieski, King of Poland was making preparations against Kamenets and Moldavia, it was decided to replace Fāḍil Muṣṭafā with a more experienced commander: he was summoned to the capital as *ḥaḍṛe alīī* vizier, but kept the estates (*khāṣṣ*) he then possessed (Rabīʿ II 1095/March April 1684, Silāḥdār, ii, 227). Reaching Edirne in mid May, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā occupied the position of third vizier in the *dīwān*; but before long he chose retirement, no doubt grieved by the enmity of the new Grand Vizier toward the Köprülü family. One year later, as the war with the Venetians in the Morea intensified, he was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Chios (according to Silāḥdār, ii, 232, transferred there from the command of Boghaz [Ḥiṣārī] = Sedd al-baḥr), subsequently being transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī on 4 Rabīʿ II 1097/ 22 February 1686 (Silāḥdār, ii, 230).

On 30 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1098/7 October 1687, shortly after a rebellious army had made his brother-in-law, Siyāwush Pasha, Grand Vizier and begun a march on the capital, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā was summoned to Istanbul as second vizier and *ḥāʾiz-maḥall*. Though Meḥemmed IV had some hope that Fāḍil Muṣṭafā might help him save his throne, past slights by the sultan made Fāḍil Muṣṭafā unsympathetic, and the latter was in fact closely involved in the deposition of Meḥemmed IV (2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687). He soon fell out of favour with the army, the instruments of the deposition, however, through resisting their demands for donatives and attempting to establish discipline; and though his position was once saved by the new sultan, Süleymān II, he was subsequently effectively exiled by being appointed again to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī (7 Rabīʿ II 1099/10 February 1688 Silāḥdār, ii, 318 ff.; *Zubdat al-taʾrīkh*, fols 87 ff.; Rāshid, ii, 95). He was spared a worse fate by the refusal of the *Shaykh al-Islām* in sanction his execution. A little later he was moved to the command of Canea, then to that of Kandiya, then, in Ṣafar 1100/December 1688, to that of Chios.

With the war against the Holy League going badly for the Ottomans in 1688-9, particularly on the Austrian front, it was agreed by the *ʿulamāʾ* to recommend to the sultan the appointment of Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha to the Grand Vizierate, and he was accordingly summoned to Edirne (21 Muḥarram 1101/ 25 October 1689). His first act was to issue a declaration (*beyān-nāme*) designed to restore morale and to encourage the willing performance of military service. He also took steps to ease the lot of the tax paying

subjects (*re'āyā*) by removing a number of onerous extraordinary taxes such as the *resm-i khamr* or *'arak*, a recently-imposed tax on drink which had led many Christian subjects in Rumeli to make common cause with the enemy (cf *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, fol. 122). During the winter he was engaged in preparations for a campaign which he himself was to lead, and on 6 Shawwāl 1102/13 July 1690 he left Edirne. He succeeded in recovering Pirot (12 August), the fort (*palanka*) of Müsā Pasha, and, after a 25 day siege, the important stronghold of Nish (9 September). Despite the lateness of the season and the opposition of his commanders, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā determined to march to Belgrade. Semendria fell after a three-day siege, on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1102/17 September 1690, and Belgrade after an eight-day siege, on 4 Muharram 1103/8 October 1690 (Silāḥdār, ii, 501 ff; *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, fols. 169, 172, 173, Rāshid, ii, 123 ff; cf. İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-55, iii, 470). Detachments sent out from Belgrade succeeded in taking Boğur-delen (Sabac) and re-establishing control over the Danube at Orşova but failed to recover Ösilek. Having seen to the repairing and supplying of Belgrade, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā set out for Istanbul (4 November 1690). During his return he was mindful of the *re'āyā*, sending prisoners to their homes at the treasury's expense and also restoring lands and goods and providing the means of agriculture to those who had lived between Nish and Belgrade but had been moved across the Danube by the Austrians and now wished to return. He spent the winter of 1690-1 dealing with matters such as uprisings in Egypt (by Ibn Wānī) and Cyprus (*Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, fol. 182) and instituting reforms in the Janissary Corps, the imperial stables and the imperial larder whereby expenditure was cut (Silāḥdār, ii, 559-60).

Though Fāḍil Muṣṭafā proposed that he remain in Istanbul in 1691 in order to oversee all fronts during the year and that another commander be sent to Hungary, it was thought best that he lead the campaign. By the time the army was ready to move (Sha'bān 1102/May 1691), Süleymān II was near death, and a faction opposed to Fāḍil Muṣṭafā was making efforts to restore Mehemmed IV to the throne. Having taken measures to forestall these, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā left strict instructions, on departing from Edirne (18 Ramaḍān/15 June), that, in the event of the sultan's death, his brother, Aḥmed, should be placed on the throne. When, on 25 Ramaḍān 1102/22 June 1691, Süleymān II died, Aḥmed II ascended the throne without incident and confirmed Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha in the Grand Vizierate.

Having reached Belgrade on 23 Shawwāl/20 July, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā bridged the river Sava; and when the Austrians, encamped at Varadin (Petrovaradin), advanced and then retreated, the Grand Vizier set off in pursuit, overriding the advice of his commanders that he should await the arrival of the Crimean Tatars and the provincial forces. When the Ottomans took up a position before the fort of Slankamen, the Austrian commander, his road to Varadin threatened and fearing being caught between the Ottomans and the Tatars, engaged the Ottomans in battle (24 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1102/19 August 1691). The Ottoman right wing having been broken, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā himself led the attack to restore the position, but just as this was about to be achieved, he was struck in the forehead by a bullet and killed: the confusion consequent on his death led to the defeat and withdrawal of the Ottoman forces. The battle of Slankamen thus saw not only a serious military reverse but also the death of an able Grand Vizier from whom much might have been expected. Despite a thorough search, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā's body was not found. (For details, see Silāḥdār, ii, 583 ff; *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, fols. 184 ff; Rāshid, ii, 161 ff; Hammar-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 319 ff.)

Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha, though Grand Vizier for less than two years, grasped the true needs of the state and demonstrated the ability to implement necessary reforms. He appreciated the political necessity of countering European hopes of defections from amongst the Christian subjects by taking account of their interests and by making reforms in connection with the *ğizya* and other obligations laid upon them (for the effects of the *ğizya* reforms, however, cf. BIRYA II—Ottoman, especially 565b). To ensure the independence of the Grand Vizierate, he took steps to limit the number and influence of the *bābā'ī* viziers. The practice of giving gifts (*ṣalāriyya*) to the sultans at *ğulūs* by state officials was ended in every provincial city he created councils of notables (*meğlis-i a'yān*), modelled on the imperial *dīwān*, to prevent the growth of local despotisms and to check abuses by keeping an eye on the judgements and procedures of *meğlis* and *maḥkama*. In Istanbul however, his failure to enforce the *narkh*, or fixed prices, on the grounds that the practice was not justified in the *sharī'a* and that trade should rest on the consent of the two parties, resulted in an increase in profiteering in his time of office. His learning particularly in the fields of *ḥadīth* and lexicography, his devotion to the *sharī'a*, his dignity and his sense of justice are widely attested. He had three sons: Nu'mān, 'Abd Allāh and Es'ad (Silāḥdār, ii, 586-587 ff; *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, fols. 187 ff; Rāshid, i, 530, ii, 125, 148 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 307; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 242 ff; Shayḫī, ii, 321 ff; *Amasya ta'rīkhi*, iv, 212 ff; U. Heyd (ed. Ménage), *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 155).

IV. 'Amūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha (nephew of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha)—see 'AMŪDJA ZĀDE ḤUSAYN PASHA.

V. Nu'mān Pasha (?1083-1131/?1670-1719), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha. Born in Istanbul, he studied under Demir-Kapili Fāḍil Süleymān and Kayserili Ḥāfiz al-Seyyid Aḥmed Efendi, among others, and became *mulāzim* of the Köprülü *sarīdj* after his father's death. While Muṣṭafā II was preparing for his second campaign against the Austrians, in 1696, he decreed that Nu'mān, like the administrators of other rich foundations, should take part in the campaign, providing 150 infantry. In Muharram 1112/July 1700, Nu'mān Beg became sixth vizier and was betrothed to 'Ā'isha Sultān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II (*Silāḥdār ghayrī*). He became *beglerbegi* of Erzurum in Ramaḍān 1118/March 1707 and then, in Djumādā I 1114/October 1702, of Anatolia. His marriage to 'Ā'isha Sultān, set for the spring of 1703, was delayed in the confusion surrounding the uprising known as the *Edirne wak'asi* which led to the deposition of Muṣṭafā II (9 Rabī' II 1115/29 August 1703), who was replaced by Aḥmed III. Following this event, Nu'mān Pasha was appointed commander (*muḥāfiz*) of Eğriboz (Euboea), and by June 1704 he had become *muḥāfiz* of Crete, being charged with making a land survey (*taḥrīr*) of the fiefs on the island (Rāshid, iii, 137). Transferred to the command of Boghas Ḥiṣārī on 06 Shawwāl 1117/10 February 1706, he was shortly after returned again to Crete. Though

the marriage ceremony with ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān was celebrated in Muḥarram 1120/April 1708, it was still to be several years before the marriage was consummated.

Appointed again to Eğriboz in Ḏjumādā II 1121/August 1709, he was summoned to Istanbul four months later (Ramaḍān 1121/December 1709) to consummate his marriage (Rāshid, iii, 311-2, cf. *ibid*., iii, 317 *b*, however, where the consummation is said to have occurred in Muḥarram 1122/March 1710). He was made *beglerbeg* of Bosnia on 8 Shawwāl 1121/11 December 1709 but was then appointed to the command of Belgrade on 3 Ḏhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1121/4 January 1710 (Rāshid, iii, 313; cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 291, who dates this appointment on 17 Rabīʿ I 1122/26 May 1710). On 18 Rabīʿ II 1122/26 June 1710, Nuʿmān Pasha was elevated to the Grand Vizierate in the hope that he would be more resolute against the Russians and better able to handle the problem of the supliant Swedish king, Charles XII, than his predecessor, Çorlulu ʿAlī Pasha had been (see ʿAlī Pasha Çorlulu; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Isveç Kralı Karl XII.'nin Türkiye'de kalışı* . . , Istanbul 1943, 227, 229). His appointment was met with general satisfaction. Despite a strong movement in the government to concentrate attention on the Black Sea and the Polish question, Nuʿmān Pasha, trying to maintain peace with Russia, contented himself with announcing simply that a large army would see the Swedish king to his own country in the spring (see Rāshid, iii, 327; Ahmed Refik, *Memâlik-i ʿOsmâniyye'de Dimirbach Şhari*, Istanbul 1332/1913-14, 30 ff.; A. N. Kurat, *op cit*., 232 ff., idem, *XVIII yüz yılbaşı Avrupa umumi harbinde Türkiye'nin tarafsızlığı*, in *Belleten*, vii, 1943, 268 ff., Saint Priest, *Mémoires*, 120-1).

Disappointed in his handling of both external and internal affairs, Ahmed III removed Nuʿmān Pasha from the Grand Vizierate on 21 Ḏjumādā II 1122/17 August 1710; he was subsequently appointed *muḥāfiẓ* of Eğriboz (*Silāḥdār ghayri*; Rāshid, iii, 330-1. For a relation concerning his wish to resign from the Grand Vizierate, see Behdjetī, *Taʾrīkh-i sitāt-ı-Köprülü*) In the nine years before his death he held administrative and military positions continuously in various parts of the empire. He became *muḥāfiẓ* of Canea in Shawwāl 1122/December 1710, and of Kandīya in Ḏhu ʾl Kaʿda 1123/December 1711, while on 19 Shawwāl 1125/8 November 1713 he was given the *sanḏjak* of Yanya (Ioánnina) as an *ocaklık* (*Silāḥdār ghayri*). The next year he was given the *eyālet* of Bosnia together with the military command of the Karadaġh (*q.v.*) area. While in this post he moved against the rebels of Karadaġh who were receiving aid from the Venetians, hunted them down and drove those who escaped to take refuge with the Venetians (Shawwāl 1126/October 1714· Rāshid, iv, 22-3. For the decree sent to him about this problem, see Başvekalet arşivi, İbnülemin, dâhiliye, 2421).

Following this success, he was moved to the command of Belgrade (January 1715. *Silāḥdār ghayri*), where affairs were at a delicate stage, but under him, as in his predecessor's time, disorder in this frontier fortress increased, as did desertions from the local levies and the *kapıkulu* soldiery Dismissed because of this in Rabīʿ II 1127/April 1715, he was transferred to the governorship (*mutaṣarrıflık*) of the *sanḏjaḳs* of Īšī and Menteşhe and given the task of following the activities of the bandits who were profiting from the absence on campaign of the viziers and *beglerbegs* of Anatolia (Rāshid, iv, 237, 240 ff). In Shawwāl 1128/September 1716 he was made *beglerbegi* and *muḥāfiẓ* of Cyprus (*Silāḥdār ghayri*), and three months later he became commander (*serdār*) in Bosnia while retaining the governorship of Cyprus (for part of the firman of appointment, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, 294, n. 1). During the period when the Austrians gained Belgrade (Ramaḍān 1129/August 1717), Nuʿmān Pasha beat back the enemy attack on Bosnia and forced the raising of the siege of Izvornik (October 1717) He remained active in the defense of Bosnia until after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (on Shaʿbān 1130/21 July 1718) (see Rāshid, iv, 383; and for a copy of a decree sent to him in mid Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718, see Başvekalet arşivi, İbnülemin, dâhiliye, 2436) and was then transferred at his own request to the governorship of Crete in Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718. Falling ill as soon as he reached the island, however, he died in Kandīya on 16 Rabīʿ I 1131/6 February 1719 and was buried beside the mosque of Fāḍil Ahmed Pasha

Nuʿmān Pasha was accounted an honest and pious man of whom one author remarks that he would have been better suited to the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* than to that of Grand Vizier (Charles de Fernol, *Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol*, Antwerp 1870, 220). He is said to have taking nothing from the estates attached to the various offices he held, but rather to have met his expenses exclusively from the income of the estates which he had inherited from his father (Behdjetī)

Both his younger brothers and, of his sons, particularly Ḥāfiẓ Ahmed Pasha (d. 1183/1769) made a mark in public life, as have other descendents of the family down to the present day (see Köprülü Mehmed Fuad).

Bibliography For further details and a more complete bibliography, especially of archival materials, see *IA* art *Köprülüler*, by M Tayyib Gökbilgin, on which this article is largely based.

(M. Tayvib Gökbilgin - R. C. Repp)

Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad, until 1934 Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuʾād (1890-1966), prominent Turkish scholar and the pioneer of Turkish studies to the modern sense in Turkey. Born in Istanbul, he was the son of Ismāʿīl Faʿiz Bey, a civil servant, a descendant of the sister of the famous Ottoman grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (*q.v.*) who married Ḥibleli Muṣṭafā Pasha, one time vizier of Mehemmed IV His mother Khadidja Khānim was the daughter of ʿĀrif Hikmet Efendi, a member of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Islimye in Kumeli (Silven in present day Bulgatia) He was educated at Ayāspasha junior high school (*rüşdiyye*) and at Merdjān high school (*ʿādī*) in Istanbul Later, for two years he attended the School of Law (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*), which he left in 1909, but he was mainly self taught. After teaching in various schools, he was appointed in 1913, with Ḍiyāʾ [Ziya] Gökalp's support, to the chair of Turkish literature in the University of Istanbul, vacant upon the resignation of Khālid Ḍiyāʾ [*q.v.*], a position which he kept until 1939. He also taught at the School (later Faculty) of Political Science (*Seyasî Bilgiler*) and in the Ankara Faculty of Arts (*Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakülteleri*) (where he covered Ottoman history and institutions). He served for eight months as under secretary at the Ministery of Education in 1924 and was elected deputy from Kars in 1936 After 1939 he settled in Ankara and joined political life. In January 1946 he became one of the four

founders of the Democratic Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTİ]. Following the 1950 elections he became Foreign Minister (1950-5) and Minister of State in 1956, but resigned from the party on account of a rift with the other leaders. Following the revolution of 27 May 1960, he was arrested and briefly detained on Yassıada (in the Sea of Marmara) where all Democratic Party leaders were being tried, but he was acquitted on all charges in 1961 he founded the short-lived Yeni Demokrat Parti ("The New Democratic Party") and soon afterwards retired from political life. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966 as a consequence of an earlier traffic accident in Ankara.

Fu'ād Köprülü started his career as a poet and literary critic. His name began to appear towards the end of 1908 in various papers and periodicals particularly in the *Therwet-i Fünün* (*q.v.*). As a poet he belonged to the *Fecr-i Âti* group (*q.v.*), an extension of the *Therwet-i Fünün* school. In 1912 he mainly contributed to the daily *Ḥakk* and its literary supplement. He gradually switched to research and in 1913 he published in *Bilgi Mecmū'ası* (i, 3-52) his "Method in the history of Turkish literature" (*Türk edebiyyāti ta'rīkhinde usūl*). Like many young talents of his generation he came under the impact of Diyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*] and of the Turkist movement which he led (see TÜRKÇÜLÜK, and contributed many articles to *Türk yurdu* (1923), the organ of the movement and to the daily *Ikdām* where he serialised a study on folk poetry (February-June 1924). In 1915 he founded the journal *Millī tetebbu'lar mecmū'ası* ("Journal of National Research"), where he published some of his early important study on *'āshik* poetry (i, 5-46). In July 1917 Diyā' Gökalp founded the famous *Yeni Mecmū'a* ("the New Review") which gathered together all the leading young writers of the period and where Fu'ād Köprülü published his new style poems (in spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and on "national" topics as required by the new *Millī edebiyyāt* trend) and his articles of literary criticism and research. After the publication in 1918 of his epoch making monograph on "Early mystics in Turkish literature" i.e. Aḥmad Yesewī and Yūnus Emre (*Türk edebiyyātında ilk mutesawwifler*) and of the first two parts of his history of Turkish literature (*Türk edebiyyātında ta'rīkh*, i, 1926 and ii, 1927), Köprülü concentrated his research on the origins and development of classical Turkish literature and culture in Anatolia; the evolution of Turkish Islam and Ottoman institutions, the Turkish legal system, and the development of Turkish literature in other literary dialects e.g. Azerī and Chaghatay. His work shed new light on the formative period of Turkish literature in Anatolia very little research had been carried out in this field before him But his greatest contribution is to have treated the evolution of the many branches of Turkish literature and culture as one unit and to have studied its development as a whole. In 1924 he founded in Istanbul University the Institute of Turcology (*Türkiyyāt Enstitüsü*) and his organ the *Türkiyyāt Mecmū'ası*. Apart from his many articles (some of which are independent monographs) published in various scholarly journals, particularly *Ḥayāt*, *Türkiyyat Mecmū'ası*, *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Mecmū'ası*, *Belleten*, *Türk hukuk ve idāri tarihi mecmuası*, and the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*), Köprülü is the author of the following major works. *Türkiyye Ta'rīkhi*, i ("History of Turkey"), Istanbul 1923 (covers the period up to the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia); *Ḥadīthlī edebiyyāt* ("Literature of today"), Istanbul 1924 (collection of early articles on literary criticism and book reviews), *Türk edebiyyāti ta'rīkhi*, i, Istanbul 1926 (revised and enlarged edition of the two parts published in 1920-8); *Millī edebiyyat devrenlerinin ilk mubeshshirleri* ("Forerunners of the national literature movement"), Istanbul 1928 (contains selections from the 10th/16th century poet Edirnelī Nazmī who experimented with "pure Turkish"); *Türk dili ve edebiyatı devrende araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934 (a collection of research articles and book reviews); *Les origines de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1935; and *Türk sazlerī*, in 3 volumes, the first of which is published for the first time (Istanbul 1962).

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KÖPÜZ [see °ün]

KÖRÄ or **KÖRÄ DJAHĀNĀBĀD**, an ancient town of northern India in the Khadjuhā *tahsīl* of Fathpūr District in the former British United Provinces, now Uttar Pradesh It lies in lat. 26° 7′ N. and long. 80° 22′ E on the Rind River some 12 miles/20 km. from the Djamnā (Jumna) River between Kānpūr (Cawapore) and Fathpūr.

In early times it was apparently held by the Rādjput line of the Rādjās of Argal, and the fortress there may have been their ancestral centre Under the Mughals, Kōrā (sometimes spelt in Marāthī and Persian sources as Kurrah, and to be distinguished from Kārā Manikpūr, an adjacent but separate *sarkār*) formed a *sarkār* or district of Allāhābād *ṣūba* or province, with a revenue of 27,400,000 *dams* (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. Jarrett and Sarkar, Calcutta 1949, 178). The great Mughal highway connecting Allāhābād with Āgra ran through Kōrā, and a bridge was built in ca. 1770 to carry the road over the Rind. During the fighting of the middle decades of the 18th century between the Marāṭhā invaders and the troops of the titular Mughal emperors and the Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh or Oudh, Kōrā played a considerable rôle. A copper coin of Akbar's is known from the Kōrā mint, and it was a mint town of the later Mughals from Shams al-Dīn Rafī' al-Daraḏjāt (1131/1719) onwards.

During the 19th century, the population of both Kōrā proper and of Djahānābād, the township adjoining it to the north-west declined (populations of 9,806 and 4,379 respectively on 1901, the proportion of Muslim to Hindus being then 44% and 27%

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xv, 398; *District gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, xx Fatehpur*, Allahabad 1908, 205, 152, 154, 157 ff., 252-8 (C. E. Bosworth)

KORČA, modern Turkish Korçe, Greek Koritsa, Ottoman Görice, all from the Slavic toponym "Gorica."), the only urban centre of importance in southeastern Albania, situated at the edge of the homonymous plain at the foot of the Moravë Mountains, which constitute the natural barrier

between the Korča plain and Macedonia. Korča was one of the most important towns founded by the Ottomans in Albania. Throughout the Ottoman period (late 14th century till 1912), Korča was a local administrative centre (*nāḥiye*, *każā'*), and latterly the capital of a *sanǧaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Manastır (Bitola) and a small Islamic centre.

The Ottomans annexed the eastern part of the present-day Albania in the last decade of the 8th/14th century and established their regular administration there, with the castles of "Göriçe" and Premedi (Përmet) as bases. A *terminus ad quem* for the conquest, not recorded it seems by the Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde, Oruç, Anonymus-Giese, Neşrī, Saʿd al-Dīn), is the church of the village of Mborje 3 km. east of Korča on the flat spur of the Moravë, which church was, according to its well preserved inscription, built by Bishop Niphon in the year 1390. Throughout the entire 15th century the name "Göriçe" seems to have been used for a castle on the spur of the Moravë between the village of Mborje and the place where the town of Korča lies today. The Ottoman documents from the early period use "Enbornye" (from Emporion) and "Göriçe" indiscriminately. A fragment of a *tīmār* register from Ṣafar 886/April 1482 mentions a *ḥiṣār* of an "Iskāk the Albanian" situated in the ' *nāḥiye* of Göriçe". This *ḥiṣār* included eight small villages (mostly with Slavic names), of which one numbered six Muslim households and two households of Christians (Sofia, National Library, Orient. Dep., No D 649, p. 28). The document is an indication for the early start of the Islamisation of the district of Korča, an Islamisation which was not solely restricted to members of the old native nobility. The castle of Göriçe was maintained throughout the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. When it disappeared is apparently not recorded. A *ḥāṣṣ defter* (Başbakanlık arşivi [= BBA] T. D 70, p. 257) from 925/1519 mentions a *ǧemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* of the castle. The village of ' Enborye, dependent on Göriçe" numbered, according to the same document, 18 households of Muslims, 7 Muslim bachelors, and 68 households of Christians as well as 10 Christian bachelors and 12 widows. According to a *ḥāṣṣ defter* of 936/1529-30, the same village numbered 15 Muslim households, 4 Muslim bachelors, 4 people with a *berāt*, 1 *sipāhī ʿādo*, and 101 Christian households and 25 Christian bachelors (BBA. T. D. 267, p. 172). The same document states that there was a *ǧemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* in the castle of Göriçe consisting of 22 households and 9 bachelors. These *müsellems* were freed from *ispenǧe*, *ʿawārıż* and *tekālīf-ı örfiyye* in exchange for the fulfilment of the duties of repair and maintenance of the castle. Besides these privileged Christians, there was a *ǧemāʿat* of 5 Christian families in the castle who had to deliver yearly 1,500 arrows, for which service the state freed them from paying the *ʿawāriḍ* and the various *tekālīfāt*, but they had to pay *ʿöşr*, *ǧiftye* and *ispenǧe*. The *ḫāṣṣ* Aydın, son of Dimitri, thus a recent convert, was freed from *ḫarāǧ*, *ispenǧe*, *ʿawārıż* and *tekālīf-ı ʿörfiyye* for the service of keeping the water supply of the castle in good order.

The actual town of Korča is an Ottoman foundation, intentionally founded in order to form a Muslim urban centre in the district. The history of the foundation of Korča can be reconstructed with help of some Ottoman documents. In 891/1486 the Master of the Imperial Stables (*Mīrāḫōr*), Ilyās Beg, received from Bāyezīd II the village of Bostinče (Boboštice, 7 km. south of Korča), dependent on Göriçe, as full possession (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 426). In 901/1495-6 the same person constructed a mosque and some other buildings in the village of Piskopiye near Göriçe. In 920/1504-5 Ilyās Beg drew up the *waḳf-edme* for his mosque in Istanbul, (the former Studion Basilica near Yedi Kule) and for his foundations in Piskopiye: a mosque, an *ʿimāret* (in the sense of a building for the distribution of food to the poor), and a *maḥalle-i maḥṣūṣa*. For the upkeep of these foundations, he allotted the tax revenue of four villages in the district of Korča (including Bostinče and Piskopiye), the revenue of a village near Premedi a *ḥammām* and seven shops in Istanbul, and another *ḥammām* and a mill in Jannina (Yanya) in Epirus (extract of the *waḳfiyye* by Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, 427-8). The full extent of the foundations of Ilyās are not known, with certainty. According to a late 18th-century source, the *Ḥadīḳat al-ǧewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, I, 198, Ilyās Beg founded "benevolent works like an *ʿimāret*, a mosque, a *madrese*, and a *mekteb*" in Korča. The *Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, (v, 3929) mentions "a blessed mosque, a *madrese*, an *ʿimāret* and a *tekke*." Local tradition also attributes a *ḥammām* to Ilyās Beg. The *Kāmūs* states explicitly that the Beg "laid the foundations of the town" by building the above-mentioned objects. It is possible that Ilyās Beg, or his sons, added to the foundations of 910/1504-5 at a later date.

The *Kāmūs* further states that Ilyās was one of the dignitaries of the time of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and tutor and *atābēg* of Bāyezīd II. The *Ḥadīḳat* noted that he was an Albanian by birth and that he was buried in Göriçe. In a *waḳfiyye* of 913/1507-10 (see Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, ii, 222), he styles himself "Ilyās Beg b. ʿAbd Allāh". He was thus of local Christian origin. Ilyās Beg was married to the Ottoman princess Hundī Ḫātūn, daughter of Murād II and Umm Kulṯūm Ḫātūn. The place where he erected his buildings, Piskopiye, explicitly styled a " village" in the 910 *waḳfiyye* must have been the seat of a local bishopric in pre-Ottoman times. The *Kāmūs* states that Ilyās Beg constructed his buildings on the site of a destroyed old monastery. The name "Göriçe", sc. Korča, came to be used for the new urban settlement which developed around the nucleus formed by Ilyās's buildings. In the Istanbul *Taḥrīr* of 953/1546, edited by Barkan and Ayverdi (Istanbul 1970, 375), the buildings of Ilyās are situated in the *maḥalle* of Göriçe. The new settlement thus supplanted the old one and probably absorbed its population, as it did with that of Mborje or Enborye 3 km. away from the new centre. The latter sank down to a hamlet of a few houses around the preserved Byzantine church of 1390.

The development of Korča in the 18th and 17th centuries cannot have been a spectacular one. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa (tr. Von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 141) mentions it in the first half of the 17th century as an administrative subdivision of the *sanǧaḳ* of Ohrid. Ottoman lists of the *mufaṣṣal*s of Rumeli from 1078/1567-8 and 1203/1788 mention Göriçe as the seat of a *ḥāṣṣ* of one of the lowest orders (Özergin in *Uluçarşılı armağan*, Ankara 1976, 265, 300). Neither Muḥammad ʿĀṣıḳ nor Evliyā Çelebi describes Korča, nor does Marie Bizzi or other travellers, without doubt because it lies almost 80 km. off the Via Egnatia, the main road through the country.

In the second half of the 18th century, the development of the town received a strong impetus from the immigration of inhabitants of the Walachian trade metropolis of Voskopoje (Moschopolis), 20 km. due west in the mountains. Between 1768 and 1779 this

large Albanian settlement fell prey to the disorder which at that time reigned supreme. The French consul of Thessaloniki, Félix Beaujour, and the British traveller Colonel Leake, both writing in the first decade of the 19th century, describe Korča as a place with 450 houses and a population of 3,000 souls. After that time the development of the town increased at speed. J. G. von Hahn (*Albanische Studien*, Jena 1854, 55) spoke of "dem rasch aufblühenden Gjortscha." Other sources mention 10,000 inhabitants in 1859. In the eighties of the last century, Sāmī Bey describes the town in his *Kāmūs al-aʿlām* as a place with 18,000 inhabitants, 757 shops, 23 *khāns*, two mosques, one *medrese*, one *tekke*, one *ʿimāret*, two *hammāms*, a clock tower and four churches. At the end of the century the town was burnt down in a general conflagration. It was rebuilt under Ahmed Eyyub Pasha according to a new and modern plan with wide and straight streets which crossed at a right angle, a plan which still characterises the place. Between 1887 and 1900 Korča possessed a special Albanian school, the very first school where lessons were given in the Albanian language. As such, the place played a role of first importance in the development of Albanian nationalism.

From the sixties of the 19th century, Korča was the capital of a sizeable *sandjak* which comprised much of south-eastern Albania and a part of present day Greek Macedonia. Around 1900, Heinrich Gelzer numbered 2,027 houses in Korča, of which 1,420 were inhabited by Albanian Orthodox Christians, 102 by Vlachs and 505 by Muslim Albanians (*Vom Heiligen Berge und aus Makedonien*, Leipzig 1904, 200). Other sources also mention population two-thirds Christian and one third Muslim. During the upheavals of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the town suffered particularly from the struggle between pro-Greek Albanian-speaking Christians and Albanian nationalists, both Muslim and Orthodox. During the French occupation, in 1916, a short lived "Republic of Korča" was proclaimed. After the First World War, Korča remained within the frontiers of the new Albanian state. According to a French census of 1926 it numbered 22-23,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,779 were Orthodox and 5,464 were Muslim, all Albanian-speaking (Justin Godart, *L'Albanie en 1921*, Paris 1922, 94). The total number in the district of Korča was 39,533 Muslims and 17,871 others. At present, the number of inhabitants of the town has passed the 50,000 mark.

Korča is the native town of the Ottoman Montesquieu", Koči Bey [*q.v.*]. His family lies buried in the yard of the Mirākhor Mosque. The famous man himself rests, according to Bursalī Mehmed Ṭāhir's *ʿOṯmānlı muʾellifleri*, in the graveyard along the Manastir Road, but according to Babinger (*Geschichtschreiber*, 285), in the yard of the Korča mosque itself. The family of the famous viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] also came from Korča.

Korča is today a modern industrial centre, manufacturing textiles. The mosque of Mirākhor Ilyās Bey remains standing and is, together with the *türbe* of the Beg, an officially recognised Monument of Culture. It lost its tall minaret during the fury of the Albanian Cultural Revolution of the spring of 1967. The mosque is one of the best examples of early classical Ottoman architecture in the country, a building which contributed considerably to the formation of Islamic architectural forms in Albania in the succeeding centuries.

Bibliography. Given in the text, but see also A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 71 (The *Tapu defters*, preserved in Istanbul and Sofia, have not yet been published).

(M. Kiel)

KORDOFĀN (Kurdufān) a region of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan lying west of the White Nile roughly between lats. 16° and 10° N. and longs. 32° and 27° E.; it is now divided into two provinces, Northern and Southern Kordofān, with a population of 3,103,000 (1973 census). The name, often pronounced locally and earlier written as Kordofāl, is said to come from a small hill some ten miles south-east of al-Ubayyiḍ (lat 13° 11′ N., long 30° 14′ E.); before the present century the name referred to the central settled area rather than to the whole region.

1. Geography and ethnology

A vast (about 147,000 square miles) open plain, forming a segment of Africa's Sudanic Belt, Kordofān may be divided into a number of ecological zones; the semi desert in the north, a central *bor* (stabilised sand dune) zone and the Nuba Mountains of the south-east. The mean annual rainfall ranges from less than 100 mm. in the far north to between 6 to 800 mm. in the south, the human ecology reflects this transition from camel and sheep nomadism in the northern zone which itself merges into the Bayūḍa Desert, to mixed hoe agriculture and pastoralism in the central zone and cattle nomadism in the south. Only in the Khayrān depression north of Bāra is irrigated agriculture practised.

The ethnography of Kordofān is complex, being historically the result of an Arab or Arabised component immigrating and intermingling with a discrete indigenous population, Arab nomads and semi-nomads, predominantly Kabābīsh, Dār Ḥāmid, Ḥamar and Ḥilāyziyya live in the north and centre, while in the south the cattle nomads (*Baḳḳāra*), Muṭriyya, Ḥumr and Hawāzma, form but a part of the "Baḳḳāra belt" that stretches west to Lake Chad and east across the White Nile. The towns, established in the 18th century mainly by Dja'alliyyān and Danāḳila immigrants from the Nile Valley, are found in the central zone, al-Ubayyiḍ, Bāra, Umm Ruwāba and al-Rahad, an area of rain-fed agriculture which produces Kordofān's main export, gum arabic from the *haḳīḳ* tree (*Acacia senegal*). The Nuba Mountains are inhabited by a medley of ethnic groups, whose generic name, Nuba, conceals a linguistic and ethnic diversity which defies generalisations; at least thirty languages belonging to several different language groups are spoken. In the 20th century, partly because of colonial policies, the Nuba have increasingly moved their settlements down from the mountains onto the plains below.

2. History

Neither the name nor any certain information about the region appear in the mediaeval Arabic geographical literature; nor can anything very certain be said of the early peopling of Kordofān or of the course or chronology of the Arab immigration. A letter from the ruler of Bornū dated 794/1392 to Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ of Egypt may imply the penetration of Djudhām and other Arab nomads through Kordofān and beyond to the Lake Chad region (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 125 ff.; Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 163), but of the two possible directions from which the original Arab nuclei of the modern Baḳḳāra tribes might have come, North Africa seems more likely than the Nile. The Baḳḳāra tribes in their present formation probably do not go

back beyond the 17th century. Oral traditions remember the existence of an Arab nomad confederation, the Fazāra, in Northern Kordofān in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries; recent research has discovered references to Egyptian merchants trading with merchants from *barr al-ʿādān fāsher ca.* 1530. The Kābabīsh of Kordofān and the Zayyādiyya *al* Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] appear to have emerged out of the débris of this confederation. In turn, it would appear that the earliest Arab penetration cannot be dated much before the 8th/14th century, probably following the collapse of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of the Nile Valley.

Fundj, Musabbaʿāt and Fūr rule. Following the emergence of the Islamised Fundj [*q.v.*] sultanate of Sinnār at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Kordofān experienced a secondary wave of Arabisation and Islamisation through commercial and political influences from the Nile Valley and the missionary activities of itinerant *fakīhs*. The spread of Islam among the indigenous inhabitants is illustrated by the emergence of Takalī, a small Islamised kingdom, whose foundation at least as a Muslim state is traditionally ascribed to Muḥammad al Dafaʿallāh, *a fakīh who came from the north in about* 935/1530. Occasional glimpses of this spread of Islam may be found in the biographical dictionary of Wad Ḍayf Allāh; in the early 11th/17th century Tāj al-Dīn al-Bahārī from Baghdād visited Takalī. Later in the century the *fakīh* Ibn al Kaddāl visited Kordofān, he taught a local *fakīh*, Dawdat Allāh, whose son Mukhtār was killed by Dhankal (see below) (Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Dayf Allāh, *Kitāb al-Ṭabakāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, Khartoum 1971, 227-9, 87-8, 130, 345-6).

In historic times Kordofān became a "buffer territory, now the prey of its eastern, now of its western neighbours" (MacMichael, *Kordofān*, 5), that is, between Sinnār and the rising Dār Fūr sultanate (established *ca* 1650). Bādī II of Sinnār (1054 9a/1644-5 to 1681) invaded and subdued Takalī, and Sinnār and occasionally recruited Nūba as mercenaries. Thereafter Sinnār exercised an informal hegemony over central and eastern Kordofān through their protégés, the Ghudiyyāt, living to the south of al-Ubayyid, some of whose chiefs appear in Fundj documents with the title *shaykh Kurdufān*.

Sinnār's overlordship was disputed in the late 17th and 18th centuries by three generations of Musabbaʿāt (sing. Musabbaʿāwī) chiefs, who attempted to carve out a kingdom for themselves in Kordofān. By origin from Dār Fōr, Dhankal, ʿIsāwī and Hāshim, grandfather, father and son, attempted to play off Sinnār and Dār Fūr against each other.

Although the Musabbaʿāt succeeded in ousting the Fundj, in about 1200/1785-6 Hāshim's activities provoked an invasion by Sultan Muḥammad Tayrāb (*ca.* 1166-1200/1752-3 to 1785-6) from Dār Fōr. Thereafter, despite Hāshim's attempts at resistance, Kordofān was ruled by Dār Fūr. Among Dār Fūr's governors (*mahdūm* pl. *mahādīm*) in Kordofān, Muḥammad Kurra and Musallam al Tarjāwī encouraged trade in gum, ostrich feathers and slaves, granted land to *fakīhs* and others around al-Ubayyid and Bārā, and curbed the nomads.

Turco-Egyptian rule 1821-85. In 1821, as part of a wider invasion of the Northern Sudan, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* of Egypt, sent an expedition of 3 to 4,000 troops and an artillery battery under his son-in-law, the *defterdār* Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, to conquer Dār Fūr and Kordofān (al Dabarī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, iv, 318). After successfully crossing the desert, the *defterdār*'s army destroyed the Dār Fūr garrison and killed the *mahdūm* Musallim at Bārā on 30 August 1821; Khusraw was prevented from invading Dār Fūr by a fierce revolt along the Nile. Al-Ubayyid continued as the capital of what was now a province of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, although the actual administrative arrangements fluctuated greatly (the governors are listed in R. L. Hill, *Rulers of Sudan, 1820-1885*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiii/1 (1952), 65-95).

Muḥammad ʿAlī had conquered the Northern Sudan to obtain slaves and gold. Kordofān yielded both, some alluvial gold from Djabal Shaybūn in the Nūba Mountains and slaves from those owned within Kordofān or captured by Bakkāra raids upon the Nūba and other southern peoples. As in other parts of the Sudan, the authorities themselves organised slave raids to the south; Rustum Bey (governor 1826-33) on one raid in 1830 seized 1,400 captives. Despite prospecting by W. P. F. S. Rüppell, J. von Russegger and others, the hopes of substantial gold deposits proved largely chimerical. For most of the Turco-Egyptian period neither the Bakkāra nor the Nūba were ever brought under an effective *administration*; Djabal Takalī put up a particularly prolonged resistance.

The Mahdiyya 1883-98. Kordofān was the scene of the first and final acts of the Mahdiyya [see KHALĪFA, iv. In the Sudanese Mahdiyya]. Although its history belongs to the wider history of the Mahdist Sudan, events in Kordofān contributed decisively to the success of the Mahdist Revolution. Thus, among the Djaʿaliyyūn settled in the province, a bitter conflict had developed between two factions led by Ilyās Pasha Umm Birayr and Aḥmad Bey Dafaʿ Allāh al-ʿAwadī. The former was appointed Governor of Kordofān by C. G. Gordon, but was dismissed following a revolt by the Ghudiyyāt instigated by his rivals. It was with Ilyās and others, embittered with the Turco-Egyptian régime, that Muḥammad Aḥmad, the future Mahdī, made contact on a visit to al-Ubayyid, probably in 1879.

Following his manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) on 29 June 1881 and initial successes against the Turco-Egyptian authorities, the Mahdī following prophetic precedent, made his withdrawal (*hidjra*) into Kordofān to Djabal Kadīr in the Nūba Mountains. It was in Kordofān that the Mahdī found the support and won the victories that finally established his rule, on 19 January 1883 al-Ubayyid finally capitulated and the destruction of the Hicks Pasha relief expedition at Shaykān, south of al-Ubayyid, on 5 November 1883 gave the Mahdī complete control over Kordofān. In the context of these victories, Gordon's proposal that the Mahdī be made "Sultan of Kordofān" was derisory.

During the Mahdist period, Kordofān was basically administered from al Ubayyid by a deputy governor (*wakīl*), but for most of the period was combined with Dār Fūr to form one great province of the West (*ʿimālat al gharb*) under ʿUthmān Ādam (1888-91) and Maḥmūd Aḥmad (1891-96). Not everyone in Kordofān accepted the Mahdiyya; the Kabābīsh under their Shaykh, Sālih Faḍl Allāh Sālim, who was in touch with the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, resisted until he was killed in May 1887. A revolt of a different nature was the mutiny of the *djihādiyya*, slave troops armed with rifles, at al-Ubayyid in 1885, they marched off to the Nūba Mountains killing the provincial governor, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Kādir, when he attempted to stop them.

In late 1896, under the threat of the Anglo-Egyp-

tian advance, the *Khalīfa* ʿAbdallāhi ordered Mahmūd Aḥmad to march east with the bulk of the forces of Kordofān and Dār Fūr. After the defeat of Karrārī (Omdurman) on 2 September 1898, the *Khalīfa* withdrew to his eastern Kordofān to Shirkayla, he was hunted down and killed at Umm Dibaykarāt, near Kosti, on 24 November 1899.

Condominium rule 1898-1956 and independence. At the outset of Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule in the Sudan, Kordofān was in a state of chaos; bands of Mahdist supporters roamed un checked and the tribal order had largely disintegrated both as a result of the deliberate policy of the *Khalīfa* and through the loss of herds and slaves. Order was gradually imposed by punitive patrols, the Nūba under their *mahās* (chiefs) and *hukkāms* (ritual experts) forming particularly strong pockets of resistance until the 1920s. By 1927 the railway joined al Ubayyiḍ to Khartoum and the gum trade was revived.

In the 1920s direct military administration gave way to "Indirect rule", and local administration came to be largely committed to the tribal chiefs. Tribes like the Kabābīsh under a strong leader, Sir ʿAlī al-Tūm Faḍl Allāh Jālīm (1874 1938), prospered, others, such as the Hamar, were re-assembled from the fragments left by the Mahdiyya. Al-Ubayyiḍ grew rapidly as the centre for the gum trade.

Since independence (1 January 1956) Kordofān has been one of the most prosperous and peaceful regions of the Sudan, although the rapid encroachment of the desert has become a major threat. Provincial and local government reorganisation in the early 1970s has largely transferred power from the tribal leadership to the administrators and locally-elected committees of the Sudanese Socialist Union.

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(R. S. O'Fahey)

KORDOS, the Ottoman Turkish name of the ancient Greek city of Corinth in the Morea [q.v.]. It has a naturally fortified citadel (Ἀκροκόρινθος) overlooking a fertile plain (whose main product is currants) and dominating the isthmus between continental Greece and the Morea or peninsula as well as the two adjacent ports on either side. Corinth remained under Byzantine rule up to 1210, when it was conquered by the Crusaders, it passed to the Florentine family of the Accaiuoli (1358), to the Greek despot of the Morea (1395), to the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1400) and again to the Greeks (1404). The region of Corinth was attacked by the Turks of Aydın in 1327, and in 1361 it is reported to have been deserted owing to Turkish raids. The city was attacked by the Ottomans under Evrenos in 1395 and conquered after a siege by Meḥemmed II in 1458. In 1488-9 Corinth had a Christian population of approximately 18,000, after ca. 1490 the existence of Albanian settlements was signalled in the region. According to Ewliyā Çelebī, it formed a *sanǧaḳ* of the *eyālet* of the Morea (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 185). In 1684 it was temporarily conquered by the Hospitallers of Rhodes, in 1686 it passed to the Venetians and again to the Ottomans in 1715. Finally, in 1822 (the second year of the Greek War of Independence) it was taken by the Greeks.

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(E. A. Zachariadou)

KÖRFÜZ, KÖRFÜS (the first spelling in e.g. Pīrī Reʾīs and Rāshid, the second in Peçevī), the Turkish name for the island of Corfu off the coast of Epirus. Pīrī Reʾīs gives a full account of the island, together with a map, in his *Baḥriyye* (ed. Kahle, Berlin and Leipzig 1926-7, i, 113-16, No. 54). The Ottomans never succeeded in dislodging from Corfu the Venetians, who controlled it from the opening of the 15th century until 1797, but there were two major Turkish attempts to occupy the island.

The first took place in Rabīʿ I 944/August 1537 in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. The fleet assembled in spring of that year at Awlonya under the great corsair captain Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa and Luṭfī Pasha, then third *wezīr* [q.v.], with the sultan in charge of the land forces. The town of Corfu was besieged for 43 days, but with the approach of winter, the Turks withdrew, the sultan returning to

Edirne whilst the fleet attacked and plundered Cephalonia (see Peçevī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 194 seq.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, tr. J. Mitchell, *History of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831, 55 ff., drawing on the *Ghazawāt nāma* of Sayyid Murād, see Ibn. to KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA, BARBAROSSA). The second and last attempt took place in 1124/1716 under Aḥmad III, towards the end of the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea [q.v.] from Venice, when the attack was led from the land by the Ser-ʿaskar Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha and from the sea by the Kapudan-ı Deryā Meḥmed Pasha, and was again unsuccessful (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1865-6, iv, 186, 189, 246).

Bibliography. given in the article; for a good general account of Corfu's history, see *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. *Corfù*, and for the two Ottoman campaigns, Danişmend, *Izahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, ii, 285 ff., iv, 9 (ED.)

KORITZA [see KORČA].

KORKUD b. BĀYAZĪD, ABŪ ʾL-KHAYR MUḤAMMAD (874 919/1470-1513), Ottoman prince and eldest of the eight sons of Sultan Bāyazīd II [q.v.]. He was born in Amasya where his father was governor (Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, 66, Niṣhāndjī Meḥmed Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 181; Cf. Kemāl pasha zāde, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Millet mss. 32, f. 23 etc., and Ḥüseyin Husameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, iii, 226). He spent his childhood and had his early education in the Old Palace at Istanbul in the care of his grandfather Meḥemmed II, after whose death in 886/1481 he was briefly placed on the throne, for some 17 days, by the Janissaries until his father returned from Amasya to assume power. Later, Korkud returned to Amasya and in 898/1492 was appointed governor of Sarukhān. His request to have the governorship of Bergama instead of Manīsa was refused by his father, and perhaps upon the suggestion of his brother Aḥmad, governor of Amasya now, he was transferred to the governorship of Teke and Antalya in 907/1502. Shortly afterwards, the *sandjak* of Ramīd with a *khāṣṣ* of 845,363 *akçes* and the *zaʿāmet* of Lāzkiyye, amounting to 200, 721 *akçes*, were added to his personal *khāṣṣ* of 837,091 *akçes* (see the *fermān* of Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 908/May 1503 in Topkapu Saray arşivi E 8336).

The fact that his father and the leading state dignitaries headed by the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha, favoured Aḥmad as heir to the throne offended Korkud, and cause him to withdraw into seclusion on Antalyan coast (Muḥarram 914/May 1508; see ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Istanbul Univ. Libr., Tkmh. 909, 5959, ii, f. 152), despite his *khāṣṣ* being increased to 2,502,755 *akçes* (for the *fermān* dated 5 Shaʿbān 914/29 November 1508 and sent to Korkud, see TKSA E 6357). He obtained permission to go on the Pilgrimage, and left for Egypt with 50 men and 87 slaves in Muḥarram 915/May 1509, sailing with five ships under the *Raʾs* Ab bash. He landed at Damietta after five days and arrived in Cairo on 9 Safar/29 May (for details, see ʿĀlī, f. 153), but did not feel that he was wholly welcome (details in TKSA, various letters to dossier No. 6684). However, it is clear from the Mamlūk sultan's letters to Bāyazīd II that he was pleased to welcome Korkud, but after a month was able to convince the latter to return, in the light of "a son's obedience due to his father". Korkud received the promise of restoration to his governorship, and set sail back to Turkey.

Despite an attack by the Knights of Rhodes on his Egyptian escort off the shores of Tekke at the end of 916/beginning of 511, Korkud was able to get through to Antalya and to send a warning letter to Sayyidī Yūnus, who was coming an inter from Egypt with baggage, to postpone sailing in order to avoid attacks by the Knights (TKSA, letter in dossier No. 6684). It is recorded that his health deteriorated on his return and that he asked for treatment from the physician ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (letter to the Vizier in ibid.). Meanwhile, he was dismayed to hear of the appointment of his younger full brother Selīm to Sarukhān (TKSA E 3587 in ibid.), and he immediately left Antalya for that province (Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 916/March 1511). His sudden departure from Tekke brought about the outbreak of a Shīʿī inspired rising under Shāh Kulī in that province, and the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha had to be sent to suppress it.

Meanwhile, Korkud was being informed of Selīm's movements, and sent a letter to the latter adjuring him not to act precipitately (TKSA dossier 6684). At the same time, he was aware of Aḥmed's ambitions for the throne. Certain of the court officials, aware of Bāyazīd's intention to proclaim Selīm the heir, invited Korkud to the capital. He travelled to Istanbul in disguise and went to the mosque of the Janissaries, seeking their support in a bid for the throne. Although they held him in respect, they considered him less capable as a potential ruler than Selīm. Selīm arrived at Istanbul on 22 Muḥarram 918/19 April 1512 in order to forestall Aḥmad [for details, see BĀYAZĪD II], and ascended the throne on the abdication of his father. He then gave Korkud the governorship of the island of Midilli, together with Sarukhān again (Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii 204). But Korkud also demanded the *sandjaks* of Aydın Manīsa and Teke, so that Selīm, considering him a threat to the throne's stability, marched secretly to Manīsa and surrounded Korked's palace there. Korkud managed to escape with his confidant Piyāle, disguised, but was betrayed by the governor of Tekke Ḳāsım Beg and caught near Antalya. He was strangled in his sleep by the *Kapidjī-bashī* Sinān Beg's men at Egrigöz on the way back to Bursa, and was buried near Orkhān Ghāzī's tomb in Bursa (Muḥarram 919/March 1513; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 230 ff.).

Korkud was highly educated, and skilled as a poet and musician, being able to play many types of musical instrument (Sehī, *Tadhkira*, 18). His verses, written under the pen-name of *takhallus* of Marḥūl, were collected into a *dīwān*. He wrote several works in Arabic, including commentaries and *ḥāshiyas*. His extant works include (1) *Wasīlat al-ajnād* (dated 25 Ṣafar 915/4 June 1509, autograph in Aya Sofya 3529), (2) *Ḥall ishkāl al-afkār fī ḥill awwāl al-muffār* (Aya Sofya 2142), (3) *Daʿwat al-nafs al-ṭāliba ila ʾl-aʿmāl al-ṣāliha* or *Kitāb al-Ḥarīmī fī ʾl-tasawwuf* (thus in the 20th copy in R. Yelkenci; in Aya Sofya 2763, this is simply called *Kitāb fī ʾl-tasawwuf*); (4) *Sharḥ nifāḥ kafr* or *Hāfiz al-muʾmin ʿan ifāḍ al-aymān* (Aya Sofya 2289); (5) *Korkudiyya* or *Fatāwā-yi Korkudkhāniyya* (see *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1228), and (6) *Dīwān* (Millet 104).

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[M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN]

KÖRKUD DEDE [see DEDE KORKUD].

KÖROGHLU, a rebel of the Anatolian Djelālī movement [q.v. in Suppl.] in the 10th/16th century and the hero of a popular romance. The real Köroghlu came from the region of Bolu, and is probably the same person as the soldier-bard of that name who is said to have taken part in the campaigns in the Caucasus and Ādharbāydjān of Özdemiroghlu Pasha in the years 992-3/1584-5.

Until fairly recent times, Köroghlu remained a legendary personality, whose exploits were chanted by bards and story-tellers in Anatolia, Ādharbāydjān, Turkmenistān and Uzbekistān. Manuscript versions, and later on, lithographs and prints, circulated in Turkish-speaking lands, and more or less extensive episodes of this great epic-romantic cycle even passed into the story telling repertoire of peripheral Turkish-speaking communities like the Kirgiz, the Kazaks and the Tatars of Tobol, as into that of non-Turkish peoples like the Armenians, Kurds, Georgians and Tādjiks.

The historicity of the figure of Köroghlu was nevertheless asserted by writers as far back as the 11th/17th century. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of him—without giving a precise date—as an honourable bandit whose exploits were still remembered in the mountainous parts of north-western Anatolia; and Arakel of Tabriz cites him as a Djelālī chief whose adventures, together with those of his companions, formed the sons around the early 11th/17th century of a "romance" chanted by the minstrels of the lands bordering on the Ottoman empire and Persia. Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the present one several attempts at identifying him were made, some people basing themselves on contradictory local traditions, and others putting forth hypotheses about the hero's historical prototype or about the origin of some feature or other or some legendary motif of the romance concerning him.

The discovery in 1942 of Ottoman archival documents has firstly confirmed Ewliyā Čelebi's information, and secondly allowed us to date his exploits as a Djelālī rebel. We have here a series of imperial orders from the years 988-90/1580-2 addressed to the Bey of Bolu and the *kādī* of Gerede concerning a Djelālī called Köroghlu Rüshen. Now Rüshen is also the forename of Köroghlu in several oral versions, Anatolian and Ādharbāydjānī, of the legend of our hero. Moreover, even in the cultural environments most distant from Ottoman territory, tradition has retained, in versions deformed in varying degrees, the name of Bolu Beyi as one of the hero's opponents, as well as allusions to the Ottoman sultan. Finally, several of Köroghlu's companions are mentioned with the same names in the Ottoman archival documents as in the different versions of the romance.

The ideas evoked by the name Kör-oghlu "son of the blind one" have contributed to the attracting around the genuine exploits of the bandit-hero legends of diverse origin, some of them going back to a long way in time, on the theme of the "hero, son of a blind father", who rises up against the masters who had mutilated his father.

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(P. N. BORATAV)

KORON (Ottoman Turkish Koron; Venetian Coron; in modern Greek Κορώνη), a fortress in the south west Peloponnesus [see MOREA] and on the west coast of the gulf of Koron, situated some 15 miles by land from the fortress of Modon [q.v., modern Greek Μεθώνη], with which, in the period of Venetian and Ottoman rule, its history was linked and which, in some degree, overshadowed it. The Byzantine fortress of Koron, "un fuogo di maggior difesa . . . di forma triangolare, posta in mezzo d'una lingua di terre" (P. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega*, Venice 1705, 100-1) passed, with much of the Morea, under Frankish rule in 1204, but was seized by Venice two years later and was ceded to her in 1209. Koron remained a Venetian colony for nearly two centuries, serving as a vital provisioning station for the Venetian fleet and becoming, with Modon, "the chief eyes of the Republic" (W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 59, 158).

As early as 1428 Koron was attacked from the sea and pillaged by the Ottomans, and after 1460, when Mehemmed II completed the conquest of the Greek principalities of the Morea, its territories were contiguous with those of the sultān. It was not, however, until the Ottoman-Venetian war of 905/1499 to 909/1503 that Koron fell to the Ottomans in 906/1500, after Modon had been taken by storm and its defenders massacred. Koron and Navarino "yeelded themselves by composition"—i.e. *ṣūr ile*—to Bāyazīd II (Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*[1], London 1603, 460). This event took place on 25 August 1500, 17 August according to Bāyazīd II's *fetḥ nāme* for Modon and Koron, addressed to the inhabitants of Chios, and written at Koron on 22 August (M. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, iv, Venice 1880, 827 ff.). Bāyazīd II installed in Koron a garrison of 500 Janissaries and 1200 *sipāhī* troops (*ibid*, 815 f.)

In 938/1532 Koron was retaken by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria while Sulaymān I was engaged in the Güns campaign. In the spring of 939/1533 Koron was besieged by the Ottomans by land and sea, but without success, and was once more relieved by Doria. It was this setback which precipitated the sultān's summoning the North African corsair chief Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [q.v.] to Istanbul, from where, having kissed the hand of the sultān and received an appointment as *ṭersāne beglerbegi*, he was sent with a naval force against Koron in mid-Dhu'l Ka'de 940 (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i Osmān*, Istanbul 1341, 343-4). Khayr al-Dīn Pasha's approach, an outbreak of plague amongst the defenders, and the hardships of the winter of 1533-4 all caused the Spanish garrison under Mendoza, which Doria had installed there, to abandon the fortress and withdraw to Naples, Koron, accordingly, was once more reoccupied in an uncontested way by the Ottomans (*cf.* further on the events of 1532-4, Paulo Giovio, *Historiae sui temporis*, Paris 1553, ii, 114v ff., *passim*).

In the reign of Sulaymān I according to a *tahrīr defteri* utilised by M. T. Gökbilgin (*Belleten*, xx, 280, 327), Koron was the seat of a *ḥāṣṣ* with a revenue of 150 *akčes per annum*, in the *sanǧaḳ* of Modon, *īnāl* of Mora. The fortress and its dependent territories formed an imperial *ḥāṣṣ* (*ḫāṣṣ-ı ḥümāyūn*) which yielded 162,081 *akčes* of revenue *per annum*: these revenues, according to Th. Spandugino, *Commentarii*, 78, were bestowed with those of Modon by Bāyazīd II on Mecca.

Later in the 11th/16th century (by 991/1582 cf. Gökbilgin, *loc. cit.*) the *ḥāṣṣ* of Koron was annexed to the *sanǧaḳ* of Meccare (Mistra). At this time the town contained 300 Christian and 10 Jewish households, the entire Muslim population of garrison officials and some 300 *ḥāṣṣ neferāti* must have been what it appears to have remained in succeeding centuries (cf. the testimony of Evliyā Čelebi for the late 17th century and Leake for the early 19th), i.e. of *'askeri* status.

Western travellers apart, Koron was visited in 1040/1630-1 by the Ottoman historian Peçevī (*Ta'rīḫ*, Istanbul 1283, i, 272) who recalls the events of a century previously, and, later in the century (1668) by Evliyā Čelebi, who has left a description of the fortress and its inhabitants (*Seyāḥat nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, viii, 328 ff., cf. Ulrich Welfart, *Die Reisen des Evliya Celebi durch die Morea*, Inaug. Diss., Munich 1970, 59 ff.).

In the Sacra Liga War of 1095/1684 to 1110/1699, Koron was the first fortified place to fall to Venice in the course of her reconquest of the Morea, despite a vigorous defence and attempts to relieve the garrison by land. (Dīvānīdi 'l-ākhir 1096/15 June to 7 August 1685, cf. Silāḥdār, *Ta'rīḫ*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 218 ff., Pietro Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 101, 107-17, Alessandro Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta guerra in Levante* ... 1684-1699, Colonia 1691, 124-38, 158 ...).

Koron was recovered for the Ottomans by the Grand Vizier Čorlulu 'Alī Pasha in Sha'bān 1127/August 1715. In this last phase, the town and its trade insensibly declined. Leake, in 1805, found that the export of silk and olive-oil, which down to the 1770s had supported four French merchant houses, was no longer flourishing, the harbour, blocked and ruinous already at the time of Bernard Randolph's visit in the late 17th century, offered only an insecure anchorage, while the town itself was much affected by the depredations of the "Janissaries of Koroni" (W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, London 1830, i, 483). Koron finally passed from Ottoman, and Islamic, rule to the course of the Greek War of Independence.

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(C. J. Heywood)

ḲORYÜREK, Enis Behīǧ, modern Turkish orthography Enis Behiç Koryürek, Turkish poet (1891-1949). Born in Istanbul, the son of an army doctor, he attended schools in Salonica, Üsküb (Skopje) and Istanbul and graduated from the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i mülkiyye*) in 1913. He served as a diplomat in Bucarest (1915) and Budapest (1916-22) and as a civil servant in various ministries. He died in Ankara on 18 October 1949. Like most poets of his generation, Enis Behīǧ wrote poems in the style and manner of the *Ḥarvret-i fünūn* school [*q.v.*] and of its extension, the *Fecr-i ātī* [*q.v.*], one, in *'aruḍ* metre and with an artificial language loaded with Arabic and Persian elements, and published them mainly in the periodical *Šāhbāl* (1918 ff.) until he came under the influence of Ziyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*], who was leading the "national literature" trend (*Milli edebiyyāt ḥareketi*). Under Gökalp's guidance, he switched to syllabic metre (*heǧe* verse), spoken Turkish and "national" themes, and soon became one of the five leading young exponents of syllabic metre known as *beǧeniš beš šā'irler* (the others being Khālid Fakhrī (Otansoy), Orkhan Seyfī (Orhon), Yūsuf Diyā' (Ortaç) and Fārūḳ Nāfiḏh (Çamlıbel)). Koryürek was particularly successful, with an enigmal approach and style, in his epic poems (e.g. *Milli meşkūre*, *Sumērliler*) and in his evocative tales of the exploits of Turkish seamen in the Mediterranean (e.g. *Gemiǧiler*, *Wenedikli ḫoǧa-yı ḥiri*, *Uǧursuz baskın*). He published his collected poems in *Mīrāṯ* ("The legacy", Istanbul 1927). His *Güneşin ölümü* ("The death of the sun"), containing his later, less interesting, poems, was posthumously published, with a new edition of *Mīrāṯ*, by F. Tevetoğlu as *Enis Behiç Koryürek'ten, Miras ve Güneşin ölümü*, Ankara 1971. During the last years of his life he was subject to depression and wrote old style pseudo-mystic poems of mediocre quality supposedly inspired by a 11th/17th century *ḫayāl*, *Varidat-ı Süleyman*, Ankara 1949.

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(Fahir Iz)

KÖSE DAGH, a land-corridor some 50 miles/80 km. to the north-west of Siwās where there took place in 641/1243, probably on 6 Shawwāl/26 June, the decisive battle which opened up Asia Minor to the Mongols and sounded the knell for the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm. The first contacts of the Mongols and Saldjūḳs went back to the last years of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād I [*q.v.*], but at that time Anatolia was too well protected in relation to the conquests already effected by the Mongols for the latter really to have any plans for conquering it. It was only under Kaykhusraw II [*q.v.*] that the threat took definite shape, without one being able to ascertain how far the invaders intended to advance. However, after the Great Khān Ögedey's death, the new Mongol head of the Caucasian region, Bayǰū, seized Erzerum in the midst of the winter of 1242, and thus opened up the way into Asia Minor for the following spring.

The sources give few details about the campaign and the battle. Kaykhusraw seems only very late to have fully realised the seriousness and imminence of the danger. He summoned forces together, comprising his allies or vassals, even including Armenians, Greeks and "Franks", ending up with what was certainly a force numerically superior to Bayǰū's.

But the impatience of his young commanders prevented him from awaiting the complete grouping of the Saldjūḳ forces. The Mongols, almost all cavalrymen, had recourse to their customary and invariably successful tactic of a simulated flight and then an unforeseen return to the attack against disorganised pursuers. The sultan lost his head and fled, and only the initiative of his vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn, combined probably with the Mongols' own prudence, allowed him to keep his throne as a vassal. In reality, the process now began which led to a de facto Mongol protectorate.

The weaknesses of the Saldjūḳ state at the time have often been stressed, this was true, but the Mongols, partly by the terror which they inspired, had overcome many other powers. It is hard to maintain that, even without these weaknesses, the course of history would have been any different.

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(Cl. CAHEN)

KÖKE MIḲHĀL [see MIḲHĀLOGHLU]

KÖSEM WĀLIDE or **KÖSEM SULṬĀN**, called MAHPEYKAR (ca. 1589-1651), wife of the Ottoman sultan Aḥmad I and mother of the sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I [q.vv.]. She was Greek by birth, and achieved power in the first place through the harem, exercising a decisive influence in the state during the reigns of her two sons and of her grandson Meḥemmed IV.

The views put forward concerning her origin and her first name—Nasya being derived from Anastasia (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Kadınlar saltanatı*, Istanbul 1332, 47-8, deriving information from Guer, *Mœurs et usages des Turcs*, Paris 1747, ii, 474, see also Fétis de la Croix, *Abrégé chronologique de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1768, ii, 74)—do not seem to be reliable. According to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, Rouen 1645, i, 94, she was given the nickname Kösem because of *her smooth and hairless skin* (*kös* = "hairless, beardless"). However, the epithet *kösemsiḳösemsen* could also have been given to her on account of her ability as a leader and virtual ruler (for the meanings of *kösem* in Ottoman, see Muṣṭafā Kāzim, *Türk lügati*, Istanbul 1940, iv, 181, K. Kerestedjian, *Quelques matériaux pour un dictionnaire etymologique de la langue turque*, London 1912, s.v. *kesemsen* and *kesen*. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialecte*, iii/2, 1299. "ram, bell wether, leader, free, without a care, independent").

Through her beauty and intelligence, Kösem Wālide was especially attractive to Aḥmad I, and drew ahead of more senior wives in the palace. She bore the sultan four sons—Murād, Sulaymān, Ibrāhīm and Ḳāsim—and three daughters—ʿĀʾisha, Fāṭima and Diawharkhān (Von Hammer, *GOR*, cf. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280, iii, 67 ff.). These daughters she subsequently used to consolidate her political influence by strategic marriages to different viziers.

After Aḥmad I's death on 22 Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1026/23 November 1617, she supported the succession of his brother Muṣṭafā I, under whose feeble rule she was able to exercise effective power in the state. Muṣṭafā's deposition three months later was a set-back for her, and she was relegated to the Old Palace (Eski Sarāy) and at Bāyezīd under Aḥmad's young son ʿOthmān II, but she came to the fore again when ʿOthmān was deposed and executed and Muṣṭafā briefly restored (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622). Her full influence now became apparent when her minor son Murād IV ascended the throne in 1032/1623 and she thus became officially the Wālide Sulṭān, ruling as regent for five years till her son was old enough to take up the reins of power himself (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedlleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 220, Von Hammer, *GOR*, quoting a Venetian report). Even thereafter, Murād greatly respected his mother's opinions, and she took a close interest in state affairs when he was away from the capital. Thus the *Shaykh al-Islām* Akhīzāde Ḥüsayn Efendi's disapproval of Murād's hanging the *bekī* of Izmīk was communicated by her to the sultan, then on his way to Rumia, he immediately returned to Istanbul and hanged Akhī-zāde Ḥüsayn—an act which had taken place only three times in Ottoman history (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 160; Naʿīmā, iii, 183). She saved the Otteman dynasty from extinction by preventing Murād, who had executed his other brothers, including Sülaymān and Ḳāsim, from killing Ibrāhīm also (Sagredo, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, vi, 447; Vanel, *Abrégé nouveau de l'histoire générale des Turcs*, Paris 1680, ii, 545, *Histoire des grands vizirs*, Paris 1676, 34, Du Loir, *Voyages*, Paris 1654, 127, von Hammer, *GOR*)

Together with the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [q.v.] she became most active in affairs when Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne after Murād's death on 16 Shawwāl 1049/9 February 1640 (Naʿīmā, iii, 449), especially as her son gradually became more and more involved with his concubines, the expenditure involved having disastrous repercussions on the treasury (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 ff.). He subsequently came under the influence of other Palace women, and Kösem Wālide therefore lost her ascendancy and left the *Sarāy-i Djedīd-i ʿĀmere* to live as a summer house outside Topḳapı. When Ibrāhīm learnt that his mother was plotting with the Grand Vizier Ṣāliḥ Pasha do dethrone him, he moved her to the Iskanda Čelebi garden in Florya and hanged Ṣāliḥ (Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish MS. 2543, fols. 29b, 32b). Ibrāhīm's weak rule caused a deterioration in affairs, whilst the Cretan war was dragging on and creating feeling against him. The chiefs at the Janissary corps, under Ḳara Murād Agha, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and Baktāsh Agha, killed the Grand Vizier Ahmad Pasha Ḥasākirzāde and decided to depose Ibrāhīm. The new Grand Vizier, Sofu (or Kodja) Meḥmed Pasha and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi, together with other leading officials, obtained Kösem Wālide's consent after a meeting with her at Topḳapı, dethroned Ibrāhīm and put in his place his eldest son, the seven-years old prince Meḥemmed on 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 (Naʿīmā, iv, 314, 369; Ḳara Čelebi zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *Risāle al abrār fī ḥaḳḳ*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish MS. 2635, pp. 9 ff.; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, Istanbul 1340, 25 ff.; Murād Bey, *Taʾrīkh-i Abe ʾl-Fātiḥ*, Istanbul 1309, iv, 48). Ten days later, Ibrāhīm was strangled by the executioner Ḳara ʿAlī, for fear that his partisans might attempt a restoration, with the consent of his mother and with a *fatwā* from the *Shaykh al Islām* (Kara Celebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, 27 30, 57 ff.).

With Meḥemmed IV's accession, Kösem Wālide's power started to revive, and she was given exalted titles like Büyük Wālide "Grandmother of the Sulṭān", Wālide yi Muʿazzama, Umee al-Muʾminīn, Ṣāḥibat al-Maḳām, Wālide-yi ʿAṭīka, etc. (see Wedjīhī, fol. 44b, Kātib Čelebi, ii, 367, 376, Naʿīmā, iv, 279, 299, 325, 317-19, 413, 448, 450, v, 108). However, her influence was not unbounded. The

authority of the Janissary aghas was wrong, and Turkhān Sultān, Mehemmed's mother and Ibrāhīm's widow, became her rival; this rivalry, and misunderstandings between the state officials and the Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 7), caused disturbances in Istanbul and Anatolia. Kösem Wālide and her supporters therefore decided to replace Mehemmed with his brother Sülaymān, whose mother Dilāshūb Sultān was regarded as unlikely to interfere in state matters. But Turkhān Sultān learnt of these intentions (Naʿīmā, v, 108), took the initiative, and had Kosem Wālide strangled with a curtain-string by the Palace Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 112, her executioner was someone called Küčük or Kushču Mehmed, see Rycaut, *Histoire de l'état présent de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1670, 63; Naʿīmā, v, 109, 112, 157; von Hammer, *GOR*). Her body was taken from Topkapi to the Eski Saray and then buried in the mausoleum of her husband Ahmad I (Wedjdī, fol 45a).

Kösem Wālide had exercised power in public affairs for nearly 30 years. She left much wealth and estates (Naʿīmā, v, 122; Kātib Celebi 2de, 20), and much of her income was devoted to charitable and other humanitarian works, such as a Friday mosque of Üsküdar, completed in 1066/1850 (Avvānsarāyi Husayn, *Hadīkat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 284-5) and the Wālide Khān in Istanbul, built in 1056/1646 (Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 325; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 49) (this latter building collapsed in March 1926). Also from these revenues she financed irrigation works in Egypt and provided relief for the poor in Mecca. In fact, she left behind in the popular Turkish mind a reputation for magnanimity, generosity and high intelligence.

Bibliography Largely given in the article, but see the general histories of Von Hammer and Zinkeisen, which utilise both Turkish and European sources, e.g. the reports of the Venetian *bailo*, Umunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*; S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 190 ff. There is a detailed article in *IA* by M. Cavid Baysun, of which the above is a shortened version. See also Müctebā Ilgürel, *Kösem Sultanın bir vakfiyesi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xvi/21 (1966), 83-94.

(M. CAVID BAYSUN)

KOSH-BEGI, preferable to KÖSH-BEGI, title of high officials in the Central Asian khanates in the 16th to 19th centuries. There are two different etymologies and explanations of the term: (1) from Turkish *koš* "bird" and *beg* [*q.v.*], thus *koš beg*i meaning, presumably, "commander of falconers", (2) from Turkish *koš*, "detachment of nomads or troops, esp on the march", "nomadic and military camp" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 635b), thus *koš-begi* meaning "commander of the (royal) camp", "quartermaster". The first explanation is found in an administrative manual *Madjmūʿ al-aškāl* compiled in Bukhārā in 1212/1798, where it is stated that the *kush-begi-yi kalān* (see below) in Bukhārā was chief of the royal hunt (see facsimile in *Pis'mennïye pamyatniki vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 56). The etymology, however, remains dubious, because in this case one should rather expect *kušči-beg* [or *kušči-bashi*], from *kušči* "falconer" (the latter post actually existed at the Central Asian courts, as well as in Iran, but the chief of the hunt had the title *mīr-shikār*). Significantly, Iskandar Munshī [*q.v.*] in his *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (ed. Ī. Afshār, i, 486) mentions the post of *koš-begi* (*mansab-i koš-beg gari*) and, in another place (ii, 1040), the post of a falconer (*khidmat-i kušči-gari*), who became later the head of the royal hunt (*be-mansab-i mīr shikār sar-afrāz gašt*). On the other hand, many historical references to *koš-begs* in the Uzbek period show them as high military commanders, mentioned among the most high ranking Uzbek *amīrs*, which, apparently, makes the second etymology and explanation of the term more plausible. The European Turkologists who visited Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century also transcribe the term as *koš-begs* and explain it, in the first place, as "Chef des Dieners oder des Beamtenzirkels der Fürsten" (H. Vámbéri, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, 328), or "Lord of the household" (K. B. Shaw, *A sketch of the Turki language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta 1878, 156). see also Radloff, *loc. cit.*

The title *koš-beg*i is not attested in the Golden Horde and its immediate successors in the Eurasian steppes in the 15th century. The *Rāḥat al-sudūr* (ed. Beveridge, 174b) mentions a Turkish *amīr* as a *koš-beg* of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā [*q.v.*], but nothing is said about his duties. Frequent references to *koš-begs* in historical sources appear only in the late 16th century. The *ʿĀbd Allāh-nāma* (MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 88, B 3222, 338a, 339b, 340b etc.) mentions a *koš-begi* among the chief commanders of the army of Bukhārā. In the 17th century *koš-begs* did not apparently play an important role in the khanate of Bukhārā. The *Bahr al-asrār* by Mahmūd b. Walī (second quarter of the 17th century), in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the Ashtarkhānids, only mentions the *koš beg* among the servants closest to the *khān*, and his place was the second after that of *kurči bashi*, commander of the body-guards (see V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 391, 396). The rise of power of the *koš-begs* in Bukhārā took place at the beginning of the 18th century, with the decline of the Ashtarkhānids. In 1121/1709 ʿUbayd Allāh Khān established the rank of "the great *koš beg*" (*koš beg-yi kull*), who became first minister. *Koš begs* remained the head of the Bukhārā administration also under the Mangits [*q.v.*], when his official title was *kull-i koš-begi* [*sic*], or *koš beg-yi bālā* "the upper K.", because he had to live in the residence of the *amīr*, the *ark* (citadel), situated on a hilltop, there was also ' the lower K.", *koš-beg-yi pāyīn*, whose residence was at the foot of the *ark* and who held the post of *nāzir-i yi kalān* (head of the collectors of *zakāt* [*q.v.*]). The "great *koš-begs*" under the late Ashtarkhānids and the Mangits were usually of mean origin, mostly former Kalmuk and Persian slaves. Besides the general supervision of the state affairs and, especially, the administration of finance, they were also governors of one or more *wilāyats* (provinces), especially that of Bukhārā itself.

Different development took place in Khīwa [*q.v.*], where the local historian Munīs (early 19th century) mentions for the first time the title *koš beg*i, without defining his duties, when he tells about the administrative reforms of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān (died in 1074/1664 [*q.v.*]). It seems, however, that *koš-begs* did not play any important role in Khīwa in the 17th century. Only under the Kungrat [*q.v.*] dynasty (from the last third of the 18th century) did the *koš-begi* become one of the highest officials in the khanate, but he shared power with the *mehter* (Pers. *mihtar*) [*q.v.*] The latter was the head of the civil administration, had the title *wazīr-i aʿẓam* and belonged to the hereditary bureaucracy recruited from among the Sarts [*q.v.*], while the *koš beg*s always belonged to the Uzbek nobility, the *amīrs* (and sometimes was a relative of the khān), and was in charge,

mainly, of military affairs. Besides that, the *kosh-begs* governed the northern part of the khānate of Khīwa inhabited by nomadic and semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Turkmens (that is, he mainly supervised the collection of taxes in this region), while the *mehter* governed the southern part inhabited by sedentary Sarts. This division of authority seems to be a continuation of the administrative practice of the Timūrid period.

In the khānate of Khokand [*q.v.*] in the 19th century, the title *kosh-begi* is also attested by the local sources, but evidence about his duties is still unavailable, in any case, he had a lower status than in Bukhārā (the highest official in Khokand in the 19th century was the *mang-bashi*), according to V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (in *Trudi Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imp. Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, ii [1856], 331), *kosh-begi* was here a honorary title given to the governors of main towns and provinces. In the Čaghatāyid state of Eastern Turkestan, at least in the 17th century, the *kosh-begi* was supreme military commander or commander of the right wing (*ōng-u burunghār*), and had the rank of the senior *amīr* (*amīr al-umarā'*), but the civil administration, apparently, was in the hands of a *wazīr* (see Shāh Mahmūd b. Mirzā Fādil Curās, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, text, 24, 32, 53, 70, Russian tr 170, 178, 200, 218). Thus this system was probably similar to that which existed in Khīwa.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see [N. V.] Khanikoff, *Bakhara: its amir and its people*, London 1845, 242-5; A. A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v (1948), 148; idem, in *Materiali po istorii tadzhikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 53-7; M. A. Abdurahimov, in *Obshchestvennïy stroy v Uzbekistane*, 1974, no. 11, 54-60, Yu. Bregel, in *Journal of Asian History*, 1978, part ii; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 363, No. 1301. (YU. BREGEL)

KÖSHK, from Pers. *kūshk*, a pavilion in a pleasance which could be merely a modest shelter or have several rooms. The *kiosques* of the rulers of Samarrā were much larger, and were country houses in the manner of the *konaks* of Anatolia and the Balkans. The word *kasr* (*kasr*) could be synonymous, but came also to mean castle and always implied more than one chamber, whereas *kūshk* rarely suggested a substantial building, and in naval terminology was even the name given to the after-deck or poop cabin.

Although the Ottomans developed the *kūshk* as a pavilion consisting of a single hall, it did occasionally take the form of a suite of rooms. Mehemmad II Fātih modelled his Çinili Köshk in the outer court of Topkapïsarāyi on Timurid pavilions. It included two floors of apartments for himself and his officers, for it served as a lodging when he did not wish to return to his residence in the centre of the city. It was a *kūshk* in the sense of being a pied-à terre. Later examples such as the Sand Pavilion at Edirne (*Kum Kasïr*) were designated *kasïr*. But the essential characteristic which governed the transliteration of *kūshk* into English as "kiosk" was that of a chamber under a dome with three sofas and a hooded open grate, forming the four arms of a cross with a balcony or terrace overlooking a garden and a pool or other expanse of water. There a day might be passed at any season of the year, enjoying a partly-indoor and a partly-outdoor life. The pavilion was, to a sense, a permanent tent and its portico the uplifted awning on poles common to nomadic life. However, a royal *kūshk* was tiled, its woodwork gilded, ceilings elaborately painted, doors inlaid with ivory and mother of pearl and the sofas covered with silks and velvet brocades, the floor with rugs. In this form, they were ideal and intimate drawing rooms, the antitheses of the Napoleonic concept of the Piazza at Venice.

They also served as hunting lodges, like that of Sïyāwush outside the walls of Istanbul, which is elevated above its own pool in a park. Originally it was a single domed chamber with a vestibule and closet. Similar *kūshks* or *kasïrs* were built as royal retiring rooms from which access could be gained to the mosque or *djami'*. Less wealthy citizens built examples so modest that they were little more than bowers with shutters that served as walls in winter but which could be dismantled in the spring. These, rather than the ornate *kūshks* of the rich, inspired newspaper stands and the like in 19th century Paris and other cities in Western Europe.

Bibliography: References to kiosks appear in the descriptive works of travellers, more particularly of Topkapïsarāyi, by pages who escaped from there. Among these are D. Hieronsalinitano, Harley mss. 3408, British Museum; O. Bon mss., Bibliotèca Marciana, Venice, Cl. vii, cod. 378, 923; (the last in English by R. Withers, ed. Greaves, *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio*, London 1650); also in E. G. Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-6*, tr G. Le Strange, London 1928. Engravings of examples are illustrated in R. Walsh and T. Allom, *Constantinople*, London 1838 and J. Pardoe, *The city of the sultan*, 3 vols., London 1838. Standard historical works on Islamic architecture, tiles, furnishings and the other decorative arts include *E. H. Ayverdi, Fatih devri mimari eserleri*, Istanbul 1953 and *Murad II devri mimari eserleri*, Istanbul, 1963; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse (Bursa)*, Paris 1958; A. Godard, *L'art d'Iran*, Paris 1962; I. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve hitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Istanbul 1964 and *Abideleri ve hitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1972, J. R. Rogers, *The spread of Islam*, London 1976. Monographs include H. Saladin, *Le yali des Kewprüli à Anatoli-Hissar*, N. P. 1915, B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931, F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1931, Z. Organ, *Cemile köşk*, in *Arkitekt Neşriyat*, ii, Istanbul 1943, R. O. Tonyeri (Tosyalı), *Edirne sarayı*, Ankara 1957; O. Aslanapa, *Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Palastes von Diyarbakir*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Ankara 1957, R. Yücel, *Yeni cami'i binalar hasrı*, in *Arkitekt*, 320, 5 April 1965; N. M. Penzer, *The harim*, London 1965, K. Otto-Dorn and M. Önder, *Bericht über die Grabung in Kubadabad*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1966; also S. E. Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasrlar*, i, Istanbul 1969, which is the first part of a comprehensive work on the kiosk in Ottoman times, and D. N. Wilber, *Persian gardens and pavilions*, Rutland, Vermont 1964.

(G. GOODWIN)

KOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word, it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic *'arūd* [*q.v.*]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turkī to the Western Turkī *koşma* is *koshuk* or *koshugh*.

In the oldest source, e.g. in the *Kuḥadīḳa-i ḥaḳīḳa* (composed in 562/1069-70 [see VOSOR xxxiv, 1911]), *koshuḳ* still has the quite general meaning of "poem, verse", e.g. in Radloff's edition, St. Petersburg 1891, i, 1. 2 from below: *bu kitābnı koshuḳnı aymaḳ* "has composed this book, this poem"; *ibid.*, 5, l. 4, *bu turkčā koshuḳlar uzatdum sanā* "I have polished (i.e. composed) these Turkish verses for thee". In Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (*q.v.*) also, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (begun in 464/1072), ed. Kilisli Rif'at Bey, i, 314, *koshuḳ* is equated with the Arabic *shi'r*, *radjaz* and *ḳaṣ'ad*. The Persian musician and scholar ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of Marāgha (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, cf. E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, Cambridge 1920, index s.v.), in his work entitled *Makāṣid al-alḥān* does not yet discriminate between *koshuḳ* and the quantitative quatrain *tuyuḳ* (see Raʾūf Yekta, *Esās türk musīḳīsīnın dörd tesīsātı*, in *Mīlli tetebbuʿlar mecmūʿası*, i, 461). On the other hand, in a verse by ʿAlī Shēr Nawāʾī (d. 906/1500 [*q.v.*]) quoted in Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc Oriental*, 432, s.v., and in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk Dialecte*, ii, col. 640, the *koshuḳ* is definitely contrasted with the *tuyuḳ*.

Later, we find poems and songs composed according to the rules of Turkish popular poetry expressly called *koshma*, *koshuḳ*. The characteristic features of this poetry are the following: 1. Strophic structure. The strophes are usually quatrains. The *koshma* poems contain at least two strophes. 2. Syllabic or accented syllable rhythm, i.e. the lines of the strophe have the same number of syllables and the value of the syllables as regards stress is either a matter of indifference or stronger and weaker syllables follow one another in definite order, which is repeated. In the latter case, after a definite number of syllables, we always have of necessity a cæsura in the middle of the line. In the later *koshma* strophes the most popular lines are hendecasyllabic divided into 6-5 with one cæsura or 4-4-3 (with two cæsuras). 3. There is rhyme or assonance of at least two endings in the strophe. The rhyme is usually grammatical and may extend to several final syllables according to its nature. It usually arises as a result of strict parallelism in the syntactical structure of the two halves of the verse. The rhyming in the *koshma* strophe is usually *abab* or *aaba*. 4. Alliteration of the initial syllables of the lines is not maintained among all Turkish people (cf. T. Kowalski, *Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs*, in *Mémoires de la Comm. Orient. de l'Acad. Polonaise*, No. 5, Cracow 1922, in Polish with a French résumé, 157 ff.).

In earlier times, the *koshma* songs were usually sung by the bards (*usan*) to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially by the *kobuz* beloved of the Turks, at court festivities or in the camp of the army. The *koshma* poetry was always industriously cultivated among the people, in spite of the increasing popularity of the classical quantitative poetry. The popular forms like *kaya bashi*, *deyish*, *ezgi*, *ir*, *tüshti*, *varsaghi* and *türkmäni*, some cultivated among the Āḏarbāydjān and some among the Ottoman Turks, all belong to the *koshma*. The songs of popular mystics called *ilāhī* and *nefes* from the time of Yūnus Emre (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) are composed according to the rules of the *koshma* (see Koprülüzāde Mehmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyyātında ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 334-6). The *koshma* popular poetry, which sometimes produces really beautiful lyrics, was mainly cultivated by wandering singers (*ʿāshīḳ*, also called *ozan* or *bozuḳ*). Many of them, like ʿĀshīḳ ʿOmer, ʿĀshīḳ Kerem, ʿĀshīḳ Gharīb, Dertli and Dyewheri, attained great fame, and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. Koprülüzāde Mehmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyyātında ʿāshīḳ tarzındaki menẓūmāt ve tekāmülü*, in *Mīlli tetebbuʿlar mecmūʿası*, i, idem, ʿĀshīḳ Dyewherayye ʿAṣrī ve eṣerleri in the periodical *Yeni Mecmūʿa*, No. 84; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901, 27-28). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, *Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 93-175.

The term *koshma* (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use, and if the Āḏarbāydjānī poet Dhawāḏ, who died in the first decades of this century, called his collection of songs *Koshma*, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaicising popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form *koṣoṅ* (*koshoṅ*) among the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai *koṣoṅ* (on them, cf. W. Radloff, *Über die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den altaischen Tataren*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* [1866], iv, 85-114, and Kowalski, *Études*, etc., 140-51) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words *koshma*, *koshuḳ*, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that *koṣoṅ*, from *kosh-* "to join together", *koṣo* "two and two", etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The *koshma* poetry has not been without influence on more artistic forms of literature. The modern Turkish poets, for example, have taken many of their forms from popular poetry.

Finally, one should note that the term *koshma* applies also to a folk-musical form, which varies in different parts of Anatolia and Āḏarbāydjān, but which contains typically an instrumental introduction, followed by a vocal recitative and melody. This would be the normal setting for the *koshma* as a literary form.

Bibliography: (dealing particularly with *koshma*): Koprülüzāde Mehmed Fuʾād, *Koshma farsī*, a comprehensive article in *Yeni Mecmūʿa*, No. 78, 1923 (with references to the literature); idem, *Türkiyye taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1923, i. 31-2; idem, *Türk edebiyyatı taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1920, i, 93; Kowalski in the above-quoted *Études*, etc., 140; Tāhir-ul Mevlevī, *Edebiyat lügati*, Istanbul 1973, 89-90; P. N. Boratav, *IA* art. *Koşma* (with many details about the regional forms of the *koshma*). R. R. Arat, *Eski türk şiiri*, Ankara 1965, Introd.; Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, *Halk şiirinde türler*, Ankara 1969. On the rhythmic structure of Turkish popular poetry, cf. Th. Korš, *Drevnejegyšiy narodnyy stikh tureckikh plemion*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xix/3 (1909), 139-67. (T. Kowalski)

KOṢOWA, KOSOVO, the name of an upland plain of the Balkans, in upper Macedonia or southern Serbia, and the scene of two significant battles in the struggles of the Ottomans and the Christian powers of the Balkans for hegemony there. In the last quarter of the 19th century, it also became the name of an Ottoman *wilāyet* or province.

The South Slavonic expression *Kosovo polje* means "plain of the blackbirds" from *kos* "blackbird" in Old Slavonic, Czech and Bulgar. Ottoman Turkish

sources give various less convincing etymologies. For those sources which derive the Koṣowa from Turkish *kösa* or *köse* see "bare, treeless plain", etc., see ʿAlī Haydar, *Koṣowa sanyāḳı muḥārebesi*, Istanbul 1328, Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir's preface. The name is spelt as Kus owasi in ʿĀṣḥḳpaṣazāde, *Taʾrīḫ*, Istanbul 1332, 62, 134, Neṣrī, *Ḏiḥānnümā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 70, 139, 174, and as *Kūs owasi* in ʿOrūdj b. ʿĀdil, *Tawārīḫ-i āl-i ʿOṯmān*, Hanover 1925, 45. Saʿd al-Dīn's explanation that the name means "plain of the kettle-drums" is, of course, yet another folk etymology.

The Koṣowa plain lies at an altitude of some 500-600 km., and is 14 km. wide and 84 km. long, covering an area of 502 km.² It is surrounded by high mountains, and has a north west to south east orientation. From this region, streams flow westwards to the Adriatic via the Drina, southwards to the Aegean via the Vardar, and northwards to the Danube via the Ibar and Mrcava. During mediaeval times, it was a meeting-point of several trade routes; today it forms part of the Novo Brdo-Kopaynik mining region of Yugoslavia.

The Koṣowa plain originally formed part of the Byzantine dominions, and Slav peoples were settled there at the beginning of the 7th century. During the 10th century it changed hands between Serbs, Byzantines and Bulgars (for the names of the Serbian *bans* who were active in the Koṣowa region, see V. Radovanović, *Kosovo Polje*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenačaha*, Zagreb 1926, ii, 434-8). After the victory gained over the Byzantines in 1168 by Stephan Nemanja, prince of eastern Serbia, Koṣowa passed under Serbian control, and the name became applied to the whole plains region. It now remained within the resurgent Serbian empire, with its zenith under Stephan Dushan (d. 1355), but Serbian grasp on the region became relaxed under his weaker son and successor Uroš V (1355 71), and thereafter, the Serbian princes were unable to offer any united opposition to the increasing Ottoman Turkish pressure.

The defeat of Serbia at the hands of the Ottomans at Koṣowa took place according to the Serbian and the western sources on 15 June 1389 and according to the Ottoman ones, on 4 Ramaḍān 791/27 August 1389. The Turkish army was commanded by Sultan Murād I b. Orkhān, and included his two sons Bāyezīd from Kütahya and Yaʿḳūb from Karasi and contingents from the vassal *begs* of Ṣārūkhān, Menteshe, Aydın and Hamīd. They were opposed by the Serbian prince Lazar Gresljanović, with contingents from the Bosnian King Tvrtko I. On the dawn of the battle, a Serbian noble, Miloṣh Kobilić, Lazar's son in law, gained access to the Ottoman camp by posing as a deserter and stabbed Murād to death. But Bāyezīd immediately assumed command, and in the ensuing fighting—the details of which are little known—the Turks gained the eventual victory. Lazar was taken prisoner and executed after the battle; a mausoleum was built on the spot where Murād had died, but his body was buried at Bursa. The death of Murād and the withdrawal of the Turkish army immediately after its victory caused false rumours to spread in Christian Europe of a Serbian victory; in fact, the consequence of the battle was that Serbia became an Ottoman vassal state, and Lazar's successor, his son Stephan Lazarević, had to pay tribute and supply an army under his personal command to the Ottomans. Koṣowa also gave rise to a great cycle of popular ballads among the Serbs, expressive of national feeling. For the Turkish sources on the battle, see Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 113; ʿOrūdj, 25; ʿAlī Haydar, 27 32, ʿĀṣḥḳpaṣazāde, 63, Neṣrī, 82 ff., Solaḳzāde, 30, and also Von Hammer, *GOR*, i. After this first battle of Koṣowa, Bāyezīd I appointed Yigit Pasha as *sanǧaḳ beg* of Üsḳüb/Skopje and the southern district of Koṣowa, and thus region was now settled by Turks from Menemen and Tatars from Anatolia.

The second battle of Koṣowa took place on 17-19 October 1448, when a Hungarian army under John Hunyadi, and including also Wallachians and German Bohemian arquebusiers, met an Ottoman army under Murād II. the struggle was at first indecisive, but was gained by the Turks through the treachery of the Wallachians and the flight of the Hungarian king. During the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, the northern part of the koṣowa plain also came under Ottoman control. In the 10th/16th century the town of Vuditrn became the administrative centre of the *sanǧaḳ* of Koṣowa in the *eyālet* of Rumili. When Ewliyā Čelebi passed through the Koṣowa plain in 1070/1659 60, he found that Vuditrn had a Turkish and Albanian population and contained 2,000 households (*Seyāḥat nāmesi*, Istanbul 1315, v, 350). In 1688 9 the region was invaded by an Austrian army under Piccolomini, but driven out in the following year by Koǧa Khalil Pasha and Selīm Girāy Khān (Findikilili Meḥmed Agha, *Silaḥdār taʾrīḫi*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 269-70, 351-2, 423 ff.; Rāshid, *Taʾrīḫ*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 95-112; V. Corović, art. *Kosovo*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko Slovenačha*, ii, 433 4)

During the last quarter of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th, the Koṣowa district was involved in various attempts by local governors, such as the Bushatli governors of Scutari or Ishḳodra, Meḥmed Pasha and his son Kara Meḥmūd Pasha, to break away from control by the Porte, the region was only finally reattached to Istanbul after the defeat of the last Bushatli, Muṣṭafā Pasha, by Meḥmūd II's new western style army [see ANAWAWTLU. 6. History]. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 8 new *wilāyat*, called specifically that of Koṣowa, was formed consisting of the regions of Niš and Prishtina and with Sofia as its centre (see Sami Bey, *Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1316, v, 3746-8 ʿAlī Haydar, *Midḥat Paṣha*, Istanbul 1325, 13-24). In 1888 its centre was moved to Üsḳüb/Skopje and in 1896 its boundaries widened to include six *sanǧaḳs*, sc. Üsḳüb, Prishtina, Senitsa, Ipek, Tashlidja/Plevlje and Prisren (see M. Rūḥdī and M. Eshref, *Meḥmūmai ser mufaṣṣal atlas*, Istanbul 1325, 21-4; *Sālnāme-yi wilāyet i Koṣowa*, year 1314). The region was meanwhile considerably disturbed, for in 1878 a congress had been formed to protect the rights of the Albanians and to establish an autonomous *wilāyet* of Koṣowa, with its centre at Monastir. Albanian volunteers under the leadership of Süleymān Vokhri captured Üsḳüb, Prishtina and Mitrovitsa early in 1881, but in April of that year, were defeated by an army sent out from Istanbul under Derwish Pasha. However, the Albanians subsequently took advantage of the erratic policies of repression alternating with indulgence practised by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and gradually captured all the villages outstanding up in the Koṣowa plain, until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908. Eventually, a Serbian army under General Janković captured Lab during the Balkan War of 1912, and by 25 October of that year the whole of the Koṣowa region passed into Serbian hands permanently, a state of affairs confirmed by the Treaty of London of 30 May 1913 which ended

the was. It was estimated that the population of the province at that time was two million, three-quarters of this being Muslim Turks and Albanians, and the rest Christian Serbs and Bulgars.

After the First World War, the region came of course within the new Yugoslavian state, and a policy of slavicisation was followed, so that the Muslim population shrank with the exodus to Albania and to Turkey. Today it is an autonomous unit of the Yugoslavian People's Republic under the name of Kosovo-Metohija and with its centre at Prishtina.

Bibliography. See the detailed article in *IA* s.v. *Kosova* by M. Münir Aktepe, upon which the above is based, and also the bibliography to the *EI²* article by Cl. Huart, and for the first battle of Kosova, *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* iv. *The Byzantine Empire*. Part 1, Cambridge 1966, 550-1. (M. Münir Aktepe)

KÖSTENDJE (in Rumanian, Constanța), a port on the Rumanian shore of the Black Sea, situated on the ruins of the Milesian colony of Tomes (Ovid, *Tristia*, i, 10, 41, iii, 9, 5) founded at the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and the place of exile of the Roman poet Ovid (9-18 A.D.). Mentioned in 260 A.D. (Mamnon, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. C. Muller, iii, Paris 1849, 537), Tomes enjoyed great prosperity in the Greek and Roman period and earned, under the Antonines, the title of metropolis of Western Pontus (μητρόπολις τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου). Under the later Roman Empire, Tomis became the capital of Scythia Minor, being designated in the epigraphic and literary sources by the name Constantia or Constantiana after the emperor Constantius II (337-61 A.D.), who contributed to its development. Sacked by the Huns (456 A.D.), the town was fortified by the Byzantine emperors Anastasius (491-518) and Justinian (527-65) (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Bonn, iii/2, 307) and resisted attacks by the Avars. In 679 it was destroyed by the Bulgḥārs of the *Khān* Asparukh.

The fishing station set on the ruins of the ancient city continued to bear the name Κωνσταντία, in the writings of Byzantine authors of the 9th and 10th centuries, while the map drawn up in 548/1154 by al-Idrīsī (*q.v.*) calls it Tuntānā (P. A. Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii, Paris 1840, 382). In the 14th century, Italian nautical maps give the name Costanza—derived from the Rumanian *Constanța*, Turkish Köstendje—to the Genoan trading mission used as a harbour by Genoese ships. When Dobrudja was joined to Wallachia (Eflāk) by Mircea the Old (1386-1418), the town followed the same destiny as the rest of the province. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Köstendje was reportedly conquered by Bāyazīd I (*q.v.*), who ordered the dismantling of its walls. This event seems to have taken place during the reign of Vlad the Usurper (1394-6) in the province of Wallachia. Taking advantage of the fact that Bāyazīd was detained in Anatolia, Mircea recaptured Köstendje, which he retained after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (28 July 1402) under the reigns of the *amīr* Süleymān (1403-10) and of his protégé Mūsā Čelebi (1410-13) in Thrace and Macedonia. But in the course of the expedition of Muḥammad I (1413-21) dated by N. Iorga to 820/1417 (*GOR*, i, 375), and more plausibly by H. Inalcık to 821/1418 (*Ibn Hacer'de Osmanlılara dair haberler*, in *AÜDTCF Dergisi* vi, 525; O. Turan, *Tarihi tahrirler*, Ankara 1954, 29, 56), the town was once again captured by the Ottomans. Its annexation did not become definitive until after 1445, since the captain of the Burgundian fleet, Walerand de Wavrin, met no Ottomans at Mangalya, on the coast of the Black Sea to the south of Köstendje, when he landed there. In the 16th century, it was a fairly prosperous town, leased *in a subaṣhi* and with a harbour and a market which, dealing in the major products of Dobrudja (Ankara, *Tapu ve Kadastro* collection, 483, 30-32), played an important rôle in the supplying of cereals, fish and timber to Istanbul. The harbour was also used for the exporting of Wallachian products (hides, wax, honey, salt) which were much in demand by the merchants of Ragusa and Ancona.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Köstendje suffered devastation at the hands of Polish cossacks (1602, 1616). Although this port was not included in the list of towns (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, xx, (1956), 254-5, 266-7), the Ragusan traveller Paolo Giorgi regarded it as such. According to Evliyā Čelebi, it was a town of small prosperity belonging to the *eyālet* of Silistria (Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi* D-BMK SLM, *Silistre ve Rusçuk muhasebesi*), comprising one hundred and fifty houses, between forty and fifty granaries, some shops, a *ḥāmm* and a mosque, and serving as the residence of a *mīr*. Though possessing the status of a *ḳadā'*, in the 18th century Köstendje had the appearance of a large market-town whose *ṣūrṣāḥ aghāsī* (i.e. *muḥtasib*) was in charge of the supplying of grain to Istanbul. Devastated and depopulated during the Russo-Turkish wars (1711, 1718-39, 1768-74 and 1787-92), Köstendje was fortified by the Ottomans, who considered its port one of the most important in Dobrudja for the purpose of supplying their capital with cereals, cattle, sheep, hides and wool.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12, Köstendje was captured by the Cossacks (1809), who destroyed the fortress and the town, reducing it to the status of a village. Returned to the Ottoman Empire by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), Köstendje was surrounded by a line of fortifications. In 1829 the town surrendered to the Russians without a struggle and its defences were dismantled. During the Crimean War the French troops of General Canrobert, in alliance with the Ottomans, disembarked at Köstendje (July 1854) but remained there only for a short time. In 1857, a British company, The Danube and Black Sea Railways Company, obtained from the Ottoman government a concession for the reconstruction and development of the port and of a new railway linking Boğaz köy (Carvaveda) with Köstendje, which as a result of this enjoyed a new period of prosperity. In 1877 the troops of the Russian general Orlov Denisov occupied the town, which was ceded to Rumania on 23 March 1878. At this time it was a *ḳadā'* of the *wilāyet* of Tuna, created in 1281/1864. The Treaty of Berlin (13 Rajab 1295/13 July 1878) recognised this union. Köstendje then possessed two *dārüṭ-ṭi*'s: the Maḥmūdiyya (1822) and the *ʿAzīziyya* (1822). It was at Constanța that the first newspaper of the Dobrudja was published, the *Dobrudja gazetesi* (1888-94), as well as the newspapers *Dobrudja* (1901) and *Dobrudja yadīsi* (1910-14) published by Mehmed Niyāzī.

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(Maare M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru)

KOTA KOTA, An Arabic corruption of the Chi-Hiyao place-name Ngotangota, a town la East Africa, situated in lat. 14° S. on the west side of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). It was the seat of four Jumbes, or Walis, subject to Zanzibar between ca. 1845 and 1895. The first Jumbe, Salim b 'Abd Allāh, came to Lake Malawi via the Arab settlement of Tabora in the present Tanzania, and built up an ivory and slave-trading state, and at the same time made Kota Kota an effective centre for the dissemination of Islam. He was succeeded by another Swahili, Mwinyi Mguro (? Nguno), who ruled from after 1870 to ca. 1875-6. Under his successor, Mwinyi Kibuta, a member "of a good Zanzibar family", the town was visited by H. B. Cotterill in 1876. It had many handsome square houses and numerous oil palms, the Zanzibar flag flew over the Jumbe's house. Although a slave-trader, when the British took power in Nyasaland in 1891, he co-operated with them until his death in 1894. His successor, Mwinyi Kheiri, the son of his predecessor, ruled from 7 September 1894 until May 1895, when he was deposed for conspiring to overthrow the British administration. Kota Kota remains an important Islamic centre in Malawi.

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(G. S P. Freeman Grenville)

KOTOKO, a people of Black Africa. The Kotoko live south of Lake Chad on the lower Shari and Logone rivers Most of their territory is presently in the Republic of Cameroun, but there are villages of the Kotoko also in Chad to the east and in Nigeria to the west.

The Kotoko (whose number was estimated at 50,000 in 1950) are a minority in their own territory They are outnumbered by the Shuwa Arabs, who penetrated into these lands since the 18th century. Smaller groups of Kanuri, Fulbe and Hausa moved in later. Each of these ethnic groups, however, lives separately in homogeneous villages. The Kotoko live on fishing and hunting, supplemented by agriculture. The grassland between the rivers is left for the Arab pastoralists.

The etymological origin of the name Kotoko is obscure. Some authors referred to them as Makari, which is in fact the name of a northern group of Kotoko, first known to visitors coming from Bornu. Makari is the most important dialect among the northern Kotoko, as Lagwane (often spelled Logone) dialect is in the south. The linguistic diversity of the Kotoko reflects their political division as the extent of each dialect is almost identical with the area of one principality. The particularism of each group is as strong that even under modern conditions no one dialect prevails, and almost all the Kotoko now speak the Arabic dialect of the Shuwa. The Kotoko dialects belong to the central sub group of the Chadian languages They are distantly related to Hausa, which is classified in the western sub group of the Chadian languages (J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African linguistic classification*, New Haven 1955, 43 68).

The Kotoko are considered direct descendants of the Sao or Se people, to whom the historical traditions of Kanem [*q.v.*] and Bornu [*q.v.*] refer as the early inhabitants of the area around Lake Chad Those Sao who had not been assimilated or exterminated by the Kanembus and the Kanuris sought refuge in the less accessible flooding area of the Shari and Logone rivers, where they gave rise to the Kotoko. In the second half of the 16th century, Bornu under Idris Alāma expanded to the south The northern Kotoko principalities, Makari and Afade, were brought within the political ambit of Bornu and under the cultural and Islamic influence of the Kanuri. Because of the imperial and dynastic connections with Bornu, islamization among the Kotoko began chiefly in the courts. The southern Kotoko had been for a long period subject to the harassment of Bagirmi [*q.v.*] Towards the end of the 18th century, the south was consolidated under the authority of the ruler of Logone-Birni, who was converted to Islam at about that period. Logone was visited by Major Denham in 1824 and by H Barth in 1852 In between these two dates, probably ca. 1830, Logone became a tributary of Bornu. The Kotoko often saw their territory invaded by their more powerful neighbours. It was the battleground for Bornu's wars with its rivals Waday [*q.v.*] and Bagirmi. Between 1893 and 1900 it was overrun by Rābih [*q.v.*] and his warriors.

The authority of the Kotoko chiefs was circumscribed by a council of high officials and by Bornu's representative, the *shēfa* (from Ar *khalīfa*). The chiefs were also bound by pre-Islamic taboos and by the obligation to consult "the protecting animals" through their priests. The Kotoko chiefs, referred by the colonial administration as *sultāns*, are Muslims but they must respect old traditions. Muslim *imāms* live in their courts with traditional priests Mosques were built near traditional shrines, whereas pre-Islamic customs and rituals are performed during Muslim festivals. Most of the Kotoko are now considered Muslims, and the number of those more fully committed to Islam grows steadily. Thousands of Kotoko are to be found in the towns of Chad and in the Sudan along the routes to Mecca The Kotoko, who had emerged as people in refuge, away from the Muslim states of the Central Sudan, are gradually becoming integrated into the world of Islam.

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(N. Levtzion)

KOTONOU or Cotonou, capital of the People's Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). It had long been the economic capital and rival of the administrative one Porto Novo, and since independence Cotonou has established itself definitively as the capital of the republic, even if certain services still remain at Porto Novo.

The village founded by the Aïzo of Allada was called Donukpa ("near the hole", i.e. "near the lagoon"). An envoy from Abomey was struck by the reddish colour of the trees growing along this lagoon and thought that this was the result of blood. It was then believed by the Fon of Abomey that the spirits of the dead came down to Ouémé towards the lagoon and the sea; each dead person crossing the lagoon left behind a little blood which reddened the tree bark, whence the name of Ku Tanu (*ku* "dead person", *tonu* "lagoon") given to the village. However, the passage of armies from Dahomey in the 18th century led to the evacuation of this latter village. It was Yekpé Zinnou, a slave dealer, who found this spot favourable for loading up slaves away from the eyes of European control shipping, and with the help of a half-breed Portuguese interpreter Sangronio he founded this Fon village. Once he had become Jévogan of the king of Dahomey (i.e. the minister charged with relations with the white men), Yekpé settled there with his family. The place became prosperous through the trade in palm oil and through anchorage rights (payable in cowrie shells and in goods) which the Europeans had to pay. A Brazilian half-breed, Domingo Martins, settled now at Cotonou and developed the cultivation and trade in palm oil. It developed further during Glélé's reign and at the time of the French appearances there (treaties of 1856 and 1878). But Béhanzin refused France any rights over Cotonou, and two attacks on the 23 February and 4 March 1878 were repelled by the French garrison. A wharf was built between 1891 and 1899, bringing about a growth in trade, and the town's importance grew. In 1905 the population comprised 75 Europeans (including seven women and a child) and 2,100 Africans. It became a *commune mixte* in 1912 and grew especially in importance after 1918.

In the 1920s it had 8,500 inhabitants, including 300 Muslims, who were distributed in the following manner. There were 100 or so Senegalese who had come as infantrymen, officials and above all as railway workers; 200 or so Hausa from northern Nigeria, functioning as butchers or as traders in cloth and beasts, and 100 or so Nago (Yoruba), mainly coming originally from Porto Novo and working in the trading houses.

The first *imām* of Cotonou was Mousé Cel Pope of Agoue, born in ca. 1845 and initiated into the Kādirī order by Seidou Collou of Nigeria. Being worn-out and hardly capable of delivering the sermon or *khuṭba* in Arabic, he was replaced in October 1932 by Soalihou Mamadou, born at Lagos in ca. 1870 and living in Cotonou since the French occupation. Since he had received the Kādirī *wird* from Shaykh Ismaïla el Zaria, it seems that he was an adherent of the mystical path of the Fulbe of Sokoto. After having given the *khuṭba* in literary Arabic, he himself translated into Hausa this sermon; then *his kalifa* or deputy translated it into Nago. After these two Yoruba *imāms*, there followed a Sarakolé, al-Ḥādjdj Sakaba, born at Bakel in 1875, as educated and likeable trader who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1906 via Lagos, Las Palmas and Marseilles. He had connections with the Arab booksellers of Algiers, Kaddour Rouabeuci (Ḳaddūr Ruḳuāl). He was succeeded by a Hausa, Malam Bako, but after the latter's death there was a division between the two main Muslim communities, the Yoruba and the Hausa, with the latter reproaching the Yoruba for retaining animistic practices, of drinking alcohol, of having more than four wives and of not fasting at the same time as other people. On 31 August 1956 the Muslim Union of Dahomey was formed, bringing about the pre-eminence of the Muslim community of Porto Novo; the President of the Union was in fact al-Ḥādjdj ʿAlī Paraïso. If the meetings of the Muslim community of Benin take place at Cotonou, it is nevertheless the Islamic north and Porto Novo who have benefited from these arrangements and from aid coming from the Arab world's communities.

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(R. Cornevin)

KŪTWĀL (Persian orthography, *kawtwāl*), commandar of a fortress, town, etc. The word is used throughout mediaeval times in the Iranian, Central Asian and Muslim Indian worlds, and has spread westwards into the regions of ʿIrāḳ and the Persian Gulf, where we find it, for instance, as a component of place names like Kūt al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*], and given an Arabic pattern diminutive form in al-Kuwayt [*q.v.*].

Although the word appears from the Mongol period onwards in Turkish, including Čaghatay, in such versions as *kūtwāl*, *kūtkūl*, etc., as that many native authorities (and following them, western linguists and lexicographers such as A. Vámbery, Pavet de Courteille and W. Radloff) assumed that it was a Turkish or even a Mongol word, G. Doerfer is undoubtedly right in tracing it back to an Indian origin, from *kōṭ* "fortress", whence *kōṭwāl* "castellan, keeper of a stronghold", and frequent north Indian place names like Nagarkōṭ, Lohkōṭ, etc. The earliest attestations of the word in Islamic sources are all in an Indo-Muslim context, e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna's bestowal of the *kōṭwāl*ī of Nandana in the western Panǧāb on one of his commanders in 405/1015 (Gardīzī *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 72, ed. Ḥabībī, 161), and the frequent appearance in Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī* of a commander Bā ʿAlī Kōtwāl, the local governor of the capital Ghazna. On the other hand, it does not appear in Kīshāhārī. Gradually, the word became general throughout the eastern Islamic world, passing into Turkic languages, into Pashto, and into Indian vernaculars like Panǧābī, Bengalī and Urdū. In Persia of the Mongol, Timūrid and Ṣafawid periods it was the term used for the local governor of a town or citadel, as is attested by western travellers like du Mans (1660). Cf. Doerfer,

Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, ii, 618-21, No 1658.

The term *kōtwāl* was especially used in Muslim India under the Mughals and, after the collapse of their empire in the mid-18th century, in British India for approximately a century more. But in fact, this office, in the sense of "official responsible for public order, the maintenance of public services etc., in a town" (something like the *Sāḥib al-Shurṭa* [*q.v.*] of the earlier caliphate), existed before the Mughals, e.g. in the territories of the Dihlī sultanate and in the provincial sultanates which arose in South India and eastern India during the post-Tughlukid period, cf. I. H. Qureshi *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi 1958, 173-4, and Majumdar, ed., *The history and culture of the Indian people*, vi. *The Delhi sultanate* Bombay 1960, index s.v. The accounts of Portuguese adventurers in India, from Vasco da Gama onwards, speak of encounters with the *Catual* or royal representative in the towns where they disembarked (thus also in Camoëns, *The Lusiads* [completed 1572], viii viii, *passim*).

In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī [*q.v.*], we find a classic exposition of the duties of the *kōtwāl*. His multifarious responsibilities included the maintenance of law and order, with the pursuance of criminals and robbers (for the recovery of whose depredations the *kōtwāl* was personally responsible); the keeping of a register of houses and streets, maintaining an intelligence system in the town, including observations of the incomes and life-styles of the populace, the results of which espionage to be reported to the central government; the enforcement of a curfew; the supervision of weights and measures and fair market practices; the upholding of the standard of coinage and the calling-in of bad coin for re minting; the oversight of public water supplies; the appropriation for the state of intestate properties; the care that widows did not make the sacrifice of *sati* against their wills; the allocation of separate quarters in the town for nuisance and despised trades like those of butchers, corpse washers [see MAZBAḤA and GHASSĀL in Suppl.] and sweepers, etc. One notes the correspondence of many of these duties with those of the classical Islamic *muḥtasib*, whose office was certainly known in pre-Mughal India under the Dihlī sultans and their epigons [see ḤISBA. iv The Indian subcontinent]; it seems that the purely secular, semi-military *kōtwāl* now largely replaced the *muḥtasib*. But in many ways, the wide range of the *kōtwāl*'s responsibilities is an echo of those of the *nagaraka* or Town Prefect of Mauryan times; cf Kauṭilya's *Arthaśastra*, ch. xxxvi. Abu 'l-Faḍl's whole exposition has, however, a somewhat theoretical cast, and should probably be interpreted as a blue print for the ideal administrative system for Akbar, rather than a delineation of actual practice, amongst other duties of the *kōtwāl* mentioned is responsibility for seeing that the festivals of Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī* and the new *Ilāhī* era [see AKBAR] were observed (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. H. S. Jarrett², Calcutta 1949, 43-5, cf. also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda 1927-8, i, 163 ff [compiled in Gujarat, 1175/1761], section on the duties of officials charged with the safety and good governance of the state)

More definitely in accordance with contemporary Mughal practice are the reports of European travellers within India at this time. Thus F. Bernier speaks of the *Colotal* or "grand Prevost de la campagne" as sending soldiers all through his town when the Mughal court passed through it, and these blew trumpets in order to scare away malefactors (*Travels in the Mogul empire A.D. 1656-1668*, tr. A. Constable 1891, repr. Delhi 1972, 188, 369). N. Manucci's personal observations are especially valuable. Describing the situation in the latter part of Awrangzīb's reign, he tells how the *kōtwāl* stopped the illicit distilling of arrack and spirits, and the practice of prostitution, and how he sent intelligence reports to the court based on the information gathered by private houses by the scavengers *alaoor* (= *ḥalāl-khōr*). He also saw that ferry tolls abolished by the Emperor, were not illegally exacted. At his disposal, he had a force of cavalry and infantry, with detachments for each quarter of the town. In the administration of justice, on the other hand, he was under the orders of the *ḥākim*, and carried out his written orders such as sentence of death (*Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine 1907-8, repr. Calcutta 1965-7, ii, 420-1). In fact, we know that towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign, *kōtwāls* in the newly conquered, peripheral regions like South India, managed to achieve considerable freedom of action away from the central government's control; this was the case with the *kōtwāl* and *faujdār* [*q.v.*] of Haydarābād, the most important city of the east-ern Deccan, see J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, Oxford 1975, 83-5.

When a new police system was introduced into British India after 1861, the office of *kōtwāl* disappeared from most of the subcontinent, and his duties were taken over by Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors. In the North-West Frontier Province, however, the term continued in use to designate the chief police officer of the larger towns and cantonments.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KOUANDÉ, at present a regional capital of the People's Republic of Benin, was founded by a clan of Bariba hunters, the Tesse, specialists in the hunting of elephants, who provided a tribute of ivory tusks to the sovereign of Nikki. This settlement of hunters must have been ancient (perhaps in the 16th century), but a prolonged dynastic quarrel at Nikki brought to Kouandé considerable numbers of young warriors who must have used this city, every dry season, as a raiding base.

The prince Chabi Gada of Nikki, having killed one of his pregnant wives, was expelled and took refuge at Birno Mare at the court of the *Tossounon* (chief of the Tosso) who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, Gaon Bursi (in about 1762). Accepting succession to the throne of his father-in-law, he renounced all allegiance with regard to Nikki. He had, moreover, carried off with him some of the ritual objects that were the property of the king: six *kakati* (trumpets), silver and bronze stirrups, ceremonial sabres and lances, harness and bridle-bits as well as the ritual scissors which were used to cut the hair of young princes on the day of the ceremony of *Gaon Kogui*, which marked the passage from childhood to adolescence.

The death of Gada (in about 1789) led to a quarrel over the throne between Ouoro Ouari known to Tabonroufa ("wearer of the ear-ring"), a prince born at Nikki, and Ouoro Kpassi, son of Gnon Birsi, princess of Birno. The latter was victorious and took

the title of *Tamoussou* while Ouarou Ouari moved from Bimi to Kouandé.

The foundation of Kouandé. With an army of sixty-six horsemen Ouarou Ouari arrived in the region of Kouandé where the Bariba Seko had been installed for several generations. Ouarou Ouari was well received by the Kouandé Soumon, who gave him a vast area of land at the foot of the hill and died soon afterwards. A few days later he received the regalia brought from Nikki by Gada, and the following Friday, to the sound of the six royal trumpets, he accepted the homage of the Bariba and Somba chiefs. He took the title of *Bangana* ("buffalo") and appointed another Kouandé Soumon as his colleague and chief minister, and extended his authority over Bimi, Pably, the region of Ouaca (Tobré and Péhounco), an area of some 10,000 km².

On his death, his brother Simé Yerima succeeded him, taking the name *Ouron Seroun* ("the Saint"). He took the young princes to task, demanding that they abandon their extortions "at once", thereby acquiring the nickname of *Baba Tantamé* ("Papa at once"). To provide a diversion for the troublesome young princes, he mounted expeditions against the Berba, the Taneka, Pila Pila, Somba, etc.

Dafia, eldest son of Ouorou Ouari took the name *Seroun* ("the mortar that receives the blows of the pestle without being affected"). Tradition is reticent concerning his reign. All that is known is that the king authorised volunteers from his kingdom to take part in the campaign against the Peuls of Ilorin (1830). After these contingents were defeated and returned in disarray, king Seroun died as the result of being bitten by a dog, his sister, princess Ganigui, saw in this a conspiracy on the part of the successor and on the day of her coronation predicted an early death for him. In fact the *Bangana* Bio Dike ruled for only three months.

Sero, the eldest son of Baba Tantamé, was elected king (1833) and took the name *Bouko Ya Dari* ("stormy cloud"). He was obliged to suppress the intrigues of his younger brother Mora N'Gobi, who after two attempts on the throne, with the aid of the Natimba, was defeated. He obtained pardon for himself but not for Sinkoun, king of the Natimba, who, on coming to pay homage on the day of the *Gani*, was thrown into a ditch and crushed under a heap of stones, whence the king's nickname *Gouromouroun* ("he who buries alive"). This king mounted expeditions against his neighbours the Berba, the Akpénon, the Cotokoli and the Aninagan of the valley of the Anié.

The *Bangana* Séké (1852-83) continued in similar circumstances the campaign against the Cotokoli of Kiliki (1866-8) and against Bafilo. He was also obliged to deal with civil wars.

Ouorou Ouari II (1883-97) was removed from office by Commandant Ganier in 1897 after the revolt of the Bariba. He withdrew in the village of Doh (30 km. to the east of Kouandé) and poisoned himself so as not to survive the surrender of the tombs of his ancestors. Since then the traditional sovereigns have been confined to their roles as regional chiefs.

Rules of investiture. Theoretically Islamised, the Bariba observe strict rules of investiture. After the funeral ceremonies which last three months, the council of ministers choose a new king. The choice having been made, the princes who are candidates for the throne kneel and the chief minister, Baba Agban, passes a white loincloth (*bikon Kpihourou*) over the heads of the candidates.

In passing along the line for the third time Baba Agban stops in front of the prince who has already been chosen as if held by an invisible force, then unfolding the *bikon Kpihourou*, he wraps it round the body of the newly-appointed king. All those present kneel before the new king to wish him well, while the trumpets sound.

The festival of the Gani which takes place throughout the land of the Bariba is the occasion where the princes and senior officials assemble in the presence of the king to the sound of the ritual drums. At Kouandé, the Gani includes a special rite. The *Bangana* goes to the tree on the path where his ancestor used to rest. This tree lies at the southern end of the village of Kouandé and is called *Bourok* ("good luck"). The king dismounts from his horse, leans against the throne and appeals to his ancestors for aid and protection.

A superstition holds that the man who picks up the pebbles under the tree will have his wish granted if the pebbles are of even number.

The Islamisation of Kouandé, at the beginning of the century, was very superficial. Only the community of foreign merchants was Muslim. Alfa Sabi, known as Alodia, who was born at Kouandé in about 1863, supervised a Kur'ān school attended by a number of pupils. Since then, the influence of the Tidjāniyya order has developed considerably.

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(R. CORNEVIN)

BÖY, the word used in western Turkish (e.g. in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1218) for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian *gāy* (cf. Bittner, *Der Einfluss der Arabischen und Persischen auf die Türkische*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlii, No. 5, 103), or perhaps more correctly *kāy* (Vullers, *Lexicon, Burhān-i kāṭi'*, 759) meaning originally path, street. In the toponomastic of the Ottoman empire we find many placenames compounded with *böy*, like Boghaz Köy, Germenī Köy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Saldjūk period, the word does not occur, for instance, in Kāshgharī. *Köy* in the sense of an open village is opposed to *kasaba* meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish placenames we always find the word *kend* (itself a loan-word from Soghdian) used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by *köy* (cf. e.g. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 221 ff., Kādī Kend, near al-Mawṣil, becomes Kādī Köy).

(J. H. KRAMERS[*])

BÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ (T. "village institutes"), a Turkish educational institution of 1940-54, founded to combat the high illiteracy in rural areas by training and equipping village boys and girls for the special requirements of each region and using them as teachers in distant or under-developed areas where city born teachers have been reluctant to work. They were the brain child of Ismail Hakkı Tonguç (*q.v.*) a prominent educator, and were put into operation by Hasan Alī Yücel (*q.v.*) the reformist Minister of Education (1938-46) under President İsmet İnönü [see İSMET PAŞA İNÖNÜ in Suppl.].

From the early years of the Republic the problem

of mass education, particularly that of village children, was of great concern to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and Turkish educators. During this period, nearly 80% of the population of over 13 million (1927 census) lived in some 40,000 villages unevenly scattered throughout war devastated Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Less than 20% of village children (mostly boys) attended for the most part inadequate schools, where the majority of teachers had had little or no proper training. Early experiments in setting up village teachers' training colleges, first under the young pioneer minister of education Mustafa Neğdât (1894-1929), and later during an attempt at collaboration between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, failed owing to poor planning and inadequate funds. In 1938, during the ministry of Saffet Arıkan (1935-8), a new project was developed. A selected number of villagers who had served in the army as corporals and sergeants were sent to special courses called *eğitmen kursu* (*eğitmen* "instructor, educator" from the newly-coined neologisms *eğitmek* "to educate" and *eğitim* "education"), trained as teachers and appointed to village schools. To facilitate their settlement there, the *eğitmens* were given land, agricultural equipment, tools, seeds, young plants, etc. In the meantime, İ. H. Tonguç had been appointed Director-General of Primary Education in the Ministry (1936). In 1937 the idea of village-teachers' training colleges was revived, and three colleges were set up in the İzmir, Eskişehir and Kastamonu areas (in Kızılçullu, Mahmudiye and Gölköy respectively). The new minister, Hasan Âli Yücel, gave Tonguç full authority, and the latter was able to put into practice extensively his long-cherished project, elaborated in his many works (particularly in *Canlandırılacak köy*, Istanbul 1947). On 17 April 1940 the law No. 3803 on Village Institutes was passed, and with the law No. 4274 on 19 June 1942 they were fully organised (for the texts of these laws, see *Düstur*, *üçüncü tertib*, XXI Ankara 1940, 592-7 and 1942, 1575-6 respectively). The Institutes were put under the direct control of Tonguç and after a survey of local conditions and requirements, 20 of them were set up in the following regions of Turkey (the nearest provincial centre is shown in brackets): South-East: Dicle (Diyarbakır); East: Pulur (Erzurum), Cılavuz (Kars), Akçadağ (Malatya); Eastern Black Sea: Beşikdüzü (Trabzon), Akpınar (Samsun); Western Black Sea: Gölköy (Kastamonu); Marmara and Thrace: Kepirtepe (Kırklareli), Arifiye (İzmit), Savaştepe (Balıkesir); Aegean: Kızılçullu (İzmir), Ortaklar (Aydın), Mediterranean: Aksu (Antalya), Düzgel (Adana), Gönen (Isparta), Central Anatolia: Hasanoğlan (Ankara), Pamukpınar (Sivas), Pazarören (Kayseri), Çifteler (Eskişehir), Ivriz (Konya).

The village Institutes were co-educational, admitting students with five years' village schooling (or three years' village schooling with two years' extra training) and giving a five-year course of instruction. The syllabus, which allowed great freedom of variety according to local conditions and requirements, consisted mainly of "cultural subjects" (Turkish, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, 2 foreign language, military science and art) for 22 hours per week; agricultural subjects (farming, gardening, fruit growing, poultry farming, bee-keeping, fishing, etc.) for 11 hours per week; and technical subjects (metal working, carpentry, building, tailoring and dress-making, etc.) for 11 hours a week. The curriculum was mainly functional and was based on the essentially concrete and practical, with special emphasis on skills needed in the peasants daily lives in a particular region. The aim was not merely to train village school teachers, but also to equip them to participate in the leadership of the community by developing their areas of personal responsibility and their ability to cooperate with villagers (specific aims which so far most city-born and trained teachers had been unable to realise). In 1943 a special teachers' training college was set up in Hasanoğlan near Ankara (*Hasanoğlan Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü*) with a three years' training programme. Up to the school year 1946-7 these Institutes trained more than 5,000 village teachers and 500 health officers.

With the ending of the single party régime (1945) and the authoritarian rule of the Republican Peoples Party (RPP, see CUMHURİYYET KHALK PARTİSİ), the Village Institutes began to be subjected to violent attacks both by the conservative wing of the RPP and the newly-founded (January 1946) liberal Democrat Party (DP, see DEMOKRAT PARTİ). They were accused of fostering an unruly, subversive, anti-traditional generation and being the hotbeds of Marxist indoctrination. This campaign was waged mainly by the great landowners in and outside Parliament, and their mouthpieces in the press. The campaign reached such dimensions that President İnönü replaced the Minister of Education, H. A. Yücel with the conservative Reşat Şemsettin Sirer (1946), who in turn removed İ. H. Tonguç, the brain behind the Institutes, from office, closed the Hasanoglan Teachers' Training College and changed most of the staff of the Institutes. Under the ministry of Tahsin Banguoğlu (1948-50), the gradual liquidation of the Institutes continued and was completed by Tevfik Ileri (1950-62), the second Minister of Education (appointed August 1950) of the Democrat Party, which came to power in the general election of May 1950. Ileri put an end to the co-educational system in the Institutes (1953) and reformed their curriculum to bring it into line with classical teachers' training colleges of the cities. Their abolition was officially registered when their name was eventually (1954) changed to *İlk Öğretmen Okulları* ("Primary Teachers' Training Colleges"). The heated controversy over village Institutes continued and still (1978) continue without abating between their supporters and accusers, and is a strong social political, economic and emotional issue. In spite of the rapid industrialisation of Turkey since 1950 and subsequent migration of great numbers of villagers to the cities, which has considerably altered the rural and urban scene, leading intellectuals, particularly noted writers with Village Institute backgrounds, such as Mahmut Makal (b. 1930), Fakir Baykurt (b 1929), Talip Apaydın (b 1926), Dursun Akçam (b 1936) and Mahmet Başaran (b 1926), celebrate each year the date of April 17, the anniversary of the founding of these Institutes, and demand their re-opening.

The only notable objection to the conception of Village Institutes among non-conservatives was raised by Kemal Tahir [q.v.] in his novel *Rahmdaki çakırdek* ("The Seed in the Steppe", Istanbul 1967), who maintained that the Institutes were planned to train a conformist generation in rural areas in order to postpone a real social revolution.

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KOYL, KOIL, a town of northern India situated 75 miles south east of Dihlī and coming within the United Provinces in British India, now Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union. The more modern town of ʿAligaṟh [*q.v.*] has expanded east of a suburb of Koyl. In 590/1194 the commander of the Ghūrids, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], captured Koyl on a raid from Dihlī, and henceforth there were usually Muslim governors over local Rājput rulers, such as Ḳuḳuk ʿAlī under Bābur (932/1526) (*Bābur-nāma* tr. Beveridge, 176). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Koyl on his way southwards from Dihlī to the Deccan and Malabar, and speaks also of a noted *shaykh* of Kuwīl (as he writes the name) *ʿamm Shams al-Dīn b. Ṭāḏī al-ʿĀrifīn*, whom Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ did to death (*Riḥla*, iii, 307-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 704-5 and iv, 6-7). The minaret of Koyl (now destroyed) had on it an inscription of the Slave King Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh from 652/1254 (see G. Yazdanī, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi . . .*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* [1913-14], 22-3). Koyl is listed in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett[2], Calcutta 1939 48, ii, 197, as a *sarkār* in the Āgra *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, with a revenue of 55 million *dams*.

In *ca.* 1737 Koyl was captured by the Jhāṭ leader Sūraǰ Mal and then in 1759 by the Afghāns, its strategic position on the Dihlī-Āgra road giving it importance. It was re-named ʿAligaṟh "the high fortress" by Nadjaf Khān in 1776, when he rebuilt the citadel. All the upper Dōāb passed into British hands in 1803, but with Koyl-ʿAligaṟh only captured from the Marāṭhas after a prolonged siege. Native troops there mutinied in May 1857, but order was restored in August by a British force after internal strife between the Jhāṭs and Rājputs. For the town's subsequent history, see ALIGARH.

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KOYLU HIṢĀR (KOYUNLU HIṢĀR), modern Keyuḫisar, centre of an *ilçe* of the province (*il*) of Sivas in the valley of the Kelkit River along the old route from Niksar to Shābīn Ḳarāḥiṣār and Erzurum in the so-called "left wing" (*sol kol*) of Anatolia within the framework of the Ottoman road and postal system. The site has changed a few times because of earthquakes (most recently in 1939). Before *ca.* 1850 the township probably lay on the site of the actual Yukarı Kale.

The town and fortress were lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt). After direct Saldjūḳid rule, it became part of the emirate of Ertena [*q.v.*], then possession of the semi-independent Turcoman ruler of Kara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī (= Shābīn Ḳarāḥiṣār) in *ca.* 763/1362; it was part of the dominions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] of Sivās, whose government was succeeded by that of the Aḳ-Koyunlu [*q.v.*]. Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] last the place to Sultan Meḥemmed II in 865/1461, upon which it became part of the *sydlet* of Erzurum as a subdivision of Kara Ḥiṣār i Sharḳī. In 1864 its status became that of a *ḳaḍā'* in the *wilāyet* of Sivas. In the 19th century its population was only half Muslim, and V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 237, 793) enumerated a population of 1,809, of whom 905 were Muslims, 604 Greeks and 300 Armenians. In 1927 the census indicated a total Muslim-Turkish population of 1,800. In 1970 the town numbered 9,524, with 28,887 in the *ilçe*.

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KOYUL HIṢĀR (*KOYUNLU HIṢĀR*) more properly Koyun Hiṣār, the name for two Byzantine fortresses identical with Baphaeon, to the north-east of Izmid, the site of the first battle won by ʿOṯmān I against the Byzantines in 1301; 2. a fortress on the Sakārya river [*q.v.*] to the north-east of Bursa near Dinbor, taken by Orkhān during a campaign in 1324-5.

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KOYUN BABA, lit "father of sheep", a Turkish saint. He is thought to have been a contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] and is said to have received his name from the fact that he did not speak, but only bleated like a sheep five times a day at the periods for prayer. Sulṭān Bāyezīd II, called *Wālī*, built a splendid tomb and dervish monastery on the site of his alleged grave at ʿOṯmāndjīḳ (near Amasya, in Anatolia) which was one of the finest and richest in the Ottoman empire. Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Tawḳīf* (*Seyāḥat nāmesi*, ii, 180 *ff.*) describes very fully the great Bektāshī monastery there, at which he was cured of a malady of the eye and was initiated into the order (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 608, on Ewliyā's pilgrimage to the tomb of Koyun Baba). Nothing is known regarding the life of this remarkable saint, nor even whether he really existed. That he is represented as a disciple and contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh means nothing, as almost all early Ottoman saints are credited with having enjoyed this privilege. The sanctuary itself does not seem to have been examined, but see Mascrier in *ZGE*, xxiv (1889), 376.

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KÖZAN, (1) a town in southern Turkey, formerly the Armenian town of Sis [*q.v.*], and now administrative centre of Kōzān district (*kaza*) in the province of Adana.

(2) in Ottoman times, that portion of the Taurus Mountains comprising the present districts of Kadirli, Kozān, Feke and Saimbeyli. This name originated with the Kozān-oghlu *derbeys* [see below] who controlled the area during the 18th and much of the 19th centuries.

The origin of the Közän-oghlu dynasty and its name is uncertain. According to Ahmed Djewdet Pasha, the family came from the Arlk tribe, one of the Wärsäk (Färsäk) tribes which settled the Taurus Mountains in the 13th century A.D, and its name originated with an ancestor from the village of Közän near 'Ayntäb (*Tedhkhir*, iii, 108-9). The family had gained leadership of the tribe by 1589 (Ahmet Refik [Altmay], *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri*, 89) and went on to control the entire area and exercise the functions of government in virtual independence of Istanbul. Only in 1865 were the Ottomans able to defeat, capture and exile the *derebeys*, settling the tribes on which their power had depended and establishing normal administration. Közän was of concern once again in 1878 when Közän oghlu Ahmad Pasha tried to re-establish his control, but with his defeat the area ceased to be of special importance.

Bibliography The most detailed accounts of Közlu and the Közän oghlu are those of Ahmad Djewdet Pasha in *Ma'rüdät*, in *TTEM*, x (67), 278 &c and *Tedhkhir*, iii, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1963, 107-15, 117-19. A general description of the area as it was in 1890 is given in V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 90-7. Selected documents concerning the Közän-oghlu are found in Ahmet Refik (Altmay), *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri 966-1200*, Istanbul 1930. On the Wärsäk tribes see Faruk Sümer, *Çukurova tarihine dair araştırmalar* (*Fetihten XVI yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar*), in *AÜDTCFD*, i, 70-93. The most recent study of this area in the nineteenth century is A. G. Gould, *Pashas and brigands. Ottoman provincial reform and its impact on the nomads of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1973, unpublished.

(A. G. Gould)

KÖZÄN-OGHULLARÏ, a family of *derebeys* [*q.v.*] in Ottoman southern Anatolia, with their centre of power in the 19th century in the *sandjak* of Közän [*q.v.*] (i.e. western Közän) and the *kadä'* of Közän (i.e. east Közän), in the piedmont area where the Taurus Mountains come down to the Cilician Plain or Çukurova. They were thus in a good position, during the 19th century, together with other local *derebeys*, to dominate the plain and at times to exert influence in Adana itself.

The Közän-oghullari claimed descent from a Türkmen tribe which had entered Cilicia in Saldjük times, and which is certainly heard of in historical sources for the 17th century. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, they were able to beat off several military attacks by the Porte in Istanbul and to act as virtually independent local rulers, levying taxes, but acting nominally as officials, *kä'immakämes* or *müdirs*, of the Ottoman government. Their position locally was strengthened by an informal alliance with the Armenian clergy and notables of Közän (the Armenian Catholicos or Patriarch had his seat in a monastery at Sïs in the Közän district, the ancient capital of mediaeval Little Armenia [see V. F. Büchner, art. *Sïs*, in *EI²*), who were also concerned lest the Sultan's direct influence be extended into the region. The Közän-oghlu family was, however, rent by internal rivalries in the middle years of the 19th century. In 1865 the central government was able to reduce the power of the Cilician derebeys by the despatch of the military "Reform Division" (*Firka-yi Islähiyye*) to Iskenderün, various members of the Közän-oghullari went over to the government side, and after some attempts at resistance, the family finally submitted. Several of them were given official posts in the Ottoman administration, and others brought to honourable exile in Istanbul; after a final local rising in 1878 just after the Russo-Turkish War, the region of Közän was substantially pacified.

Bibliography see A. G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491-505, with references to the sources, and a kinship table of the family as it was in 1865 at p. 492. (Ed.)

KRÄN [see SIRKA].

KRÏM [see KHÄNS].

KRÏZ (Russian designation, Krïzï [from the *aul* Krïz]), a small Caucasian ethnic group, forming with the Khaput [*q.v.*] and Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Leaghin, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek), of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, ethnically there were 5 Krïz, and linguistically 4,348 (including speakers of Dzhek and Khaput dialects). According to a 1954 estimate, there were some hundreds of Krïz living in a single *aul*, that of Krïz, located in the basin of the upper Kudialchay, in the Shakhdagh area (Konakhkend district, Azerbaidjan SSR). The Krïz are Sunnï Muslims of the Shäfi'ï rite. The traditional economy of the Krïz was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture.

The Krïz language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is Khaput), which is a purely vernacular language; Avarï is used as the literary language. The Krïz are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

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KRUJË, a town in northern Albania, lying around the foot of a precipitous rock, a spur of the steep Krujë Range, with the fertile plain of the Ishm river to the south and west.

Under the Ottoman administration the town was officially known as Ak Hisär [*q.v.*]. It was the chief administrative centre of the *wilâyet* and after 1466 of the *kadä'* of this name. For most of the second half of the 19th century the *kadä'* was part of the *wilâyet* and of the *sandjak* of Skutari (cf. Th. Ippen, *Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte Albaniens im XIX. Jahrhundert*, in L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, Munich-Leipzig 1916, i, 363). The *kadä'* comprised a *nähiye*, an area north of the river Mat, known as Oberi i vogël (cf. F. Seiner, *Die Gliederung der albanischen Stämme*, Graz 1922, 6), which was inhabited by the Kthella tribe (cf. *Detailbeschreibung von Albanien. z. Theil. Nord-albanien mit den angrenzenden Theilen Dalmatiens und Montenegros*, Vienna 1900, 170 ff., 130 ff.). At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Northern Albania in 1916, the *kadä'* of Krujë functioned as part of the *sandjak* of Krujë, together with the *kadä'*s of Matja and Ohëri (cf. F. Seiner, *Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österreich-ungarischen Truppen 1916-1918 besetzten Gebiete*, Vienna-Leipzig 1924, 14). In the independent Albanian state the area of Krujë became a sub-prefecture of the prefecture of Durres (cf. *Albania. Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division*, Oxford 1945, 146). After 1949, the position of the town was affected by various administrative changes; cf. *Die*

Verwaltungsaufteilung und die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung in Albanien, Wissenschaftlicher Dienst Südosteuropa [München Sudost Institut], iii, No. 10 (1954), 211-16, *passim*. In present-day Albania the district (*rrethi*) of Krujë covers an area of 607 sq. km. and had a population of 70,700 in 1971 (cf. *Vjetari statistikor i R.P.SH.-1972 dhe 1972*, Tiranë 1973, 24). The number of inhabitants of the town itself, which is known for the characteristic architecture of its buildings (cf. Koço Zheku, *La Kulla (manoir) de Kruja*, in *Deuxième Conférence des Études Albanologiques*, ii, Tirana 1970, 283-8 (text), 289-89 (illustrations)), amounted to about 7,000 souls (cf. Zheku, *ibid.*, 283).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, the region of Krujë was the scene of various anti-Ottoman rebellions, mainly in response to the imposition of new taxes (cf. Luan Bajo, *Fage nga Lufta e kacakëve në rrethin e Krujës (fundi i shekullit XIX—fillimi i shekullit XX)*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], ii, 65-74). During one of the last of these rebellions in 1906-7, the so-called battle of Tallajbe—named after the quarter of the town of Krujë where it took place—was fought between peasants from the Krujë area and Ottoman forces under Shemsi Pasha (cf. Luan Bajo, *Mbi "Luftën e Tallajbesë" në rrethin e Krujës në vitet 1906-1907*, in *Studime Historike* vi [1969], iii, 147-58).

Accounts of these events as well as of the revolts against local landlords belonging to the Toptan family, within which the office of *sanǧak-beg* (*q.v.*) had become a hereditary position, are preserved in local oral tradition and were collected, studied and analysed by G. Ioannino, *Expesita folklorike e Krujës*, in *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore*, xi (1955), 255-62. During the general insurrection of 1912, which led to the proclamation of Albanian independence, the region of Krujë was one of the major centres of anti-Ottoman activity (cf. F. Bartl, *Die Albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der Nationalen Unabhängigkeits bewegung (1878-1912)*, Wiesbaden 1968, 180, and for a more detailed account, L. Bajo, *Mia beyongriljen e përgjithshëm të vitit 1912 në rrethin e Krujës*, in *Studime Historike*, viii [1971], i, 231-54); and in 1924 it was the centre of the Esadist movement, which was partly pro-Turkish and directed against the Albanian sovereign Wilhelm von Wied. The town was captured by anti Esadist troops of Mati tribesmen under Ahmet Zogu (cf. C. A. Duka, *Zogu the First, King of the Albanians*, Tirana 1937, 62).

The population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* was predominantly Muslim and the town of Krujë was inhabited by Muslims exclusively (cf. Seiner, *Volksablung*, 14). The majority of its inhabitants belonged to the Bektāshī order [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] which had several sanctuaries in and around the town and a *tekke* in the plain below Krujë (Fushë e Krujës), which was visited and described by F. Babinger in 1928 (F. Babinger, *Bei den Derwischen von Kruja*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutsch Türkischen Vereinigung*, i, [1928], Heft 8/9, 148-9; Heft 10, 189-5, and idem, *With the Dervishes of Kroeya*, in *The Sphere*, cxvii [1929], no. 1525, 63. For photographs of the *tekke*, see E. Rossi, *Credenze ed usi dei Bektasci*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xvii[1942], 60-80). Until 1967, the *tekke* was the seat of a *gjysh* (grandfather) who had under his jurisdiction the prefectures of Tirana, Durrës and Shkodër. These constituted one of the six zonas into which Albania had been subdivided by the order for administrative purposes (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1958, 294)

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(F. DE JONG)

KUBAČI, self-designation, **Urbuǧ**; Russian, **Kubačinsi** Arabic and Persian, **Zirihgarān**), a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Kubači inhabit the single *aul* of Kubači, located in Dakhadaev *rayon*, Daghistān. They are a Caucasic people whose language belongs with Kaytak and Dargin to the Dargwo-Lak [Lak-Dargwa] group of the Ibero-Caucasian language family. Kubači is now regarded as a dialect of the Dargin language, and they are considered in the Soviet Union as a sub group of Dargins rather than as a distinct ethnic group. The Kubači use the Dargin literary language, and they are being assimilated by the Dargins. In 1926, according to the Soviet census, there were 2,322 Kubači.

The first mention of the Kubači appears in Arabic sources of the 4th/10th century from Darband (see BĀB AL ABWĀB). Although the Kubači maintained patriarchal clan divisions and had a strong self ruling free society, they paid tribute both to the Shamkhāl of Kāzikumukh (4th-8th/10th-14th centuries) and the Utsmiat of Kaytāk (5th-10th/11th-16th centuries). The *aul* of Kubači was part of the Gapsh free society, a division of the Utsmi-Dargwa, a Dargin federation. The Kubači are Sunni Muslims of the Shāfiʿī school. They, along with the Darghis, accepted Islam in the 6th/12th century.

Since the middle Ages, Kubači artisans have been renowned as gold, silver, and coppersmiths, and as makers of fine jewelry and weapons. So famed were they as makers of daggers, sabres, and chain-mail that they were, and are, called Zirihgarān ("makers of mail") by the Arabs and Persians. Even under the Soviets today, the Kubači masters are still famous for their fine jewelry, gold and silver smithing.

Bibliography: Geiger *et al.*, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; *Narodi Dagestana*, Moscow 1955. See also DĀGHISTĀN, DARGHIN, KAYTAK, KUNUḲ and LAK.

(R. WERNER)

KUBĀDĀBĀD, a residence of the Rūm Saldjūḳ **ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaykubād I** (616-34/1219-37) [*q.v.*] on the west bank of the Lake Beyshir, ca. 100 km. south-west of Konya. On the spur of the Gülüce Dağları, probably in 624/1227 chosen by Kaykubād I as a site for its scenic qualities, a palace-city was constructed under the direction of Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek, his Court Architect and Master of the

Royal Hunt (*amīr-i shikār ū mu'ayyade*). The first palace is said to have been erected in the presence of the ruler according to his detailed indications. But it may have taken longer to erect the buildings of the area, which measures *ca.* 430 × 200 m. and on which until now there can be identified the ruins of 15 constructions, as well as the outline of a quay and a fenced enclosure perhaps to be identified as an enclosure for animals. Unambiguous evidence for continued building activity is provided by an inscription, dated 633/1236, commemorating the foundation of a mosque by Badr al-Dīn Sūtāsh, governor (*wālī*) of Kubādhābād, later transferred to the mosque at Kürtler Köyü, at a distance of *ca.* 3 km. to the south. The palace-city was inhabited temporarily by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (634-44/1239-46) too and finally also by 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs II [*q.v.*] (during his second reign 653-9/1257-61), but its importance must have declined sharply after the occupation of Anatolia by the Mongols (642/1243).

The ruins were identified in 1949 by M. Zeki Oral, who made limited, trial excavations up to 1951. The systematic excavations in 1965 and 1966 by Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder included a topographical survey of the area, but remained restricted to clearing the two main buildings located at the lake shore. Both buildings are characteristic palaces with central double rooms, a raised *īwān*, probably a throne-room, preceded by a barrel-vaulted entrance hall. The smaller building of 30 × 23 m. of dressed stone, by a quay and associated with a dockyard, is probably the older one of the two palaces. This is indicated by the stone blocks of the porch, which have been excavated; with its simple, angular, interlacing bands it points to the early years of the reign of Kaykubād I. The greater palace of 50 × 35 m., erected probably only slightly later in an isolated position on the northern side of the building area, is a rubble construction clearly less pretentious as far as masonry is concerned. It is, however, distinguished by an outer court and a terrace which border upon the shore of the lake.

The rubble walls of the greater palace, not very notable by themselves, were originally richly decorated. Up to a height of 1·75 m., the inner walls of the main rooms bore a revetment of underglaze-painted tiles neatly arranged in an all-over star and cross pattern, the eight pointed stars bearing figural subjects and the crosses floriate ornaments. The tiles, datable *ca.* 627/1230 or a little later, show a variety of iconographic themes side-by-side, apparently reflecting the multiple functions of the building, as a Royal residence and as a hunting lodge, on the one hand, there are symbols of power like the sovereign enthroned, eagles bearing the inscription *al-sulṭān* on their breasts or hons, and on the other, astrological symbols and fabulous creatures, or trees of life which may well be allusions to paradise. Finally there are stylised animal figures, with falcons or horses together with game animals like foxes, hares, deer, bears, etc. The fragments proved that the smaller palace was also covered with tiles, bearing similar iconographic themes. This revetment, however, is possibly datable to a later phase of decoration.

In addition to these considerable series of tiles, which are particularly important as one of the earliest known examples in architecture of tile-decoration with figural subjects, there were also excavated in the greater palace fragments of window-screens of mosaic faience, as well as vestiges of moulded stucco, decorated with peacocks and riders, and some figural stone reliefs. Together with numerous smaller finds, which included fine glazed pottery and in particular, a glass dish bearing the names and titles of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, the son of the imperial founder of the site, the richly-decorated palaces of Kubādhābād represent impressive evidence for the artistic splendour of the court of the Rūm Saldjūks which reached its zenith under Kaykubād I.

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KUBĀDHIYĀN. KUWĀDHIYĀN, in mediaeval

Islamic times a small province situated on the right bank of the upper Oxus, and also a town, the chief settlement of the province. The latter comprised essentially the basin of the Kubādhiyān (modern Kafirnihan) River, which ran down from the Bat tamān Mountains and joined the Oxus at the fording place of Awwadj or Awzadj (modern Ayvadj), accordingly, it lay between the provinces of Čaghāniyān [q.v.] on the west and Wakhsh and Khuttal [q.v.] on the east. Administratively, it was most often attached to Khuttal. It now falls substantially within the Tadzhikistan SSR.

The name Kubādhiyān/Kuwādhiyha seems to appear in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's travel account as Kio-ho-yen-na, according to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 226, 233. The 4th/10th century geographers describe it amongst the upper Oxus provinces of Transoxania. Its chief-lieu was the town of Kubādhiyān Itself (modern Kabadian), also called in Ibn Hawkal Farz, but in Mukaddasī B y z (?), this was a strongly fortified town on the Kubādhiyha River, smaller however than Termidh [q.v.] in the north, on the upper course of the river, lay the fortresses of Wāshgird and Shūmān, frontier posts against such predatory peoples of the Buttamān Mountains as the Kumādhs [q.v.]; indeed, the whole province was well supplied with *ribāts* and defensive posts. According to Ibn Hawkal, the *Sāhib Barīd* or postmaster and intelligence agent [see BARĪD] for the Sāmānids in Kubādhiyān received the salary for each three months (*Sahriyyya*) of 200 *dirhams*. The chief products for exports from the province were saffron in the north and madder in the south, the latter being a crop whose marketing was strictly controlled by the Sāmānid government [see Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, ii, 454, 470, 474-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 439, 453, 456-9, Mukaddasī, 284, 289-90; *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr Minorsky, 114-15, § 25; R. B Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 20 n 3) Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, f. 440b, gives "al Kubādhiyānī" as the best attested form of the *nisba*, and accounts Kubādhiyān as belonging administratively (in the Saldjūk period?) to Balkh.

In Islamic history, we hear little of Kubādhiyān under this very name. It was a dependency of the Sāmānid empire, passing with Khuttal and Čaghāniyān to the Ghaznawids in the early 5th/11th century (whence several mentions of it in Bayhakī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*), and then to the Saldjūks in Timūrid times it was often controlled by the rulers of Harat See further for the historical aspect, ČAGHĀNIYĀN and KHUTTALĀN.

Bibliography In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see J Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang, Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde des Ostiran*, Leiden 1938, 36, 75, 90, 94; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 439 40. (C. E. Bosworth)

KUBAFOLO or **BAFILO**, the centre of the administrative region of Northern Togo, situated in lat. 8° 40' N. and long. 1° 30' E., 73 km north of Sokodé. It owes its origin to the unforeseen halting of a column of Gonja warriors led by Nama, ruler of Pembi, and which was returning from a campaign against Djougou at the beginning of the 19th century They stopped at Sémédé (now in the People's Republic of Benin), and a group settled there. The warriors were tired by a long march through the mountain regions, but did not dare to ask their chief to stop, however, the latter's horse stopped to urinate, and the warriors seized the opportunity to halt. Finding the spot pleasant, they set up an encampment which they named Gobangafol (from *banga* "horse" and *mbefol* "urine"). These Gouang warriors settling there married Tem women and adopted the Tem language. The traditions vary concerning this expedition; according to Goody, it was probably commanded by Soumaila Ndewera Jakpa, king of Pembi, and according to others, by Nama, with Sémédé and Bafilo being founded by rebellious dissidents rather than by disciplined soldiers.

At present, representatives of the main clans are to be found at Bafilo, the Touré, originating from the Niger banks under the leadership of a certain Boukari, the Fofana, descended from Sabani (of the royal family of Fada N'Gurma), the Keita of Kabara; and the Tarasere. The Peuls who are said to have arrived in Nigeria between 1840 and 1875 (the Sakara and Dabo clans) allegedly initiated the Temba into stock raising When the Germans arrived, there were already several mosques. Islamisation has continued, and at the present time, there are 27 mosques in the town, divided between its two component quarters, 18 in the Agodadé one and 9 in the Central one. The chief mosque is 25 years old; a Kurʾān school with three grades is attached to it, with a Libyan imam giving instruction there since 1977. About 800 men and some 90 women have made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Until the Second World War there existed a small minority of the Kādiriyya order, but with the deaths of the last Alfa then, these adherents have rallied to the Tidjāniyya. Bafilo is an important centre for the spread of Islam, since several of the Muslim missionaries in Togo have received their religious education there.

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KUBAN (called in Noghay Turkish, KUBAN, in Cerkes, PšIšuz), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kura, Terek and Kuban). It is about 450 miles long It rises near Mount Elbars at a height of 13,930 feet. Its three constituents (Khurzuk, Uru-Kam, Uč-Kulan) join together before reaching the defile through which the Kuban enters the plains (at a height of 1,075 feet). The Kuban at first runs through the wooded outer spurs of the mountains and then, taking a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are the Daʾat, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urup, Laba, Bėlaia, Pšiš, Pselcups, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Protoka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the 15th century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov The Kuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Kuban—before 1918 the province (*oblast'*) of the Kuban Cossacks—also included the valleys, further north of the Baisugh, Čelbasi, Sasika and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this

great province, which is divided into 7 districts (Yeya, Temrūk, Kawkaseki, Ekaterinodar, Maykop [in Turkish "much oil"], Laba, Batṭālpashinsk], was estimated at about 32,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, 89, estimated the tribes of the Kuban at about 200,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population in about 1861 was 200,000 men (?), but as a result of expatriations en masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 by about 1883. Russian colonisation, which was begun by the Cossacks in about 1861, had reached 1,500,000 by 1894. In 1916, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnīs" included in this total had also increased and reached 130,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms, which lack precision, included the remainder of the Čerkes and Abaz tribes (*q.v.*) (relative to the Abkhāz, *q.v.*) and Turks of Kara-Čay. The latter (about 75,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (*aul*) of Ḳart-Djurt, Uč-Kulan and Khurzuḳ, etc. in the upper waters of the Kuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Noghay). They were at one time under the Čerkes princes of Ḳabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Kuban was re-organised on an ethnic basis; besides the Ḳabarda-Balḳar region (on the Terek) (now an Autonomous SSR) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Kuban first, the Ḳara-Čay-Čerkes, east of Urup with its capital Batṭāl-pashinsk, it has about 250,000 inhabitants of whom 45% are Turks, 25% Čerkes and 15% Cossacks; and second, the Adighe, a strip of territory along the Kuban and Laba, its capital is Tekhtamukay and it contains about 70,000 Čerkes. Both these are now Autonomous Regions.

The basin of the Kuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maykop go back to the second (according to Rostovtzeff, to the third) millennium B.C. Scythian tombs of the 4th-3th centuries B.C. are very numerous (Kelermes, Voronezhskaia) and Sarmatian tombs from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st A.D. The Greeks called the Kuban Hypanis, Vardanes and Anticites. In Byzantine authors we find Κοῦφις, Κοῦφις (Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 35). The spread of Christianity among the Adighe (Čerkes), according to local legends, dates from the emperor Justinian (527-65); cf Shora Nogmov, *Istoria adigheskago naroda*, Tiflis 1861, 43.

The Arabs were not well acquainted with the district. According to a bold conjecture of Marquart, *ibid.*, 37, 261, 264, Kuban is to be read for Dūbē (*Kūbā), which according to Gardīzī (quoting Dinawarī, on 301/914) formed the southern boundary of the Maǧiar (Magyars) and to the south of which (on the left bank) lived (Ibn Rusta, 139) the Twlās, probably an Alān (*q.v.*) tribe (cf. the southern Ossete tribe of Tual-th and the name of the Alān: Ās). On the other hand, Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj al-dhahab*, ii, 45-6) says that the immediate neighbours of the Alān were the Kasak living between the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Kashak (a parallel form is al-Ḳāsākiyya, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 257) are the Čerkes, whom the Russian chronicles call Kasogi and with whom the Russian principality of Tmutarakan (on the peninsula of Taman in the 9th to the 11th century) had continuous relations.

The later history of the territory of Kuban is at first the story of the struggle between the Russians and Ottomans, and more particularly the Khāns of the Crimea, for the possession of the fertile plains southeast of the Sea of Azov and later of the struggle of the Russians with the warlike tribes of the left bank of the Kubaz.

In the 16th century, Moscow's interest in the northern Caucasus was stimulated by the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with the Kabardian princess, Maria Temrūkovna, in 1561. Soon afterwards Sultān Selīm II sent Kāsim Pasha to Astrakhan, and Dewlet-Giray of the Crimea invaded Kabarda.

In 1589 the Cossacks appeared before Azov, a former Venetian and Genoese colony, which the Ottomans had taken in 880/1475. A long series of struggles began for the possession of Azov [cf. AZAK] and the Čerkes principality of Kabarda (to the east of the Kuban on both sides of the middle course of the Terek). Down to the beginning of the 18th century the Khāns of the Crimea had the upper hand, and by about 1717 the Čerkes had been converted to Islam (Nogmov). By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1739 the two Kabardas were proclaimed independent to constitute a buffer state between the two powers. By the treaty of Küčük-Kaynardji (*q.v.*) in 1774, Great and Little Kabarda were placed under the suzerainty of the Khān of the Crimea, whose independence was recognised. In 1782 the Turks occupied Taman, but by the edict of 8 April 1783, Catherine II proclaimed the annexation by Russia of the Crimea, Taman and the "Tatārs of Kuban". On 28 December 1783, the Porte recognised the course of the Kuban as the frontier. Between 1787 and 1791, the movement in the western Caucasus led by the religious leader Shaykh Manṣūr caused the Russians considerable trouble, but the Russo-Turkish treaty of Yassi (a town which owes its name to the Ās — Alān; *cf.* Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa², i, 1282-4) confirmed the frontier of 1783. The treaty of 1829 moved it southwards to the roadstead of St. Nicolas (between Poti and Batum), but the territory within these bounds was only effectively occupied 32 years later after a stubborn and heroic resistance by the tribes of the Kuban.

The line of defences of the Caucasus had been planned under the Empress Anna (1730-40). In 1777, the line started from Azov and west by Stavropol, Georgievsk to Ekaterinograd (on the Terek). In 1792, it began at Bughaz (north of Anapa) and following the Kuban for a while, left it to go to Georgievsk (1794) and then 1798 to Ekaterinograd (cf. the map in the *Akti kank. arkheogr. kommissii*, Tiflis 1868, I). In 1834 General Vellaminov established a military cordon on the left bank of the Kuban as far as Gelendjik on the Black Sea. In 1838 Novorossisk (Tsemes) was founded on the site of the old Turkish fortress of Sudjuk-Kal'a. After risings provoked by the operations of the allies in the Crimean War, General Yevdokimov in 1860 carried out an enveloping manoeuvre with the object of making the highlanders descend into the plains and of driving the rebels towards the coast to force them to migrate to Turkey. According to native sources (H. Bammats, in the *Revue Politique Internationale*, Nov.-Dec. 1918), 75,000 (?) refugees left the Caucasus in 1864, Russian sources give the number of emigrants at 23,586 from 1861 till 64. In 1864, the Russians reached the passes of the chain of the Western Caucasus.

Bibliography. Cf. the articles ABHĀZ, ALĀN, ČERKES, and AL-KABK. Archaeology: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Oxford 1913, 634-8 gives a complete bibliography; N. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922. All the passages to classical authors relating to the Caucasus are in B. Latyschev, *Scythica et caucasica*

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(V. Minorsky*)

KUBBA, the Arabic name used throughout the whole Muslim world for a tomb surmounted by a dome.

Purpose and significance. The term is applied to the thousands of simple local domed tombs of *shaykhs* and saints made by the people as well as to great mausoleums. The term *kubba* became established as a *pars pro toto* abbreviation for the domes of tombs, for which it is exclusively reserved. All the special names for sepulchral buildings, which vary with country and language as well as with the style of building and person interred, come under the generic name of *kubba*. The classical word *turba* was driven out of use by *kubba* until it was again popularised by the Turks. Just as we have *gumbad* for *kubba*, so we occasionally have *turbat* for *turba* in Iran. Tombs of saints which, along with tombs of princes, are almost the only material with which the history of art has to deal, have different names in different countries, and these usually also indicate different grades. The highest is the *mashhad*, which according to its etymology means a place where a *shahid* is buried "As a rule a *mashhad* is found only as the tomb of a martyr held in particular esteem, indeed of a saint endued with a semblance of divinity; but then the *mashhad* is not only a grave, but a memorial in the wider sense, which as a place of pilgrimage (*masdr*) attracts numerous visitors and has certain rites associated with it, that is to say, it is not a burial-place for any Muslim, but a tomb and also a place of worship for saints" (M. van Berchem, in E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* [to be quoted as *Ch. Bdkm.*], 89). The general term in Shi'i lands for the tomb of a saint is *imām zāde* or *pīr-zāde*. In lands where Arabic is spoken, these domed tombs are called *sayyid*, *shaykh*, *wali*, *nabi*, and as places of pilgrimage, *makām*.

Form, evolution and embellishment. The original form of the *kubba* is a square building covered by a dome, which evolved from the domed house of the peoples of the desert and became stereotyped as a monumental form. In the process, the very low-lying vaulting of the dwellinghouse, which is only a flat calotte rising from the cube of masonry, was raised The evolution of a rounded vault into a round dome required the insertion of an octagonal intermediate story, the drum, and led in the interior to that development of the transitions from the square to the round dome which constitute the constructive and decorative charm of all Muslim domed chambers (pictures of round vaulting in Diez, *Kunst der islamischen Völker*², Berlin 1915, 79) This development began with primitive squelling, then passed to simple spherical corner arcades or niches and so the end took its own way in West and East, as will be dealt with under the separate countries Alongside of this typical orthodox normal form of *kubba*, which is found from the Maghrib to the eastern Asiatic steppes and India, special forms, which are described under the different countries, arose in the lands conquered by the Turkish peoples, such as northern Iran, Māzandarān, the lands of the Caucasus, Anatolia and Central Asia. The ornamentation of the buildings depended on the material and the systems of decorations in vogue in the different countries. So far and so long as brick predominated, we find also the primitive, probably almost always coloured, stucco covering, with which in Iran, and exceptionally also in Anatolia, is associated glaze, which gradually took the place of stucco. The stone buildings of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Anatolia and the Caucasus, attained their effects through alternating layers of colour and decoration in relief. The stone domes of the Cairo *kubbas* covered with geometrical patterns and scrolls rival the brightly decorated glazed domes of Iran.

We shall now deal with the form and development of the *kubba* in the various lands.

Maghrib. The *kubbas* or *marabits* of the Maghrib are usually of uncertain age. Even the period of introduction of the different types is often difficult to determine. Comparisons with the architectural forms, especially with the decoration of the great dated mosques, sometimes afford a clue. The types of the different countries have their origins in old forms of the sepulchres of the people The Tunisian type A has derived its octagonal drum from the monumental style; the Algerian type B shows the combination of the original domed circular structure with the later rectangle, with the addition of the pinnacles indigenous to African native architecture; the western type C also found in Spain conceals the dome under the pyramid roof, which comes from building in wood and thus points to mountain valleys rich in wood and is a parallel phenomenon to the tomb of similar form in Māzandarān on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Type D is found among the nomads of the high Algerian plateau and follows the local style of building in clay of the nomad territory, with the egg shaped dome and the usually tapering lower structure

In view of this undoubtedly popular origin of the *kubba*, we can hardly agree with the common assumption that the open type of *kubba*—a dome on four pillars—as represented in the Cubola in Palermo, is the oldest in the Maghrib (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 532). Several *kubbas* of the cemetery of Kayrawān might, according to Marçais, date from the same time as the domes of the Great Mosque (cf. Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 27). To the same group also appears to belong the *kubba* of Sīdī el-Mazerī in Monastir which can be dated to the 6th/12th century.

In al-'Ubbād al-Sufli ("the Lower") near Tlemcen, Algeria, there are still several pre-Marīnid *kubbas* (*i.e.*

before 591/1195] built of brick and piné on four pillars with horse-shoe arches and semi-niche pendentives as arcades and octagonal domes (Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig 320) The walls were either crowned with wreaths of pinnacles or with corner pinnacles. In the old cemetery of Sīdī Yaʿkūb outside Tlemcen is the "Tomb of the Sultans", the rounded arches in nine sections of which piercing the eight sides of the lower drum make a date as the early 7th/13th century certain. The octagonal drum made the arcades superfluous here. The Kubbat Banī Merīn ("Tombs of the Marīnids") in Shālla (Chella) near Rabat-Salā up with the preceding type from Tlemcen. Here from 763 –/1361–98 were buried four successors of Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī. One of these *kubbas* has a quadrangular drum, pierced by four horse-shoe arches, and a dome with twelve sections. The arcades have again the form of semi-pendentives The mausoleum of Abū ʾl-Ḥasan there, the most splendid of the Marīnid tombs, has also a square drum with slightly deformed horse-shoe windows in three sides (H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris* [1922], Marçais, *op. cit.*, 497). Next to these open *kubbas* just mentioned the closed *kubba* is by far the most frequent. These buildings have only one door, but within, three similarly formed blind niches. This is the form of the *kubbas* of Sīdī Bū Medyen, the famous Spanish mystic, in Tlemcen which was already in existence in the 6th/12th century and restored at the end of the 18th century. The dome is divided inside by painting with intertwining bands into twelve sectors. The *kubba* in Tlemcen now called Sīdī Brāhim was built by Sīdī Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II (753–88/1352–86) The interior walls with the usual blind-niches still possess their stucco ornamented with glazes and their painted stucco relief The dome *divided into eight parts rests on Maghribī arcades* in the form of semi pendentives. These two last-named *kubbas* have pillared outes halls for the pilgrims. As elsewhere, in the Maghrib, particularly in Tunis, mosques and *madrasas* were rendered particularly sacred by the inclusion of a *kubba* (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 860).

Egypt The oldest buildings of the *kubba* type in Cairo belong to the Fāṭimid period. The oldest is the *mashhad* built by Badr al-Djamālī, the builder of the second wall and its gates, and by his son al-Afḍal—the *mashhad* of al-Djuyūshī on the Mukaṭṭam hills. *Amīr al-djuyūsh*, commander-in-chief of the army, was Badr's title. The date of the inscription was read as 478/1085 by van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe. I.*, in *JA* (1891), 478 = *Opera minora*, Geneva 1978, 210 5. The building consists of a rectangular chamber roofed by a high arcaded dome raised on an octagonal drum and five cross-vaults, which opens into a little court with three arcades on which a minaret is built (picture in Glück-Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 159, M S Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924, figs 35 8) The tomb chamber, left of the cupola, encloses the tomb of an unknown saint, whom the natives call Sīdī Djuyūshī, and to which pilgrimage is made on certain days; van Berchem raises the question whether this is the tomb of Badr himself (*Notes*, 487-8 = *Opera minora*, 153 4; idem, *Une mosquée du temps des Fatimides*, in *Mémo. de l'Inst. égyptien*, ii [1888], 603-29). In the domed chapel is a finely painted stucco *miḥrāb* The transition from square to octagon is done with Persian single arcades which survive in Cairo down to the Ayyūbid period. Directly below the Djāmiʿ al-Djuyūshī at the foot of the Mukaṭṭam hills in the Karāfa is a building similar in plan and construction to the *Mashhad* on the Mukaṭṭam, *Djāmiʿ Ibrāhīm Sīdnā Yūsuf*. It has an court an minaret. The arches here again have the Persian profile characteristic of the Fāṭimid period as well as the cupola. This building again is not a mosque but a *kubba* There are four small *kubbas* of this period in the Karāfa near the *kubba* of Sīdī ʿUkbā called by people *es sab'a banāt* "the seven daughters" (van Berchem, *Notes, loc. cit.*). These are small square buildings with octagonal drums and cupolas, originally seven, already mentioned by Makrīzī.

A *kubba* with tombs of ʿAbbāsid caliphs situated behind the renovated mausoleum of Sayyida Nafīsa in the south of Cairo shows the characteristic forms of the transition to the Ayyūbid style (van Berchem, *Notes. II.*, in *JA* [1892], repr., 20 ff.). A date 640/1243 in an inscription gives the *terminus ante*, which in view of the style of writing cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Ayyūbid period. Here the transition from square to octagonal drum is also produced through two series of *muḳarnas* (q.v.) niches which shows Turkish influence. This *kubba*, however, still follows Fāṭimid tradition as a brick building and to its stucco decoration. The profile of the cupola still retains its Persian form, indeed according to van Berchem, it is the only cupola of Cairo which still retains this cupola in completely characteristic fashion (*Notes. II*, 21). From the Ayyūbid period also date the *kubbas* of Sulṭān Sālih Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb of 647-8/1249-50 and of his widow Shadjarat al-Durr of 648/1250. These are rectangular buildings of stone with octagonal drum and a thin, eggshaped cupola with eight rectangular windows shooting up from it Three keel-arched windows arranged in a triangle pierce each of the four principal sides of the drum. *The façades of the kubba are ornamented* with keel arched flat niches and lozenge-shaped and circular shields decorated in stucco in the style of the Aḳmar mosque (519/1125) and other Fāṭimid buildings. In the interior, the transitions from the rectangular to the octagon are made with squinches and *muḳarnas*, the *miḥrāb* were decorated with rich ornament and framed above with keel arched *muḳarnas* in the form of a fan (pictures in the volumes of the Comité de Conservation [illegible], in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo mosques and their founders*, London 1922, fig 32 and Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, figs. 72 5)

With the Baḥrī Mamlūks (1250-1390) there began an increase in the height of the cupola by raising the drum, as could be seen in the ruins still standing to the early 20th century of the *kubbas* of the family of Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90) (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 187 and 153). The two *kubbas*, which were associated with *madrasas*, had rectangular substructures of stone with an octagonal drum of brick like those of the great mausoleums of Ḳalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The two domes fell in and one was renovated. The interior of the drum had stepped recess niches with pillars from ancient buildings, but was otherwise bare The substructures had windows of brick with pointed arches set into the stone walls, the fluted frames of which were decorated with stucco. The Syrian stone and the local brick technique here encountered one another. With these ruins the last remnants of the *kubba* of the Baḥrī Mamlūks disappeared. The *kubba* of Ḳalāwūn himself is an exception, he had it built after the model of the Kubbat al-Ṣakhra [q.v.] in Jerusalem, and therefore it is outside of the regular line of development. It also fell in, and was given a wooden cupola. In the

Bahrī period, the melon cupola also appears in Cairo.

The *kubba* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, a Ṣūfī *shaykh* of the time of the Banū Umayya, of 697/1298, is one of the most beautiful *kubbas* of Cairo, unfortunately much damaged in the interior by fire. The outside shows polygonal bevelling of the squinch area, a drum full of windows with a richly decorated calligraphic frieze about it, and a melon dome divided into numerous compartments. All the compartments and windows are framed in bands of stucco. The interior of the drum zone is broken up into richly ornamented, formerly painted, *muḳarnas* (picture in Briggs, *op. cit.*, 73). On this rests a dome of 28 segments, the ribs of which are decorated with sprigs of leaves in relief and it is beautifully adorned at top and bottom by inscriptions (picture in Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 42). If the influence of the Central Asian style was already seen in the melon cupola of the *kubba* just considered, it became more and more powerful in the raising of the cupola, the drums of which were no longer borne by Persian squinches and the cell-work evolved from it, but by Turkish triangular consoles and their numerous interruptions and combinations with *muḳarnas* honeycomb. The internal transition by means of such stereometric structures is henceforth shown outside also in triangular bevellings of the corners of the drum storey. The dome is in the shape of a helmet and is placed like a helmet on the drum. The external decoration of these domes with network patterns of all kinds in high relief carved in glazed stone is one of the peculiarities of Cairo. The older so-called "Tombs of the Mamlūks" and the later so-called "Tombs of the caliphs" all belong to the second Mamlūk period and are similar.

Lists of the *kubbas* of Cairo are given in K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology*, in *BIFAO*, xvi, and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 123 f.

Syria. According to Wulzinger's list, there are still in Damascus and its neighbourhood over a hundred *kubbas*, which are there called *turbe* and *wali* and are usually connected with small *madrasas* or *djāmi*'s. The general form is the same as everywhere else: a quadrangular-cubic building with a squinch storey, a window storey and dome. Nothing has survived from the Umayyad period. It was only under the Zangids and their successors the Ayyūbids that architecture began to flourish again. As, however, the sepulchral dome over the Nūriyya *madrasa*, with its clusters of cells shows, architecture on the larger scale under Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī was still dependent on other lands, and in this case imitated the Mesopotamian form (F. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die antike und die islamische Stadt*, Berlin 1921 f., ii, pl. 48). Saladin's *kubba* above the 'Aziziyya *madrasa* has a rather too small dome above the heavy substructure.

From the period of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 1250-1390, many *turbes* still exist which are described by Wulzinger and Watzinger. Through the Crusaders, the Syrians learned to work in a way suitable to dressed stone. "A touch of Gothic, even in as far as the artistic side, the idea, the aesthetic norm is concerned, becomes perceptible in the time of Bayḥars, indeed half a century earlier, just as in Egypt. The dome now rises with still greater vigour, the drum becomes higher and the silhouette steeper ... In particular, the portal edifice now becomes high and steep" (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 7). In keeping with this towering tendency, the *turba* of Rukn al-Dīn of 671/1274, which has a *mausoleum* associated with it, has already two transitional stories on a square substructure, one octagonal with Persian tonoan squinches and the other 16-sided with windows, and a melon-shaped dome above (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 42, pl. 8c and 9b). Very similar is the *turba* of 'Izz al-Dīn of 626/1228-9 and several others (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 9a, figs. 34, 35, pl. 7b, pl. 10a). A more modest type is represented by the Khidīriyya *turba* of 645/1247 built along with a *madrasa* for Sayf al-Dīn Khidr al-Nūrī. As frequently in Syria, there were originally here two domes separated by a gateway, but of the western one nothing has survived. Here one squinch area was sufficient, since with the help of pendentive consoles the transition was made direct from the quadrilateral to the duodecagon, and then by twelve triangular consoles, which are placed in the spandrels of the twelve pointed drum windows, the round base of the dome was reached (Wulzinger and Watzinger, figs. 10-12; cf. also fig. 47). Open *kubbas* with four great gate arches are also found in the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 7c). As an example of rich inner decoration with stucco-relief may be mentioned the al-Ṣāliḥiyya *turba* of the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12).

As in Egypt, so also in Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks, the architectural form rapidly lost vigour, and was replaced by a fondness for decorative detail (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 10). The exterior was brightened, as in Cairo, by the use of stones of many colours, which were also arranged in ornamental patterns. The dome shows a further tendency to increase in height. The Tawūsiyya of 784/1382 betrays a marked slackening in creative power by its two window storeys directly opposite and externally exactly like one another (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 24b). As the al-Turkī *kubba* of 868/1424-5 shows, there are no further changes internally in the transition from square to octagon and sixteen-sided figure (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 28a). The rich dome *muḳarnas* of Egypt is not to be found in Syria, and it remained here confined to the niches of the gateway. Outside of Damascus we may mention the double dome of Khayrbak in Aleppo, also known as the *kubba* of Shaykh 'Alī and Ḳāʾit-Bay, of 914/1508 (Gluck-Diez, *op. cit.*, 289 and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 206).

The Ottoman *türbes* from 1327 A.D. onwards, as in Egypt, little of interest and little variety. They are, as the *turbe* of Darwīsh Pasha of 987/1579 shows, mainly octagonal with two drum storeys as the lower of which the corners are still decoratively rounded off with niches, although they are now functionally superfluous (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 55).

Asia Minor and Armenia. In Saldjūḳ Anatolia more than in other countries, the association of *madrasas* with the sepulchral domes of the founders was the rule. In Konya and the towns under its influence, such as Aksaray, we find in the open *madrasas*, as in those with domed courts, at each side of the *liwān*-axis in the main axis behind the court a domed chamber, one of which is usually used as a tomb, the other as a lecture room, exceptionally both are tombs (Ingle Minareli: cf. MASJID, Architecture). In Konya the transition to the dome is made partly still by fanshaped trihedral consoles and partly by salient and re-entrant friezes of trihedral consoles (Kara Tāy, 649/1251 f.), Ingle Minareli, 650-684/1252-85, Sirčeli Madrasa, 641/1243-4). The earliest, still clumsy, trihedral console friezes shrank in the course of development in narrower, ornamental friezes. This abstract stereometric rounding off of the angles was brought by Turkish architects from Central Asia where they had developed it in wood-

work. In the more eastern Anatolian towns like Niğde, Kayṣariyya etc., the system of transition with arcades, most used in Iran and Syria, predominates. In addition to those already mentioned, attention may be called in Konya to the *turba* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (666-82/1267-83) which was also built as a *madrasa* with two domed sepulchral chambers (cf. F. Sarre, *Konia*, reprinted from *Persische Baudenkmäler*). The independent *kubba*, usually called *turba* or *gunbad*, also *mausoleum*, forms in Anatolia and Armenia a uniform group of tent-like buildings, mainly of stone, polygonal in Asia Minor round in Armenia, with pyramidal or conical roofs.

A list of the more important *turbas*, so far as they have been published, follows in Kayṣariyya: Cifte Gunbed, 645/1247; Döner Gunbed, 675/1276, Sirdjeli Gunbed, 750/1349, ʿAlī Diʿāfar, 750/1349, Amīr ʿAlī, 751/1350, all of stone, octagonal with pyramidal roof, except the last named which is square (cf. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*). The transition from the polygon to the round dome is here usually effected through rows of pointed arches. The Kōsh Madrasa in the same town (740/1339-40) has an octagonal *turba* standing in its court. The mosque of Lala Pasha has an octagonal *turba* of the 8th/14th century built on to it. In Niğde the mosque of Sunkur Bey has an octagonal *turba* of the year 620/1223 added to it. Outside of the town stands the octagonal *turba* of Khudābanda (712/1312-13), there are also several undated *turbas* in the vicinity (Gabriel, *op. cit.*). In Siwās is the octagonal *turba* of Husayn b. Diʿāfar of 629/1231-2 and the square one of Shaykh Hasan Beg (Guduk Mināre) of 748/1347 (cf. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus . . ., Asie Mineure*, i, 17 and 39, pl. ii). In Diwriği are the octagons of Amīr Karnāl al-Dīn, 529/1134-5 and of Amīr Shāhānshāh (Sayyida Malik), 529/1134-5, also an anonymous *turba* (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 94 pl. xii). In Tekke, a village near Zara-Diwriği, is the undated *turba* of Shaykh Mareubān. In Beyshehir the Ashraf Rūm Djāmiʿ has a square *turba* attached to it with a conical roof, the inner dome of which is decorated with unglazed mosaic such as we occasionally find in Konya. These stone *turbas* are usually decorated on the outside with bands of rebeʿ and in the entrance doorway with *muḳarnas* lunettes. Of the *turbas* in Akshehir, Sarre mentions that of Sayyid Maḥmūd, 621/1224 (*Kleinasien*, 22; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique* [1894-5]).

In Armenia there are several *turbas* of structural interest by Lake Van. They are cylindrical, like most northern Iranian sepulchral towers, with cement walls faced with hewn stone in the Armenian tradition, and occupy a special position in view of their subterranean tombs. The latter are vaulted on a square base and have concealed entrances. The interior chambers vaulted with pointed arched domes are therefore above the level of the ground, reached by steps and used as chapels. These sepulchral towers have further four entrances facing the four quarters with *muḳarnas* lunettes. The exterior is decorated with arcades in rebeʿ and Armenian two-sided niches with friezes of *muḳarnas* at the top. The combination of Turco-Islamic and Armenian traditions of structure constitutes their particular charm. The three great *turbas* in Akhlāṭ date from the end of the 7th/13th century, the small one from 862/1457-8, the *turba* in Vostan from 736/1334-5 (cf. W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, 1913; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 256 f., 218 f.).

Ottoman Turkey. The building of *turbas* continued under the rule of the Ottomans without, however, new types of artistic interest being created. The polygonal shape continues. The buildings show a stereometrically clear articulation of the façades, with triads of windows with pointed arches framed by straight lines. The often too large number of windows and the glazing of the windows make these *turbas* as a rule look plain and practical. In addition, the inner chambers lose in atmosphere by being too well lit and overfilled with sarcophagi. To give a list of the monuments by name seems hardly worth while here, in view of their large number and uniformity, as well as their lack of significance in the history of art; see on them G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971.

Turkī Iran and Central Asia. In ʿIrāḳ and Iran the normal type of *kubba* was preceded by indigenous tomb buildings. In ʿIrāḳ these are the polygonal tombs with *muḳarnas* domes above them, of which the best known example is the tomb of Sayyida Zubayda near Baghdād. Others are al-Nadjmī, al-Asāsa, Imām Dūr, Inānāzāde Tuli, etc. This type was also taken to Kūm (figs. in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1911, 20, Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 100 202, or p. 20, 72, 74 and MUḲARNAS). Kūm (q.v.), as one of the holy places of Iran since an early date, still offers, with its 16 *kubbas* still standing, the most fruitful source for the study of this type in Iran. They are almost all octagonal with an inner dome, which is covered over by a polygonal tent roof. With one exception, they are built of red brick and have roofs of blue glaze. They date from the 6th/12th to the 10th/15th centuries. They are Shāhzāde Ibrāhīm, an octagonal domed building with eight high deep niches, a Saldjūḳ (?) precursor of the similar Ṣafawid type (Khōdja Rabiʿ), Shāhzāde Ibrahīm near the Kāshān Gate of 721/1321 and restored in 805/1402; Shāhzāde Ismāʿīl 776/1374; ʿAlī b. Diʿāfar 740/1339; ʿAlī b. Abī ʾl-Maʿālī near the Kāshān Gate 761/1359; Khōdja ʿImād al-Dīn near the Kāshān Gate 792/1389; Khōdja Djamāl al-Dīn near the Kāshān Gate, Shāh Sayyid ʿAlī outside the Rayy Gate; Shāhzāde Aḥmad outside the Rayy Gate, Shahar Imām zāde outside the Rayy Gate; Shāhzāde Diʿāfar 707/1307; Shāhzāde Aḥmad (Khāliḳ Farad); Shāhzāde Aḥmad Kāsim; Čihil Akhtarān 905/1499; Shahzāde Hamza; Shāhzāde ʿAbd Allāh (A. U. Pope, *Preliminary report on the tombs of the saints at Qumm*, in *Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv/1 [1935]). The Imām zāde Karrār in Buzūn dated 528/1134 east of Iṣfahān was published by M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld (*Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, vii [1935]). It contains splendid stucco decoration. In northern Iran along the Elburs chain, much more frequently than the normal *kubba* we find in the period of the 4th/10th to the 7th/13th centuries cylindrical sepulchral towers of brick, usually called *mil* or *gunbad*; Djurdjān, Rayy, Radkān, Dāmghān, Demāwend, Kishmar, Wāramīn, Nakhčewān, Marāgha, Bustām, etc. (figs. in Sarre, *op. cit.*, Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.* and *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, etc.).

The type is found with variations beyond Iran as far as Khwārazm (Old Urgendj), although the norm in Central Asia is the domed *kubba*. These towers are mediaeval descendants of the very ancient Central Asian tombs, which were built by the sometimes nomadic, sometimes settled peoples of the steppes for their tribal chiefs and leaders in form they are to be interpreted as a rendering of the prince's tent of the nomadic peoples in monumental form and sometimes they copy its textile character (cf. Diez, *Persien*,

islamische Baukunst in Chorasan, 1923, 52 f., 73 ff., R. Hillenbrand, *The tomb towers of Iran to 1550*, Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1974, unpublished). A particular type which is closer in that of the normal *kubba* developed in the province of Māzandarān on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These are quadrangular and polygonal brick buildings, with pyramidal lower roofs mainly belonging to the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries and are undoubtedly descendants of an older native type of wooden building (figs. in Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 98, 99 or 73.) The *kubba* proper was already latent in the old square building of stone with squinch dome, with which, however, it has nothing genetically to do. The few Sāsānid domed buildings of this kind that have survived are simply monumental examples of a much older Iranian type of house (of the eastern Iranian, Sāsānid domed building Ribāṭ Sefīd in Diez, *Persien*, fig. 1). Domed buildings of the *kubba* were probably already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islamic period.

The oldest *kubba* in ʿIrāḳ is, if Herzfeld's ascription is correct, the Kubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya in Sāmarrā, which deserves our attention as the domed sepulchre of the caliph al-Muntaṣir, in which al-Muʿtazz and al-Muhtadī were perhaps also buried, as three graves were found. A domed building quadrangular in the interior, while outside the corners were cut off by the corridor-like octagonal pathway round it. The transition to the (now destroyed) dome was made by an octagonal series of squinches with niches, of which only fragments survive. There are four gates at the ends of the axes. The building followed the Kubbat al-Ṣaḳhra in Jerusalem and its Christian predecessors (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster Bericht ... von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, 28-31, Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise im Euphrat u. Tigrusgebiet*, i, 83-6).

The oldest remaining *kubbas* in Central Asia and Iran date from the 3rd/9th century and in contrast to Sāsānid domes, show an innovation in construction which opened up new possibilities of development: the corners are bridged over with keel arches instead of with the clumsy, funnel-shaped squinches proper. These, in smaller buildings, as in the *kubba* in Sang Bast, might be closed up with a filling of bricks arranged in a pattern, in larger buildings left open to the gallery passage behind, whereby the untramural passage which already existed in the great Sāsānid domes in Fārs in the squinch storey was now made visible for the first time and given an aesthetic function for the inner articulation of the chamber and the external articulation of the façades. The oldest *kubba* still preserved is the tomb of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad Sāmānī in Bukhārā of 296/907; the most celebrated and largest is the *turba*—as Yāḳūt calls it—of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar (511 or 512/1117-57) in Marw. The building is of colossal dimensions. The square lower part, with walls 20 feet thick and sides 90 feet long, is 45 feet high and is crowned outside by a gallery 27 feet high, behind which rises the drum with the dome, originally covered with blue glaze, to a height of about 100 feet. The drum shows signs of its original concealment by a wall of niches, in the empty niches of which only the Buddhist idols are lacking to complete the resemblance to the stupas of similar structure—for example in Balkh which is not far away. The direct connection between this decoration of the exterior of the *kubba* and the equally imposing stupas is undoubted. The gallery is ornamented with reliefs in brick and stucco. The interior walls are painted with ornamental designs, and have a frieze in Kūfic script around the top. The keel arches bridging the corners connect the chamber with the gallery. Similar windows pierce the walls in the central axes. The spandrels between these eight windows in the zone of transition are decorated with *muḳarnas*. The vaulting of the dome which towers above this is adorned with ribbed arches arranged in fan-shaped and criss-cross patterns in plaster, a method of giving the dome a spheroidal shape, which in later buildings came to be painted and filled in with tendril patterns (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 93 ff., E. Cohn-Wiener, *Das Mausoleum des Sultan Sandjar*, in *Jb. d. As. Kunst*, ii/1, 925, idem, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin 1930).

In Old Sarakhs on the Harī Rūd in the modern Turkmenistan S.S.R. is a *kubba* similar in construction, but on a more modest scale (V. Zhukovskiĭ, *Razvaliny Starago Merva*, fig. 33). Two others in the region of the Murghāb and Zarafshān oases are Tāḳhatān Bābā and Mazār Sulṭān Ismāʿīl in Bukhārā, both of the 6th/12th century (Zhukovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, figs. 30-2). Their squinches are still funnel-shaped like the Sāsānid ones and without a gallery. Like the tomb of Sandjar, they are distinguished by their brick ornamentation and are evidence of a native pure brick style of a vigorous character in the Marw oasis area, of which Cohn-Wiener gives examples in his book. The small *kubba* with its richly decorated interior belonging to the former Ribāṭ of Sangbast in Mashhad is probably an outlier of this style on the Iranian highlands (Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 52 f., pls. 24, 28; Glück and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 298, 3). The *kubba* of Sandjar opens the important series of Central Asian-Iranian mausolean *kubbas* of the 7th-12th/13th-17th centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinch area. We see the process completed in the *kubba* of New Sarakhs on the Persian side of the Harī Rūd, which was restored in the 8th/14th century, but probably dates from the beginning of the 7th/13th century (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 55 ff., pls. 20-2, Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, 297). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter, and also the dome, higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum formed by corner arches. This intermediate storey, however, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the *kubba* of Ṭūs almost contemporary with that of Sarakhs (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 55, pls. 19-20; idem, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, coloured plate, idem, *Persien, Bauk. in Chor.*, fig. 48; Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). In Ṭūs the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. *Chur. Bdkm.*, fig. 26, section). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building, so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally, this is a fusion with combined effect, i.e. a step towards the decorative Islamisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Ṭūs is not dated (8th/14th century?), we cannot fix the time relation of this *kubba* with the Western

Persian one of Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytū Khudā banda (703-25/1304 26) in Sulṭāniyya. In the interval, a variant had established itself there, the object of which was to transfer the gallery to the outside, an aim latest since the *kubba* of Sandjar. We really have here a type of building of a different, namely octagonal, shape which, as Tevier has already pointed out, was an Indian variant initiated in Iran. The interior gallery with corridor has *here* become a series of separate windows which resemble in shape and size the eight doorways below, so that two stories of equal size are created within, which gives the interior an effect of massive calm. On the other hand, a staircase within the wall leads up to a gallery above the window storey, which opens to the outside only and can no longer be regarded as an interior gallery. Equally peculiar are the eight minaret-like pillars which are placed at the corners of the roof terrace to buttress the dome (cf. the illustrations in *Kunst d. isl. Völker* and Diculafoy and Sarre's sketches in *Pers. Bāhm.*) We shall return to this type of *kubba* in the section on India. Another *kubba*, the only one of its kind in Iran, is the Djabal i Sāng near Kirmān, an octagonal building of cement with dome and drum of brick, which resembles the Syrian *turbas* (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 97 and fig. 81 p. 79. Creswell, *Persian domes before 1400 A.D.*, in *Burlington Magazine* xxii [1925], 208, pl. 1) With the sepulchral dome of Öldjeytū, the *kubba* in Iran reached the considerable height of 165 feet.

Alongside of this line of development in construction, there was a second which began probably as early as the Saldjūḳ, but certainly in the Tīmūrid period, this aimed at the same object, the raising of the height of the dome, and attained it by other means, namely by a drum and double-shelled dome. In both cases, the aim is not so much to raise the height of the interior chamber as to give a towering effect to the exterior. For the inner shell of the dome makes the interior much lower than would appear from the outer shell. The Kubba yi Sābz in Kirmān is the oldest—at latest dating from the middle of the 7th/13th century—sepulchral tomb of this kind (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 113). The models for these towered domes may possibly be found in the equally towerlike stupas of Afghānistān and the Tarim basin, with domes built one above the other and chambers between them. Timūr's *kubba*, the Gūr-i Mīr in Samarkand of 808/1405, the dome of which structurally resembles the Kubba-yi Sābz, is the next monument of this style still standing after it come the *kubbas* of the Timūrids at Shāh Zinda near Samarkand and others in Herāt and Turkestān (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 226, 229. J. M. Rogers, tr., *V. V. Barthold's article O pogrebenii Timura* ("*The burial of Timūr*"), in *Iran, Jnal of the BIPS*, xii (1974), 65-87). Gūr-i Mīr has, it is true, a gallery, but this no longer opens on to the interior by open niches, piercing the wall, but only through grilles, which are in the plane of the wall, is it possible from the passage within the wall to get a glimpse of the interior, an innovation of decisive importance in the layout of the latter. In and around Herāt there were once many *kubbas*, of which only two still exist (Niedermayer Diez, *Afghanistan*, figs. 163, 164); others east of Herāt (figs. 182-4).

The last phase of evolution in Iran was reached in the Ṣafawid period. The very similar memorial buildings of Khādja Rabī' of 1030/1621 near Mashhad and Kadam-gāh of 1035/1626 east of Nīshāpūr (*Chur. Bāhm.*, pls. 23, 39) are octagonal *kubbas* with galleries, which open to the outside in four great corner niches. These buildings seem to have their origin in the Persian garden pavilion, as a comparison with the Hasht Bihisht in Iṣfahān shows. But the idea of using garden pavilions as memorial buildings again comes from India. We may here mention also the *kubba* of Shaykh Dīām which has a court mosque and *madrasa* adjoining in Turbat-i Shaykh Djām near the Afghān frontier, as an example of a *madrasa* on a large scale (Diez, *Chur. Bāhm.*, 78 *ff.*, pls. 35-7). The largest place of pilgrimage of this kind is the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, with the domed sepulchre of the Imām (Diez, *Persien*, etc., figs. 44 56). In Afghānistān, the *mashhad* of Khōdja Akaṣḥi in Balkh and Mazār-i Sharīf, with domed tombs, may be mentioned (O. Niedermayer Diez, *Afghanistan*, 64 *ff.*).

India. The first Muslim dynasty to reign exclusively in India was descended from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], a former slave of Muḥammad Ghūrī who was installed by his master as viceroy in Dihlī and on the latter's death declared himself independent (602/1206). It is only with this dynasty of the 'Slave Kings" or Sulṭāns of Dihlī that monumental Muslim architecture begins in India. Nothing has survived of earlier buildings, which were probably built of perishable material. From the 7th/13th century, however, the building of tombs in the Muslim regions of India becomes important, and in keeping with the great expansion of Islām over the vast peninsula there are still in India far more *kubbas* than in the other lands of Islām. The influences interacting within the peninsula were very varied, the main genetic principle in the style of the *kubba*, as for all Indian Muslim architecture, can therefore only be said to be the combination of foreign and native Arabo-Turkish Persian and Indian, traditions. The amalgamation of these two traditions, which found expression in material, technique, shape and form, resulted in the manifold variations of the Indian types of *kubba*.

In the course of the general development, we can distinguish some ten different phases of style, as local styles (and when we use the word "local" we must remember the great scale of India). Sir Alexander Cunningham distinguished the following styles (*Archaeological survey of India, Reports* ii, iv): 1. The Indo-Turkish, which began with the Slave Kings' dynasty, with pointed or overlapping arches of corbelled horizontal layers, i.e. still using the old Indian technique of vaulting, and with rich decoration in relief in stone: tomb of Sulṭān Iltutmish in Dihlī (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 228, 287). 2. The style of the Khaldjīs of the second dynasty (689-720/1290-1320), or decorated Turkish style with horseshoe arches of radiating layers and rich ornamentation. 3. The Toghluḳ-kid, called after the third Turkish dynasty (720-817/1320-1414), with sloping, very thick walls and cusped horseshoe arches. The domes rest on low drums and the walls of red limestone are panelled with white marble frames: *kubba* of Toghluḳ Shāh in Toghluḳābād (*op. cit.*, fig. 226, 268); also brick buildings inlaid with glazed bricks: sepulchral dome of Rukn al Dawla in Multān. Later, we have still thicker walls without arches and inlay but with a covering of stucco, which was probably decorated and painted: *kubba* of Fīrūz Shāh in Fīrūzābād. 4. The Afghān style, called after the Afghān dynasties (Sayyids, Lodīs and Sūrīs) (817-962/1414-1555) with perpendicular walls, mostly octagonal mausoleums with arcades: tomb of Shēr Shāh (*op. cit.*, fig. 224, 273), decorated with coloured stucco as with stripe of glaze: *kubba* of Bahlūl Lōdī near Čirak-Dihlī, the octagonal mausoleums of

Sikandar in Old Khayrpur and others in Muhārakpur-Kotila and Khayrpur. Later, a coating of different coloured stones was preferred in the covering of stucco mausoleums of Shēr Shāh and Husayn Khān in Sahsarām. 5. The Turkish style in Bengal, an independent provincial style; squat buildings of brick sometimes decorated with minute faience work; tombs in Hadrat Pandua (769/1368) and Gawr with curved brick roofs. 6. The Turkish style of the Sharkids in Djawnpūr (796-883/1394-1479) a provincial style similar to (1) and (2)' tombs in Djawnpūr. 7. The early Mughal style comprises the buildings of the reigns of Akbar and Djahāngīr (963-1037/1556-1628). With the tomb of Humāyūn, finished in 980/1572, the Persian style established itself in Akbar's tomb it again makes way for the Indian (here the old vihāra type) to reappear in Djahāngīr's tomb in Lahore—in the faience which decorates it, at least (*ca* 1039/1630). Red sandstone is the material preferred. 8. The late Mughal style under Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Tādj Mahall, which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union.

To this list may be added 9. The Deccan style, which covers the numerous sepulchral domes and around the old capital on the plateau of the Deccan, although they show as many varieties as localities and are only variations of the north Indian sepulchral domes of the Turkish dynasties who founded Muslim rule in the Deccan. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh of Dihlī was the first to establish himself here in 693/1294. Half a century later the Bahmanids succeeded in bringing the northern half of the Deccan under their rule (748-934/1347-1527). Their capital was Gulbargā (q.v.). At the end of the 9th/15th century began the division of the Deccan under five dynasties: the 'Imād Shāhs in Berār (890-980/1485-1572), the Nizām Shāhs (895-1097/1490-1686) in Bidjapūr and the Kutb Shāhs (918-1098/1512-1687) in Golkonda. The most important sites for the study of the architecture are Gulbargā, the oldest capital, then Bidjāpūr, Bīdar and Golkonda; Bidjāpūr, "the Palmyra of the Deccan", stands out from all for the richness and size of the buildings. The shape common to all domed tombs is here as in northern India a square building with a dome. Some of these, like the Ibrāhīm Rawdja, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II (987-1036/1579-1626), and the incomplete 'Alī II Rawdja of the last 'Ādil Shāh in Bidjāpūr, are enclosed by long terraced arcades. Almost all the old buildings in the Deccan are built of hewn stone; in Bidjāpūr and elsewhere also we frequently find a reddish-brown basalt. The transition from the square to the dome was here again effected from the transition zone with corner arches to a kind of folding of the wall by means of crossing pendentive-like arches which led direct to the round of the dome without an intervening course. By far the largest of these tombs, indeed the largest *kubba* in the world, is that of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1036-70/1626-60), the celebrated Gul Gumbād in Bidjāpūr (pictures in *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 223 and 171; *Die Kunst des Islams*, 319 and many other works), a square building with an interior diameter of 150 feet, 10 larger than the interior of the Pantheon (110 feet). The interior narrows towards the top through a system of intersecting pendentives to a circular basis of about 105 feet in diameter on which rises the dome—leaving an inner gallery open—about 150 feet in diameter, the interior height is nearly 200 feet and the exterior 220 feet. The weight presses inwards through the pendentives, but is counteracted by the weight of the dome, so that it was not necessary to counteract any outward pressure by massive walls.

In Gulbargā, which was the capital of the Bahmanids (748-930/1347-1514), still stand the simple *kubbas* of the early rulers of this dynasty, among them the tomb—here reproduced—of its founder Hasan Gangū 'Alā' al-Dīn (748-59/1347-58). The *kubbas* of the later Bahmanids from Ahmad Shāh Walī onwards (825-39/1422-36) are at Bīdar and are already much larger and sometimes richly decorated, especially the mausoleum of Ahmad Shāh. The square building is transformed to the round by keel arches at the corners. The interior walls are brought into rhythm by three flat niches on each, of which the central ones on the north-south axis are opened as doors. The central niche on the west is deepened to form a pentagonal *mihrāb*. The niches are flanked with Indian pilasters. The painting of the interior is undoubtedly of later origin, but the old designs may survive in places. The painting of the dome resembles that of Khodja Rabī' (in Khurāsān see above), as does the frieze of inscription. Almost as large as that just mentioned, but without decoration in the interior, is the *kubba* of Mahmūd Shāh II (887-924/1482-1518). To this group also belongs an octagonal tomb without dome, obviously unfinished, which resembles the mausoleum of Khodābanda Shāh in Sultāniyya (Persia) and was built for Shāh Khalīl Allāh Husayn, the iconoclast and saint, son of the tutor of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī. The tombs of the Baridīs who followed the Bahmanids are open *kubbas* standing on pillars.

The fine city of tombs of the Kutb Shāhīs of Golkondā lies outside the town in a large walled garden. The *kubbas* of the last rulers of the dynasty, 'Abd Allāh (1045-83/1635-72) and of Abū 'l-Hasan (1083-98/1672-87), who died in Mughal captivity, built only up to the dome, outside the walls. The cubic buildings are sometimes surrounded by galleries of arcades as in Bidjāpūr. The bulbous domes rise out of a lotus pattern (see the illustrations). In the country around are *kubbas* of prominent families and saints, like the Cahār Gumbād reproduced here. They belong to the same type. The last great group to be mentioned is: 10. The style of Gudjarāt, with Ahmadābād as its capital, founded by the second ruler of the sultāns of Gudjarāt, Ahmad Shāh I (814-46/1411-42); his descendants ruled till 991/1583. Ahmad Shāh's *kubba* or *rawda* in the centre of the town beside the Djāmi' Masdjid is a square building with sides 90 feet long, consists of a domed chamber 35 feet high and four corner chambers connected by pillared halls. The preference for rich, pointed ornamentation peculiar to this style finds expression in the marble cenotaphs and fillings of the windows. In *kubbas* outside the city, as in the mausoleum of Daryā Khān of *ca.* 857/1453, we again find the Turco-Persian transition storeys with corner arches and gallery with a dome above built of horizontal layers (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 214, and 182).

The most important groups have been mentioned. For the most notable Mughal tombs, which are only briefly mentioned above, see AGRA, 19, Architecture, and MUGHALS, Architecture.

Finally, it should be noted that *kubba* "cover" occurs as a technical term in the construction of scales and balances, where the housing for the pointer (*lisān*), often used also as a carrying handle (cf. Pedro de Alcala *cabba* = *mantija del peso*), was called the *kubba*. See J. D. Latham, *The interpretation of a passage on scales* (mawāzīn) in an *Andalusian* hisba *manual*, in *JSS*, xxiii (1978), 285-7.

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(E. DIEZ[*])

KUBBA (now Kuba), a district in the eastern Caucasus between Bākū and Derbend (*q.vv.*). The district of Kubba, with an area of 9,800 sq. miles, is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samūr, which flows into the Caspian, on the west by the "district" of Samūr which belongs to Dāghistān (*q.v.*), on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks Shāh-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Bābā Dagh, 11,900) which separate Kubba from Shamākha (cf. the article SHIRWĀN), on the south-east by the district of Bākū and on the east by the Caspian. The area between the mountains and the flat coast land is called Dāf (Vullers, i, 499: *dāf*, "ad venerationem principis destinatum nemus"). The plain between the rivers Yalama and Belbela is called Muskūr; Shābarān lies further south (cf. SHIRWĀN). The other cantons are Barmak (so-called after a member of the Barmakī family, who sought refuge here in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd), Shushpāra, Tip, Khinalugh, Budugh, Yukhārī-bagh, Sirt, Anakh-dara, and (sometimes) Ḳubaisha (*Akt*, iv, 650).

The population in 1896 was 173,000 36.7% Tāt (*q.v.*, speaking the Iranian dialect of Tatī, 25.5% of Āḏharbāyḏjānī Turks, 24% of highlanders of the Kūrā group (the Mūrīn (*q.v.*)), and 6% highlanders of the group (see the eastern Dāghistān group) formed of Khinalugh (*q.v.*), Dek, Krīz (*q.v.*) and Budugh, in whom the Udī of Sheki (*q.v.*) seem to be related. Muslims form 94% of the population (76.5% Sunnīs, and 17.5% Shīʿīs). Jews, Russians and Armenians together number several thousands. The town of Kubba (16,300 inhabitants), only founded in about 1750, lies on the right bank of the river Ḳudiyāl on the but bank is the Jewish quarter of the town. Near the mouth of the Ḳudiyāl is the roadstead of Niāzābād (called Nizovaya by the Russians) which played an important part in Russian military operations in Transcaucasia.

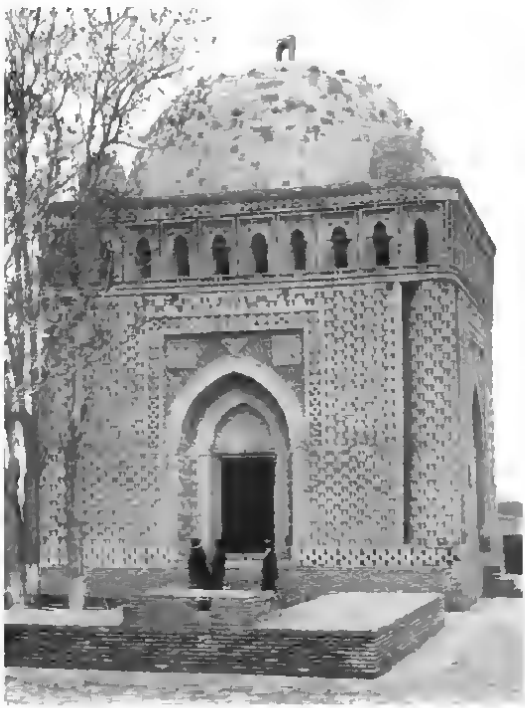
The history of the district of Kubba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shirwān; Shābarān (now a ruined site on the river Ḳulhān, Russian Gulkhin) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Mukaddasī, 376) before Shamākha became the capital of Shirwān. On the banks of the river Ḳulhān may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bābā Dagh. Near the town of Kubba is the tomb of the Shirwān-Shāh Ḵāwīs b. Kayḵubād (d. 774/1373).

It was only in the 18th century that Kubba enjoyed a period of independence. In the time of Shāh Sulaymān Ṣafawī, a member of the family of the *ʿazīz* of Kayṭāḳ (cf. DĀGHISTĀN) called Husayn Khān arrived at the court of Iṣfahān. He became a Shīʿī and gained the favour of the Shāh, who appointed him Khān of Kubba and of Sālīyān (at the mouth of the Kurā). Husayn Khān built the castle of Khudād. His grandson Husayn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the *ʿazīz*, but his position was threatened by the alliance of Surkhay, prince of the Ḳāzī-Kumūḳh, with Ḥāḏjdjī Dāwūd, religious chief of Muskūr, who with the help of Turkey played a considerable part in Dāghistān from 1711. Nādir Shāh restored Sālīyān to Husayn. After the death of Nādir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Husayn moved his capital from Khudād to Kubba where he built a town and annexed Shābarān and Kulhān. He died in 1171/1758. His son Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189/1775 sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academician Gmelin, who had died on 27 June 1774 in captivity with the *ʿazīz* of Kayṭāḳ. With the help of the Russians, Fatḥ ʿAlī re-established his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Dāghistān, Kubba, Sālīyān). He also took Shirwān, and the Khān of Bākū appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1203/1778 he sent 9,000 men to Gilān to restore Ḥidāyat Khān, who had been driven out by the Ḳādjārs (*q.v.*). In 1202/1788 he seized Ardabīl, whereupon the Shāh Sawān (*q.v.*) recognised his authority. The Khāns of Ḳarā-Dagh and of Tabrīz sought his support. Fatḥ ʿAlī is credited with ambitious designs on Āḏharbāyḏjān. To reconcile his plans with those of the king Irakli of Georgia, Fatḥ ʿAlī met the latter at Shamkūr (Shamkhor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1203/1789.

The political and military wash of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā (succeeded in 1797) had a very adventurous career. This young Khān relied on the support of the Ḳādjārs, but Count Zubov took Derbend on 4 May 1796, and entrusted the government to his sister Peri-Dīdān Khānum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shaykh ʿAlī returned to Derbend. In 1801 he and the other Khāns sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1805 we again find Shaykh ʿAlī rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1226/1811. The khānate of Kubba was occupied by the Russians in 1806, and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Kubba formed a "gouvernement" of Shirwān (later of Bākū). Since 1919 Kubba has been part of the republic of Āḏharbāyḏjān, at first independent and then a Soviet SSR.

Bibliography cf. the articles NĀGHISTĀN, DERBEND, SHIRKĪ and SHIRWĀN. See especially the work of the local historian ʿAbbās Ḳulī Āghā Bākīkhānov (a descendant of the Khāns of Bākū, who were related to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān), the *Gulistān-i Irem*, of which a Russian version by the author

1. Jerusalem. Dome of the Rock. Exterior.



2. Bukhārā. Mausoleum of the Sāmānid Ismā'īl, 4th/10th c. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

3. Marw. Mausoleum of Sulṭān Sanǧar, 5th/11th c. (Photo Karim Rührdanz)

4. Cairo. Mausoleum of Imām al Shāfiʿī, ca. 608/1211. Exterior (Courtesy Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

5. Cairo Mausoleum of Imām al Shāfiʿī, ca. 608/121 Interior (Courtesy Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museu Oxford.)

6 Sulṭāniyya. Mausoleum of Uljāytū, 707 II/1307 II (Photo M. Rogers)

7 Cairo. Mausoleum of Khāʾirbāy, ca 877-9/1472-4 (Photo A. F. Kersting)

6 Samarkand. Mausoleum Gūr-i Mīr, 806/1404. (Photo B. Brentjes)

5. Samarkand. Shāh-i Zinde. General view (Photo Konstanze Göbel)

himself (1794 1846) was published at Bākū in 1926 (*Travaux de la société scientifique de l'Azerbaidjan*, part 4) The principal documents are in the collection by A. Bergé, Tiflis 1866 *ff.*, i-xii, index under *Derbend Kubba* (V. Minorsky)

al-ḲUBBA, Ḳubbat al-ʿĀlam, Ḳ. al-Arḍ, Ḳ. Arīn "the dome of the world, of the earth, of Arīn", expressions used by the Islamic geographers and as toponyms to denote the geographical centre of the earth (*wasaṭ al-arḍ*) at the zenith of which exists the *kubbat al-samāʾ* or *wasaṭ al-samāʾ* the *kubbat al-arḍ*, defined as being equidistant from the four cardinal points or *ḳiblā* (see e.g. Ibn Rustā, 8, tr Wiet, 7), 90 theoretically to be found at 90° from each of the poles and meridians of longitude zero and 180°, passing through the two extremities of the inhabited world (whether the longitudes are calculated starting from the east or the west) It is thus situated on the equator, and, for those authorities who followed Ptolemy, at 90° to the east of the meridian of the Fortunate Isles (see AL-ǦAZĀʾIR AL-ḪĀLIDĀT) taken as the starting point Now, if the theoretical position of the *kubba* causes no problems, its localisation in practice does in fact pose an interesting one.

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (tr Minorsky, 58, § 4, No. 23) echoes a tradition which places the centre of the inhabited world in an island called Nāra (read as Bāra by Minorsky) at a longitude of 90° east, and he adds that the astronomical tables and the position of the planets and fixed stars were calculated in relation to this equinoxial island (*istiwāʾ al-layl* see *Ḥ-nahār*. cf. Ibn Rustā, 84 tr 92 "l'île équatoriale") However, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* whilst noting the fact that this island is mentioned by al-Fazārī and Yaʿḳūb b Ṭārik, places it at 290° 50′ longitude east, i.e. at 70° to the east of Yamaḳoṭī/Ḏjamaḳṭī/Ḏjamaḏī, which marked the extreme eastern boundary of the inhabited world, and he states that there are some more or less unknown places there. In his *Taḥdīd*, 159, tr 1, 303-4, al-Bīrūnī notes that the name Yamaḳoṭī is reminiscent of Kankdiz/Gangdiz, which Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī took as the starting-place for the longitudes, calculated from east to west and on longer from west to east (cf. D Pingree, *The thousands of Abū Maʿshar*, London 1968, 42 and index). Al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 231 = § 555, recording an ancient Iranian tradition, attributes to Ḳay Ḵhusraw the foundation of Kankdiz, and he notes specifically that certain authorities equate it with Yang-ch'eou; he further adds that several Chinese kings made it their capital Al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*, mentions Ḳay Ḵāwūs or Ḏjam/Ḏjamshīd as founder of this legendary town which was to remain, at least theoretically, as the extreme limit of the known world for later scholars. Abū Maʿshar likewise places it to the east of China and at 90° from the *kubbat al-arḍ*, but he identifies it with Ūzayn, which is a dangerous error

The Indians used to calculate the longitudes from Lanka (Ceylon), whose southern tip is not very far from the equator, but they were led to displace the original meridian westwards and to adopt instead that of Udjdjayn [*q.v.*], which is near to the Tropic of Cancer but cat at all near to the Equator The name of this town, which has indeed a genuine geographical existance, was written in Arabic script Ūzayn/Ūzyn أُزَيْن/أُزْيَن (cf Ibn Rustā, 22, tr. 19 and n. 6, with bibl ; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1937, 109), and then, by means of a wrong reading, Arīn أُرَيْن, it is under this latter form that this toponym appears in later works, that it is transcribed in the mediaeval Latin translations, and that it appears even in some French lexica (Arme) Being unaware of the exact position of Udjdjayn, some authors tended to consider it as an island in the Indian Ocean (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. 190), or at least to place it quite naturally on the equator, totally unaware of their error (thus Ibn Rustā, *loc. cit.*, or al Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh, loc. cit.*) In this way, *kubbat Arīn* and *kubbat al-arḍ* became synonymous; an astronomer as recent as al-Ḳādirī correctly defines the *kubbat al-arḍ* as *al-ʿālam* as the point of intersection of the equator and the *dāʾirat nisf al-nahār* and still calls it the *kubbat Arīn*, but he probably saw only there a traditional name without any direct connection with the town of Udjdjayn

Finally it may be noted that the use of the word *kubba* to denote the geographical centre of the earth has given rise to the idea that a particularly high point of the earth is involved here The Indian tradition which makes the zero meridian go through Ceylon, where Adam's Peak rises, may conceivably be influenced by this conception, which al-Bīrūnī attacked on his *Ḳānūn* (cf A Bausani, in *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974, 28-9)

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already mentioned, see above all the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, comm. 139, 245, 335 *f.*, M. Reinaud, *Introd. générale à la géographie des Orientaux*, Paris 1848, pp. cxxxix ff.; Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907, *passim*, art. BUQM NĀRIYA (Ch. Pellat)

ḲUBBAT AL-HAWĀʾ, "the Dome of the Winds", a popular appellation for isolated monuments situated on rocky spurs, for example, the (unidated) domed tomb of a *shaykh* on the west bank of the Nile (cf. Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Upper and Lower Egypt* 9th edition, 56 Mary Brodrick, London 1896, 920) above Aswān That presumably postdates the destruction of an adjacent Coptic monastery, attested by a graffito, to Shīrkūh al-Dawla's Nubian expedition of 1173, though the monasteries of the area, to judge from descriptions Muslim visitation inscriptions in Arabic dated, *inter alia*, 634/1294 5, at the neighbouring monastery of "St. Simeon" (not mentioned in U. Monneret de Villard, *Descrizione generale del monastero de Snt. Simeon di Assuān*, Milan 1927), survived for a further century or more.

The most celebrated edifice of the name no longer exists. This is recorded by al-Kindī (*Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 147, ll. 14-15. cf. al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, Būlāḳ 1853, 201, l. 21; 202, ll. 3-32) as a palace built by Ḥātim b Harthama, governor of Egypt in 194-5/809-11 on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam hills This was deliberately destroyed on the fall of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty and no trace of it exists The exact site has been disputed, but its total disappearance makes it more probable that it was on the site later occupied by the Ayyūbid Citadel of Cairo (K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 5, and references) than higher on the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the neighbourhood of the Fāṭimid *maghāḍ*, generally known as the Maḥbad al-Diyūfiyīn The site of this Kubbat al-Hawāʾ was subsequently converted into a cemetery, and various mosques, which have equally disappeared without trace, were erected there (P Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* [= *MMAFC* VI], Paris 1894, 557-61).

Though the possibility that the Cairene Kubbat al-Hawāʾ may be identified with the presumed Fāṭimid observatory on the Muḳaṭṭam hills must be

discounted (cf. A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960, 130-56), the sense of the term *Kubbat al-Hawā'* suggests the persistence into Islamic tradition of some reminiscence of the Athenian Tower of the Winds, described as an *horologium* by Varro (*De re rustica*, 3.5.17) and dated accordingly pre-37 B.C., but also representing the winds on its eight facets (H. S. Robinson, *The Tower of the Winds and the Roman market place*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlvi [1943], 291-305, J. V. Noble and D. J. de Solla Price, *The water clock in the Tower of the Winds*, in *ibid.*, lxii [1968], 345-55). The term *Kubbat al-Hawā'* may thus have been used in Islam for structures associated with time-keeping or meteorology, though the evidence for this in the standard authorities is lacking. The reasons, incidentally, for the use, in the 18th century A.D., of the Tower of the Winds in Athens as a *zāwiya* (*khāna* of the Khalwatī dervishes (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, i, 12 *et passim*) have still to be elucidated.

Bibliography given in the article.

(J. M. Rogers)

KUBBAT al-ṢAKHRA the Dome of the Rock, at times called the Mosque of ʿUmar, is the oldest remaining monument of Islamic architecture, and probably the first conscious work of art of Islamic civilization.

Location and description. The Dome of the Rock is located on an artificial platform, roughly but not exactly in the centre of the Haram al-Sharīf (q.v.) in Jerusalem. The shape and emplacement of the platform were probably determined by the ruined state of the old Jewish Temple area, together with whatever Roman constructions may have been left; it is also possible that there were pious and historical or legendary associations with parts of this area of the Haram, but these are difficult to demonstrate (see below).

A celebrated inscription, in which al-Maʾmūn replaced ʿAbd al-Malik's name with his own, dates the construction of the Dome (*kubba* in the inscription) to 72/692. It has been superbly described in all details by K. A. C. Creswell, and recent repairs have only confirmed most of his reconstruction of the original monument. It consists of a dome (20.44 m. in diameter and 30 m. in height) surrounded by two octagonal ambulatories, each side of the outer one being around 18.50 m. Interior supports consisted of piers and columns, the dome was set on a high drum and probably was from the very beginning a wooden double dome. There were fifty-six windows in the drum and the octagons, a parapet on the outside, and simple porches. Two important architectural characteristics of the Dome of the Rock must be noted. One is the superb geometry of its layout, based on the extension of two squares inscribed in the circle of the rotunda. It is this geometry which provides the monument with its harmonious aziness and which makes it possible to perceive the whole building at a glance. The second characteristic is that, from the point of view of its plan and composition, the Dome of the Rock belongs to a high tradition of Byzantine architecture represented by monuments found in Ravenna, Syria (St. Simeon, Bosrā) and Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Ascension). It is almost certain that its builders and planners were Christians from Syria or Palestine.

The Dome of the Rock was lavishly decorated with marble, mosaics, and gilt bronze plaques. The cupola was gilded on the outside and the outer walls were in large part covered with mosaics. Most of the exterior decoration has disappeared, but, in spite of numerous restorations, the interior still approximates to its original appearance of a glittering sheathing of mosaics. Almost every part of the walls was covered with vegetal and geometric designs, and these included the very unusual motif of royal crowns and jewels. A fairly complete description of all these themes has been provided by Marguerite van Berchem in Creswell's *Early Muslim architecture*. Although there is some debate about the origins of the mosaicists (Syrian or Byzantine), there is little disagreement about the stylistic origins of the decoration. Most of it derives from the rich vocabulary of Late Antique and early Byzantine art, but there are also definite Iranian elements. Together with the important absence of any figural representations, this mixture of sources indicates that a conscious new Muslim taste affected the decoration of the Dome of the Rock far more than its architecture. We shall return later to the interpretation which could be given to these mosaics, since it is closely related to the problem of the meaning of the whole monument. As we shall see, a key document for whatever interpretation is given lies in the long inscription in gold mosaic cubes which runs along both sides of the octagonal arcades. In addition to providing the date of the building, this inscription contains numerous Kurʾānic passages which range from statements of the faith of Islam (cxii-cxxiii, 54; xvii, 111, etc.) to the major Christological passages in the Holy Book (especially iv, 169-71 and xix, 34-7). These are our earliest dated fragments from the Kurʾān, and C. Kessler has shown recently that many letters were already provided with clear diacritical marks (see *Bibl.*).

Although the Dome of the Rock has been amazingly well preserved, it was affected by many alterations and repairs over the centuries. The exact chronology of all these changes is difficult to establish. The cupola was redone in Fāṭimid times and under the Ottomans, the roof of the octagons was repaired in ʿAbbāsid times, and their ceilings transformed under the Mamlūks. The Crusaders added a handsome iron screen around the Rock, which has now been removed, but it was the Ottomans who in the 10th/16th century covered the building's exterior walls with some of the best known examples of Turkish ceramics. Between 1956 and 1964 a Restoration Committee under the leadership of Egyptian and Jordanian architects and authorities undertook a complete restoration of the monument. Some part, such as the dome, were totally redone, others, the mosaics for instance, cleaned and repaired. The guiding principle of this work was to put every part of the building back to its earliest documented shape. Although future research may quibble at some of the decisions taken (for instance, it is likely that the beams of the ambulatory's roof were visible, since painted ones were found there), it has been one of the most successful jobs of restoration known anywhere, and it is hoped that its carefully-kept records will soon be published.

Significance. The Dome of the Rock has excited more scholarly concern than any other Islamic monument, and this for several reasons. It is a unique building which was rarely copied for its shape (a few later commemorations like the Sulaybiyya in Sāmarrā or Kalāwūn's tomb in Cairo may have used it as a model), and never for its functions. It does not fit into any architectural series. Also it is located on the site of the Jewish Temple, in the holy city of

Christianity, without showing obvious traces of impact from the two older monotheistic faiths. It does not look like a mosque, and the Aksā nearby fulfilled the congregational needs of the Muslim community. Finally, literary sources on the Dome of the Rock are confused and contradictory, even though the inscription on the building indicates that it was a major effort of the Umayyad dynasty.

The many explanations which exist can be divided into three broad groups. The first one is the traditional pious Muslim view, which interprets the Rock as the place whence the Prophet went on his celebrated Journey into Heaven (*miʿrādj* [q.v.]). That such became eventually the holy meaning of the Dome of the Rock is indisputable, since the whole Haram became the *Masdjid al-Aksā* of Kurʾān, XVII, 1. But, while the association between the Rock and the Prophet's Journey may have been made quite early, there is no trace of it in the most authentic document about the monument, sc. its long inscription.

The second explanation is concretely historical, and goes back to a passage from al-Yaʿkūbī. This explanation holds that during the struggle of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to create in Jerusalem a shrine which would compete with the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Recently, W. Casket revived the theory by pointing out that the Umayyads as a dynasty did seek a cultic center in Syria or Palestine, and that Jerusalem was the only one which fulfilled the necessary conditions. The main objection to this theory is that, even though there are several literary indications of a special Umayyad attachment to Palestine, there is some doubt as to whether such a basic Islamic requirement as the pilgrimage to Mecca could be altered. Furthermore, al-Yaʿkūbī was a violently anti-Umayyad polemicist whose interpretations are open to criticism.

The third explanation is cultural-historical. Starting with the evidence of the inscriptions and of the mosaics, it proposes to see in the Dome of the Rock a monument proclaiming the new faith and empire in the city of the older two religions. It sanctified anew a Jewish sanctuary and slowly incorporated within itself the memories of Abraham and Joseph, among others. It set up the crowns of Byzantine and Persian kings like an offering around the centre of the monuments, and put up its own Christology above the crowns. It was a missionary monument of victory, built at a time when ʿAbd al-Malik was concerned with Christian enmity, but especially when he sought to proclaim Islamic uniqueness within a common religious tradition, as, for instance, in his coinage. As the specific need of maintaining the cohesion of the community of faithful waned, pious associations grew up and eventually transformed the Dome of the Rock into the unique sanctuary it is today.

While this third explanation seems to us to reflect better than the first two the evidence of contemporary sources and of the spirit of the time, it is only fair to say that the debate is not yet closed. However it may be eventually resolved, two conclusions are pertinent. One is that, both as a work of art and as a cultured and pious document, the Dome of the Rock is a unique monument of Islamic culture in almost all respects. The second one is that it is a monument with a history, for, whatever its initial purpose may have been, it developed more and more complicated associations as time went on. It may indeed be a rare instance of a sanctuary whose holy meaning grew after it had been built. But, as a work of art, it is one of the most telling documents about the gradual transformation of a local Syro-Palestinian Christian art into Islamic art.

Bibliography All earlier works are listed and discussed in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, 1, Oxford 1969. Of particular importance are O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock*, in *Ars Orientalis*, III (1957), and C. Kessler, *Above the cosing of — the Dome of the Rock*, in *JRAS* (1964). Since 1969, one should see Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973, Kessler, *ʿAbd al Malik's inscription*, in *JRAS* (1970), M. Ecochard, *A propos du Dôme du Rocher*, in *BEO*, XXV (1972), W. Caskel, *Der Felsendom und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, Cologne 1963.

(O. Grabar)

KUBBE WEZĪRI (T.) 'vizier of the dome" was the name given, under the Ottomans, to the members of the imperial *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i hümāyūn* [q.v.]) who came together on several mornings each week around the Grand Vizier in the chamber of the Topkapı Palace called Kubbe altı because it was crowned by a dome. The *kubbe wezīrleri* were the *kāżī ʿaskers* [q.v.] of Rumelia and Anatolia, the *kāżī* of Istanbul, the *defterdār* [see DAFTARDĀR] the *silāḥdārs* [q.v.], the *aghas* of the Janissaries, the commander of the cavalry and, when he happened to be in the capital, the *kapudan paşha* [q.v.]. This institution was abandoned under Ahmed III [q.v.].

Bibliography J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, II, 80 ff., see also the *Bibls.* of the articles cited above and above all WAZĪR. (Ed.)

KÜBCÜR (in Central Asia), the most important of the taxes and impositions of Mongol origin in the Čingizkhānid period. It was originally a tax on flocks and herds, payable by the Moagols to their rulers. Such a levy was made by Čingiz-Khān early in his career for the support of his ally and patron the Ong-Khān of the Kereyts (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, ed. L. Ligeti Budapest 1971, 107, Rashīd al-Dīn *Shornik létopises*, ed. Berezin, XIII, 178). In the formative years of the Mongol Empire, *kübčür* was levied at a rate of one animal out of every 100 (Djuwaynī, III, 79, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, 42). At this stage it seems to have been paid only by the nomads.

In 650/1252 the Great Khān Möngke introduced among other reforms a new method of taxation. Following the model that had been established in Transoxiana by the governor Mahmūd Yalawāč, he imposed on the Empire a poll tax, levied according to the wealth of the individual taxpayer on a sliding scale from ten *dīnārs* down to one. Other rates are also mentioned. This tax was to be called *kubčūr*, and was to be paid by the subject population (Djuwaynī, I, 253 4). Such a tax inevitably involved periodical censuses of the conquered population (Djuwaynī, I, 25, cf. Grigor of Akanc', *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and tr. Blake and Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 57). On the basis of a new census, *kübčür* was reassessed in 656/1258 on a scale ranging from 500 *dīnārs* to one. Thereafter the imposition of censis and "poll tax" *kübčür* seems to have become a regular procedure, at least in the west, as new territory submitted to the Mongols or was conquered by them (see e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, 256 7). It became something of a byword for Mongol oppression (see Minorsky, *Fūr i Bāhā and his poems*, in *Iranica*, Tehran 1964, 299).

The original "animal-levy" *kübčür* continued to

he paid by the Mongols—in Persia until the reign of Ghāzān, who abolished it (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫān's*, ed. Jahn, 300) The sources consequently sometimes use the term *kübčur-i muqāṭaʿa* for the animal levy, in order to distinguish it from the poll-tax.

Bibliography: H. F. Schurmann, *Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century*, in *HJAS*, xix (1956), 304-89; J. M. Smith, Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *HJAS*, xxx (1970), 46-85; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledie i agrarnie otnosheniya v Irane XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 360-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 387-91; and see for this tax in Persia, KHARĀDJ 2 Persia.

(D. O. MORGAN)

KUBILAY, Mongol Great Khān (1260-94), the brother and successor of Möngke [*q.v.*], was born in 1215. In 1251 Möngke entrusted him with the administration of Northern China, and he took part in the subsequent war which his brother launched against the Sung rulers of the South. The conquest of the Sung was finally completed only during his own reign (1279), when the whole of China was again united under one ruler for the first time since the tenth century. Already in 1260 he had transferred the capital of the Empire from Karakorum [*q.v.*] to Peking, in Mongol Khān Baliḳ [*q.v.*], i.e. "Khān's Town", and in 1271 he proclaimed the foundation of the Yüan Dynasty, the twentieth of the Chinese Official Dynasties. His right to the Khānate was at first disputed by his younger brother Arïḳ Böka, who perhaps had the stronger claim and who finally surrendered only in 1264; the struggle was then taken up by Kaydu [*q.v.*], who remained a thorn in Kubilay's side during the whole of his long reign. Nor was Kubilay more successful in his campaigns against the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese or in an attempt to gain a foothold on the island of Java. In China he encouraged the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism, but, like most of the Great Khāns, was favourably disposed to Islam and the Muslims; only for a time (during the years 1282-9), as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad, did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him. He was described by a European observer, who had travelled widely within his territories, the Venetian Marco Polo, as "the most puissant of men, in subjects, lands, and treasures that there is on earth or ever was, from the time of our first father Adam to this day".

Bibliography Rashīd al-Dīn ed. Blochet, 350-580, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 241-315; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, 76-83; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 332-90; F. Ratchnevsky, *Rašīd ad Dīn über den Mohammedanerverfolgungen in China unter Qubilai*, in *Rashīd al Dīn commemoration volume (1318-1968)*, ed. J. A. Boyle and K. Jahn, Wiesbaden 1970, 163-80. (W. BARTHOLD-[J. A. BOYLE])

KUBRĀ, Shaykh Abu 'l-Djannāb Aḥmad b. ʿUmar Nadjm al-Dīn, eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī order, one of the major orders of the Mongol period in Central Asia and Khurāsān, from which stem numerous derivative initiatic lines. The sobriquet of Kubrā is an abbreviation of the Kur'ānic expression *al-ṭāmmat al kubrā*, "the major disaster", a nickname Nadjm al-Dīn earned through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation.

Born in Khwārazm in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, travelling extensively on the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Ṣūfism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Rūzbihān al-Warzān al Miṣrī, an initiate of the Suhrawardī order. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabrīz to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Faraḏī Tabrīzī, who persuaded him definitively to abandon his concern with the external religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Ṣūfī path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir al-Bidlīsī and Ismāʿīl al Kasrī, from both of whom he received the ritual *khirḳa*, before returning to Shaykh Rūzbihān in Egypt. By then, Rūzbihān evidently regarded Kubrā as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back in Khwārazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubrā swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Ṣūfism, he is, in fact, frequently designated as *walī tarāsh*, the "manufacturer of saints". Among his foremost disciples were Madjd al Dīn Baghdādī (d. 618/1219), Nadjm al Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256, author of the celebrated Ṣūfī compendium *Mirṣād al ʿibād*, ed. Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352/1972, Eng. tr. Hamid Algar, *The path of God's bondmen from origin to return*, forthcoming), Saʿd al Dīn Ḥammūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Djandī, Sayf al Dīn Bākharzī (d. 658/1260; cf. Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada i Adabiyyāt*, ii/4 (Tīr 1334/October 1955), 1-13, and Īradj Afshār, *Sargudhasht-i Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī* Tehran 1341/1962), and Radjī al Dīn ʿAlī Lālā (d. 642/1244). Kubrā died during the Mongol conquest of Khwārazm in 617/1220; according to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khānakāh* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Kühne-Urgenj [see GURGANDJ], became a centre of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule (cf. G. P. Snesarev, *Relikti domusul'manskikh verovaniĭ i obryadov u Uzbekov Khorezma* Moscow 1969, 269, 433).

Kubrā left behind a number of brief but important works dominated by a concern with the analysis of the visionary experience. He discussed in them, for example, the various significances of dreams and visions, the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic, the different classes of concept and image (*khawāṭir*) that engage his attention; and the nature and interrelations of man's "subtle centres" (*laṭāʾif*). Most important of Kubrā's treatises are *Fawāʾiḥ al djamāl wa-fawātiḥ al djalāl* (edited with an exhaustive introduction on the life and work of Kubrā by F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957), *al Uṣūl al-ʿashara* and *Risālat al Khāʾif al-hāʾim min lawmat al-lāʾim* (edited, together with other lesser treatises, by M. Molé under the title of *Traités mineurs*, in *Annales Islamologiques (Cairo)*, iv (1963), 1-78). In addition to these short works on the path, Kubrā also embarked on a Ṣūfī commentary on the Kur'ān that he was unable to complete but was continued after his death first by his *murīd* Nadjm al Dīn Rāzī and then by another Kubrawī, ʿAlāʾ al Dīn Simnānī (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 175-6, 276 n. 90, and Süleyman Ateş, *Izarī tefsir okulu*, Ankara 1974, 139-84).

The line of Kubrā was perpetuated by several of his disciples. Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī established a well-endowed *khānakāh* in Bukhārā. *Waḳf* documents relating to this *khānakāh* have been published by C. D. Čekhovič, *Buḫarskie dokumenti XIV v.*, Tashkent 1965); it was there that Berke Khān, fifth ruler of the Golden Horde, proclaimed his acceptance of Islam (J. Richard, *La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or*, in *REI*, xxxv [1967], 173-9). Badr al-Dīn Samarḳandī, a *murīd* of Bākharzī, travelled to India and established there a branch of the Kubrawiyya that came to be known as the Firdawsiyya, its most important figure was Aḥmad Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 770/1372), author of widely read *Maktūbāt* (publ. Lucknow 1911). Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya established a *khānakāh* at Bahrābād in Khūzistān, the direction of which was assumed by his son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who in 694/1295 presided over the conversion to Islam of Ghāzān Khān, the Īlkhānid ruler of Iran (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 76-80). Another *murīd* of Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya was 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. 662/1263), author of several important treatises (published by Molé under the title *Kitāb al-Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran and Paris 1962).

The most long-lived and prolific initiate line deriving from Najm al-Dīn Kubrā was probably that descending by way of Rashīd al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā and two further links of the chain to 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī. Simnānī further elaborated the analysis of the *laṭā'if* and also formulated a critique of Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* that was in have much influence on Indian Naḳshbandī circles (see H. Landolt's introduction to *Muḥākamāt li 'Abd al-Raḥmān Isfarā'inī wa 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī*, Tehran and Paris 1972, for a copious bibliography on Simnānī). 'Alī Hamadānī, a *murīd* successively of two of Simnānī's followers, Tāḳī al-Dīn Akhī and Maḥmūd Mazdakānī, introduced the Kubrawī order to Badakhshān and Kashmīr. He died in 786/1385, and is variously reputed to have been buried in Khuttalān (present-day Kulāb, Tadjhik SSR) (see Khuttalān) and Srinagar (J. K. Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs 'Alī-i Hamadānī*, Leiden 1962; Sayyida Ashraf Ẓafar, *Amīr-i Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī*, Lahore 1972). He designated himself as a "second 'Alī", and although the branch of the Kubrawī order he introduced to Kashmīr remains purely Sunnī to the present day, it is not surprising that various descendants of Hamadānī came to adopt Shī'ism. Ishāk al-Khuttalānī, successor of 'Alī Hamadānī, was murdered by emissaries of the Timūrid ruler Shāhrukh in about 826/1423, but before dying appointed as his successor Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. The majority of Khuttalānī's followers accepted Nūrbakhsh, but a minority gave their loyalty to 'Abd Allāh Barzishābādī instead. This schism gave rise to two separate derivatives of the Kubrawiyya, each with its own name, but having in common an adoption of Shī'ism. One was the Nūrbakhshiyya, that survived in Iran into the Ṣafawid period; the other came to acquire, of a date and in a fashion unknown, the designation of Dhahabiyya, and has survived down to the present in Iran, where its chief centre is Shīrāz (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, in *AfKM*, xxvi/x [1965], 14 ad).

The latter history of the Kubrawiyya in its Central Asian homeland is not well-known. It is probable that it was almost universally displaced, even in Khwārazm, by the Naḳshbandiyya from the early 9th/15th century onwards. The small town of Sāktarī near Bukhārā remained, however, an active centre of the Kubrawiyya until at least the early 12th/17th century (for a list of works produced by the *shaykhs* of Sāktarī, see A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnikh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, Tashkent 1955, iii, 327-8); and at some point the Kubrawiyya spread eastwards from Central Asia into the Muslim regions of China (cf. Muḥammad Tawāḍu', *al-Islām wa 'l-Ṣīn*, Cairo 1364/1945, 222).

Finally, there are traces of the Kubrawiyya in Turkey—a Kubrawī *shaykh* by the name of Muṣṭafā Dede is recorded to have fought in the ranks of the army that conquered Istanbul (Ayvānsarā'ī, *Ḥadīkat al-djawāmi'*, Istanbul 1281/1861, ii, 261)—but no lasting implantation of the order appears to have taken place either in Turkey or the Arab lands. Only a nominal existence of the Kubrawiyya persisted in the western Islamic world as one of the multiple secondary affiliations professed by Naḳshbandīs of the Mudjaddidī Khālidī line (cf. Muḥammad As'ad al-Irbilī, *al-Risāla al-as'adiyya fī 'l-ṭuruḳ al-'aliyya*, Istanbul 1343/1924, 29).

Bibliography: (in addition to that contained in the text) Meier's introduction to his edition of the *Fawā'iḥ al-djamāl* contains a comprehensive listing of all sources on the life and work of Kubrā. See also Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, *Tabyīn waṣā'il al-bāḥi'īn wa-sabīl al-fawz*, ms. Ibrahim Efendi (Süleymaniye) 430, ff. 79b-84a, Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shi'isme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142 (a pioneering study, despite excessive emphasis on allegedly proto-Shī'ī elements in the early Kubrawiyya); cf. Algar, *Some observations on religion in Safavid Persia*, in *Iranian Studies*, viii/1-2 (winter-spring 1974), 287-90), Ye. E. Bertel's, *Četyrnadcatyja Skrižali Nadžm ad-Dina Kubra*, in *Sufizm i sufijskaja literatura*, Moscow 1965, 324-8, Corbin, *L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, 95-148; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 55-8.

(H. Algar)

KUBRUS, modern Turkish Kıbrıs, Greek Kúpros (etymologically derived probably from the word for "copper"), in western languages Cyprus, is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean, with a surface area of 9,251 km². The nearest distance to the mainland is from Cape Kormakiti in the north to Anamur on the southern coast of Turkey, 72 km. The distance to the Syrian coast between Cape Andreas and Ra's ibn Hāni' north of al-Lādhiḳiyya (*q.v.*) is 96 km. The distance to Crete (Arabic Ikrīṭish (*q.v.*)) is about 553 km. The island consists of two mountain ranges, Kyrenia-Karpass rising to 1,019 m. altitude in the north, and Troodos rising up to 1,952 m. in the south-west. In between lies a plain, the Mesaoria (Turkish Mesarya, Mesalya), which supports most of the island's agriculture, although its rainfall is marginal and the percentage of irrigated land is not large. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the economy. Copper has been mined since before 3,000 B.C., but its known veins, like those of other minerals (iron pyrites), are near exhaustion. Non-metal minerals are available in exportable quantities, e.g. asbestos. Refining of salt is still revenue-producing; it is being extracted from salt lakes in the low lands near Limassol and Larnaca (old names Les Salines, Turkish Tuzla).

The geopolitical situation of Cyprus within the spheres of the ancient civilisations of the Near East captures why the island has always played a certain

rule in history, although its importance has sometimes been overrated. Lying on the main sea routes of the Levant, within striking distance of the mainland, the island has always been in a dependent position to any of the surrounding big powers, political independence has rarely been attained (see below, *Lusignan period*).

1. *Byzantium and Islam* (632-1191)

Cyprus' history in antiquity will not be dealt with here. When the expansion of Islam began, the island was a province of the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantia, ancient Salamis. Since 431 (Council of Ephesus) the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has been autocephalous under an archbishop who ranks immediately behind the four great patriarchs. The church has moulded the island into a social, religious and cultural unit. The old and strong links between clergy and people have created a sense of social solidarity, which has remained characteristic for the history of the Orthodox Greek population of the island during the succession periods of foreign dominations. Cyprus's important cities at this time were: Salamis-Constantia, Citium (near Larnaca), Curium (near Episkopi), Tamassus (Nea) Paphos, Neapolis (Nemesos) (= Limassol) Amathos, Arsinoe (Marium) (= Chrysokhou), Lapithos, Karpasia (Nese Rhizo karpasu), Chytri (= Kythrea), Tremithus, Soli, Kerynia and Ledrae or Leukosia (= Nicosia).

It was after the reign of Heraclius (610-41) that Cyprus began to be invaded by the Arabs. According to a Greek writer, a raiding party under the caliph Abū Bakr appeared on the island in 632, which is not very probable. In 647 (648, 649 ?) Mu'āwiya, governor of Syria, organised an expedition against the island, which was in fact the first large-scale maritime enterprise of the Arabs in the Mediterranean (cf. Balādhurī, tr. Hitti, i, 235 ff., 432 f.). His fleet of 17,000 sail, commanded by 'Abd Allāh b. Kays, landed the Arab forces at Constantia. The city was besieged surrendered and sacked. The whole island was overrun. Cyprus was compelled to pay a tribute of 7,000-7,200 goldpieces, to be paid annually to the governor at Damascus, a sum equal to the island's tribute to the Byzantine treasury. This seems to indicate a form of joint rule over the island by the Emperor and the caliph. It was during this raid that Umm Ḥarām, wife of 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, a relation of the Prophet, died and was buried near Larnaca. On that site was to be erected the most venerated shrine of the Muslims of Cyprus, the Hāla Sultan Tekke. A second raid was organised by Mu'āwiya in 33/653-4 led by Abu 'l Aʿwār. Lapithos was sacked, and a force of 12,000 occupied the island *permanently till the caliph Yazīd (680-3) withdrew it.* The tributary relationship with the caliph at Damascus lasted till the time of caliph al Manṣūr (754-75), it seems.

The peace treaty concluded between Constantine IV and 'Abd al-Malik in 685 and renewed in 688-9 with Justinian II provided for the division of the revenues of Armenia, Iberia and Cyprus. The last-mentioned emperor decided to transplant the Orthodox population of Cyprus to the south coast of the sea of Marmara near ancient Cyzicus, where the city of Nova Justiniana (Justinianopolis) was founded for the archbishop of Cyprus and his flock. (This town's name still figures in the title of the head of the church of Cyprus. This exile of the Cypriots lasted till 698, when the island became resettled by its old inhabitants, and also by these who had gone to Muslim Syria.) For two-and-a-half centuries longer, there persisted the intermediate status of Cyprus between the Roman Emperor and the caliph. The island was normally used as a base for Arab maritime actions against Asia Minor.

In 747 a fleet from Alexandria was destroyed by a Byzantine force commanded by the admiral of the Cibyrrhaeote Theme. Raids and attacks followed each other in 772, 790 and 806 under command of the 'Abbāsid governor in Syria, Humayd. The island nevertheless remained a part of the Byzantine Empire, and the Emperor Basil I (867-86) reorganised its administration (temporarily into a theme, the general Alexius being governor). The tribute to the caliph was continued (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, Bonn ed., 40). Cyprus served as a base during the campaign of Hunerius against the Arabs in Crete (see CRETE) in 902. In 911-12 an Arab force under Dimyana occupied the island for four months. Byzantine authority was restored after the recovery of Crete in 963. After *ca* 963, Cyprus was hardly ever more troubled by Arab invasions, and was able to restore its economy. Evidence for the island's renewed florescence is the new foundation of the main cities, old sites on the sea coast being abandoned in 1042-3 and in 1092 revolts against the Emperor Alexius Comnenus occurred.

Towards the end of that century, Cyprus became a base for operations of Byzantine land and sea forces, sometimes in combination with those of the Crusaders (in particular, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, and his successors at Tripoli). Scanty evidence for the interior history of Cyprus in this period points to maladministration and the economic draining of the island's resources by the Byzantine government. The source of Nicolas Mouzalon, one-time archbishop of Cyprus, must, however, be considered suspect because of prejudice against the emperor. The first half of the 12th century left Cyprus in peace. Pilgrim traffic passed through it as usual, and relations with Muslim powers were correct. The *amīr* of Beirut and many inhabitants of that city found refuge on Cyprus when Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, captured it on 13 May 1110. The first Maronites probably settled on the island around this time. Inhabitants of Tell Ḥamdūn in Little Armenia were removed to Cyprus by the Emperor John II Comnenus (Calojoannes) (Ibn al-Kalānisī, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 241). In 1148 Manuel Comnenus extended the commercial privileges of the Venetians to Crete and Cyprus. This marked the beginning of the Latin penetration.

In 1155 or 1156 the Crusader Renaud of Châtillon, in co-operation with Thoros II (1145-68) of Little Armenia (*Armenia-Cilicia*), launched an expedition against Cyprus and put the Byzantine authorities (the Duke John Comnenus) out of action. Cyprus suffered badly, and had to pay ransom for hostages from among principal members of the clergy and the lay population.

In 1155/1156 a fleet from Egypt raided Cyprus, and in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond III of Antioch, Count of Tripoli, raided Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia. The last period of Byzantine dominion over Cyprus was the rule of Isaac Ducas Comnenus, the self-styled Emperor of Cyprus from 1185 to 1191, who was able with support of the Norman King William II to defeat an expedition sent by the Emperor Isaac II Angelus against him and to rule till he was dethroned by Richard the Lion Heart in 1191.

King Richard's fleet ran into heavy weather on its way to the Holy Land. The ship carrying his sister Joanna and his bride Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, sought shelter in the port of Limassol. Isaac tried to take the ladies hostage, but Richard appeared on 6 May 1191 and landed in force on Cyprus. Having been joined by Crusader lords from Syria, among whom were Guy de Lusignan, a claimant to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard, after failure of a peaceful settlement, opened war against Isaac and defeated his forces. Isaac surrendered at the end of May 1191. The people of Cyprus delivered half of their possessions to the King of England, who confirmed the laws and institutions as granted to Cyprus by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. Frankish garrisons took the place of the Greek ones, and two English gentlemen were appointed as justiciars and sheriffs to administer the island. It was to serve as the base to provision the Crusaders in Syria, and the island became essential for the operations of the Franks in the Holy Land during the next century, after Saladin had almost destroyed the Latin's position there at Hattin (1187).

2. The Frankish period (1192–1571)

(a) The rule of the House of Lusignan (1192–1489). — The King of England sold the island in July 1192 to the Knights of the Temple. During their rule, a rebellion broke out which was suppressed at great cost. In May 1192 King Richard resold Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, husband to the heiress of the crown of Jerusalem. The Byzantine Emperor could only raise a protest on the diplomatic level.

Aimery de Lusignan succeeded his brother as lord of Cyprus (1194–1205). He continued the feudal organization, granting fiefs to many Latin nobles and founding an extensive private domain. The state acquired its administrative institutions, and the castles of St Hilarion ("Dieu d'amour"), Kyrenia (Cérines) and Buffavento were built. By Papal bulls of 20 February and 23 December 1196 a Latin hierarchy was installed under the archdiocese of Nicosia, with three suffragans, as a parallel to the Latin feudal institution. In 1197 Aimery acquired the title of King, holding his dominion from the Emperor Henry VI with Papal consent. In the same year, the Syrian Crusader barons elected him King of Jerusalem in Acre. This personal union was restored under King Hugh III (1267–84) of Lusignan in 1269, to remain as a honorific title of the Kings of Cyprus after 1291. A third royal title was collected by the Lusignans, that of Armenia in 1308—again an empty title without land.

The new kingdom kept the peace with the Muslim powers in Syria till the 5th Crusade (1228–9). The Cypriots also participated in the expedition to Damietta of 1219–21. During the Seventh Crusade, the King of France, St. Louis, used the island as his support base in the campaign against Egypt, when Damietta was again taken in 1249, and both Kings entered the town triumphantly together. The Kings of Cyprus remained involved in the Crusaders' wars till the end. In 1269 Hugh III became King of Jerusalem, but could not establish his authority over the unruly Crusader barons of Syria, Cyprus and the maritime republics of Italy. He withdrew from Acre in 1276, and when that town fell to the Mamlūks in 1291, Cyprus became the last refuge for the Christians fleeing from Syria. This new position in the Levant was of advantage to Cyprus.

The 14th century was the great period of the kingdom of the Lusignan "Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem". Its legal foundation was the purest feudal constitution ever to come about in mediaeval times, involving an elected monarchy controlled by the feudal nobility. The latter had as instruments of their policy the *Haute Cour* (*Cour des Lyges*) with all executive, legislative and judicial power, as the only organ entitled to establish the rightful succession to the throne. The King was its president, and he had to convene the *Haute Cour*, but the continuity of the dynasty ensured the strong and dominating position of the monarch versus the Latin nobility.

The royal administration was directed by the *sénéchal*, *chamberlain*, *chancellier* and *Grand Bailli* for civil affairs, and the *connétable*, *maréchal*, *Grand Turcopolier* (commander of light cavalry) and an admiral for military affairs. The two main cities of Nicosia and Famagusta were administered by a viscounts assisted by *mastasips* (*mahtesceps*).

The King, together with the Crusader aristocracy of baronial families of French origin (d'Ibelin, de Norès, etc.) and a smaller group of Frankish citizens formed a small ruling class. The second element of Cyprus society formed the foreign merchants communities living in privileged, extra-territorial *fondachi*, Italians from Genoa and Venice, Catalans and Provençals.

The native Orthodox Greek speaking people formed on the whole a class of subjects, ruled and exploited like slaves and serfs, *paroici* and *perpersarii*. Personally free were the Greek *lefters* or *Francomati*. The division between native Greeks and foreign Franks became strengthened by the existence of two churches. In 1196 King Aimery installed a Roman Catholic ("Latin") hierarchy at the side of the Orthodox one. By 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued the *Constitutio Cypria* confirming the supremacy of the Latins over the Greeks. The Latin archbishop solely remained as metropolitan of both hierarchies. However, the Orthodox clergy managed to subsist as a church organisation conserving the Greek ethnicity of its flock.

The Lusignan period was the first in which the island's produce and taxation became spent in and for the land itself. This alone must be considered a major cause of its economic growth. Next to that was the island's position as a transit trading station for the East West trade, the *échelle du Levant par excellence* after the disappearance of the Crusader states. Famagusta developed into a commercial centre connecting Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, Barcelona and Montpellier with Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and through to the Persian Gulf, with South and East Asia.

King Henry II (1285–1324) had to direct the influx of the refugees from Syria and Palestine after the fall of Acre (1291) and the settlement of the Syrian Crusader barons and merchants. In 1343 a Holy League between the Pope, Venice, the Knights of St. John at Rhodes and Cyprus was instituted against the emerging sea power of the *emirs* of Aydın (*q.v.*) in Anatolia. Smyrna was occupied on 28 October 1344. Otherwise, peaceful commercial relations were maintained with Mamlūk Egypt and the southern Anatolian coastlands. King Peter I (1359–69) revived the ideal of a crusade against Islam. In 1361 Gorhigos (Kizkalesi) was annexed and Antalya (*q.v.*) was captured from the Turkman Amīr Hamīdoghlu Mehmed Bey. A European tour of the King, now styled *athleta Christi* by Pope Urban V, prepared for a Crusade. Venice, Cyprus and the Knights of St. John collected 10,000 troops transported in a fleet of 165 sail at Rhodes.

In October 1365 Alexandria was temporarily occupied, but the commercial interests of Venice and Genoa stopped any further confrontation with Mamlūk power. These two merchant republics were to dominate Cyprus's politics in the last century of its independent existence. At first, it was Genoa which gained the upper hand in the competition with Venice. In 1372 the Genoese Podestà (in Famagusta) defeated the Venetian Bailo, whose party received support from the Greek Cypriots. A Genoese force invaded Famagusta and Nicosia. In October 1374, a treaty was concluded which assured Genoa complete economic hegemony on Cyprus for 90 years. The *Maona Cypri* was the private mercantile organisation of Genoese bankers established at Famagusta. The King of Cyprus had to cede the town as a guarantee for the payment of reparations amounting to 2,145,400 florins and the yearly tribute to Genoa of 40,000 florins.

The next blow to Cyprus's independence was an invasion by the Mamlūk Sultan Barsbāy [q.v.]. On 7 July 1426, King Janus (1398-1432) and his army were defeated near Khirokitia, and Nicosia was plundered. The King was set free on the condition of becoming a vassal, paying 200,000 florins' ransom and a yearly tribute of 8,000 florins. After this invasion, the island's economy began to decline. Social unrest within the Greek population worsened the situation. In 1448 Gorhigos fell under control of the Karamān amīrate [see KARAMĀN-OGHULLARI]. Cyprus lost her last continental interest.

When to 1458 Charlotte, the daughter of King John II, came to the throne, her half-brother James the Bastard (1440-73) disputed the succession. He applied to the Mamlūk sultan for support. In 1460, with the aid of Mamlūk auxiliaries, James II defeated the legitimate opposition and took the last stronghold of the Queen, Kyrenia, and the Genoese held Famagusta in 1464. To defend himself against a Genoese counter-attack, James II enlisted Venice as an ally, and chose a Venetian subject, Caterina Cornaro (d. 1510) as his Queen in 1472, after his death (1473), she was to rule as the last monarch of independent Cyprus till 1489. During her reign, Venice installed a virtual protectorate. A Venetian garrison and two Venetian counsellors to the Queen were not considered enough by the Venetian government to safeguard the island from the Ottoman Turks' expansion. In 1488 an Ottoman fleet appeared before Famagusta. On 26 February 1489, Queen Caterina abdicated in Famagusta, and the Venetian *Capitan Generale da Mar*, Francesco Priuli, took over the government of the island.

Thus it was Christian Venice that ended the last of the Crusader states in the East. The Signory of Venice duly notified and offered justification of the take-over to the Sultan Ḳā'it Bāy [q.v.] in Cairo, and the envoy carried with him presents and 15,000 ducats, being the tribute for 2 years. The Sultan thereupon agreed to the transfer of the Kingdom of Cyprus to Venice (February 1490).

(b) Venetian rule (1489-1572). — With the acquisition of Cyprus, the commercial "colonial" *empire of Venice* reached its greatest *dimensions*. The new possession was reorganised. The centralised government, the *Rettori*, consisted of the *Luogotenente* and two councillors. Venetian nobles elected for a two years' tenure, controlled the finances and administration, and resided at Nicosia. A quadrennial census was instituted, the first reliable population data of Cyprus's history. The governor of Famagusta, the *Capitan del Regno di Cipro*, acted as commander-in-chief of the army and the fortresses in peace-time, and had a share in the civil administration. In time of war or menace, a proveditor-general was elected for two years to command. From the period of the Lusignan rule, two offices were retained only, the viscountcies of Famagusta and Nicosia being reserved for Cypriots. A Great Council replaced the *Haute Cour*, but did not leave any real power to the Frankish baronage, by now a commingling of military adventurers from all over the Mediterranean world.

On the whole, Venetian administration was inefficient and corrupt. It estranged the local Latin ruling class and did not manage to gain the loyalty of the Greek population. The island remained a colony and a military base only for the Venetians, and one inadequately manned at that. The economy continued its decline, aggravated by natural disasters in the course of the century. The burden of the tribute to the Mamlūk sultans remained till 1527, when it became payable to the Ottoman sultan at Istanbul. The monopolistic exploitation of the island's resources did not encourage local enterprise. Apart from salt and grain, cotton, cultivated since the early 14th century, now became the major source of revenue, replacing sugar cane. Various forms of taxation pressed hard upon the labouring population. A conspiracy against Venice in 1562, led by a Greek, one Jacob Diassorin, was suppressed. Its dangerous aspect was that the rebels had made contact with the Ottomans. The Venetians now modernised the island's defences, and three fortresses, those of Kyrenia, Nicosia and Famagusta, were to be the sole defensible places, old fortifications like St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were dismantled by 1567.

The Ottoman threat hovered over Cyprus during the rule of Venice, and in the years following the Ottoman Venetian peace treaty of 1540 (cf. texts ed. by Bonelli, Lehmann and Bombaci), pressure increased. The admiral Piyāle Pasha promoted the continuation of a naval policy aimed at annexing the Latin-held islands in the Levant seas on the routes of Ottoman communications, Chios and Cyprus, the principal among them, were both already tributary to the Porte. In the end, the pro-Venetian peace party at the Porte, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's, gave in to the war party, and the attack on Cyprus was decided for the early spring 1570. Joseph Nasi, alias Don Juan Micas, seems to have been implicated here.

Selīm II (1566-74) issued his orders for war in 1568. A *fetwā* by the *shaykh al-Islām* provided a justification for breaking the peace (cf. text in Feṭevvī, i, 386-7, tr. in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ed. 1824, v, 73 f. = *GOR*, ii, 565 f.). Preparations continued during 1569. On 28 March 1570 the Ottoman envoy Kubād formally heeded to the Senate and the Doge Sultan Selīm II's demand for the cession of Cyprus, which was refused. In the meantime, Lāla Muṣṭafā Pasha, the fifth vezīr [q.v.] was appointed *serdār*, and Pīrāle Pasha, the third vizier [q.v.], was made commander of a fleet of 80 galleys and 30 galliots, followed by 'Alī Pasha with troops, munitions and materials for the land campaign.

On 3 July 1570 the Ottoman fleet appeared before Larnaca (*Les Salines*). A Holy League created by Pope Pius V, Spain and Venice failed to organise a timely counterattack. The Venetian commander, the *Luogotenente* Nicolò Dandolo, had to limit himself to the defence of the fortress towns. On 25 July 1570 the siege of Nicosia began, and ended on 9 September when the city was taken by storm. Kyrenia capitulated without a fight 5 days later. The population

in the countryside seems not to have opposed the invaders at all. The fortress city of Famagusta still held out. The Ottomans began the siege in September 1570. The fleet of the Holy League never came nearer than Castelorizo island, and only small Venetian reinforcements reached Famagusta in January 1571. The new season of war began in the middle of April 1571, when work on the siege trenches and mines was begun in earnest. Heavy bombardments, mining and ensuing man-to-man fighting exacted a heavy toll (50-80,000 on the Turkish side, out of a force totalling 250 000 or more). Marc Antonio Bragadin surrendered on 1 August upon condition of a free withdrawal of troops with their dependents. Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha did not, however, keep to the treaty of surrender in the end, and the Venetian commander and many of his staff were massacred.

3. *Ottoman Rule (1571-1878).*

By a treaty of 7 March 1573 Venice formally ceded Cyprus to the Ottoman Sultan and agreed to pay a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats.

Already, by an imperial order of 9 September issued by the *ṣerdār* Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha after the capture of Nicosia, Cyprus had been made an *eyālet* or *beglerbegilik*, with Muẓaffar Pasha as the first Ottoman governor. Next to the *beglerbegi* were appointed, as usual, a chief *ḳāḍī* of the province and a *defterdār*. The new province comprised eight *sanǧaḳs*, *markas* or Nicosia (Lefkoşha), and on the mainland Içel, Sis, ʿAlāʾiyye (Alanya), Tarsūs, Tarābulus and Shām (till 1573) (all with the *timār* system), and Kyrenia, Paphos (Bafi) and Famagusta (Magoşha) (with *zi'āmets* (*q.v.*)). Apart from the main towns, there were, according to the 1572 *taḥrīr*, 905 inhabited and 78 desolate villages.

Population numbers of Ottoman Cyprus fluctuated greatly, from the 18th century many observers indicated ± 80,000, but some observers 200,000, both figures ostentrasting with the census result of 1572 which produced ± 85,000 taxable heads of family (*ḫāne*). Ewliyā Celebi indicated 30,000 Muslems and 150,000 infidels in around 1670-5. Probably the reports of the depletion of the island in the first centuries of Ottoman rule have been exaggerated. The first census after the British occupation in 1881 showed a total population of 185,630.

The organisation of the new province was based on a new survey of population and revenue, *taḥrīr*, ordered by a *fermān* of 19 Djumādā II 979/9 October 1571 to the newly appointed *beglerbegi* Sinān Pasha. This survey is recorded in the *defter-i mufaṣṣal-i Ḳıbrıs* dated 18 October 1572 (Ankara tapu ve kadastro arşivi, Old records No. 306/64). Government was to be according to Islamic and Ottoman law. A major change was the grant of *timār* lands in usufruct to the native farmers who were freed from serfdom, the feudal system being abolished. The amount of *ḏiʿāma* (= *ḫarāǧ*) (*q.v.*) was one gold piece per head of family in the other forms of taxation, the Ottoman government also exercised moderation and presented a favourable change in respect to Venetian and Lusignan policy.

The abolition of the *mête du sel*, for instance, resulted in a sharp decrease of revenue, though production of salt was not reduced (Inalcık, *Ottoman policy ... [see* Bibl.*]* 84f.) Forced labour was abolished in practice as well. From 45 % to 87 % of taxes were levied in kind, as elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces, *ḏiʿāma* and *sependje* (*q.v.*) were paid in cash.

A squadron of galleys was stationed at Famagusta and Kyrenia. Ottoman troops garrisoned on the island numbered 3,779 including 1,000 Janissaries, established in Nicosia, Limasol, Paphos, Famagusta and Kyrenia. A great number of Anatolian Turks from the regions of Konya, Karamān, Niğde, Içel, Alanya, Antalya, Menteşhe and Dehizli were settled on the island as so-called *sürgün* (cf. Barkan, in *IFM*, xi [1949-50], xv [1955]). *fermān* of Djumādā I 980/21 September 1572 to the *Ḳāḍī* of Karamān, Anadolu and Dhulkadriyye, see *Muḥimme defteri*, 19, pp. 334 7, no 669, publ. in *ibid.*, 552-3). In total, 1689 families immigrated by 1572, mainly farmers. In 1582 8,000 families were registered as immigrants (MD 43, cf. C. Orhonlu, art. in *Kıbrıs tetkikleri kongresi* [see Bibl.] 99 103). Conversion of Latin and Greek Christians added little to the number of Muslim "Turkish" population, amounting to only about 400.

A major contribution to the welfare of the native Greek population was the Ottoman decision to abolish the Roman Catholic hierarchy and to restore the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under its archbishop. This prelate was made representative of his community *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman government as the Ethnarch or head of the Greek community. It meant an increasing degree of autonomy for the Orthodox Greek population under its own chosen leaders, and the relatively unhindered development of its own cultural tradition into modern times. This privileged status of the Greek population, together with the new disinheriting but smaller group of Turkish Muslims on Cyprus, was to form the basic situation of the Cypriots down to modern times. The Latin element entirely lost its former status. It survived only in small numbers profiting from diplomatic protection within the framework of the Capitulations system [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

Ottoman possession of the island was not seriously threatened after 1571. The Grand Duke of Tuscany organised a raid on Famagusta in 1607 at the time of his grand oriental scheme involving Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], *amīr* of the Druzes, and the rebel Djānbulāt ʿAlī Pasha (*q.v.*). The Venete Ottoman war of Candia (1645 69) did not have any great effect on Cyprus. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Cyprus was still an important centre of Levant trade, cotton and salt being valuable commodities. Consuls of Venice, France, of the Dutch Republic (since 1613) and of England resided at Larnaca, the factory (*iskele* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) of the island. The consuls and their national groups of foreign residents sometimes played an important political as well as a commercial role on the island, especially in times of rebellion.

The importance of Cyprus decreased after the conquest of Crete was completed in 1669. At that time, the *beglerbegilik* was incorporated into the province of the *Ḳapudān Pasha*, who sent a deputy governor, the *mütesellim*. The role of the Orthodox hierarchy in the administration increased at the same time. Strife among the Ottoman notables of Nicosia led to armed conflict, which in its turn caused the Porte to interfere by sending troops repeatedly. Čiftoghlu Aḥmed Pasha at last succeeded in defeating the rebels and executing their leader Boyadjī Meḥmed Agha in ca. 1690. In 1703 Cyprus was transformed into a *ḥāṣṣ* domain of the Grand Vizier. The government was now exercised by a *mutaṣṣıl* (*taḥṣīldār*) in the name of the latter, who was a farmer of taxes at the same time. The frequent change of these functionaries, as elsewhere, led to overburdening by taxation. In 1745 Cyprus came

again became an independent province under its own *pasha* for a few years. Abū Bekr Pasha (1746 ff) exercised his charge satisfactorily, bequeathing to the island an aqueduct serving Larnaca, the harbour and passing ships (*wakfiyya* of 12 Rabī' I 1161/ 12 March 1748, in Luke, *Cyprus*, 69-74)

In 1754 a *khatt-i humāyūn* was issued at the request of the Archbishop and suffragans to fix the amount of the *kharādj* together with the *sanīdjāt* and *nuzūl* taxes at 23½ piastres per head on 10,066 assessments. The bishops acquired the status of *kodjabashi* (Gr *demogeron*), responsible for the peace and the payment of taxes by the Greek subject population. In 1764 Čil 'Othmān Agha, *mutasallim* of the Grand Vizier and a *multazim*, doubled the *kharādj* on Christians and Muslims alike, who rose in revolt and killed him. The revolt lasted till August 1766. Cyprus suffered the depredations of the Russian fleet after the destruction of the Ottoman one (Česhme 5 7 July 1770) till 1774. From 1777 to 1783 Hādjdjī 'Abd ül-Bākī Agha was *muhassil*. By this time, the actual administration and levying of taxes was shared between the Ottoman administrator and the Archbishop and bishops, who employed the Greek "Dragoman of the Saray" to their agent also. In 1804 a revolt of the Turkish troops broke out against the Archbishop and the dragoman Hādjdjī Georgiakis Kornesios (executed in 1809), and this lasted till 1805

The Greek Cypriots contributed little to the Greek War of Independence (1821-9) The little involvement there was (1821) gave the *millet-lism* the pretext *for*, firstly, a general disarmament of all Christians. Then the leading personalities were arrested and put to death in July 1821, among them the Archbishop Kyprianos (1810-21) and three bishops. After the massacre there followed a partial confiscation of the possessions of the victims and of the churches and monasteries on the islands, although much was restored later. The Christians living within the fortresses of Nicosia, Famagusta and other towns were ordered to remove themselves to the outside, a situation which has remained. The archbishops never *recovered their powerful pre-1821 position* The Greek Kingdom was recognised by the Porte in 1829, and this caused the beginning of nationalist aspirations of *enosis* amongst the Greek Cypriots. The overtaxation of the island's resources continued to frustrate a fundamental improvement of its economy, and revolts by both groups of the population occurred in 1833.

In 1838 the era of the *Tanzīmāt* [*q.v.*] set in. By 1849 Cyprus was reformed as a *sandjak* of the province of the Islands of the Aegean Sea, *Djezā'ir-i bahr-i sefīd* [*q.v.*] and administered by a *mütesarrif*, assisted by a *dīwān* or council where Christians and Muslims were represented. Governors followed each other in quick succession. In 1861 Cyprus became an independent *sandjak* (Hill, iv, 239) The second *tanzīmāt* decree of 1856 was applied in Cyprus, and the effects of reform were becoming noticeable during the last decades of the Ottoman administration (1856-78), when courts came into being. The population increased from ca. 180,000 in 1840 to 209,000 in 1862. The island's economy progressed moderately, and Larnaca remained the principal port. The administrative status of Cyprus was however reduced again in 1866 to a *sandjak* in the *wilāyet* of the Islands, but restored in 1870.

4. The British Occupation 1878 1959.

A few days before the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain concluded with Sultan 'Abd ül-Hamīd II [*q.v.*] a secret Convention of Defensive Alliance in which the promised help to defend his empire against Russian encroachment. The sultan ceded Cyprus for occupation and administration as a "place d'armes". In an annexe of 1 July 1878 it was provided that the annual surplus revenue of Cyprus, assessed from the average of the previous 5 years, was to continue to be paid to the Sultan. The so-called "tribute" in fact never reached the Sultan, but was diverted to the creditors of the Ottoman Debt instead, and this arrangement remained in force till Sir Ronald Storrs' administration in 1927. The Sultan retained his sovereign rights to the island and continued appointing its *mufti* and *kādīs*. This status quite little incentive in the British government to develop Cyprus, but elementary reforms and ameliorations were effected. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Great Britain annexed the island. A representative régime was instituted (1922), with a council of 18 members, comprising 9 Greeks, 3 Turks and 6 British officials. Any proposal for union with Greece, *enosis*, could thus be deadlocked by the Turco-British bloc. The repeated refusal of *enosis* created tension between Greek Cypriots and the British. At the Peace of Lausanne (1923), Turkey formally renounced all claims to Cyprus. In 1925 Cyprus became a British crown colony.

A small number of Turks, however, opted for the Turkish nationality and left. The first great conflict between Greeks and British broke in 1931 during Sir Ronald Storrs' tenure as governor A state of emergency was proclaimed. Military government remained till after World War II Already in 1942, however, political parties were permitted again: a communist party A.K.E.L., a Greek nationalist party K.E.K., and a Turkish party Trade Unions came about mainly under communist leadership Municipal elections were held in 1943. After 1945 the British government did not consider any change of status for Cyprus In 1950 Greek Cypriot nationalists organised a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots, and 96 % voted *for enosis*. The young Bishop of Kition, Michael *Mouskos*, was the *organiser* of this *demonstration*. On 18 October 1950 he was elected the "Most Blessed and Most Reverend Archbishop of New Justinians and all Cyprus" under the name Makarios III (1919-77). In 1954 a Cyprus-born Greek officer, George Grivas, began organising an anti-British guerrilla organisation, E.O.K.A. The British government devised a new constitution for the colony without giving any hope for independence In early 1955 the last discussion of the Cyprus problem in the U.N.O failed to have a pro Greek result. Soon afterwards guerrilla warfare by E.O.K.A. began. In July 1955 the British Premier Sir Anthony Eden held the first tripartite talks on the question, with Greece and Turkey, the latter also invited to have a say as an ally of N.A.T.O Turkey's point of view was maintenance of the *status quo* as a guarantee against *enosis* The leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios III, protested against discussion of the interests of Cyprus without the presence of its own people, meaning only the Greek Cypriots. E.O.K.A. stepped up its activities. Field Marshal Sir John Harding was appointed governor. He opened talks with Makarios upon the base of "a wide measure of self government" This was acceptable for the Turks and nearly so for Makarios. The talks were unexpectedly broken off by order of the London government, and Makarios deported to the Seychelles islands (9 March 1956)

E.O.K.A. terrorism came into full fury. The

British began to recruit Turkish Cypriots as policemen, who consequently also fell victim to Greek bullets, the beginning of inter-communal violence dates back from this time. A Turkish militant organisation grew up, and a Turkish Cypriot leader emerged, Dr Fazil Küçük At the U.N.O. meeting in February 1957, neither *enosis* nor the Turkish answer *taksim* (division of Cyprus into two parts) got sufficient support. The new British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, decided to release Makarios, who was not, however, allowed to return to his island, and Sir Hugh Foot was appointed governor. The Menderes government in Ankara protested against this liberal figure succeeding the Field Marshal and blocked the plans for self-government of Cyprus, the return of the Archbishop and talks with all Cypriot leaders A revised Foot Macmillan constitutional proposal contained many elements later used in the London-Zürich treaties of 1959 At the time of its announcement, Cyprus experienced the worst terrorist fighting between the two communities, between E O K A and T M T, the Turkish National Defence Organisation, with 200 dead in two months. At this time there were 20,000 British troops on the island.

Civil war suddenly came to an end in July 1958, although E O K A continued its fight against the British. Makarios, fearing an Anglo-Turkish cooperation to divide Cyprus, came forward in September with a proposal for independence under auspices of the U.N.O. Grivas did not support it, and *enosis* remained his only aim. Great Britain did not consider it either but began to change its own position 28,000 troops on Cyprus became too heavy a burden, and a Greco-Turkish conflict would harm N A T O. Sovereign base areas in Cyprus would be sufficient for Britain's strategic needs. Athens wanted to prevent *taksim* but Ankara could accept any compromise which prevented *enosis*. The U.S.A made it clear that it would not continue supporting Great Britain in the Middle East Any Greco-Turkish solution must be accepted.

In December 1958, the first talks between Greece and Turkey (by Averoff Tossizza and Zorlu respectively) were held. In February 1959 the prime ministers and foreign secretaries reached agreements in Zürich At a second meeting in London these and a draft constitution were submitted to the British government. The Cypriots had not taken part officially before, but the Cypriot leaders Makarios and Küçük were now invited to accept the agreements. Makarios was put under heavy pressure by Greece. In London, at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959, three treaties were signed by all parties·

(1) a "Treaty of establishment" Britain declaring Cyprus independent, with the reservation of two sovereign base areas

(2) a "Treaty of guarantee"· the 3 powers guarantee the independence of Cyprus and its status as defined in a number of fundamental articles of its Constitution *Enosis* and *taksim* are forbidden, and in case of violation, all three powers together, or if not feasible, each separately, may take action to restore the *status foederis*.

(3) a "Treaty of alliance" between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, a military alliance with headquarters at Nicosia, where 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers will be stationed, was laid down as an extra guarantee for the other treaties.

Furthermore, a Constitution was laid down which came into force on 16 August 1960 The independent Republic of Cyprus, with a presidential régime and Greek and Turkish as official languages, has an executive of one President and one Vice President, a Greek and a Turk respectively, elected by their own communities There is a council of 10 ministers, comprising 7 Greeks and 3 Turks, deciding with a majority vote. Its decisions are subject to a veto of President and/or Vice President There is a Parliament of 50 (35 plus 15), with a Greek speaker and a Turkish deputy speaker, deciding with a majority vote, except in electoral municipal and fiscal legislation, when separate communal majorities are needed. (Full text in. *Conference on Cyprus. Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959* Cmnd 679, London (H M S O.] 1959)

3. *Independence 1960*

After the transitory period from 19 February 1959 to 15 August 1960, Cyprus became an independent state on 16 August 1960 Its population in about 1968 was estimated at 621,500 (last official census of 1960 557,625, with 442,521 Greeks, 104,350 Turks, 3,628 Armenians, 2,708 Maronites, 3,331 British, 2,796 Latins and 18,261 others). Reliable estimates are that in 1970 the Greeks made up 78 % and Turks 18 %, which means a slight lack of increase of the Turks.

The application of the detailed and imposed constitution caused serious difficulties. The first opposition came from Grivas, who with his followers continued to insist on *enosis*. The formation of an army caused insurmountable difficulties, the Turks wanted separate communal units and Küçük in the end used his veto against Makarios. Appointments of civil servants became problematical because the Turks could not fill all the 30 % of posts due to them The most serious conflict was caused by the separation of municipalities, no longer desired by the Greeks The Turks took this point as a test case for the loyal application of the constitution When the Turks proposed to continue with it in the end of 1962, Makarios blocked it. Both parties were considered to be wrong by the constitutional court, whose members ("neutral" German lawyers) left the country not long after for fear of their lives.

On the 1 January 1963 Makarios came forward with a proposal to amend 13 points of the constitution, which was no longer functioning The idea was to install a more unified state, with guarantees for the Turkish Cypriots, Makarios and Küçük being co-presidents.

The Ankara government declined these proposals. The intercommunal deadlock led to civil war On 4 March 1964 a United Nations peace force was organised and a U N mediator was appointed Violence continued Makarios introduced military service, and could thus mobilise a Greek National Guard to control the extremist bands directed by Grivas from Athens. The situation worsened in the course of the year. The U.S. President Lyndon Johnson warned the Prime Minister Inönü in June that Turkey would not be protected by N.A.T.O. in case of a Russian attack after Turkish unilateral action. All over the island the Turkish Cypriots withdrew inside fortified enclaves surrounded by Greek Cypriot guerrillas and men of the National Guard. This meant a definitive change of the old settlement pattern of 120 all Turkish and 706 mixed villages There was a relocation to Turkish dominated areas of at least 25,000 Turkish refugees. In 1969, 115,189 Turk refugees still remained unsettled. A precarious balance was maintained by the U.N.

Force in Cyprus (U N F I C Y P.). Greek Cypriots dominated the greater part of the Republic. A U.N. mediator, Galo Plaza, began his work in March 1963. Makarios and Küçük did not act together, any more, nor did the cabinet or parliament. Makarios kept on insisting that the imposed constitution was impracticable. Küçük maintained that a limitation of independence was necessary for the survival of the Turkish community, which must never be treated as a minority, and proposed *taksim*. Neither of the two Cypriot parties was able to make concessions.

Greco-Turkish talks in 1964 led to no results. In the autumn of 1967, violence flared up again after Greek Cypriot provocation. The Ankara government threatened intervention. The Athens Junta government gave in, and withdrew Grivas from the island. Makarios's position had now become the stronger one. Küçük proclaimed a separate transitional government for all Turkish sectors in December 1967. On 25 February 1968, presidential elections were held which resulted in a 95.4 % vote for Makarios and his independence policy. Concessions were granted to the Turks. R. Denktaş was allowed to return and was elected president of the Turkish Communal Chamber. He conducted intercommunal talks with G. Clerides in June, July and autumn of 1968 and in the spring of 1969. On 6 March 1970, an attack was made on President Makarios, probably by Greek ex-E.O.K.A. members. Parliamentary elections were held in July 1970 separately by both communities.

The year 1971 saw talks on Cyprus by the governments of Athens and Ankara in Lisbon (by Foreign Ministers Olçay and Xanthopoulos-Palamas). The communal talks between Denktaş and Clerides were also continued. In September, General Grivas returned secretly to organise a new E.O.K.A. terrorist (1972) movement, mainly directed against Makarios' position, but also a menace to Turkish Cypriots. In March 1972 Grivas, assisted by the Bishops of Paphos, Kition and Kyrenia, staged a coup to defrock the President-Archbishop and followed it up with raids and killings among Makarios's party which continued during 1973. Grivas died on 27 January 1974. Makarios's conflict with the Athens Junta led to the overthrow by Greek army officers of his government on 15 July 1974.

Led by an E.O.K.A. terrorist, Nikos Sampson, the coup seemed to aim at *enosis*. The Turkish government invoked the Treaty of Guarantee and intervened unilaterally. On 20 July massive Turkish troop landings were effected near Kyrenia and elsewhere. A short war ensued between the Turkish army units and the Greek Cypriot National Guard, which led to a lasting division of the island along the cease fire line, stretching from the East, south of Famagusta to the West, near Lefka including the Turkish zone at Nicosia. Massive relocation of the population was the result, with at least 200,000 displaced persons. In December 1974 Makarios returned to Cyprus as President. His authority was now, however, less. The new leaders of the two communities are G. Clerides and R. Denktaş, both lawyers by profession. Intercommunal talks were continued by them in 1975 without significant results, and on 13 February 1975 Denktaş announced the formation of a separate Turkish state in the northern half of Cyprus. The intercommunal talks were resumed in Vienna in April under the auspices of U.N. Secretary General K. Waldheim.

On 5 August 1977, President Archbishop Makarios III died aged 63. S. Kyprianou succeeded him as President, and Bishop Chrysostomos of Paphos was elected head of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in the course of the year. Intercommunal talks were resumed in January 1978 under auspices of the U.N.O. Secretary-General between Kyprianou and Denktaş.

The Cyprus Question, one of the last remnants of the Eastern Question, remains to be solved on the both national and international levels.

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(A. H. de Groot)

KUBU, a sub-district (*kecamatan*) of the regency (*kabupaten*) of Pontianak, situated in the south of the delta of the Great Kapuas river, in the Indonesian province of Western Kalimantan in Borneo [q.v. in Suppl.]. In 1971 it had 16,951 inhabitants, among them 643 foreigners, most of them Chinese. The scattered population is mainly of mixed Arab, Bugunese, or Malay origin, besides the Chinese and few Dayaks. Since 1935, the Indonesian government has tried to open some areas for Javanese immigrants.

The family which ruled this area until 1958 was of Arab descent originating from Hadramawt. The founder of the kingdom was Sayyid (according to others Sharif) Idrus al-Idrus, who settled not far from the mouth of the river Terentang with a few Arab, Bugunese and Malay followers in ca. 1780, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer Sharif 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kadri, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an entrenchment (Malay *kubu*) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company, who recognised him as a ruler with the title *tuan* (lord). One of his sons, 'Alawi bin Idrus, became of his opposition against the Dutch and favour of the British, left Kubu in 1823 and finally settled in Sarawak, some of his descendants have had a certain political influence there, especially since Independence (1963).

In 1910, the Dutch introduced a *bestuur comité* in Kubu, consisting of three notables, each of whom was allotted a certain territory as an appanage. The last king, Hasan bin Zayn, was appointed as head of the *bestuur comité* by the Japanese in 1943, before he was elected head of the self-governing kingdom in 1949. In 1958, the monarchy was abolished and Kubu was transformed into its present administrative position as a *kecamatan*. The predominant religion is Islam, but this is mixed with animistic beliefs.

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(W. H. RASSERS — [O. SCHUMANN])

KŪČAK KHĀN DJANGALĪ, Mīrzā, known also as Shaykh Yūnus (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and the first person to declare a republican régime in Iran. He was born into a lower middle class family of Rasht, in the north of Iran, and studied Arabic and other religious subjects in the traditional schools in his region. He then moved to Tehran, continuing his studies in a religious school called the *madrasa-yi muḥammadiyya*. His early training in traditional schools, together with his association with the Russian revolutionaries in Tiflis and Baku in 1908, plus his close co-operation with the militant Iranians involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, developed in Kūčak Khān a strong sense both of revolutionary patriotism and also of devotion to Islam. We therefore see him occasionally consulting the Kur'ān as well as setting up sessions for reciting the heroic poetry of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] (Ibrāhīm Fakhrā'ī, *Sardār-i Djangal Mīrzā Kūčak Khān*, Tehran 1965, 37-8). In 1909 Kūčak joined the revolutionary group of Gīlān aimed at overthrowing the then despotic Shāh, Muḥammad 'Alī (reigned 1907-9). The Gīlān Bakhtiyārī forces moved on Tehran victoriously in July 1909 while Kūčak Khān was suffering a severe back injury caused by carrying a heavy gun during the expedition.

After this short-lived victory on the part of the constitutionalists, Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh fled to Russia, where he made an attempt to regain his throne. A year or so later he entered Iran and, with the help of some Turkoman supporters, he moved towards Tehran. At this time (1911) Kūčak Khān joined the government troops in Māzandarān and "took many heroic actions" against the former Shāh's forces (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Ta'rīkh-i hidjdahsāla-yi Āḏarbāydjān*, Tehran 1962, 281). In the expedition, Kūčak Khān was wounded. After his recovery, he was denied residence in Rasht by the then Consul-General of Tsarist Russia, hence he moved to Tehran, suffering extreme poverty.

While in Tehran, Kūčak Khān took an active interest in the idea of Pan-Islamism which was then (1913) being propagated by the Ottomans and which enjoyed a considerable following in Tehran and elsewhere. Kūčak Khān had a series of meetings and discussions with religious and political personalities concerned about the future of Iran, and finally decided to undertake armed struggles against the British-backed government of Iran. In 1914, therefore, he went to Gīlān and rose against the government and, with the help of some German and Ottoman advisers, organised his Pan-Islamic group, with the newspaper *Djangal* as its official organ, the latter first appearing in 1917.

After the Soviet Revolution, the termination of Tsarist claims on Iran and the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 which established British control over the Persian army, customs, and financial affairs, Kūčak Khān, like other revolutionary leaders such as Khiyābānī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Pāyān, intensified his campaign against the British. He established friendship with the Russian Bolshevik régime and in the name of the liberation of Iran in May 1920, he proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Gīlān.

To Kūčak Khān's revolution was, of course, opposed the British-backed government of Tehran; a number of clashes therefore took place between the Djangalīs and the opposing British and Persian troops. There were also intermeine fights between Kūčak Khān on the one hand and other Djangalī leaders, such as Ihsān Allāh Khān and Khālū Ḳurbān and a number of the 'Adālat Party members, who held extremist communist views. These conflicts finally resulted in the murder of a prominent revolutionary, Haydar Khān 'Amū Oghlī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the meantime, the pro-British Sayyid Diyā' al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī set up the Zarganda Committee, which was joined by a number of the large landowners of Gīlān such as Fath Allāh Khān Sardār Manṣūr. At the same time the Soviets decided to establish friendship with the British and the government of Tehran, culminating in the Soviet-Persian Agreement of 1921, on the basis of which the Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, M. Rothstein, wrote a long letter to Kūčak Khān urging him to put an end to his revolutionary activities. Thus abandoned, Kūčak Khān took refuge in the forests of Gīlān, and shortly afterwards his frozen corpse was found and his head was taken to the authorities.

Kūčak Khān's writings and manifestos suggest that he was aiming at a united Iran without any foreign interference, including that of the Soviets. He believed in land reform and in compulsory education, and during his short control over Gīlān, he did carry out some land reform and founded a number of public primary schools in Sawma'asarā, Shaft, Kasmā, and Māsūla.

The evaluation of the revolutionary activities of Kūčak Khān has caused controversy, and many contradictory accounts have also been given concerning the factual history of the Djangalī movement. He has been called a "willing puppet" of the Soviets (George Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948*, Ithaca 1949, 60). On the other hand, Soviet writers (*The borderlands of Soviet Central Asia*, in *Central Asian Review*, iv [1956], 287-332), as well as the Iranian revolutionary groups (S. 'Awn Allāhī, *Inḳilāb-i ḥaḳīḳī-yi sūsiyālīsī yā uktubr ya nahḍat-i humānīsīt-i ḥaḳīḳī-yi Īrān*, and Taḳī Mūsawī, *Inḳilāb-i uktubr ya nahḍat-i Gīlān*, both in *Inḳilāb-i uktubr ya Īrān*, ed. Hizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān, 1967, 242-62, 263-74; *Dimukrāsī-yi humānīsīt-ya Īrān*, in *Tūda-Urgān-i sāzmān-i inḳilāb-yi Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān dar khārdj-i as ḥizbwar*, No. 25, 1969, 22 ff.) do not seem to have paid enough attention to the eventual Soviet abandonment of the Djangalī movement, this latter question has constituted the point of emphasis of a number of other writers (Muṣṭafā Shu'a'ī, *Nigāhī bi rawābiṭ-i ghāmūsh-i nahḍat-i inḳilābī-yi Djangal*, Tehran 1968) who have considered Kūčak Khān to be a national hero. A third group of the accounts are hostile to the movement, expressing openly the attitude of the big landowners of Iran, particularly of those of Gīlān; the best example of this group of literature is the anonymously written book *Ta'rīkhča-yi Djangaliyān*, Tehran 1918.

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(Abdul Hadi Hairi)

KŪČĀN, modern form of the mediaeval Islamic Khabūshān/Khūdjān, a town of northern Khurāsān on the main highway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It lie at an altitude of 4,060 feet as the fertile and populous Atrek River-Kashaf Rūd corridors, on the headwaters of the Atrek and between the parallel mountain ranges of the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid on the north and the Kūh-i Shah Diahān and Kūh-i Binālūd on the south, the modern town lies several miles upstream, sc. to the east-south east, of the mediaeval town

Khabūshān was apparently the earliest Islamic form of the town's name, although nothing is known about it during the period of the Arab conquests and the ensuing two or three centuries. But already in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, such writers as Ibn Ḥawḳal ed Kramers, 433, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 419, Muḳaddasī, 318 19, the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, § 23, and Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh* i *Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], 604, 607, tr. Arends[2], 735, 739, spell its name as Khūdjān. Sam'ānī (who had personally visited the town), *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 223-4, repeated in Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, ii, 399-400, says that the locals pronounced Khadidjān. The geographers and others describe it as the chief lieu (*kaṣaba*) of the rich and flourishing rural district (*rustāḳ*) of Ustuwā [the ʿAστραυηνή of Greek sources], which was administratively a dependency of Nīshāpūr and comprised 93 villages. It constituted the granary of Nīshāpūr, growing corn and fruits in both rain-watered fields (*mabāthāt*) and in those irrigated by *bandīs* [*q.v.*]. cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 153 4. Cotton was also grown and textiles produced. Concerning the religious complexion of the district, we learn that in the early 5th/11th century the doctrines of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* were promoted in Khūdjān and Ustuwā by the *faḳīh* Abū ʿAmr Farāhī (Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332/1953, 24); at this time, the famous Shāfiʿī scholar Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al Māwardī [*q.v.*] served for a while as *ḳāḍī* of Ustuwā before moving to Baghdad (cf H Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der Schāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 96) By the Il-Khānid period, the name Ustuwā was going out of use, though still used in the tax-registers, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 150, tr 149

Kūčān makes sporadic appearances in the mediaeval Islamic chronicles, since it lay on the principal route from Gurgān and the Caspian provinces to Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr, and because the pasture grounds of the upper Atrek valley were especially attractive to powers with nomadic followings, such as the Saldjūḳs, the Mongols and the Il Khānids. It played a part in the manoeuvrings of Masʿūd of Ghazna and the Saldjūḳs under Toghril Beg during the struggle for Khurāsān (Bayhaḳī, *loc cit*) in 551/1156 it was the meeting-place of the Khwārazm-Shāh Atsīz [*q.v.*] and the Karākhānid Maḥmūd Khān, after the latter had invited the Shāh into Khurāsān to combat the Oghuz captors of Sultan Sandjar, and it was in Kūčān that Atsīz died shortly afterwards (Barthold *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[4], 330-1) The town suffered badly during Čingiz Khān's attack on Khurāsān. According to Djuwaynī, the Mongol general Subetey wrought great slaughter at Khabūshān, Isfarāʾin [*q.v.*] and (?) Adkan, and for nearly 40 years the town lay devastated and depopulated. Then in 654/1256, Djuwaynī—who had with considerable acumen purchased a quarter of the town from its inhabitants—himself persuaded Hülegü to rebuild it. The latter issued a *yarlīgh* for the repair of the *bandīs* and the rebuilding of the houses and markets, all at his own expense and the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Aḳa expended 3,000 *dīnārs* on reconstructing and restoring the Friday mosque and cemetery (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 246, ii, 617, cf Boyle, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 344).

Kūčān thus enjoyed a recovery of prosperity under the later Mongols and Il-Khānids. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that there was an imperial workshop (*kārkhāna*) there (Petrushevsky, in *Ural*, v, 5231, and also that Ghāzan, when governor of Khurāsān and himself still a Buddhist, built a Buddhist temple in the town for those devotees within the Mongol court entourage and official classes (*Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, iii, Baku 1957, 373, cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague 1834-5, iv, 147-8). However, Kūčān had at some point of time also acquired an *imāmzāde* or saint's tomb of some importance sc. that of Ibrāhīm, son of the Eighth *Imām* of the Shī'a, 'Alī al-Ridā.

The whole Atrek-Kashaf Rūd corridor lay in the front line of Persian defences against the Özbegs during the Safawid period. Hence Shāh 'Abbās I settled Kurdish tribesmen in northern Khurāsān, to the number, it is said, of 25,000 families, and subsequently, what were in effect a string of Kurdish tribal principalities grew up along the frontier, with hereditary chieftains and exemption from taxation in return for maintaining armed cavalrymen against incursions from Central Asia. Kūčān came within the area of the Za'farānlū Kurds, whose hereditary leaders had the title of *Ilkhānī* bestowed upon them. Nādir Shāh had an especially consistent policy of resettling peoples in frontier regions for strategic purposes, and during his reign (1148 to/1736-47) there were considerable further implantations in northern Khurāsān, including the Kūčān district (see on all these population movements, J. R. Perry, *Forced migration in Iran during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *Iranian studies, Journ. of the Society for Iranian Studies*, viii/4 (New York, Autumn 1975), 205 ff.).

The local chiefs of Kūčān were nevertheless frequently in revolt against the Persian central government. Nādir Shāh was killed in 1160/1747 whilst engaged in the subjugation of the town and a nearby hill is still called Nādir Tepe. In the reign of the Kādjār Fath 'Alī Shāh, the *Ilkhānī* Kulī Kulī Khān (who entertained the British traveller J. B. Fraser in Kūčān in 1821) revolted against his overlord, so that the Shāh's *wālī 'ahd* or heir, 'Abbās Mīrzā (q.v.), came and suppressed the outbreak, razing the town's walls and causing much destruction within it. Severe earthquakes in 1852, 1871, 1895 and 1895 increased the devastation, and Curzon, who was there in 1889, found many ruinous houses there, estimating the population at less than 12,000. With the pushing-forward in the later 19th century of the Russian frontier in Central Asia up to the natural frontier of the Kopet Dāgh-Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid range and the subjection to Imperial Russian rule of the formerly predatory Türkmens, the three Kurdish principalities of northern Khurāsān, Kūčān, Budjnurd (q.v.) and Darreh Gaz, lost much of their military and strategic raisons d'être, and Curzon noted that the power and prestige of the then *Ilkhānī* Shudjā' al-Dawla Husayn Khān b. Kulī Kulī Khān, had diminished (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question* London 1892, i, 94-112).

In the present century, Kūčān has remained the centre of an important wheat-growing area, supplying much of the rest of Persia; these crops are grown, as in mediaeval times, both on *kanāt*-irrigated land and as *dayami*, dry-farmed (cf. *Admiralty handbook, Persia* London 1945, 40, 45 n. 439, 455). Administratively, Kūčān is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrestān* or district of the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān; the population of the *shahrestān* in 1956 was *ca.* 111,000 (cf. *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ix, 307).

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 393, and for the accounts of European travellers who visited Kūčān, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 157 n. 221-3, 252. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪČUK KAYNARDJA (modern Turk. Küçük Kaynarca, "little hot spring", a village in north-eastern Bulgaria, 25 km. south-east of Silistre, noteworthy as the place at which was concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Empires on 12 Djumādā I 1188/10 July 1774 one of the most famous and important treaties in the history of diplomacy. The Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja, which brought to an end a disastrous war over the partition of Poland in which the Porte had irresponsibly embarked six years previously, contained terms which were uniformly regrettable in their consequences for the Ottoman state and, in particular, for the *khānate* of the Crimea.

The treaty, which consisted of 28 articles and a separate secret convention of two articles, was the final outcome of protracted negotiations for a truce which had been conducted by the two sides since 1186/1772. Only in the campaign of 1188/1774, with Russian forces strongly entrenched south of the Danube and with the strong fortress of Shumen (Shumla, Shumni), which commanded the passage of the Balkan range, abandoned by the Ottomans, were negotiations pushed rapidly to a conclusion. The Ottoman field commander (*serdār-i ekrem*), the Grand Vizier Muhammadzāde Mehmed Pasha, nominated as plenipotentiaries his *khāss-ḥudjra* Nishāndjī/Tewkī' Ahmed Resmī Efendi and the then *re'is efendi* Ibrāhīm Munīb (Münip) Efendi; the chief Russian negotiator, under the aegis of the Russian commander in-chief, Field Marshal Count Pyotr Aleksandrovič Rumyantsev, was Prince Nikolaï Repnin, who had served as Russian ambassador at the Porte prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

Negotiations were begun and rapidly concluded in the Russian camp before Shumen on 6 Djumādā I 1188/5 July 1774; the actual date and place of signing were stipulated by the Russians for their historical significance. The controlling text of the treaty was drawn up in Italian, Russian and Turkish versions were also signed by the respective plenipotentiaries. Contrary to a widely held belief, there are only minor textual variations between the Russian and Turkish versions.

The consequences of the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja were most unfortunate for the *khānate* of the Crimea. Although by the terms of art. 3 Russian forces were to evacuate its territory with the exception of the strong points of Kerč and Yeñi Kal'e, the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish their suzerainty over the *khānate*, and to concede to the Crimean Tatars a specious and unlooked-for "independence" (*serbestiyyet*). Religious supremacy over the Muslim inhabitants of the *khānate* was reserved to the Ottoman sultan as rightful caliph ("Supremo Califfo filaometano") a concept entirely alien to Islamic law, and one which was to cause endless diplomatic confusion, in part corrected by the *senedāt-i ittifāḳiyye* of Aynalī Kavak (3 Rabī' I 1193/18 March 1779). The "independence" of the Crimea proved in fact to be merely a prelude to its absorption by Russia, on the pretext of misgovernment, in 1783 (see further, *khāns*).

For the Ottomans, the consequences, in strategic

terms, of the treaty were equally ominous. Through her possession of the fortresses of Kilburun (*q.v.*) (art. 18), Kerč and Yeñi Kal'e (*q.vv.*) (arts. 3 and 19), Azak (Azov) (*q.v.*) (art. 20) and Granice and Lesser Kabarda (see KABARDA) (art. 21), and despite restitution to the Ottomans of Özi (Ochakov) and Bessarabia, including, *inter alia*, the fortresses of Ak Kerman, Kili, Ismāʿīl, Bender and Khotin (*q.v.*), Russia gained a secure and permanent strategic foothold on the northern shores of the Black Sea, thus bringing to an end its four centuries' history as an Ottoman "lake". This new position of strength Russia was able immediately to exploit through further concessions (art. 11) which gave her unrestricted commercial privileges in the Black Sea and through the Straits into the Mediterranean, and the right to establish consulates and vice-consulates at will on Ottoman territory and to maintain a permanent embassy at Istanbul. A further detailed clause afforded Russia a privileged position with regard to the Christian population and the semi-autonomous hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia (Boghdan and Ḳilāk [*q.vv.*]) (art. 16), while by art. 13 the Porte was obliged to concede to Catherine II and her successors the title of *pādishāh* (*tamāmī Rusyalarinīñ pādishāhi*, i.e. "Empress/Emperor of all the Russians").

Two articles in particular (arts. 7 and 14) of the treaty have given rise to much subsequent misunderstanding. Art. 7, which in fact specifically recognised the protection of the Ottoman government over its own Christian subjects, permitted Russia only to make representations on behalf of a single church building—an Orthodox church in Ghalata (*q.v.* in Suppl.), separate from the Russian embassy chapel, where services were to be held according to the Russian rite—and those who served in it. Art. 14, which actually gave to Russia the right to establish a church in Ghalata to serve the Russian community resident there "on the example of the other Powers" —i.e., France and Austria—had already been proposed in the negotiations of 1772-3. From these articles or possibly from those which related to Moldavia and Wallachia, or to the Archipelago (still under the occupation of the Russian fleet) art. 17 or to Georgia and Mingrelia (art. 23), but more probably from a general claim to guardianship over the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire which was put forward by Catherine II in 1775, there derived the widely held but erroneous belief that by the terms of the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja Russia had acquired an "ill-defined 'right'" to exercise a protection over the largely Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sultān which might serve as a basis for subsequent diplomatic claims against the Ottoman state.

Two separate secret articles provided for the evacuation at an unspecified date of the Russian fleet from the Archipelago and for the payment by the Porte of a war indemnity of 15,000 purses (*kese*), i.e. 7.5 million *ghurush*.

The largely factitious "rights" in arts. 7 and 14 apart, the gains which were made by Russia as a consequence of the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja were considerable, and the losses in territory and prestige to which the Ottoman state was obliged to acquiesce were correspondingly severe. For the khānate of the Crimea its consequences were sombre in the extreme. To Catherine II, Küčük Kaynardja was a treaty "the like of which Russia [had] never had before", a recent historian has correctly characterised it as "a major step, possibly the greatest single step prior to 1935, by Russia into the Near East".

Bibliography. No satisfactory edition of the three versions of the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja exists. The original of the Italian and Russian-language treaty seems to be lost; the Russian text printed in Druñinina, cited below, 349-60, does not derive from it (for references to other published Russian versions, see Davison, below, 469, n. 22). The original of the Turkish and Russian version has not yet been found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul. A register book copy exists there (Kenebī Defterleri, 83/2, 138-49), which may be the source for the various printed versions (e.g. *Madjmūʿa-yi muʿāhadāt*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1294-8/1877-81 to 1880-1, iii, 254-75; Diewdet (Cevdet), *Taʾrīkh*[2], Istanbul 1302-3/1883-4 to 1891-2, i, 265-95; Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1294-1307/1877-1909, iii, 56-64). The Italian text is reproduced (from a version published in the *Storia del Anno* for 1774) in G. Fr. Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités de l'Europe*[1], 7 vols., Göttingen 1791-1802, iv, 606-38, and edn. 8 vols., Göttingen 1817-35, ii, 286-322, no other version appears to exist. A French version (of no legal standing but widely regarded as authoritative in the 19th century) is most conveniently accessible in Gabriel Efendi, Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. Paris 1897, 319-34, and in *Treaties between Turkey and Foreign Powers*. London 1855, 463 ff.

The sole monograph devoted to the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja is E. I. Druñinina *Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhiiskiĭ mir 1774 goda*, Moscow 1955, a collection of essays of unequal value by Soviet and East European historians (N. Todorov, E. I. Druñinina and others) is contained in *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), 1975/2, 74-127. For the effect of the treaty on the khānate of the Crimea, see A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, for a more extended treatment from the Ottoman side, of Cemal Tukin, *Küçük Kaynarca* in *İA*, vi, 1964-72. The most recent study is R. H. Davison, "*Russian skill and Turkish imbecility*": *the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji reconsidered*, in *Slavic Review*, xxxv (1976), 463-83. All these works contain supplementary bibliographies and further references to sources in the relevant languages.

(C. J. Heywood)

KÜČÜK SAʿĪD PASHA (1838-1914), 19th century Ottoman statesman, seven times Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd el-Hamīd II, and twice in the Young Turk era. Born in Erzurum, Saʿīd received a traditional Muslim education until his father's death in 1853 forced him to seek an administrative career. Trained largely as an apprentice rather than in the new secular schools being established by the Tanzīmāt (*q.v.*), he served first as secretary to the governor of Erzurum Province (1853-7) and secretary to the Anadolu Ordusu (1857-9) before entering the central bureaucracy in Istanbul. He served for some time as secretary in the *Maǧlis-i Wālā* (1859-63), rising to various high positions in and out of Istanbul before becoming director of the Imperial Press (*Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire*) and editor of the official government newspaper *Takwīm-i Wekāyiʿ* (1883-8). He continued to rise in the secretarial service, becoming director of a department in the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*) in 1868, and of the Courts Department of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* in 1871, rising to become Chief Secretary of the Ministry of

Trade (*Tidjārat Nezāreti*) to 1874 and Chief Secretary of the Grand Vizier a year later.

It was during these later years that Sa'īd Efendi came into contact with Prince 'Abd al-Hamīd, advising him on administrative matters, so that one of the latter's first acts after his accession to the sultanate was to raise him to the rank of Pasha and appoint him as Chief Secretary (1876-8), at which time he acquired the nickname *Küčük* ("the small one") to distinguish him from Ingilz Sa'īd Pasha, who also advised the sultan for a time until he was dismissed due to implication in the 'Ali Su'awi affair.

Küčük Sa'īd now became the Sultan's chief instrument in the Ottoman cabinet. As minister of justice (1878-9), he worked to modernise the *Nizāmiyye* secular court system, introducing the institution of public defender, and also securing promulgation of new commercial and criminal codes of law. In seven terms as Grand Vizier (1879-80, 1880-2, 1882, 1882-5, 1895, 1901-3, 1908), he faithfully carried out the sultan's reform programs, also taking the initiative in introduce important reforms. He developed a program to centralise government control of the provinces, modernised the financial system, increased the collections and balanced the budgets, negotiated the settlement with the empire's foreign creditors that led to the creation of the Public Debt Commission (1881), established the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce to develop native trade and industry, modernised and expanded the system of secular schools on the elementary and higher technical levels in particular, reorganised and modernised the regular police, and made the secular courts fully independent of government interference so they could administer justice without fear of intervention. He played a major role in modernising the bureaucratic hierarchy, introducing examinations for appointment and promotion and establishing a pension system so that aged officials could retire without fear of poverty.

As the sultan became increasingly withdrawn and subject to the influence of his palace coterie, Sa'īd Pasha became more and more fearful of his master. At the same time, his rivalry with Mehmed Kāmil Pasha became so intense that he at times feared for his life, and at one point refused the sultan's call to resume the Grand Vizierate. As a result, Sa'īd Pasha was not included in the cluster of the Young Turks for most of the sultan's advisers following the Young Turk Revolution (1908), and in fact served twice more as grand vizier during the Constitutional period which followed, in 1911 and 1912, with the support of the Committee of Union and Progress, leading its fight against the Liberal Union Party, and directing the government's efforts against the Italian invasions of Libya and of the Dodecanese islands in the face of strong military pressure in support of the Liberal Union, however, Sa'īd Pasha resigned for the final time (17 July 1912), so that the hero of the Russo-Turkish war, Ahmed Mukhtār Pasha, could establish a one-party government to resolve the crisis. Sa'īd Pasha then served as chairman of the upper house of the legislature, the Council of Notables (1913-14) until he retired shortly before his death.

Bibliography S. J. and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, ii, *Reform, revolution and republic, the rise of modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Cambridge and New York 1977, 219-20, 274-5, 290-1, 453-4; Ercüment Kuran, *Küçük Said Paşa as a Turkish modernist*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 124-32; idem art *Said Paşa*, in *IA*; Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp işitiklerim*[1], Ankara 1951, 8-112, Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Son sadrazamlar ve başvekiller*, Istanbul 1940-9, v, Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 989-1063; Sa'īd Pasha, *Sa'īd Paşazāde khāṭirāt*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1328; *Sa'īd Paşazāde Kāmil Paşa khāṭiratına ilāvedāt*, Istanbul 1327; 'Abdurrahmān Sheref, *Ta'rīkh mesāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339, Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Said Paşa'ya dāir bāzı vesikalar*, in *Tarih dergisi*, viii, 105-34.

(S. J. Shaw)

KUČUM KHĀN, a Tatar Khān of Siberia, in whose reign this country was conquered by the Russians. Abu 'l-Ghāzī (el Desmaisons, 177), is the only authority to give information regarding his origin and his genealogical relation to the other descendants of Čingiz Khān. According to this source, he reigned for forty years in "Türän", lost his eyesight towards the end of his life, was driven from his kingdom by the Russians in 7013/1504-5, took refuge with the Manghit (Nogay) and died among them. References to Kučum are also found in the work of the Ottoman Turk Sayfī, said to have been written in 990/1582 (Leiden MS, No 197, tr. without a reference to the MS by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his translation of the history of Central Asia, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, by 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, Paris 1876, 303 ff.). Kučum's kingdom and its capital are there called "Turā", the Russians had taken this town during Kučum's absence. Kučum afterwards returned and drove out the Russians after a long siege (one to two years), but the latter carried off his son a prisoner to Moscow. These stories seem to show that Sayfī's work was probably composed later than the year given in the title (Schefer, *loc. cit.*, Preface, p. iv, even gives the year 990 A.H as date of death of the author).

The name of "Isker" for the capital of Kučum (near the confluence of the Tobol and Irtish) seems to be found only in Russian sources, it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Kučum did not inherit his kingdom from his father but had expelled his predecessor Yādigār, in 1563 Yādigār is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Kučum. In 1582 Isker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak, the Cossacks owed their victory in the use of fire-arms, these still unknown in Siberia. Kučum's son Makhmet Kul (Muhammad Kulī) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1585 or 1585) that Isker was vacated by the Russians, but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Kučum did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till an August 1598. He is said to have been slain by the Nogay with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's raids on them. The document used by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig 1893, 146 ff.) dealing with an embassy from Kučum to Bukhārā and the order by 'Abd Allāh Khān to his governor in Khwārazm to send teachers of religion to Siberia cannot be genuine Khwārazm was at that date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the Khān of Bukhārā. The form "Kbasim" adopted by Radloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.

Bibliography Sir H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, London 1880, 482 ff. and the Russian works used there; Hādī Atlāsī, *Sibir ta'rīkhī*, Kazan 1912, 36, 46, 67 ff.; and W. Barthold's review in *ZVOIRAO*, xxiii, 491 f. (W. Barthold)

KUḌĀ'A, a group of Arab tribes of obscure origin. The opinions of the genealogists about their origin are contradictory. Some of them assert that they were descendants of Ma'add, others say that they were from Ḥimyar. Both parties had recourse to traditions and utterances attributed to the Prophet, in which he is said either to have declared that Ma'add's *kunya* was Abū Kuḍā'a, or to have stated explicitly that Kuḍā'a is a descendant of Ḥimyar. Harmonising traditions reported that the mother of Kuḍā'a was the wife of Mālik b. 'Amr b Murra b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar and later married Ma'add, bringing with her Kuḍā'a, her son from the first marriage. Kuḍā'a was therefore later called Kuḍā'a b Ma'add. A contradictory tradition of this kind claimed that Kuḍā'a was the son of Ma'add, later his mother married Mālik b 'Amr al-Ḥimyarī, who adopted the child, Kuḍā'a, and thus he was called Kuḍā'a al Ḥimyarī (see M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Gamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, XXV XXVI [1976], 36-7, and references in notes 43-51, also Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjma' al-zawā'id*, repr. Beirut 1967, i, 194-5; *Aghānī*, VII, 77 ff., al-Hamdānī, *al Iklīl*, and Muḥammad al Akwa' al Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 280-90). Some traditions say explicitly that the Kuḍā'a tribes related themselves to Ma'add, but turned to the Ḥimyarī *nasab* under Mu'āwiya's pressure and bribes (see e.g. Kister and Plessner, *op. cit.*, notes 52-7, Nūr al Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, i, 194, Aghānī, *loc. cit.*, Ibsān Nass, *al 'Aṣabiyya al ḥaḳalyya wa-atharuhā fī 'l ghi'r al-umawī*, Beirut 1964, 340 3, and see al Kutāmī, *Dīwān*, ed Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī and Aḥmad Maṭlūb, Beirut 1960, 34, 145, 147, 149 al-Kumayt, *Shi'r*, ed Dāwūd Salūm, Baghdād 1969, nos 162, vv 10-13, 469 vv. 1-7, 509 vv. 1-4, 523 v 2, 550 v 1, 606 v 1). The name Kuḍā'a is an early one and can be traced in fragments of the old Arab poetry. The tribes recorded as Kuḍā'ī were Kalb [*q.v.*], Djuhayna, Balī, Bāhila [*q.v.*], Khawlān [*q.v.*], Mahra Khushayn, Dhamm, 'Udhra [*q.v.*], Balḥarith (see AL KAYN), Tanūkh [*q.v.*] and Salīḥ, the attribution of some of these tribes to Kuḍā'a like Tanūkh, Khawlān and Mahra) was the subject of dispute among genealogists. Several of the clans of Kuḍā'a joined other tribes adopting their pedigree and changing their tribal identity.

Among the prominent divisions of Kuḍā'a one may particularly refer here to Djuhayna and Balī.

1. The vast territory of Djuhayna, controlling the coastal route of the caravans between Syria and Mecca, included the localities of Ṣafrā', Ṣufayna, al Marwa, al Ḥawrā' and Yanbu' to them belonged the mountains of Raḍwā ([*q.v.*]; and see M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig 1943, ii 361, on the legendary story of the hidden *Imām* living in Raḍwā). Adjrad, Aṣh'ar and 'Arwar and the *wādīs* of Idam and al-'Ik (see e.g. al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam mā sta'djam*, ed Muṣṭafā al-Saḳā, Cairo 1364/1965, Yāḳūt s.v. Raḍwa, 'Arwān, *Asmā' djibāl Tihāma wa-aukhināhā*, in 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn's *Nawādir al makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1373/1956, ii, 8, 396-8 and melices; cf. Ḥasnad al Dīsīr, *Bilād Yanbu'*, Riyāḍ n.d., *passim*, and see esp the supplement *bilād Djuhayna wa-manāziluhā 'l kadīma*, 156-7). Djuhayna seems to have had a clear perception of tribal identity, as can be gauged from a collection of tribal war poetry, the *ayyām Djuhayna*, some fragments of this poetry were recorded as late as the 4th/10th century (see al-Tayyibī, al-*Mukāfaʾa ʿalā al-mudjāzāt*, ed Muḥammad al-Tanḍjī, in *Sharḥ al Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, I [Ankara 1956], 37-9; see also Bughayt al-Āmidī, *al Mu'talif wa 'l mukhtalif*, ed. Krenkow, Cairo 1354, 57 ff., and see on Salāma b. al-Ya'ḥūb, *ibid.*, 53, 165, on the compilation of war poetry of the Kuḍā'ī tribe of Balḥayn, *aḥādīth Banū 'l Kayn*, see *ibid.*, 23-4).

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn al Kalbī, a Djuhanī, 'Abd al Dār b. Ḳuṣayy (or Ḳuṣayy in another version), intended to build a sanctuary in one of the centres of Djuhayna, Kawdam, to rival the Ka'ba of Mecca, however, he encountered opposition on the part of his people who were reluctant to aid him in carrying out his plan (Ibn al-Kalbī, *al Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1343/1924, 45, Yāḳūt, s.v. Kawdam) This report may give us a clue for assessing the attitude of some other tribal groups of Kuḍā'a. Ibn Hishām records a tradition according to which al Ghawth, who was in charge of certain pilgrimage practices at Mecca, used to announce during one of the services, "O God I am following the example of others, if there is a sin it is Kuḍā'a's" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed al Saḳā, al Abyārī, Shalabī Cairo 1355/1936, i, 126, I 27; Guillaume's translation, *The life of Muhammad*, Karachi 1967 50, of the second hemistich "If that is wrong, the fault is Quḍā'a's" is inaccurate). It is evident that this declaration points to certain sections within Kuḍā'a who were reluctant to acknowledge the authority of Mecca and the sanctity of the Ka'ba.

The relations of Djuhayna with the Aws and Khazradj seem to have been quite close some Djuhanīs are recorded as allies of the Medinan families or clans (see e.g Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 444) It is noteworthy that among the Ansārī group who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the 'Akaba was an ally of the Banū Salima of Kalbī extraction, who joined Djuhayna and stayed with them, 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, he gained the honourable titles of *al muḥadjdjarī*, *al anṣārī*, *al salamī*, *al djuhanī al-sāḥilī* (see e.g. Ibn Hishām, ii, 126 sup.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 22346, f. 73a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al Iṣāba*, ed. 'Alī al Bidjāwī, Cairo 1389/1970, iv, 13 17, no. 4553, Ibn Kudāma al Makdisī, *al Istiʿyār fī nasab al ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. 'Alī Nuwayhid, Beirut 1392/1972, 166-8, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1380/1960 669-70, no. 1477, al Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* ed Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh Cairo 1959, i, 249). It was 'Abd Allāh b Unays who asked the Prophet on which night he should come to Medina from his abode in al-'Araḍ during Ramaḍān, and the Prophet bade him come on the night of 27 Ramaḍān; this night is therefore named "The Night of the Djuhanī" It refers of course, to the *laylat al-badr* (see e.g. *al Aghani*, XVII, 133, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, 870)

On the Day of Bu'āth [*q.v.*], Djuhayna fought on the side of the Khazradj (*Aghānī*, XV, 162 3, Ibn Khaldūn, *al 'Ibar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 602), but on the eve of the encounter of *Badr al maw'id* they were said to have hurried to Medina (together with Balī) as allies of the Aws (al-Wākidī, *Maghāzī*, ed Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 385, l. 11).

When the Prophet settled in Medina, he was, of course, concerned to establish peaceful relations with its neighbours, Djuhayna. Djuhayna, making a careful assessment of the fundamental change in the situation in Medina with the advent of the Prophet, were eager to secure their position in the new structure of power. According to some traditions, a delegation of Djuhayna came to the Prophet in Medina, pointed out that the Prophet alighted

"among them" (*bayna aẓhurinā*, Ln. in the area controlled by them) and requested him to conclude with them an agreement of mutual security (*fa-arāduhā lanā ṣalā wa-manāha ma'ahum wa-ta'manand*). This treaty was indeed agreed upon between the Prophet and Djuhayna. A peculiar aspect of this treaty was the tacit agreement by the Prophet for Djuhayna not to convert to Islam; this is clearly indicated in the account about the treaty, *wa-lam yuslimā*. The implementation of the treaty occurred a short time after its conclusion; the Prophet sent a troop of less than hundred warriors to raid a tribal group of Kināna which dwelt in the neighbourhood of Djuhayna. When the Muslim warriors realised that the Kinānīs outnumbered them, they retreated asking refuge with Djuhayna. When the Djuhanīs interrogated them as to why they had gone out fighting in the holy month of Radjab, they justified their deed by mentioning that they were driven out from the *Ḥaram* (cf. Mecca) during the hadjdj month. The account further tells about dissension among the Muslim warriors, a group of them wanted to remain in the place where they were staying, whilst another one planned to return to the Prophet to obtain a decision from him. When this group met the Prophet, he expressed his anger about the division that had occurred within the expedition, which having left in unity returned divided. He then appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Djahsh as the commander of the troop, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djahsh was thus the first appointed *amīr* in Islam (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Taʾrīkh*, Ms. Berlin 9403 = Sprenger 104, ff. 28b-30a cf. Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Mawārid al-ẓamʾān*, vi, 66-7, with an essential variant, that the Djuhanīs converted to Islam after the conclusion of the treaty; and see al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 304 5 [the commander of the first troop, dispatched by the Prophet, was Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ]; Ibn Duṅghul, *Taʾrīkh*, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 5912, i, 229b).

The reports about the first cases of co-operation between Djuhanīs and the nascent Muslim community at Medina, though sometimes divergent or even contradictory point clearly to the period preceding the battle of Badr and are connected with the earliest attempts of the Prophet at impeding the free traffic of the Kurayshī caravans. The detachments dispatched by the Prophet were relatively small and served a twofold purpose: that of reconnoitring in case a greater force of the enemy made an appearance, and of an attacking troop in case they met with a smaller division of the enemy. It was essential in such a situation to have at their disposal a territory with a friendly population both for military enterprises and as a resort to which the force could retreat in safety. The treaty with the Djuhanīs was indeed successful, and enabled the Prophet to launch his first attacks against some Kinānī allies of Kuraysh; the expeditions operated indeed in the territory controlled by Djuhayna.

Furthermore, some Djuhanīs carried out certain subtle and responsible duties for the Prophet's troops: Bashīr b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abī 'l-Zaghbāʾ (both allies of the Anṣār clans) served as spies for the Muslim troops (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo n.d., 210; Ibn Hishām, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280, i, 178 ult.-179, Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, i, 288, no. 640, iv, 474, no. 5486, al-Wāḳidī 40 a; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 289) Another Djuhanī, Rāshid, granted shelter to two other spies of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Saʿīd b. Zayd, he misled the men of the Kurayshī caravan who inquired about the spies sent by the Prophet. After the departure of the Kurayshī caravan, Rāshid accompanied the two spies to Turbān, where he met the Prophet; the Prophet wanted to grant him Yanbuʿ (as an *iḳṭāʿ* or fief), but Rāshid advised the Prophet to grant it to one of his relatives (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 19-20; Ibn Ḥadjar, v, 590, no. 7409 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 230, al-Makkārī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 62). Another Djuhanī, Madjdī b. ʿAmr, performed an even more complicated service for the Muslim detachment; he interposed between the small Muslim force under the command of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the Kurayshī caravan escorted by 300 Kurayshī riders under the command of Abū Djahl (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 9-10, 40-1, al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 302; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 446; idem, *Djawāmiʿ*, 101, cf. 110 al-Makrīzī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 32 a; Ibn Hishām, ii, 245, 269) Madjdī succeeded in accomplishing his task and he was an ally (*ḥalīf*, *muwālī*?) of both parties (i.e. of the Muslim party and the Kurayshīs). It is noteworthy for the assessment of the personality of Madjdī and the reliability of the traditions that some reports state that he did not convert to Islam (see e.g. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, i, 390)

The reports about the participation of Djuhanīs in the first encounters of the Prophet with Kurayshī seem to be sound, and are confirmed by a tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarānī stating that the first tribe to fight on the side of the Prophet was Djuhayna (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Awsaṭ*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 1530, f. 156b)

Some factors which motivated Djuhayna in concluding the treaty with the Prophet can be deduced from a report recorded by al-Samhūdī and al-Fayrūzābādī; the Prophet alighted at Dhū 'l-Marwa; Djuhanī people assembled at the place from the mountains and the plains and complained of being pressed by alien people, who were trying by force to get hold of their wells. Then the Prophet granted the people of Djuhayna the lands of Dhū 'l-Marwa, forbade them to be treated with iniquity and announced that the angel Djibrīl ordered him to consider Djuhayna as his allies (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, 1305-6 al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fī maʿālim ṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 379) It is plausible that this utterance of the Prophet confirmed Djuhayna's rights to their landed property and formed a warning for tribal groups to refrain from transgressing on the wells (sc. wells and other property) of Djuhayna, as they were the allies of the Prophet and their rights would be defended by the Prophet. The lands of Dhū 'l-Marwa were in fact granted by the Prophet to a man from Djuhayna (see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, i, 272, are on ʿAwwādja b. Ḥamala, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, ii, 216, Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 739 no. 6093, on Dhū 'l-Marwa see al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Marwa).

The Prophet concluded several treaties with the various tribal groups of Djuhayna. Some of these treaties can be traced to the very early period of the Prophet's stay at Medina; they do not contain any stipulation as to conversion to Islam. There are, however, some treaties which may be attributed to a later period, when conversion to Islam became obligatory, and include instructions concerning the religious duties to be performed (cf. the Saʿd, i,

370-1). A tradition recorded by Ibn Sa'd (i, 333) says that a delegation of Ḏuhayna embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet to Medina, this story may, however, refer to a unit of Ḏuhayna, and certainly not to the whole tribe.

The early conversion of several groups of Ḏuhayna and another Kuḍā'ī group, the Aslam, is reflected in some traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which Ḏuhayna is counted among the tribal groups surpassing (in virtues) the great tribes of Asad, Ghaṭafān, Tamīm and 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a (see e.g. al-Humaydī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'ẓamī, Beirut-Cairo 1382, ii, no. 1048; 'Abd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. al-A'ẓamī, Beirut 1390/1972, xi, 47, no. 19877, al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'ǧam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Uṯmān, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 54, n. 252). Only few cases of opposition by some units of Ḏuhayna against the Muslim commonwealth of Medina are known (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī 774-5, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, iii, 32, about the expedition of Abū 'Ubayda) When the Prophet set out for al-Ḥudaybiya, some nomad Ḏuhaynī were disinclined to respond to his summons and to join him, fearing that the Muslims might be defeated by the Kurayš forces (see e.g. Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāhir al-Sūratī, Beirut n.d., 602 inf., Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Ahmet III, 74/II, ff. 260b, 266b, al-Wāḳidī, 574, 619; al Nawawī al Ǧāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 303 inf.; al Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1387/1967, xvi, 268, 348; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manṯūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 72-73).

Ḏuhayna appeared to a strong force of 800 warriors and 50 riders (or 1400 warriors according to Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, 85 aup) on the expedition for the conquest of Mecca, four banners were borne by its leaders (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 799, 820, 826, al Muṭṭalibī al-Ḥindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad 1390/1970, xvii, 78, no. 199; and see Ibn Ḥaǧar, *al Iṣāba*, ii, 445, no 2549, ii, 604 sup., no 2897 vi, 185, no. 8068; Ibn al Aṯīr, *Usd*, iii, 124, Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 871 2) The Ḏuhaynī Rāfi' b Makīṯh was appointed by the Prophet as tax-collector (*muṣaddiḳ*) al his tribe (al-Wāḳidī, 1079). A number of Ḏuhaynīs emigrated to Medina; the Prophet himself fixed the place of the tribal mosque of Ḏuhayna in Medina (Ibn Sa'd, i, 333).

Ḏuhayna remained faithful to Islam after the death of the Prophet (cf. al Wāḳidī, 1122) and favourable utterances attributed to the Prophet emphasised their virtues. The Prophet is said to have considered Ḏuhayna among his *mawālī* (see e.g. al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-Ḳārī*, Cairo 1348, xvi, 75-6, al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-ḳadīr*, Beirut 1391/1972, iv, 526, no. 6122). The Prophet is said to have recommended seeking refuge in the mountains of Ḏuhayna during the periods of strife, *fitan* (see e.g. al-Bakrī, 154, Ḥamad al-Ǧāsir, *Abū 'Alī al-Hadjarī*, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 192, and see the utterance of the Prophet in Ibn Sa'd, i, 333). In an alleged utterance, the Prophet is said to have recommended marrying Ḏuhaynī women (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Maǧrūḥīn*, ed. 'Azīz Beg al-Nakshbandī, Hyderabad 1390/1970, ii, 20). A peculiar tradition attributed to the Prophet forbids anyone to harm Ḏuhayna, saying "he who harms Ḏuhayna harms me, and he who harms me harms God", this utterance was instantly denied when transmitted to Mu'āwiya (al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif*, 60, no. 147).

Ḏuhayna participated, together with other groups of Kuḍā'a, in the conquest of Egypt; some of them settled in Fusṭāṭ (cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index). Ḏuhaynīs lived in Maniāḳīṯ and Asyūṭ After clashes with other tribal groups, Ḏuhayna migrated to Upper Egypt and settled in the region of Ikhmīm during the Fāṭimid period; they became one of the powerful Arab tribes of Egypt (see Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-i'rāb 'ammā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb*, ed. 'Abd al-Maǧīd 'Abidīn, Cairo 1961; and on the researches of 'Abidīn, in *ibid.*, 77-8) Groups of Ḏuhayna penetrated in the 8th/14th century into the Christian kingdom of Nubia and got mastery over it From Nubia, Ḏuhayna continued to push forward into the Sudan and mixed with the native tribes (see C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sudan*, in *Isl.*, i, 253-77; idem, *EI*[1] art *Ḏuhaynan*, F C. Thomas Jr, *The Juhaina Arabs of Chad*. in *MEJ* [1959], 241-55; von Oppenheim *op. cit.*, ii, 359). In the Ḏuhaynī territories of the Arab peninsula, the different sections of that tribe became controlled by the descendants of 'Alī who succeeded in acquiring a great deal of landed property in these regions. Nevertheless, the various branches of Ḏuhayna succeeded in keeping their identity during the centuries. Although wavering at the beginning of the First World War, the majority of the tribe followed the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn, later, they changed attitude and became loyal subjects of the Sa'ūdī dynasty (see von Oppenheim, ii, 360). In recent times, they have been exacting themselves in developing their region (see Ḥamad al-Ǧāsir, *Bilād Yaṯrib*[1], *passim*)

2 To the north of the territory of Ḏuhayna was the region of Balī, another branch of Kuḍā'a. Starting at Wādī Iḍam, their usual habitations extended far to the south, including the places of Shaghāb, Bada and Taymā[3] (al. Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, ii, 528, von Oppenheim, ii, 325, 352 3). The Kuḍā'ī tribal groups of Balī, Ḏuhayna and 'Uḏhra migrated, according to tradition, to the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā in which Jewish settlers cultivated the soil, dug the wells and planted palm trees According to an agreement between the Jewish settlers and these Kuḍā'ī groups, the Jews undertook to give them a certain payment, in return Balī, Ḏuhayna and 'Uḏhra were under obligation to give protection to the Jewish settlements against the Bedouin tribes, including other Kuḍā'ī units (see Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Ḳurā, *al-Bakrī, Mu'ǧam*, i, 45) The stipulations of this agreement remained valid until the advent of Islam; then the 'Uḏhrī Dysmas b. al-Nu'mān visited the Prophet and was given by him a grant of land. The Jewish settlers of the family of 'Urayḍ (or 'Arīḍ) were allowed by the Prophet to stay in their places, they were granted by the Prophet the privilege of receiving a certain annual payment (see Ibn Sa'd, i, 279; al-Bakrī, i, 44; cf. W M Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 207-8) Some clans of Balī got involved in internal fighting, one of the fighting groups, the Banū Hiḍma, was compelled to seek refuge with the Jewish settlers of Taymā', and at their demand converted to Judaism Some of these refugees left later for Medina and embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet (see al-Bakrī, i, 29). A corroborating report counts among the Jewish tribal groups at Medina three groups from Balī (see Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 598; and cf. al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 162-3, 194, 200, 223) Some traditions, in reporting of the migration of the Balawī clans to Medina, remark that they became allies (*ḥulafā'*) of the Aws and Khazrağī (see e.g al-Bakrī, i, 66; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh 'alā*

kabā'il al-rumūl, Nadjaf 1376/1966, 128). The position of Bali at Medina and their status can be gauged from the accounts about the 'Akaba meeting, reporting that seven members out of the seventy Anṣārī group of delegates, who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance, were of Balawī descent (Ughwaym b. Sā'ida [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 1248, no. 2052; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 158; cf. Ibn Hadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 745 ff., no. 8216], Ma'n b. 'Adī [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn Kudāma, *al Istibṣār*, 297, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 401], Khadidj b Uways [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 249, Ibn Hishām, ii, 106], Abu 'l-Haytham b al Tayyihān [see on him al-Balādhurī, i, 240, Ibn Kudāma, *op. cit.*, 228], Abū Burda b. Niyār [*on* whom see Ibn Hishām, ii, 198, al-Balādhurī, i, 241, al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i, 28 inf.], al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr [or b. 'Iṣr, on whom see Ibn al Athīr, *Usd*, v, 27, Ibn Hazm, *Djamhara*, 443), Yazīd b Tha'laba [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 251, Ibn Kudāma, 102, al-Samhūdī, i, 228), Ibn Hadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, vi. 650). However, the Balawī descent of some of these persons is put in question in some of the sources) Balawī tribesmen took part in the battles between the Prophet and Kuraysh on the side of the Prophet, and names of Balawī warriors can be found in the lists of those who were killed in the encounters. The traditions mention a peculiar letter of the Prophet sent to a Balawī group, the Banū Dju'ayl. According to this letter, the Prophet granted to them the privileges of being taxed no more than once a year and of not having to gather with their live stock in the tax-collection centres (*lā yuḥsharūn wa-lā yu'sharūn*: this explanation given by Ibn Sa'd seems however to be uncertain: there are interpretations commenting that *hashr* and *'ashr* refer to exemption from being levied and taxed), they were also appointed by the Prophet as tax-collectors of some other tribes. They were given the status of Kurayshīs, as they were allies of the 'Abd Manāf (see Ibn Sa'd, i, 270-1, Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 111). The favourable conditions granted to the Banū Dju'ayl were probably intended to gain the loyalty of a tribal group allied with Kurayysh, securing their control over other tribal groups for the benefit of the Muslim community.

The expedition against the Bali seat in 8 AH was intended to gain their allegiance and their succour for the Muslim community; it was essential for the latter to secure the co-operation of the Bali who dwelt in the northern regions of the peninsula, who controlled the road to Medina and Mecca, and of whom some members were in the service of the Byzantine army, the commander of the troop which fought the Muslim force at Mu'ta was a Balawī (see al-Wākidī, 760). It was a shrewd decision of the Prophet to appoint 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, whose mother was from Bali, as commander of the Muslim force (*ibid.*, 770); the expedition was also directed at the Mahra and Balkayn, two Kudā'ī tribes sojourning in the region of Bali. In 9 A H the Prophet sent the delegation of Bali, who embraced Islam (see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i, 330, al-Zurkānī, *Sharh al-mawāhib*, iv, 57-8, Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād*, Beirut n.d., iii, 49).

The forces of Bali played an important role in the conquest of Egypt; 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ fought under the banner of Bali (see Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, i, 62) 'Umar established the pay of Bali warriors as equal to that of Mudar, Kalb and Tayyi', sc. 300-400 *dirhams*; it was lower than that of the Yemeni tribes because they were closer to the places of migration (see al Diāhiz, *al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1374/1955, 212) When 'Umar was informed that a man from Bali summoned his people in Syria by the battle-cry *yā Kudā'a*, he ordered a third of Kudā'a to be removed to Egypt, as Bali formed a third part of Kudā'a, they were indeed transferred to Egypt (Ibn 'Abd al Hakam, 116, al-Makrīzī, *al-Bayān*, 29) It was a Balawī, 'Abd al Rahmān b. 'Udays, a Companion of the Prophet, who was at the head of a troop of riders in revolt against 'Uthmān He was later imprisoned by Mu'āwiya, and was killed on his flight from the ṭūlon (see al Sam'ānī *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1963, ii, 524, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 309 10, Ibn Hadjar, *al Iṣāba*, iv 334, no. 5166, Muhammad b Yahyā al-Azdī'arī al-Mālikī *al-Tawādi wa 'l-bayān fī sachtat al Shahīd 'Uthmān*, ed Mahmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, Beirut 1964, index).

Bali settlements are mentioned in the regions of Akhmīm, Asyūṭ and Ushmūn they were expelled by Fāṭimid troops and were compelled to move to the south In the 8th/14th century the Bali entered together with Djuhayna, the Sudān and contributed considerably to the islamisation and arabisation of the native tribes of the Bedja and the Bakkāra (*q.vv.*), the Arabic language is known among the Bedja even today as "Balawiyyat", i.e. the language of Bali

In the Arabian peninsula, the Bali played during the First World War an important role in the conflict between the *Sharīf* Husayn and the Turkish authorities (finally (in 1918) following the lead of the sons of the *Sharīf* Husayn.

Some groups of Bali joined the new régime in the Hidjāz in 1925 and became loyal subjects of Sa'ūdī Arabia but some rebellious units of Bali took refuge in the kingdom of Trans Jordan. They crossed the borders at 'Akaba and raided, together with other rebels the northern districts of Sa'ūdī Arabia in 1932, but were defeated by the Sa'ūdī forces (cf ven Oppenheim, ii, 334)

In Spain descendants of the Bali tribe lived in the region of Cordova or Kurṭuba and it was reported that they excelled in hospitality. They were unable to speak Romance (*al-lafiniyya*), and spoke only Arabic, according to Ibn Hazm, *Djamhara*, 443

Bibliography: given in the article essentially, but see also W Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, 8-9, 155, 245 9, and H. Lammens, *EI*[2] art s v

(M. J KISTER)

KUDĀMA b. DJA'FAR AL-KĀTIB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Abu 'l-Faradj, philologist, historian, and one of the first scholars to introduce the systematic study of the figures of speech in Arabic literature. The date of his birth is nowhere mentioned and may have been as early as around the year 260/873 4. He died at an uncertain date which is variously given as "during the reign of al Muktadir" (i.e not later than 320/932), 328/939 40, and 337/948. The dates "shortly after 300" and 310 cannot be correct (see below).

Almost every aspect of Kudāma's biography, his work, and his personality as a scholar raises delicate problems which cannot be fully discussed, let alone answered, in the context of this article. The only data which are certain, or at least have not been questioned are (a) that he converted from Christianity to Islam during the reign of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8); (b) that he held unimportant positions in various *dīwāns* of the central administration in Baghdad till he won an appointment in Shawwāl

297/910, or shortly thereafter, to the *madjlis al-sundān* in the *dīwān al-maghrib* when Abū ʾl-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] appointed his son, al-Muḥassin, as head of that office [thus according to Yāḳūt, vi, 205, whose account however contradicts reports that al Muḥassin was in charge of the *dīwān al-maghrib*]; (c) that he was alive in 320/932 and (d) that he was the author of a *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, which has survived in part. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the famous and often-quoted *Kitāb Naḳd al-shiʿr* was written by Ḳudāma, since al-Muṭarrizī [*q.v.*] in his commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (quoted in the introduction to the edition of Ḳudāma's *Djawāhir*, 23), who lived three centuries later, is the only author to mention that the *Naḳd* was sometimes attributed to Ḳudāma's father.

The *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* does not have a biography of Ḳudāma. It only mentions (vii, 205) one Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād whom the Khaṭīb describes as a learned and distinguished secretary. The Khaṭīb also mentions that Djaʿfar wrote books dealing with the secretarial art as well as other subjects, that he was often quoted as an authority by Abū ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the *Aghānī*, and was himself a pupil of, among others, Hammad, the son of the famous Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 130) states that Ḳudāma's father, Djaʿfar, was a man without scholarly distinction, and this statement is repeated by Yāḳūt, who clearly borrowed it from Ibn al-Nadīm. Since Yāḳūt (ii, 412-25) also has a fairly elaborate biography of Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād al-Kātib (he adds the *kunya* Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim, cf. *Aghānī*², x, 281, l. 7) he apparently did not believe that this Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma was the father of our author, since otherwise he would have noticed the discrepancy between the facts as they appear from this biography and the characterisation of Ḳudāma's father as a man without learning (if the "poet-secretary", Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 268, l. 7, is identical with the scholar mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and in Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Nadīm must have held the same view) Yāḳūt's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī does not, however, hesitate to identify the scholar mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* as the father of Ḳudāma. The question is of considerable interest, since, according to the *Aghānī*² (x, 280-5, xii, 52), Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma [b. Ziyād al-Kātib in several places in the *Aghānī*] was a close friend of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], the author of the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*. Yet Ḳudāma is reported to have written a book to refute Ibn al-Muʿtazz (according to the version of the title of the book in Yāḳūt, in order to refute Ibn al-Muʿtazz's views on the poet Abū Tammām) and makes no mention of his predecessor in the *Naḳd*, even though some of the subject matter is the same and may even have been borrowed by Ḳudāma from the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* (see *Naḳd*, introd., 29-30). Ḳudāma also fails to use the term *badīʿ*, but here the explanation may be that, unlike Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ḳudāma was not concerned with the identification of the figures of speech to which this term was applicable and that the practice of using the term as a collective for figures of speech had not yet been established (cf. *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 57, l. 25-58, l. 3, and S. Bonebakker, *Ibn Abī ʾl-Iṣbaʿ's text of the Kitāb al-Badīʿ*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90). One could also suggest that the *Naḳd* was written shortly after the abortive attempt to bring Ibn al-Muʿtazz to the throne and that Ḳudāma thought it wiser not to make any reference to the unfortunate "one-day caliph". His attack on Ibn al-Muʿtazz could have been written in the same period as an attempt to dissociate himself from his famous predecessor. Still, the possibility remains that there were two personalities by the name of Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma who could easily be confused. The first would have been a member of a Christian family and a professional secretary who occupied a minor position in the central administration, in which he was succeeded by his son, Ḳudāma, the second a Muslim official who enjoyed a considerable reputation as a scholar, distinguished himself as a poet, and won the favour of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's champion, the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿIsā (see below), and later of ʿAlī b. ʿIsā's rival, the vizier Abū ʾl-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt (see Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 211 ff., Yāḳūt, ii, 414, ll. 9-10). It is curious that the *Aghānī* nowhere mentions that Djaʿfar b. Ḳudāma was a Christian, and even suggests in two places that his name was Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (⁴x, 232, note and xxiii, 115). That both this Djaʿfar and Ḳudāma were acquainted with members of the Ibn al-Furāt family and with the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿIsā [*q.v.*] may be due to the fact that both of them pursued the same type of official career (for ʿAlī b. ʿIsā and Djaʿfar, see Yāḳūt, ii, 413, ll. 16-18, and for ʿAlī b. ʿIsā and Ḳudāma see below). Similarly, the fact that Djaʿfar and Ḳudāma distinguished themselves as men of letters would account for their reliance on the same sources. Ḳudāma, in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, used the same sources as Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*] (see de Goeje's ed., introd., xxii). Djaʿfar was acquainted with the same Ibn Khurradādhbih, as is shown by an *isnād* in the *Aghānī*², xxii, 202, l. 6. It appears certain that Ḳudāma knew a definition of the *sidjʿ* [*q.v.*] by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and a definition of the *lafṭim* by the same scholar (see Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Naḳd al-shiʿr*, Istanbul 1966, 28-29, Meir *Materials for the History of Arabic Rhetoric*, in *AUON*, Suppl. no. 4 = vol. xxxv [1975], 36, 48, 48-50; cf. also *Naḳd*, introd., 26, ll. 17-21). Djaʿfar was a pupil of Isḥāḳ's son, Ḥammād. Less likely to be coincidental—and therefore to be considered an argument in favour of al-Muṭarrizī's identification—is the acquaintance of the two authors with the family of the Ṭāhirids (see *Materials*, 36-7; *Aghānī*², v, 390, xi, 337, xviii, 128). Finally there is strong evidence that the author of the *Aghānī*, who related many traditions from Djaʿfar, also knew Ḳudāma's work and may even have met him in person (see *Notes*, 27 n. 28, 29-9, *Materials*, 59, 52). If al-Muṭarrizī is correct, one could suggest that Ibn al-Nadīm had wrongly identified a certain Abū Ḳudāma as the father of our author. This Abū Ḳudāma appears in al Marzubānī's *al-Muwashshaḥ* (Cairo 1385/1965, 572) as a *ḥākī* who composed bad verse (cf. also an anecdote on a certain Ibn Ḳudāma whom Yāḳūt, ii, 414-5 is apparently unable to identify, and al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al Awrāḳ. Aḵẖbār al-Rāḍī wa-ʾl-Muttaḳī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1354/1935, 212-23).

The date 337/948 for Ḳudāma's death which is reported by Ibn al-Djawzī (*al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 363) and repeated by others, is rejected by Yāḳūt (vi, 204). Yāḳūt also rejects a statement by an unnamed commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al Ḥarīrī who makes Ḳudāma a secretary of the Buwayhids. He argues that Ḳudāma was a contemporary of Thaʿlab (*adraka zamana Thaʿlaba*), al-Muḥarrad, Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī, Ibn Ḳutayba, and other scholars of the same generation. Ibn Taghribardī, *Nudjūm* (Cairo 1348, iii, 297-8) goes further and says

explicitly that Kudāma was a pupil of al-Muḥarrad and according to Ibn al-Djawzī, he consulted Thaʿlab, but in the *Nakḍ* there is evidence only of a personal acquaintance between Kudāma and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (*Nakḍ*, text, 35, 44, 45, 109, 175, 217, introd., 23 o). If Kudāma was indeed a pupil of Abū Saʿīd al Sukkarī (d. at the latest 275/888), this would mean that he was born around 260, which would not necessarily conflict with the date reported by Ibn al-Djawzī Yākūt offers the year 320/932 as the only reliable *terminus post quem* Abū Ḥaʿyāwa al-Tawhīdī, to whom Yākūt refers mentions that in that year Abū ʿAmr (*sic*; read Abū ʿUmar wa-) Kudāma b. Djaʿfar attended a famous disputation between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus in the presence of Abū ʾl-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar b. al Furāt (in 326 according to Abū Ḥayyān's *Imtāʿ*, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 108, but cf. i, 129, l. 12; in 320 according to his *Mukābasāt*, Cairo 1347/1929, 69, and Yākūt, iii, 106 and vi, 204, see also *JRAS* (1905), 82, 84 5). According to a second report by Abū Ḥayyān al Tawḥīdī (*Imtāʿ*, i, 243 6), Kudāma showed (*ʿaraḍa*) his *Kitāb al Kharādj* to the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿIsā in that year.

The two other dates for Kudāma's death, "during the reign of al Muḳtadir" and 328, appear respectively in al Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al khulafāʾ* (Cairo 1351, 256 = Cairo 1388/1964, 386) and in the *Dhayl taʾrīkh Baghdād* of Ibn al Nadjdjār (q.v.) as quoted in an unedited section of the *Wafayāt* of al-Ṣafadī (see Ṭabāna, 4 and 72).

Finally, mention should be made of de Slane's assertion that Kudāma belonged to a Christian family from Baṣra, possibly based on a statement by al Idrīsī, who mentions one Kudāma al-Baṣrī among the sources which he used in compiling his monumental geography (*Opus geographicum*, i, Naples-Rome 1970, 6).

It is not easy to determine the range of Kudāma's scholarly interests on the basis of the titles of his works. So much seems certain that he was competent as a philosopher and commentator on Aristotle, as well as a historian, a philologist, and an expert on administration To the list in the *Fihrist*, 130, 250, we should add a *Zahr al rabīʿ fī ʾl-akhbār* mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ed Ch. Pellat, i, 75-6) and Yākūt, and an *al Muḍāwadāt* (*Dawābiṭ*, *Dawābiṭ*?) listed by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Baṣāʾir wa ʾl dhakhāʾir*, Cairo 1373/1953, 6). Lists of titles given by later authors are probably unreliable (see below). Only three works have survived (a) the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The full title of this work is no doubt *Kitāb al-Kharādj wa-ṣanʿat* (or *ṣināʿat*) *al-kitāba*. Not only is this the form in which the title appears in the unique manuscript of this work in the Köprülü Library (the manuscript in Paris is a late copy), but it also agrees with the contents of the work as far as they are known (Ṭabāna, 81 4; the *Ṣināʿat al-kuttāb* quoted by al Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 481, must be a work by Abū Djaʿfar al-Nabḥān quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī elsewhere in the *Ṣubḥ*). Only the second half of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (the 5th to the 8th *maḳāla*) have survived. They deal not only with a wide range of technical matters, sc. the various departments which constitute the central government, taxation and its historical, geographical and legal foundations, etc., but also give attention to linguistic usage, literary traditions, and the proper forms for conducting official correspondence. The first half had a section (the 3rd *maḳāla*) especially devoted to literary rhetoric (see Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 328), on which ʿAlī b. ʿIsā (quoted in the *Imtāʿ*) had made some interesting observations. Some prose examples quoted so Kudāma's authority may go back to this section, and its fame may have earned Kudāma his proverbial reputation as a master of eloquence (see al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. *Id Sacy*, 9, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 306; al-Makḳarī, *Nafḥ al Ṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1388/1968, ii, 670) There is no satisfactory explanation for the statement of the *Fihrist* (repeated by others) that the book consisted of eight *maḳālāt*, to which Kudāma himself added a ninth (Ṭabāna, 93) This statement conflicts with the testimony of al-Muṭarrizī, who had read the work and found that it had only seven. A note in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Fihrist* (quoted on p. 244 of the Tehran ed. of 1391/1971) lends support to al Muṭarrizī's assertion and suggests that the 8th *maḳāla* did not originally belong to the *Kitāb al Kharādj*, though it may have been identical with a *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* by Kudāma which is also listed in the *Fihrist*. This 8th *maḳāla* is the only extant section that remains unedited (apart from the historical outline in the 7th *maḳāla*, which merely copies al Balādhurī, cf. de Goeje's ed. of the *Kharādj*, xxiii). It is characterised by Rosenthal as a systematic presentation of social and political science and as a *Fürstenspiegel*. De Goeje believes that the *Kitāb* al *Kharādj* was written between 316 and 320.

(b) There is no reason to question the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ* or *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, even though al Muṭarrizī is the only author to mention this work (see *Nakḍ*, introd., 7 8, 12 3, 47 note, and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 308 9, 336-7 and notes 34 5, 43). Nor is there any reason to suggest that it was originally perhaps part of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ* lists synonyms and phrases in *sadjʿ* for use by orators and writers of artistic prose, and offers a short introduction on the figures of speech.

(c) The *Kitāb Nakḍ al-shiʿr* is intended, as its title says, as a guide for the literary critic. Disregarding the treatise by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the introduction to the *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Kutayba (*q.v.*) Kudāma claims that no book has ever been written that would enable people to distinguish between good and bad poetry. He defines poetry as "metrical, rhymed speech expressing a meaning" (*maʿnā*). This definition in itself cannot be used to distinguish good poetry from bad, but it is possible to set standards for the use of the four constituent elements of poetry implicit in this definition, sc. the *maʿnā* (content), the *lafẓ* (verbal expression of this content, wording), the *wazn* (metre), and the *ḳāfiya* (rhyme) (*q.v.*), and the combination of these elements two by two (the combination of the *wazn* with the *ḳāfiya* need not be considered, since the *ḳāfiya* is part of the *lafẓ* and as such already subject to the metre). In passing, he reminds his readers that the distinction between good and bad poetry does not rest on the moral quality of the theme or on the question whether or not the poet is consistent in the sentiments he expresses, but rather on his skill in the use of the four constituent elements separately and in combination. The success of the poems thus depends on the ratio between good qualities (*naʿt*) and defects (*ʿuyūb*) specifically related to these elements or to combinations of these elements Kudāma lists these *naʿt* and *ʿuyūb* in separate sections. In the first section he begins by discussing the four elements separately. Speaking of the *maʿnā*, he admits that there are an unlimited number of *maʿānī*, i.e. concepts, ideas, that may come to the

poet's mind. He will therefore limit himself to the principal "aims" (*aghrāḍ*), i.e. subjects or themes which can be associated with these *maʿānī* and to which the *maʿānī* should correspond; panegyric, satire, elegy, simile, description, and the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] which he sees as an erotic thyme. The various figures of speech which come next are interpreted as ornaments pertaining to the *maʿnā* or as successful combinations of the four constituent elements. In the classification of these figures Kudāma shows much ingenuity. He has to recognise, however, that there are no figures of speech that can be classified as combinations of *lafẓ* with *wazn* and *maʿnā* with *qafiya*: all technically good poetry that adequately expresses the poet's intentions illustrates these two combinations. Specimens of bad poetry are therefore the only illustrations of the principles involved. The section on the defects in poetry follows the arrangement of the section on the good qualities: Kudāma examines the faults resulting from a wrong use of the four constituent elements and classifies certain errors under these four elements or the combinations of these elements two by two. He also shows how the figures of speech are sometimes handled incorrectly. In both sections the discussion follows the pattern of term—definition—example found in the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* and the *Kunūz al-ḥikma* of Ṯaʿlab [*q.v.*], but whereas the two earlier treatises usually do not comment on the examples, Kudāma often analyses his examples in detail.

There are some further points in Kudāma's presentation that deserve to be mentioned. The following are perhaps the most important: (a) his interest in Greek philosophy which appears, for instance, in his analysis of the function of the four cardinal virtues, *ʿaql*, *shajāʿa*, *ʿadl*, and *ʿiffa* in panegyric, elegy, and satire (he goes on to list other virtues as deriving either from these cardinal virtues themselves or from combinations of these cardinal virtues two by two), from a quotation from Galen's Περὶ ἠθῶν to the chapter on satire, and from arguments based on Aristotle's *Categories* (further details in *Nakd*, introd., 36-44 and the recent studies cited in the *Bibliography*). There is no clear evidence, however, that he was influenced by the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, (b) his defence of the hyperbole (*ghuluww*). Kudāma quotes an unidentified connoisseur of poetry as saying: "The best poetry is the least truthful" (*aḥsanu l-shiʿri akdhabuhā*). He finds that the "Greek philosophers" support this view, but does not attribute the maxim itself to the Greeks (an antecedent of this famous maxim is L. Zolondek, *Da'bal b 'Alī*, Lexington, Kentucky 1961, 128b, 133; cf. also al-Ṯaʿālibī *Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1956, 26-7). Kudāma does not go so far that he accepts every form of hyperbole: there must be a link with reality which can be established by using the verb *kāda*, "to be almost ... " in a paraphrase of the statement, e.g. "You inspire the infidels with fear to that even the seed [of these infidels] fears you before it becomes a creature [in the womb]" can be paraphrased "... so that it is almost as though the seed of the enemy fears you ... ", but a prayer to grant immortality to a ruler cannot be justified, since immortality in man is inconceivable (*laysa fī ḥikmati ʾl-makhlūq*, he illustrates this rule more clearly when he points out that describing the noise of battle as being so strong that it can be heard as far as a two days' journey is an exaggeration, though it is possible in principle that this should happen); (c) his lack of interest in the early ʿAbbāsid poets (*muḥdathūn*). This tendency appears clearly from the above-mentioned list of the "principal aims" from which genres like the love lyric (*ghazal*), the wine poem (*khamriyya*), and the hunting poem (*ṭardiyya*) are conspicuously absent. Kudāma nowhere expresses a categorical judgment. One could suggest therefore that his choice reflects a belief, which was perhaps not uncommon in his days, that ʿAbbāsid poetry did not represent a real break with ancient, that is classical, tradition. Consequently he may not have felt that there was a need to justify his choice. The same may be true of the examples, most of which are taken from ancient poetry, though Kudāma occasionally discusses examples by later poets (see *Nakd*, text, 80-2, 83, for a list of *muḥdathūn* poets quoted in the *Nakd*; see p. 72 of the article by Kratchkovsky cited in the *Bibl.*).

Kudāma may have been more dependent on his predecessors than is apparent at first sight (see *Nakd*, introd., at 36). He may have followed Ibn Kutayba and Ibn al-Muʿtazz respectively when he discussed the *lafẓ* and the *maʿnā* as independent constituent elements and distinguished between the proper and the erroneous use of the figures of speech. He may have depended on Ibn al-Muʿtazz and on earlier critics for the choice of his terminology and examples. Yet the theory on which he based the framework of his thesis, as well as many aspects of the elaboration of this theory, appear to be unique. However, his system did not provide a sound basis for a theory of literature and quickly fell into obvion. the four-element scheme was rarely taken over and never in its complete form. The same is true of the distinction between *naʿūt* and *ṣifāt* and the system of cardinal virtues. By contrast, those aspects of his work that conformed closely to the system of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the 2nd and 3rd century scholars who preceded him were readily accepted, in particular his terminology and definitions of the figures of speech. Kudāma's figures were combined with those of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and came to be known collectively as *badīʿ*. The exact extent of Kudāma's influence is not, however, always easy to determine, since direct references to Kudāma are far exceeded by instances of unacknowledged borrowing (*Nakd*, introd., 44-60). In other cases it is clear that scholars used not only the *Nakd*, but also the *Kharāj* (*ibid.*, 57 and 47 note). There is a third category of borrowings where we find scholars borrowing from Kudāma without having any direct knowledge of the text they are quoting (ibid., 58, Bonebakker, *Notes*, 26-17 and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 309-10). Parallel to this we find that biographers after the time of Yāḳūt copy out their predecessors or offer erroneous information on the author and his work (see, for instance, al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1373/1952, *I*, 20).

Kudāma's *Nakd* was the subject of refutations and commentaries, none of which appear to have survived. A complex system of division into sections, chapters, and paragraphs introduced by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] was recently discovered in a manuscript in Tunis (see Bonebakker in a forthcoming article in *RSO*, which also offers minor corrections to the text of his ed.). A work with the title *Nakd al-naḥr*, erroneously attributed to Kudāma, was identified in 1949 as the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān* of Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Isḥāḳ b Ibrāhīm b Sulaymān b Wahb al-Kātib (ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1967), though it is occasionally still quoted by the old title (see ref. in Suppl.). The Shīʿī bias of this last work may have prompted Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī to include Kudāma in his *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa* (*al-Kiram al-*

rāʾiʾ, Beirut 1390/1972, 011). The attribution to Kudāma existed as early as the 6th/12th century (see *Nāḥḍ*, introd., 15 no, 60-1; Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 48-9 note).

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(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

AL-KUDS, the most common Arabic name for Jerusalem

A. History

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem closely falls into three periods During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly recorded delivery of the town into the hands of an inconspicuous tribal commander, the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City, it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exclusion of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations of the hands of seditious *fellaḥīn* or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamlūk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Sulaymān's wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1831 The reforms started by the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī could not be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1840. The restrictions imposed on the non Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem. By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a *mutaṣarrifliḳ*, whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1900 it was the capital of mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally). Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mudjīr al-Dīn al ʿUlaymī, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book *al-Uns al-djalīl bi taʾrīkh al-Kuds wa ʾl-Khalīl* in 900/1494 5, rightly observes (p 6) that besides material of the type of the *faḍāʾil* ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "Umar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest (232, 264, etc) and mentions the symbolic fact that Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Makkī, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it (264) The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived no the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account

I. The first six hundred years

a. *Names*. In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was *Iliyāʾ madīnat bayt al-makdis*, "Aelia, the city of the Temple" (Ṭabarī, i, 2382, l. 15). In practice, Iliyāʾ, or, more commonly, *bayt al-makdis*, were used. Iliyāʾ (pronounced in three different ways, Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. 1945, i, 234, l. 5, 217), is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other ea-

planations, such as the sanctuary of Ilyāb (Mutahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 87, l. 8, from Hebrew, since the Kur'ānic form of the name is *Ilyās*), or "the House of God" (*Yāh* as name of God is mentioned by Mutahhar). *Bayt al-makdis* is Aramaic *bēth maḳdāshā*, "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. *Ibn al-faḳīh*, 1322, iii, 190, l. 10. "In the prayer of Ezra this is found. Oh God, from all places you have chosen Ilyā' and from Ilyā'—*bayt al-makdis*". Soon, however, the term (pronounced also *bayt al-muḳaddas*, see below) was transferred to the city, while the Temple area was designated by the Arabic equivalent of *bayt al-makdis*, sc. *al-ḥaram*.

The common name of Jerusalem, *al-Ḳuds*, still unknown to Ibn Sa'd, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, the *Aghānī*, the *Ibn al-faḳīh* and other classics of the 3rd/9th century, underwent a similar development. Muṭahhar, himself a native of Jerusalem, writing in 355/966, mentions the term only once (vi, 91, perhaps a later change), but al-Muḳaddasī, writing *ca.* 375/985, uses it frequently. Nāṣir i Khusraw (439/1047) states that *al-Ḳuds* was used by the local people. *Al-Ḳuds* is Aramaic *ḳudsha*, which, in the term *ḥarta de-ḳudsha* (e.g. Isaiah, xlviii, 2) was understood not as "city of holiness", but *as* ' city of the sanctuary". This is borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, who call the city *bayt al-makdis*, but the Temple area *al-ḳuds* (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18 ; cf. also the Genizа [q.v.] fragment in S. Assaf, *Texts and studies* Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Aḥbār tries to induce the caliph 'Umar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him "Then the entire *al-ḳuds*, that is, *al masdjid al-ḥaram* [!] will be before you (Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, Ms. Heb. Univ. Library, fol. 81a, l. 8). It should be noted that, in letters from the 5th/11th century, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called *'ir ha-ḳodesh*, to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣā'*, ff. 9b-10b, enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (*Midrash Tehillim*, ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8-9, has "seventy"!) Suyūṭī's list does not include here the Kur'ānic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as *al masdjid al-aḳṣā* (see below), or *muḥammad yalad*, "the safe abode" (X, 93, cf. *neve sedek*, Jeremiah xxxi, 22). *Al-arḍ al muḳaddasa* (V, 21), "the Holy Land" also was understood as denoting Jerusalem (*Itḥāf*, fol. 18b, l. 9), which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of *bayt al-makdis* as *bayt al-muḳaddas*.

Various Arabic versions of Hebr. *shālēm* (Ps. lxxvi, 3) and Aram. *Urushlem* (Arabicised *urshalim*) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry (*Sallam*, al-A'shā, al-Bakrī, 144, l. 22, 812, l. 17; *Salm*, *Itḥāf*, f. 10a). Whether *dār al-salām*, "abode of peace" (S. Assaf, *Texts*, 108-10, corresponding to Heb. *'ir ḥaṣṣ shālōm*, Gottheil-Worrel, *Genizа fragments from the Frer Collection*, New York 1926, 26), found in Genizа letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

3. *Jerusalem in the Kur'ān.* Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Kur'ān. But "the city of the sanctuary" certainly was known to the Prophet. Sūra XVII, significantly named both *al Isrā'* and *Banū Isrā'īl*, in vv. 2-8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called *masdjid* in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banū Isrā'īl. *Al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* in the opening verse of the Sūra is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Kur'ān the "nearest" (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 1), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in the articles of Bevan, Schnacke and Horovitz, cited in al-'Alāmī). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple or consistency in geographical definition were outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII 1, was combined with XVII, 2-8, the tradition identifying *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. "The Jerusalem above", St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the *ḳibla*, or direction of prayer (II, 136-8). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by "the first *ḳibla*" is no doubt genuine, since the new *ḳibla*, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No "political" reasons, however, should be assumed for this change ("trying to win the Jews", "breaking with the Jews"). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

4. *The Conquest.* The battle of Adjnādayn [q.v.] in the summer of 13/634 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens, ' who boast they would conquer the entire world ' Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 638 (end of 16, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmūk [q.v.] (Radjab 15/ Aug. 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with Khālid b. Ḥabīb al-Fahmī, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139, ll. 4-9). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 167, and Eutychius, *Annales* ii, 17, reproduces a treaty,

but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from Balādhurī's version. Later, conditions similar to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition "that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem". This condition is found also in Ṭabarī, i, 2403, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But Ṭabarī's source here was Sayf b. ʿUmar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 5-7) and who tells us, e.g. here, Ṭabarī, i, 2404, about the occupant of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik eighty years later. A more look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong date and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthlessness. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamlūk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed.

In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by *Uns*, 225, adds several conditions of the legendary "Covenant of ʿUmar", in which the Christians undertake, *inter alia*, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 323 (pseudo-Wāḳidī), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by Yūsuf (a scribal error for Yūshaʿ) b. Nūn. This is a "harmonising" legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

5 *The beginnings of Islamisation.* Ṭabarī, i, 2408, ff., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ʿUmar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthlessness. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubbish purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (*q.v.*) suggested to ʿUmar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two *ḳibla*s should be in front of him (see § 2, above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should turn towards the Kaʿba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the *bidʿa* of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see § 11, below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still were only a menace, see § 7, below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely unoccupied, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is no reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ʿUmar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet's court poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. Aws was a disciple of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and himself a pietist, Ibn Saʿd, viii/2, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Mujīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, 235. Several other Medinese are listed as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 57, vii/2, 129, l. 23, etc. Among them the famous companion Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, the first Muslim judge in the city (al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, 1364, i, 14) is to be noted. The Anṣār were accounted of Yaman, thus it was natural that the Yemeni auxiliary corps, *al-madad min ahl al-Yaman*, also was stationed there (Ibn Saʿd, viii/2, 140, l. 14). Simeon, the father of Muḥammad's Jewish concubine Rayḥāna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina (*Uns*, 235).

The strange *ḥadīth* running *ʿimrān bayt al-makdis kharāb yathrib*, "The building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina", might have been originally a *mot* on this exodus from the capital of the Ḥiḏjāz to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle), but soon became a standing element in the *malḥama* literature. (Its continuation *wa-kharāb yathrib khurūdj al-malḥama*, "and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days" *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* v, 232, 245; Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, 3, Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, ed. Sandūbī, i, 28, Ibn Kaṯīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya*, i, 79, Sanhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, 1955, i, 120 *al-Sirāḏ al munīr*, ii, 460, where are further sources).

Mukaddasī, 171, l. 12 and others report that the caliph ʿUthmān, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenues from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umm al-Darḏāʾ, the wife of the wise *ḥādjī* of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where "she sat among the poor" (*Uns*, 254). These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 706. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As al-Mukaddasī tells us (182, l. 16 ff.), the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains as its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian ascetism (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 141, 146).

6. *The Umayyads (19-132/640-750).* About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Muʿāwiya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, concluded there a pact of co-operation, which decided the contest between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in the latter's favour (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 2, l. 22 ff.; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Safar-Rabīʿ I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Muʿāwiya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Muʿāwiya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Maria (T. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 95). This was hardly mere politics (*ibid.*, 55), but a manifestation of the chiliastic state of mind of the time as Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monotheistic religions.

During the long rule of Muʿāwiya, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in *ca* 680 (see L. Bieler, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, clxxv, *Itineraria etc.*, Turnhout 1965, 177), must have taken shape. Mutahhar b. Ṭāhir, iv, 87, l. 11, expressly states that Muʿāwiya built the Muslim sanctuary there "after ʿUmar". It stands also to reason that the plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Muʿāwiya. The inscription in the dome bears the year 72/691-2, but the beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign (65-86/685-705) was extremely turbulent. ʿAbd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Muʿāwiya is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and *muǧāwirūn*), in which he was not followed by later Umayyads, see M. J. Kister, *Some reports concerning Mecca*, in *JESHO*, xv (1972), 64-91.

Goldziher, *Moh. St.*, ii, 35-7, Eng. tr. ii, 44 f., expounded the theory that ʿAbd al-Malik by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many "traditions" in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Muḳaddasī, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, for the year 68/687-8, Ṭabarī ii 781-3 and others, report expressly that the soldiers of ʿAbd al-Malik's expeditionary force participated in the *ḥaǧǧ*. They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn Zubayr naturally had to refuse, Balāḏurī, *Ansāb*, v, 320. Moreover, it is obvious that ʿAbd al-Malik would not have strengthened, but endangered his position by trying to divert the *ḥaǧǧ* from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, and this after the *ḥiǧāz* had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a *ḥāʾir*, against whom the *ǧihād* was obligatory. The two older sources that mention the allegation that ʿAbd al-Malik, by constructing the Dome of the Rock, tried to attract the *ḥaǧǧ* to Jerusalem, sc. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 312, and Eutychius, i, 39, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the *ḥaǧǧ*, assembled in Jerusalem *wa-he mawḳif bi-Iṣṭaḫr*, "and performed the *wuḳūf*", the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of ʿArafāt [*q.v.*]. This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldziher's thesis, must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Basra and Fusṭāṭ; it even had a special name, *taʿrīf*, derived from ʿArafāt, Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 207. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the *ḥaǧǧ*, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and to the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa (*q.v.*) of Bayṣān, who was in charge of the building operations (*Ans.* 242, and others; probably only the financial aspect, while the *mawlā* Yazīd b. Sallām supervised the actual work) was the most prominent traditionist of Shaʾm, a pietist and ascete, (Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahḏīb*, iii, 266), and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chiastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isaiah, liv, 12, etc.), which had become known to the Muslims (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 97, ll. 12-13) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon's Temple (*ibid.*, 99, l. 10). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the "prophethood" of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. Details in the articles of Goitein, Grabar and Cachet; see Bibliography.

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the Temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-Ḫaṣṣāf (d. 261/874-5) in his book on *waḳf*, 341, says "If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the *Bayt al-maḳdis* or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them". Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a *waḳf* for specific Muslim purposes). An Italian Jew of the 16th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil "to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside" (*Ahimaʿaz chronicle*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the *masǧid al-aḳṣā* and the *dār al-imāra*, see section B. New gates were added (Ibn Kaṯīr, xi, 226, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ, at that time governor of Filasṭīn, remained intact, while that bearing the name of ʿAbd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions (*RCEA*, no. 15). It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem's population.

The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare in the south and south west of the Aḳṣā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968-76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do on Palestine what they had done in Ifrīḳiya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla [*q.v.*] as capital city of the province of Filasṭīn by the crown prince Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Kaṯīr, ix, 174, cf. also E. Sivan, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i, 270, n. 33), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, one of them, observes (iv, 72, ll 2-3): *bayt al-maḳdis mas ūmā al-ramla ba'd mā kānat dār al-mulk fī ayyām Sulaymān ʿan-Dāwūd*, "Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David".

7. *The ʿAbbāsid Period* (132-358/750-969). The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwān II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Baghdād from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/758 (Ṭabarī, iii, 129). He did so in order to fulfill a vow (Masʿūdī, vi, 222, l 9), made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Muʿāwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 19/40. A second visit of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, in 154/771 (Ṭab. iii, 372) was made in connection with a great rising in the Maghrib, al Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 233, ll 4 5, Ibn al Aṯīr, v, 467). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there (Ṭab iii, 500), but Hārūn al Rashīd, who made the *ḥadīdj* almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al Maʾmūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, as any other later ʿAbbāsid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflected the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bidʿas*, the foreign elements and "innovations", in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i, 446, reports that al-Manṣūr, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to "Romania" via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. The increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient *ḥadīth* assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al Fakīh, *BGA*, v, 94, l 12, and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early Ṣūfīs, especially those of Iranian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another (*JAOS*, lxx, 107), and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Iran, see § 9, below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the popes of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodies in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic (Tobler, *op. cit.*, i, 302).

Ca 800, the Jewish High Council, the *yeshīva*, headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites (*q.v.*), a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaite dispensation, which mainly developed on Iranian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic context as a branch of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*] emphasising the return to the Bible, the revival of Hebrew, and the settling in the Holy Land. As is natural, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaite settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 3rd/9th century, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, repr. 1970, i, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to cooperate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Fāṭimads recognised the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in their empire (see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1975, 5 ff.).

During the reign of al Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55-57). More serious was a great revolt of *fallāḥīn*, which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-

Muburḳa' ('veiled one'"—as former impostors had been) and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyānī, or messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Muʿtaṣim's successor (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 371 f., who does not mention Jerusalem, Michael Syrus, iii, 542).

In 256/869-70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor (Amāǧūr, Ibn al-Athīr, vii 165, ll. 3-7) but this did not change the ways of the ʿAbbāsid régime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion without oppressing them. (J. D. Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, repr. 1960, xvi, 26), and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country (Tobler, *Itinera*, 319).

Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 284/878, but in the wars between the Ṭūlūnids and later the Ikhshīdids [q.v.], the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Fakīh *BGA*, v, 94, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Ṭabarī, i, 486, l. 12, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Genizā documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Himyarite" Jews buried their dead in the Beth Sha'arayim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/10th century it must have become popular among Muslims. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Nūshārī, the first ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Ṭūlūnids, was buried in Jerusalem in 296/909, the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, the Turk Muḥammad b. Ṭuǧdj, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

Ṭabarī, iii, 2128, l. 18, and others report under the year 891 that the esoteric sect of the Ḳarmaṭians (*q.v.*) turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. But he notes also that they kept Monday instead of Friday as their weekly day of worship and celebrated it (in the Jewish fashion) as a day of rest. Such edicts (if they really existed) were of no general significance for Islam. In their devastating raids, the Ḳarmaṭians reached also Palestine, but Jerusalem is not mentioned of that time in connection with their exploits.

The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/9th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boasting threat of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964 that he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called *masǧid ʿUmar*, probably in order to emphasise, against Christian claims (above, § 4), that the caliph had prayed there). Shortly afterwards, on Palm Sunday 938, the Christian procession was attacked and the Holy Sepulchre damaged by fire. Even worse, and characteristic for the period, were the events of 355/966. The patriarch of Jerusalem had sought the intervention of Kāfūr, the black viceroy of Egypt, against the overreaching Berber governor of Jerusalem who had imposed excessive financial demands on the Christians. Kāfūr sent a Turkish officer for the protection of the Christians. But the governor did not budge. When, on Pentecost, the patriarch refused to pay more than the tribute usually delivered on that holiday, the Berber incited the mob, the Holy Sepulchre and other churches were pillaged and set on fire, the patriarch was murdered and his body burnt. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, 225, who tells this story, adds that the Jews outdid the Muslims in damaging the sacred buildings. This sounds strange, considering the weak position of the Jews in Jerusalem, but perhaps finds its explanation in a cryptic remark by a contemporary Karaite scholar about dangerous Christian machinations against the Jews in the city (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, 18-19) and in complaints about Jews in letters sent from Jerusalem and Venice to Henry I the Fowler in 922 (*M G H Const*, i, 4-7).

8. *Fāṭimids, Ṭarkhāniyya and Saldjūḳs (358-492/969-1099).* Shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids (*q.v.*), Palestine with Jerusalem came under their domination, but participated only comparatively little in the economic efflorescence of the first hundred years of their rule. Palestine was incessantly harrassed by Ḳarmaṭians and Bedouins, first as allies, but soon (as from 363/974) separately. For about seventy years the Banū Diarrāḥ chieftains tried to get a hold of the country including Jerusalem (Ibn Athīr, x, 308, l. 27), sometimes supported by the Byzantine emperors. The 1020s were particularly harrowing. The outrages perpetrated by the Bedouins "were unlike anything experienced in the countries of Islam since its inception" (Genizā letter, J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, ii, 182, l. 22). The details reported in the Genizā letters are revolting.

The harassing local tribulations were temporarily overshadowed by the general persecution of Christians and Jews ordered by the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021). It culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on 28 September 1009. This extraordinary measure cannot be explained by special circumstances alone, such as the abnormal state of mind of the caliph or the Muslims' anger over the pious fraud of the holy fire (M. Canard, *La destruction de l'Eglise de la Résurrection . . . et . . . la descente du feu sacré*, in *Byzantion*, xxv (1965), 16-43, where the literature on the event is surveyed). The persecution was a prolonged process, that of the Jews began only in 402/1012, at a time when the Christians of Jerusalem, with the help or connivance of the Bedouin chieftain Mufarriḍ b. al-Diarrāḥ already tried to restore the Holy Sepulchre. Most likely, an inner turn-about of the religious policy of the Ismāʿīlī leadership was the main cause of the persecution. Anyhow, it left Jerusalem, which had consisted largely of Christian buildings, a shambles. The earthquake of 407/1016, in which the dome of the

Ṣalḥra collapsed, made things worse (according to a Genīza letter, the collapse occurred on the 25 July, at 4 p.m., J Mann, *Texts and studies*, 2, 313) The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭāḳī, ii, 201) Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1065, so lively described by Lambert of Hersfeld being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defendable than a city in a flat country like Ramla The audacity of the Banū Djarrāḥ and other bedouin hordes forced the Fāṭimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and again in 455/1063. In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Saldjūḳ invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsīz b. Uvak (*q.v.*), whom the Fāṭimid government, paralysed by famine, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly bedouins in Palestine But Atsīz turned against the Fāṭimids and took Jerusalem in 463/1071 after a prolonged siege Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there order had been restored by the Armenian convert Badr al-Djamālī (*q.v.*), and Atsīz was forced to retreat (469/1077). In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fāṭimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsīz's hordes (ed. J. Greenstone, repr. from *AJSLL* [1906], 1-34) The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsīz had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to sword, even those who had fled into the al-Aḳṣā mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsīz was soon liquidated by the brother of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Malik Shāh, Tutush, who then was governor of Damascus (479/1078) Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the great Saldjūḳ empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kāshghar to Jerusalem" (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, iv, 139) Tutush assigned Jerusalem to Artuḳ (*q.v.*), the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuḳ took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086 (Ibn al-Aṯīr, x, 96), and was given by him to two of his sons in 484/1091. In Shaʿbān 491/July 1098 (Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 36), that is, when the Crusaders were already on their march to Jerusalem, al-Afḍal, the Fāṭimid viceroy of Egypt, laid siege to the city, "bombarding it from forty catapults during forty days" (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 284) The two brothers surrendered, but were released unharmed by al-Afḍal How onerous the Muslims were of the magnitude of the Crusader menace can be gauged from the fact that another Saldjūḳ, Riḍwān, a son of Tutush, set out from Damascus via Nābulus to wrest Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids. But he was no match for al-Afḍal's army, the viceroy returned to Egypt, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem.

9. *Life in Jerusalem in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries* Copious references in the works of Muslim authors and over a hundred Genīza letters from Jerusalem written during the 5th/11th century enable us to form a fairly substantial idea about life in Jerusalem during the two centuries preceding its capture by the Crusaders This is particularly true with regard to the last third of the 4th/10th century, when al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir and al-Muḳaddasī wrote, and the second third of the 5th/11th, when Nāṣir i Khusraw visited the city and when the country had a short respite of comparatively normal times, reflected in the Genīza letters, between the atrocities of the bedouins and the devastations of the Turkomans.

The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section B Al Muḳaddasī, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bab al-Asbāṭ (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion, 440, l. 15) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem (e.g. 33, l. 18; 166, l. 2; 187, n.n.), its clean and well-stocked markets and public bathhouses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars (182, l. 9) During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Ḥaram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Ḥākim's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the *dāriyas* mentioned by Mudjīr al-Dīn, 264 The Persian religious group of the Karrāmiyya (*q.v.*), which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected *khānaḳāhs* for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age old churches, the Armenian quarter near St James cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Western Wall, where people prayed, and one near the Damascus gate, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by Muṭahhar, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Kalonimi, might have been identical with the *midrāshs* or houses of learning mentioned in a Genīza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a separate quarter in the south of the city, called *ḥārat al-mashāriḳa*, the quarter of the Easterners, since most of them had come from Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Nāṣir i Khusraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely diffused predilection for the number 20 He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the ʿId al-aḍḥā, but Ibn Aṯīr, vi, 20, assigns that number to the membership of the Karrāmiyya settled in Jerusalem alone. Al-Muḳaddasī is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina (167, l. 9), in more populous than many a provincial capital (163, l. 12) The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indicator of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching

invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aḳṣā mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly as outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the bedouins in the 1030s.

The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners" (Muḳaddasī, 168, l. 6). Pilgrims from all regions filled the city (*ibid.*, 159, n. 12). The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Jerusalem had the consequence that the city was frequented by Muslims from distant countries, in particular from the Maghrib (*ibid.*, 245, l. 12). Similarly, many a Jew from the Maghrib and Spain, visiting Jerusalem either as *ḥāǧǧī* [i.e. on the holidays prescribed for the pilgrimage] or as the *zuʾwār* (on another occasion) has left letters in Genisa. The religious ceremonies of the various communities were not always confined to the houses of worship or even the walls of the city. We have detailed descriptions of these processions and assemblies. They must have conveyed to Jerusalem a festive appearance during many days of the year.

As to the government of the city, Muḳaddasī, 167, l. 7, complains that "the oppressed has no helper". But he makes similar remarks concerning other places, e.g. 448, and the Genisa letters show that the situation was not quite so hopeless. Justice was done, provided that there was someone strong and interested enough to take care of the case. Since Ramla was the capital of the province, everything had to be dealt with there, and in more serious cases appeals had to be made to Cairo. A dignitary from Jerusalem would appeal to a notable in Ramla such as "the chief physician of the dysentery department in the hospital", and ask him to bring the case of the wronged person or institution before the governor or chief *ḳāḍī* there, as the matter required, whereupon the latter would instruct their subordinates in Jerusalem to settle the dispute properly. In public affairs, the system worked the same way as the edicts of the Fāṭimid caliphs for and against the Karaites of Palestine and the correspondence connected with these matters prove (see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, London 1964; idem, *A petition to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir*, in *REJ*, cxxviii (1969), 203-82).

Ramla was also the economic centre of the country, as many references prove. *Suftaǧas*, or bankers' cheques, for persons in Jerusalem were converted into cash in Ramla, which then was forwarded to Jerusalem, though we find also a banker, with a Persian name, in Jerusalem who issued *suftaǧas* on Cairo. The money mostly used in Jerusalem around the middle of the 5th/11th century was the "Rūmī" (i.e. Southern Italian) and Muslim quarter-*dīnār* of the West, presumably because the pilgrims coming from those parts and from western Europe formed the majority of the customers. Oil, cheese, cotton and fruits are mentioned by the Muslim geographers and in the Genisa letters as main exports from Jerusalem. A letter from Tyre speaks of yarn sent from Jerusalem sufficient for the weaving of a thousand robes, *ṯawb*, of the bazaar type and even more of the home-made class. Since every mediaeval traveller tried also to do some business, we find in Jerusalem transit trade too, especially with Persians, bringing the heavy *ḳirmiz* silk from Khurāsān (to be re-exported to Egypt), and taking with them Mediterranean goods such as coral. Jerusalem, as becoming a holy city, affected some austerity in clothing. "Here", a silk merchant writes in a letter to Fusṭāṭ, "black and sky blue silk is worn, not crimson as in Ramla and Ascalon". Wool traders, *ṣawwāf*, clothiers and *ṣabbāgūn* are mentioned as the prominent types of businessmen in the city. The well developed commercial mail service connecting Jerusalem with Cairo, which was carried on by Muslims, shows that the city must have had some economic importance (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 292-4).

Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do business, but complaints such as "there is no livelihood in Jerusalem", "when one exerts oneself here, the exertion works against him"; or "many have come here rich and have been reduced to poverty", are frequent. As many letters show, the town was too far away from the main stream of international commerce. Another unfavourable factor was the crushing impositions on non-Muslims (or perhaps on foreigners in general). The Jewish community was almost permanently in debt to Muslim creditors, paying them exorbitant interest, because it had to deliver the yearly tributes to the authorities and others, e.g. the *Aḥdāṯ* [*q.v.*], whether the expected numbers of pilgrims arrived or not. To a large extent, the city was a refuge for the poor, of whom their respective religious communities abroad took care in many different ways (about which social service the Genisa is again very specific, cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*, ii, 96-7 and *passim*).

Jerusalem's mostly unsatisfactory economic situation might have been responsible for another negative aspect of its life during this period: despite its holiness for the three monotheistic religions, it did not become for any of them a great spiritual centre with a characteristic contribution of its own (smaller groups, such as Armenians and Georgians on the Christian side and the Karaites among the Jews, perhaps excepted). Many Muslim scholars came there to teach or to study; cf. Yāḳūt, i, 516, 899, 887, etc.; Ibn ʿAsāḳir, i, 397, l. 26; ii, 54, l. 3; 161, 14; iv, 153, l. 16; 154, l. 2 etc. But it is characteristic that in Yāḳūt's *Dictionary of learned men* Baṣra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing, in the *K. al-Aghānī* it is not mentioned at all. Al-Muḳaddasī's complaint, 167: "The mosque [that is the house of study, see above] is empty, there are no scholars and no savants, as disputations and no instruction", was certainly as exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great al-Ghazālī sojourned there in 488/1095 only in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox views and ways of life. This trend began already in Umayyad times (Ṭabarī, ii, 1920, l. 10, Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 256 7). Thawr b. Yazīd had to leave Damascus because of his Ḳadarī [*q.v.*] views and died in Jerusalem ca. 153/770 (Ibn ʿAsāḳir, i, 68, l. 21; iii, 383 8). Tekīn, the Turkish governor of Egypt (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 322/933) banished thither the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dinawarī (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 294). In Mamlūk times forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see § 12, below.

Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mār Sābā near Jerusalem in the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian colophon from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, Louvain 1966, i, 24, 25, 33; E. Stone, *The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem*, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1972], 258). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Muḳḳaddasī, 263 5, the main local *madhhab* in the town, even before the Crusades, was Shāfiʿī, with a sprinkling of the Ḥanbalī, introduced by the Persian Abū ʾl-Faraj al-Shīrāzī, while a Ḥanafī Turk was the *ḳāḍī*, a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interesting Jerusalemites of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests, the great traveller al-Muḳaddasī, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation, al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bust, eastern Persia; and Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿshar al-Kudsī al-Bustī, who, according to Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiḳī, was the author of the *rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*]. The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abū ʾl-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Kaysarānī, active in Arabic language study, *ḥadīth*, and, especially, mysticism, he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Ramaḍān, continuing the long-standing connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Al-Muḥarrar b. Murādiḥa[a] the author of a book on the *Faḍāʾil al-Kuds* (see § 11, below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, "the *shaykh* of the Shāfiʿīs in the whole of Syria", Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, left the city for Tyre (Yāḳūt, *Mirʾāt*, iii, 152-3). The Jewish Gaon did the same (*ca* 1071). This, as well as many Genīza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

10. *Crusaders and Ayyūbids*. The Crusaders had siege to Jerusalem on June 6, 1099 and took it by assault on July 15, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Sicily, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe conduct to the Fāṭimid commander of the citadel (the "Tower of David") and to his men. A Genīza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that "the damned ones called Ashkenazim" (convincingly identified by B. Z. Kedar as Normans), "unlike others", did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The Genīza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 1/3 *dīnārs* per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms, the war situation did not permit the keeping of larger numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the fates of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Regnum Hierusalem*, since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian sanctuary had been the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1967, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*] shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134 5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace *ca* 1170.

After the decisive victory of Ḥaṭṭīn (Rabīʿ II 583/July 1187), Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (as that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuables and to destroy the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, an agreement was reached in Ramaḍān 583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were

dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St Anne, which became the famous Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa*, so called after its founder Saladin, and the Müristān, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1192.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The dispossessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of *Ashḳelīla* in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the *Maghāriba*—a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Muḳaddasī, see § 9 above. Individuals are described in the same source as hailing from Yaman, ʿIrāḳ, and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period ca. 1210-15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyūbid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 6th/12th century was out, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Muʿaẓẓam did much to adorn the Ḥaram, and erected there the Ḥanafī college called after him, see section B, but being afraid of a new encroachment by the Christians, he ordered in 616/1219 the destruction of the city with the exception of the Temple area, the Holy Sepulchre and the citadel. His apprehensions did not materialize, but his brother al-Ḳāmil, the ruler of Egypt, in order to shield himself from the Syrian Ayyūbids, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Frederick II, ceding to him the city for ten years (626/1229). The emperor, being under papal ban, crowned himself there without clerical assistance—the last time that a monarch was crowned in Jerusalem. Again Muslims (and of course, also Jews, as proved by a Geniza letter from 1238) were not permitted access to the city with the exception of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which remained in Muslim hands, but the *ḳāḍī*, the bearer of Muslim authority, had his seat outside Jerusalem (in al-Bīra *near* Rāmallāh, J. Prawer, *Royaume latin* Paris 1970, ii, 139). The subsequent hostilities between the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria resulted in an agreement between the latter and the Christians which seemingly removed the Muslims even from the Temple area, so that the commander of the Templars could boast that the city was inhabited solely by Christians (Matthew Paris, *Historia major*, iv, 190, quoted by B. Z. Kedar, in *Tarbiṣ*, xli [1971] 88). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn enlisted the help of the wild Ḵh"ārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The Ḵh"ārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other churches. The combined armies of the Ḵh"ārazmians and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (Djumādā I 642/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1249, when again it was returned to the Sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 921-3/1516-17).

II. The second six hundred years

1. *The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. Faḍāʾil al Ḳuds.* The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the *Tafsīr* of al-Muḳātil (d. 150/767), the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/827) and the two oldest books of *Faḍāʾil al Ḳuds* still await publication (see below). An excellent discussion of the literature on the subject and the present stage of research is found in E. Sivan, *Le caractère de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, in *SI* xxvii (1967), 149-82, and idem, *The beginnings of the Faḍāʾil al-Quds literature*, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i (1971), 263-71.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (§§ 4-6, above). The *ḥadīth* ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the status of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Ḥidjāz (cf. the saying attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and Ḥudhayfa: "Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two parasangs, I would not go there", quoted in M. J. Kister, *You shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxii [1969], 173-96, where the material about this struggle is assembled [this quotation at 182, n. 39].

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular piety. The notions that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints [see ABDAL] and as the scene of Muḥammad's *Isrāʾ* and *Miʿrādj* [q.v.] (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Coeur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 165) were accepted by everyone, it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from these themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Bidāya*, viii, 280, i 4 *ff.*, formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Ṣirāṭ* [the bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be thinner than a hair etc.), of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries did not com-

mand a paramount position in the religious consciousness of the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *faḍā'il* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries, Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, a *khaṭīb* of the al-Aḳṣā mosque (recently identified by M. J. Kister in the library of the al-Djazzār Pasha mosque of Acre, in the course of publication by Y. Hasson), and another by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf b. Murādjil[3], a *faḳīh* living in Jerusalem (to be edited by E. Sivan). The author of a third compilation, mainly of *ḥadīth*s, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī al-Maḥdilī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī's conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 suggested to an ambitious ruler that territorial aspirations could well be underpinned by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zankī and his son Nūr al-Dīn took up the topic of the *ghazā* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apogee. While no *Faḍā'il al-Ḳuds* work appeared during the first half of the 6th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Mu'aẓẓam's dismantling of the city in 615/1219 and al-Kāmil's ceding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamlūk period, the *Faḍā'il al-Ḳuds* multiplied, at least thirty are known from this period, see Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 28f. The exceptions taken by Ibn Taymiyya [q.v.] in his treatise no the subject were directed against the *bid'a*s disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem, its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolises the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966) writes this in his huge work on the Ḳur'ān with reference to Sūra XVII, 1[a]: "The *Isrā'* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, declares by this wondrous night voyage that his message contains those of the prophets preceding him and is connected with them" (*Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳur'ān*, xv, 12, ll. 5 9).

2. *Jerusalem under the Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1516).* At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khwārazmians in 642/1244 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1260 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza (latest discussion of the sources: B. Z. Kedar, *Tarbiz*, xli [1972], 89-92). After the victory of the Mamlūks at 'Ayn Djālūt [q.v.] in Shawwāl 658/September 1260, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamlūk viceroy of Damascus. In 778/1376 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled *nā'ib*, or deputy of the Sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Ḥaram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*, who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see section B, Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafiyya (see section B), so the *amīr*s and princes of the Mamlūk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasa*s, *zawiya*s, *khānḳāh*s, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary *dawā*-houses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiziyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison of any size, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled members of the Mamlūk military nobility, the so-called *baṭṭāl*s. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (§ 9, above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayalon, in a special study devoted to the subject has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamlūk empire (*Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamluk society*, in *Israel Or. St.*, ii [1973], 324-49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, *ibid.*, 339, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, these *baṭṭāl*s, to whom fixed incomes were assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamlūk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicuous aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or "repetitors" in *madrasa*s, as *khaṭīb*s, *ḥāḍir*, *muftī*s, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* (*uṣūl* and *furū'*), *tafsīr*, *sīra*, occasionally also Arabic language and rhetorics. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always

to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim divines during almost the entire Mamlūk period (and also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ḥa Djamā'a (*q.v.*), who originated in Ḥamā and established in Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the north-west corner of the Ḥaram. The biographies of the more prolific authors of this family show, however, that they passed most of their adult lives in the great centres of Islamic scholarship, as. Cairo and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as *khaṭīb* and *mudjīr*. One branch of them, the al-Khaṭīb family, is still extant. (There are other families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bearing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Karkashandis, shared with them the prerogative of the office of *khaṭīb* in the al-Aḳṣā mosque. The Banū Ghānim, also living on the northern edge of the Ḥaram, mostly held the position of heads of the large al-Ṣalāḥiyya *khānḳāh*. All these were Shāfi'īs. The most important Ḥanafī family were the Deyris, natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafī judges in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Ḥanafī al-Mu'azzamiyya *madrasa*, and one of them became *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*. The well-known modern al Khālidī family (see §§ 13 and 14, below) derives its origin from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them); positions were often held in partnership. Of the more distinguished scholars who passed considerable parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al Hā'im, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances (d 412/1022), and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, a native of Jerusalem and great authority on Muslim law (822 905/1419-1500), both prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in Jerusalem and were buried in the Mamīlāh cemetery (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ta'rīkh al Kuds*, Jerusalem 1962, 306, 308).

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious, was the proper domicile for Ṣūfīs. Mudjīr al-Dīn notes about twenty Ṣūfī convents representing most of the major orders and several less known ones. E. Ashtor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period (the most comprehensive one on the subject, see Bibliography) describes the ambivalent relations prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of a *madrasa* studying at a *madrasa* or about prominent scholars adopting the Ṣūfī way of life. On the other hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply condemned. A collection of *fatwās* in this spirit, written by an Ibn Djamā'a and copied many years later by a Dayrī, has been described by Ashtor.

The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely Islamic atmosphere of Mamlūk Jerusalem, were strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion with its many religious associations, the 'Tomb of David'', the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper) and the Dormitio (the place where Mary, the mother of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of endless contests between Christians and Muslims and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erection and renewed destruction of buildings down to the very end of the Mamlūk period, see section B. Other Christian buildings were also objects of attacks. The demolition and restoration in 879/1474 of the synagogue of the then small Jewish community is described in great detail by Mudjīr al Dīn, 633 46, by Ibn Iyās, ii, 254 5, and in a book especially devoted to this matter by the Shāfi'ī *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem Ibn 'Ubayya (analysed by Gottein, in *Zion*, xiii-xiv [1948-9], 18-32). Against orders from Cairo, Ibn 'Ubayya three times decided that the Jewish place of workship was to be closed; it was finally demolished by mobs led by a Ṣūfī *shaykh*. Upon this, the Sultan took stern measures. Ibn 'Ubayya and others involved were summoned to the capital, flogged and imprisoned. Ibn 'Ubayya lost his post and ended his days in Damascus, consoling himself with writing poems, the synagogue was restored. These happenings were typical for their time and place. Ibn 'Ubayya was certainly right in asserting that the synagogue was "new", that is, a building erected after the advent of Islam and used as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against the provisions of Islamic law. But the government, naturally had to pay attention to the exigencies of life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 236-57, describes fifty-six) should not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity. The endowments were mostly limited in size and dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials who had often to buy their offices for considerable sums and frequently also served for only short terms, had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions, first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well. Jerusalem's only important industry (still flourishing in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap made from the oil produced in the then rich olive groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by the pernicious economic policy of the Mamlūk government, which monopolised production and forced the population to buy quantities not needed by it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity inside and, in particular, outside the city added to the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no one could make the *ḥadjdj* from Jerusalem for ten years because bedouin anarchy prevented travel between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L. A. Mayer, *A sequel to Mudjīr al-Dīn's chronicle*, in *JPOS*, xi [1931], 93-6, Ar. text 11-12). At that time, as travellers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt areas within the boundaries of the city. But the core of the Old City outside the Ḥaram, as it appears today, was the creation of the Mamlūk period.

15. *The first Ottoman period (922 1247/1516-1831).* The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jerusalem during the victorious campaign of Selīm I against the Mamlūks in 1516-17 is not known. His successor Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī left most enduring imprints on the city: the wall, constructed between 944/1537 and 948/1541, as indicated in the eleven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome of the Rock and the four beautiful public fountains, *sabīl*, inside the city and the one near the Sultan's Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion. The many *waḳfs* made by him and his wife Khurrem (*q.v.*) further contributed to the welfare of the city during his reign. The soup kitchen, *'imāret*, donated by her for the feeding of the poor and of students, naturally does not operate any more, but its caul-

drons, lists of recipients and other impressive remnants can still be seen in the Harem Museum.

The Ottoman archives for the first three periods provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem. Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in *Studies in the Ottoman Archives, in BSOAS* xvi/3 (1954), 476, and *Yerushalayim*, iii/3, Jerusalem 1955, 217-27 (see *ibid.*, 217, n. 1, further publications of his on the subject, and also his *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952). The population movement during Sulaymān's reign is illustrated on p. 122 by lists of taxpayers (H = Heads of households, B = Bachelors, E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons).

	932/1525-6			940-45/1533-9			961/1553-4		
	H	B	E	H	B	E	H	B	E
Muslims	616	2	1	1268	75	34	1587	141	16
Christians	110	-	-	136	26	42	413	25	3
Jews	199	-	-	124	19	-	324	25	1
Totals	934	2	1	1528	120	76	2824	179	20

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Sulaymān's reign. (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one.) The slower increase of the Jewish population, which until the end of the thirties was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Ṣafad and not Jerusalem, was the main Jewish centre around the mid-century. By far the most important revenue collected in Jerusalem was the toll levied from the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre which also tripled during this period (from 40,000 *akčes* in 1525 to 120,000 in 1553). It was given by the Sultan to the readers of the Kur'ān in the Aḳṣā mosque. The second largest item was the poll tax paid by Christians and Jews (one gold piece per person, the total being about one half of the income derived from the Holy Sepulchre). All taxes derived from economic activities, such as licenses (*iltizām*), sales taxes and tolls on export of soap to Egypt, brought far smaller amounts.

Sulaymān's wall, though a lasting monument to his munificence, also revealed that the Ottoman government was not able, nor willing, to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem by administrative and military means. During almost the entire Turkish period, well into the second half of the 19th century, Jerusalem's development was impeded by the lack of security. The safety of the travellers between Ramla and Jerusalem, that is, the bulk of visitors from abroad, was entrusted already under Sulaymān to the Abu Ghosh, a rural clan after which the picturesque village Karyat el-'Anab west of Jerusalem was renamed. Complaints that bedouins murdered Muslim inhabitants, burnt copies of the Kur'ān and taxed Muslim pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem are officially noted already in 991/1583 (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, no. 43). An imperial order of 1023/1614 exempts the fiefholders in the *sanǧaḳ* of Jerusalem from participation in military expeditions outside the *sanǧaḳ*, because this was "the border of 'Arabistān, where rebellious bedouins disturb the peace" (Heyd, *ibid.*, no. 28). By the end of the 18th century Giovanni Mariti, *Voyage*, Neuwied 1791, ii, 302-3, reports that the Pasha of Jerusalem accompanied the Christian pilgrims under heavy guard to the Jordan, but only after having paid the usual tribute to the bedouins. Shortly afterwards another traveller, W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, etc.*, London 1806, writes with regard to 1797 that the whole environment of Jerusalem was dominated by the bedouins (see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973).

The root of this misery was the fact that Jerusalem was not so much administered by Istanbul as given as a source of income, albeit a very modest one, to the *wālī* of Damascus, or sometimes to that of Sidon, or, early in the period, to that of Egypt. The *wālī* was represented in the town by a *mutaṣallim*, but once a year his *ḥimāyē* would appear, accompanied by a detachment of troops and collect taxes (described by 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 309-10, for as late a date as 1808). By the 18th century the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the *iltizām* only 500 *ḳurūš*, one-twelfth of that of Sidon, Cohen, *ibid.*) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A *firmān* by Selīm III (1205/1791) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 1½ *ḳurūš* and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in these matters (M. Ma'oz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period, documents from archives and collections in Israel*, Jerusalem 1970, 58).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the *sidjills* of the *maḥkama šarʿiyya* of the city. 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 241 ff., provides a number of specimens a detailed list of prices by the *ḳāḍī* "in the presence of the two *muḥtasibs*" in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses rents, salaries and *waḳfs* through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the *šaḫīḫ al-ašrāf* in 1117/1705 and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517-1917 in 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 317-28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the *sanǧaḳ* and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The *ḳāḍī* was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Ḥanafī rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently as Jerusalemites, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of *waḳfs* and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly succeeded in acquiring large holdings of land). The well known families of the Ḫaṭīb, Ḫālidī (see sec. 12, above), 'Alamī, Anṣārī, Dudjānī, Ḥusaynī, Nashāshībī, Nusaybe and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Otto-

man domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Dajjānī (d. 1680), entitled *Dhamm al-malāhī fī faḍl al-masājid*. It shows the *ḥaram al-sharīf* as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmann, *A seventeenth century exhortation concerning al-Aqṣā*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, III [1973], 262-92, reproducing the Arabic original of the *Dhamm*).

The 19th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Maḥmūd II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel was garrisoned by other troops, incited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the *wālī* of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered *mutawallīm* of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Maghribī horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 356-8, quoting Mīkhāʾīl Burayk al-Dimashḳī). At the time of the Greek revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged of conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the *wālī* of Damascus and the firm attitude of the *ḥāḳim* of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another *wālī* of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and *fellāḥīn* alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1823 and raised a fine of 100,000 *ḳurūsh* from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back, when the population rose again; the *mutawallīm*, who had fared on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the Sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege to the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the cannon deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine, 1821-1841*, ed. S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem 1938, 3-4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Ḥiṭṭīn, was not entirely absent from the Holy City.

III. Modern times

1. 1831-1917. A time of radical changes. Before the half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalling states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people.

This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the stepson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1831. His actions, of particular significance for Jerusalem, were inspired by his endeavours to create a strong government and to win the friendship of the European powers. He started to disarm the civil population, to break the despotism of urban families and rural factions, to raise a standing army by enforced recruitment and also to enlist the co-operation of the local people by appointments to administrative posts and the formation of consultative bodies. The Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem were freed from the many special contributions they had to pay to local notables, permitted to repair and erect religious buildings and to work in the government. All this hurt many vested interests and aroused the ire of the Muslim population in general. The *fellāḥīn*, supported by the leading urban families, rose in arms and drove the Egyptian garrison from the town (1834-5). But Ibrāhīm Pasha quelled the revolt and vigorously pursued his aims. The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.

When European intervention forced Ibrāhīm Pasha to give up his conquests, the Sultan, who had just promised equality to all his subjects (1839), could not turn the clock back. The trend of western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean war, in which Turkey was saved by England and France from Russian aggression. France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Spain and the United States opened consulates in Jerusalem. The flags of Christian powers were now raised in the Holy City on Sundays and Holidays, the birthdays of their sovereigns were honoured by 21 canon salvoes (an honour, formerly reserved in Jerusalem for Muslim holidays and the birthday of the Prophet), and bells began to chime from the churches. At first, the Muslims in Jerusalem tried to stop these innovations by force. But such attempts were quickly suppressed and soon the immense material and spiritual advantages derived by the local population from the foreign activities became evident. Naturally, the local Christians were the first to benefit; it was in this period that certain Christian families of Jerusalem became rich and influential.

The Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been abolished in 1291 as a result of the Crusades (being represented by merely titular patriarchs who lived in Rome), was revived in 1847 and became a powerful factor in the city. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. An Anglican bishopric was established in 1841 (functioning for some decades in co-operation with Prussia). In the same year the Jewish community of Jerusalem received by imperial *firmān* a *ḥaḵḵām bāshī*, or chief rabbi, who was sent from Istanbul and had access to the central government. The gift by ʿAbd al-Mejīd of the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* (see § 10, above), the ancient convent of St. Anne, to the French emperor Napoleon III in 1856 (resulting in its restitution to its original use) and the presentation of a part of the Mūristān area (see § 10, above) to Prussia, which used it for the erection of a Protestant church, palpably illustrate the new situation.

Slowly the central government was able to assert its authority over the unruly city and the anarchic countryside. At mid-century, the bedouins still plundered travellers under the very walls of Jerusalem and inside the town Christians and Jews were still exposed to arbitrary extortions by notables and officials. But administrative and military reforms, the interventions by the consulates and improved means of communications brought relief. By 1865 Jerusalem was connected with the outer

world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to insure its safety and that of its station buildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district (details in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIwād, *Mutaṣarrifiyyat al-Kuds awakhir al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī*, in *Palestine Affairs*, iv [Beirut 1971], 126-41). In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pasha of Jerusalem calls himself "gouverneur de la Palestine" (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent *mutaṣarrifliḳ* directly responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance, *ṭābū* (land register), *waḳf*, security, agriculture, commerce and education, one for foreign affairs, a speciality necessitated by the many consulates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and yeshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1864, Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City, see section B. As from 1860, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely crammed, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abū Tōr) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī Djōz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The "German colony" of the Templars in the south-west, and the "American colony" in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly roomy. Selma Lagerlöf's famous novel *Jerusalem* (1901-2) depicts, besides the religious and personal plights of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *imām* of the Shaykh Djarrāh mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Ṣūfī.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it and of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population—all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British general Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility.

13. *After 1917.* The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1921), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1931, the population comprised 90,503 souls, of whom 51,211 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 32 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches, and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population, and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committed comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British. Its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S. Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālidī, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Isḥāḳ Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and A. L. Ṭibāwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī, Khalīl al-Sakākīnī and Khalīl Baydas, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as *mufti* of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council

created by the government (1922). For the next seventeen years al-Ḥādjdj Amīn strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Rāghib al Nashāshībī and the *amīr* (since 1946 king) ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan. The Western Wall - Burāḳ (*q.v.*) affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Ṣafad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al Ḥādjdj Amīn's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Ḥaram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in the western portico of the Ḥaram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Internecine warfare between the followers of al-Ḥādjdj Amīn and his adversaries acerbated the situation. Among the many victims were the British archaeologist J. L. Starkey, famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two fine Arabists, Levi Billig of the Hebrew University and Avinoam Yellin of the Government Department of Education, known to many students of Arabic as authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted *Resolution 181 (II)* calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be "internationalised".

Immediately after that decision the country was in flames. Jerusalem in particular suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sefaradi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Ḥurva (dedicated 1855) and Nīsan Bak (1872), whose capitals had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948 the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both actions were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1954, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices a modern society needs. The western sector had lost its status as part of a capital, but still was the main city of the West Bank and developed also as a centre of tourism. It expanded greatly towards the north, engulfing Shaʿʿāt and other villages. Important public buildings, founded by both local and foreign authorities, were erected and stately new hotels were built to cope with the developing tourist trade. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, a former senior official of the Mandatory regime and meritorious author of books on Jerusalem and on the Beersheba district and its tribes, became mayor of Jerusalem. The last Jordanian mayor was Rōḥī al-Khaṭīb (Rouhi el Khatib) of a Hebron family, thus personifying the considerable influx of Hebronites into Jerusalem during its Jordanian period. The ups and downs of inner Arab politics with regard to the legal status of Jerusalem and Jordan's rights on it belong to history. Jordan's rule left a permanent imprint by the restoration work carried out in the *ḥaram al-sharīf*, in particular, the golden dome and the ceramic inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. The murder of King ʿAbd Allāh while proceeding from the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 July 1951 did not have the far-reaching consequences expected by his assassins. Fires broke out during this period both in the Holy Sepulchre and the Aḳṣā mosque, but did not give rise to any demonstrations or diplomatic moves. The visit of Pope Paul VI in January 1964 to both sectors of Jerusalem showed his deep concern for the Holy City.

The war of 1967, which lasted in Jerusalem only three days (Monday-Wednesday 5-7 June) caused loss of precious lives, but comparatively little damage. The Jordanians had occupied the U.N. headquarters and tried to encircle the new city from the south, but this attempt failed. The main fighting was in the north. After having taken the positions on the north eastern hills, the Israeli forces entered the Old City from the St Stephen's (Lions) Gate, *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, finding but little resistance. The barriers between the two sectors of the city were removed, the eastern sector was immediately connected with the Israeli water system and received other municipal services and on 28 June 1967 the inhabitants of the two sectors were permitted to move freely throughout the town.

Naturally, this sudden turn of events at first had a stunning effect on the population of East Jerusalem. There were also great socio-economic difficulties. The middle class, especially the circles connected with the Jordanian administration and courts, was particularly affected. But the enormous expansion of the city in the subsequent years, which provided work and income for almost everyone, greatly alleviated the economic situation and brought about many contacts between the two parts of Jerusalem. But this did by no means solve the political problem. Strikes and acts of terror were not uncommon, but under the leadership of Teddy Kollek, mayor of the united city, the policy devised and implemented was one of non-intervention in the daily life and communal institutions of the Muslim population. The

most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim *Waḳf* and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the "reunification" of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N calling for a return to the *status quo* prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the Muslim world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During the process of the work many parts of the mosque were built anew including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim *Waḳf* several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.

Besides the monuments described in part B. and the vibrant folklife in the Old City, Jerusalem offers much of interest to the Islamist. The Palestine ("Rockefeller") Museum contains unique exhibits from Khirbat al Mafdjar [*q.v.*] and other treasures of Islamic art and archaeology. The Khālidiyya library in the Old City possesses valuable manuscripts, including some not listed in the *Barāmadj al-makhṭūṭāt al-Khālidiyya*, Jerusalem 1338 and so does the library of the Hebrew University. The Oriental reading room of the University library is an exceptionally good working library for Islamic studies. The Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University harbours, among other collections, a Concordance al Pre Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry, comprising at present over a million and half index cards, while the newly created L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art (officially opened on 9 October 1974) can boast of exquisite examples of Islamic art and workmanship.

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(S. D Goitein)

B. Monuments

The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into cryptical and liturgical associations and the peculiarities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section A of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, on or near the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [q.v.]. The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore, both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e. of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains and written sources, especially the invaluable guidebook of Mudjīr al-Dīn Since his time a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Ḥaram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans, see AL-ḤARAM AL-SHARĪF), the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram have introduced a large number of new elements in our understanding of the city in early Islamic times A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyūbid and Mamlūk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far The bibliography which follows this essay gives an idea of the considerable amount of information on possess about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 4th/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/2099); (3) Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to *ca.* 1500; (4) Ottoman period. No mention is made of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century; for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city

1. *Early Islamic, until the middle of the 4th/10th century*

All later developments in the monumental history of Jerusalem were affected by the manner of the

city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins, many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space untouched except for a small and comparatively late memorial church in St. James in the south-western corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and ecclesiastic establishments, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Ṣihyūn and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Ṣihyūn hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudocia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with presumed knowledge of the area's holy significance, the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamization of an ancient site, the which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete problems are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First a small "rudely built ... quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus ca. 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Aḳṣā mosque. This building probably remained until the last decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under ʿAbd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Ḥaram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 71/691. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 36.30 m. high and 20.30 m. in diameter. The dome is set over a huge rocky outcrop with an underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates preceded by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought out composition whose every detail in plan and in evaluation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the *martyrium* tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre to the church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Iranian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other one is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Ḳurʾānic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasizing each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fāṭimids and after the Crusades), there are two areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamlūk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been redone with superb coloured tiles in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the 1930s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the

Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (*isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj*), the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Kaʿba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition. The many arguments (see above, section A and article by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strung like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the Kurʾān). For the history of art, the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated excentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 72/692 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true as H. Stern believes (*contra* Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aḳṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Haram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aḳṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern *contra* Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Haram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aḳṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aḳṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aḳṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought out ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings with courts and with long rooms recently excavated to the south and to the south-west of the Haram had been completed by the time of al-Walīd. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (*dār al-imāra*) mentioned in papyri, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Haram al-Sharīf, or, as we probably must call it, the *masdjid bayt al-makdis*, the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Haram, whether strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not on much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aḳṣā mosque under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical, walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes, the area of the Haram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main source for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Haram. Each gate was provided with a wooden porch ordered by the mothers of al-Muktafī who also paid for the repairs of the Dome of the Rock's cupola. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Haram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faḳīh or al-Mukaddasī or through littérateurs like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Haram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of *maḳāms* and of *ḳubba*, ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through *miḥrābs*, and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange *ḳubbat al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a *ḳubba* of

the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Ḥaram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Ikhshīdid Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cults grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Muḳaddasī (ca 375/985) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of Herod's ruined Temple into a unique Muslim sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the Muslim quarters to the south and possibly also to the west, the Ḥaram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an Imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Ḥaram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (*Maltraux, Ville*, on. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/10th century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

2. *From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders.*

In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fāṭimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Ẓāhir, probably around 421-4/1030-3 the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Ḥaram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates (cf. Ḥaram), but it also involved a major building up of the western gate, the present Bāb al-Silsila, and Nāṣir-i Khosraw, who was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aḳṣā mosque which are Fāṭimid (cf. below). It is also from the Persian traveller that one can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aḳṣā mosque also under al-Ẓāhir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fāṭimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fāṭimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Ḥaram—for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate—and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aḳṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Kur'ān, xvii, 1, the *isrā'* verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fāṭimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated *minbar* now to Hebron (G. Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie arabe*, in *Syria*, v (1924), 217 ff.) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fāṭimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fāṭimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

3. *The Ayyūbids and Mamlūks*

As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Ḥaram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much on the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Ḥaram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Ḥaram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aḳṣā mosque a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bāb al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1500 for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Muǧīr al-Dīn's chronicle) have

not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of their number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatable to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two most sanctuaries on the Haram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Aḳṣā mosque, where Saladin put up a new *miḥrāb* with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nūr al-Dīn's celebrated *minbar* made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (cf. the historical section, § 15, above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resanctify all the holy places which had existed on the Haram. As van Berchem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonries are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/13th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyūbids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late medieval *ḳalʿa* until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Haram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognise and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tankiz or also the times of Ḳāʾitbāy in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinary broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamlūk period: schools, orphanages, libraries, *madrasas*, baths, *khānḳāhs*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, *madrasas* and mausoleums, the latter being quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of mausoleums.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the small size of the buildings or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo's) with one to four *īwāns*. The most visible feature of each building was always its façade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlūk portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb *muḳarnas* cones coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bāb al-Silsila's domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tankiziyya, the Arghūniyya, and the Sūḳ al-Ḳaṭṭānīn for the 8th/14th century and the Ashrafiyya or the jewel-like fountain of Ḳāʾitbāy on the Haram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamlūk architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Haram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Haram became a show place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Haram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Haram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Haram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith's beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor probably that of the Fāṭimids, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

4 *The Ottomans.*

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a *madrasa* like the Rukāiyya (947/1540) still follows Mamlūk practice and Mamlūk ideals. A large number of fountains are even later

But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other one is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 10th/16th century achievements attributed to Sulaymān the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottomans consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Haram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century brought a new, European-centred, significance and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Haram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircases of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, *Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, Second Temple period*, Jerusalem 1976, and Nayer Ben Dov, *Ḥasḥarāsim mim ḥafirōt ḥamuzāmōt ḥukdamōt bĕ-ʿasor ha-ḥafirōt*, in *Qadmoniot* (Jerusalem 1972).

The second group of investigations are the studies of Mamlūk monuments by A. Walls and M. Burgoyne, published in vols. iii (1971) onwards of *Levant, Jnal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, and with a checklist by Burgoyne, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem 1976. In addition to providing accurate plans and elevations of buildings to the west of the Haram, these studies have at times dealt with broader issues and a particularly original note by A. Walls in *Levant*, viii (1976), 159-61, suggests that the construction of the minarets of Aḳṣā (1465-6) and of the Ṣalāḥiyya (1417) in the western and primarily Christian part of the city served to frame symbolically the domes of the Holy Sepulchre with prototypical Muslim monuments.

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KUDSĪ, MUḤAMMAD DJĀN, poet at the Mughal court in India. He was born and raised in Mashhad, from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was then engaged in the grocery trade before he went to India. In 1041/1632 he joined the ranks of the Emperor Shāh Djahān's poets. Daghistānī the author of the *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, states that Kudsī preceded Kalīm as poet laureate to Shāh Djahān, but this is not confirmed by contemporary sources. He died in Lahore in 1056/1646-7 and, according to Ādhar's *Ātash kada* his remains were removed to Khurāsān.

Kudsī's poems are distinguished by a delicacy of style. Like Kalīm, he was also engaged to compose a poetic history of Shāh Djahān's reign. Though less talented than his more famous contemporary, he seems to have been held in high esteem, and was regarded as a leading poet of his day.

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KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 52′ N lat., called Ketumbis on the English Admiralty charts and Qotanbul in *Admiralty handbook, Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 235. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 630/1233). Kudummul, which lies near Hamida on the Arabian coast off ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], once marked the boundary between the land of the Kināna and Yemen

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al-ḴUDŪRĪ, ABŪ ʾl-ḤUSAYN/AL-ḤASAN AḤMAD b. MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD b. DJaʿFAR b. ḤAMDĀN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Ḥanafī *faḳīh* who was born and who died at Baghdād (362 5 Radjab 428/972 24 April 1037). He was head of the Ḥanafī school in ʿIrāḳ, and had occasion to lead several public discussions, in which he defended his own viewpoint, with his contemporary, the Shāfiʿī Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfaḥānī whom he however especially revered. A number of pupils gathered around him, the most famous of whom was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*].

As well as various works like his *Ḥ. al Ṭalāḳ* on marriage and his *K. al-Tadjrīd* on the differences between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, al-Ḳudūrī wrote a *Mukhtaṣar*, which had a great scholarly renown and enjoyed a sanctity comparable to the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] amongst the Mālikīs. It is a concise legal manual, but is clearer than the one of the same name by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. It deals with ritual, contracts, personal status, criminal law and the law of succession, without particular care for logical order. This *Mukhtaṣar* inspired many commentaries, including e.g. *al Djawhara al nayyira* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbādī (Istanbul 1291, 1314, 1323, Delhi 1327) and *al Lubāb fī sharḥ al Kitāb* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maydānī (to the margins of the previous work, and Cairo 1344/1917). Numerous mss of the *Mukhtaṣar* exist, which has been published many times, notably at Delhi in 1647, at Bombay in 1303 with its Persian and Pashto, at Istanbul in 1281 with a Turkish paraphrase and in 1309 also. The chapter on the holy war was edited and translated into Latin by Rosenmüller, in *Analecta arabica*, Leipzig 1825-6, and in French by Ch. Solve, Paris 1829; that on marriage was edited and translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832, and more recently, G.-H. Bousquet and L. Bercher edited and translated extensive passages in *Le statut personel en droit musulman hanbalite*, Tunis n. d.

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al KŪFA, one of the two cities (*miṣr* [*q.v.*]), along with Baṣra [*q.v.*], founded in ʿIrāḳ by early Islām. A permanent military establishment of the Arabs in Mesopotamia, Kūfa retained the whole of the ʿIrāḳī *Sawād* [*q.v.*] under its control. It participated actively in the Islamic expansion into Iranian territory, and, throughout the 1st/7th century was a hotbed of intense political ferment. It was there also as at Baṣra that there took place for three centuries the gestation of Arabo Islamic civilisation and culture. Then Kūfa experienced decline and ruin, today only a few traces remain, mostly of late date or restored.

Kūfa was founded in 17/638 by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], the victor of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], after the whole of ʿIrāḳ had been wrested from the hands of the Sāsānids and notably after the capture of Madīʾin-Ctesiphon (16/637), whose climate the Arabs could not endure. But other no less important reasons must be added to this given the existence of a willingness to settle and immigrate, ʿUmar preferred to keep the Arabs grouped together and segregated from the peoples and territory conquered, in a relationship of spatial continuity with Arabia. This presupposes that, very swiftly, these main ideas were issued which set out to dictate the relationship of conquering people conquered peoples: no dispersal in the *Sawād* or agricultural settlement, maintenance of the military striking force, the setting-up of a newly originated fiscal system which would tap the revenues of the ʿIrāḳī territory without direct exploitation on the part of the Arabs, all this resting upon the co-existence of Arab clans very dissimilar in their origin. The role of the new state and the new religion as tutelary power and unifying principle was also implicitly taken into consideration. There is no doubt that ʿUmar wished to make of it the experimental melting pot of his system, given concrete form by the establishment of the *diwān* between 20 and 23/640-3.

I. The city of Kūfa.

Kūfa, a creation *ex nihilo* was placed at the edge of the Arabian steppe, but on the bank of the principal branch of the middle Euphrates, guarding the passage to Bābil and, from there, Ctesiphon, a few miles to the north-east of al-Ḥīra, an excellent position of contact, astride two worlds, somewhat familiar to the Arab army due to its being situated in the region of al-Ḳādisiyya. Kūfa, placed on the right bank of the Euphrates on a tongue (*lisān*) of dry grey sand mixed with gravel, was slightly above the water level. It escaped floods, was well-supplied with water and enjoyed a salubrious climate.

We do not know with exactitude the origin of the word Kūfa. The Arab historians and geographers, as they were accustomed, made of it a common noun designating any surface of rounded sand, but obviously, this appears to be a reconstruction a *posteriori*. Massignon derives it from the Syriac ʿAḳūla,

basing it in particular on Chinese testimony; a text of al-Ṭabarī situates the place ʿAḳūl between the Euphrates and the houses of Kūfa, probably to the north of the *miṣr*. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to see its origin in the Pentapolis form Kūba (Sarkis, in *Sumer* [1954]). Only a text of Sayf b. ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iv, 40 ff.) gives some detailed information on the first settlement, on the *takhṭīṭ* of the mosque and the palace, and the apportioning of land to the tribes, clans and fragments of tribes, who constituted the army of Madāʾin. This has to be rectified and completed in the light of other historical and geographical texts. A public area was at first delimited, this was to include essentially the mosque and the governor's palace, and to become the focal point from which the whole encampment branched out. Fifteen *masāḥāt* or avenues separating the tribal lots, each forty cubits wide, radiated from this central area. Along the five *masāḥāt* of the north were settled the tribes Sulaym, Thaḳīf, Ḥamdān, Baḡīla, Taghlib and Tayyiʾ al-Lāt, to the south, the Asad, Nahḍ, Kinda and Azd, to the east, the Anṣār, Muzayna, Tamīm and Muḥārib, Asad and ʿĀmir, finally, to the west, Baḡīla, Ḏjadīla and Ḏjuhayna. This picture, it may be seen contradicts a tradition of al-Shaʿbī cited by al-Balāḏhurī (*Futūḥ*, 276) according to which all the Yemenis were placed to the east, between the mosque and the Euphrates, and the Niẓārīs to the west, a tradition which study of the topography of Kūfa as it appears from the narratives on the great revolts of the 1st/7th century does not corroborate. But it is beyond doubt that some alterations were effected by historical evolution in this picture of tribal geography: the Tamīm, in particular, migrated from the east to the west with the ʿAbs. The problem of the great tribes of Rabīʿa, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays still remains. For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Baṣra, but a certain number of them settled at Kūfa—including the ancient family of Ḏhū ʾl-Ḏjaddayn. As for ʿAbd al-Ḳays, initially established at Baṣra, they were possibly moved on a large scale to Kūfa at the time of the caliphate of ʿAlī, to leave it again in 40/660 for Baṣra. In any event, a certain number of characteristic features of the tribal establishment at Kūfa are to be noted: settlement of the main part—but not the whole—of the Arab *muḥāribūn* who had to confront the Sāsānid armies, heterogeneity of the tribal structure, in contrast to Baṣra, presence of a majority of Maḍarī and Ḳaysī elements formed either from large Bedouin clans (Tamīm, Asad), or from clans of the Ḥiḏjāz (Thaḳīf, Sulaym, Ḏjuhayna, Muzayna), but nevertheless a concentration of a strong Yemeni minority, completely uncustomary elsewhere. It may even be asked if early Kūfa did not contain a majority of Yemenīs, who later became a weaker and weaker minority, certain modern authors have gone so far as to assert that the *takhṭīṭ* of Kūfa was conceived to shelter these distant migrants, together with those of the Ḥiḏjāz, rather than the others (M. Hinds, in *IJMES*, ii [1971] 346-67). The pure Yemeni elements are here massively present (Ḥimyar, Hamdān Ḥaḍramawt, Maḏḥḥiḏj) alongside tribes newly Yemenised (Kinda and Baḡīla in particular, Azd Sarāt and Tayyiʾ), but the tribe which became the most numerous of the Yemenīs and without doubt of all the tribes, that of Hemdān, was not settled at Kūfa as early as the Maḏḥḥiḏj, Baḡīla and Kinda, and it was made up for the most part of recent immigrants (*muwalladūn*), who had come under ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and perhaps Muʿāwiya. It remains a fact that the Yemeni phenomenon was to determine the political destiny of Kūfa as well as the colour of its civilisation. According to Massignon, it is through the influence of the old Yemeni element, city dwellers for a long period, that the sedentarisation of the Arab tribes at Kūfa was effected, hence a civilising and urbanising role of the first order may be attributed to it from very early on.

Figures for the total population vary according to the sources and periods. It may be admitted that during the very first phase, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants (al-Balāḏhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276), although Yāḳūt gives the figure of 40,000 (*Buldān*, iv, 291). A text of Abū Mikhnaf (al-Ṭabarī, v, 79) speaks of the mobilisation by ʿAlī of all the 57,000 *muḥāribūn*, of whom 40,000 were adults and 17,000 adolescents. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, having enlarged the mosque, foresaw it as accommodating 60,000 people, a figure corroborated by a reliable piece of information given by al-Balāḏhurī (*Futūḥ*, 345) concerning the people registered in the *dīwān*. So there would have been, around the year 50/670, 60,000 men and 80 000 women and children, that is, 140,000 Arabs of whom a census had been made, to which it is reasonable to add the clandestine residents and the non-Arabs, slaves or *mawālī*. Certainly at the same period the figure for the population of Baṣra (200,000 registered) rather outnumbered that of Kūfa but the demographic inflation in the space of a generation was nevertheless considerable. This may explain the transplantations by Ziyād to Khurāsān of 50,000 people, of whom 40,000 were from Baṣra and 10,000 from Kūfa. It is probable that after Ziyād and throughout the Umayyad régime, the number of Arabs drawing stipends and registered remained stable or even had a tendency to diminish from al-Ḥadjdjādj (75-95/694 713) onwards, but the number of non-Arabs, uprooted from the land, new *mawālī* flocking to the *miṣr*, cannot be known for certain. The fact that this last governor took drastic measures to repulse them is clear proof of the existence of this disordered influx, dangerous for the equilibrium of the city. The history of the population of Kūfa, in the earliest and Umayyad period, is that of a very swift and essentially Arab expansion in a first phase (17-53/638-73), followed by a stabilisation, at times disrupted by the rural non-Arab immigration.

The topographic framework of Kūfa during the 1st/7th century evolved while remaining faithful to the original plan. The first Kūfa, that of ʿUmar (17-23/638-43) was a military camp, geometrical, airy and open, where tents quickly raised for an expedition were drawn up in lines. Soon, without doubt after the pacification of the Iranian territories, the need arose for a more permanent settlement, where tents were replaced by huts of reeds, which were abundant in the region. A third stage saw the substitution of houses (*dūr*) for huts, in *labn* or clay dried and cut up in large rectangular blocks, a stage inaugurated under the first governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (22-4/642-4). In fact, all this is information given by Yāḳūt and reproduced by Massignon. Nevertheless, it is contradicted by Sayf, who compresses the stages, stating that the building of Kūfa in *labn* was decided very rapidly, before the *takhṭīṭ* itself, in 17/638. Finally, it is with Ziyād (50-3/670-3) that the *ādjurr* or Mesopotamian fired brick was introduced, at first to construct the cathedral mosque and the governor's palace which adjoined it on the south, later no doubt for the houses of the aristocracy or *dūr*. Considerable an

penses were incurred to give to the mosque an architectural form materials brought from al-Ahwāz for the columns, and the calling in of Aramaean or Persian masons. Kūfa was changed into a well built city and began to take on, with this governor, the features of its topography which would only really change with the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period

Umayyad Kūfa was not surrounded by ramparts, it may be supposed that its diameter did not exceed two kilometres. The monumental centre was composed of the *dīmās*, of the fortified *ḥaṣr*, of the *rabaḍa* or *manāzil* where various ceremonies took place, and of markets or *aswāḳ*, constructed under the governorship of Khālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-37) but given a specialised use much earlier. Massignon sees here the prototype of the future *aswāḳ* of Baghdād, but it is permissible to consider them as the model for the markets of all the Islamic towns of the Middle Ages by virtue of their vaulted form as well as the structure of their activities, where a special place had to be accorded to the *ṣayārifa* or moneychangers, at the time bankers of the governors and moneylenders of the Shīʿī conspiracies.

From the monumental centre there radiated out the *khiṭaṭ* or tribal lots which constituted the main part of the dwellings of Kūfa. Nevertheless, *khiṭaṭ*[1] or individual lots were assigned from the earliest period as exceptional favours to the Companions and to certain great figures who had their aristocratic houses built there, always situated in the centre. Al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a list of 25 *dār*, in which are to be noted the names of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd and his son ʿUmar, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and his descendants who played an important role in Kūfa before emigrating to Kumm, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭa, one of the principal leaders of the army of conquest, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, al-Ashʿaṯ al-Kindī and Umm Hānī sister of ʿAlī. Other sources speak of the private houses of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, al-Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī and ʿAmr b. Ḥurayṯ.

In addition on the monumental centre, to the collective *khiṭaṭ* and the private *dār*, let us cite as essential elements of the topography of Kūfa the *masāḥāt* or avenues, the *sikak* as streets, the *ṣaḥārī* (waste pieces of ground? e.g. *ṣaḥrāʾ al-Baṭḥāʾ*), the *ḥammāmāt*, the *masādjid*, small mosque of a clan or quarter, and especially the *djabbānāt* of Kūfa. The *djabbānāt*, numbering a dozen, ridding the city everywhere almost certainly from the time of ʿAlī, played the role of tribal cemeteries, but they owed their importance to the fact that they served as places of assembly, mobilisation and taking-up arms. Their name was linked with some major historical episodes, such as the revolt of al-Mukhtār. It may be that we have there a privileged example of the influence of old Yemen on the urban structure of Kūfa. Among the principal *djabbānāt* may be cited that of Subīʿ dwelled to the Hamdān, di. Mikhnaf (Azd), Murād (Madhḥudj), Kinda (Kinda and Rabīʿa), Ṣāʾidiyyīn (Asad), Uḥayr (ʿAbs), etc. Other topographical features, whether in Kūfa itself or in its immediate environs, are often mentioned in the sources and assume a certain importance: the *Kunāsa*, at first a dumping-ground situated to the west of the camp-town, having become later, from the Umayyad period, a place of unloading for caravans from Arabia, a market for animals, on occasion a place of executions, and above all a fair for the poets similar to the *Mirbad* of Baṣra, the *dār ar-rizḳ*, the *sikkat al-barīd*, the *bīt al-ʾil*, the *ḥaḍāra*, all this *arḍ*hin the city. *ḥammām* Aʿyan, *sikk* Asad, *dayr* Hind, *dayr* Kaʿb, *dayr* al Djamādjim and *ḥayr* Muḳātil, situated immediately outside but all places intimately involved in the city's existence

Umayyad Kūfa, marked by the attempt at urbanism of Ziyād and Khālid al-Ḳasrī evolved, while remaining faithful to the earliest plan, from a Bedouin style camp to a well built, articulated, functional city, an evolution which was to be completed in the ʿAbbāsid period by the mere fact of the maturing of the Arabo Muslim civilisation of which Kufa was precisely one of the two primordial melting pots. Throughout the 1st/7th century, Kūfa no doubt remained airy, not yet surrounded by ramparts and open to the Arab steppe, as is witnessed by the traffic of men and poetry and the obstinate presence of the Bedouin model. Sedentarisation, a rapid and undeniable success, would have been inexplicable without the maintenance of the umbilical cord with Arabia, but the Arabs of Kūfa were well and truly settled people almost totally cut off from the nomadic way of life. For it was the first time in their history that the Arabs united to form such a great urban concentration, a melting-pot where specimens of the whole of Arabia came to live and dwell together. If we continue to consider the urban sphere, we have to notice that Kūfa was to undergo profound changes during the high ʿAbbāsid period. The early ʿAbbāsids considered making it their capital and established themselves there for some time but the ʿAlīd presence and sympathies were so strong that they wavered for some time between Kūfa Anbār and the new city of Hāshimiyya which was coupled with ḥayr Ibn Hubayra before al-Manṣūr founded Baghdād (145-6/762-3) and moved the *dayr al-māl* and *dawāwīn* there from Kūfa (al-Balādhurī *Futūḥ*, 293), which indicates clearly that Kūfa had assumed the role of administrative capital of the empire, even if the caliphs did not always reside there.

During this short period of thirty years (132-46/ 750-63), there took place an Iranisation of a part of the Kūfan toponymy, following the influx of Khurāsānian soldiers: for example, the streets of Lahīdjān Djarīr and Hadīdjām ʿAntara and the naming of crossroads by the Iranian form of *čahārsūḳ*, such as the *čahārsūḳ* al-Baḏīla (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 280) On the other hand, the early ʿAbbāsids undertook the building at Kūfa of al-Ruṣāfa and the castle of Abū ʾl-Khaṣīb, above all, al Manṣūr, after the move to Baghdād, had the city surrounded by ramparts and a moat, making the inhabitants bear the costs of it. It is probable that the enclosure did not surround the *Kunāsa* and some *djabbānāt* outside the centre, thus creating a differentiation between a *madīna* and suburbs. The term *madīna* in the sense of a historical urban nucleus, elaborated, closely packed and protected by walls with gates, makes its appearance for the first time in the account given by al Ṭabarī with regard to the revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (199/814). The same author remarks that the *Kunāsa* contained dwelling houses, just as there appears in his writing the idea of a suburb or *rabaḍ* (viii, 561) Thus we are in the presence of the "process of civilisation" of Kūfa in every sense of the term it became a classical Muslim town after having been an Arab camp-town, and it became a civil centre after having been a military camp Finally, during the 3rd/9th century, and although it always remained clearly Arab, its population was mixed and the city began to live in osmosis with the Sawādiyyūn or people from the Sawād who started to become Muslim. Nevertheless, there is a problem of knowing

whether, at its apogee as a city, in the 3rd/9th century, Kūfa entirely lost its character of a spacious town and came to resemble those Islamic cities of a latter age where the *madīna* became an assemblage extremely crowded with houses and almost stifling. It does not seem so, because the geographers of a later period, such as al-Muḳaddasī and much later Ibn Djubayr (though the latter was writing in a period of the city's complete decadence), allow one to catch a glimpse of the existence of green or garden spaces in the heart of the town. But these same geographers, as the archaeological remains stretching as far as Nadjaf also indicate, testify to the expansion of Kūfa towards the west, far beyond the early boundaries. But then, Kūfa was no longer one of the centres from which early Islam, i.e. conquering Arab Islam, radiated, but an important city of ʿIrāḳ, the simple capital of an administrative area.

The provincialisation of Kūfa, and even its decadence, became an established fact in the 4th/10th century. The old structures (the military *aḥlāf*, the tribal spirit, the financial system) began to break down, because the whole edifice of the conquest, inherited from the Arab empire, and of which Kūfa was merely the concrete form, became obsolete, and it is known that at its height the caliphate submitted to the tutelage of the Būyids at the same time as the unity of the Muslim world broke up. Because of this, the decadence of Kūfa was only one of the manifestations of this profound change which intercontinental commercial activity was unable to sustain and prolong, as at Baṣra for one or two centuries. One may speak of a crisis of the Islamic city (Massignon), but in reality we are concerned with a general crisis of early Islam as a state and society. Indeed as a civilisation even more, one ought say, with a historical mutation for which a town like Kūfa should certainly pay the price. On the concrete level, there was the great Ismāʿīlī outbreak at the end of the 3rd/9th century, of which Kūfa was the primordial crucible and of which the Ḳarmaṭian violence was one of the destructive elements. In 293/905, 312/924 and 315/927, Kūfa underwent the assaults and pillage of the Ḳarmaṭians. It was never to recover from these. It is this which explains the emergence in 334/945, not far from it, thanks to the protection of the Būyids, of Nadjaf as Mashhad ʿAlī as a centre of Shīʿī devotion which, since the 3rd/9th century, had become the specifically distinguishing dimension of Kūfa. Shīʿī religious symbolism was concentrated there, but as it happened, the old Arab Kūfa which was far from being identified with the Shīʿī phenomenon vanished. The urbanised tribal structure also collapsed at the same time as there arose a "re-bedouinisation" or, at any rate, a growing threat from a new nomad world of the Arabo-ʿIrāḳī steppe. Thus it was in 386/996 that Bahāʾ al-Dawla ceded Kūfa as an *iḳṭāʿ* to the chief of the ʿUḳaylids (*q.v.*). The Banū Asad, the Tayyiʾ, of whom a large fringe remained outside the city limits, because undoubtedly living in symbiosis with it, and also the Shammār, newly-come on the scene, dominated Kūfa and ruined it. Thus these same Asad (to differentiate them from the settled Asad), from whom the grammarians of Kūfa derive, by means of a real ethnological effort, all the flavour of their citations, preserving themselves with their very strong identity, came to present themselves as taking part in the ruin of Kūfa, the new incarnation of Lagash, Ur and Babylon, and which was soon dead like them. In 495/1101, with the emergence of al-Ḥilla, Kūfa lost definitively its importance and the major part of its inhabitants. Ibn Djubayr (539-614/1144-1217), who visited it a little later (578-81/1182-5), speaks of it as a deserted and ruined city but one where some inhabitants still survived, subjected to the regular pillages of the tribe of Khafādja (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1959, 187, 188). The whole built up area between the mosque and the Euphrates had been destroyed and was covered now with orchards. He speaks at some length of the cathedral mosque, still standing, with its high ceilings, its columns loaded on the inside, a prayer hall with five bays, its sacred vestiges where the Shīʿī myths were caught hours to the recurring myths of old Babylonia taken over by Islam: the *maḳām* of Ibrāhīm, the *miḥrāb* of ʿAlī, the *tannūr* of Noah and the supposed tomb of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl. After the Mongols had conquered ʿIrāḳ, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī wrote for the Mongol prince a treatise describing the resources of the country (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 30, 166, 210), where he speaks of Kūfa as having ramparts with a circumference of 18,000 paces and of its important agricultural role. Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (8th/14th century) who, on the subject of Kūfa, reproduces in part Ibn Djubayr but adds some personal elements, sees it, in a similar way to Mustawfī, as a town ruined for the most part, but not yet dead. According to him, of the *ḥiṣn al-ʿimāra*, nothing more than the foundations remained but the markets, still beautiful, survived. He speaks of the *ḳabbāna* of Kūfa as if there were no more than one where the tomb of al-Mukhtār had been repaired and over which a cupola had been erected (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1960, 219). In the Ottoman period, Kūfa fell to the rank of a *nāḥiya* dependent on the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Nadjaf, which was dependent in its turn on the *sandjaḳ* of Karbalāʾ. Niebuhr visited it and compiled a plan of it. Massignon went there for a first time in 1908 and for a second time in 1934. He spoke of the "now deserted site of the great city which was the most Arab of the Muslim metropolises", of which just a few traces of buildings were marked out: the Djāmiʿ, the tombs of Hānī b. ʿUrwa and Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, the Bayt ʿAlī, two guard houses, one of which was built by the English, the small oratory Ḥanāna and the *masdjid* al-Sahla. He noted that a new quarter had appeared between the mosque and the Euphrates. It still exists, and has even been extended; however, it is less important than the recent western quarter, towards Nadjaf, which is mainly residential. Some other European archaeological missions went to al-Ḥīra (Talbot Rice in 1931, in particular). Since 1938, the site of Kūfa, declared an archaeological site, has become an object of interest to the ʿIrāḳī academic authorities and a first season of excavations was made there at that date. The great mosque, completely and sometimes awkwardly restored, remains the central building, it seems to be raised in comparison with its earlier level and only the ramparts remain. The *ḥiṣn*, much larger, has just been mapped out. It is a building now in ruins, though more instructive than the mosque. Let us also note the presence of the mosque of al-Sahla to the west of the site. Various objects in glass and ceramic and some coins of the Umayyad period have been found. Nevertheless, the archaeological exploration of Kūfa may be considered as only in its early stage and, if well handled, as being capable of adding much to our knowledge of the city, still essentially one derived from books.

II. Politics, ideology and culture in Kūfa.

While in the 1st/7th century Kūfa played a political

role of the first order, as the matrix of a large number of matters of future significance for Islam, in the 2nd/8th, after the foundation of Baghdād and with the opening-up of the Islamic empire, politics and the struggle for power left Kūfa aside, but, on the other hand, cultural activities developed there and achieved a high level (between 150 to 250/approx. 760 to 860). From then there is evidence of a triple Kūfa: a political Kūfa (up to 150), a cultural Kūfa (150-250) and then a purely ideological Kūfa (250-350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shī'ism.

The principal episodes which punctuated the political activity of early Kūfa were the participation in the revolt against ʿUthmān (34-5/654-5), the support given to ʿAlī for the two great internecine battles of al-Djamal (36/656) and Ṣiffīn (37/657), the emergence in its heart of the Khāridjī movement, the beginnings of political Shīʿism with the action, which was suppressed, of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī (51/671). After that the pro-Shīʿī revolts succeeded one another, and were just as regularly quelled: the episode of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl and the massacre at Karbalāʾ (60-1/679-80), the march of the *Tawwābūn* (65/684), the uprising of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), the preaching of al-Mughīra and of Bayān, the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/739) and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (127/744). Finally, it was Kūfa which was the directing beam behind the ʿAbbāsid *da'wa*, and it was at the great mosque of Kūfa that the first caliph of the new dynasty was solemnly invested (132/749). But Kūfa equally underwent numerous rounds of Khāridjī assaults, particularly in 76/695, when it was threatened by Shabīb, and more seriously in 127-8/744-5 by al-Daḥḥāk. It participated in 82-3/701-2, alongside Baṣra, in the great revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath which brought the Umayyad régime close to its collapse and which was a revolt of the *amṣār* without ideological content.

This abundance of insurrections, of seditious actions and political events, earned Kūfa the reputation of a turbulent, agitated, ambitious city, and, for the later Shīʿī consciousness, of a martyr city. Thus on the majority Sunnī side, there were some solid prejudices, on the other side, a whole apocalyptic elaboration in which "accursed Baghdād will be destroyed and Kūfa will be queen of the world, after having been a dwelling of exile and waiting for true believers." According to the *ḥadīth* of Salmān, "Kūfa is the *ḳubba* (= royal tent) of Islam; a time will come for the world when there will be no true believer except the one who lives there or whose heart sighs for it" (Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, repr. in *Opera Minora*, iii. 54).

In reality, this constant political effervescence of the 1st/7th century resulted from the structure of Kūfa itself as well as in historical evolution. As a fundamental component of the system of the *amṣār* at least until 30/650, the date at which Baṣra outstripped it in the conquest of the Iranian East, Kūfa sheltered the conquerors of ʿIrāḳ from the time of the first wave onwards, that of the *Ahl al-Ayyām* until the *Ahl al-Khiṭaṭ*. The first presumed upon the antiquity of their conversion and their faithfulness to Islam, the second had participated in the *Ridda*, but they were of no less high Arab lineage. Kūfa, on the other hand, drained the major part of the resources of the *Sawād* and the leaders of the army managed the ancient royal domains, this becoming later a real apple of discord, while the immigration to Baṣra, except for that of the Bakr, was that of latecomers, of tribes from the Arabian south-east, newly come to the scene of conquest and arriving in complete, homogenous tribal groups. Within the tribal structure of Kūfa, in the conditions which surrounded its genesis, by the attraction exercised over the new immigrants or *ruwādif*, and the lack of any immigration control, from the very fact of its supremacy in the high period, some germs of tension took root which were ready to develop. Under the caliphate of ʿUmar, the equilibrium was maintained, and the armies of Kūfa were occupied in conquering Persia. It is in the caliphate of ʿUthmān that the internal conflicts began to appear, the former Islamic élite, raised up by ʿUmar, yielding ground to the traditional chiefs who shared in the *aʿṭiyāt* and saw their position reinforced by the waves of *ruwādif* of their own tribes (a typical case of opposition in between an Ashtar Nakhaʿī and an Asḥ'ath b. Kays). The activism of the Ahl al-Ayyām, disappointed by the new politics, resulted in the murder of ʿUthmān in which a number among them were involved, and this ranged them necessarily on the side of ʿAlī. ʿAlī's coming to Kūfa highlighted the new phenomenon of the supremacy of the *amṣār* over Arabia for the definition of the political destiny of the Arabs, for four years, Kūfa was to be if not the capital of the empire, seeing that the empire was divided, at least a centre of major decision and the seat of the caliphate. From this privileged episode of its existence, Kūfa was to derive its future pretensions, but also a persistent faithfulness to ʿAlī and his family. Nevertheless, from its origin, this faithfulness was far from making for unanimity. The Ashrāf or traditional chiefs of the tribes, having in general participated at al-Ḳādisiyya, and being enrolled in the *sharaf* of *ʿaṭāʾ*, were lukewarm towards the cause of ʿAlī and consequently also the mass of the inhabitants who, in general, followed them. The activists remained (who may be named as the *ḥurrāʾ* [*q.v.*]), of whom a majority cast in its lot with ʿAlī and on whom he showered benefits, but of whom a minority, harder and more intransigent, showed itself reticent and soon hostile with regard to him. After the arbitration, it appeared that ʿAlī could no longer be certain of anyone except his partisans, his *shīʿa* in the political sense of the term, while the intransigent members of the *ḥurrāʾ* fell into Khāridjism and the conservative group of the Ashrāf abandoned him, whence the dislocation of the coalition which he had constituted, whence also the minority character and powerlessness of the Shīʿa for a century. The Umayyads governed indeed with the support of the Ashrāf, who did not like them, but found in them a principle of order. They were satisfied with their growing social influence, guaranteed by the Umayyad régime. It is thus which explains why the Ashrāf ranged themselves on the side of the established power every time that a Shīʿī insurrection broke out, and why that power gained their collaboration in disarming the Shīʿī troops. In 61/680, they even took part in the murder of Ḥusayn, they mobilised activels against al-Mukhtār, who threatened their privileges, and they regrouped themselves around the governor in order to bring about the failure of Zayd b. ʿAlī's action. Only the great revolt of 82-3/701-2 was a specifically ʿIrāḳī revolt against the preponderance of the Ahl al-Shām, the tyranny of the governor al-Ḥadjdjādj and, because of this, it was led by the Ashrāf as well as by the *ḥurrāʾ*. But there followed a large-scale demilitarisation of the *miṣr* and the foundation of Wāsiṭ, the settlement of the Syrian army in ʿIrāḳ as if in occupied territory.

If, throughout the 1st/7th century, the majority of the Ashrāf showed themselves hostile to the

Shī'ī movement, certain of the Aghrāḍ nevertheless participated actively in it, such as al-Mukhtār himself, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shākirī. But after al-Mukhtār, it was above all popular elements which supported Shī'ī activism, whether from among the Arabs, Yemenis in particular and, more precisely, Yemenis from certain clans of Hamdān (Khārif, Shākir, etc.), or else recruited from among the plebeians of the new immigrant *mawālī*, a mass operation utilised by al-Mukhtār. It is probable that the rallying of the Yemenis to the Shī'ī cause was due to their marginal position in the Arab city, socially as well as culturally, for there is no doubt that a number of poor were recruited from the clans of Hamdān (clients of *mawālī*?) and that the call for the rights of the *Ahl al-Bayt* found some echoes in the old Yemeni consciousness. It is thus which explains the populist character of the revolt of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), perhaps the most important Shī'ī revolt of the 1st/7th century. It succeeded in assuming power at Kūfa for some time, above all, it fashioned the Shī'ī consciousness by giving it a mystique, a language, slogans and some elements of a doctrine. Also, the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], who derived from it, would be, via Abū Hāshim, at the root of the *da'wa* for the Family.

With the 'Abbāsid dynasty, there took place an intellectualisation and a deepening of Shī'ism, the political action becoming intermittent. Hence one must wait until the year 195/814 to see a resurgence of an insurrection of the old style, that of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, and the year 250/864 for that of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, far less dangerous, to break out. But Shī'ism as a faith did not cease to gain ground, so that it veritably became the quasi unique ideology of the town at the end of the 3rd/9th century and constituted a cultural and religious tradition in the 4th/10th century. Certainly, it was at the moment that the Shī'ī imagination, re-reading the history of the town, reclassified its sites according to its own standards, dividing quarters and mosques into blessed and cursed ones.

Kūfa was able to export its Shī'ī consciousness to the Iranian world, and to Qumm especially. Qumm was indeed a projection of Shī'ī Kūfa, as Balkh, Marw and Nīshāpūr were a projection of Baṣra. Because of this, as a colonising centre, Kūfa showed itself less active than Baṣra. Each of the two *miṣrs* is known to have had its *thaghr* and its *māl* [*q.v.*]. The central Iranian territory was practically partitioned. Rayy was the *thaghr* of Kūfa, and Iṣbahān depended on it, but the *māl* of Kūfa, as Nihāwand, showed itself less active than the *māl* of Baṣra, as Dīnawar although several sources speak of Dīnawar as the *māl* of Kūfa. But it is especially in the race to the peripheral Iranian territories, from 29/649 onwards, that Baṣra gained the upper hand, with the conquest of Khurāsān, while Kūfa had to be content with Āḏarbāyḏjān, a province of little account, with Kazwīn as an extreme *thaghr*. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the specifically Shī'ī nature of Kūfa imposed itself by a process of slow penetration into the whole Shī'ī consciousness of Islam by way of Baghdād and, by that of Qumm and Mashhad, to the whole modern Iranian lands, while Baṣra was not alone in defining the structures of later Sunnī Islam, although it had been a primordial centre bringing the idea of *djamā'a* into action. However, the religious and cultural legacy of Kūfa should not be limited to the transmission of the Shī'ī tradition. For more important can be shown by analysis to be the participation of Kūfa in the elaboration of the universal Arabo-Islamic culture which became rooted in the great *miṣr* of the first two centuries. Baghdād was to be the heir of Kūfa and Baṣra. These two fundamental matrices which defined the general lines of the culture of Islam, each with its own genius. Kūfa excelled in the recovery of the Arab poetic patrimony, in the exegesis of the Kur'ān, in law and genealogy, whereas Baṣra, more rationalist and critical, invented Arabic grammar and was the great centre of Mu'tazilī speculation.

There are two great cultural moments in the history of Kūfa: the one oral, of obscure gestation, where the culture, still undifferentiated, was seeking to establish its foundations (*ca* 250/638-767), the other, brilliant, which developed a true classicism and bequeathed to us some great works (150-250/767-864). In both cases, the two fundamental poles around which the new culture expressed itself were Bedouin Arabism and the Islamic message, the influence of the conquered peoples proving negligible. Arabic writing was perfected at Kūfa, undoubtedly with the participation of the Arabs of al-Ḥīra, and Kufic, having become a monumental writing, may be considered the most ancient specimen of post-Islamic Arabic writing, although the type of writing was used on Sāsānid *dirhams*. It is also in very early Kūfa that Ibn Mas'ūd lived and taught, later becoming the eponym whose name crystallised the traditionist current and to whom some disciples were attached: 'Alkama b. Kays, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, Masrūḳ b. al-Adjda', 'Ubayda, al-Ḥaraḍānī and Shurayḥ. Schacht thought that the founding role of Ibn Mas'ūd was fictitious and that some forged traditions were projected on to him between 100 and 130/719-48, establishing the chain Ḥammad b. Abī Sulaymān Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī Ibn Mas'ūd, but that nevertheless *fiḳh*, which preceded *ḥadīth*, was created by the single centre of Kūfa. In fact, it seems clear that three key personalities, living in the 1st/7th century, played a main role in the first glimmerings of law, *ḥadīth* and exegesis: Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. Djubayr and 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī. In the domain of spirituality, there was no personality here comparable to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the currents of asceticism and mysticism found their masters in Uways al-Karanī and Rabī' b. Khuthaym. Let us cite in the sphere of *tafsīr* and *akhbār* the names of two precursors: Muḳātil b. Sa'īd and Muḥammad al-Kalbī, for the collection of poetry that of Ḥammād; and for poetic creation, the names of A'shā Hamdān and al-Kumayt.

The second phase of the cultural history of Kūfa, whose beginnings coincide with those of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, saw the differentiation of the disciplines and the emergence of the great founders and synthesisers: Abū Ḥanīfa, master of the school of *ra'y* in canon law (d. 150/772), Abū Mikhnaf, one of the first great Arab historians (*akhbāriyyūn*) (d. 157/773), al-Ru'āsī, to whom the first work of grammar is attributed, 'Āṣim b. Bahdala (d. 127/748), and Ḥamza, who, together with al-Kisā'ī established three of the seven canonical readings of the Kur'ān. Later, the generation of those who died in the years between 180 and 200/796-816 assumed the burden of recording, codifying and totalising the knowledge founded in the preceding period, so that the works which survive today belong to this generation of active disciples and totalisers: Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804) in law, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821), highly erudite, a genealogist and *akhbārī*, well-versed in

knowledge of the Arab patrimony which he worked increasingly at collecting and establishing, and finally al-Kisāʾī (*d.* 179/795), who was the supreme master of the grammatical school of Kūfa. This school collective opinion still claims to set up as a rival of that of Basra. It is regarded as more deeply rooted in the Arab environment, with a passion for anomalies (*shawādhdh*) and a more acute sense of poetry. Nevertheless, on examination, it is revealed as being a particularisation of the fundamental contribution of Basra, i.e. that of al-Khalīl, master of everyone, although the role of al-Ruʾāsī deserves to be clarified. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Sībawayh at Basra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Akhfash, and by Thaʿlab, who may be compared with al-Mubarrad, the height of activity of these two last occurring around 250/864, the two of these achieved the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two schools. But already Baghdād, after having gathered to itself the greatest names of Kūfa and Basra for two generations, began to give forth an eclectic tradition in all fields, digesting surpassing and delivering to the Islamic world the admirable work of two centuries which had been produced in the two *miṣrs*.

In the intellectual consciousness of contemporary Islam, that which is willingly remembered of the historical evolution of Kūfa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shīʿism, perhaps because this is what particularises it the most in the last instance, and laid the foundations for its survival in the other. But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of ancient Islam will allow for the growth of a further consciousness of the role it assumed as a place of Arab settlement and immigration, as a centre of great political struggles and as a specifically Arab city which, along with Basra, established the basis and true style of the cultural scheme of Islam.

Bibliography The most ancient sources on the history of Kūfa, consisting of monographs written by the *akhbāriyyūn* of the 2nd/8th century, have entirely disappeared as such, but some more or less important fragments of them are to be found in the great well-known standard works which have derived from them the main part of their information. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, *Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfa*, *K. Wulāt al-Kūfa*, *K. Quḍāt al-Kūfa wa ʾl-Baṣra*, *K. Fakhr ahl al-Kūfa ʿala ʾl-Baṣra*, ʿUmar b. Shabba al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Kūfa*, *K. ʿUmarāʾ al-Kūfa*, the well-known monographs of Abū Mikhnaf, resumed by al-Ṭabarī in particular, informs us of the main events but also indirectly of the topography. A manuscript attributed to Abū Mikhnaf exists at Berlin under the classification Spr. 180 and bears the number 9039 in Ahlwardt's catalogue, with the title *Kitāb Khabar al-Mukhtār wa-bni Zeyād*; the present author has examined it and it appears to be an apocryphal. Moreover, the later monographs have themselves also disappeared: that of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nadjāshī al-Asadī (*Kitāb al-Kufa*) and that of Muḥammad b. Diʿāma b. al-Nadjdjār (*Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*).

Great classical works (a) Principal sources. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*; Ṭabarī, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, vi, devoted to Kūfa, Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh* and especially *Buldān*. Ibn al-Fakīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*; Yākūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*.—(b) additional sources: these comprise the greater part of the works of history, geography, *adab*, law etc. The most useful are, apart from those which have been indicated in the body of the article, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿAbbās wa-walādih*, ed. Dūrī, and anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Grigaszewitch; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* and *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* and *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; all the classical works of geography and *adab*; amongst works of *fiḳh*, as particular Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, but also Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl* and Kudāma b. Diʿāma, the works of *Ṭabakāt* and heresiography are equally useful.—Shīʿī sources: Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*; Kulaynī, *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, al Kashshī, *Akhbār al-riḍāl*, Bombay 1317, anonymous, *Mukhtār-nāma*, lith. Tehran 1331, Ṭabarsī Nūrī, *Nafas al-Raḥmān*, lith. 1868, *al-Tahdhīb*, Nadjaf 1966, al-Barāḳī, *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*, Nadjaf 1960.—Studies. Nearly all that has been written by modern scholars on early Islam, the Umayyads, the development of Islamic culture, Shīʿism, is relevant to Kūfa. We refer the reader only to the studies relating specifically to Kufa: Le Strange, L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, i *IFAO*, Cairo 1930; idem, *Explication du plan de Kûfa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 337 60 (fundamental); idem, *Explication du plan de Basra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74; P. Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbaside*, in *T'oung Pao* (1928 9); R. Guest, *A tablet in Kufic from Kûfa*, in *JRAS* (1933), F. Krnotowica, *Un relief de monnaie coufique trouvé en Pologne*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1950), 209-30, W. M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* (1960), 158-72 Muḥammad ʿAlī Muṣṭafā, *Takrīr awwali ʿan al-tanḥīb fī ʾl-Kufa*, in *Sumer*, x, xii, xiii (1954, 1956, 1957), with Eng. tr in *Sumer*, xix (1963); Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *Dirāsa Tubūghrāfiyya li-nahiyat al-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, xxi (1965); Mahdī al Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kufa wa-manhadjuhā fī dirāsat al-lugha wa ʾl-naḥw*, Baghdād 1955, Ḳāsim al-Djanābī, *Tashkīl madīnat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1967, Yūsuf Khuḍayr, *Hayat al shiʿr fī ʾl Kūfa*, Cairo 1968, Husayn al-Zubaydī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya wa ʾl-ittidjāhāt al-fikriyya fī ʾl Kūfa fī ʾl-ḳarn al-awwal al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1970, M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments and their background in the mid seventh century A.D.*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67, M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H 132)*, a *new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, ʿAbd Allāh al-Kavyād, *Taʾrīkh al-Imāmiyya wa-aslāfihim min al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1975; Hichem Djaït, *Les Yamanites à Kufa au Ier siècle de l'Hégire*, in *JESHO*, xix/2 (1976) 148-81 (HICHEM DJAÏT)

KUFRA, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara in the Libyan Desert half way between Cyrenaica and Wadai. For a long time it was known only from Rohlfs' account, who managed to reach it in 1879. Subsequently, Kufra has been visited by two other Europeans, Maréchal des Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920-1). Their descriptions have completed and corrected that of Rohlfs.

The name Kufra applies to a number of oases

which stretch from the south-east to the north-west in a line about 300 km. long, between 24° and 26° N, 18° 40′ and 21° 40′ E. The most southerly oasis lies about 1,350 km. south-east of Tripoli and 900 km. south of Benghāzī. There are five in all, and they are separated from each other by *serīr*, or plains of compressed gravel. The total area of the group amounts to about 17,844 km². It occupies the bottom of a depression which rises in altitude from 250 m. in the north to 460 m. in the south. The soil is generally formed from overlapping strata of marly sand in the northern area of the dunes which join those of the Libyan desert. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous mountains which rise above a base of Numidian sandstone, their summits are table-shaped and similar to that of the *gāra* of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs or running water at Kufra, but everywhere the water-table rises to between one and three metres from the surface. At various points of the landscape the water forms brackish lagoons or even permanent lakes, of which the most imposing is 10 km. long. They can be regarded as the remains of an earlier situation when the lacustrian nature of the oasis was much more marked than it is to-day. The subterranean water is sufficient to support plentiful and varied vegetation. In the dried out basins *hād* (*cornucula monacantha*) and *dis* grow, which provide excellent food for camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, *dhura* (*sorghum vulgare*), vegetables, plantations of fruit trees (olives, figs, oranges and lemons). The main source of wealth is the date palm. Among the fauna are gazelles, many species of bird (crow, falcon and stork) and reptiles such as lizards and non poisonous snakes.

Almost the entire population belongs to the Zāwiya tribes, Arabised Berbers who took the place of the Tūbu, the previous masters of the oases. Most of them are semi-nomadic and occupy only temporary encampments. The geographical position of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It was a stopping place on the caravan route leading from Cyrenaica to Wadai and has been in use as such since the beginning of the 19th century. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥashā'ishī, there was a market at Djōf, where business was conducted by barter. As in all Saharan markets, the chief item of trade was slaves.

There is very little information on the history of Kufra. According to Rohlfs, it could have been inhabited by the Garamantes. Buildings there are comparable with some at Fazzān (*q.v.*) which Duveyrier pointed out and which seem to go back a considerable period in time. When its history began, the country was occupied by the Tūbu, who left many traces of their stay from this period—cemeteries, houses and fortified villages built on the summits of mountains. The population of these places was pagan, and this may explain the origin of the name Kufra (*kafara*, pl. of *kāfir*, "infidel"), given to the region when they settled there. In about 1730 they were ousted by the Zāwiya and the Hassūna, tribes from Tripolitania, who took over their position. The last of the Tūbu seem to have disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century. In the middle of that century the Sanūsiyya (*q.v.*) appeared and built the *zāwiya* of al-Istār not far from the village of Djōf. They appropriated the best ground and the richest gardens. At the time of Rohlfs' journey, they already owned a quarter of the palm trees in the oasis and had begun new plantations. The *zāwiya* of al-Istār was already very important at this time, and it became the residence of the Grand Master of the brotherhood from the moment in 1895 when Sīdī al-Mahdī, son and successor of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, the founder of the order, left Djaghbub (*q.v.*) to go and take up residence there.

Bibliography: G. Rohlfs, *Kufra*, Leipzig 1881, M. al-Hachaichi, *Voyage au pays des Senoussia*, tr. V. Serres and Lauram, Paris 1903, 2nd ed. 1912; Silva White, *From Sphynx to Oracle*, London 1899, 124-9; Lapierre, *Rapport* . . ., in *Afrique française—Renseignements coloniaux* (Apr. 1920), 69-91; Rosita Forbes, *Across the Libyan Desert to Kufara*, in *Geog. Journal* (1921), 81-103; eadem, *The secret of Sahara: Kufara*, London 1921.

(G. YVER)

KUFS, Arabised form of Persian Kūfičī, a people inhabiting south eastern Persia, more exactly the Kirmān western Balučistān region, in early mediaeval Islamic times.

The name, literally "mountain dwellers", probably stems ultimately from O. Pers. *ākaufadiya*—(< O. Pers. *kaufa-* "mountain"), the name of a people in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, who are mentioned together with the *maciya* "men of Maka" (= Makrān, the coastal region of Balūčistān?), vin. Pers. *Mājān/Mājūj* (*cf.* R. G. Kent, *Old Persian grammar, texts, lexicon*², New Haven 1953, 152, 163). In early Islamic sources, the Kūfičīs are frequently linked with the Balūčīs in the alliterative phrase *Kāfič u Balūč*, although it is clear that we are dealing here with two separate peoples (for the latter, see BALŪČISTĀN).

The Arabic and Persian geographical writers of the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* etc.) mention the region of the Kūfičīs as a mountainous one, lying to the south of the Djabal Bāriz in eastern Kirmān, where dwelt the Balūč. *Grosse medo*, this region corresponded with the little-known one of Bashkārd/Bashkardān (q.v. in Suppl.) in modern Persia, sc. the mountainous area lying to the east of Mināb and between the Djāz Mūriyān depression on the north and the coastal plain of Makran on the south. Whether the present-day Bashkardīs are descendants of the mediaeval Kūfičīs is unclear and probably impossible to prove or disprove, in view of the dearth of historical, demographic and linguistic information on this remote corner of Persia, one can only remark that the two groups of dialects making up Bashkardī form a distinct Iranian language of its own, to be separated from New Persian on the one hand and Balūčī on the other.

The Islamic sources agree on stigmatising the Kūfičīs on the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries as a predatory people, nominally Muslim, but behaving with inhuman cruelty to the travellers and others whom they intercepted within the Dashtī Lūṭ, into which they raided from their hill fastnesses; there is a classic description of their characteristic savagery in al-Mukaddasī (wrote ca. 375/985), 488 sq., cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 263-5. The Būyid *amīrs* Muʿizz al-Dawla and his nephew ʿAḍud al-Dawla took draconian measures against the Kūfičīs as they extended their rule eastwards from Fārs to Kirmān and put an end to the independent power in Kirmān of Muḥammad b. Ilyās (see ILYĀSIDS). In 324/936 Muʿizz al-Dawla defeated the "chief of the Kufs and Balūs", ʿAlī b. al-Zandjī, at Dīnārīd in the *sardsīr* or mountainous zone of Kirmān, but had to leave him in control of the Kūfičīs' mountain haunts.

After the death of Muḥammad b. Ilyās in 356/967, ʿAḍud al Dawla invaded Kirmān and wrested the province from the former's sons and then allies the Kūfics. During 360-1/970-2, two campaigns were launched against the Kūfics, as a result of which Būyid authority was extended as far eastwards as Tiz and Makrān, the Kūfics and Balūṣ lands laid waste, and huge numbers of them deported or taken as hostages (for details, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān* (320-57/932 68), in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 111-28).

The Kūfics did not of course, disappear after this. They continued to prey on travellers through the Great Desert, although the establishment in the 5th/11th century of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate and the autonomous Saldjūḳ amirate in Kirmān seems to have reduced their activities to manageable proportions. The *amīr* of Kirmān Kāwurd [q.v.] is said to massacred the Kāfirī chiefs in their strongholds in the Dīnār Bārīz, and after this, mention of the Kūfics as a distinct ethnic element drops out of mention in the histories, presumably they now mingled with the general ethnic stock of south eastern Persia.

Bibliography: The information of the mediaeval geographers is given in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 326-27, 383 4, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 262-6, cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 65, 124, 201, 374 3. The Būyid campaigns are described by Miskawayh in his *Taḏjārib al-umam*, later repeated in Ibn al-Aṯīr, see Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān, loc. cit.* All these sources are utilised in the detailed study by idem, *The Kāfirīs or Quft in Persian history*, in *Iran, Journ of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9-17. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH I BĀBĀ, the mountain massif of central Afghānistān, being the westwards and southwards extension of the Paraṇs "knot" and the Hindū Kush [q.v.] of north-eastern Afghānistān. The name Kūh-i Bābā is properly given to the east west chaine magistrale running westwards from Kābul and lying to the south of the upper Herī Rūd, with eathern running southwards and westwards through the regions of the Ghōrāt and Hazāradjāt [see GHŪR and HAZĀRADJAT in Suppl.] between such river valleys as those of the Helmand, Arghandāb and Tarnak. On the northern side of the Herī Rūd stretch the Paropamisus Mountains, rising to 3,600 m./12,200 ft., and northwestwards to the Murghāb valley and the Russian border, the Kūh i Bīsār (4,230 m./13,150 ft.) and its continuation the Band i Turkistān (3,500 m./10,500 ft.) To the east of Kābul, the Safīd Kūh stretches to the south of Djalālābād towards the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR PASS] and the Pakistan frontier, attaining a height of 4,760 m./14,800 ft. The central Kūh i Bābā has as its highest point Shāh Fūlādī, 5,140 m./16,000 ft. high and covered in perpetual snow. The whole region is thus a ganglion of mountain chains and upland plateaux, across which communication has always been arduous: thus the Unai Pass between the headwaters of the Kābul River and the Helmand lies at 3,300 m./10,320 ft., the Shibar Pass between the Kābul valley and northern Afghānistān via the Ghōrband lies at 3,200 m./9,400 ft., the Hadjigak Pass from the Unai district northwards to Bāmiyān lies at 3,700 m./11,530 ft., and the Kirmn Pass connecting the valleys of the upper Herī Rūd and the Helmand lies at 3,100 m./9,730 ft.

Because of the difficult communications, the historic routes linking the principal towns of Afghānistān, sc. Kābul, Kandahār and Herāt, have often gone round this central massif southwards or northwards and today, it remains one of the most thinly-populated and least-known regions of the country. Much field work, archaeological, ethnological and topographical, needs to be done here, and this will certainly throw important light on Afghānistān's past history. Because of the configuration and the harsh climate, much of the region is totally unpopulated, but on the plateaux and in the villages there is pastoralist transhumance and nomadism and some agriculture. The population of the Ghōrāt and Hazāradjāt regions is predominantly Tādjīk, with vestigal ethnic elements like the Mongols, and with increated penetration on the southern fringes by Pashtuns. The towns of the region, like Pandjāb ra Pandjāō, Ghazāō, Uruzgān and Dawlatyār, are small and have only local importance.

Bibliography: J. Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 16 37, 65 8; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 3 ff., 57 ff. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH-I NŪR (Kūh-i Noor) a diamond, now weighing 106 1/16 carats, but originally much larger, the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 477, 702), but in 1656 it was presented by Mīr Djumla [see MUḤAMMAD AMĪN] to the Mughal emperor, Shāh Djahān, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzīb. In 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nādir Shāh's grandson, Shāh Rukh, gave it in 1752 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, whose grandson, Shāh Shudjāʿ, when in exile in Lahore in 1813 had to surrender it to the Sikh Mahārādjā Randjīt Singh. On his death bed in 1839, Randjīt Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Djagannāth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lahore until the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria. It was subsequently incorporated in the state crown used by Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, at their coronation in 1937.

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AL-KŪHĪ (see Suppl.)

AL-KŪHIN name of a certain number of Moroccan families, of Jawish origin but converts to Islam. One of the best-known of them is the family to which belonged ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. AḤMAD, who towards the end of the 12th/18th century pursued religious studies under the direction of such famous scholars as Ibn al-Ḥādjdj [q.v.], Ḥamdūn, Ibn Sāda [q.v.], Aḥmad and Ibn Kīrān [q.v. in Suppl.] Being an immediate disciple of Mawlāy al ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA], he joined the religious order which the latter had recently founded. He made his first pilgrimage, and wrote about this in a *Riḥla* apparently lost, then finally settled in Medina where he died in Ṣafar 1254/April May 1838.

Al Kūhīn telt behind a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] called *Imdād dhawī 'l-istiʿdād ilā maʿrifa al-rusūkiya wa 'l-sanad* (Ms. Rabat, 524, if 1 a0), two commentaries on al-Bukhārī, *Minaḥ ilāhiyya wa mawāhib ilāhiyya ʿalā 'l-Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ms. Rabat, 34) and *Nasīmī al-sarī wa 'l-sanbar wa 'l-misk al-adhī li-sharḥ Alfiya tardjamat Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Ms. Rabat, 892 D), and finally, a *Munyat al fakīr al mustadjrrad wa-sanad al munīr al-munfarid*, a selective gloss on the *Sharḥ al Aḥgurrūmiyya* al Ibn ʿAdjība [*q.v.*], printed at Istanbul in 1325: "purely grammatical explanations are set aside, and only the allusive character is kept, in which the grammar is used to illustrate the process al the manifestation of divine light" (J. L. Michon, 282, cf. 225 sq, where two passages from this work are translated).

One of this mystic's descendants, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al Ḳādir (b. 1915 in Cairo) is the author of the *Kitāb Tabaḳāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, published at Cairo in 1347/1928-8)

Bibliography. Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, ii, 269-70; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1345-7/1927-8, i, 368-72, R. Basset, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 20, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, Brockelmann, S II, 881, J.-L. Michon, *Ibn ʿAṭṭāʾ al ma Mirzāq*, Paris 1973, index. (Ed.)

KŪHISTĀN (P) or **KUHISTĀN** is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhistān meaning a mountainous country (derived from *kūh*, "mountain" with the suffix *-istān*) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Djibāl As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Kūhistān has been given, as Yāḳūt has already remarked (iv, 204) Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Kazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, 118) says that the term Kūhistān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al Djibāl In the *Shāh nāma* of Firdawsī we even find Kūhistān used as the old name of *Mā warāʾ al Nahr* (ed Vullers, 532) but this is probably a case of erroneous identification made by Firdawsī himself (cf also Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Kuh*)

The principal districts that are at have been called Kūhistān are as follows

1. Kūhistān i Khurāsān This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nishāpūr as far as Sīstān in the south east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases, one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nishāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south east Sīstān, in the south west Kirmān with Yazd, and in the west Media. Although Kūhistān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively low productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little-known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a member of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khurāsān, this is only because Nishāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Kūhistān has therefore never been a very clear-cut geographical term, a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Kūhistān is still little known The mountain chains which in the north run more east to west, assume the direction N.W. S.E. as one moves southwards. These chains, which have passes rising to over 3,000 feet, enclose cultivated areas of which the principal are, beginning in the north: Turghūz and Turbat i Haydarī [*q.v.*], now called Turbat i Shaykh Ishāḳ, and to the east Djām; next comes the district of Djunābīd (formerly Yunābīd) and more to the east, that of Ḳāʾīn [*q.v.*] with the old town of Zawzan, then comes Tūn, with the district of Tabas on the west of it, which later extends so far to the west that in the Middle Ages it was not included in Kūhistān, next come to the south of these, Ḳāʾīn and Birdjand, to the south of which there are no more oases of any importance until we reach Sīstān by the Nih route. The rivers of the region are of little importance, irrigation is done by canals and *kanāts*, Mukaddasī, (322, reading of the Istanbul ms.) says that the only running stream he knows in Kūhistān is near Tabas, the latter is also the only town which he includes, with the neighbouring district of Kurī, in the *Garmsīr* or warm regions.

It is probable that various places in Kūhistān have a history going back to pre-Islamic times, but so far we have no information on this period. To realise this, it is sufficient to glance at the second map given by Herfeld in his article *Khorasan. Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74. The journey of this writer in 1925 confirmed his first impression. Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his *Geography*. In the period of the early Arab conquests, we find Kūhistān under the rule of the Hephthalites Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of ʿUmar by ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl al Khuzāʿī the latter setting out for Kirmān took al-Tabasayn—it is by this dual (for Tabas and Kurīn according to al-Balādhurī) that the Arabs always refer to the district of Tabas—later called the "two gates of Khurāsān" (Ṭabarī, i, 2704); a deputation of the inhabitants is said to have concluded a treaty with ʿUmar (Balādhurī, 403). In 31/653, when Ibn ʿĀmir undertook the conquest of Khurāsān his advance guard under al Ahnaf passed through Kuhistān and defeated the Hephthalites there (Ṭabarī, i, 2855, and Balādhurī, 403, who gives other traditions also) In the years following, Kūhistān was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Kārin (a village in Kūhistān still bears this name), a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabarī, i, 2905; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 135) In 31/652 it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād from "the Turks" or rather Hephthalites (Ṭabarī, ii, 156) Henceforth Kūhistān formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khurāsān, and more particularly of the provinces which the Arab geographers still call by the old name of Abarshahr with its capital Nishāpūr (cf particularly Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 278, tr. Wiet, 84, who gives a rather limited definition to Kūhisthe, for he assumes al Tabasayn, Djām and Zawzan separately). These remote districts became in the early centuries of Islam the principal refuge of Zoroastrians driven from their homes by the new religion (cf. particularly, Inostrantsev's work quoted in the Bibliography). In the 3rd/9th century the province was under the rule of the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 35) and later of the Saffārids. The Arab geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries know it very well In this period Kāʾīn was the capital and the commercial centre of

Kūhistān, especially for through trade between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The province was further noted for a very fine linen woven there, which Abū Nuwās mentions under the name *Kūhiyya* (cf. Dīwān, *Bayrūt*, Cairo 1332, i, 79, and R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 95-6), this industry flourished at Tūn in particular. Prayer-carpets also were made there. In the year 444/1052, Nāṣir i Khusraw passed through Kūhistān, going from Iṣfahān. He went by Tabas, Tūn, Kā'in and Sarakhs and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Saldjūks, Kūhistān, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismā'īlī heretics, who for this reason were often called *al-malāḥida al-bākiyya*. They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamut, there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been fully examined (Herzfeld, *Reiseberichte*, 273; M. G. S Hodgson, *The order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, index B Lewis, *The Assassins, a radical sect in Islam*, London 1967, 44-5, P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal Royal Central Asiatic Soc.*, lv [1968], 280-3) The Khwārizmshāhs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the *malāḥida* (cf. e.g. Djuwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān Gushā*, ii, 47, 49) The coming of the Mongols, who exterminated the Ismā'īlīs, at the same time brought about the ruin of Kūhistān. The region lost all importance and the geographers—like Abu 'l-Fidā'—only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange, *Lands*, 352 proposes to identify as Tūn u Kā'in During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin The Ṣafawids exercised some authority there, but after them, power lay in the hands of the *umarā* of Tabas and of Kā'in At this time, Kūhistān inclined towards Afghānistān rather than Persia, until the Ḳādjārs succeeded in bringing it under them away towards the middle of the 19th century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shāh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1900 the *amīrs* of Kā'in no longer lived in their town but in Birdjand, they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzayma. Some members of this family also ruled Sīstān The rulers of Tabas also governed at this time the district of Dumābād (chief town Dumayn)

The settled populations of Kūhistān is of a very ancient stock their houses are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few peculiarities. Ivanow distinguishes in Kūhistān the dialect groups of Turshīz and Dumābād and that of Kā'in, Tūn and Birdjand. Many villages around Kā'in and Birdjand are inhabited exclusively by *sayyids*. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismā'īlīs, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khān, e.g. at Kā'in and Birdjand There are also small colonies of Bahā'īs, while the Sunnī Afghān element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Sunnīs, still speaking Arabic, they live along the main routes, and include the Khuzayma, from whom came the *amīrs* of Kā'in. A few Turkish tribes are found only in the north as far as Turbat i Haydarī. Finally, in the south there are Balūčīs, who move in summer towards Sīstān.

Kūhistān has never in its history contained any major urban centres comparable to those of northern and eastern Khurāsān, when Sykes was there in 1900, Kā'in had only *ca.* 4,000 inhabitants This may be one reason why the region (with the exception of the more northerly part, around Zawzan, see KHĀF) did not in earlier times produce such an abundance of *'ulamā'* and scholars as the other cities of Khurāsān However, Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 925, mentions a modern *Ta<u>dh</u>kira-yi shu'arā'-i Kā'inat* by one Diyā' al-Dīn Kā'inātī on some poets of Kā'inat and Birdjand, and in mediaeval times we find Tha'ālibī mentioning poets with the *nisba* of "al-Kā'inī", e.g. the Abū Manṣūr Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Kā'inī in *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, ed. Eghbal, ii, 45. Birdjand has in recent times been the most important town, even though it lies in a less fertile situation than the smaller Kā'in. Administratively south of Kūhistān falls today within the *shahrastān* of Birdjand, in the 9th *nāḥiya* or province of Khurāsān, and within the *shahrastān* or district there is *bakhsh* or sub-district of the same name (pop. in 1950, 43,4009) and a further *bakhsh* of Kā'in (pop. in 1950, 65,000) The products of the region include some cereals, such as wheat and barley, opium, silk and saffron, and there is carpet weaving and camel-raising.

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2 The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Kūhistān in the province of Kirmān. One of them was called Kuhistān Abī Ghānim and was in the district of Djīruft, between this town and the Djabal al-Kufs (Mukaddasī, 52, 461, 467, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, tr 65, 124, comm. 374 5; Yāḳūt, iv, 206; Le Strange, 318) The other Kūhistān was situated on the road from Sīrdjān to Bam, 6 *farsakhs* from the former town (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 68; Kudāma, 196, Mukaddasī, 475 Le Strange, 312).

3 Kūhistān of Kābul in Afghānistān is a district to the north-east of the town of Kābul and includes the districts of Pandjshīr, Nidjrāu, Tagau, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tādjīks,

who speak Persian and Pashtō, and other elements called Ḵūhistānī who speak Pashto[1] (a Dardic dialect, see DARDIC and ḴAFIR LANGUAGES) and Parāčī (Iranian) (cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xiv, 241).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swāt in the north west of India is also called Ḵūhistān. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swāt, it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Pandjkora so that a distinction is sometimes made between Ḵūhistān of Swāt and Ḵūhistān of Pandjora. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 20,000) have suffered since the 9th/15th century from Afghān invasions. Under the rule of the Afghāns they became very zealous Sunnī Muslims the religious chiefs (*dādkhwā*) have had an enormous influence in the country. Another consequence of the Afghān invasions has been the expansion of Pashtō all over the country. This language has gained ground at the expense of the old local dialects. The latter—to which the general name of Ḵūhistānī is given—are very numerous and belong to the Dardic group which, according to the researchs of Morgenstierne, *seems to belong to the Indian group of dialects*. The principal dialects are Gārwī (Swāt Kōh), Tōrwālī (Swāt and Pandjkora Kōh) and Mayyā (Indus Kōh.).

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo koosh*, Calcutta 1880, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxiii, 283 ff. On the languages, see Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, viii/2, 507; G Morgenstierne *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, *Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, series C, I-2; idem, in DARDIC and ḴAFIR LANGUAGES.

5. Lastly, Ḵūhistān is the name of a barren and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Karāčī. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (*Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, 353). (J. H KRAMERS)

AL-ḴUḤL, traditionally translated as antimony sulphide (stibnite), is synonymous in the Arabic and Persian geographical sources with *ithmid* and *surma*. Its primary source was Iran, where the following places were noted for its production: in Khurāsān, Ṭūs (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. M Sotūda, tr. and comm. V Minorsky, § 23 12—*surma*), and Gūrgān (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 23.51—*sang-i surma*); in Māzandarān, Sāmār near Sārī (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 32.23—*surma*) and Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, tr E. G Browne, 33—*surma*); and in Ḏjibāl province, Āṭ. Damāwand (Abū Dulaf, *al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, § 52—*kuḥl*) and Iṣfahān (Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 136—*ithmid*; al Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik al-mamālik*, 103; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 372; al Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 397; al Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed de Jong 110, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 128, al-Ḏjāḥiẓ, *al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *RAAD*, xii (1932), 345—*kuḥl*, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 210—*ithmid*). Modern geological surveys record only three sources of antimony in Iran—at Patyār (7 miles east of Anārak), at Turkmanī (25 miles south east of Anārak), and at Shūrāb (100 miles north-west of Birdjand) (G Ladame, *Les ressources métallifères de l'Iran*, in *Schweizerische mineralogische und petrographische Mitteilungen*, xxv [1945], 189-91; J V Harrison, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 512-13, hg 119). None of these, it should be noted, are near the sites listed above.

A study of the words *al-kuḥl*, *surma* and *ithmid* indicates that the substance was in fact only rarely antimony sulphide. *Al-kuḥl* was used in two different ways in mediaeval Arabic and Persian texts. First of all, it was used as a general term for any eye cosmetic. Such eye cosmetics were prepared from numerous different substances and would have had quite different colorations, as is made clear for example in the *Lapidary* of Pseudo-Aristotle (ed. J Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, §§ 11, 12, 52) where turquoise, lapis lazuli and *tūtiyā* (zinc oxide) are mentioned as ingredients of *akḥāl*, and al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Dimashḳī also name a variety of stones and other substances which could be included (e.g. al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 229-34). The word *kuḥl* was still used in this way in the last century—for example, Sanguinetti (*Quelques chapitres de médecine et de thérapeutique arabe* in *JA* [1866], 320-1) gives the constituents of three types of *kuḥl*—*kuḥl aghbar*, *kuḥl asfar* and *kuḥl ʿarīs*, the latter being composed of eleven different substances.

Al kuḥl was also used, however, to indicate a particular substance, as for example when al Iṣṭakhrī records a mine of *al-kuḥl* at Iṣṭahān, and an interesting story in this connection is related by al-Thaʿālibī (*loc cit.*) He writes that al-Ḥadjdjādj is reported to have given one of his special followers the provincial governorship of Iṣṭahān with the words, "I make you governor of the area of which the stone is *al-kuḥl*", and adds that Iṣṭahān was talked of in these terms because the *kuḥl* stone there was of such excellent quality. *Al-kuḥl* in these instances was something more specific than eye cosmetics in general, i.e. it was a particular substance, mineral or metal.

The equating of *al-kuḥl* in this latter sense with *ithmid* and *surma* is evident from such passages as al Ḳazwīnī, i, 210, and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī, *Taʾrīʾis al-djawāhir wa-nafāʾis al-aṭāyib*, Tehrān 1345/1966, 185, and the sources are unanimous in associating the substance with lead. This is the evidence of Pseudo-Aristotle, § 51 and al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-Djawharatayn al-ʿatīḳatayn*, 65 C. Toll, fols. 21a, 23a, the latter identifying *ithmid* with the ore from which silver came i.e. lead ore. Al-Hamdānī, it should be noted, had a great deal of first-hand experience of metallurgy. Equally confirmatory is the evidence of al Khwārazmī, ed. E Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxiv, in *SPMSE* (1921), 93, and Kāshānī, 190, 344. It therefore seems reasonable to assert that the *kuḥl* mined at Iṣfahān was a lead mineral (Ibn Rusta, 157, says that Iṣfahān produced lead as well as *ithmid*), and to suggest that where *kuḥl* in the literary sources indicates a naturally-occurring substance as opposed to an artificially made compound, it almost certainly refers to a lead mineral too. In this connection it should be noted that while it had generally been assumed that eye paint in ancient Egypt had an antimony base, A. Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, revised by J R. Harris, 1962, 195-9) showed by analysis that it in fact consisted of galena, pyrolusite, brown ochre or malachite, and only in one instance, of antimony sulphide.

As a cosmetic, *al-kuḥl* was ground as fine as possible and then used by women to dye their eyebrows and eyelashes or the edges of the lids. The cosmetic was applied by means of a small probe or stick with a rounded end called a *mirwad*, and was kept in a small vessel called a *makḥala* (E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1934, 32-8); in mediaeval times, the sticks were commonly

of bronze and the vessels of glass, and a special object known in Khurāsān as *wasmat dīfāh* was used for grinding the substance and pouring it into the narrow necked vessels (for such an object, see G Fehérvári, *Islamic metalwork in the Keir collection*, London 1976, an 18, and numerous similar pieces elsewhere)

Al-kuḥl also had a specifically medical function as an eye unguent, particulars of which are to be found in Ibn al Bayṭār and other such writers From this function comes the idea of *al-kaḥḥāl* ophthalmist [see ʿAYN]

Al kuḥl is also the origin of our word alcohol. From a fine powder used to stain the eyelids, it came by extension to mean any fine impalpable powder produced by trituration or sublimation, and hence was applied to fluids of the idea of sublimation—an essence, quintessence or "spirit" obtained by distillation or rectification Sublimation and the distillation of drugs was known to Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrawī (Abulcasis) in the late 4th/10th century, but the more complicated process needed for the production of alcohol was probably introduced into the Islamic world from Europe, where it was first discovered in the 12th century (For a description of the preparation of arak in 10th/16th century Mughal India, see Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann and H S Jarrett, Calcutta 1893, i, 89).

Bibliography: the continued publication of previously unknown scientific or semi-scientific texts such as those of al-Hamdānī and Abu 'l Ḳāsim Kāshānī means that the works cited in the article on *al kuḥl* in *EI*¹ have become out dated, but no detailed work on *al kuḥl* has since been published. The reader is referred to E. O. Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin 1919, and to the works of Wiedemann, *Beiträge* xxiv, 93, 99, xxv, 278-9; xi, 176, 186, in *SPMSE*, 1911, 1914, and H. E. Stapleton, *Chemistry in ʿIrāḳ and Persia in the tenth century*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii, no. 6, 358, 372, but is advisable to read them in conjunction with all the information now available in the Arabic or Persian texts cited above. Additional information is to be found in other geographical texts, in works on pharmacology, and in semi scientific texts such as Nasīr al Dīn Ṭūsī, *Tansūḳh nāma ya Ilkhāni*, Tehran 1348/1969. Much material is also to be found in *WEAS*, i 731

(E. WIEDEMANN - [J. W. ALLAN])

KUHRŪD, Arabic form of Persian Kōh-rūd "mountain river", a village in western Persia on the summer caravan route between Kāshān and Iṣfahān [*q.vv.*] In mediaeval times it fell within the province of Dilbār, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr 184, places it some 8 *farsaḵhs* from Kāshān, or. 27 miles/45 km from the latter town, cf also Schwarz *Iran im Mittelalter*, 929 n 16 Today, Kuhrūd falls administratively in the *bakhsh* of Kamsar, in the *shahrastān* of Kāshān, in the second *ostān* or central province of Iran, see *Farhang i djughrāfiyāʾi-yi Īrān*, iii, 218-19 It lies in the mountains on the slopes of a cultivated valley, and the agreeableness of its climate in summer has been commented upon by numerous European travellers, from Chardin onwards, who have passed through it. L. G Browne was there in 1888 and collected specimens of the distinctive dialect of the Kuhrūd Nāṭanz district, see his *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1926, 103 ff

Kuhrūd is apparently unmentioned by the earlier Arab and Persian geographers, until Mustawfī (8th/14th century) comments upon it and upon the fact that the river of Kuhrūd supplied Kāshān with some of its water (*op cit*, tr. 72), this river was dammed in Ṣafawid times by the Band-i Kuhrūd in order to assure a supply for Kāshān during the summer months, see Browne, *op cit*, 202-3. Its monuments comprise a Ṣafawid caravanserai and two 8th/14th century mosques, one apparently the Shīʿī mosque and the other possibly that of the Sunnī villagers; for these, see O. Watson, *The Masjid-i ʿAlī, Qshrūd: an architectural and epigraphic survey*, in *Iran. Jnal, of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xii (1975), 59-74. The mountains of the Kuhrūd district produce lead and cobalt, and the village may accordingly have had connections with the great ceramics centre of Kāshān; see Nasr Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 203.

Bibliography given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KŪKAWA, or **KŪKA**, capital of Bornū [*q.v.*] for much of the 19th century, situated at 12° 55' N. and 13° 36' E. It was founded about 1814 by al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Amīn b Muḥammad al-Kānimī [see AL KĀNEMĪ], better known as Shaykh, or Shehu, al-Kānimī. He was a Kanembu *mallam* [*q.v.*], who had established himself at Ngala, south of Lake Chad. In 1808 or 1809 Fulani forces, allied with the *djihād* of Usuman dan Fodio [*q.v.*], occupied and ravaged Birni Gazargamu [*q.v.*], then the capital of Bornū. The Bornū ruler, or *mai* [*q.v.*], called upon al-Kānimī's help The city changed hands several times but, although eventually the Fulani were conclusively expelled, Gazargamu never became the capital again. Mai Dunama wandered about, earning the derisive title "*mai* of the calabash" (a significant item of luggage) for his much travelling. Al-Kānimī received the fief of Ngornu, northwest of Ngala but still far from Gazargamu, for services rendered. Dunama was deposed by his uncle, Muḥammad Ngileruma, who established a new capital, Birni Kafela, very near Ngornu. About 1813 al-Kānimī's power had so much grown that he was able to depose Muḥammad, and to reinstate Dunama, keeping however Kafela as the *mai*'s official capital. With Gazargamu abandoned, Kafela very much in the shadow of al-Kānimī, and al-Kānimī himself somewhat at odds with local leaders in his own fief of Ngornū, there was no obvious centre of power in Bornū About 1814 al Kānimī decided to leave Ngornu, and built a new town, Kūka, again somewhat to the northwest, nine miles from Lake Chad. The name comes from the Kanūri [*q.v.*] word for baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) tree, *ama* of which was growing on or near the site of al-Kānimī's own future dwelling

For the next thirty years, an uneasy balance existed between the legitimate dynasty at Kafela, and the *shehu*'s one at Kūka. In 1817 (Barth) or 1820 (Brenner) a Bagirmi [*q.v.*] force invaded Bornū, intending to oust al Kānimī and restore to the *mai* his traditional powers, the plan failed and the *mai* was killed. Schultze (p. 257) mentions a sack of Kūka by the invaders at this time, but this is not confirmed in other sources. Al-Kānimī struck his own seal, dated 1819 AD, but still continued to preserve a figurehead *mai* Al-Kānimī died in 1837, the hitherto generally accepted date, 1835, seems almost certainly disproved by manuscript evidence. He was succeeded by his son ʿUmar [*q.v.*], under whom Kūka continued to become increasingly the seat of all real power. In 1846 Wadai [*q.v.*] was invaded,

with the intention of removing Shehu ʿUmar and re-establishing the *mai* Kūka was partially destroyed, and for two months lay almost a desert, but again the plan miscarried. The *mai* was executed; after his son was killed in battle some months later, no new *mai* was appointed, ʿUmar openly asserting that sovereignty which he and his father had long enjoyed in fact. Kūka was now the official, as well as the actual, capital of Bornu.

As in the period after 1824, power came more and more to centre upon Kūka, the essential pattern of government—in essence, through fiefs ruled by courtiers—did not change, although there was greater centralisation than in the old days at Gazargamu. The Kūka court was characterised by relative informality, lack of splendour, and a certain religious simplicity, in contrast in the elaborate, and increasingly hollow, ceremonial at Kafela. Yūsuf b ʿAbd al-Kādir, son of a former imam at Gazargamu, was appointed *imām* of the Kūka mosque, and presided over all religious festivals. Minor legal matters, such as divorce and inheritance, were handled by *kādis* appointed by al-Kānimī, serious crimes and capital cases were referred to al-Kānimī himself, and his six principal companions. After 1846, ceremonial tended to increase, and the number of courtiers and noblemen grew larger. With the challenge from Kafela removed, and with an ever-larger number of people competing for wealth and rewards which were no longer expanding sufficiently rapidly, divisive forces appeared within Kūka itself; ʿUmar a pious and aimable man, was also irresolute and weak, unable to maintain his father's firm control of the city and the state.

After the Wadai sack in 1846, Kūka was rebuilt, but a new town was added to the east, and into this quarter the political leaders moved. The *shehu*'s main palace was in the east town, although that in the west town was refurbished, and the *shehu* visited it from time to time, particularly at religious festivals. The west town, i.e. the original Kūka, became the residential area of non-titled families, and foreign merchants. It had the larger population. Each town was walled separately. (Kūkawa is a plural form: there were in fact two Kūka towns.) The wall of the eastern town, in 1870, was crenellated, about 20 feet high, made of clay and gravel, with terraces on the inner side; during the rains, the upper and thinner part of the wall began to disintegrate, and goats grazed on the terraces. The space between the two towns was almost as densely built up as the towns themselves, and these were in addition many tents, farms and hamlets round about. Nachtigal, who arrived on 8 July 1870, estimated the double town as about 2 1/4 miles long and 1 mile broad. A *dendal*, or promenade (Barth called it "this high road of ambition"), a standard feature of Kanūri towns but here on a much extended scale, started at the west gate of the west town, and ran straight on, across the intervening space, and two-thirds of the way through the east town, until it came to the *shehu*'s own palace, which was distinguished by an upper storey and some towerlike elevations. Before the palace, a little to the north, a low minaret overlooked the boundary wall of a complex of houses and huts, identifying them as a mosque. The usual dwelling consisted of a considerable area, in which were huts of thatch, and cubical earthen buildings usually of one room; as much as three-quarters of the total area might be of courtyards and uncoofed enclosures, including gardens and stable yards. The general architectural appearance of the city was dispiriting; the outer walls, at a distance, could hardly be distinguished from the surrounding ground, whilst within, the roads and paths were generally lined by the windowless walls of adjoining compounds. Some trees, and an unusually abundant bird life, refreshed the eye of the visitor.

Daily markets were held in various parts of Kūkawa, but the main market took place on Mondays, outside the westernmost gate. Although this was often very crowded, and shopping there difficult because of the press of customers, the people were generally orderly. Among the goods offered for sale were livestock (camels, horses (both riding and draft), cattle, donkeys, goats, sheep and fowls), cloth and clothing of all kinds, foodstuffs (various grains and meats, honey, milk, butter, dried fish, vegetables, fruit, natron), cooking and eating utensils, leather goods, basketwares, carpentry and metalwork, weapons, even boats, firewood, fodder, charcoal, building materials (mats, poles, etc.), rope, and other commodities. Slaves formed an important element in market transactions, with prices for a *sadas* (a boy measuring six spans from the ankle to the top of the head, aged 12 to 15) indicating the general tone of the slave market. Special slaves, such as eunuchs, dwarfs, deaf mutes and concubines, were generally sold privately, as were the best quality horses, and not on the open market. Major imports from Europe and North Africa about 1870 were coins (both cheap and of luxury quality), women's ornaments, rosaries, aromatics, tarbushes, paper, guns, swords and sabres (although weapons were also manufactured locally), chain mail, needles, scissors, knives and razors; principal exports northwards were slaves, ivory and ostrich feathers. Barth in 1851 was very critical of the lack of local industry in Kūkawa; there seems to have been a considerable improvement by the early 1870s, when also a greater variety of goods is reported on the market, and the use of currency (cowries, strips of cloth, Maria Theresa dollars) seems to have won a wider acceptance. Trade with North Africa was at this time being inconvenienced by the extreme unreliability, in any commercial contracts, of most of the Kūkawa nobility. Kūkawa did not profit much from modern trade patterns developing to the south. In 1891 Charles Macintosh, of the Royal Niger Company, visited the city in search of a trade treaty, but the North African community there persuaded the Shehu, Hāshim b. ʿUmar, in addition his presents and send him away.

The population of Kūkawa was probably about 80,000 during its heyday. There were a considerable number of Kurʾānic scholars and teachers, and many blind beggars, *ghurafā'* came from Morocco and the *haramayn*, pious men from Egypt and Tunis, Timbuktu and Senegal, pilgrims from the western Sahara and the Hausa and Fulani countries, all more or less attracted by the reputation for open handed generosity which Shehu ʿUmar in particular enjoyed.

The downfall of Kūkawa was at the hand of Rābih [*q.v.*], a man of eastern Sudanese origin. Probably early in 1893, although precise dating of these events is extremely difficult, Rābih and his army, moving westwards, occupied Logone, a vassal state under Bornu. In two battles, at Ainja and Legarwa, the Bornu forces vainly tried to defeat Rābih, after the second defeat, organised Bornu resistance collapsed. Shehu Hāshim had been present at the second battle though taking no active part. He fled to Kūkawa, and abandoned it within a few days, at Rābih's approach. Rābih occupied the town, sometime in 1893, without a struggle. What hap-

pensed next is uncertain, some authorities report the ruthless pillaging of the capital, with several thousands of people killed or captured, while others argue that the violence was much more restrained. Certainly an immense booty was captured. Readings from the Kur'ān were among the festivities celebrating the victory. Shortly after the conquest, Rābih decided to move the capital to Dikwa, an older town of strategic importance, where water supplies were better and grain more accessible. Kūkawa was partly demolished, and everything which could not be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābih himself had prayed, were respected.

In 1900, the British installed Bukar Garbai, a grandson of ʿUmar, as Shehu, first at Monguno *17 miles south of Kūkawa, but with the explicit intention* of reoccupying Kūkawa. Attempts to revitalize the desolate capital failed, and at the end of 1906 both the British administration and the traditional Bornū administration were definitively established at Maiduguri. In 1922 Kūkawa was reported to be no more than a mass of ruins, and a small hamlet. By 1975 it had so far recovered as to be a thriving little town, and an administrative District Headquarters. The graves of al-Kānimī, ʿUmar, and their two immediate successors are still revered, and a baobab tree, said to replace the one from which the town first took its name, is preserved as an historical monument.

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KUL, an old Turkish word which came, in Islamic times, to mean "slave boy, male slave", defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bilge, i, 282, tr. Atalay, i, 336-7, as *ʿabd*. However, the original meaning of *kul* in Orkhon Turkish was rather "servant, vassal, dependent" (the masculine counterpart of *kün* "female servant, etc."), the two words being linked in the Kültegin inscription, text references in Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington, Ind. 1968, 347), since slavery in the Islamic juridical sense did not exist among the ancient Turks.

The word spread through the northern tier of the Islamic world as the Turks became Islamised and entered the Iranian lands and beyond, passing into Persian, Kurdish, Caucasian languages, etc., and used both in a religious sense "slave [of God]" and above all in military contexts, since Turks became so omnipresent as military slaves. Under the Ottomans, *kullar* became the standard designation for the Janissaries [see YEŉI ČERI], and under the Ottomans and the Persian Safawids alike, the latter with their Turkish, Georgian and other slave troops, we find the title *kullar aghasi* given to the commander-in-chief of the sovereign's slave forces [see OTULAR, iv and OZDŪ]. An extension of the religious usage of the word may also be seen in such names, common in Safawid Persia and in neighbouring states influenced by it, with *kul* as a component, e.g. ʿAlī Kulī, Shāhkulī, Yazdān Kulī, see further LAKAB, v.

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KUL MUṢṬAFĀ, called **KAYIKDJI** *17th/18th century Turkish folk poet of Janissary origin.* His nickname Kayikdji ("The Boatman") seems to have originated from his association in his youth with the corsair, later admiral, Turghud Re'is [*q.v.*] in Algeria. His narrative or epic poems on contemporary imperial events became very popular in the army and at court, and his fame lies more in these than in his less attractive lyrics. Among his famous narrative poems, the most notable concern the assassination of ʿOthmān II by the Janissaries, Shāh ʿAbbās's conquest of Baghdād, Murād IV's siege of Baghdād, the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha, the governor of Aleppo, and particularly, the epic of Gendi ʿOthmān, a young hero who is drowned in the Tigris during the siege of Baghdād. Kul Muṣṭafā's style and language are in the true tradition of folk poets, and are very little influenced by *divān* poetry.

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KŪLA, a town in western Anatolia, classical Opsicum. It lies on the margin of a fertile plain, a few miles south of the upper course of the Gediz river and to the north of the main Manisa-Uşak road, in lat. 38°33′ north and long. 28°40′ east and at an altitude of 2,140 feet/652 m. It is in a volcanic area (classical Katakekaumene or Combusta), with the extinct volcano Karadevlit north-east of the town, hence many of the houses are built from dark basalt. There are numerous marble remains from classical times but the citadel, apparently late medieval, is ruinous.

Kūla came within the lands of the Turkmen *beylik* of the Germiyān-oghullari [*q.v.*], and was conquered by Mehmed Germiyān (*ca.* 741-63/1340-61), and after his son Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-88) had given Kütahya and several others of his towns to the Ottoman Bāyezīd I Yildirim as dowry for his daughter Dewlet Khātūn, he himself went to Kūla to reside and died there. In the *Tarīk wakfiyye* at Kütahya of Ya'kūb Čelebi b. Süleymān Shāh (814/1411), the name of Kūla is rendered as كلاج. In Ottoman times, Kūla fell within the *sandjak* of Şarukhān, whose capital was Manisa [*q.v.*]; Ewliyā Čelebi mentions there 8 quarters, 2,100 households, 24 mosques, 3 baths, 6 caravanserais and 200 shops in recent times, carpet weaving has been a significant local craft, and it is now a centre for wine-making. Cuinet (*ca.* 1890) recorded 6,100 inhabitants, of whom 3,655 were Muslims and 345 Greeks, together with 50 mosques and two Greek Orthodox churches. In 1950, Kula's population was 8,600, whilst the *kaza* of which it was the chef-lieu had one of 38,242 and

was composed of 62 villages. It is now the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* (formerly *kaza*) in the *li* (formerly *vilayet*) of Manisa. In 1975 the population was 10 807.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪLAM, the name given in mediaeval Arabic geographical and travel literature to the port of Quilon at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular South India, an ancient and modern Kerala (lat. 8° 53′ N. and long. 76° 36′ E.)

Quilon early became a centre of the St. Thomas Christians of South India, and is mentioned in a letter of the Nestorian Patriarch Īshōʿyāb of Adiabene (d. 660) to Simeon, Metropolitan of Fārs, under the name of Colon and as lacking at that time a settled ministry (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, iii/a, Rome 1728, 437). The first mention of the place in the Islamic sources appears to be that of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa ʾl-Hind* [q.v. in Suppl.] (237/851), which mentions "Kulam of Malay" (this latter component being generally written in later Arabic sources, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as ' al-Malaybār', yielding the name ' Malabar', possibly meaning in the local tongue "hilly coastland"). It describes Kūlam as a fortified point where Chinese junks plying towards Arabia had to pay a transit due of 1,000 *dirhams* per ship to the local ruler (J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, text § 14, comm. 42 3, 69). Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Kazwīnī, in his *Āthār al-bilād* (Beirut 1380/1960, 33, 108), quotes Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [q.v.], as the latter's *First Risāla*, on Kūlam, and he and other sources mention such exports from it to the Islamic world as locally-produced porcelain (which was not, however, as fine and translucent as the genuine Chinese porcelain), pepper, cinnamon, ginger, teak, brazil-wood, indigo, etc. In regard to the important export of pepper, we sometimes find Arabic authors (e.g. Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ) referring to the whole Malabar coast as *Bilād al-fulful* "Land of pepper". See on the Arab trade to Kūlam and beyond in general, G. F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early mediaeval times*, Princeton 1951, 70-4.

The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Quilon, as did several western ecclesiastical envoys to the Far East in the Mongol period, such as Odoric or Pordenone (translated in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*², London 1913-16, ii, 129-30) and John of Monte Corvino, the latter mentions that at that time, i.e. the end of the 13th century, the Chinese, Christian and Jewish traders there were being pushed out by the Muslims. Around this time also Marco Polo visited what he calls Coilum, describing it as an independent city state (Book iii, ch. 21 = *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Yule and Cordier, London 1903, ii, 375-82; cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 399 ff.).

To Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, iv, 99-104; cf. Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iv, 79) we owe an especially valuable account of Kūlam in the first half of the 8th/14th century, with important information about its Muslim mercantile community. Whilst on his visit there, he stayed in the Ṣūfī *ribāṭ* of Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Kāzarūnī, whose father was *shaykh* of another *zāwiya* in nearby Calicut/Kalikat [q.v. to Suppl.]. The whole body of Muslim merchants was called Ṣāḥyyūn (= Cholia, a term used in South India to denote either Arab settlers or Muslim converts from the indigenous peoples, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 207, s.v. *Chaolia*), and these seem to have been largely composed of traders of Persian Shīʿī origin, the head merchant being ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Āwadjī (i.e. from Āwa [q.v.] in northwestern Persia), and the *ḥādjī* a man from Kazwīn. The Muslim community was, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates, prosperous and highly respected. He names the local ruler as Tīrwarī, sc. Tiruvati of the indigenous Venad dynasty, and praises his impartial justice and his tolerance of the Muslims.

From the opening of the 16th century onwards, the history of Quilon is bound up with European economic and political penetration of South India, a process which soon became unfavourable to the earlier Muslim commercial supremacy along the Malabar coast. In December 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was at Cochin, and received friendly delegations from the ruler of Kannanūr [q.v.] and from the Queen of Quilon (Portuguese Coilom), both of these potentates being anxious to secure Portuguese help against the powerful Muslim ruler in Calicut, the Zamorin. In 1502 Vasco da Gama made a treaty with the Queen of Quilon, who promised to load two Portuguese ships per year with pepper, and in the next year Albuquerque secured permission to open a factory there. Muslim opposition was strenuous, Portuguese ships were prevented from loading, and 1504 the Portuguese factor at Quilon was killed by them. In 1505 Don Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of All the Indies, and received instructions to erect four fortresses along the Malabar coast, including one at Quilon. In 1516 and 1520 further treaties were made between the ruler of Quilon and the Portuguese aimed at providing the latter with a monopoly of the export of pepper from there.

In 1661 the Dutch captured the fortress of Quilon from the Portuguese, and in 1663 the Dutch East Indian Company made a treaty with the Queen. In December 1661 the Admiral Rijkloff van Goens appeared with a fleet at Quilon, since regained by the Portuguese, and occupied the fortress without opposition; he then proceeded in 1662 to reduce the fortresses of Cranganor and Cochin [*qq.v.*], for the whole of this period of the rise and fall of Portuguese influence at Quilon, F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern empire*, London 1894, i, 88-9, 224, 228, 322, 336-7, ii, 323). But during the 17th century, the Dutch fortress at Quilon decayed from lack of cash and of profit in the trading operations there, and during the period of warfare between the British and the rulers of Mysore, Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*qq.v.*], in the later 18th century, these two rulers having in their expansionist phase extended Muslim political control into Malabar, the Dutch fortress of Cochin, together with its dependencies, including Quilon, surrendered to British troops (October 1795). During the middle years of the 18th century, the principality of Quilon had been absorbed by Travancore, and in British India, Quilon continued to fall within the native state of Travancore. It is now (since 1956) in the component state of Kerala in the Indian Union. According to the *Census of India 1961*, vol. *Kerala*, Quilon district had in 1961 a total population of 1,941,228 (Hindu 64 %, Christian 25 %, Muslim 11 %), and Quilon municipality alone 91,018 (1901 figure, 25,962).

Bibliography (in addition to references given

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AL-KULAY'A (A.), "little castle", the diminutive of *al-ḥaṣ'a* [*q.v.*], like that last used, in one way or another, as a place-name.

1 Muslim Spain

Students of the history and geography of Muslim Spain are familiar with *al-kulay'a* as the name of a number of small or relatively small places whose importance seems to have lain only or primarily in the military purpose they served. In Spanish Umayyad history it occurs as the name of at least three different places mentioned in connection with raids and campaigns. One was situated in the Asturian kingdom, another in the neighbourhood of Guadalajara, and yet another to the north-east of Cordova (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 204; ii 40, 282, 309 (map), 312). The exact location of the first two remains uncertain but the third, which still bears its old name in Spanish guise, viz. Alcolea, is situated 20 km. or so on the main eastward road of Cordova.

As regards the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, two places called *al-Kulay'a* are listed in their appropriate administrative divisions by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*] Both are located in what is today Almería province. One—Alcolea—lies north of Purja on the main road to Lanjar. In other parts of the Peninsula, the same hispanised name can be found in such compounds as Alcolea de Calatrava (Ciudad Real province), A. del Pinar and A. de las Peñas (Guadalajara prov.), A. de Cinca (Huesca prov.), A. del Río (Sevilla prov., (?) *Ḥiṣn al-Kulay'a*, Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, vii, 196), and A. del Tajo (Toledo prov.). Other Peninsular forms are Alcolecha (Alicante prov.) and Alcoletge (Lerida prov.). In Spanish and other European writings the name appears in various guises (Alcolaya, Alcolya, Alcoleia, Alculeiba, etc.) Finally, in Spain today there are a number of place names which are most probably literal translations of *al kulay'a* (Castilian diminutive "castillejo"), e.g. Castillejo (Cáceres and Granada provs.) C. de Iniesta (Cuenca prov.), C. de Robledo (Soria prov.), etc.

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2 North Africa

1. **El-Golèa** (the French spelling of al-Kulay'a, reflecting the local pronunciation with the usual voiced *ḥāʾ* of nomadic vernaculars) is the name of an oasis town situated at the far eastern end of the great western Erg (*'irḳ*, see map above, i, 363) of Saharan Algeria and lying, by road, 908 km. almost due south of Algiers on the parallel 30° 31', and 320 km. south of Ghardāya [*q.v.*]—air distances are somewhat shorter—at a height of 392 metres. Although the most isolated of Algeria's larger oases, it is one of the most beautiful. In 1963 the *dāʾira* of El Golèa had a population of 16,670.

The place owes its name to an old stronghold (*ḳṣar*) built on the north side of a *gāra* (*ḥāra*, pl. *ḥār*), i.e. a small, isolated flat topped hill. This *gāra*, from which can be seen a vast expanse of desert, sandy to the west and stony to the east, is one of three forming something of a protective semi-circle into which the huge oasis nestles beneath. Below the *ḳṣar* lies a town that has risen on old and new foundations: the old town, home of an original sedentary population living in mud houses similar in shape and size to the *ṭobas* of Mali, and the new, modern town, which owes its foundation to the French, but its relentlessly harmonious architecture to the inspiration supplied by local tradition. The latter's mosque and market place are the focal point of social, religious and economic life. From the outset this new town has accommodated administrative buildings. In 1938 it also witnessed the consecration of the first church in the Sahara.

Today the *ḳṣar* is deserted and in ruins. With the establishment and eventual consolidation of French rule, the need for its use as a stronghold disappeared and gradually it came merely to supply the local nomads' needs for storage. Its last inhabitants dispersed throughout the oasis to form hamlet communities alongside various plantations. The remains of the stronghold's double walls still stand, and among the ruins a small, plain mosque can be seen where it has been the custom of local women to gather for Friday prayer. The remains of rock dwellings are also in evidence. Dotted around the foot of the *gāra* on which the *ḳṣar* stands, as well as about the oasis generally, are the *ḳubbas* of local holy men, amounting to between forty and fifty in all and of different shapes and sizes.

As a result of improvements in irrigation and drainage techniques first effected by the French, the oasis now covers more than 800 hectares and supports around 182,000 date-palms watered from artesian wells dug in the bed of the Wad Seggur. Fruit trees also abound, notably citrus and apricot varieties, and there are winter crops of cereals, beans and many other kinds of vegetable.

The inhabitants and frequenters of the oasis are, in the main, wholly or partly sedentarised nomads of the Sha'anba sub-tribe Mawāṭṭā, traders from the Mzab, negroes and *ḥaraṭīn* (sing. *ḥarṭānī* [*q.v.*]) from Twāt (Touat) and Gūra (Gourara). These last two groups account for about half the population and between them work the land in one capacity or another. Formerly there was also a Jewish element.

El-Golèa's early history is lost in legend. The old *ḳṣar* is said to have been founded as Taurirt (Berb. "little castle") by the Zenāta in the Middle Ages and to have then been taken by the Touareg. Its mediaeval origin may be well founded: Ibn Khaldūn mentions the existence of a seemingly not too dissimilar desert advance post inhabited by Maṭghāra Berbers and frequented in intensely hot weather by veiled nomads. It too was a *kulay'a*, viz. Kulay'at Wāllan (on some European maps Guelléa). Be that as it may, the Sha'anba in and around El Golèa are said, probably rightly, to have come from the region of the Maṭlūl oasis, near Ghardāya, where there is still a branch of the Sha'anba, and to have been in the carrying trade there, to say nothing of brigandage, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Drifting south as population pressures grew, they made El-Golèa their centre and doubtless profited from its position on the route from the Mzab to Twāt

and Tidikelt. In the 17th century, according to al-'Ayyashī, this evidently prosperous place was ruled, through a governor, by the sultan of Wārglā. Its first contact with Europe was with Duveyrier in 1859. General de Gallifet reached it in 1873, and in 1891 a permanent garrison was installed. The local Sha'anba provided Laperrine with the first detachments of the famous *méharistes* with whose aid the central Sahara was brought under French control.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in *EI*[1] art. AL-GOLEA, see J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*[3], Paris 1964; *idem* and R. Raynal, *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967. Algerian Ministry of Information (*Wizārat al-akhbār*), *al-Fann al-mi'mārī al-Djazā'irī*, Algiers-Madrid 1970 up-to-date information is always obtainable from the current edition of Hachette's *Guide Bleu* on Algeria. On Kulay'at Wallād Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, *ed. de Slane*, i, 242, iv, 501.

2. Koléa, a small town of 35,000 inhabitants lying 40 km., by road, west of Algiers. Situated on the landward side of the Sāhil hills at a height of 130 metres, it offers a commanding view of the Mitidja plain. Dating from the Ottoman period, it is said to have been founded by Hasan Pasha, son of the corsair Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [*q.v.*], around 1550. What is certain is that it was peopled by Muslim refugees from Castile, Andalusia, and the kingdom of Valencia, for whom the excellent prospects offered by its fertile cultivable land were the main attraction. In the sources it is therefore referred to as "Col de Mudechares" (Mudejchares being the Spanish *mudéjares* from Ar. *mudadjdjanūn*). In modern times Koléa's attraction has been the tomb and mosque of a holy man, Sīdī Mubārak, who lived in the 17th century. One of his descendants, Ibn 'Allāl b. Mubārak (Ben Allal Ben Embarak), who fell in the cause of the Algerian rebel 'Abd al-Kādir [*q.v.*] in 1843, is also buried there.

Bibliography: Marmol, *Descr de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii, 214; O. Dapper, *Descr de l'Afrique*, Amsterdam 1686; C. Trumelet, *Les saints de l'Islam ... Les saints du Tell*, Paris 1881.

(J. D. LATHAM)

KULAYB b. **RABĪ'A**, a chief of the Banū Taghlib of the Islamic period, whose murder by his brother-in-law Djassās b. Murra al-Shaybānī was the cause of a long and bloody war between the two sister-tribes Taghlib and Bakr [*q.vv.*] which was known as "the war of Basūs" [*q.v.*]. His genealogy was Kulayb b. Rabī'a b. al-Hārith b. Murra b. Zuhayr b. Djushasm (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, c. 22, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 164, where Murra is not mentioned). Kulayb's real name is said to have been Wā'il, and the name of Kulayb ("little dog") to have given to him because of his habit of taking a small dog with him and making it bark by beating it in all the places which he wished to reserve as his own private property, the people who heard the barking of the dog refrained from using the place. This story, the point of which, however eludes us, is evidently a later invention. the name Kulayb is frequently met with in Arab nomenclature and does not look like a surname.

Kulayb is represented as having all the characteristic traits of the tyrant, of which the independent and critical spirit of the Bedouins has always had a profound horror; he is said to have been proclaimed "king" (on the use of this title cf. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 210) after the brilliant victory won at Khazāzā over the united Yemenī tribes and to have ruled not only over Taghlib but also over the Banū Shayban, the most important section of Bakr. After a short time, he is said to have abused his power and to have usurped the rights of hunting and of pasturage at the expense of his subjects (the usurpation of the *himā* is the regular grievance of the Bedouins against "tyrants", the same reproach was made against the caliph 'Uthmān). Indeed, it was because the she-camel Sarāb, belonging to a Tamīmī woman al-Basūs or to one of her clients of the tribe of Banū Djarm, trespassed upon the private property of Kulayb, that the latter put her to death (or killed its young one and injured the mother), and this act of violence was the cause of his murder by Djassās, whose brother was the sister of al-Basūs.

The details of the story are given in our sources with some variations, most of which are found as early as the work of Abū 'Ubayda who is, as is well known, the source of almost all our information on the *ayyām al-'Arab* [*q.v.*]. Certain features, especially in the *K. al-Aghānī*, have been borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and the account of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī has also been preserved. It is evident that we are no longer able to ascertain if the history of Kulayb (and in general that of the war against Taghlib and Bakr) contains a nucleus of historical truth along with a mass of features undoubtedly legendary. This is a problem which can only be solved in connection with the general question of the historical value of the whole of the traditions of the pre-Islamic period. Considered by itself, the episode of Kulayb has nothing improbable about it. We might be tempted to recognise in it a fairly clear memory of an attempt to form a political organisation among Taghlib and Bakr of a kind superior to the ordinary Bedouin tribes, the attempts similar to that which gave the royal crown to the chiefs of the tribe of Kinda, must have been suggested by the example of the kingdom of the Lakhmids of al-Hīra, not far from which Taghlib and Bakr have their houses. The story of the tyranny and the death of Kulayb must have taken form at a very remote period, this is evident from the verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās and of al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī (both contemporary with the beginning of Islam) given in our sources, in that of al-Nābigha in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulayb is found as early as the *mu'allaka* of the Taghlibī 'Amr b. Kulthūm (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulayb in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muhalhil (one of the earliest Arab poets, cf. Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, ed. De Goeje, 164-6, Ibn Sallām, *Tabakāt al-shu'arā'*, ed. Hell, 13 lines 11-18 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulayb is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Hilāl (cf. Mittwoch, *Proelia arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, 11).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article AL-BASŪS, see *Nakā'id*, ed. Bevan, 905-7; al-Mufaddal b. Salama, *Fākhir*, ed. Storey, 76-8; al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī, *Amthāl*, Istanbul 1300, 55-8; al-Maydanī, *Madjma' al-amthāl*, 2310, i, 254-5; Yākūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 150-1.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-KULAYNĪ (or AL-KULĪNĪ), **ABŪ DJA'FAR MUHAMMAD** b. YA'KŪB b. ISHĀK AL-RĀZĪ, Imāmī traditionist. He originated from a village located 38 km. southwest of Rayy to the district of

Pashāpūya whose Persian name Kolēn, with *imāla*, was Arabicised as Kulayn and Kulīn. His *nisba* is thus variously given in the sources as al Kulaynī, al Kulīnī, or, erroneously, al Kalīnī.

Few facts are known about his life. Since his chief transmitters of Imāmī traditions were several scholars of Kumm, it is certain that he studied in that town for a prolonged time, most likely during the last decade of the 3rd century A.H. (903-13). He also transmitted from several scholars of Rayy, among them his maternal uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al Kulaynī al Rāzī, known as ʿAlān, and al Nadjāshī describes him as the *shaykh* of the Imāmiyya in Rayy in his time. It is uncertain if it was in Naysābūr or elsewhere that he heard Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Naysābūrī, his transmitter of the traditions and views of the prominent Imāmī scholar al Faḍl b. Shādhān of Naysābūr, whom he evidently held in high esteem. At an unknown date, perhaps in the first decade of the 4th century A.H. (913-23), he moved to Baghdād where he lived and taught in the Darb al Silsila near the Bāb al Kūfa on the west bank of the Tigris. Here he completed his voluminous *Kutub al-Kāfī*, on which his fame is said to have worked for twenty years. The book, though mostly a collection of traditions of the *Imāms*, was meant to be a guide to authoritative Imāmī doctrine in theology and *fikh*. Thus it is arranged according to subject matter and tends to contain only those traditions which the author considered as reflecting orthodox teaching. Only exceptionally are the views and elaborations of Imāmī scholars quoted, such as the elaborations of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān on the law of inheritance. The work is divided into the *uṣūl*, dealing mainly with theology, prophecy, the imāmate, and prayers; the *furūʿ*, dealing with *fikh*; and a final volume, entitled *K. al-Rawḍa*, containing miscellaneous traditions of mostly edifying or paraenetic character. His other works, all of which are lost, included a refutation of the Karāmiya, a book on transmitters (*ridjāl*), a collection of letters of the Imāms, an anthology of poems about them, and a book on the interpretation of dreams. The date of his death is given as 328/939-40 or 329/940-1. The latter date, mentioned by al Nadjāshī, is more likely to be correct, since al Ṭūsī, who in his earlier *K. al Fihrist* gives the year 328 in his later *K. al Ridjāl* specifies Shaʿbān 329/May 941 the funeral prayer was led by the Imāmī Ḥasanid Abū Kirāt Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, and he was buried near the Bāb al-Kūfa.

The reputation of al Kulaynī and his *K. al-Kafī* appears to have been modest during his lifetime and for a century after his death. Ibn al-Nadīm (writing in 377/987-8) does not even mention him, and Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn (d. 423/1030) observed that his tomb had become obliterated. The *K. al-Kafī* was evidently not widely used in the Imāmī communities as an authoritative source of *fikh*. Though the Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in Baghdād referred to it as one "of the most important and useful books of the Shīʿa", his student the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) included al Kulaynī in his general censure of the Imāmī traditionist school of Kumm and accused him of including numerous forged and rationally absurd traditions in the *K. al-Kāfī*. It seems to have been largely due to the influence of the Shaykh al Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068), who praised al Kulaynī and relied extensively on the *K. al Kāfī* in his *fikh* works, that the latter gained popularity. The favour in which the *K. al Kāfī* was held by the pro Muʿtazilī Imāmī school of Baghdād, in spite of the criticism of al-Murtaḍā, was partially based on al-Kulaynī's support of the theology of the anti anthropomorphist wing within the school of Kumm which was later represented by Ibn Bābewayh al Ṣadūk, the only scholar of Kumm whose works were preserved in large number, evidently because of their author's relative closeness to Muʿtazilī theological doctrines. The *K. al-Kāfī* soon came to be considered as one of the four canonical collections of traditions on which Imāmī *fikh* is to be based, and often as the most authoritative one among them. It reached the peak of its fame in the Ṣafawid and post Ṣafawid age, when numerous commentaries, interpretations, glosses, studies of various aspects, Persian translations, and an abridgment of it were composed. A tomb of al-Kulaynī with a *kubba* was now shown on the east bank of the Tigris near the modern al-Maʾmūn bridge in Baghdād, and has continued to attract large numbers of visitors until the present.

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(W. MADELUNG)

KULDJA or GHULDJA, modern Ili or Ining, a town in the fertile and mineral rich upper valley of the Ili river (*q.v.*) in Central Asia. For the mediaeval history of the district in which modern Kuldja lay, see ALMALIGH.

The town of Kuldja ('Old Kuldja') was probably a new foundation in 1762 by the Chinese after their victory over the Kalmucks [see KALMUK] in 1759, and they named it Ning ydan chen. Two years later the town of Hoi yuan chen was founded as the headquarters of the Chinese governor general (*dzandzūn*) of Chinese Turkestan, this was known as "Great" or "New" Kuldja. The Imperial government resettled in the largely depopulated region, amongst other peoples, 6,000 families of Muslim Turks from Kāshgharia, after the devastation of the latter province during the wars with the Kalmucks these came to be called the Tarančis, 'agriculturists'. Also in the 18th century were settled there Chinese Muslims (probably, in fact, of mixed Chinese and Uyghur Turkish blood) called the Dungans or Tung-kan. In 1851 a trade treaty was made at Kuldja between the advancing Russians and the Chinese, opening the upper Ili region to Russian traders, and in 1860 the Treaty of Peking between Russia and China gave both Russia and Britain the right to establish consulates in, amongst other places, Kuldja. In 1862 W. Radlov visited both Old and New Kuldja and described them fully in his *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1893, ii, 305 *ff.*, 336 *ff.*, see also his *Das Ili Thal in Hoch Asien und seine Bewohner*, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (1866), a decade or so later, the American traveller E. Schuyler visited Old Kuldja and its hinterland, see his *Turkistan. notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, ii, 156-207.

Following a Dungan rebellion in Shensi, which spread to Kan-su [see KANSU] and other Muslim

areas of western China proper in 1862, revolt also broke out amongst the Muslim population of northern Chinese Turkestan, sc. in the province of Dzungaria, amongst both Tarančis and Dungans, and in 1863 it spread to the Kuldja area. After hard fighting between the Chinese authorities and the rebels, New Kuldja was captured in 1865 by the rebels and completely razed. Schuyler, *op. cit.*, ii, 162-4 found the site utterly deserted apart from the one or two houses of Dungan squatters. The Russian consulate in Kuldja and a Russian factory in the area were destroyed in this strife. The Dungans and Tarančis now began to fight amongst themselves, and after much internecine warfare, power passed in 1867 to a Taranči leader who styled himself Saiṭān Aʿṣī Khān or Abu ʾl-Aʿṣī (in Russian sources, often Abil-Ogim); after savage massacres perpetrated by the Tarančis, some 5,000 Dungans and others fled *westwards into Russian territory for refuge*. In 1867 also, Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], a Khokandī by birth who had earlier fought against the Russians at the battle of Aḳ Masdjid [see KHOKAND], established his power in Kāshgharia, sc. the southern part of Chinese Turkestan. Since Yaʿḳūb Beg was believed to be anti-Russian and received two diplomatic missions from British India, the appearance of an ostensibly hostile power in Central Asia disturbed Russia, and was a factor in the Russian decision to annex completely in 1875-6 the Khānate of Khokand [*q.v.*]. It further led to the Russian occupation in 1871 of Kuldja and the upper Ili basin, this being announced as a temporary measure, till China should re-establish her authority in Kāshgharia and Dzungaria. The local ruler Aʿṣī Khān was deported to Russia, and lived out his life there as a state pensioner.

The Russians probably assumed that Yaʿḳūb Beg would never be dislodged from power and that the Kuldja district would eventually be permanently annexed. In fact, Yaʿḳūb Beg was defeated in 1876-7 by the Chinese forces and died in May 1877; his state collapsed totally and Chinese authority was restored in Eastern Turkestan. In 1879 negotiations began between the Chinese diplomat Ch'ung-hu and the imperial Russian government, but the Treaty of Livadia made in that year was abortive, and negotiations dragged on for a considerable time, the retrocession of Kuldja being used as a bargaining counter for extracting concessions elsewhere, till in 1881 the Treaty of St. Petersburg was made, and in 1883 Kuldja was finally evacuated by Russia. Russia nevertheless retained trading privileges in the upper Ili valley, received an indemnity of 9 millions dollars for the expenses of the Russian occupation, and acquired consulates at Kuldja and Kāshghar which in the ensuing decades gave her important influence in Chinese Turkestan, e.g. during the period of the Chinese Revolution 1911-12, when Chinese settlers in the Kuldja region were massacred by the Muslims and the Russian consular defence forces of troops enlarged. Chinese Turkestan was from 1882 onwards *organised as a formal province of China under the* name of Sin-kiang 'New dominion'. The population of [Old] Kuldja was estimated at 7,700 in 1892, of whom 4,100 were Muslims; two or three years later, Schuyler estimated the population of the town at 12,000, over half of whom were Tarančis. These estimates were made at a time when the whole region was in a devastated and depopulated condition, and by *ca.* 1900, the estimated population of Kuldja had risen to 30,000.

When the authority of the Manchu Imperial government in the Sin-kiang capital of Urumchi crumbled in 1911, a revolutionary government proclaimed its independence in the Ili region, but in 1912 the new Chinese governor of the whole province, Yang Tseng-hsin (1912-28) managed to conciliate the separatists and secure unification of the Ili and Sin-kiang regions (*see* R. Yang, *Sinkiang under the administration of governor Yang Tseng-hsin, 1912-1928* in *Central Asiatic Jnal.*, vi [1961], 270-7). Yang weathered a further potential crisis in 1916-17, when thousands of Kazakhs fled from Tsarist Russian oppression into the Ili and Kāshgharia regions (*ibid.*, 303-8), and under his long tenure of power, the whole of Chinese Turkestan enjoyed an unwonted period of prosperity and firm government. He kept up good relations with Soviet Russia, and even after the Kuomintang's diplomatic break with Russia in 1927, the Russian consulates at Kuldja and in other towns remained open. His successor Chen Shu-jen *followed a similar policy*, and in a secret treaty of 1932 conceded to the Russians rights to commercial offices in Kuldja on Ili, Urumchi, etc.

These governors in the far west of China had been virtually autonomous, but in 1942 Chiang Kai-shek managed to extend the direct control of Chunking over Sin kiang, with disquieting effects on the non-Chinese population elements there. Hence in November 1944 there was a rebellion of the Kazakh Turks in the Ili region soon joined by the Uyghurs. An Eastern Turkestan Republic was proclaimed in Kuldja, independent of the Sin kiang Chinese provincial government in Urumchi. The Kuomintang government in distant Chunking was unable to do more than come to a compromise with Ahmad Dja-n's régime in Kuldja, but by the end of 1948 its influence in Sin-kiang was in any case declining perceptibly. In September 1949 representatives both of the Kuldja régime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial People's government was established in Sin-kiang. The Communists eventually accorded to the province a certain autonomy, and in 1954 the Kuldja region was made into the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District of what in 1955 became the Sin kiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Now, under the Chinese name of Ining, Kuldja is one of the chief towns of that Region.

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KULLIYYA (*a. lit.* 'completeness'; Turkish, *fakülte*, Persian *dānishkada*) acquired in the 19th century the technical meaning of faculty as a unit of teaching and learning, mostly at the university level, according to branches of learning.

Islamic education in *masdjid*, *madrasa* or *khānakāh* did not know of a division into *kulliyyāt*, which presupposes institutionalised specialisation. So it was only in 1930 that al-Azhar in Cairo was reorganised according to three *kulliyyāt* of higher studies: *uṣūl al-dīn*, *sharīʿa*, and *al-dirāsāt al-ʿarabiyya*. Nadjaf in Iraq, as a centre of Shīʿī *ʿilm*

ʿaskarī learning, had in 1963, besides a number of independent *madārīs*, a *kulliyyat al-fikk* which was connected with the University of Baghdād. When modern institutions of higher education were established beside the traditional Muslim ones in the 19th and 20th centuries, the latter underwent a number of innovations and reforms which were mostly imposed by the state authorities. In this way, the faculty system was introduced into the traditional Islamic teaching, either by a radical transformation of an existing old-established institution (e.g. at al-Athar), or by integrating such an institution as a *kulliyyat al-sharīʿa* or a faculty of religious studies into a new modern state university (e.g. at al-Zaytūna in Tunis), or by establishing completely new religious institutions with a division into faculties, replacing older such institutions (e.g. the King Saʿūd Islamic University in Medina). By now, the faculty system has been introduced in nearly all Islamic institutions of higher education, sometimes such institutions have "modern" faculties side by-side with those of the Islamic sciences. These institutions provide the education of religious leaders and they perform a function in the transmission and reformulation of Islamic thought. They may lead to a career in the judiciary, in institutional teaching or in less formal forms of instruction in Islam, both within and outside Muslim countries.

The non-religious modern (state) universities [see DJĀMIʿA] and other institutions of higher education (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿālī*) have been organised according to the faculty system, as taken over from the West, since their establishment in the 20th and sometimes the 19th century. They come under the Ministry of Education, or in some cases the Ministry of Higher Education. These universities expanded greatly in number and size after the independence of the different countries, and they serve the modernisation and development of the societies of these countries by providing them with professional intellects, besides the general role of such institutions in the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. There is a direct link between the modernisation of a society and the expansion of its educational system, including higher education. The educational institutions undergo during the process the influence of these ideological forces which constitute, or at least accompany, the dynamic of the modernisation process. The planning of higher education has started in most countries according to the needs of these countries, following western models and resulting in the growth of faculties (*kulliyyāt*).

In Arab universities the following *kulliyyat* have developed: *ādāb* (arts), *ḥukūk* (law), *ʿulūm* (sciences) and *ṭibb* (medicine), the first two of which are called *naẓarī* (theoretical), the latter two *ʿamalī* (practical). Then there are those of *tarbiya* (education, i.e. for teacher-training at secondary schools), *tiḏjāra* (commerce), *idāra* (administration), *handasa* (engineering), *zirāʿa* (agriculture), *ṣaydaliyya* (pharmacy), *ṭibb al-aṣnān* (dentistry) and *baytara* (veterinary medicine). In some cases there is a *kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm al-iḏjtimāʿiyya* (social sciences), but mostly these disciplines are served by an institute instead of a faculty. Some universities, e.g. al-Azhar, have a *kulliyyat al-banāt* (women's faculty). In a number of cases, university faculties are the continuation of previously existing educational institutions which became part of the university once it had been founded.

The faculties have been organised in different countries according to French (especially for law faculties), British and American models, but they have developed on their own and adjusted to ministerial directives. The *kulliyyāt* constitute together a *ḏrāmiʿa*. Within the university, the *kulliyyāt* enjoy a relative independence, their deans have great authority, they often have their own *dalīl* (guide) besides the *taḳwīm* or *taḳrīr* (calendar) of the university. They mostly have their own library and may issue their own periodical. Generally speaking, the decision-making process is slow and the bureaucratic apparatus allows for little efficiency, apart from ever-recurring financial problems. Most programmes of study show an early specialisation, and the *kulliyyāt* or faculties tend to function as professional schools. Certain courses on history, culture and society may be made compulsory for all students. The degrees awarded are those of bachelor, master, specialised diplomas and doctorate. The faculties (*kulliyyāt*) are each subdivided into sections (*ḳusūm*, sing. *kism*), and specialised institutes may be attached to them. Nearly all teaching is done in the national language, and English and French are not well known, most universities have insufficient funds to obtain books for their libraries in these languages.

Given the great number of students enrolled, faculties like medicine and the sciences limit the admission of students according to the number of places available, taking into account the earlier marks received by applying students. There is evidently a job market problem in most countries for those who obtain their bachelor degree, and even for those who finish graduate studies. A certain number of students are sent abroad or admitted for foreign scholarships to continue their studies or to specialise; a certain percentage of students, varying according to country, stays abroad. Faculty teachers, on the other hand, have a high teaching load and often take supplementary jobs besides; there is not only a lack of facilities for reading and research, but also in some cases a problem of intellectual independence.

As everywhere else, the *kulliyyāt* in Muslim countries are in transition and undergoing permanent re-organisation. The exact, natural and applied sciences have an immediate relevance for the modernisation of these countries. The social sciences, not always developed adequately, are sensitive to ideological considerations, but are pivotal for the interpretation of the present day situation of the societies of these countries; this holds true for the teaching of history too. The tendency at all faculties is to spread knowledge imposed from above, and this knowledge often appears to be considered as a finite quantity, to be assimilated by memorisation. Consequently, little attention is paid to promoting the awakening of the available natural intelligence.

It would be difficult to interpret the *kulliyyāt*, and the institutions of higher education in general, apart from their social context and the function which they fulfil in societies with pressing needs and with many uncertainties. They play an important role, in particular in the construction of a modern society and to the cultural transformation of whole countries. This takes place at a time when the ideals of culture have changed greatly, not only in relation to the religious orientation of the traditional Islamic educational institutions, but also since the political independence of the countries under consideration.

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(J. D. J. Waardenburg)

KÜLLIYYE (T.), in Ottoman usage the complex of buildings with varying purposes centred round a mosque. The concept of a *küllıyye* was inherent in the earliest form of the mosque or *djāmi'* where one building housed the place of prayer and teaching as well as serving as a hostel (see EI¹, art. Masdjid). Later, other services were incorporated under one foundation document, and each was housed in its own building within an enclosure. This did not preclude the foundation of hospitals, etc., as separate institutions as in 7th/13th century Anatolia. The early grouping of a *küllıyye* was often due to the contours of hillsides or the irregularities of the site donated, as with the royal foundations at Bursa in the 8th/14th centuries. In the late 9th/15th century, the great ordered *küllıyyes* of the Ottoman dynasty were founded, in particular those of Bāyazīd II at Amasya and Edirne, the latter devoted to all aspects of medicine including the training of students. While each element of the foundation was separate, the buildings, their courts and parterres were conceived as an architectural whole.

The greatest of these *küllıyyes* were built in Istanbul by Mehemmed II Fātih and Sülaymān I (Kānūnī). The latter incorporated seven *madrasas*, four for each of the Sunnī law schools, a preparatory college and one for studying the *Hadīth* and a medical school. Besides these with their courts, latrines and two houses for teachers or *mudarrisān* there was a school for boys, a chantry, a hostel with stables, a bath or *hammām*, the mausoleum of the sultan and that of his consort in a cemetery, rooms for mosque servants over gateways, a large kitchen and refectory with store-rooms attached, a wrestling ground, and in the vaults supporting the vast platform on which these many buildings were erected, there were tranquillity, cafés, button shops and other workshops. The one pavilion lacking was the usual royal *kasr* with access to the *maksūra* or royal lodge (*khānāh-i maksūra*).

Each and all of the charitable services had to be staffed and detailed foundation documents regulated every duty, item of diet or salary. Besides the administrative officers who came under the chief eunuch in the department of the harem at Topkapī Sarāyī, there were religious officers and teachers, porters, chanters, grave diggers, servants responsible for maintenance, including the polishing of courtyards and window grilles, cooks, scullions, plumbers, lamp-lighters, a guard against the theft of oil for lamps, carpenters, masons and tilers responsible for the lead sheets covering well over 300 domes. The kitchens coped with the feeding of this company, as well as the students and travellers and the poor, the scraps were given to the dogs. All these services required a considerable supply of water, and the cost of laying pipes and rebuilding aqueducts exceeded that of building the foundation. The initial building costs and the endowment needed to maintain as vast a foundation were raised by public subscription, including the gift of various properties, ranging from an entire estate to a mill or one cottage. The donors ranged from the ruler, who might assign the revenues of a part of the realm through office holders of greater and lesser rank, to the common people.

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(G. Goodwin)

KUL-OGHLU (T.) "son of a slave", in Ottoman usage, more specifically the son of a Janissary, admitted to the pay roll of the corps, for further information see YeñI čeri.

In the period of Turkish domination in Algeria and Tunisia, the word *kulughli/kuloghli* and, with dissimilation, *kuraghli/kuroghli* (pl. *kulughlāna/kughlāt*, *kuroghlāna/kurghlāt/kraghel*, French *kouloughis* and variants) denoted those elements of the population resulting from marriages of Turks with local women. They were fairly numerous at Tunis, Algiers and Tlemcen, and in the towns which had Turkish garrisons, such as Médea, Mostaganem, etc. In Algeria, they lived in special quarters, and were rather looked down upon by the urban population (*hadar*), who would not give them willingly their daughters in marriage. The rules of the *odjak* [*q.v.*] did not allow them to rise to higher levels, and they often endured harassment from the authorities. A considerable number of them also became mingled with the rural population and took up agriculture, especially in Tunisia. After the conquest, those who lived in Algeria were the target for hostility from the tribes, and many of them enrolled in the locally recruited bodies of troops. They subsequently be-

came merged within the general urban or rural populations (Ed.)

KULOGHLU, Turkish folk poet of the 17th/17th century. Hardly anything is known about his life. He seems to have belonged to the Janissary corps and to have flourished during the reigns of ʿOthmān II, Muṣṭafā I, Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, and to have found particular favour at the court of Murād IV. A contemporary of Kul Muṣṭafā and Kātibī, he was at his best in lyric and epic poems, the best known of which is his elegy for Murād IV. His poems, scattered in most of the 17th and 18th century anthologies of folk poets (*düvēn*), have been collected and published by Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun.

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KULṮŪM B. ʿIYĀḌ AL-KUSHAYRĪ, Kaysī notable (see QAYS) whom the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent to the Maghrib, in Djumādā II 123/April May 741, to avenge the bloody defeat which the Berbers, commanded by the successor of Maysara (*q.v.*), Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī, had inflicted on the Arabs in the "battle of the nobles" (*ghazwat al aṣḥāf*). Kulṯūm left at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to which there were added contingents raised along the way, and he joined up with Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda al-Fihrī, the former companion of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (*q.v.*), who was endeavouring to halt the progress of the Ṣufrī Khārijites near Tlemcen. The clumsy conduct of the Syrian army and the arrogant attitude of the commander of the vanguard, Balj b. Bishr (*q.v.*), who was Kulṯūm's nephew, towards Ḥabīb hampered the conduct of operations. Khālid al-Zanātī, after retiring before the Arabs, gave battle to them near the Wādī Sabū (Oued Sebou). Ignoring Ḥabīb's sensible advice, Kulṯūm sent to the front Balj's cavalry, which succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines, but the latter reformed behind them and overwhelmed by their mass the caliphal troops which had taken up battle order too late. Ḥabīb and the other chiefs were killed.

Kulṯūm fought with the greatest bravery, reciting verses of the Kurʾān to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One-third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 123/Oct.-Nov. 741). Balj's cavalry's only hope was to take refuge in Ceuta, whence after much suffering they were able to cross to Spain.

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KULUMRIYA, the name given by the Arabs to the town of Coimbra, on the right bank of the Mondego River in central Portugal. The town still has some ruins from the Roman period and was originally called Aeminium, but it took over the name of another important Roman town, Conimbriga, which lay 18 km. to the south and had been devastated and depopulated during the barbarian invasions. The episcopal see of Conimbriga was transferred to Aeminium in *ca.* 580-9, and the change of name took place towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. Although the usual Arabic form was Kulumriya, the al Kūṭiyya (4th/10th century) has that of Kulumbriya (*Iftitāḥ*, 200). The occupying of the town is attributed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, governor of al-Andalus 95 7/714-16. His lands like those of Santarém to the south, appear to have been omitted from the conqueror's division of the territories, probably because of a treaty (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 201-2).

The Arab geographers give descriptions of Kulumriya. Al-Rāzī states that it was an ancient town, well fortified and with fertile surrounding estates where there were cornfields, olive groves and gardens. Al Idrīsī (548/1154) says that the walls had three gates (one of which still exists, with the name of *almedina*), and mentions the mills along the Mondego vineyards and gardens and also the force of Christians living there. Al-Himyarī repeats this information, and Yāḳūt gives a brief notice of the town.

Coimbra may have been the central town of a *kūra* or territorial district during its Islamic period. This last was very disturbed, for the town was coveted by the Christians who set about the *Reconquista* (see AL ANDALUS and BURTUGĀL). In 264/878 the town was taken by Count Hermenegildo in Alfonso III's name, but al Manṣūr recaptured it in 377/987 after having briefly occupied it two years previously. It was finally conquered by Ferdinand I in 456/1064 after a six-months siege. He created the Mozarab Sisnandus Davidiz governor as a reward for his role here. The Coimbra district was one of the Mozarabs' most lively centres, as well as the facts described in e.g. the works of Gomez-Moreno and I. de Las Cagigas, P. da Cunha Serra (*Conimbrigão*, 35 6 and map II) has emphasised the role of the town's Mozarabs in the peopling of northern Portugal during the *Reconquista*. The presence of the Muslims in the area has left many traces, as its toponomy shows. From the 10th century onwards, Christian documents make a very clear distinction between what was in the *almedina* (the walled town and citadel) and what was in the *arrabalde* (< *rabaḍ*) outside the walls at that time.

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(A. Dias Farinha)

AL-KULZUM, an ancient town and seaport on the Red Sea (*A. Baḥr al-Kulzum* [*q.v.*], *Baḥr al-Hind* or *Baḥr al-Habasha*), now administratively in the province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of al-Suways. It appears to have been a fort as well as a town, and was,

perhaps, the spot where the troops destined to guard the sluices of the canal were stationed. It was called Castrum by Hierocles and Epiphanius, and κλύσμα (Clysma), or κλεῖσμα is first mentioned by Lucian. Kulzum is a corruption of the Greek name κλύσμα (in both Arabic and Greek almost always without the article; the Greek refers to the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal, begun by Pharaoh Necho and finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and by Trajan. In the Muslim period, when the construction of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/643-4 for example had it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from al-Fusṭāṭ to the Red Sea; it was called after him *Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, its mouth was at al-Kulzum, according to al-Masʿūdī and others (more accurately) at *Dhanab* (sc. *Ghanab*?) *al-Tumsāḥ*, one mile from the town, where the Meccan pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The caliph al-Manṣūr in 138/775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who had rebelled against him in Medina, so that in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time it ended at al-Sadr at the entrance to the Wādī Tumsāḥ. Now but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is said to have abandoned the at tempt out of loss of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birket al-Djubb till it was completely filled in (1899) for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Kulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal, for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation, neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. However, it was useful as a source of salt which was transported to various parts of Egypt and Syria for sale, and al-Baghdādī reports that quarries for red flint were operated in its vicinity. In antiquity and in the early Muslim period its main importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea which consequently came to be most commonly known to the Arabs as *Baḥr al-Kulzum*. The corn ships of al-Fusṭāṭ after they had passed the canal sailed from here to al-Djār and Djudda. Of the Jewish merchants called al-Rādhāniyya, Ibn Khurradādhbih says that they came from the lands of the Franks to al-Faramā[3]; thence they carried their wares 35 *farsakhs* on camels to al-Kulzum, where they were loaded on ships which sailed to India and China. According to the same geographer, al-Kulzum with al-Ṭōr and Ayla formed a district of Egypt.

The country round al-Kulzum was inhabited at an early date by Arabs. They are already mentioned in the *Acta* of the hermit Sisoes (Coptic *sōs Dyshēs*). Sisoes was one of the three Coptic martyrs (the other two being ʿIṭāmūs and Pidjīmī) whose place of burial is known to have been to al-Kulzum. For seventy years the anchorite Yuḥannā al-Baṣīr (John Kolobos, died *ca.* A.D. 409) lived in a cave which he had dug himself in the nearby Djabal Antwān, and was buried beside the graves of the three martyrs. Djabal Antwān was so named after St. Antony who went into retreat there from the importunities of the secular world. In the *History of* John Kolobos, Kulzūm (*sic*) appears for the first time in the Arabic Synaxarium as the name of the ancient Clysma.

When under the last ʿAbbāsid governor in Egypt, ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāk, the Budjā or Bedja [*q.v.*] rebelled in Nubia, invaded the Saʿīd or Upper Egypt and laid waste many towns, al-Mutawakkil sent against them an army under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kummī which went from Kūs [*q.v.*] straight through the desert to the emerald mines, while seven ships with stores sailed from al-Kulzum to Ṣanam near ʿAydhāb and provided the victorious army from there with the necessary supplies.

In the autumn of 362/972, the Karmatian leader Ḥasan b. Aḥmad on his campaign against the Fāṭimid Djawhar took the towns of al-Kulzum, al-Faramā[3], and Tinnīs, after his defeat before Cairo (3 Rabīʿ I 361/24 December 971), he retired under cover of night via al-Kulzum to Arabia.

Reynald de Chatillon at the beginning of his naval expedition against the holy cities in the winter of 578/1182-3 sent two ships from Aden, which were to watch the citadel of al-Kulzum and prevent the garrison from procuring water. But soon afterwards the Ḥādjib Ḥusām al-Dīn Lu'lu' built a fleet by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in al-Kulzum, which sailed for ʿAydhāb and put a sudden end to the desperate enterprise. When al-Dimashḳī includes al-Kulzum among the lands under al-Karak, this is perhaps a memory of these events of a century before.

In the time of al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and al-Dimashḳī, al-Kulzum was already a deserted town. Al-Malṭī found among old documents in the palace of Cairo accounts of the expenditure on the civil and military administration of the town and district and concluded from them that it must once have been most flourishing. He quotes al-Kudāʿī as saying that the town was already ruinous in his day, and this presumably included the fortress (Kalʿat al-Kulzum) mentioned in several accounts. According to al-Idrīsī, the Bedouins had occupied and plundered it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well at al-Suways, which yielded only a scanty supply of brackish water. Al-Mukaddasī (4th/10th century) already mentions al-Suways (i.e. Suez), which gradually took the place of al-Kulzum, a mile from it.

The name of al-Kulzum is still given to some heights to the north of Suez, Kōm al-Kulzum.

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(E. HONIGMANN - [R. Y. EBIED])

KUM (Ar. Kumm, current Persian pronunciation Ghom rather than Kum), a city of central Iran (Media in ancient times, later Dihāl or 'Irāḳ-i adjam) situated in lat. 34°38' N. and long. 50°58' E., 150 km. to the south of Tehran. It is the capital of a *shahristān* of the Central Province (*Ustān-i markazi*) and the ninth city of Iran, with a population of 246,873 in 1976. Situated on the great north-west/south-east axis, which follows the foothills of the central Iranian range and skirts the fold of the Zagros, it lies at the junction of all the road and rail routes linking southern Iran with Tehran.

Geographical setting.

With a complex geological history (entirely post-Cretaceous) terrain; late formation of mountains linked to volcanic activity; marine development of the site of Kum in the Oligo-Miocene period), the region is characterised by its uneven relief. As elsewhere in central Iran, the natural environment bears the marks of aridity and of the features associated with an inland continental setting (steppe vegetation, saline earth; see M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 3 ff.). To the south, the mountainous region of Kuhistān contains half a dozen peaks whose south-western elevation exceeds 3,000 m. Towards the north-west, other mountains separate Kuhistān from another dense range exceeding 3,000 m. in altitude in the region of Tafrish. The valley of the river Kum (Anārbār in antiquity) constitutes a pass crossing the mountainous region of the south. It clears the final barrier of the mountains through a broad gap and spreads a thick deposit of sediment on the plain where the city of Kum is situated. To the north-east, the plain is barred by hill ranges of only moderate elevation (1,000 m.), dominated to the west by the Kūh-i Namak (Mountain of Salt); distorted in shape and dangerous of access, it has given rise to a whole cycle of legends (see Bazin, *op. laud.*, 8, n. 4). Further to the north, the relief rises, dominating the low-lying areas which are divided unequally between *dashi* and *kavir*. Rivers of most irregular current flow into the basin of Hawd-i Sultān and the vast salt lakes (*daryā-yi namak*) of Masila. Although meteorological data are incomplete, the temperatures are characterised by strong daily and annual fluctuations, and a high general average (18.4° over the period 1958-66, as calculated by M. Bazin, *op. laud.*, 23, the pioneering work of A. H. Adle, *Āb u hawā-yi Irān*, Tehran 1339, 77, gives an average of 18.5°). The winter is not very cold, and the temperature in summer frequently exceeds 40°. Rainfall is sparse everywhere (less than 200 mm. below 1,500 m.) and very irregular. Prolonged droughts can be disastrous (there have been instances in 1869-72 and more recently in 1960-6). The strength of the river-currents is also most irregular and there are often catastrophic floods (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 14 ff.; Bémont, 18e). The soil is in general unfavourable to agriculture, and the natural vegetation is very poor.

Socio-economic setting.

This hostile natural environment is inhabited by a population of great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Since the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, a number of significant Arab elements have been added to the original Persian nucleus. Among the groups of foreign origin are the Khaladj [*q.v.*], who speak an archaic oriental Turkish and who arrived in the area at a very early stage (between the 11th and the 14th centuries). They have given their name to the mountains of Khaladjistān to the east of Kum, the region where they are settled. There are considerable contrasts in the demographic evolution of this rural environment, where the density of population is generally below five inhabitants per square kilometre and where, in contrast to other regions of central Iran, the larger villages are mostly situated at high altitudes (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 23 ff.)

Agriculture depends primarily on irrigation by the traditional utilisation of water-courses (barrages, diversion channels) and of underground reserves (*kanats* [*q.v.*]) as well as on modern techniques of developing fertility through wells of varying depths. The sharing of water among those exploiting it has given rise to a system of minute division which, in contrast to the practice elsewhere in Iran, operates without any particular supervision (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 39). In spite of the introduction of some modern methods of exploitation, agricultural techniques and systems are still archaic. Cereals (wheat, barley) give a rather mediocre yield. Summer crops (cotton, market garden products including various kinds of melon and water-melon, pomegranates, figs, raisins, apricots, almonds, more recently opium, etc.) are mostly grown for sale. In general, agricultural production is inferior (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 40 ff.). In contrast to the situation prevailing elsewhere in Iran, before the implementation of land reform the bulk of the land belonged to urban middle class landlords and to peasant smallholders. The crown properties (*Khālisa* [*q.v.*]) which existed in the Kādjār period were no longer represented in the region (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 55). The *waḳf* estates gifted to the sanctuary of Fāṭima al-Ma'ṣūma continue to be decidedly less important than those of the sanctuary of Imām Ridā at Mashhad (Bazin, *op. cit.*); for a comparison, see Fisher, 70, and on Mashhad, N. Hahemi, *Le waqf d'un lieu saint en Iran. Mashad*, Mémoire de l'EPHE, Section vi, Paris 1975, 22 ff.) Traditional forms of ownership, exploitation and the sharing of crops are now being modified by the gradual implementation of land reform; a number of successful co-operatives have been created (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.).

The relatively meagre agricultural yields are supplemented by ancillary activities: peasants and numerous nomadic and semi-nomadic groups practise stock-breeding (cattle, sheep, goats, camels), the crafts formerly practised (see below) have been replaced by the manufacture of carpets, introduced, at least as far as quality products are concerned, by merchants of Kāshān in the nineteen-thirties (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 84 ff.; idem, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 105 ff.; idem, *Le travail du tapis dans la région de Qom*). Numerous factors (including the religious and social conservatism of the population) have hindered the industrial development of the town and of the region, in spite of the discovery and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas in the folds of the Alburz and of Sarādjā (for a bibliography relating to the industry of the region, textiles, building materials, ceramics, flour-mills, petroleum, natural gas, etc., see M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 109 ff.) The influence of Kum over the region has been to some extent artificially diminished to the advantage of the surrounding

shkhristāns especially those of Kāshān and Tafrish, the latter being a recent creation (*ibid.*, 124 ff.) In spite of the potential richness of the soil and attempts at modernisation, crop yields and the standard of living continue to be rather poor (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 79 ff.; idem, with regard to nutrition, in *Studia Iranica*, ii [1973], 243-53).

Historical evolution.

Numerous signs testify to the occupation of the site of Kum in ancient times (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 25 ff.). The remains of *čahār tāqs* of the Sāsānid period are still visible in the region (A. Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 232 ff.; M. Siroux, *La site d'Ateš Kouh près de Delidjan*, in *Syria*, xliv [1967], 53-72). Excavations on the site of one of these, the Kal'a-yi Duḵḵtar, very close to Kum, have brought to light fragments of pottery of the type associated with Sialk II and III (5th and 4th millenia B.C.): see M. Siroux, *La Kal'i Duḵḵtar de Kumm*, in *Āthār-e Irān*, iii, (1938), 123-40; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, Paris 1938, i, 9*; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden 1959, 125. Similar remains have been discovered in Khalajistān (see M. Bahrami, in *Amuzish va parvarish*, x/4 [1940], 32-8). Two Seleucid columns are still to be found near Dihdjān (A. Godard, *op. laud.*, 149, 153, 164, and plate 88).

Kum is included among the *kūras* of Dābā (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 20) Ibn al-Fakīh (209 ff.) and other Arabic sources mention Sāsānid Kum in various contexts (see Fakīhī *Ta'rīkh-i madīnat-i Kum*, 54 ff.). According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Kum*, 24, Alexander the Great destroyed Kum, and it was the Sāsānid Kubād I (488-531) who restored its prosperity and gave it administrative independence from Iṣfahān. Many of the *rustāks* of Kum mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Kum* bear Iranian names, some of which are still in use today. A version of a Pahlavi text draws attention to the merits of the saffron of Kum (see J. M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi text "Kīng Husrav and his boy"*, Paris 1924, 44 (following al-Tha'ālibī). In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, Kum is included among the towns belonging to the Pishdādiyan and Kayānid kings (Fakīhī, 55, etc.).

But in spite of the archaeological remains and the literary allusions to Kum in the ancient texts, as in the case of Kāshān, with which it is often associated (Kum and Kāshān together are said to have supplied 20,000 horsemen to the Sāsānid army at al-Kādisiyya: see Fakīhī, 56, following Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī), virtually nothing is known of the pre-Islamic town. According to the majority of Arabic sources (which often contain internal contradictions), the town was an Islamic foundation. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Kum*, the Ash'arī Arabs of Kūfa, persecuted for their Shī'ī beliefs, came and established themselves in the region (where they were probably received by co-religionists), in 94/712-13, protected it from attacks by the Daylamīs, and ultimately built a wall around seven of the forty villages of the plain (240 ff. on the non-Ash'arī Arabs who established themselves at Kum, see Fakīhī, 43 ff.). This conglomeration presumably took its name from that of one of these villages, Kumīdān. But the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Kum* follows al-Barkī in preferring to derive the name Kum from *kūma*, a kind of hut, possibly the origin of *kumammadān*, which could have been contracted into Kūmaydān/Kumīdān (25, Houtum-Schindler, 59). A derivation from Godman, pronounced Goman, is suggested by R. N. Frye (*The golden age of Persia*, London 1975, 11). Other fanciful etymologies (generally based on the Arabic imperative *kum* "rise up!") have also been proposed (see for example, Houtum-Schindler, 59 ff.). There are also numerous Shī'ī *ḥadīths* extolling the virtues of Kum as a place of refuge for believers etc (*Ta'rīkh-i Kum*, 50 ff., Fakīhī, 75, 83 ff.); the latter attribute earned it in the course of time numerous honorific titles such as Dār al-Mu'minīn, Dār al-Ṭībā, Dār al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Dār al-'Ilm, Khāk Faraḏī etc. (Fakīhī, 14).

This region, with its strong undercurrent of religious feeling (including Jewish and Christian associations; see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelico*, Vatican 1952, 84 ff.) became one of the first bastions of Shī'ism (on the Shī'ī and non-Shī'ī groups at Kum, see Fakīhī, 308 ff.). The Zoroastrian community, whose chief, Yazdādsūkhar, had in an earlier period assisted the Ash'arī Arabs to settle in the region, was ultimately eliminated (sometimes brutally) or Islamised, it has been observed, so that Zoroastrian fire-temples continued to be in use in the area until the 3rd/9th century, and perhaps even later (Monneret de Villard, 139). From the start, the inhabitants of Kum had a reputation for rebelliousness, for resistance to Sunnī governors and to the payment of the levy (for the collection of taxes by force under Hārūn al-Rashīd, the destruction of the city's fortifications at the orders of al-Ma'mūn, who more than tripled the already excessive rate of *kharāj* exacted from the Kumīs; and a further punitive expedition ending in massacre in the reign of al-Mu'tazz, see Schwarz, 562). By contrast, a Shī'ī governor was accorded such co-operation that he was recalled by the caliph (Fisher, 56). Also to be noted are the conflicts between the people of Kum and the people of Iṣfahān, who were fanatical Sunnī (Fakīhī, 222).

In the 3rd/9th century, the principal settlement was Manādjān, one of the original "seven villages" or "seven fortresses" (Fakīhī 13, 38 ff.). In the 4th/10th century, Kum was described as a prosperous city, fortified with a rampart, with fields well irrigated by means of canals, dams and pumping apparatus. The majority of the population was Shī'ī, ethnically Arab but Persian speaking (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 370). There were frequent disputes between Kum and settlements lying up-stream (Tavmara/Gulpāygān and Anār/Mahallāt) regarding the distribution of the waters of the Anārbār. The flooding of this river was sometimes catastrophic (notably in 292/904-5, 1634, 1670, 1881, 1893: see Houtum Schindler, 65 ff.; M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 33 ff.). With its many *'ulamā'* (tradition tells of seventeen *lūbs'ān* and of hundreds of Ash'arī *nuwāt* (see Fakīhī, 37 ff., in the 3rd/9th century there were two hundred and sixty six Shī'ī *'ulamā'* and fourteen Sunnī *'ulamā'*, *ibid.*, 509) and especially the family of the famous Shaykh Ṣadūḳ (Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābāya), Kum could boast of having preceded Nadjaf as a great theological centre.

The prosperity of the city seems to have begun with its administrative independence from Iṣfahān in 189/804-5. In 201/816-17, Fāṭima al-Ma'ṣūma went to visit her brother, the Eighth Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, at Ṭūs. She fell ill at Sāwa (a Sunnī town) and asked to be taken to Kum, where she died and was buried. Besides the town's reputation as a centre of theological education, it was this event which contributed most to its fame. The town expanded progressively from north-east to south-west in the direction of the tomb of Fāṭima, which ultimately

became its centre (Fakīhī, 94 ff.). Patronised by the Būyids (Fakīhī, 127 ff.), Kom was renowned in the Saljūk period for its *madrasas*, for the sanctuary of Fāṭima (visited by Sunnīs as well as Shī'īs), for its religious foundations, and also for its administrators and viziers (see J. Calmard, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, Paris-Geneva 1971, i. 58 ff.) as well as for its many *'ulamā'* and scholars, known by the *nisbas* of Kumī, Barjī, Beruvistānī, Ṭabrisī (from Ṭabrīz/Tabrīz), etc. At the time of the Mongol conquest in 621/1224, its inhabitants were massacred, possibly at the instigation of the Sunnīs (see Fakīhī, 223). Ḥamd Allāh Mostawfī described the town as being mostly in ruins in the 8th/14th century. It seems, however, that there was an attempt at reviving the region under the Īlkhāns, as evidenced by some important hydraulic constructions: the weighted dam at Sāwa (end of the 13th century) and the vaulted dam at Kebar, 25 km to the south of Kum (see H. Gobiot, *Kébar en Iran, sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes (1300 environ)*, in *Sciences Progrès (La Nature)*, Paris, February 1965, 50-6; the same, in *Arts et Manufactures*, Paris, June 1963, 43-9, April 1973, 15 ff.). Although travellers have drawn attention to the massacre perpetrated by Timūr, it seems that the Timūrids showed respect and favour to this holy city (*we may note the mosque of Gawhar Shād, wife of Shāh Rukh, near the mausoleum of Fāṭima, and the fact that the sultan Muḥammad, son of Bāysunghur, chose Kum as his capital in 846/1442* see Fakīhī, 244-7). It was in any case from the 9th/14th century onwards that the town began to enjoy definite royal patronage. The Turkoman sultans Djahān-Shāh, Uzun Ḥasan, Ya'ḳūb Murād and Alvand used it as a kind of winter capital for hunting, and this tradition was continued under the earlier Safawids, Ismā'īl I and Ṭahmāsp I (Fisher, 56 ff., Fakīhī, 147 ff. on the *farmāns*, Turkomans charged with the appointment of an official (*mutawallī* of the sanctuary and *waḳf* of the *sayyids*), see Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, in *Farhang-e Īrān zamīn*, xix/1-4, 218-35).

But it was above all the result of the religious policy of Shāh 'Abbās I—consisting in attracting pilgrims to the Shī'ī shrines of Iran (Mashhad and Kum) rather than to those of 'Irāḳ, then controlled by the Ottomans—which endowed Kum with an unprecedented glamour. The sanctuary was embellished, and two of its four *ṣaḥns* were transformed into a *madrasa* with a hostel for pilgrims. Many *'ulamā'* came to Kum to study, men such as Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ, Mullā 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī, Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, Ḳāḍī Sa'īd Kumī, etc. (Fisher, 57). Traditions extolling the sanctity of the soil of Kum became current, and to the hundreds of tombs of Imām-zādas (at the time Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī counted 444 of them) were added the tombs of thousands of the faithful. The descendants of Shāh 'Abbās I were buried there, as were thirty-one other princes (M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 84). No other Iranian city has such a vast number of tombs of *'ulamā'*, of distinguished people or of simple believers, and the cemeteries attend over an enormous area.

In the 17th century, travellers described at length the merits of the town's craft products (rapier and sabre blades, silks cottons, glass, porcelain, porous white ceramics, etc. see Bazin, *Qom*, 105). But at the same time it was a kind of land of exile for deposed aristocrats (Fakīhī, 152), and insolvent debtors took refuge in the sanctuary (Gemelli Careri, ii, 74-5). Money was coined at Kum in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, and it appears that the Ṣafawids and the Ḳādjārs sought to re-establish this tradition (Heinrich Schindler, 75, Fakīhī, 39, 152 ff.).

After the terrible depression of the 18th century (pillage by the Afghāns, massacres perpetrated by Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Nādir Shāh and by an Uzbek governor in the service of this sovereign: Fakīhī, 224 ff.), the practice of building royal monuments was revived by the Ḳādjārs. The shrine of Fāṭima built by 'Abbās I was embellished by Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh who also built a *madrasa*. The vast "new court" (*ṣaḥn-i djadīd*) was constructed by Amīn al-Sulṭān, vizier of Nāṣr al-Dīn Shāh, in 1883. Around the "old court" (*ṣaḥn-i 'atīḳ*) stand an octagonal monument containing the tombs of senior Ḳādjār dignitaries (Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh, his wife Mahd-i 'Awlyā, etc.) and the sanctuary library (2,000 manuscripts and 8 800 volumes) which also contains a museum. The Masdjid-i A'ẓam, constructed on the orders of the Āyat Allāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961), stands to the west of the sanctuary which includes other monuments (for a plan of the sanctuary, see Bazin, *Qom*, 91, Fisher, 58, a history of the monuments, including a description of their contemporary state, with plans and illustrations of inscriptions, documents, etc., is supplied by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Tarīkh-i Ḳum*, 2 vols., *Kum 1333/1976*). The city-sanctuary today (1976) comprises fourteen large traditional *madrasas*, supervised by the Āyat Allāhs, four modern schools (Fisher, 23) as well as numerous private libraries, the most important being that of the Āyat Allāh Mar'ashī Nadjafī (70,000 volumes including 15,000 manuscripts). After 1965, the sanctuary was administered by a *mutawallī* nominated by the Shāh (Fisher, 66). The revenues of the sanctuary and the annual number of pilgrims (about a million in 1970) are poor in comparison with those of Mashhad (four and a half million, including tourists, in 1352/1973-4). Nevertheless the spiritual role of Kum continues to be very important. Since 1340/1920, a modern Centre for Theological Education (*Ḥawza-ye 'ilmī*) has been established there (Fisher, 62 ff.). Three of the most eminent *marādje' -i taḳlīd* (Gulpāygānī, Mar'ashī Nadjafī, Sharī'at Madārī) reside there (on the religious élite and the role of the *marādje'-i taḳlīd*, see Fisher, 30 ff., and A. K. S. Lambton in *Studia Islamica*, xx [1964], 115-35).

The demographic evolution of the town—which in spite of mistakes on the part of travellers, may be more or less traced from the 9th/15th century onwards—contributes to an understanding of the vicissitudes that have affected it:

20,000 houses in 1474 (Barbaro)
2,000 ḥarībs in 1514 (Tenreiro)
2,000 hearths in 1565 (Nestre Afonso)
2,000 families in 1627 (Herbert)
15,000 houses in 1673 (Chardin)
30 houses (*sic*) in 1796 (Olivier)

(each hearth, house or family should represent five to six persons).

After 1850, the population fluctuated between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants (with a drop to 14,000 in 1874-5 on account of a famine, see A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 153, n. 3) rising to 35,000 in 1886-7. Since 1913 (30,000) the population has grown continuously (55,000 in 1937-8, 82,540 in 1947-8; 96,499 in 1956; 134,292 in 1966, and 246,873 in 1976).

Under the Ḳādjārs, Kum was a haven of refuge (*bast-nishīnī*) for political opponents of the régime. This opposition was particularly marked during the

events of the constitutional revolution of 1905-11. Under Riḍā Shāh (1925-41), the opposition of certain *'ulamā'* was also manifested in various ways (Fisher, 69). There now exists a dichotomy between technocratic and religious power, and some influential *'ulamā'* of Qum have encouraged their disciples to rebel: examples are Kāshānī, under Muṣaddiḳ, and Khumaynī, who was arrested on the 15th of Khurdād (5th of June) 1963 and exiled to Turkey, then to 'Irāḳ (see N. Algar, in *Scholars, saints and Sufis*, ed. N. R Keddie, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 231 ff.); and riots involving "Muslim Marxists" on the 15th of Khurdād, 1975 (Fisher, 77 ff.). The troubles which convulsed the whole of Iran in 1978 began in Qum between the 7th and 9th of January 1978. In October 1978, Khumaynī took refuge in France, at Neauphle-le-Château, whence he led the opposition which caused the Shāh's departure from Iran. He returned to Tehran (1 February 1979) and thence to Qum (1 March 1979). He still represents the most radical Islamic tendency, a steadfast though more moderate opposition had crystallised around other *'ulamā'*, especially the *marāji' al-taḳlīd* of Qum, Sharī'at Madārī.

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(J. CALMARD)

al-KŪMĀ or al-KAWMĀ, the name of one of the seven types of post classical poetry (see KĀN WA-KĀN). It was invented by the people of Baghdād, and is connected with the *sahar*, i.e. the last part of the night when, during the month of Ramaḍān, it is still permitted to eat and drink and to take meals at that time, it derives its name from the expression *kūmā li 'l-sahar* which the singers recite after each strophe of a *ramal* or *radjaz* in praise of the master of the house. Contrary to what is generally believed, it does not seem that *kūmā* is the imperative dual, "Arise, both of you!", but the singular *kūmān* > *kūmā* "Arise!". This interpretation is justified by Kur'ān, XCVI, 15, *la-nasfa'ā bi 'l-nāṣiya* (for *la-nasfa'ān*), and better still, by a verse of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1372/1952, 226, l. 4), where we have exactly *kūmā* for *kūmān* "Arise!" on the rhymeword (cf. the Kutaybu, *Anwā'*, § 158, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 340 = § 1317). The origin of this poetic genre is obscure, and it is probable that it existed before Ibn Nukta, who is said to have invented it to please the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225). At all events, the *kūmā*, which is always in Arabic colloquial, has only been cultivated in 'Irāḳ, where it has been used to express various themes, such as those of love, of wine-drinking, of flower-description, etc.

Technically, there are two types of *kūmā*.

Type 1 is made up of strophes of four hemistichs,

of which three (the first, second and fourth) are the same in length and rhyme with each other, whilst the third is longer and does not rhyme with the rest

hemistiches 1, 2, 4 { *mustaf'ilun* / *mafā'ilun* / *mutafā'ilun* } { *fā'ilān* / *fa'ilān* / *fā'ilun* / *fa'ilun* }

hemistich 3 *mustaf'ilun* { *fā'ilātun* / *fa'ilātun* }

Type 2 is made up of three hemistiches of the same rhyme, but of increasing length—

hemistich 1 { *mustaf'ilun* / *mafā'ilun* }

hemistich 2 *fā'ilun, fā'ilātun*

hemistich 3 { *mustaf'ilun, mustaf'ilun,* *mustaf'ilun* / *mafā'ilun mafā'ilun* }

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(M. BEN CHENEB - [CH. PELLAT])

KUMĀN, a Turkish people whose origin is connected with Central Asia. In all probability their forefathers are to be found in the people indicated by Marwazī (*Ṭabā'i' al ḥayawān*, ed. Minorsky, 28, § 3), as *shīrī* (*sārī*), identical with the Yellow Uyghurs, who since about 850 A.D were living in the east of the Tarim basin. This name is probably derived from their physiognomy, varying from that of the other Turkic peoples. At the beginning of the 11th century A.D (*ca.* 1012-18), the Sārī left their homeland under the pressure of the Kūn (*q.v.*) who were migrating to the west before the Kithy. This movement of peoples reached in the west also the regions of the Turkmens, who were driven away to new areas. In the newly-conquered regions to the north of the Sir Daryā, close contact between the participants in this migration (the Sārī and the Kūn) and Ḳipčaḳ (*q.v.*) tribes who were living there, led to the formation of a new tribal confederation. It is probable that about this time the Sārī (*sarī* = yellow) were given by other Turkic-speaking peoples the name *kumān*, derived from a root with similar meaning (*kū* = yellowish).

A few decades later the Kumān pressed forward in the west. Apart from their own name, various other names were mentioned in Western and Armenian sources (*polovci, polowcy, planci, planci, Valben, Valown, Falones, Xartes*, etc.), but semantically these terms ('yellow, pale, sallow, bright, clear') accord with the meaning of the name Kumān. Towards the middle of the 11th century A.D, the Kumān were living in the Dnipr region. In 1062 they started launching attacks against Kiev, and in 1078, together with the Peczenegs against Byzantium. In 1085 they took part in the rebellion of the Bulgars, but in 1091 they were allies with emperor Alexius against the Peczenegs. Their raids against Hungary started in the same period. Hungarian historical sources mention them under the name Kūn (*cuns, chesi*), but it has not yet become clear whether these tribes can be put in direct relation with the above mentioned Kūn, who probably were absorbed later by the Sārī (i.e. the Kumān). In 1094 and again in 1224 the Emperor Alexius waged two quite important wars against the Kumān, who were to be pushed back to the other side of the Danube. The Mongol invasion put an end to the control of the Kumān over the Pontic steppes and after the final defeat in 1239, a part of them sought refuge in Bulgaria. Thus they played an important rôle in the history of Hungary, in that of the second reign of the Bulgarian Tsars and in that of Byzantium. The Kumāns who had remained in the Pontos area were incorporated into the western part of the Mongol empire called Ḳipčaḳ [see DASHT I ḲIPČAḲ in Suppl.].

The most important document of the Kumān language is the *Codex Cumanicus* (14th century) a collection of texts brought together in South Russia by Italian and German missionaries. Some rudimentary remnants of the language are also found in Hungarian. Important references to their language are further present in loan-words of Kumān origin in Hungarian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, as well as in place names in various regions of these countries.

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(G. HAZAI)

KUMĀSH (A. pl. *akmisha*), in general sense, "cloth" but in a more particularised sense, "a Mamlūk garment". The term *kumāsh* in the later Middle Ages commonly designated "cloth" or any "woven stuff" in general and was synonymous with the classical words *bazz* and *thiyāb*. Abū 'l-Faḍl al Dimashḳī (*ca.* 5/11th century) does not use the term at all in his handbook for merchants *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tijāra* (Cairo 1318), but the word is employed by the 4th/10th century geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal in his *Ḳ. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (BGA ii², ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, 132). It rarely appears in the documents of the Cairo Geniza (*q.v.*) (for example, TS 16.298, ed. S. D. Goitein, *India book*, 190, l. 13, *al kumāsh al sharb*—"fine linen stuff"). *Kumāsh* does not seem to have come into common usage until Mamlūk times. Thereafter, it became the general word for fabric throughout the Middle East and is still current in most dialects, as well as in Persian and Turkish. It never seems to have been particularly common in the Maghrib although the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā' (625-47/1228-49) is reported to have built a *rāsh al-kumāsh* in Tunis.

Under the Mamlūks, *kumāsh* took on the specialised meaning of "dress uniform" although this sense is not found in any dictionary. A young Mamlūk was presented with his horse, a *kumāsh*, and a sword upon his manumission and induction into the corps. Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (693-741/1293-1341) is credited with introducing the *shāsh* or *'l-kumāsh*, or "turban cloth and formal coat" of a Mamlūk warrior (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waḳā'i' al-duhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, i, 173 ll. 25 f.). This dress uniform was also called *kumāsh al-khidma* (service coat), *kumāsh al-rakib*, and *kumāsh al-mawkib* (parade or processional coast). The Mamlūk *kumāsh*

must have been a heavy garment Mamlūk soldiers threw off their armour and *kumāsh* when fleeing the battlefield (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 76, citing al Yūnīnī), and the Sulṭān al Malik al Ashraf Kāytbāy (872-901/1468-96) is reported to have abolished the obligation of wearing the *kumāsh* for ordinary palace service (*khidmat al ḥayṭ*) as it was too hot for continual wear throughout most of the year in Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, ad. P. Kahle and M. Mostafa, Istanbul 2931, 312, l. 12). The less formal coat for everyday wear was called *kumāsh al-ʿādāt*.

Kumāsh (pl. *kumāshāt*) was also sometimes used in Mamlūk terminology as a synonym for *ḥanbāz* or "caparison" of a horse (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al Duwal wa ʾl-mulūk*, ed. K. Zurayk and N. Izzedin, Beirut 1942, ix, 247, ll. 9 f.).

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(N. A. STILLMAN)

AL-KUMAYT B. ZAYD AL-ASADĪ, Abū ʾl-Mustahill, an Arab poet of Kūfa (60-126/680-743) who is not to be confused with two earlier and lesser known Asadīs, al-Kumayt b. Maʿrūf and al Kumayt b. Thaʿlaba (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, ii, 373; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, al Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, no. 572; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7498 and 7499, etc.).

Al Kumayt applied himself in an indirect fashion to the poetry and the language of the Bedouins, and he was acquainted with poets such as al Farazdaḳ, Ruʾba b. al ʿAdjādj and the Khāridjī al-Ṭirimmāḥ, whose hostility towards the Umayyads he shared. In contrast to the last-mentioned, he came under the influence of the Shīʿī tendencies of his native town and these had a decisive effect on the direction that his career was to take, inspiring him with violently pro-ʿAlid opinions. He is reckoned to have acquired a fairly extensive intellectual training, and he also possessed a talent for oratory which shows in his poems, to the extent that some critics regard them as speeches. At first a schoolteacher in a Kūfa mosque, he was pressed by his family, on at least tradition has it, to put his poetic gifts to work and to undertake a poetic career which nowadays would be called "commitred". Henceforward he acquired distinction with the composition of verses in praise of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*] and of a series of poems, among which the best known are his long *Mudhahhaba* directed against the Yemenis and his *Mudjamma* in praise of the Kuraysh. The chronology of his work is far from clear, and the outstanding incidents of his career cannot be stated with certainty. His celebrated conflicts with the governor Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī (105-26/723-38 [*q.v.*]) and the decision of Hishām b. ʿAbd al Malik (105-25/724-43) to have him put to death, have given rise to conflicting accounts which are difficult to reconcile and to romantic embellishments which are to be treated with caution. It was probably the *Mudhahhaba* which earned him the hostility of Khālid, at a time when the latter needed assurance of the loyalty of the South Arabian elements. By a circuitous procedure, the governor informed the caliph of the attitude of the poet, who was imprisoned, with the help of his wife, who had come to visit him, he succeeded in escaping disguised as a woman and, after a period of wandering, he finally obtained pardon from the caliph through the mediation of the prince Maslama b. Hishām. On his return to Kūfa, he must have been gratified at the dismissal of Khālid (120/738); although his successor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thakafī [*q.v.*] was responsible, two years later (122/740), for the death of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had allowed himself to become involved in a Shīʿī revolt, al-Kumayt had no scruples about flattering him, although he did not succeed in deluding the Yemeni soldiers of his guard, who, on an occasion when he arrived to recite a poem, inflicted on him a mortal wound (126/743).

The renown of the poet, maintained by Shīʿī circles, rests fundamentally on the *Hāshimiyyāt*, which have been the objects of a commentary by Abū Riyāsh (d. 336/950 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and of a number of editions, of M. Shākir al Khayyāṭ (Cairo 1321, 1332), of Muḥammad Maḥmūd al Rāfiʿī (*Sharḥ al-Hāshimiyyāt*, Cairo n.d. [1928]), of ʿAbd al-Muṭaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, with a quite interesting commentary (*al Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī, shiʿr al-ʿaṣr al marwānī wa-kasāʾiduhu al-Hāshimiyyāt*, Cairo n.d.), and most of all, of J. Horovitz with a German translation (*Die Haschimijjat des Kumait*, Leiden 1904). In spite of the title, the poet's praises are not aimed at all the Banū Hāshim, but principally at the Prophet and at ʿAlī and his descendants. Some verses (i, 79, ii, 105 ff. of the Horovitz edition), in which mention is made of ʿAbbās and of his sons, were no doubt added in the ʿAbbāsid period, perhaps by the son of al Kumayt, al Mustahill, who was also a poet (see *Aghānī*, index) and was concerned to perpetuate his father's memory. The *Hāshimiyyāt* are composed, in the Horovitz edition, of four long *kaṣīdas* (103, 140, 133 and 121 verses), of two short *kaṣīdas* (33 and 20 verses), of one fragment of seven verses of which more than half constitutes an opening typical of the *kaṣīda*, and of four short pieces of six, two, two and two verses. In the long poems, al-Kumayt follows the framework of the *kaṣīda*, but with a short and not very conventional *nasīb*. In the *rahīl*, he follows the classical tradition, and subsequently he produces lavish eulogies of the ʿAlids similar to those that were addressed to the Bedouin *sayyids*. He also borrows frequently from the Kurʾān, to such an extent that a scholar of Kūfa, Ibn Kunāsa [*q.v.*] was able to compose, in the 2nd/8th century, a *Kitāb Sarāʾiḥ al-Kumayt min al-Kurʾān*. Some philologists and poets accuse him of plagiarism and inconsequence (see for example, al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 192-8) and do not judge him worthy, in spite of his antiquity, of figuring among the poets who serve as a "proof", a *shāhid* (cf. al-Baghdādī who takes his *shāhid* no. 56 from a poem of al-Kumayt). His compositions were on the other hand very highly regarded in Shīʿī circles, whose members probably did not hesitate to add to them verses or even whole sections of which he was not the author. For R. Blachère, "the simplicity of the language, the platitude of the arguments makes one think of a poetry of propaganda uttered at a public (possibly urban) immune to the lexicographic beauties of the desert poets." The language of al-Kumayt nevertheless does not lack refinement, but the artifi

cial use of a hadīth-understood *gharīb* was a source of irritation to some of his contemporaries. In fact, the importance of the *Hāshimiyyāt* insofar as they are entirely authentic, resides in the opinions and the sentiments current in the Shīʿī circles—or rather Zaydī circles, so it seems—of Kūfa which they reflect. Al-Kumayt, it is true, regards the first caliphs as usurpers (iv 10), but he refrains from excommunicating them, even if they did wrong in not handing Fadak [*q.v.*] back to Fāṭima, ʿAlī is the *waṣī* of the Prophet who bequeathed the *waṣiyya* to him near the pool of Khumm (vi, 6, which seems to be the earliest evidence of this Shīʿī doctrine). It is to the ʿAlīds alone that power belongs and it is they who will consolidate afresh the foundations of Islam which unworthy rulers have shaken. The poet's enthusiasm does not, however, run to the extent of leading him to take up arms in support of the ʿAlīd cause, personified especially by Zayd b. ʿAlī, and his warfare is limited to virulent versified attacks on the ruling régime, although his convictions do not prevent him from addressing compliments to it, as is shown by the eulogies of Maslama and of Hishām himself, after his tirades had been pardoned. He recognises, besides, that in doing this, he had used *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], as a verse (iv, 86) where this term, according to Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, lv, 219) is used for the first time in the sense which the Shīʿa give to it (Goldziher, in *ZA*, xxii [1909], cf. *Arabica*, viii/1 [1960], 11, also comments on the metempsychosis referred to in iii, vv 39-40).

It is probable that Mighāra would not have shown so much clemency if he had really known the content of the *Hāshimiyyāt*, these must in fact have been circulated surreptitiously, with or without the complicity of the local authorities. It seems clear, in fact, in spite of divergences in the traditions, that al Kumayt owed his rebuffs to the *Mudhahhaba* alone. This poem of 320 verses, of which only a part has been preserved, is a riposte to a Kalbī poet referred to by the name al-Aʿwar, who had attacked Muḍar and, among these, the ʿAbās in the *Hashimiyyāt* there is no sign of any hostility towards the Yamanīs, and she poet had even lauded the Muhallabids in the person of Makhlad b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, which seems to prove that the section in which were represented the disreputable characteristics of the tribes of the Yemen is of a mainly occasional nature. Not only was this poem the primary cause of the assassination of al-Kumayt, but in addition, al Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 36 46 = §§ 2467 72) comes close to seeing here both a manifestation and a cause of the conflicts between the Northern and Southern Arabs which led to the fall of the Umayyads. This *Mudhahhaba* certainly enjoyed a dangerous renown among the tribes of Muḍar, since, at the beginning of the following century, another Shīʿī poet, Dīʿbil al Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], still considered it advisable to refute it and to take up the defence of the Yamanīs in a *ḳaṣīda*, which is said to have comprised 600 verses, of which only 25 are now extant (see ʿAbd al Karīm al Aṣhtar, *Sharḥ Dīʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 193 7; idem, *Dīʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī*, Damascus 1967, index).

As for the *Mulhama* preserved by Abū Zayd al-Kurashī (*Djamhara*, 187 ff.), it comprises 36 verses and contains general and personal observations and the eulogy of Kuraysh, that is, ultimately of the Umayyads.

The *Dīwān* of al-Kumayt, which must have contained 3,000 verses, has been the object—proof of the interest aroused by this poet—of a number of recensions by Ibn Kunāsa, Al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Sukkarī and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist*, 158, Cairo ed., 225). It has been partially reconstituted by Dāwūd Salīm, Baghdād 1969-70 (3 vols. without the *Hāshimiyyāt*).

In spite of the studies that have been devoted to him, the personality of this poet, who was capable of composing eulogies simultaneously to the ʿAlīds and the Umayyads, remains inscrutable, even calamitic by reason of the meagre credit that may be accorded to the sources, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī, his versatility, even when justified by *taḳiyya*, is such as to throw doubt upon his sincerity and to advise the greatest caution in the use of his work.

Bibliography In addition to references given in the article, see Dībādj, *Bayān*, index, idem, *Hayawān*, index (giving the name of al-Kumayt's *nāḳa*, Muḥammad b. Sahl, vii, 18, the abundantness of citations comes from the poet's frequent use of animal names in his verses); Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 268-9 Buhturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 368-72 (ed. Shākir, 562-6), Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 347 8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index, Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index, *Aghānī*, xv, 133-30 (ed Beirut, xvi, 328 60) and index, Kālī, *Amālī*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 67 71, 86 7 = ed. Cairo, i, 134-42, 188-70, Ibn Ḥadjar *Iṣāba*, no 7498. A. S. Nadjīm, *al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī shaʿīr al Shīʿa fī ʿaṣr al-Umawī*, Beirut 1957 (a serious study), Yūsuf Khalīf, *Ḥayāt al shiʿr fī ʾl Kūfa*, Cairo 1388/1968, passim, Brockelmann, S I, 96 7; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 328-21 (with bibl.) (J. HOROVITZ - [CH. PELLAT])

KUMIDJIS, a people mentioned in the Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries as dwelling in the Buttamān Mts at the heads of the valleys running southwards through Khuttal and Čaghāniyān down to the course of the upper Oxus. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372/982) describes them as professional brigands and as linked with a smaller group, the Kandjina Turks. In fact, these two peoples must be remnants of some restless waves of invaders from Inner Asia, left behind in the Pamir region, probably of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA], as even of the earlier Sakas; Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of Kōmēdai, and it is accordingly probable that the names of our people should be read as *Kumēdjh-djis. Sources like Gardīzī and Bayhaḳī mention the Kumēdjis as marauders called in by warring factions during the decline of the Sāmānids (*e.g.* by Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī), and during the disintegration of Ghaznavid power in the west (*e.g.* by the incoming Karakhānids); but with the opening of the Saldjūḳ period, they disappear from recorded history.

Bibliography *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 220, 362 3; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 233, idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 54-9, 93, Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 248, 297-8, 301, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 73, 239; idem and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Khwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1963), 8 9.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUMIS, the Russian form of the Turkish *kimiz* "fermented mare's milk", "koumiss", the staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. Herodotus refers to its manufacture by the Scyths and the Chinese sources to its use amongst the Ancient Turks and the Khitan. William of Rubruck, who calls it *cosmos*, describes in detail the production of this drink by the 13th-century Mongols and we read in the *Secret history of the*

Mongols how the youthful Čingiz-Khān, fleeing from the Tayčiūt, sought refuge in a tent "in which koumiss was churned all through the night till the dawn". In this, as in other respects, the Timūrids continued the practice of their Čingizid predecessors; and koumiss is prepared and drunk to this day by the nomads of North Eastern Asia.

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KŪMIS, the Arabic transcription of the Latin *comes*, a title which in el-Andalus denoted the person responsible to the state for the *mu'āhadāt* (*q.v.*) or Scriptuaries, or at least, for the Christian Mozarabs (*q.v.*). According to A. Fattal, "les représentants religieux the *dimmis* sont autorisés par le pouvoir moyennant rémunération, à exercer leur autorité". Il semble bien que les Arabes de la conquête respectèrent tant l'organisation administrative que judiciaire, que religieuse des populations soumises". Certain capitulation documents (*'ahd*, *sulh*) (*q.v.*) expressly affirm this: "They shall not be forbidden the exercise of their religious cult and shall keep their own laws". This was the case in el-Andalus, as reflected in clauses 3 9 of the "treaty of Tādmīr" (*q.v.*).

The first known *comes* was *Arṭubās ḥāmī al-Andalus wa-ra'īs 'Aǧam al-dhimma wa-mustakhrij kharādjihim li-waqt* al-*muslimīn* (Ibn al Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa* 109), who advised the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār to grant to the Syrians fiefs of income (Chalmeta, *Concesiones territoriales* in *Cuadernos de Historia Hispania*, vi, 1975) According to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ* 38, "he was the first to exercise *ḥimāya* in Muslim Spain" We have therefore here a concentration in the person of the protector or defender of extremely wide powers, embracing administrative, judicial and probably—to a certain degree—religious ones. At least, this is what one can deduce from the treatment as *serenissimus hominum catholicorum comes* which Alvaro of Cordova accords to the Count Romanus (*Corus*, 211), as does Ibn Khaldūn from Aṣbagh b 'Abd Allāh In this context, it would probably be correct to see in the confiscation of Arḥbas's properties not only a "resumption of former crown domains" (*safāyā al-mulūk*), but also an extraordinary impost (not paid in cash) of the same type as we find in the Kais (Fattal, *Le statut légal*, 220-4) or as that which probably cost the Count Hazmīr his life. The *ḥimā* was equally responsible, as *mustakhrij*—which could be translated by the Latin *exactor*—for the collecting of taxes on his co-religionists. As such, he had to levy not only the *kharādj* and *djizya*, but also all extraordinary imposts (*ma'ūnen*, *nawāʾib*). This gave him a certain expertise and "vocation" as a professional tax-collector, and it explains the fact that we find under al-Ḥakam I a *ḥimā* Rabī' in charge of all taxes, on *dhimmīs* and Muslims equally (Ibn al Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, 15).

The *comes* was, then, a Christian, appointed by the state, but we do not know whether he was officially designated from above or nominated after proposal and election of his co-religionists. As an official, he had his subordinates His powers made him the supreme judicial authority over his flock, by virtue of his role as *ra'īs* or head of the community He was therefore by virtue of his office also *ḳāḍī al-'Aǧam* or *ḳāḍī al-nasārā*, whether in person, or by delegating his powers. Consequently, the meagre list of our "counts" should be completed by adding the list of *censores* or *iudices* (a hypothesis not forward, but not followed up, by Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes*, 122)

The names of some *ḥimāmes* have come down to us. After Arṭubās, one should doubtless place a certain Alfonso, since the genealogy of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn given by Ibn Khaldūn (*'Ibar*, iv, 134) and Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 108), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān, gives him as the sixth descendant after a *ḥimā* Adfunsh-Rabī'. b. Theodulf, *mutawallī al-mu'āhidīn min al-nasārā*, was not only the hated chief tax collector over the Cordovans, but also commander of the foreign palace guards of el Ḥakam I, and ended up by being crucified (Ibn Ḥasm, *Dumḥara*, 96) He was probably followed by the count (and physician) Romanus cited by Alvarus (*Corpus*, 211) St. Eulogius mentions one Isaac, a noble Cordovan who, before retiring to the monastery of Tabanos, had been *doctus lingua arabica, exceptoris vel publicus officio fungebatur* (*Corpus*, 402). Kūmis b Antunyān, who served in 'Abd el Raḥmān II's administration and was *ḳāḍī* to the *amīr* Muḥammad, and who is stigmatised by Alvaro and St. Eulogius as a hateful persecutor, *Ecclesiae publicanus . . publicus vel exactor*, should be included amongst the *comes* (and not amongst the "Gomez", as according to Simonet), because of (a) his function as *mustakhrij*, and (b) the fact that he seems to have been the official intermediary (much more than Recafred, metropolitan of Seville) between the state and the Mozarabs. With this authority he transmitted the *amīr* a commands and consigned members of his flock to jail, when necessary, not as a state official, but as the leader and one responsible for the Christians under his jurisdiction He presided over the council at Cordova in 852 which forbade the Mozarabs to seek voluntary martyrdom The course of events shows that he had not only the backing of the whole state apparatus but also that of the majority of his community. The upper classes were unable to agree, and he reached the point of fearing for his life (Khushanī, *Ḳuḍāt*, 130-1; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, ii, 138, 142), but things did not go as far as his assassination, as frequently happened in the East (Fattal, *op. cit.*, 220-3). He must have been followed by the *comes* Servandus, who held power in ca. 853, according to Alvaro (*Corpus*, 214, 552, 554, 560, 582). Ibn Antunyān's son, also the *amīr's ḥājib*, disappeared in 298/911 (*Bayān*, ii, 153). The Archpriest Cyprianus wrote in ca. 890 his *Epigrammata* for the *comes* Adulfus, and he also mentions a *comes* Guifredus (*Corpus*, 685 6) Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (*Iftitāḥ*, 5) cites his contemporary Abū Sa'īd *al-ḥimār*, as well as the *ḥāḍī al-'Aǧam* Ḥafṣ b Albar, both of them descendants of Arṭobas. Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 142) records under the year 293/905 that 'Hazmīr *al-ḥimār* was imprisoned; he was tortured and underwent the torture of the iron boot until he died" It is likely that the *ḥāḍī al-nasārā* of Cordova in 355/962, who acted as interpreter for Ordoño IV, was also the "*comes* of the Mozarabs". This was doubtless also the case with Aṣbagh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nabīl, who was commissioned, in the name of the 'Āmirid 'Abd el-Malik, to arbitrate in the dispute over the tutelage of Alfonso V between the two counts, Sancho Garcia of Castile and Menendo Gonzalez of Lion Aṣbagh must have been the successor of Mu'ānaya b Lubb, who was *ḥimār* in 361/972. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl (Sila, No. 443), there was in the time of the caliphate a little market in Cordova called the *sunaybat al-ḥimār*

The fact that, in the course of the 4th/10th century, we find more references to *judges than to counts*,

to contexts where one would expect the reverse, must indicate a lowering of the latter's status, who by then had lost many of his duties. It is hard to believe that Ibn Zaydūn, appointed by Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Diahwar to "enquire into certain affairs of the *dhimmīs*" (Ibn al-Abbār, *Tākmila*, 922-23), can have had the title of *ḥākim* indeed, if he had really fulfilled the role, it would have been indicative of a profound change, since Christians would have become subject to a Muslim and not to one of their co-religionists. It is very possible that Ibn al-Ḥallas, *ḥakīm al-mu'allimīn* of Granada in 1125-6, at the time of Alfonso the Warrior's Andalusian expedition, was *comes* of the Mozarabs (*Ibāda*, 113, 116). The disorders of the period of *fitna* [*q.v.*], conducive to rebellions, the emigration of native Christians to the kingdoms of the north, and the severities of the Almoravids and Almohads, explain the silence of our sources for the later periods.

The term *kūmis* was applied not only to the head of the Mozarabs however, but also to the counts of the Christian kingdoms. Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, v) says that Ordoño II rallied for warfare all his counts at the siege of Evora in 301/913. He gives this title to the counts of Alaba and Djalīḳiya, to the Banū Gūmis and Banū Anghūr, and cites by specific name Sandjo b. Gharsiya (Ḥanbalūna), Fardhīland b. Ghundīshalb (Kashtīliya), Bermundh b. Nuño (Shalamanka), Abu 'l-Mundhir (Gormaz), Fortūn b. Gharsiya known as *Amīr al-kūmis*, Rudhmīr *al-kūmis* alias Ibn Māmma Tūta, the counts Manyūra and Fālu, and above all, *al Kumt kūmis Ḳurṭuba*. At the time of al Ḥakam II (*Muḳtabas*, vi), the same author gives this title to Bon Filyo, Gundīshalb b. Munyo, Esimno b. Gharsiya and Ashraka b. 'Umar b. Dāwūd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter in the *K. al-'Ibar* on the Christian kings of Spain, speaks of Fernan Gonzalez and García Fernandez *kūmis Alaba wa 'l-Ḳila'*, Menendo Gonzalez *kūmis Ghalīsiya*, Henry of Burgundy, and the Banū Gūmis and Banū Fardhīland, as well as Alvar Fañez. Ibn Bassām spoke in ca. 1010 of the *kūmis* Raymund, lord of Barcelona. Speaking of events from the beginning of the 8th/14th century, Ibn Khaldūn uses *kunt, ajnād* for Raymond of Burgundy, Don Nuño (Gonzalez de Lara) and Henry of Trastamara. The *Vocabulista* attributed to R. Martí gives *kunt, akunt* as the equivalent of *comes*; P. de Alcalá has *conde o gondesa = cond, agnāt* whilst the *Fragmenta [illegible] reyes nazaries* published by Müller and re-edited by Bustani Quiros (Larache 1940) translates "count" by *kundī*.

Bibliography In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see Fr. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas*, Madrid 1888, 123 f.; idem, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1903, iii 13; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 218 n.; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans*, Beirut 1958; A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Oxford 1930; I. Cagigas, *Los mozárabes*, Madrid 1947-8; E. P. Colbert, *The martyrs of Cordoba (850-859)*, Washington 1962; *Bol. R. Acad. Cordoba*, lxxx (1960), dedicated to St. Eulogius; J. Gil, *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, Madrid 1973. (F. CHALMETA)

KŪMIS, a small province of mediaeval Islamic Persia, lying to the south of the Alburz chain watershed and extending into the northern fringes of the Dashtī Kavīr. Its western boundaries lay almost in the eastern rural districts of Rayy, whilst on the east it marched with Khurāsān, with which it was indeed at times linked. It was bisected by the great Rayy-Khurāsān highway, along which were situated the chief towns of Kūmis, from west to east Khuwār or Khwār (classical Χοαρηνή, modern Aradān), Simnān (*q.v.*), Dāmghān (*q.v.*), and Bisṭām (*q.v.*), whilst at its south-eastern extremity, out in the Great Desert, was the small town of Bīyār (*q.v.* in Suppl.), modern Biyārdjumand. The administrative capital of Kūmis was Dāmghān, which is often accordingly called in the sources Madīnat Kūmis or Shahr i Kūmis, according to a well-known toponomastic process (cf. the town of Bardasīr/Kirmān). The name Kūmis is obsolete today, and the lands making up the mediaeval province are included administratively in the *farmāndārīyy kull* or governorate of Simnān and the *nāḥiya* or province of Māzandarān. The present-day town of Shāhrūd, just to the south-west of Bisṭām, does not seem to have been in existence as such in mediaeval times.

The province was one of considerable importance in pre-Islamic times. In Greek sources it appears as Κωμισηνή, and in Armenian writers like Sebeos and Moses of Khoren as Komsh. H. W. Bailey, in *JRAS* (1970), 81-2, has suggested that the name derives from an Old Ir root *ka-, kam-*, conveying the idea of "hollowness", plus a passive or agental suffix, whence Komish "opened up, excavated place". Seleucus Nicator seized the satrapy of Parthia between 311 and 302 B.C., and it was allegedly he who founded the "city of a hundred gates", Hecatompylos, although it almost certainly existed before then, a legend retailed in the 8th century A.D. Middle Persian catalogue of the towns of Iran says that Kūmis "the five towered" (*panj burg*) was built by the sorcerer Aṣḥ i Dahāk, whilst from later Islamic times, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* 161, tr. 137, attributes the building of Dāmghān to the hero Hūshang. Such classical authors as Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, etc. mention Hecatompylos as the royal city of the Parthians, and some of these sources give the distance of the city from the Caspian Gates (e.g. Strabo, 1260 *stadia* and Pliny 133 *milia passuum*); the consensus of modern opinion tends to identify the Caspian Gates with the Sar-Darrah defile through the Kūh-i Namak spur of the Alburz. But the site was never properly identified with any reasonable certainty, although it was thought that it probably lay somewhere between the towns of Dāmghān and Shāhrūd, until recently, however, Hanṭāsān and Stronach have examined and excavated the site of the modern spot called Shahr-i Kūmis, near Kūḥa to the south-west of Dāmghān on the Simnān road. It seems that this very extensive site could well be the ancient Parthian capital, apparently largely abandoned around the middle of the 1st century B.C. when the Arsacids moved their winter capital to Ctesiphon. See A. D. Mordtmann, *Hekatompylos*, in *SB Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil. Hist. Cl. (1869), 497-536; Fauly Wissowa, xiii/2, cols. 2790-7, s.v. (Kiessling), Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 12, 55-6, R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 183-4, J. Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, in *JRAS* (1968), 111-39, idem and D. Stronach, *Excavations at Shahr i Qumis 1967*, in *JRAS* (1970), 29-62; idem, *A Sasanian repository at Shahr-i Qumis*, in *ibid.*, 142-55, S. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 191-2.

In Sāsānī times, there seems to have been a refounding of Kūmish, perhaps by Yazdagird I (399-421) as a defensive post against the Turks and Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] who were threatening the north-eastern frontiers of his kingdom. The region

retained its old connection with the Parthians through its being the home of the noble Parthian family of Mihrān, to whom belonged the Spahpat (Islamic form, Ispahbadh [q.v.]) Pahlav, killed by Hormizd IV (579-90), in the next reign, Kūmish was the residence of the Spahpat of Khurāsān, Sāren of Nihāwand [see KĀRINIDS for the subsequent history of this family]. There was there a highly-venerated fire temple, described in Middle Persian sources of the early Islamic period as burning perpetually without fuel (whence, presumably, its N. Pers. name Khurūsha < M. Pers. *a murūsh* "without food"), obviously a fire fed from some volcanic source or else from a natural seepage of petroleum. Towards the end of the Sāsānid period, however, the administrative centre of the province seems to have been transferred to the apparently new foundation of Dāmghān, which thereafter acquired in early Islamic times the name of [Madīnat] Kūmis. It may have been that the old Kūmish of middle Sāsānid times had never been more than a frontier post, since no Sāsānid coins are known to have been minted there. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 72-2; Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 56-7; Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis* 136-9.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, the men of Kūmis fought in the Sāsānid army at Nihāwand and at the defence of Ruy, but the province offered no resistance to the Arabs thereafter. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 328, Sulaymān b. ʿUmar al-Dabbī sent troops into Kūmis, but according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2856 *f.*, the caliph ʿUmar sent an army under Suwayd b. Muḳarrin in 22/643, and Kūmis was thereafter used as a base for attacks on Gurgān and the Caspian region. As with Dīnawar and Ray, it was Arab warriors from Kūfa who garrisoned the chief town of Dāmghān. Al-Ṭabarī further records, i, 2839, that the more northerly highway to Khurāsān was less used in these early decades than the one via Fārs and Kirmān, since Kūmis was vulnerable to attacks by Daylamī and other mountain peoples of the Alburz. It was, so he says, the governor Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] who first regularly used the Kūmis route to Khurāsān and Transoxania (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffārids (30 250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 20). In fact, the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [q.v.] had used that route in 31/652, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 192. The region had meanwhile been disturbed by Khāridjī sectaries, involving the appearance there of the Azraḳī leader ʿAbīda b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī in 77/696 with the remnants of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa's forces fleeing before the pursuing Umayyad army [see AZĀRIḲA and ḲAṬARĪ b. AL-FUDJĀʾA]. Also, soon after 127/744-5, Kūmis, together with much of northern Persia, was occupied by the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [q.v.] (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1880, 1976). Reform type *dirhams* were minted under the name Kūmis from 98/712 onwards, but there do not seem to have been any Arab-Sāsānid coins minted there (cf. J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum. i. Arab Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. cxxxvii-cxxxix).

Administratively, Kūmis was mostly linked during this period with Dīnawand [q.v.] or Dunbāwand and with northwestern Persia in general, thus under the caliph Hishām, Kūmis and Iṣfahān both formed part of the governorship of Ray (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 388), until in 164/780-1 under the early ʿAbbāsids Kūmis was separated from Ray, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 503. Abū Muslim's troops early occupied Kūmis in their march westwards during the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and some years later, in 237/754-5, it was briefly seized by the anti-ʿAbbāsid Persian rebel Sunbādh [q.v.] in the 3rd/9th century, Kūmis suffered several severe bouts of plague (e.g. in 248/856-7), and in 259/873 it was occupied temporarily by the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [q.v.] in his expansionary wars outside his base of Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880). By the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Kūmis had fallen away from caliphal control, and was disputed by various Daylamī and other adventurers contending, together with the major powers of the Būyids and Sāmānids for mastery in northern Persia, at various times, Būyids, Sāmānids and Ziyārids controlled it, as the evidence of coins, principally bearing the mint-name of Dāmghān, shows (cf. E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 115).

The geographers of this period give descriptions of the province, usually dealing with it town-by-town. They emphasise its fertility, with exports of its fruit, such as the famed *kummī* and *bādām* apples, so far as ʿIrāḳ, and the fame of its woollen, silk and goats' hair textiles and carpets (see e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. Wiet, 80; Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, tr. Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf Miscʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, 36-8; Muḳaddasī, 367, according to al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, Kūmsī *laylasāns* were the best procurable after those of Bayhaḳ, Amul and Egypt (cf. R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 75, 80). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 155, § 32, comments on the bellicosity of the people of Kūmis and Dāmghān perhaps a reflection of their position, exposed to attacks along the Khurāsān highroad and from the Caspian region. Al-Muḳaddasī, 353, 367-8, comments on the piety of the Ḥanafī inhabitants of Kūmis and on the peculiarities of their Persian dialect, which he says is connected with that of Ṭabaristān and which seems to show archaic features. Various authorities give the tax-yield of the province, from the figures of Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 34, of 2,296,000 *dirhams* to those of al-Muḳaddasī, 372, according to whom the *kharādj* of Kūmis amounted to 2,296,000 *dirhams* plus 26,000 *dirhams* from Biyār [q.v. in Suppl.], this before Biyār was transferred administratively from Kūmis by the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) and linked with Nīshāpūr and Khurāsān.

From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name Kūmis gradually drops out of usage, although Mustawfī (8th/14th century) still uses it in his *Nuzha*, 162-3, tr. 157-8, to denote the province, its last appearance on a coin appears to be on a Ziyārid *dirham* of 364/974-5 (Zambaur, *op. cit.*, 136).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 364-8, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 809 ff.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪMIYA, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib in the Middle Ages; they were of one time called Ṣanhādja and were descended through Fātin from Mādghīs al-Abtar. Tradition says that the brothers of Kūmiya, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were Lemaya and Maṭghara from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the Kūmiya, who live in the north-

west of Algeria between Tlemcen and Arshḳol (Rashgun) are the B. ʿAbid, from whom was descended the first caliph of the Almohad dynasty, ʿAlī al-Muʾmin [q.v.], born at Tādlā in between Hunaya and Nedroma, the Nedroma who gave their name to an important town the Saghāra, now represented by the Mātīla, the Banū Hūl of whom a section the Masīla still exist. The Kūmiya showed themselves devoted to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was one of them They formed the second *djund* in the Almohad army, but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to *kharādj* by the Zenāta, some of them joined another group, the Dhāya, and formed the powerful confederation of Trāra in the north west of Algeria

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(R. Basset)

KUM(M)Ī, Kāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Husaynī, Persian chronicler and chancery clerk (*munshī*), was born on 17 Rabīʿ I 953/18 May 1546 in Kum(m), the son of the *munshī* Sharaf al Dīn Husayn al-Husaynī. In 964/1556-7 he went with his father to Mashhad at the court of the art-loving prince Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā b Ismāʿīl I, where he was trained by well-known calligraphers In 973/1566 he was a *munshī* at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp I, together with his father. At the instigation of Shāh Ismāʿīl II he started composing in 984-5/1576-7 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* From 984-8/1576-1580 he was employed at the chancellery of *mustawfī al-mamālik* Mīr Shāh Ghāzī, in 988/1580 as financial supervisor with Ardabīl Khalīfa Takkalū and from 959/1581 onwards worked at the highest level of the financial administration by command of the highest authority In 997/1589 he was at the residence of Shāh ʿAbbās I to whom he dedicated in 999/1591 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* About his further life nothing is known; so far his works are the only sources for his life (see Minorsky, 1-12, Müller 3 7)

Kum(m)ī composed at least three works 1 *Madjma*ʿ (or *Tadhkira*) *al-khaʿāʾir* yi ʿ*Abbāsī* The work has not been preserved but the author refers to it several times in his later works According to these references the work must have been an anthology of at least six volumes in which among other things information was given about the lives of great scholars, scientists and poets.

2 *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* a ch onicle in five volumes, of which the fifth volume only has been preserved. It describes at full length the history of the Ṣafawids from their origin to the first years of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I and was probably composed between 995/1587 and 1000/1592 It exists in five manuscripts The first part of this volume, dealing with the early Ṣafawids, has been published, translated into German and annotated by E Glassen, and the last part, in which the first years of Shāh ʿAbbās I are treated, by H Müller This chronicle is one of the most important sources of Ṣafawid history. Although the first part is highly dependent upon other known and unknown sources, the sections dealing with later times, witnessed by the author himself, give truly independent information Together with Iskandar Beg Munshī's *ʿĀlamārā-yi* ʿ*Abbāsī*, it may be considered as one of the two most important sources for the period of Shāh ʿAbbās I.

3 *Gulistān i honar*, a treatise on calligraphers and painters, composed ca. 1005/1597, exists in several incomplete manuscripts it has been edited by A. S. Khʷānsārī, translated into Russian by P. N. Zukhoder and into English by V. Minorsky The contents of this work, classified according to the various kinds of writing, are mainly based on earlier sources These are however many important observations by the author himself on contemporary calligraphers, whom he had plenty opportunity to meet at the court of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, at that time a flourishing centre for calligraphy.

For other works, possibly written by Kum(m)ī (*Munshaʾāt al-asrār*? and *Madjmūʿ al-khiṭāb*) see Müller, 8-10

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(H. Müller)

KUMR, the Arabic name for the Comoro Is., a group of four islands in the Indian Ocean at the northern exit of the Mozambique Channel, halfway between East Africa and northern Madagascar. The largest island of the archipelago is Grande Comore (in the local language Ngazidja in the chronicles also Hangazidja, Langazidja, al Angazidja, Kum(u)r), with 1148 km² and ca. 120,000 inhabitants (1966) followed by Anjouan (Nzwani, Hinzwani, in older Portuguese and English sources Johanna) with 424 km² and ca. 85,000 inhabitants, Mayotte (Mayuta, Maḥore) with 374 km² and ca. 28,000 inhabitants; and Mohéli (Mwali; in older European sources Mohaly, Mohilla etc.), with 290 km² and ca 10,000 inhabitants. The capital of the islands is Moroni on Grande Comore The islands are of volcanic origin (still active is the volcano Karthala, 2361 m, on Grande Comore) and consist mainly of basalt and tuff The climate is tropical maritime with the heaviest rainfalls from November to April. The natural vegetation is a dense rain-forest with rare varieties of wood, which, however, for the most part have been rooted out and replaced by plantations and savannas. Agricultural products of importance for export are coco palms, vanilla, coffee, pepper, aromatic plants (ylang ylang), sisal and sugar-cane Cattle-breeding and fishery are scarcely developed.

The population which suffers from a very high birthrate (outside the islands, in Madagascar and

East Africa, there already live about 300,000 Comorians, cf. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 149), has developed from three different ethnic elements, (a) Bantus from East Africa, (b) Malayo-Indonesians who came via Madagascar, and (c) Arabs who immigrated directly from South Arabia (especially Hadramawt) or from Arab settlements in East Africa. The Comorian language is divided into two main dialects, the Shi Ngazidja and the Shi-Nzwani, and, at least from the phonetic point of view, seems to be related more to the Venda, a Bantu language spoken on the middle Limpopo river, than to Swahili (Heepe, *Die Komoren-dialekte*, 45). Like Swahili, which is well understood by most of the Comorians, it has incorporated many Arabic loanwords. While Arabic seems to have been used as the written language still in the last century, most of the recent chronicles and correspondence are written in the local language with Arabic letters. Arabic is taught in Kur'ān schools but is understood only by a small minority. The Comorians are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfi'ī rite, but many African animistic conceptions and magic practices have survived in popular belief (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 51, with further references). Al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* is widely used and still serves as the theoretical base for Civil Law. The Shafi'ī law was widely respected by the French administration, but in many fields it is supplemented by the customary law (*adat*) which shows many matriarchal characteristics (e.g. law of succession). The Sufi brotherhoods of the Shadhiliyya, Tidjāniyya, Kādiriyya and 'Alawiyya play a very important part in religious life (cf. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 145 ff.).

Local legendary tradition, as well as false identifications of place-names, have led some former historians (Gevrey, Grandidier, etc.) to fantastic speculations about the early relations between the Comoro Is. and the ancient Mediterranean world. Until now there seems to be only one hint which deserves some attention and which might establish such relations. Pliny gives as the name for an island, the location of which would fit well with one of the Comoro Is., Damuia, and Von Wissmann (art. *Zangenae*, in *Pauly's Realencyclopädie*, Suppl. Bd. xi (1968), 1339) may be right in identifying Damuia with Domoni, an old settlement on Anjouan and formerly used as name for the whole island, Arab geographers, including the pilots of the 15th and 16th century like Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, used the name Kumr for Madagascar exclusively and cited, if they did at all, each of the islands by its proper name (cf. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, 432). Local tradition states the history of the islands with the legendary report (unknown on the Swahili coast) of the immigration of two families from the Arabian peninsula some years after the death of Solomon. But the first traditions which deserve more interest are those that speak of the arrival of Bantu speaking people from East Africa to Grande Comore at an unknown date but in any case before the 14th century. One chronicle (Rotter, *Madagassische Inseln*, 24) calls them Wa'Mizi and Tungi, Mizi as a place-name was already known to Pliny (Von Wissmann, *Zangenae*, 1339) and corresponds with modern Kilwa Kisimani, while Tungi is identical with Tungwi south of Cap Delgado. Since a group of former slaves in Anjouan bears the name Makwa (Robineau, *Islam*, 46; idem, *Société*, 34) which corresponds with the tribe Makua in the hinterland of Tungwi, it is very likely that at least the greatest part of the Bantu element on the Comoro Is. came from the East African coast between Lindi and the mouth of the Limpopo River. This fits with the above-mentioned linguistic facts. At least on Anjouan these Africans were not the first inhabitants, but merged with an older population, now generally called Autalaotra, of Malayo-Indonesian race which might have immigrated in the course of the first millenium (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 34) via Madagascar (former European sources often call them wrongly Bushmen, cf. Repiquet, *Sultanat*, 50).

The local tradition of Grande Comore and Anjouan has preserved the names of the ruling houses before the coming of the Shīrāzī (15th century). On Grande Comore the *ma-fe* (or *ma-fe 'ahuli*, cf. Swahili *fu* and *fumi*) are said to have established and ruled the first eleven villages, before they were defeated by the *wa heya* (cf. Swahili *wa mheya*) (Harries, *Swahili chronicle*, 12, 71). On Anjouan the *heya* are regarded as the oldest ruling class, which was replaced by chiefs who bore the title *fani* (Faurec, *L'Archipel*, 33). Although we must take for granted that at that time, i.e. in the first half of this millenium, Arab or Swahilised-Arab merchants were in contact with the islands, and some of them might have settled there, it is difficult to say, whether Islam was already wide-spread. It is noteworthy, however, that the last *fani* rulers on Anjouan bore Arab names like 'Alī and 'Īsā.

The decisive turn in Comorian history was the arrival of the Shīrāzīs in the second half of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, who by fighting and intermarriage seized power on all four islands (the coming of the Shīrāzī clan with their ancestor Muhammad b. 'Īsa is described through the legend of the Seven Brothers which is also well-known in East Africa, of among others, Chittick, *Shirazi colonization*, 276; Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 10 ff.) and became the real founders of Islamic culture on the islands (the first mosques were built by them at Tesweni on Grande Comore, at Sima and Domoni on Anjouan, and at Chingoni on Mayotte, all in the middle of the 16th century).

In the following three centuries the political situation was marked by (i) very complicated internal dynastic struggles, (ii) the invasions of the Malagasy tribes, Sakalava and Betsimisaraka, and (iii) the growing political influence of the French and British in the area.

(i) Grande Comore was divided into eleven more or less independent territories (Bajini, La Dombe, Bambao, Hambu, Itsandra, Hamanvu, Mutsamdhuli, Mbude, Mbaku, Washili, Hamahame) ruled by sultans who only seldom jointly recognised the supremacy (*utibe*) of one of them. Sultan Ahmad (= Mwinye Mkuu) (1793-1875), the son of Shaykh Ngome from Fate in northern Swahili country, and of Mwana Mitti, half sister of a *sultan* of Grande Comore (women rulers were not unusual, and the maternal line was often accorded higher prestige as all four islands) was the last really great personality who, at least for some years, managed to unify the islands, before he was defeated by Mūsa Fumu. The rivalry between Sultan Ahmad's grandson Sayyid 'Alī, the favourite of the French, and Mūsā Fumu (d. 1883 in prison), who was supported by the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar, marked the last years of independence. Against the will of most of the other sultans 'Alī signed in 1886 a treaty of protectorate with France.—On Anjouan the political situation was characterised by the bipolarisation of the two main towns Domoni, which was made the capital by the Shīrāzīs after Sima, and Mutsamudu, which became the political and commercial centre from the

end of the 18th century onwards when power shifted from the clan (*kabila*) of Al Madwa to the clan of Al Mastla (both names show their Hadramawt origin, cf. R. G. Martin, *Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa*, in *Centre of Arabic Documentation, Research Bulletin*, Ibadan 1973). Continuous succession struggles in the first half of the 19th century were only ended by Sultan Salim (1842-55), whose son Sultan 'Abd Allah III (1855-1890) put his island under French protection. Neither was Mayotte spared from dynastic rivalries within the Shirazi clan who ruled at Chingoni from the 16th century. In addition, the situation was complicated by the constant attempts of the sultans of Anjouan to bring Mayotte under their control. The last Shirazi sultan ceded his island in 1834 to the Malagasy nobleman of the Hova tribe Ramanetaka who already ruled on Mohéli. In 1835 or 1836 Ramanetaka was defeated by the Sakalava Dia Ntsoli (= Andrian-Tsouli), and the island became nominally a possession of the sultan of Anjouan. The same Dia-Ntsoli, without the authorization of the sultan of Anjouan, in 1841 presented the island to France. The smallest island, Mohéli, apparently was always dependent on Anjouan, until in 1830 the above-mentioned Ramanetaka (d. 1842) after having become a Muslim, appointed himself sultan of the island. One of his descendants signed the treaty of protection with France in 1886.

(ii) There seems to have been a more or less peaceful influx of Malagasy people to the islands throughout the centuries, but around the turn of the 19th century the nearly annual invasions of the Betsimisaraka and Sakalava threatened the political and cultural integrity of the islands. The main reason for these invasions, which caused heavy losses among the population and the destruction of whole settlements, was the search for slaves, although some groups had been summoned by the quarrelling sultans themselves. Only after the Anglo-Malagasy treaty of 1817 did the invasions gradually stop. In the following decade it was the political situation on Madagascar and the extension of the Hova state that drove large groups of Sakalava (under Dia-Ntsoli) and Betsimisaraka (under Ramanetaka) to the islands. They finally settled down on Mayotte and Mohéli.

(iii) The first contact with a European power was a short visit of the Portuguese on Grande Comore about 1503 which, however, left no permanent traces on the islands. In the first half of the 19th century when the British and the French disputed control of the Indian Ocean, the Comore Is. also became involved. In taking possession of Mayotte in 1841, France tried to counterbalance the growing British influence on the other three islands (in 1833 the British had reinstalled Sultan 'Abd Allah II on Anjouan by force). Only after the British slowly withdrew from the Malagasy region after 1880 could France bring the other islands under its protection in 1886 (a process intensively studied by B. Dubins, *Political history*).

From 1914 till 1946 the whole archipelago was placed under the Gouvernement Général of Madagascar. On 6 July 1975 the Comore Is. declared their independence, except for Mayotte, where on 11 April 1976 a referendum saw a large majority voting to become a *département outre mer* of France.

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KUMUK (variant: Kumik) a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Kumuks belong to the Kipčak Turkic ethnic group, along with the Nogkay, Karačay and Balkar. They live north of the main chain of the Great Caucasus, on the northern, north-eastern and eastern slopes of the Dāghistānian Caucasus between the foothills and the Caspian Sea, from Derbend in Adabil-Su (near the lower Terek River). Although confined to a narrow strip of land in the south they inhabit a wider area near the Terek in the north. The Kumuks are bordered by the Nogkays in the north, the Avars (*q.v.*) and Dargkins (*q.v.*) in the west, and Tabasarans and Azaris (*q.v.*) in the south. The major rivers in Kumuk territory are the Terek, Sulak, Shura, Ulhu-Čai, Gamzi, Manas, Aksai and Gubden. The great majority of Kumuks are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school, although some Kumuks of Derbend and Mažkačkala are 'Twelver' Shi'is. The 1926 Soviet census lists 94,549 ethnic Kumuks, of which some 10,000 lived outside Dāghistān, and 94,909 Kumuk-speaking people. The 1959 Soviet census lists 134,967 ethnic Kumuks, and 132,303 Kumuk-speakers. (Due to the adoption of Russian as a primary language by Kumuk-speakers in the north, and Aseri by those in the south, the relative number of Kumuk-speaking people has declined, despite increasing numbers of

mountaineers using Kumuk as their primary language)

The Kumuks inhabit eight districts of the Dāghistān ASSR: Baba-Yurt, Khasav-Yurt and Kirił Yurt on the northern plains, and Buynaksk and Kara-budakhkent in the eastern coastal plains. The "Southern Kumuks" (Kumuks of Kayakent) live in the Kayakent district and in the villages of Magalis, Yangukent and Tumenler in the Kaytak district. The Kumuks are also found in six settlements in the vicinity of Makhachkala, and in the cities of Makhachkala, Khasav Yurt, Buynaksk, Izberbash and Derbend. A number of Kumuks live outside Dāghistān on the Noghay steppes in the Groznyi region, north of the Terek River, as well as in North Ossetia.

The ethnic origin of the Kumuks is complex and difficult to determine. They are probably a mixture of the indigenous Ibero-Caucasian tribes and various nomadic Turkic groups (Kuman Polovtsi, Khazar, Kipčak, etc.) who were pushed into the lowlands from the North Caucasian steppes in the 11th-13th centuries, imposing their language on the inhabitants.

The formation of the Kumuk people began in the 7th century when the Khazars (*q.v.*) overran the plains of southern Russia and populated them with Turkic-speaking peoples. The indigenous Ibero-Caucasian population mixed with these Turkic peoples, especially the Kipčaks (*q.v.*), and adopted their language. The Kumuk "nationality" appeared in the 13th century on the steppes of northern Dāghistān when successive waves of the Golden Horde pushed these Turkic-speaking peoples south-wards. Their Islamisation began immediately, under the influence of the Golden Horde from the north and the Laks from the south, and was completed by the 14th century when the Golden Horde annexed northern Dāghistān. Prior to this the people had been Christians, Jews and animists.

The first political organisation of the Kumuks was the feudal Shamkhalat, which united all the Kumuks as well as other northern and eastern Dāghistāni peoples. The Shamkhal originally resided in the mountains of the Lak (Kasi-Kumuk) region. When Shamkhal Čoban died in 966/1575, the Laks shook off the rule of his son Sultān Būt, and the centre of government was shifted to Buynaksk. After 1050/1640, Tarku was the capital of the Shamkhalat. In the 18th century the Shamkhal ruled most of northern Dāghistān. The semi-independent states of Endirey, Aksaev, Kosteko, Bammatulah, Kuinaksk, etc. were all headed by representatives of the Shamkhal of Tarku's family.

The Shamkhals acknowledged Persian sovereignty throughout their existence, in spite of their strong diplomatic ties with Russia in the late 18th century when Russia was attempting expansion into Dāghistān. The power of the Shamkhalat began to decline with the wars against the Kabardines and Georgians. It lost control of the area between the Terek and Sulak Rivers first, then the Darghin and Lak regions in the 17th century. However, the Russian expeditions of 1586, 1590 and 1604 were defeated by a joint Kumuk and Ottoman effort. Although the Shamkhals were formally vassals to the Moscow state, they remained close allies of the Ottomans from the late 16th till the late 18th centuries. In 1725 the Russians ended independent Shamkhal rule and the decline of the Kumuks was completed with the creation of the Mehtulin and Bammatulah Khānates. By 1765 the Shamkhalat was reduced to a 2,500 km² strip of land along the Caspian Sea.

Imām Mansūr attempted to rally the feudal nobility of the Caucasus (especially among the Kumuks and Kabarde) against the Russians in the late 18th century, but failed. The Treaty of Gülistān (1813) formally ceded Dāghistān to Russia, but the Kumuks continued to be governed by the Shamkhals. After the Russians subdued the Murid insurrection (1834-59) led by the Imām Shamil (*q.v.*), the Kumuks and the other Dāghistāni peoples were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Native rule was supplanted by a Tsarist military administration.

A small Kumuk intelligentsia emerged in the early 20th century. They had been educated in the *Dzadid* (*q.v.*) schools on the borders of Dāghistān, and were among the first to be impregnated with socialist ideas. This small group was destined to provide the leadership for the national liberal movement (which was doomed to failure) during and after the Russian Revolution.

In 1917 the Kumuks played an important rôle in the North Caucasus peoples' move for independence. Motivated by their own political traditions and Turkic cultural influences, they favoured a "Turkic" consolidation of Dāghistān (as opposed to the "Islamic" consolidation favoured by conservative Dāghestānis), with linguistic unification based on Kumuk or Azeri. They sought to become part of the great Pan-Turkic movement centred on Bākū, Kāzān and the Crimea. Following a power struggle between the religious and conservative elements led by *Shaykh* Uzun Hāji and Imām Gotsinski and the socialists, the Soviet régime was established in the principal cities on the plain in April 1918. By September 1918, General Bičerahov's "White" army, equipped in Persia by the English, had crushed the Soviet forces. Soviet power was not re-established in Dāghistān until 1920 when the Eleventh Red Army defeated Denikin's White Army and drove the partisans of Imām Gotsinski back into the mountains.

The Kumuks had one of the most powerful, complete and complex feudal structures in Dāghistān before the Revolution. The ruling class consisted of the Shamkhal, *beks* high nobility (*tsaha*), middle nobles (*tsala-uzden*) and religious leaders. The free-men (*uzden*), free serfs (*tagar* organised into various groups (*šimz*)), serfs bound to the land (*terkema*, living in separate *auls* and working the land), and home slaves (*kul*, a very small group) comprised the lower classes. The merchant class grew rapidly with the rise of industry and capitalism in the late 19th century, but the working class was never large, since most industry was domestically oriented.

The Kumuk language belongs to the Kipčak-Oghur subgroup of the Kipčak group of Turkic languages, to which the Noghay and Karačay-Balkar languages also belong. Kumuk has three dialects: Khaydak is strongly influenced by the Ibero-Caucasian languages and is used by the Meridional Kumuks; Buynaksk, and Khasav yurt (or Aksay), which forms the basis of the literary language, developed with the Arabic script in the late 19th century. In 1927 a Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic, and Cyrillic script was adopted in 1938. Kumuk was the *lingua franca* of the Dāghestāni peoples. The first Dāghistāni Communists accepted this rôle for Kumuk in the 1920s, but Russian was later adopted as the official language. Although Avar has replaced Kumuk as an inter-tribal language, Kumuk remains the second or third language of certain Ibero-Caucasian peoples in north and central Dāghistān (Andi-Dido-Avar, Darghin, Lak). Article 78 of the *Constitution of the ASSR of Dāghistān*

names Kumuḳ as one of the nine official literary languages of Dāghistān

The Kumuḳs are the only Dāghistān people having a true national literature which dates back to the early 19th century These early works were generally local versions of heroic epics or adventure novels, and were often consigned to small pamphlets destined for public readings. Turkic-language publications from Kāzān, Adharbāydjān, the Crimea and Turkey satisfied the desire for other literature. Christian missionary publications of the early 19th century were instrumental in the development of a literary language Written in a composite language of various Caucasian peoples, they were among the first written literature of the area

Kumuḳ literature came under the influence of the Turkic modernist movement centred on Kāzān and Baghčesarāy in the second half of the 19th century, resulting in the nationalistic poetry of Yūsuf from Yakhay and Ayyūb from Djanguiny In 1883 the Kumuḳ ʿOsmānov Muḥammad (b 1843) published an anthology of Kumuḳ and Noghay folklore and literary texts in St Petersburg, where he was a member of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at the Academy of Sciences. The collection includes a letter in verse, dated 1872, from the revolutionary Kumuḳ poet Yirčī Kazak (1830 80), inviting Muḥammad Efendi, then a student at St. Petersburg, to return home. This letter is one of the oldest literary vestiges of the Kumuḳ language, and Yirčī Kazak is thus considered the founder of Kumuḳ literature.

Muḥammad Mirzā Magarayef established a printing shop utilising Arabic script at Temir Khān-Shura at the beginning of the 20th century. By 1912 he had printed translations from Arabic and Kāzān Tatar and the poetry of Abū Sutyān in Kumuḳ. Noǰhay Batīrmurzayev (1860 1919) wrote the first modern narrative works inspired by Kumuḳ contemporary life in 1906-7. His son Zainalabid (1887 1919) was the first Kumuḳ Bolshevik writer. Together they founded the political-literary society *Tań čolpan* (*"The morning star"*) at Khasav-Yurt in 1916 to promote the development of modern Kumuḳ literature With the assistance of poet and dramatist Temir Bulat Beybulatov and other Kumuḳ Tat and Russian writers (including S S Kazbekov and H. O. Bulač), this organisation sponsored a nationalist, progressive review of the same name first published at Temir Khān-Shura in August 1917 The Khasav-yurt dialect of Kumuḳ was adopted as their literary language

Tań čolpan was instrumental in reviving the Kumuḳ national consciousness In actuality a radical nationalist organ, it professed to be apolitical and declined to choose between the socialist and nationalist positions. However, as a result of the first short-lived Soviet occupation of Dāghistān beginning in April 1918, *Tań čolpan* adopted a pro-Bolshevik position. Publication ceased in July 1918

Tań čolpan was not the first Kumuḳ journal to appear In 1913 the liberal nationalist Mirzā Muḥammad Mavarayev of Temir Khān-Shura requested authorisation for a Kumuḳ journal entitled *Kumuḳ gazēti* ("The Kumuḳ journal") This demand was rejected by the authorities, and the classical Arabic publication *Diarīdat Dāghistān* (published in 1915) notwithstanding, the first Kumuḳ publications did not appear until after the Revolution of February 1917. The journal *Musāwāt* ("Equality") was the first Kumuḳ periodical, published at Temir Khān-Shura in June 1917, under the editorship of Mavarayev.

This first period of Soviet domination witnessed the publication of a third Kumuḳ journal, *Ṭabʿ-i khalḳ* (*"The awaking people"*), it was edited by Zainalabid Batīrmurzayev and adhered to a Bolshevik position. The journal *Yoldash* also supported the development of a national Kumuḳ literature. The Kumuḳ press is currently represented by one republican organ published at Makhačkala, and several district organs (at Khasav-Yurt, Buba-Yurt, etc.)

The Kumuḳs possess a very rich Soviet literature. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammadoghlu Yagomedov (1889-1937) is considered the national poet of Dāghistān by the Soviets as a result of his pro-Communist writings in the post-Revolutionary years The most celebrated Kumuḳ prose writer is Yūsuf Gereyef, whose satirical style was influenced by the Adharbāydjānī poet Sābir Other literary figures of note include poet, dramatist and author of children's books ʿUlimpasha Salavatoghlu (1901-43), poets A Beshirov and Kaiyan, poet-novelist ʿAbdul-Wahāb Sulaymānoghlu (b 1909), playwrights Hamīd Kustamov and Amīr Kurbanov (b. 1909), and novelist Anvar Agiev (b 1913). The Kumuḳ poetess Ināču Gadieva is the most renowned female Dāghistānī writer In addition, many Russian authors have been translated into Kumuḳ (e.g. Tolstoy, Lermontov, etc.).

The Kumuḳs participate actively in the political life of Dāghistān. In 1924, Kumuḳs comprised 5.7% of the *profsoyuz* of the Dāghistān ASSR, and in 1927 there were 636 Kumuḳs in the Dāghistānī Communist Party.

The Kumuḳ educational system is less developed than that of the Avars, in 1948 there were eight Kumuḳ secondary schools (compared to 17 Avar), Karabudakhkent, Kayakent, Iberbash, Makhačkala, Buynaksk, Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt and Kazi-Yurt. Islām seems to remain a strong force among the Kumuḳs up to the present time

Modernisation is changing the character of the traditional Kumuḳ economy Agriculture and animal husbandry remain the basis of the rural activity, but mechanisation and collectivisation have made the large scale production of cereals and cotton possible. The fishing and canning industries, as well as oil (at Kayakent), hydroelectric plants and other factories are evidence of advanced industrialisation In certain sectors Nonetheless, traditional crafts are still pursued woven woollen goods and carpets (villages of Kumuḳental, Kayakent, Upper and Lower Kazanishče), gold work (Irusū Kazīr-Kumuḳh, Sultan-Yani-Yurt, etc.), wrought iron work (Verkhneye, Nigneye, Kazanishče, Andersey-aul), and pottery (Verkhneye, Kazanishče)

The Kumuḳs, along with the Avars, Darghuas, Laks and Lezgs, appear to be points of consolidation among the Dāghistānī peoples, destined to absorb certain small groups (although certainly not all). Of the nine official languages of Dāghistān, newspapers are only published in the languages of these five groups.

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(W. Barthold - [David K Kerman])

KUMŪN, "(infence)", a key-notion of speculative physics in early Muslim theology, especially in the system of al-Naẓẓām *[q.v.]*.

The concept was derived from simple observations: blood is "hidden" in the body of man, oil in sesame, flour in wheat, butter in milk etc., these substances can be made patent by certain procedures, such as grinding, churning etc. On the other hand, new substances can be produced by putting several ingredients together: pottery results from the "mixture" of clay, water, and fire, and these primary elements are "hidden" in it afterwards. On this empirical basis, where the term still had a rather non-technical meaning, al-Naẓẓām constructed a rather elaborate system which has not yet been the object of more thorough investigation. He did not follow the atomism of his teacher and uncle Abu 'l Hudhayl, who treated qualities as accidents which may be replaced by their contraries. For him, all natural qualities (with the exception of movement, understood in a very broad sense, as "all actions depending on man's will") were "bodies" inherent in other bodies: fire is not hot and luminous, but is composed of heat and luminosity. As such, fire may itself be considered an ingredient (*khilt*) of wood where it is "latent" until the wood is burnt. When it becomes manifest, other ingredients do so too: ashes, which consist of taste, colour, and dryness; smoke, which consists of taste, colour and smell; and water, which consists of humidity and a certain sound, i.e. the crackling produced in burning. In consequence of his "corporealism", al-Naẓẓām thus treated the qualities of an object and its constituent parts alike. It is possible that he differentiated between them insofar as the qualities form the ingredients of the primary elements which then make up for the more complex bodies, but we are not yet able to ascertain whether his theory implied such a hierarchy.

The "elements" (fire, water, etc.) are thus not simple themselves, but composed of, as al-Naẓẓām said, "joint" (*muzdawij*). They may inhere in each other: water always contains fire, which may be activated through heating and then leaves it for the empyraeum. The process can be recognised through the bubbling of the water: the particles of humidity which are dragged along the fire in its upward movement manifest themselves as vapour. Similarly, water normally contains earth which remains as a salty or limelike sediment in the kettle after evaporation. On the other hand, earth usually contains water; otherwise, it would not keep together (clay being normally given as an example). That fire and water may penetrate each other (*mudākhala*) without conflicting, is to be explained by the fact that they keep each other's balance; God has wisely calculated their proportions so that things do not explode by themselves (cf. al Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, Beirut 1957, § 18). Their equilibrium may even be used as a proof for the existence of a creator (*ibid.*, § 26). Only when this equilibrium of "hidden" contradictory ingredients is disturbed by external influence does disintegration ensue. When fire is brought close to wood, the fire latent in the wood gets the upper hand and destroys the coherent structure of its vessel. When somebody is bitten by a snake he dies not through the venom of the snake, but through the venom which he has in his own body and which is now reinforced. For the same reason the snake does not die from its own venom; here the venom is balanced by the right proportion of antidotes. When water freezes, this means that not only the cold which is latent in it has been enforced from outside, but also its "hidden" dryness, for ice is not only cold, but also dry. When it melts again, this process is thus not merely produced by heat, but also by humidity which was added from outside. When something wet becomes dry, it does not only lose humidity, but also weight: this shows that humidity contains "latent" weight, whereas heat does not.

Disintegration may be slow and imperceptible, as happens, e.g. with an oil lamp which burns down during the night, although it looks alike from one moment to the other. Disintegration may sometimes also be stopped. Wood must not lose all its fire at once; it may be transformed into charcoal which still contains part of it. Different species of the same genus may contain different proportions of the proper *akhlāṭ*. Some kinds of wood are more inflammable because they contain more fire; for the same reason, some kinds of stone can be better used as a flint than other ones.

This advanced theory presupposes a rather intricate intellectual tradition and a widely-developed range of discussion. As a matter of fact, the word *kumūn* is already alluded to in a poem by Abū Nuwās, one generation before al-Naẓẓām (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, i, 136, l. 6). Al-Naẓẓām took over his vocabulary (*kumūn* and *mudākhala*) and the basic structural assumptions of his system, his rejection of atomism and his definition of the body, from the Shī'ī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam *[q.v.]*, who had adopted them in his discussions with dualists, especially with Abū Shākir al-Daysānī, whom he seems to have converted to Islam. Via the Onyśāniyya and their spiritual ancestor Bardesanes (died 216 A.D.), we may trace some basic ideas back to Stoicism: a similar definition of body (σῶμα) and the concept of κρᾶσις δι' ὅλου (= *mudākhala*) or μῖξις (= *imtizāj*, *ikhtilāṭ*). In the Iranian environment this tradition was perhaps amalgamated with certain Indian ideas (the example of pottery is used in the Indian Sāṃkhya; cf. W. Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* Berlin 1954, 193). All dualist creeds understood the world as being in a stage of "mixture" (*gumūṣīn*) between light and darkness. In a Syriac fragment of Bardesanes, the qualities (ποιότητες = *znayyē* or *ḥailē*) are called *mazzagē*, "mixtures". But al-Naẓẓām did not simply imitate: he refuted the Manichaeans, as is shown by several passages in al Khayyāṭ's *K. al-Intiṣār*, and he attacked the Daysāniyya; he did not accept their axiom that light and darkness are at the bottom of every mixture (cf. al-Dāhiz, *Hayawān*, v, 46, l. 6 ff. etc.). He used the advantage of meeting them on common ground, but he seems to have developed quite individual ideas.

Inside Islam, there were certain affinities with the—rather vaguely definable—*aṣḥāb al jahr*[1] who believed that all things have a nature of their own which, once being created, no longer depends on God's will (and may as well be "hidden" in them, the *khilṭa* in al Naẓẓām's terminology), and with the Mu'tazilī Mu'ammar b. 'Abbād (cf. H. Dalber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu'ammar ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, 110 ff.). Opposition came from the *aṣḥāb al-a'rāḍ*, the "accidentalists" or atomists whose ideas had been first expounded by

Dirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], but also from apparently al Aṣamm [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who, in spite of denying the accidents, did not think of qualities as "bodies". The critique used mainly three arguments: (a) nothing can take place in something smaller than itself (and fire is bigger than wood), (b) several things cannot be simultaneously in the same place (which would be the case if several qualities were "hidden" in one substance), and (c) if fire were hidden in wood, we should feel it when we touch the wood, or we should find it when we cleave it. Arguments (a) and (b) were already brought forth against the Stoics (*e.g.* by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his Περὶ μίξεως, ch. 5 ff.); (c) is found in Indian philosophy (cf. W. Ruben in *AO*, xiii (1935), 147). The discussion turned especially around (c): al Naẓẓām objected that coldness balances the fire hidden in the wood, when the fire comes forth in burning, the coldness also leaves the wood immediately and enters the cold substances in its environments, i.e. water and earth, in a leap (*ṭafra*), without getting into contact with the things in between. This is why the ashes are not cold, in spite of the fact that the fire has left, the warmth found in it is not the warmth of the fire, but the warmth which was 'hidden' in it and was activated by the fire. As the "accidentalists" recurred to Aristotelian tradition (visible in (a) and (b)), al-Naẓẓām also criticised Aristotle's model of physics.

The theory was eagerly defended by Naẓẓām's disciples. But already al-Ǧāḥiẓ did not conceal his scepticism (cf. the quotations in van Ess, *Das K. un-Naiq des Naẓẓām*, Göttingen 1972, 12a) In the second half of the 3rd/9th century, it was apparently given up completely within the Muʿtazila. The future belonged to stoicism.

Bibliography: The main source for Naẓẓām's ideas about *kumūn* is Ǧāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 6 ff. (partly tr. into Turkish by Naʾīs Dumṣīnas, *Kelâm ilmine giriş*, Ankara 1955, 126 ff.). Cf. also Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1927 ff., 327, ll. 4 ff., with further references mentioned in the apparatus. Job of Edessa, *The book of treasures*, ed. A. Mingana, Cambridge 1933, chs. xvi-xx. For an analysis of the material, cf. J. van Ess in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 241 ff. See also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, index s.v. *Kumūn*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda, *Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām*, Cairo 1365/1946, 240 ff.; van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, index s.v. *Naẓẓām*; M. Fakhry, *Islamic philosophy*, New York 1970, 64 f.; F. Rex, *Zur Theorie der Naturprozesse an der früharabischen Wissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1975, introd.; J. Hecker, *Reason and responsibility. An explanatory translation of Kitāb al-Tawlīd from al Mughnī ... by Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, diss. Berkeley 1973, index s.v. "latency." (J. VAN ESS)

KUN, Arabic orthography **Kūn**, a Turkish tribe of Inner Asia known in the pre-Mongol period, but only in a shadowy fashion.

The earliest mention of the Kun is in Bīrūnī's *K. al-Tafhīm* (*a*20/1029), ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 145, and he places them in the Sixth Clime, in the territory of the eastern Turks between the Kāy and the Khirkiz [see qāy and qïrqïz]. The tribe is not, however, mentioned in Bīrūnī's *al-Kānūn al-Masʿūdī* (*pace* Pelliot, *À propos des Comans*, in *JA*, Ser. 11, Vol. xv (1920), 134-5). Nor are the Kun given in Kāšγarī (who does however deal with the other two tribes mentioned in the *Tafhīm* as their neighbours), but there is an important section on them in Marwazī's *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* (early 6th/12th century), ed. Minorsky, *Sharaf al Dīn Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text h, tr. 29-30, comm. 93 ff. This was adapted a century later by ʿAwfī in his *Ǧawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, section on the Turks, printed and tr. by Marquart in his *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in Bang and Marquart, *Ostturkische Dialektstudien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. xiii/1 (Berlin 1914), 40-2, and used by him as the basis of a complex and convoluted commentary on the Kun, *ibid.*, 42-77.

It seems that the Kun were amongst the easternmost of the Turkish peoples, with their original homeland in eastern Mongolia and the fringes of Manchuria. It may be that the Kun were the epigon of the T'u-yü-hun to the north of the great northwards bend of the Huang-Ho or Yellow River, the resemblance of the name Kun to that of the proto-Huns, the Hsiung-nu, etc., had already been noted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 64 5, cf. also Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 12. According to Marwazī, the tribe had been converted in their homeland to Nestorian Christianity (by missionaries from the Ordos region?), but had been impelled to migrate far westwards by pressure on their pasture grounds from the Kayı. The Kun then moved into the land of the Šārī/Sārī (whose name Barthold, in Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1930, *34°, connected with the Turkish word *sarı* "yellow" and the Kipčak/Comans, the Russian *Polovtsi* "pallid, yellowish ones", possibly, however, they should be linked rather with the Sarī Uyγhur of Kansu [*q.v.*]), and eventually ended up in the Aral Sea-Kipčak Steppe area. This chain of migrations must have been set off after Bīlgā's time, i.e. in the middle or later years of the 11th century. Minorsky was at first inclined to identify the Kun with the Kūrī/Fūrī (mentioned on the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 24, tr. 97, cf. comm. 285-6, 322-23, a savage and bestial tribe living to the east of the Kīrgīz (i.e. apparently to the east and south of Lake Baikal, their name surviving in the present-day Khori tribe of the Buryats), but subsequently abandoned this equation when he found the clear orthography Kūn in Marwazī. Earlier, Marquart had attempted to connect the Kun with the later Comans (in Magyar, Kun) of the South Russian-Western Siberian steppes (see qïpčaq), and this was later affirmed by J. Németh that Kun and Kuman/Coman both stem from a Turkish adjective *kū<*kuḇ* "yellowish, pale" (*Die Volksnamen* quman *und* qūn, in *KCsA*, iii (1942-3), 95-109).

At all events, the Kun have left very little mark on the Islamic history of Central Asia; we do not know whether they were substantially Islamised before losing their identity in some larger steppe confederation, such as that of the Kipčak or the later Golden Horde. The only member of the Kun to achieve mention in Islamic sources is the slave commander of the Saldjūḳs Ekinčī b. Ḳočḳar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was appointed governor of Khwārazm by Berk-Yaruḳ in 490/1097; Minorsky plausibly surmised that he may have been Marwazī's informant for his section on the Kun.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see L. Rásonyi, *Les Turcs non-islamisés en Occident*, in *PTF*, iii, Wiesbaden 1970, 11-12 of offprint. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUNĀ, Qena, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (population 40,000). It is the

capital of the province (*mudīriyya*) of the same name, which is divided into seven districts (*markaz*), namely: 1. Dighnā; 2. Isnā, 3. Kunā, 4. Kusayr, 5. Kūs, 6. Luḳṣur, 7 Naḳāda. In 1897 the population of the province was 721,457, but by 1958 it was more than 1,100,000. In 1940 the town of Kunā and the village of al-Ḥumaydāt and their dependencies were detached from the district of Kunā and *made* into a separate *markaziyya*. The region produces cotton and cereals; in the town, cloth and sweet-stuffs are manufactured. But Kunā is especially noted for its porous pottery, the jars (*bulla*) which are made there are called *ballās* from the name of a place a few miles to the south.

The Arabic name, written Iḳnā by some geographers and *Ḳinā* in the Copto-Arab *sealas*, comes from the Coptic ⲕⲟⲙⲏ ⲙⲏ which gives rise to a play on the Greek κατὼ πόλις "new town", a name which did not last long as it is never found in the Byzantine period. The identity of this town with the Neapolis of Herodotus has been seriously urged; it is rather the modern Minshā'a, the ancient Ptolemais. On the other hand, it has been conjectured with much probability that at the end of the 3rd century it received the name Maximianopolis.

In the first Arab period, the *kūra* of Kunā extended to the east of the Nile between that of Fāw on the north and Kift in the south, in front of that of Dandara from which it was separated by the river. The first author to mention it, al-Ya'ḳūbī, gives a very unflattering description of the district he says it is a little town rapidly going to ruin, deserted by its inhabitants who feared the raids of the Bedouin *robbers and brigands. Therefore*, when the new provincial divisions were made under al-Mustanṣir, it was Kūs which gave its name to the district (*'amal*) and became its capital. Kunā remained unimportant for some time, as Yāḳūt only gives it a brief note and Abu 'l Fidā does not mention it.

Its prosperity was not long in beginning, owing to the tomb of the saint 'Abd al-Raḥīm, which became an object of pilgrimage, while pious Muslims settled in its vicinity. Some years previously, Ibn Djubayr had mentioned Kunā as a pretty little town with houses of a dazzling whiteness, he makes special mention of the virtue of the women, who never appeared in the streets. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, al-Adfuwī gives us an account of the merits of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, he describes the houses of the town as spacious and very high and mentions two *madrasas* in Kunā and a number of hospices (*ribāṭ*). Ibn Duḳmāḳ only copies al-Adfuwī. In the Turkish period, Kunā was the residence of a *Ḳāshif*, but it is only in modern times that it has assumed the administrative position which it owes to its present steadily increasing prosperity.

The town, situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea, had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of Kuṣayr. This route took the place of the one used in the Middle Ages between Kūs and 'Aydhāb, which in turn succeeded the earliest Copto-Berenice road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value, it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mecca, and even during the Crusades, it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831-3 Muḥammad 'Alī had the wells inspected on the Kunā-Kuṣayr road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. *L'Égypte moderne*, collection *L'Univers*, 164-6; Barron and Hume, *Topography and geology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Ḥadīdān, twelfth descendant of Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ, was born in the environs of Ceuta in Morocco. After a journey to Mecca where he spent seven years, he settled in Kunā and died there on 9 Ṣafar 592/13 January 1196. Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism, he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt, along with Aḥmad Badawī, Ibrāhīm Dasūḳī and Abu 'l Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and Aksūrī. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which, if recited beside the tomb, hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about cures. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to Kunā made circuits (*tawāf*) of the tomb of 'Abd al-Raḥīm similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Ka'ba (Adfuwī, *Ṭāli' sa'īd*, no 231, Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* ii, 315, Eng. tr. ii, 287; *RHR*, ii, 284, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 224). There were descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥīm living in Egypt for two centuries; they were, in particular, jurists and professors (Adfuwī, nos. 29, 227, 229, 508, 402, 476, 533; al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 423).

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KUNAYTIRA [see QANṬARA].

KUNBI ṢĀLIḤ, an important cluster of ruins of mediaeval date, situated in lat. 13° 48' N and long 7° 59' W in Hodh (southern Mauretania), 330 km. N of Bamako, 95 km WNW of Nara and 70 km. SSE of Tumbédra. Most modern writers agree that it was the capital of the Sarakolé kingdom of Ghāna (*q.v.*) which dominated the southern part of the Western Sahara and the North Sudan from around the 6th century until ca. 1076.

The ruins are situated on a schistose plateau which is covered with thorn bushes, and they stand between two seasonal pools. They extend for about 1,200 m. north to south and 800 m. east to west, but this does not include the scattered outbuildings and two extensive burial grounds. The one in the north-west covers an area 1,000 by 800 m. and contains a columned tomb with six chambers. The other in the south-east of Sohobi measures 700 by 400 m.

There are many mediaeval references in Arabic to Ghāna, from al-Fazārī (before 184/800) to Ibn Khaldūn, but local oral traditions do not mention this place name. In fact, it is not until the 17th century that the name Kunbi appears in the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, which says: "The name (of the empire of Kayarsaga) was Kanbi, and this Kunbi was a great city." The *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* specifically states that the capital of Kayamaga was Ghāna, but all the Sarakolé traditions about the Wagadu speak of Kanbi (Ch. Monteil, *Mélanges ethnologiques*, 390; A. Bathily, *B. IFAN B* (1975), 73; Wa Kamissoko, 1976, unpublished) as the residence of the serpent Bida. The persistence of the Sarakolé and Moorish tradition is best illustrated by the fact that in 1914

Bonnel de Mézières was driven directly from Walata to Kunbi when he expressed a desire to the marabouts to see the site of the capital of Ghāna.

Although the ruins of Kunbi were well known to Africans, Bonnel de Mézières in 1914 was the first European to see them. He then undertook some excavations there, and the results were published in 1920, but unfortunately none of the material which was brought back from the expedition can now be located. It cannot be found in the Musée de l'Homme, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres or anywhere else. Later excavations have been made by M. Lazartigues (1939), P. Thomassey (1949-50) and R. Mauny and G. Szumowski (1952); the most recent excavations have been by J. Devisse, D. and S. Robert and their team (1972, 1975, 1976), but as yet these are not published. These excavations have revealed many schist built houses with beautiful Arab-Berber architecture, which predates the Hispano-Moorish style. They contain carefully-made paving stones, wall-niches, stairways and stone beds. An imposing columned mosque is slowly being revealed on the Main Avenue which crosses the ruins from east to west. It has superimposed *miḥrābs* showing that at least two sanctuaries have stood on the same site. Material remains include stones with painted inscriptions of the *ghuṭṭās*, countless pieces of coarse pottery with some slip-decorated ware and even some glazed (Mediterranean) ware, tools and weapons in iron, objects in copper and glass and beads in stone and glass.

The north east necropolis comprises a series of chambers for multiple Muslim burials, they are collective tombs for families or for people from the same Maghribī town or the same tribe. The most elaborate "columned tomb" is surrounded by six successive chambers, the last of which has a perimeter of 800 m.

The ruins show that this was no urban settlement with a high population density. The estimated population for the town at its peak is 15,000 to 20,000, which is an enormous figure for a Saharan town with a limited water supply (R. Mauny, *Tableau géogr.*, 482). Walls have been found at depths of up to 8 m., showing occupation levels over several centuries after the 8th century. The dates provided by carbon 14 analyses are 828 ± 125 A.D., 933 ± ? A.D., 963 ± 124 A.D., 1210 ± 121 A.D. This confirms what is already known of the history of the capital of Ghāna with which these ruins are to be identified, in the present writer's opinion, despite the hesitations of Ch. and V. Monteil (1951, 441-52, 1964, 58-62, 1968, 109-12), who are more inclined to follow al-Idrīsī (i, 2) in situating Ghāna "on the two banks of the river [Senegal]". However, their identification must be challenged, for al-Idrīsī made enormous errors in his work and, furthermore, no ruin of this importance has ever been found on the banks of the middle Senegal river. The evidence of oral traditions and what is written in the *Taʾrīkhs* all points to Kunbi as the correct site.

The irritating question remains to be resolved about the two places called Ghāna which al-Bakrī (460/1067-8) describes. The one was populated by Muslim merchants and had twelve mosques, the other was six miles away and was reserved for the king and his court. The present writer holds that Kunbi Ṣāliḥ should be identified with the town of the rich Arab-Berber merchants described by al Bakrī. If this is so, where was the royal capital? New ideas about this problem have been suggested at a recent conference on the history of Mali, held at Bamako in February 1976. Traditions show that the royal residence was apparently at Kalaka (Karka, 23 km. south of Kunbi) and the royal stockyard at Kunbi Dyuli, a modern village 20 km. SSE of Kunbi Ṣāliḥ, which was in fact the merchants' town. The existence of a double or triple town can be understood because of the natural desire of the animistic kings to live apart from the Muslims and also because of the scarcity of water in the area. This is a potentially new field for archaeological investigation. Kunbi Ṣāliḥ is the most important ruined site in West Africa—with Tegadoust (Awdaghost?) running it a close second—and because of this, fresh excavations ought to be undertaken there.

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AL KUNDURĪ, ʿĀMIR AL-MULK ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MANṢŪR, vizier of the first Great Saldjūḳ, Ṭughrïl Beg (447-55/1055-63). The *nisba* Kundurī may refer to one of two villages by the name of Kundur, one located in Ṭurayṯīth in Ḵūhistān, the other near Kazwīn; the reference may also be to the selling of *kundur* (frankincense).

The Great Saldjūḳs, Ṭughrïl Beg, Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, were served by two *wazīrs*: Kunduri, *wazīr* of Ṭughrïl Beg, and the more famous Niẓām al-Mulk, *wazīr* of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh. The main ambition of these two *wazīrs* was to manipulate power and influence through the sultans whom they served. Niẓām al-Mulk did this with consummate skill for three full decades, outmanoeuvring his

rivals, and always keeping a step ahead of them in their plots and intrigues against him. Kunduri was not as successful. In comparison with the magisterial politics of Niẓām al-Mulk, he appears as a bungling fool.

Kunduri's first ill-advised deed is recorded early in his career as Ṭughril Beg's minister. Sent by Ṭughril on a mission to contract a marriage for him, Kunduri contracted the marriage for himself instead; as punishment for this, Ṭughril had him castrated.

Kunduri's next ill-advised deed was to scheme against Ṭughril Beg in an effort to replace him with Anūshirwān, son of Khātūn, Ṭughril's wife. This plot against Ṭughril appears to have been mounted when Ṭughril was setting out to fight one of his rivals in Mawṣil, the Turkish general Arslān Basāsīrī [q.v.]. At his departure, noticing that he had a following of only 2,000 men, he reproached Kunduri, saying: "Why did you not inform me so that I could want until all the men were assembled?" Again at Hamadhān, faced by the superior forces of Ibrāhīm Ināl, his half-brother, Ṭughril asked his wife Khātūn and Kunduri to come to his aid. Khātūn wanted to do so, but was convinced by Kunduri that their troops would fall into the hands of Ināl and that this would only serve to strengthen Ināl's forces and weaken here as well as Ṭughril's. Kunduri then began to arrange for Anūshirwān to make a bid for the sultanate, and money was distributed among the troops for their allegiance (*baṣ*'a). Kunduri, Khātūn and Anūshirwān contributed, as well as the caliph, the merchants and the high functionaries of Baghdād. But Kunduri's plan met with opposition from two of Ṭughril's generals, 'Umar and Inānjūl, who refused to recognise Anūshirwān. Then when Kunduri asked the caliph to proclaim Anūshirwān as sultan, he was told to defer the matter, and to see that the city was not deprived of troops to defend it against the menace of Basāsīrī. Khātūn also changed her mind and went to rejoin her husband. The sources are not expansive in their reports regarding this plot, but we later see both Kunduri and Anūshirwān in the service of Ṭughril Beg. They later fought against Basāsīrī and negociated the latter's delivery at the hands of the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaka, and their success here regained for them the confidence of the sultān.

After Ṭughril's death in 455/1063, Kunduri once again saw his opportunity to serve under a sultan whom he could manipulate. Ṭughril, before his death, had designated Sulaymān, son of his brother, Ǧaghrī Beg and brother of Alp Arslān. This choice may have been suggested by Kunduri. In any case, the succession to the sultanate had to be secured by eliminating all other pretenders. Alp Arslān was ready to oppose the choice of Ṭughril, and here he had to deal with Kunduri. From the beginning, Kunduri had the *khuṭba* in Rayy made in the name of Sulaymān. He then wrote a letter to Alp Arslān and, in threatening tones, told him to be content with the possession of Khurāsān. Alp Arslān marched on Rayy. Kunduri having now to face both Alp Arslān and Kutlumush, called on Alp Arslān to help him against Kutlumush, and made the *khuṭba* in Rayy in the name of Alp Arslān. Arriving at the palace of the sultanate in Rayy, Alp Arslān did not make known his true feelings towards Kunduri, and insisted on Kunduri remaining with him in the palace when the latter wanted to move, saying "My joy consists in having you beside me, how can you entertain the thought of going away from us?". This was the beginning of a cat-and-mouse game played with relish by Alp Arslān, who kept Kunduri until he had recovered all the wealth amassed by the *wazīr*, before finally putting him to death, having taxed him with crass ignorance for imagining that he could stand against three Saldjūk pretenders to the sultanate, meaning himself, Kāwurd [*q.v.*] and Kutlumush.

Kunduri's ambition had been to hold *de facto* power under a docile and malleable sultan, but his plans failed disastrously. He did, however, succeed in arranging the marriage between Ṭughril Beg and the daughter of the caliph al-Kā'im, the negociations for which lasted for a period of three years (452-5/1060-3). Ṭughril had hoped to see a Saldjūk descendant assuming the 'Abbāsid caliphate, but the marriage ended with his death and without issue. Kunduri's success in arranging the marriage, against the caliph's will, earned for him the enmity of al-Kā'im who, on seeking the *khuṭba* in Alp Arslān's name in Baghdād (Rabī' II 456/March-April 1064) asked Alp Arslān to eliminate Kunduri.

Where Kunduri had failed, Niẓām al-Mulk succeeded. The differences between these two *wazīrs* consisted in the political acumen and consummate administrative skill of the latter as compared with the former's lack of perception and discrimination. Kunduri supported the Mu'tazilī movement, and was instrumental in having of Ash'arī cursed from the pulpits of Khurāsān by the order of Ṭughril Beg. In Baghdād, he earned the hatred of the Sunnīs by supporting the Shī'īs. By contrast, Niẓām al-Mulk supported the Ash'arīs, but was not averse to supporting *'ulamā'* of other movements wherever these lent had a strong following. Also, his establishing *awḳāf* for the *'ulamā'*, in the form of *madrasas*, *masdjids* and *ribāṭs*, secured the support of the masses among their followers. Not the least among al-Kunduri's mistakes was his personal engagement in battle, whereas Niẓām al-Mulk remained a man who manipulated the pen, leaving the sword for those better suited to the battle field.

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(G. MAKDISI)

KUNDUZ, the name of a river, a town and a modern province of Afghānistān.

1. The river is one of the two main left bank affluents in Afghānistān of the Oxus. It rises in the central region of the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*], with Bāmiyān in its catchment area, and flows for some 300 miles/480 km. until it reaches the Oxus just below where it receives its right-bank affluent the Wakhsh River. The different stretches of the river have varying names, thus the middle course, within which are situated the towns of Baghlān and Pul-i Khumrī, is called the Surkhāb or "Red River".

2. The town is situated in lat. 36°45' N. and long 68°30' E. at an altitude of 1,500 feet/450 m. in a region which has the general name of Kataghān. The surrounding countryside, centred on ancient Kundan and the nearby modern town of Khānābād, is now fertile agricultural land (rice, fruits, etc.) and pastures, but was until very recently notoriously malarial and unhealthy. The town of Kunduz (presumably Pers. *kuhan-diz* "fortress") is not mentioned under this name by the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but it

fell within the province of Tukhāristān [*q.v.*], and is very probably identical with, or situated close to, the important early Islamic town of Walwāliǧ or Walwāliz, originally a centre of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] in their struggles with the invading Arabs in the 1st and/7th 8th centuries, and then an administrative centre and mint town for northern Afghānistān until Saldjūk times (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 340, and Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 418), today, there are many ruins in the vicinity of Kunduz.

In the Timūrid period, Kunduz is frequently mentioned under this name. It figures in the campaigns of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā [see HUSAYN MIRZĀ], *e.g.* in 901/1495-6, being until this time ruled by the rival Timūrid prince Maḥmūd Mirzā b. Abū Saʿīd, d. 900/1495 (see Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia. iii. Mir ʿAlī-Shir*, Leiden 1962, 53, 62-3). It then passed for some years into the hands of Bābur, who during the years 916-20/1511-14 used it as a base for his unsuccessful attempts to conquer territory north of the Oxus in Ḥiṣār and Wakhsh (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 458, 318, 345, 352 ff., and *passim*).

Northern Afghānistān was by now becoming increasingly Turkicised by Özbeg and Turkmen groups, and in the period of the Ṣafawid-Özbeg rivalry, petty Özbeg principalities were established in towns like Balḵh, Ḫulm and Kunduz. These submitted in 1164/1751 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], but in the early 19th century Mountstuart Elphinstone again found Kunduz under an independent Özbeg chieftain "Khauldaud Khaun", who had 15,000 men under his command (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*, London 1839, ii, 209). A few decades later, in the years 1850-9, the Özbeg principalities of Balḵh, Ḫulm, Kunduz, Maymana, Akča, etc. came into the orbit of Dōst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] of Kābul. Kunduz was visited by John Wood in the 1830s, who found it a miserable settlement of 500 to 600 mud huts of sedentaries plus reed huts and black tents of Özbeg nomads (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*[2], London 1872, 137-8).

The present population of the Kunduz district is highly mixed, but includes a large proportion of Özbegs, Turkmens and Kazakhs, plus some Pashtūns settled there in the present century by the Afghān government, and some Arabic-speaking groups have been reported from the region (see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. Avd. i, Bd. 33, Nr. 5 (1939), 17-20). There is now an important amount of seasonal immigration from the Hindū Kush mountain regions, the workers being attracted by the higher wages which can be earned in agricultural work.

Since the 1964 administrative re-organisation, Kunduz town has been the capital of a province of the same name, having been previously in the province of Kataghān; the population of the town has been estimated (1969) at 40,000, and of the province at 425,000. It is now a centre for agricultural development schemes in the Oxus lowlands, and the local Turkish population also carries on carpet-weaving; moreover, it has an airfield, with regular flights connecting the town with Kābul.

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KUNFUDH, KUNFAḎ (A., fem. *kunfuḏa*, pl. *kanāfiḏ*), a mass. noun preserved in all the Arabic dialects (Maghrib, *kunfūḏ/kanfūḏ*, Middle East, *kunfiḏ*) which denotes, like its Hebrew counterpart, *kippōd* (see Isaiah, xiv, 23, xxxiv, 11, and Zephaniah, ii, 14), both the hedgehog and the porcupine. These two small excavating mammals, externally fairly similar through the sharp, hairy spines covering their backs and flanks and through their nocturnal habits, are nevertheless quite different zoologically in their respective species, dimensions and food habits. But all the ancient authors, Greek and oriental, systematically included them in the same family, although the first is insectivorous and the second a rodent.

1. The hedgehog (Pers. *ḵhār-pušt*, Turkish *kirpi*), of the Erinaceid family, comprises, in the Old World, some fifteen species spread from the Atlantic coasts to Manchuria and from the 60th parallel north to South Africa, with the exception of Madagascar, where it is not present. Thus in the Arab lands is found, at the side of the universal *Erinaceus europaeus*, the race *E. algerus* in the Maghrib (nicknamed in Algeria *al-Ḥāǧǧ Aḥmad*, Berber *insesfass*, pl. *insawen/insan*), *E. deserti* in the Sahara (Tamahaḳ, Hoggar *chenchekennit*, pl. *shenssay/ishenssay*, at Ghāt *henniu*, in Air *tihaschi*), *E. albiventris* in Egypt and the Sudan, *E. aethiopicus* in Abyssinia, and *E. syriacus* and *auritus* in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Arabia. This unobtrusive, nocturnal traveller, with its rapid and jerky movements like a mechanical toy, is endowed with, as well as the generic names *kunfuḏa* and *anḵad* (this latter one shared with the tortoise), various bynames evoking its nocturnal habits (ʿaṣṣās, *dāliḥ*, *mudliǧ*), its scampering gait (*ḥarrāṣ*, *ḥarrāḍ*, *mudaḳḳiḳ*, *ḫafīf*, *mamṭī*), and its spinyness (*ḥasīka*, *ḫušūk ḫešīk*, *ḥarba*, *abū ḫišāk*), its sleeping or defensive attitude, involving its curling up into a ball like a chestnut-bur, cause it to have such names as *kabīkat al-šūk*, *bubbūka* "ball of spines" in Syria and, since one cannot then see its head any longer, once it is buried within the prickly suit of armour, it is called *buḥaʾ/buḥḥa*ʿ. The cry of the male hedgehog is a short sighing noise, whence its name *ḥinnāna* "whining, grizzling one". The hedgehog is considered as one of the most inoffensive and feeble of animals, as expressed in the old, assonantal and mota-thesising adage, *maṯal lam nakun al-ḥuḏunna akkaḏānā ʾl-ḥuḏunna* "when one does not do what is required, one becomes subject even to every gentle hedgehog".

2. The porcupine (Pers. *šaḫī*, Turkish. *büyük kirpi*, in the Maghrib *ḍorbān* through confusion with the classical *ḍarbān/ḍurbān* denoting the zoril, Berber *aṛus*, Tamahaḳ, in Air and Adrar, *emereyltemeryt*, pl *imereyan/ltemeryn*) is from the family of Hystricidae which comprises five genera and some fifteen species. It is present, with two geographical races which are the most universal (*Hystrix cristata* and *H. leucura*), in all Africa, the Near East, Iran, and from the East Indies to China, but in Arabia, it is present only in the southern half of the peninsula. It is three or four times larger than the hedgehog and always considered to be its big cousin, but this vegetarian is nevertheless distinguished from the former by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 461-2) under the

names *duldul/duldul*, *shayham/shayam* and *sayṣ* (this last preserved as *sīṣ/sīs* in the Near East). This careful observer adds, in good faith, that the porcupine is to the hedgehog as the ox is to the buffalo [see JAMŪS in Suppl.] or the cat to the mouse. The long, horny, erectile and widely-spaced needles (*ḏjill al-madārī*), which are its only defence, are at the base of the legend that it defends itself by hurling at the enemy these sharp-pointed darts although it only leaves them behind in the wounds caused by their immediate contact without grudging it the by-name of *abū ǧaḥ*, that of *ḥabbāḥ* is of no way justified, though it is given it in Syria, because it never in fact goes into a spiny "ball" and never curls up like the hedgehog On the other hand, the motherly care with which the female porcupine surrounds her young, usually from two to four, is well-recognised; a touching and very ancient fable (see al Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al ḥayawān al kubrā*, i, 337 f., ii, 37, 165-7, and in the same edition, al Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḵlūḳāt*, ii, 337 ff.) relates that the porcupine, when it has young, climbs up the vine stems by night, pulls off the bunches of grapes and lets them fall, then comes down and rolls among its harvest and carries it off transfixed on its spines to its home territory, thus providing an ample diet of succulent grapes for its children.

3 Whether it is a case of the hedgehog or of the porcupine considered as a large hedgehog—and both of these are taken by the mediæval Arab naturalists together with the thorn tail lizard [see DABB] and the jerboa (*yarbūʿ* [see FAʾR in Suppl.]), as "creeping beasts" (*ahwāʾ al-arḍ*, *ḥasharāt al-arḍ* (*Ḥayawān*, v, 283)—the *kunfuḏ*, through its nocturnal life and its innate distrustfulness, has given rise to such comparisons as *asraʿ min kunfuḏ* "travelling more often by night than a hedgehog" and *asmaʿ min kunfuḏ ... min duldul* "having sharper ears than a hedgehog .. porcupine", whence a night racked by insomnia may be described as *laylat al kunfuḏ*, *layl al-aḥad* "hedgehog's night". The mysteriousness of the gloom enveloping its journeyings summoned up in the fertile imagination of the Bedouin the image of dissimulation and calumny and, by a simple inversion of the construction of the two preceding expressions, an "undercover" spy was called *kunfuḏ layl*, *aḥad layl* "night hedgehog" (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 166).

Like the Greeks, the Arabs, despite all this, well recognised the great value of the hedgehog as a destroyer of vermin and especially, against the venom of serpents, which they were considered to be immune from after having nibbled thyme bushes (*saʿtar*), for this reason, experienced even from certain tribes recommended that this valuable helper should not be killed, if the land abounded in vipers, and in particular, that was the order given to Ibn al-Aṣḥ'ath's army at the time of the expedition of 81/700 into Sidjistān, a region infested with these dangerous reptiles and a great producer of snake-charmers as well as the compounders of snake-bite antidote. The ancients had likewise observed in regard to the *kunfuḏ* an innate faculty for detecting the direction of winds (Aristotle, *Hist. anim.*, ii, 602, and *Ḥayawān*, iv, 229) prevalent at the orientation of the two entries of its burrow.

The flesh of the *kunfuḏ* (of both kinds) is succulent according to those who eat it, such as, in Europe, the gypsies. The Bedouins have always been fond of it, and in our days, the Touareg appreciate it in a stew or braised within the glowing embers after having wrapped it in a covering of clay. Although it formed a kind of game easily captured, in ancient Arabia the risk was never taken of killing it in the early hours of the night because it could serve as the mount for some benevolent genie, and people preferred to pound it with a cudgel, by day, in chance encounters rather than mounting a regular hunt for it. At beginning of this present century, in the Maghrib and especially in Morocco, the captive of these two spiny creatures was one of the nocturnal activities of slimly-built adolescents of the equivocal class of kif smokers, slipping into the haunts of these animals, they would empty them of their occupants either with gloved hands in the case of the hedgehogs, or with a spear in the case of the porcupines, and groups of vagrants would have a feast of the *maghul* of these victims (see L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 55-6). The long spines of the porcupine were used for the making of pretty, darkened cages for nightingales.

This ancient custom of eating the flesh of the *kunfuḏ* posed a question, as with the hyena [see ḍABUʿ in Suppl.], in early Islam, about the lawfulness of this practice. When the Prophet was asked about this, he is said merely to have replied laconically that such an animal was "ignoble" (*ḵabīth*), but he did not make a formal prohibition. Basing themselves on this vagueness, the Shāfiʿīs considered the *kunfuḏ* to be perfectly legal eating, whilst the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs formally excluded it from the category of permitted types of meat As for the Mālikīs, they remained undecided on the question and depended on the decisions of local authorities, basing themselves on the customs and usages of the region; thus amongst the Berbers in the Maghrib, no objection is met with against making the *kunfuḏ* an article of diet

The various anatomical parts of the *kunfuḏ* possessed, in the ancient therapeutic inventory, numerous specific qualities, notably that of the right eye, which, boiled in sesame oil and mixed with collyrium, caused nyctalopia or they blindness, this formula was, it seems, used by rogues and nocturnal prowlers in order to facilitate their nefarious activities. Salted hedgehog flesh was beneficial for children suffering from urinary incontinence. At the present day, according to what the Touareg say, a porcupine-needle stuck in a camel's saddle prevents fatigue in the loins for the camel-riders of the Sahara. Of a more practical kind is usage of a hedgehog skin, with its spines, as a muzzle for kids too inclined inconsiderately to suck their mothers' milk. The porcupine's quills are also used, moreover, for making little instruments and tools like needles for sewing, sticks for applying kohl, etc

For some thos past, the hedgehog, which is very easily domesticated, has been the dormatic pet in numerous dwellings of the Saharan oases in order to rid them of cockroaches and other undesirable infestations; here we have a modest rehabilitation of the *kunfuḏ burṣ*, "hedgehog of the stony ground", a byname given metaphorically to an individual with unattractive features but where there is still a possibility of finding someone even less attractive.

From a similarity of appearance, the terms *kunfuḏ al-baḥr* or *shayham baḥrī* "sea hedgehog" denote the edible sea urchin (*Echinus esculentus*), whilst in al-Damīrī and al-Kazwīnī, *op. cit.*, the term *kunfuḏ baḥrī* is applied to the beaver

Bibliography in additions to references given in the text, see A. Maʿlūf, *Muʿǧam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. Hedgehog and Porcupine, E. Ghālib, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, s.vv.; L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 32, 45; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*,

Paris 1951, 117-28, 135-6; Firūz Iskandar, *Rāhnamā-yi pistāndārān-i Īrān* (*Guide to mammals of Iran*), Tehran 1977, 7, 12, 20, 50. (F. VIRÉ)

AL-KUNFUDHA, a port on the Red Sea coast of the Tihāma or lowland of the southern Ḥijāz, situated in lat. 19°6′ N and long. 41°04′ E. and at the mouth of the Wādī Kanawnā. It lies 210 miles south of Djidda or Djudda (q.v.) and 45 miles north of Ḥaly.

The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representative of the Sharīf of Mecca. The town was estimated in *ca.* 1920 to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1888 put it at only 2,000. The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there, until recent times, however, a certain number of pilgrims on the *ḥadjdj* have landed there and at al-Lith to the north by sailing craft. Trade and commerce are moderate. It exports the myrrh collected in ʿAsīr (q.v.) and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but Britain's sharp control made slave smuggling practically impossible by the early 20th century. Trade with the interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and everyday necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Ḥudayda further south has long since attracted almost all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain. Of agricultural products, cotton and millet are grown in the district.

Al-Kunfudha is perhaps a very old settlement, in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debae. Pliny's *regio Canonna* has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Kanawnā mentioned by al-Hamdānī, but this town lies at the mouth of the Wādī of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Al Khaṭārish still get gold from the streams. Al-Kunfudha, however, seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese know it in the form Confuta. Niebuhr calls al-Kunfudha a large but badly built town. In his day (1761) it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Djidda had to pay toll here to the Sharīf of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ. It passed to the Sharīf, together with the whole strip of coast from Djidda to Ḥaly which the Sharīf of Mecca won in *ca.* 1722, and even had a certain revival of prosperity when Muḥammad ʿAlī conquered the Sharīfs and made al-Kunfudha his base of operations for the campaign against Central Arabia and ʿAsīr. Soon after this, al-Kunfudha figured in the rebellion of the Georgian commander Meḥmed Agha Türkče Bilmez against Muḥammad ʿAlī's governor in the Ḥijāz, Aḥmad Pasha (1832-3). Türkče Bilmez penetrated to al-Kunfudha, Abū ʿArīsh, Ḥudayda, and even to Mocha by 1833, before his revolt was quelled. It was only in 1870 that the Ottomans were able to revive Muḥammad ʿAlī's plans and al-Kunfudha became the base of operations against the tribes of the hill country of ʿAsīr, after the conquest of which in 1872, of Kunfudha with its hinterland became a *kaḍāʾ* of the *sandjak* of ʿAsīr. A certain degree of Ottoman control was now implanted, and al-Kunfudha was linked by telegraph with Djidda to the north and Luḥayya, Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿāʾ to the south. However, the district soon fell to the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca's son ʿAbd Allāh at the time of the Arab Revolt, and in September 1918 both al-Ṭāʾif and al-Kunfudha were lost by the Turks already to the previous year, the local ruler of adjacent ʿAsīr, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, had adhered to the Allied cause (see ʿASīR). In 1923-5 the whole of the Ḥijāz was occupied by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, and al-Kunfudha henceforth has formed part of the Saʿūdī kingdom.

Bibliography al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884, 92, 282, 288, 317; *Terceira decada da Asia de Joam de Barros*, Lisbon 1563, i, ch. 3, E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt a/M 1838, i, 276-9, C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Berlin 1846, viii/i, 921, 930-2, 934, 939, 940, 982, 1015, 1025, 1026, C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 375; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 52; S. Langer, *Irrfahrten an der südarabischen Küste*, in *Ausland* (1888), 352, E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* Berlin 1890, ii, 3, 235; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1902), 594; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage, Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, Leipzig 1909, ii, 540; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien, Hamburgische Forschungen*, Brunswick 1916, i, 88; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, i, 173-4; B. Moritz, *Arabien. Studien zur physikalischen und historischen Geographie des Landes*, Hanover 1923, 97, 209, 210; R. B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965, 71-3, *Admiralty handbook. Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 544-5 and index. (A. GROHMANN-[C. E. BOSWORTH])

KUNGRĀT, the name of first a Mongol and then a Türkmen tribe of Central Asia, and deriving its name from these last, a settlement on the lower Amū Daryā or Oxus, modern Kungrad.

The Mongol tribe of Konkirat/Konkurat or Onggirat (spelt Kuṅkīrāt in Djuwaynī, Ungrat in Marco Polo) seems to have lived in the extreme east of Mongolia, towards the Khinggan Mts. in a district called Ābdiya-Kuiteger. The tribe gave its allegiance to Čingis in his struggle against Ong Khān (see ČINGIS KHĀN), and had the privilege of supplying the Khāns with wives, thus Čingis's wife Börte Fudjin, mother of his five principal sons, was from the Konkirat, as were wives of Djočī and Orda. Cf. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, trs., *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan. Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, i, Leiden 1951, 402-9; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959-63, ii, 869-70, No. 375, Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 38, ii, 585, J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 17, 97.

The tribal name was carried westwards in the mass movement of peoples during the Mongol invasions, and elements of the Mongol Konkirat doubtless mingled with and were eventually absorbed into Turkish tribes of the Turkestan steppes. Hence in recent times Kungrat has been noted as a tribal name amongst both the Özbegs and the Kara Kalpaks of the

region to the south of the Aral Sea (*M. A. Czaplicka, The Turks of Central Asia in history and at the present day*, London 1918, 38, 40). In the 18th century the Özbeg Kungrāt played a dominant role in the Khānate of Khīwa. When the 'Arabshāhid line of Khans of Khīwa became extinct at the end of the 17th century, real power was exercised in the Khānate by Kungrāt military chiefs who held the title of Ināḳ (q.v. in Suppl.). In the early 19th century, these Inaks came themselves to assume the title of Khān and ruled in Khīwa until the period of the Russian protectorate (see IOn̲ARAZM). The tribal name was given to a settlement in the *dalta* or "island" area of the Oxus mouth, on the road between Khodja-ili and the Aral Sea shores, during the later 18th century, until 1228/1811 and the time of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān of Khīwa (1221-42/1806-26), this district centred on Kungrāt was in effect an independent principality (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[1], 151, and idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 192)

In 1858 a Russian military steamer sailed up the Oxus delta, alarming the inhabitants of Kungrāt, and the town was an important strategic point in the Russian expeditions of 1873 under General Kaufmann and directed against Khīwa; it formed the concentration-point for the naval force from the Aral Sea and the land forces from Orenburg and from Manghishlāḳ (see F. Schuyler, *Turkestan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 107, ii, 331, 336, 346-8). Kungrad is now a town in the Kara Kalpak ASSR, see on it *BSE*[2], xxiv, 53.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲUNKA, variant forms Ḳūnḳa, Ronka, Ḳūnḳā, Ronka, the Arabic name for the modern town of Cuenca, administrative centre of the province of the same name in Castile, Spain, situated near the confluence of the Júcar and Huécar Rivers at an altitude of 922 m. at the point where the Mancha becomes a mountain chain. According to al-Idrīsī, Ḳūnḳa was "a small, ancient town, surrounded by a wall, and lacking a suburb". Al-ʿUdhrī mentions it among the 20 stages of the route connecting Cordova and Saragossa. Al Idrīsī mentions Cuenca in his division of al Andalus into 18 *ḳiṭ'as*, but gives it the title of a *kūra*. Al-ʿUmarī makes it the eleventh province of Spain, comprising the towns of "Oribuela, Cuenca, Elche and Denia, as well as numerous strongholds". Yāḳūt makes it part of the *aʿmāl* of Santaver, and Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, who was there in 567/1172, has left a description of it.

During the period of the *anāḥ al-ṭawāʾif*, various political and economic factors reinforced the strategic importance of Cuenca. Previously, from 131/768 to 186/777, it had been part of the region shaken by the rebellion of Shaḳyā al-Fāṭimī. It had then passed in the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [q.v.], and in 695/908 had been divided among the three sons of Mūsā, who in these strongholds of the frontier zone, were virtually independent of the central government. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Cuenca belonged to Ismāʿīl b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, who proclaimed his independence in the *fitna* of Toledo. Later, we find Ibn al-Faraǧī, who distinguished himself in military campaigns, as *wālī* of Cuenca for the Dhu 'l-Nūnids. Whilst al-Muʿtawakkil b. al-Afṭas temporarily occupied Toledo (472/1079), al-Ḳādir took refuge in Cuenca. In the following year, Sancho Ramirez and Ahmad b. Hūd besieged the town, which bought them off with a sum of money. After Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo (478/1085), Cuenca passed under Castilian rule and was included in the famous "dot de la mora Zaida". Alfonso probably kept the Muslim structure of the town, requiring a tribute, according to the homilies of the Mozarab Count Sisnando. In 490/1097, whilst Cuenca was being protected by Alvar Fañez's army, the Almoravids led by Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾisha raided the district, and after the victory of Uclés (501/1108) occupied the town; but in 531/1137 the populace rose against the Almoravid garrison and felt the sting of Tāshfīn b. ʿAlī's sword. Ibn Mardanīsh [q.v.] made over to the Christians lands near Cuenca, but the latter retreated before the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb who in 567/1172 found the town sunk in decay, with only 700 inhabitants. It was besieged by Alfonso VIII, helped by Alfonso II of Aragon, and surrendered on 21 September 1177 after a seven months' siege, without the Almohads being able to protect it. Abū Yaʿḳūb tried to regain it in 1194 and burnt its standing crops in 1197. After the conquest of Cuenca, the Castilian king made grants to the military orders of Santiago and Calatrava, and the town was soon organised as a *Concejo*, whilst retaining some of its older organisations and structures, such as the office of *almotacen* (*muḥtasib* [see HISBA]). The *Fuero* offered commercial concessions to the Mudéjares. The second bishop of Cuenca was a Mozarab from Toledo, Saint Julian. There remained a mosque, "indante con el monasterio de Ntra. Sra. de la Contemplacion" until the 15th century. During the period of the harrying of the Moriscos, Cuenca was the seat of a tribunal of the Inquisition.

The local economy of Cuenca flourished greatly during the 4th/10th century, with textile and ivory-carving crafts, and there were salt pans and silvas and iron ore mines in the vicinity. Also, wood cut in the Serrania was sent down the Júcar to the Mediterranean shores.

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P. Iradiel, *Evolución de la industria textil ... ss. XIII-XVI ... en Cuenca*, Salamanca 1974, 44 5, S. Cirac Estopañan, *Registros ... Sto. Oficio de Cuenca*, Cuenca-Barcelona 1965, B. Loupias, *La pratique secrète de l'Islam dans ... Cuenca*, in *Hésp. Tamuda*, vi (1965), 115-31, M. García Arenal, *Inquisición ... de Cuenca*, Madrid 1978.
(MARIA J. VIGUERA)

KUNṢUL [see CONSUL]

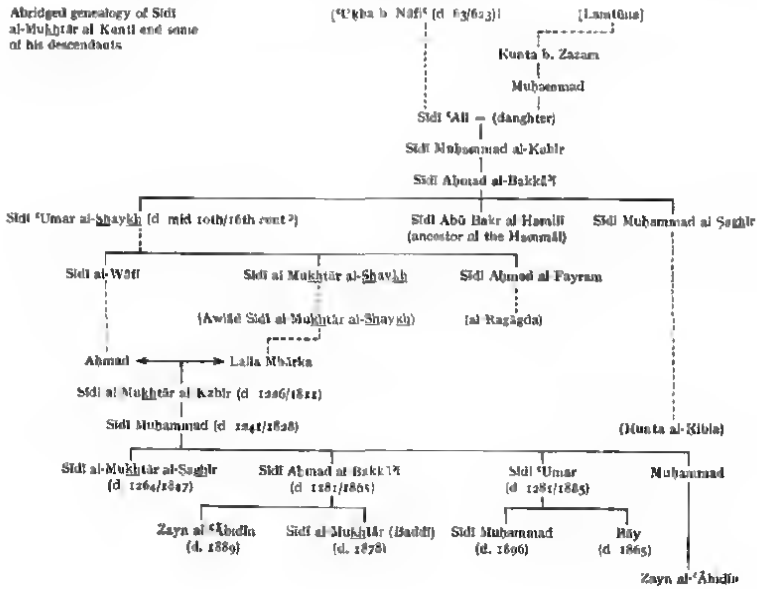
KUNTA (sometimes pluralised as Kanāta), a highly ramified Arabic speaking tribe widely dispersed over the southern Sahara from Tagānit in Mauritania to the Adrar n Ifoghas in eastern Mali and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent from ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī [q.v.], to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond ancient Ghāna as far as Takrūr. According to the so called *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (tr. in I. Hamet, *Notice sur les Kounta*), Sīdī ʿAlī, a descendant of ʿUḳba, married the daughter of Muḥammad b. Kunta b. Zazam (or Zam), chief of the Id Oukal (Ibdūkal/Abdūkal) fraction of the Lamtūna Berbers, allegedly in the early 9th/15th century. Their son, Muḥammad married into another Lamtūna group, the Tādjakānt, as did also his son Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī. It is from the latter's three sons that all the branches of the Kunta derive. Thus, even by their own accounts, the Arab element in Kunta stock would appear small, and, significantly, their eponym is Berber. Their *zawāyā* (non-warrior) status, too, is indicative of Berber origin and, like most such groups in the western Sahara, they probably acquired an Arab pedigree along with the Arabic language during the period of Ḥassāniyya ascendancy in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

The period from the mid 10th/16th century, when Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī's son Sīdī ʿUmar al-Shaykh is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to mark the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no doubt being augmented by the acquisition and eventual integration of tributaries and slaves. They appear to have roamed over a wide area from the Hodh (al-Ḥawḍ) in the south to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in the north and Tuwāt in the east. Some members settled in Walāta and in a village in Tuwāt known as Zāwiyat Kunta where Sīdī ʿUmar's son, Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Shaykh, is said to have been buried.

In the early 12th/18th century a rift occurred. The clans descended from Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī hived off to roam the western Sahara from the banks of the River Senegal to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ (the Kunta al-Ḳibla), while those descended from Sīdī ʿUmar al-Shaykh combined pastoralism with commerce, establishing a network of camps and trading posts from the Wādī Darʿa through Tuwāt and the Azawād region north of the Middle Niger to Timbuktu in the west and Katsina in the east.

Among the latter, the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī established a position of pre-eminence in the second half of the 12th/18th century, due to the role of their leader Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1142-1226/1729-1811), who combined qualities of sanctity with political astuteness and commercial acumen. In ca. 1167/1753-4 he established his camp at al-Ḥilla in Azawād, which rapidly became a centre of study and of the propagation of the Ḳādiriyya Order. It is from the sub-order which he established, the Mukhtāriyya, that most of the Ḳādiriyya

Abridged genealogy of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and some of his descendants



groups in West Africa derive their affiliation. Sīdī al-Mukhtār's role as a Sūfī leader and his prestige as a scholar enabled him to mediate between warring Arab and Tuareg tribes in the area and to heal the rift between the eastern and western Kunta. His far ranging missionary tours (*sijilmāsa*) in the Sahara, and his *zāwiya*s at al-Hilla, which received disciples from distant areas, were supported by income from participation in the salt trade from Taoudeni to the Niger and the trade in tobacco from Tuwāt in Timbuktu.

His teachings, born of his Sūfī outlook as well as the position of his clan as a *zāwiya*l group, emphasised leniency, the overlooking of faults *and* the winning of hearts through "*jihād* of the tongue" rather than "*jihād* of the sword", though when 'Uthmān b Fūdī [*q.v.*] initiated a militant *jihād* in 1218/1804-5, he expressed his approval of it. He proclaimed himself the sole "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the 13th century of the *hidjra* (1200 = 1786), though for earlier centuries he named a multiplicity of regenerators in different spheres of endeavour such as *fikh*, *hadīth*, *sufism*, *sihr* etc. (cf. the view of Ibn Kathīr reported by al-Suyūṭī, *Risāla fī man yabʿathu Allāh li-hādhihi 'l-umma 'ala ra's kull miʾa*, ms. Leiden, 3409[3], f. 6). Over sixty works are attributed to him, including several series of *adjwiba*, as well as a great deal of poetry. None has so far been published and manuscript copies are scattered over private libraries in Timbuktu and the southern Sahara and in such public collections as the Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, Rabat, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

His son, Sīdī Muḥammad (m. 1178 1241/1765 1826), inherited his position as leader of the Kādiriyya Mukhtāriyya and was himself a prolific author. His *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (properly called *al-Risāla al-Ghadāmisiyya*) has already been mentioned, and his *Kitāb al-Tarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid*, intensively a hagiographical work on his father and mother, has been abstracted by Ismaʿīl Hamet in his *Littérature arabe saharienne*, in *RMM*, xii (1910), 196-213, 380-405. It contains an annotated *silsila* for the Kādiriyya Mukhtāriyya, in which the names of al-Suyūṭī, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tha'ālibī and Ibn 'Arabī appear as successive links, thus invalidating it as an historical document, but no doubt enhancing the spiritual prestige of the order in the eyes of its members. The *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya was widely propagated in southern Mauritania by an outstanding pupil of Sīdī Muḥammad, Shaykh Sīdiyya (1190-1284/1776-1868) of the Awlād Abyayrī from his *zāwiya* in Bīttilimit.

On Sīdī Muḥammad's death, leadership of the Awlād Sīdī al-Mūfī and direction of the Mukhtāriyya passed to his eldest son Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Sahīr (1204 64/1790-1847). He was instrumental in saving Timbuktu from the worst excesses of the Fulbe forces of Aḥmadu Lobbo [*q.v.*] and eventually driving them from the city. His brother, and successor to both his political and spiritual role, Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (*ca.* 1217 81/1803-65) negotiated a pact with the Fulbe in 1846 at Muḥammad's request and himself came to settle in Timbuktu, gaining sufficient moral authority there to be able to act as protector for the explorer Heinrich Barth, an open Christian, in 1853. Al-Bakkāʾī wrote numerous poems and *rasāʾil*, some addressed to the Fulbe rulers of Māsina, others attacking the claims of the Tidjāniyya order.

In the closing years of the 19th century, two grandsons of Sīdī Muḥammad distinguished themselves by their attitudes to French penetration of the central southern Sahara. Zayn al-ʿAbidīn b Muḥammad al-Kuntī (b. 1848), who declared a *jihād* against the French after their occupation of Timbuktu in 1894 and whose continued challenge to French authority remained a menace in the first two decades of the 20th century, and Sīdī Bāy b. Sīdī 'Umar (b. 1865), a scholar and man of saintly repute who took up residence in the Adrar n-Ifoghas and encouraged both the Ifoghas and Ahaggar Tuareg to avoid conflict with the French. Several copies of his *Nawāzil*, as yet unstudied, are preserved in the Institut des Sciences Humaines, Niamey, Rép. du Niger.

The spiritual influence of the Kunta in the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries was far reaching. The two major Fulbe leaders Shaykh 'Uthmān b Fūdī and Shaykh Aḥmadu Lobbo, both received and propagated the *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya, though in both Hausaland and Māsina the Tidjāniyya gained ground rapidly from the mid-19th century. A list of the main groups of West African Muslims attached to the Order or branching from it may be found in P. Marty, *Études*, i, 240-1 (see Bibl.).

Bibliography For the Kunta view of their own history, see Sīdī Muḥammad b al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (= *al-Risāla al-Ghadāmisiyya*), tr. I. Hamet in *RMM*, xv (1911), 302-18, and as *Notice sur les Kounta*, in *Mission Cortier 1908-1909-1910*, Paris 1914, 363-88, summarised in Shaykh Sidiyya Kābā, *History of the Western Sanhādja*, in M. T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972, 195-200, and idem, *K. al-Tarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid bi-hardwal al-shaykhayn al-wālida wa 'l-wālid*, ms. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 5311. A critical study of early Kunta history has been made by T. Whitcomb in his doctoral thesis *The origin and emergence of the tribe of Kunta: a contribution to the history of the Western Sahara between the Almoravid period and the seventeenth century*, University of London, 1979, see also idem, *New evidence on the origins of the Kunta*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1975), 103-23, 403-17. Further biographical material on Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr is to be found in Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Bartilī, *Fatḥ al-Shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, ms. Bibl. de l'Inst. de France, 2406/118, f. 23, which includes a list of his writings, Muḥammad Belle, *Inṣāf al-mayāsir fī taʾrīkh bilād al-Takrūr*, Cairo 1964, 220-2; Aḥmad al-Amīn al Shinkīṭī, *al Wasīṭ fī tarādjim udabāʾ Shinkīṭ*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1370/1951, 381, also 494, 506-7, 509-10, for Kunta struggles in Mauritania. On Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī, see H. Barth, *Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa*, New York 1857-9, repr. London 1965, iii, *passim*; on Sīdī Bāy, see Cortier, *D'une rive à l'autre du Sahara*, Paris 1908, 286-9, H. T. Norris, *The Tuaregs. their Islamic legacy and its diffusion in the Sahel*, Warminster 1975, 168-72, and other material on the Kunta, *passim*. A list of titles of works by Kunta authors is given in W. A. Brown, *The Bakkāʾiyya books of Timbuktu*, in *Research Bull., Centre of Arabic Documentation*, Ibadan, iii/1 (1967), 40-4, and ms. listings appear in C. C. Stewart, *Notes on North and West African manuscript material relating to the Qādiriyya tariqa*, in *ibid*, iv (1968), 1-15; see also L. Massignon, *Une bibliothèque saharienne*, in *RMM*, viii (1909), 409 ff. The fullest study of Sīdī al-Mukhtār's life and teachings is in A. A. Batran, *Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and the recrudescence of Islām in the Western Sahara and the Middle Niger, c 1750-1811*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1972; also idem, *The Qādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya brotherhood in West Africa and the concept of tasawwuf in the writings of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-*

Kunāfī (1729-1811), in *Trans-African J. of Hist.* (Nairobi) iv/1-2 (1974) 41-70. For the influence of the Kunta *shaykhs* on Shaykh Sidiyya, see C. C. Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*. Oxford 1973, 34-53. A history of the eastern Kunta and their *shaykhs* is given in P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, i, Paris 1920, 1-175, and their contemporary situation is described in J. Geneviève, *Les Kounta et leurs activités commerciales*, in *BIFAN*, xii (1950), 1211-47. See also Brockelmann, S I, 894, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, 377. C. G. Salvy, *Les Kounta du Sud Marocain*, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Rech. Sahariennes*, vii (1951), 166-86, Kabbāla, iv, 198.

(J. O. Hunwick)

KUNŪT (A.), a technical term of Islamic religion, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refraining from speaking", "prayer during the *ṣalāt*", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allāh is that of a creature to his creator", "standing"—these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Kur'ān where *kunūt* or derivatives from the root *k-n-t* occur. There is hardly one of these for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (see II, 210, 239; III, 75, 38; IV, 38, VI, 121, XXX, 25; XXXIII, 31, 35, XXXIX, 12, LXVI, 5, 12).

The *ḥadīth* gives more definite contexts. "The best *ṣalāt* is a long *kunūt*" (e.g. Muslim, *ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trad. 164, 165; *Abū Dāwūd*, *Ṣalāt*, no. 168). Here, in the unanimous opinion of all the commentators (see al-Nawawī on the passage), *kunūt* means "standing". In the well-known *ḥadīth* "alike to the fighter on the path of Allāh is he who fasts, who stands, who *kunūt bi-āyāt Allāh*" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 112), *kunūt* has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Shahr Ramaḍān*, *bāb* 9: "And he who recites 100 verses of the Kur'ān standing is enrolled among the *kānitīn*"). *Kunūt*, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with *du'ā'*, e.g. in the oft quoted tradition which tells how Muḥammad in the *ṣalāt al-subḥ* appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribe of Ri'l and Dhakwān, as they had slain the *qurrā'* at Bi'r Ma'ūna (*Witr*, *bāb* 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation *sa'ala 'alā* (al-Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7, *Jihād*, *ib.* 184). In the parallel tradition, idem, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 28, trad. 3, there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the *kunūt*". Some sources (see Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 323) add that this was in the month of Ramaḍān.

The rite also appears to parallel traditions in a more precise form, it is said that the *kunūt* took place in the *ṣalāt al-fajr* (al-Bukhārī, *Da'awāt bāb* 59) after the *rukū'* (idem, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is still more precisely defined in a *ḥadīth* in al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīq*, *bāb* 32: "... that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the last *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, said: "O Allāh, curse thus and that man (i.e. some of the *munāfiḳūn*); thereupon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (III, 123). The following is another example of *kunūt*: "When the messenger of Allāh lifted his head after the second *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, he said: "O Allāh, save Walīd b. Abī Walīd and Salama b. Hishām and 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Muḍar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīq*, *bāb* 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Hurayra (al-Bukhārī 4 *Iḥsān bab* 226), the *kunūt* consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the *kunūt* was regularly performed at the morning and evening *ṣalāt* (*ṣubḥ* and *maghrib*: al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 177; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīq*, *bāb* 30). Al-Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition. "The learned differ in their views about the *kunūt* at the *ṣalāt al-fajr*. Some of the scholars of the *Ṣaḥāba* and later generations advocate this *kunūt*, such as Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī", Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] and Isḥāḳ say, "There is no *kunūt* at [read at the *ṣalāt al-fajr* except in case of a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a body". In such a case the *Imām* has to pray for the Muslim armies. *Ẓuhr* and *'ishā'* are also mentioned as *ṣalāts* into which the *kunūt* was inserted (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126; al-Nasā'ī *Taṭbīq*, *bāb* 29).

There is further a difference of opinion as to where, in the *ṣalāt*, the *kunūt* should be inserted. 'Āṣim is said to have asked Anas b. Mālik about this *kunūt*. Anas replied: "The *kunūt* took place ... " I asked: "Before or after the *rukū'*?" He replied: "Before the *rukū'*". I said: "But I have been told on your authority, after the *rukū'*". Anas replied, "Then they lied. The apostle of Allāh only uttered the *kunūt* prayer after the *rukū'* for a month. I think after he ..., etc." (here follows the story of Bi'r Ma'ūna, no. above, Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is even said that the *kunūt* is a *bid'a*. Abū Mālik of Ashdja' records a tradition on the authority of his father, that the latter had performed the *ṣalāt* under the direction of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and that none of these uttered the *kunūt* prayer. He adds "it is therefore also a *bid'a*, my son" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīq*, *bāb* 33).

Nevertheless, it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (*du'ā'*) at the *ṣalāt*. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the *kunūt al-witr* (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called *kunūt* but is given names like *du'ā'*, etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and pardon me among those whom Thou pardonest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest and bless me with what Thou distributest, and protect me from the evil that Thou has decided upon, for Thou decidest and none decides about Thee. Disgrace will never come upon him for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 10). The same formula is found as an element in the *ṣalāt* in al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, i, 83, 455-6 cf. Lane, *Lexicon* s.v. *k-n-t*, who gives another formula.

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(A. J. Wensinck)

KUNYA (A.), patronymic, or onomastic element composed of Abū (m.) "father" or Umm (f.) "mother" plus a name. We have here a metonymic designation corresponding to a general tendency among primitive peoples to consider an individual's name as taboo and not to pronounce it unless exceptionally (see J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*, ch. xxii). The *kunya* was therefore accordingly the name which should be used, but in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten, and al Djāḥiẓ (see *JA* [1967], 70, 82), for best seeing here one

connection with sympathetic magic, counts the *kunya* amongst the claims to glory of the Arabs and, seeing only one aspect of the reality, stresses the honour attaching to it. Nevertheless, it is certain that the use of the *kunya* was not wholly honorific, since it gave the possibility of citing a person whose name, for various reasons, including certain rather humiliating ones (e.g. in regard to an enemy), one did not wish to pronounce. In any case, usage was such that the *kunya* sometimes came to predominate over the *ism* (*q.v.*) or name proper, to such an extent that the *ism* of certain personalities cannot be established with certainty, has been forgotten or may even never have existed (see e.g. Abū Tālib, Abū Lahab, etc.)

In principle, Abū or Umm is followed by the eldest son's name, and this usage is based on the value which Semitic peoples placed upon their children, and above all their sons. This again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent upon the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the *kunya* and funeral rites from the facts that slaves, as a rule, had no patronymic and that, unless they had been received into the *familia*, they were buried without ceremonies.

However, the *kunya* can be composed of the name of a younger son or even of a daughter, but again, this does not necessarily correspond to reality, and since it is given to a child, the latter might well have no issue of its own throughout his life. The giving of a *kunya* can in effect act as an expression of the hope that its bearer will have a son and will give him a determined name. Several *kunyas* are traditionally attached to certain names (the *ism* [*q.v.*]) by *custom* or in order to show respect for a precedent; an Ibrāhīm is often called Abū Ishāk or Abū Ya'kūb, and a 'Umar, Abū Hafs. Contrariwise, in principle it is forbidden to take Muhammad's *kunya*, Abu 'l-Kāsim, in conformity with the *hadīth*, *tasammaw bi-smī wa-lā takkanū bi-kunyatī* "take my name [as Muhammad], but not my *kunya*", however, this prohibition was considered null and void at the Prophet's death, and it became regarded as sufficient to avoid the coupling of Abu 'l-Kāsim Muhammad. The one and the same person might have more than one *kunya* (e.g. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān had three, Abū 'Amr, Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abu Layla), and cases are cited of warriors who had one for use in times of peace and one for times of war (e.g. 'Amr b. al-Tufayl and Katarī [*q.v.*], see al-Diāhir, *Bayān*, i, 342). On the other hand, the *kunya* may be purely metaphorical and allude to some desired quality, like Abu 'l-Fadl "father of merit" or Abu 'l-Khayr "father of goodness", etc. In certain cases, it may be a subject based on some personal feature or characteristic, e.g. Abu 'l-Dawānīk "father of farthings", given to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mansūr, renowned for his meanness, or Abū Murayra "father of the little cat, kitten", allegedly given this *kunya* because of his love of cats. The *kunya* not unfrequently may have a pejorative sense, as in Abū Djahl "father of ignorance", or point to some physical peculiarity, as in Abū Shāma "the man with a birth-mark". In this way, Abū loses its original sense completely and becomes a synonym for *dhū* "the man with ..."

The *kunya* is also applied, from an early period, to certain animals, e.g. Abū Fāris "lion", Umm 'Āmir "hyena", Abū Sulaymān "cock", and to all sorts of things which are in some degree personified, e.g. monuments like Abu 'l-Hawl "the Sphinx", and toponyms, e.g. Abū Kubays, a mountain. Furthermore, the ancient usage of the words *abū* or *umm* with the sense of *dhū/dhāt* called forth a proliferation, especially obvious in the dialects, of expressive appellations including some term which usually marks out a peculiarity of the person or animal or thing in question, either in a humorous way (*abū lihya/be lahya* "bearded person", bū *shemsa*, in North Africa, "colonel" with five rank stripes, etc.) or in an euphemistic one (*abu 'l-basīr* "blind person", etc.). Some compound expressions of this kind are particularly applied to some plants and their fruit (*abū sa'fa* "aux voznica" because of its bitterness (*sa'fa*); *abū furūs* "chestnut", from the husk which resembles a fur, etc.), but mainly to certain animals (*abū misalla* or *abū sunbār* or *umm sunbār* "woodcock", with its long beak; *umm arim*' *wa-arba'īn* "centipede" *abu 'l-nuttāṭ* 'flea', from its habit of jumping; etc.)

The *kunya* became very early an onomastic element charged with expressiveness, in such a way that it had a caritative value and could be employed in special circumstances outside the sphere of private life. The warrior who advanced against enemy armies to challenge an enemy to single combat would call himself by his *kunya*, and it was by this name that the tribe would appeal to its champion for help (see Kays b. al-Khatīm, *Diwān*, ed. Kowalski, fragment 4, v. 38). In official relationships, the caliph sometimes marked out one of his courtiers for special favour by publicly addressing him by his *kunya* and not by his name or son, but after the 5th/11th century, protocol forbade such familiarity (Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr 136-7). Similarly, in correspondence emanating from the chancery, the *kunya* of the addressee was used when the sender wished to honour him (see al-Kalkashandī, *Subh*, v, 430-7).

At the present day, the usage of the *kunya* has disappeared, and the term is sometimes used, in official contexts, together with the *lakab* [*q.v.*], to denote a family name; but one should remark that a number of patronymics adopted after the setting up of a civil government in Arabic-speaking countries stem from former *kunyas* and that the nom-de-guerre of several Palestinian fighters is precisely a *kunya*.

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(A. J. WENSINCK*)

KUR, the largest river in the Caucasus (according to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī Kazwīnī, 200 *farsakhs* = nearly 800 miles in length). The Kur, known as Cyrus to the Greeks, Nahr al-Kurr to the Arabs, Kura to the Russians (said to be derived from *o-kuara*, "river", in the Abkhāzī tongue), and Mtkvari to the Georgians (said to be derived from *mdinari*, "river" in the Kartlian dialect), rises in Georgia south of Ardahanī (west of Kārs in the Posō district), and flows northwards to Akhaltsikhé, where it turns east (see map in V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958, 174). For the rest of its course it maintains a generally west-east alignment, bisecting the city of Tiflis (*q.v.*). The Kur, 240 feet wide in places, is navigable only by rafts in its upper course, but (lower, 150 miles before the Caspian, large sailing boats may ply, drawing up to 3 ft. of water (W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*,

London 1971, 8). The navigation of the Kur has only once played a part in political history, at the time of the destruction of the town of Bardhaʿa [q.v.] by the Rūs in 332/943-4. Some 100 miles west of the Caspian Sea [see BAḤR AL-KHAZAR], the Kur is joined by the river Aras [q.v.], and the united waters find a double mouth along the sandy foreshore of the Caspian ' (Allen, loc. cit.) in the Gushtāsfī district. Just east of the confluence with the Aras, the Kur is crossed by a bridge at Dīlaḳān. In Islamic times, the Kur formed the boundary between the province of Ḳarābāgh or Arrān [q.v.], and the regions of Shīrwān [q.v.] and Georgia [see AL-KURǦ].

Bibliography Given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLD - [R. M. SAVORY])

al-KURA, the sphere

1. The sphere itself. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (*shakl al-ḥaṭṭ*), the principle of the four magnitudes (*al-shakl al-rubʿī*) and the principle of the shadow, i.e. of the tangent (*al-shakl al-ẓillī*) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in *ZDMG*, i [1896], 162 ff.; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, *Axel Bjornbo Thâbits Werk über den Transversalensatz*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin* (1904), part 7, pp. 1-91, references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. *al-Kura ghīr al-kursī* (the globe mounted on a stand) is used in two senses:

(a) The globe of the heavens (instead of *al-kura* we also find *al-bayḍa*, the egg, in this sense, e.g. in *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 233, in al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1903, i, 158, cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.* 64, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxvii, [1905], 239 ff.). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs. Such globes have been prepared and described, perhaps as easily as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the *Almagest* and in separate treatises. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 435/1043-4 by Ibn al-Ṣundabādī (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 440). The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳaysar al-Tāʾisī used a gilt wooden globe (Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 497; M. Suter, *Mathematiker*, no. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them were fully discussed by al-Bīrūnī (*Beitrage zur Gesch. der Mathematik, etc.*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin*, part 4 [1922], 79 ff.; cf. also H. Schnell, *ibid.*, in a later part).

The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Idrīsī for King Roger of Sicily was apparently an armillary sphere.

(b) *al-Kura ghīr al-kursī* is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon; it is notched at right angles on two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go in its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the meridian ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves, the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, *al-ṭūl*, *al-maṭāliʿ*, the props of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [q.v.] and exists in Arabic in several editions, e.g. that of al-Marrākushī, it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relation to the Greeks. It was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (*Libros del Saber*, i).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings is added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to circles in the heavens, we get the armillary sphere (*dhāt ghīr al-ḥalaḳ*), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castile, occupied themselves a great deal.

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3. *al-Kura al-muḥarriḳa*, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly-burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q.v.] investigated this theory very brilliantly. Ibn al-Haytham starts from the values, given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn between the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority, however, meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, and this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon, it and this is looked at through the front of the ball, remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn, they were able even then to reach the same results as Scheilbach at a later date.

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪRA, a term designating, in the geographers and in official documents, an administrative unit within a province. It was felt as being a loan

word, certain authors giving it an Iranian origin, although a Greek origin (from χώρα) seems more likely. The exact definition of a *kūra* varies according to authors. Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates, in the same region, that of Ḥimṣ in Syria, *kūras* and *rustāqs*, at the same time, so that in this case, the two terms seem to be equivalent (see BGLM). But most of the geographers reserve the term *rustāq* for a region or province, call the districts *kūras*, and distinguish within these districts cantons called *tasāsīdj* or *rustāqs*, this is distinguished in particular by Ibn al-Fakīh (*passim*, and tr. Massé, *Abrégé*, index) and al-Muḳaddasī (*passim* and tr. Miquel, index). Usually, the *kūra* has a chef-lieu which is often called a *ḥaḍra*.

According to Yāḳūt, the *kūra* is the equivalent of the Persian *stān*, with the *stān* comprising several *rustāḳs*, the *rustāḳ* several *tasāsīdj*, and the *tassūdj* several villages, thus Ma'ān is a *tassūdj* belonging to the *rustāḳ* of Yazd, which comes within the *stān* of Iṣṭaḵhr, in the province of Fārs (W. Juwaideh, *The introductory chapter of Yāḳūt's Mu'djam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 56-8).

In mediaeval documents relating to Syria, acts of sale or *waḳf*s, the following classification is found: a *kūra* like that forming the Ghūṭa of Damascus comprises cantons (*iḳlīms*) which themselves contain villages (*karya*) (see J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IVe/Xe siècle*, in *JESHO*, viii [1965], esp. 169 and n. 4, and also *Biens fonciers constitués waḳf en Syrie fāṭimide*, in *JESHO*, xv [1972], 289-91). This usage of the term *iḳlīm* is apparently peculiar to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Yāḳūt (Juwaideh, *op. cit.*, 59-60). It is further used thus in al-Andalus, which is applicable by the influence of Syrian practices in that country.

In al-Andalus, a couple province of the original Islamic empire, there existed, as elsewhere, administrative divisions called *kūras*, of which certain ones were, in origin, "militarised cantons", i.e. they held contingents of soldiers who were remunerated on the revenues of land grants; these divisions were therefore termed *kūras muḳāmada* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 47-53).

Bibliography given in the article.

(D. Sourdel)

KUR'A (A.), in a technical sense designates rhapsodomancy. It is an Islamic divinatory procedure, analogous to bibliomancy, but in current usage the term refers to the drawing of lots, whatever form this may take, and the has been used following the Kur'ānic prohibition of *istiḳsām* [*q.v.*] and of *maysir* [*q.v.*], the two principal cleromantic techniques of pagan Arabia.

I. In the usual sense of "the drawing of lots", the term *kur'a*, originally applied to "a wineskin with broad base and narrow neck" (*TA*, v, 453, l. 25) which probably served as a receptacle for the shaking of the lots, is still used in the present day in the sense of choosing and electing by lot or by vote. Monks choose among the novices those to whom they propose to give the habit, by *kur'a* (the lots used being grains of wheat for "yes" and grains of barley for "no"). The polling station for legislative elections (*intikhābāt*) is called *maktab al-iḳtirā'*. In Ottoman Turkish circles, *kur'a* was practised in the recruitment of conscripts, whence comes the expression *kur'aya gemek* signifying "to reach the age of military service". A. Musil notes that in Arabia Petraea, the term *kur'a* refers to a ball serving the function of a lottery ticket, made out of strips of paper bearing the names of the parties which are rolled in a ball of clay or wax and which are drawn out by persons who were not present during the inscription of the names or the rolling of the balls (*Arabia Petraea*, iii, 294).

The permanence of this usage is attested by the fact that the Prophet used to "draw lots" (*kara'a*) in order to decide which of his wives could accompany him in his travels (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1519), a procedure that he also used for the distribution of loot taken in raids (Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 76, 82, 83), and also by the fact that a chieftain chosen by the drawing of lots was called *mukri'* (*TA*, *loc. cit.*, l. 6).

The legitimacy of recourse to *kur'a* was acknowledged at a very early stage through imitation of the Prophet. *Ḥadīth* describes a number of cases where the latter resorted to *kur'a* for a solution to questions of distribution (cf., al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*; al-Ḳasṭallānī, iv, 416 *ff.*).

In certain cases, where any decision is liable to appear unjust to one party or the other, the judge may resort to *kur'a* (cf. al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Calcutta 1816, 613-14, tr. Hamilton, 2nd ed. London 1870, 565 f.). Of the eleven cases of *kur'a* listed in the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (ed. Van den Berg, i, 119-20, 324, ii, 328, 404-5; iii, 99-100, 481-2) only two are considered impermissible.

II. In this list there is confusion between the drawing of lots and rhapsodomancy. On the latter, opinions vary as to its legitimacy. While al-Ḳasṭallānī, in his commentary on al-Bukhārī, concedes its legitimacy, following the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997), other authors like Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148), in *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520-5/1126-31) and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Ḳarāfī (d. 684/1405), quoted by al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (ed. Būlāḳ 1284/1867), ii, 279, oppose the use of the Ḳur'ān for *fa'l* [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737/1336) expands on this prohibition in a chapter entitled *Kasbihi ahkām al-fa'l min al-muṣḥaf* (cf. *Madkhal*, i, 278).

Of what does Islamic rhapsodomancy consist? Like bibliomancy, it is a divinatory procedure involving the interpretation of verses or parts of verses or prophetic words encountered by chance on opening the Ḳur'ān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. This practice is attested as early as the Umayyad period and the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period (cf. accounts relating to the end of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II, d. 126/744, and to that of Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr, d. 158/775, in al-Damīrī, ii, 129; Fahd, *Divination*, 215).

This consulting of the two most venerated books in Islam takes place in various forms, as the rhapsodomantic writings that are available to us bear witness:

(1) *Kur'at al Imam Dja'far b. AM Tālib or Dja'farīyya* (ms. Aya Sofya 1999, fols. 2 r°b, 21.2 × 16 cm., a fine illuminated *naskhī* text dating from 907/1501), containing rhapsodomantic interpretations of Ḳur'ānic verses. Patronage of this art, propagated by the Shī'a, is attributed to Dja'far, the Prophet's cousin, killed at the battle of Mu'ta, in 8/629, because at the time of departure, one of his companions, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, drew a rhapsodomantic conclusion from a Ḳur'ānic verse relating to Hell (Ḳur'ān, XIX, 71) enunciated by the Prophet, and had a presentiment of the death of Dja'far.

(2) *al-Kur'a al-Mo'mūniyya*, attributed to Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (d. after 256/870), containing, in the form of tables, 144 questions, followed by 144 chapters, each comprising 12 answers; cf. ms. Aya Sofya 1999, 3, fols. 59-138a *al-Kur'a al-mukhraka*

al Ma'mūniyya, a copy dating from 700/1300-1. The same *majmū'a* (fols. 192-582) contains an opuscule entitled *al-Kur'a al-Dawāghāmadī* (= *ma'rifat istikhrāj al-damīr*) by an anonymous author, but an essay bearing an analogous title (*K. al-daw'ir hamrad*) in the Library of the University of Istanbul (A 6292, 79 fols., 19 × 13 cm., a poor *naskhī* text from 1179/1765), carries the name of al-Hindī.

Two other works of *kur'a* are attributed to al-Ma'mūn (d. 218/833): *Kur'a li-khurūj al-fa'l wa 'l-damīr* (Cairo ms. 7612, dating from 1058/1648) and *Kur'a li 'l-Ma'mūn* (Cairo ms. 7613). These differ from the above and contain at the end some rhapsodomantic poems attributed to various authors.

(3) *al Kur'a al Qtawhariyya* (ms. Saray, Ahmet, III 1600, 1, fols. 1a-23b, 36-5 × 18 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.) marks a perceptible evolution in the practice of rhapsodomancy. In fact, the use of Kur'ānic verses interpreted according to the method of *ta'wīl* or allegorical exegesis, is supplemented by erithomantic procedures (*hisāb al ghummal* or *hisāb al wāw*), which play a part in *d.afr* (*q.v.*) and in *'ilm al-hurūf* (*q.v.*) wa *'l-asmā'*. This consists, in the event, of combining the four consonants of the word *ghachar dīdīw, dīdīh, dīdīr, dīrīh*, etc.). Each paragraph contains a prose interpretation of the combination, followed by another in verse, introduced by the formula *hāla al-rāghiz*.

In the *Kur'at hurūf al mu'ajam* (ms. Köprülü Fasil P. 164, fols. 572-65b, 18 × 14 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.), the letters are arranged according to the *abdjad*, on three horizontal lines:

ʾ *b dj d h w z ḥ ṭ y*
k l m n s ʿ f ṣ
q r sh t th kh dh ḍ ẓ gh

The inquirer selects one of these letters at random and is referred to the paragraph where the meaning of this letter is explained in verse (cf. the examples in Flügel, *Looblücher*, 59-70).

In the *Kur'at Dāwydl*, it is numbers, formulated in two phrases, which serve as the *kur'a*. These phrases are arranged in the following manner:

Kāra'ta aḥad	*Kāra'ta aḥad*
Kāra'ta ithnayn	*Kāra'ta ithnayn*
Kāra'ta thalāth	*Kāra'ta thalāth*
Kāra'ta arbaʿa	*Kāra'ta arbaʿa, etc.*

The meaning of these formulae is explained, as in the essay discussed above, in the form of verses introduced by *hāla al-rāghiz* (cf. ms. *AS* 523, fols. 952-103a, 26 × 17 cm., *naskhī* from 840/1436-7). In the *Fihrist*, 514, a similar essay is attributed to Daniel, to Iskandar Dhu 'l-Karnayn (with arrows), in Pythagoras (cf. P. Tannery, *Notices sur des fragments d'onomancie arithmétique*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xxxiii/2 [1886], 251-60 = *Mémoires scientifiques*, ix, 17-30), to Ibn al-Murtadā and to the Christians.

The greatest degree of complexity attained by this type of *kur'a* appears in three works which al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) claims that he translated (from Hindustani?) bearing the following titles: *al-Kur'a al-muqarrasa bi 'l-asmā'ih* ("The *kur'a* which gives clear indications of consequences"), *al-Kur'a al-muḥammana h'alā'ihā al-damā'ir* of *muḥammana* ("The eighfold *kur'a* for the discovery of inner thoughts in the mind") and *Sharh maʿānīhi al-kur'a al muḥammana* ("Commentary of the recds of the eightfold *kur'a*") (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1876, Introd., p. xlv).

(4) Too complicated for popular usage, these *kur'as* have yielded place to a series of much simpler *kur'as*, based essentially on the drawing of lots, such as *kur'at al-asbuʿa*, consisting of looking for the answer to the question that one poses in the name of the Prophet on whom the finger falls, *Kur'at al-fuyūr ḥayr* to be taken here in the broad sense of "fortune", good or bad) which draws a conclusion from every omen presenting itself at the moment of consultation, including the flight of birds, *kur'a maymūna* ("The *kur'a* crowned with success"), etc. (cf. refs. in *Divination*, 218, n. 4). Thus the term *kur'a* acquires a generic sense and serves to designate various forms of divination by lot (such as *Kur'at al-rami, Kur'at li khurūj al-fa'l wa 'l-damīr*, etc.)

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 214-19, F. Dornseiff, *Magie et religion im Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 376-7; G. Flügel, *Die Looblücher der Muhammedaner, in Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichsächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil. Kl. xii xiii (1860-1), 24-74; G. Weil, *Das Königslose J. G. Wetzsteins freie Nachdichtung eines arabischen Looblüchleins überarbeitet und eingeleitet*, in *MSOS*, xxxi (1928), 1-69; D. C. Phillot, *Bibliomancy, divination, superstitions amongst the Persians*, in *JASB*, N.S., ii (1906), 339-42; Abdul Kadu-e-Sarfaraz, Khan Bahadur, *Divination by the Divan of Hāfiz*, in *M. P. Kharegat Memorial*, i, 1953, 276-94; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes* Paris 1938, i, 245-6. (T. FAHD)

KURAMA, according to Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turk Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 924) "a Türkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i.e. Kazak) word *burama* (from *burn*, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (*Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1893, i, 235) Radloff himself says that the Kuzama are "a mixed people of Özbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (*kura* to "patch together"). He further says that the Kuzama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khodjend, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Ahengerān) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose to the 18th century. But as early as 1045/1635 in the description of the wars between the Kazak and Özbegs on the Angren we find the "leaders of the Kurama" (*sardāra-i Kūrama*) mentioned (Muḥammad b. Wali, *Bahr al-asrār*, India Office ms. 575, f. 119a).

Under the rule of the Khāns of Khokand in the 19th century, the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khokand to Tashkent over the Kendir-Dawan pass was called the Kurama road (*Rāh-i Kūrama*, e.g. in the *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusov, Kazan 1885, 238). The Kazuma were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Kercuti (in the written language Kirāwčī; on Russian maps also Kelyanči). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Imperial Russian rule. In the division of the territory (*oblast*) of Sir Daryā into districts (*uyezd*), what later (after 1880) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (*Kuramenskiy uyezd*). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toy Tübe founded at the reign of Madali Khān (1822-42, cf. KHOKAND), but the district headman (*uyezdnyi načal'nik*) actually lived at Kiiyldk on the Čirčik. Under Russian as under Khokand rule, the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing Russian

ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i.e. Kazak) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, *q.v.*). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

This could still be seen in the early 20th century. Unlike the Sarts, the Kurama lived, like the Kazak, in yurts (their wives, as with the Kazak, were unveiled. In other respects, however, the Kurama had advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time, Radloff and other observers could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Radloff there were five of them: Dulayr, Telāu (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Dagalbayīl and Taraklī. This division is now quite lost, where traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer—as among the Kazak—considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised, besides the mixture of different stocks among them there has been, according to Zarubin, a mixture of different social ranks. The Kurama themselves do not use this name, although they do with the addition of another ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of the Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Kurama) was in 1917 32,355; in 1920 49,697. There were further some 9,330 Kurama in the district of Khodjand. The word with the meaning of "inland people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned above) E. Schuyler, *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 102, 308, ii, 205; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, Petersburg 1880, i, 328; V. Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, Petersburg 1913, 306, 307; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, index, esp. 10-11; N. Maliḳiyy, in *Protokoll Turk. Kruzka Lyub. Arkh.*, iii (1898), 176-7; I. Zarubin, *Spisok narodnostey Turkestanskago Kraya*, Petersburg 1925, 12. (W. BARTHOLD)

2. KUR'ĀN (A.), the Muslim scripture, containing the revelations recited by Muḥammad and preserved in a fixed, written form.

Outline of the Article

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1. Etymology and Synonyms

a. Derivation and Kur'ānic usage. The noblest attested usage of the term *ḳur'ān* is in the Kur'ān itself, where it occurs about 70 times with a variety of meanings. Most Western scholars have now accepted the view developed by F. Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 33 f.) and others that *ḳur'ān* is derived from the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, "scripture reading, lesson", as used in Christian liturgy (see for example the 6th century Syriac mss., Brit. Museum, Add. 14, 432, e.g. *ḳeryānā d-yōm dē'endīā*, "lection for the Day of Supplications", fol. 43b). See also J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, lxvii (1913), 634; J. Horovitz, *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 67; *Foreign words*, 233 f.; Bell-Watt, 156 f. (for works abbreviated in this article, see *Bibl.*). The majority view among Muslim authorities has been that *ḳur'ān* is simply the verbal noun from *ḳara'a*, "he read" or "he recited". Both views find some support in the Kur'ān, where the verb *ḳara'a* does occur, but not as frequently as the usual term for reading to reciting, *talā*. In early Kūfic manuscripts we find *ḳurʾān* without the *hamza*, causing some authorities such as Ḳatāda and Abū 'Ubayda to derive it from *ḳarana*, "he put together" or "he bound together" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31 f.). Against this view it should be noted that the omission of the *hamza* was a characteristic of Meccan speech and early Kūfic Kur'ānic script, and that the term *ḳur'ān* is closely related to the verb *ḳara'a* in Kur'ānic usage. The soundest conclusion seems to be that the term *ḳur'ān* originated in the Kur'ān itself to represent the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, but was based on an Arabic *maṣdar ḥālīa* (*fu'lān*) from *ḳara'a*.

The verb *ḳara'a* occurs in the Kur'ān 17 times, usually meaning "recite", but occasionally "read (aloud?)". Where it clearly means "recite", it is always the Kur'ān that is recited, usually by Muḥammad (XVI, 98, XVII, 45, 106, etc.). But as one of the earliest contexts it is God who recited the revelation to Muḥammad. "When we recite it, follow its recitation" (LXXV, 18), and in one of the latest contexts (LXXIII, 20) it is the believers (see below). *Ḳara'a* means "read" in four or five verses, always with "book" (*kitāb*). In XVII, 93, Muḥammad is challenged by some unbelievers to ascend to heaven and bring down a book they can read for themselves. Three passages (XVII, 14, 72, and LXIX, 19) refer to the record books to be read at the Last Judgment, and one (X, 94) refers to some of Muḥammad's contemporaries—probably Jews and Christians—as "those who have been reciting (or reading) the Book" before him. Rudi Paret (*Übersetzung*, ad *loca*) is no doubt correct in seeing in the Kur'ān different nuances in the meaning of *ḳara'a*, which he translates as *lesen, verlesen, vorlesen*, and *vortragen*. But there may not be as much variation in the Kur'ānic usage of this verb as these terms suggest, since where it

means "recite" it could be interpreted "recite (the Ḳur'ān) from written notes', and where it means "read" it could be interpreted "read aloud".

Most occurrences of the term *ḳur'ān* in the Muslim scripture date from a period of about ten years beginning when Muḥammad began to perform the *ṣalāt* publicly and ending around the time of the battle of Badr in 624. It is impossible to date the contexts precisely or determine their exact chronological order, but the general development of the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ḳur'ān* is fairly clear. (Unless otherwise indicated, all statements on dating in this article are the present writer's own conclusions. In most cases these analyses tend to support the conclusions reached by Richard Bell, who also dated individual pericopes rather than entire *sūras*—see section 5 below.)

(1) Among the earliest meanings of *ḳur'ān* is "act of reciting", seen in two passages where God addresses Muḥammad. "Ours is it to put it together and [Ours is] its *ḳur'ān*. When We recite it follow its *ḳur'ān*" (LXXV, 17 f.), and "Observe the *ṣalāt* at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and [observe] the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn, surely the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn is well attested' (XVII, 78). This last verse provides useful insight into the relationship between the *ṣalāt* and the *ḳur'ān* at the time when both were just being instituted. (2) In some verses *ḳur'ān* means "an individual passage recited [by Muḥammad]". In LXXII, 1 f. the Prophet is informed that "a number of the jinn listened, and said: 'Verily, we have heard a *ḳur'ān*, a wonder, which guides to rectitude, so we have believed in it'." See also X, 62, XIII, 31, and cf. X, 15. (3) In a large majority of contexts, dating mostly from the late Meccan and very early Medinan years, *ḳur'ān*, usually with the definite article, has a complex meaning involving several elements. It is the "revelation" (*tanzīl*) sent down by God upon Muḥammad (XX, 2 ff., LXXVI, 23, etc.). It is sent down at intervals (XVII, 106, XXV, 32), and in some contexts it appears to be something in God's possession that is larger than what has so far been "sent down": "What We send down of *al-ḳur'ān* is a healing and mercy to the believers' (XVII, 82). In other contexts *al-ḳur'ān* refers to a collection of revelations in Muḥammad's possession, which he is commanded to recite (XXVII, 92 f.; cf. XVI, 98, XVII, 45). Its liturgical setting is seen in a number of passages, such as VII, 204: "So when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited [by Muḥammad], listen to it and keep silent' and LXXIV, 20 f.: "Then what ails them, that they believe not, and when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited to them they do not bow?" Specific references to other Muslims reciting parts of *al-ḳur'ān* occur only in one or two Medinan passages, such as LXXIII, 20, where the believers are told to recite during the night vigil only as much of *al-ḳur'ān* as is convenient or easy (*mā tayassara*) for them. (4) In a number of contexts that appear to be early Meccan, dating from before LXXIII, 20, the *ḳur'ān* (sometimes without the definite article) is said to be an Arabic version of "the Book" (*al-kitāb*). "By the clear Book. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān*" (XLIII, 2 f., see also XII, 1 f., XLI, 2 f., and other verses quoted below). The closest the Ḳur'ān comes to using the term *al ḳur'ān* with its present meaning as the name of the Muslim scripture is where it is mentioned with the Torah and the Gospel in IX, 111, in a construction that suggests these parallel scriptures. But it must be remembered that the revelation was not yet complete, and the final scripture was not compiled until after Muḥammad's death.

b. Synonyms in the Ḳur'ān. The meaning of the term *ḳur'ān* and the origin of the Muslim scripture cannot be understood fully without taking into consideration the Ḳur'ānic usage of several other closely related terms, especially *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra*, but also *dhikr*, *mathānī*, *ḥikma*, and others. Each of these terms has its own distinct, basic meaning in the Ḳur'ān, but in some contexts their usages converge with that of *ḳur'ān*.

The basic meaning of *āya*, like the related Hebrew *ōth* and the Syriac *ʾāthā*, is "sign", in the sense of a token of some unseen reality or truth. Its derivation is uncertain. It would most naturally seem from ʾ-w-y, corresponding with the Hebrew *ʾāwāh*, but such a root does not exist in Arabic, and the Arabic form would be difficult to explain as a borrowing from Hebrew or Syriac (see *Foreign vocab.*, 72 f.). *Āya* and its plural *āyāt* occur in the Ḳur'ān almost 400 times, most frequently in reference to natural phenomena that confirm God's power and bounty and call for gratitude from man. These are the so-called "sign passages', discussed below in 7 b. In other contexts *āya* refers to some extraordinary event or miracle that confirms the truth of the message of a prophet. Then in late Meccan or possibly very early Medinan passages, probably in response to the continuing demands for a miracle from Muḥammad, *āya* takes on a new meaning—"revealed message". And finally in a number of Medinan passages *āya* comes to be used for the basic unit of revelation. Later Muslim scholars interpreted *āya* in these passages to mean "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation, except that in some contexts they are said to be parts of the *ḳur'ān*, the *kitāb*, and possibly of a *sūra*.

Kitāb, literally "book, writing", occurring 255 times in the singular and six times in the plural (*kutub*), is among the most difficult terms in the Ḳur'ān to interpret. Only rarely does it refer to some everyday type of writing, e.g. a letter sent by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba (XXVII, 28 f.), and a document of manumission (XXIV, 33). Sometimes it refers to a record of man's deeds (XVII, 71, XVIII, 49, XXXIX, 69, etc.), events that have been prescribed (XVII, 58, XXXV, 11, etc.), or God's knowledge (VI, 59, X, 61, XI, 6, etc.). The commentators tend to interpret these passages as referring to actual celestial books, a view also adopted by most Western writers on the topic. A. Jeffery (*The Qur'ān as scripture*, in *MW*, XL (1950), 47-90) saw references to the ancient Near Eastern Record Book, Book of Decrees, and Inventory Book, while G. Widengren (*Muḥammad, the apostle of God, and his ascension*, 1955, 115-22) argued that these passages referred to a single "Heavenly Book". There is no conclusive evidence in the Ḳur'ān for either view, and there are serious problems with any literal interpretation of these verses, all of which could just as well be taken in metaphorical references to God's knowledge and decrees. A similar interpretation is possible for those verses usually regarded as referring to the heavenly original of the Ḳur'ān, e.g., "Indeed it is a noble *ḳur'ān* in a treasured *kitāb* touched only by the purified" (LVI, 77-9), "Nay, it is a glorious *ḳur'ān* in a preserved tablet" (LXXXV, 21 f.), and "By the clear *kitāb*. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān* . . . it is in the ocean *al-kitāb* with Us" (XLIII, 1-4; cf. III, 7, and XIII, 39, which are even more ambiguous). There is in fact no clear indication in these verses or anywhere in the Ḳur'ān of a heavenly original or archetype of the Muslim scripture. This concept has been read into the text by the

later commentators. By far the most frequent usage of *kitāb* in the Kur'ān is in reference to God's revelation to Muḥammad and to certain religious communities that existed before and during his time, especially the Jews and Christians, who are called "the people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*). This complex series of ideas involving the Kur'ān, the Book, Muḥammad, and the People of the Book is discussed in more detail in section 2 below.

The term *sūra*, occurring in the Kur'ān nine times to the singular and once in the plural (*suwar*), seems to be derived from the Syriac *sūrṯā*, *sūrāṯā*, "scripture, scripture reading" (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 37, *Foreign to exile*, 180-2). In the Kur'ān *sūra* refers to a unit of revelation and could be translated "scripture" or "revelation". Several verses mention a *sūra* being "sent down" (IX, 64, 86, 124, 127, XLVII, 20, etc.), in contexts that are similar to some Kur'ānic usages of *ḏikr*, *ḥadīṯ*, and *kitāb*. And Muḥammad's opponents, who are dissatisfied with what he has been reciting, are challenged to "produce a *sūra* like it" (II, 23, X, 38) or "ten *suwar* like it" (XI, 13). Cf. XXVIII, 49, where the challenge is to produce a *kitāb* from God. The Kur'ān gives no indication as to how long these units of revelation were. They were most likely only parts of the present *sūras*.

The Kur'ānic usages of *ḳur'ān*, *ḏikr*, *kitāb*, and *sūra* converge at the following points: (1) *Ḳur'ān*, *ḏikr*, and *sūra* are each used sometimes for the basic unit of revelation, a perikope consisting most likely of several verses (e.g. X, 61, II, 106, and X, 38, respectively), and *kitāb* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 43, and a few other places. (2) *Ḳur'ān* (e.g. XXXIV, 31) and *kitāb* (e.g. II, 89, VI, 92, 155, VII, 2) sometimes mean "a scripture", and *sūra* may have this meaning in XXIV, 1. (3) Occasionally *ḳur'ān* and *kitāb* are used for the revelation of God as a whole, only part of which has been sent down, e.g. XVII, 82, quoted above, and XXXV, 31 "And what We have revealed *to* you [Muḥammad] of the *kitāb* is the truth, confirming what was before it" (4) Usually, however, there is a distinction. *Kitāb*, when referring to the revelation, usually means the "Book of God", the revelation as a whole, while *ḳur'ān* usually means that part of the revelation that has been sent down to Muḥammad, e.g. X, 37 "This *ḳur'ān* is .. a distinct setting forth of the *kitāb* in which there is no doubt" and XII, 1 f. "These are the *āyāt* of the clear *kitāb*. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic *ḳur'ān*".

Other technical terms used in the Kur'ān for the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad include the following: (1) Three nouns from the verb *ḏakara*, "to remember, to mention", are used for the revelation in the sense of a reminder or warning: *taḏkira* in LXXIII, 19, LXXVI, 29, etc.; *ḏikrā* in VI, 90, XI, 120, etc.; and *ḏikr* in the formula, "It is nothing but a *ḏikr* to the worlds", at the end of the *sūras* XXXVIII, LXVIII, LXXXI, etc., in the introductory formula to XXXVIII where it is connected with *al-ḳur'ān*, and in VII, 63, 69, etc. (2) The term *maṯānī* has puzzled Muslim commentators and given rise to several theories among Western interpreters of the Kur'ān. Even if it is a derivative of the Hebrew *miḏrash* (*Koran. Untersuchungen*, 26-8) or the Syriac or Aramaic *maṯnīṯā* (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 214-16), the term *maṯānī* seems to have been influenced by the Arabic *ṯanā*, "to double, repeat"; cf. *maṯnā*, "by twos", in IV, 3, XXXIV, 46, and XXXV, 1. Thus it is probably best translated as "repetitions" (Bell, *Trans.*, 247; Blachère, *Trad.*, 290). But it refers to the revelation sent down to Muḥammad: "We have given them seven of the *maṯānī* and the wondrous *ḳur'ān*" (XV, 87), and "God has sent down the best of accounts, in agreement with itself, *maṯānī* at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep" (XXXIX, 23). The commentators usually take the "seven *maṯānī*" to be the seven verses of the Fātiḥa (q.v.). A more likely interpretation is that this term refers to the punishment-stories (see 6 d and 7*d* below), which Bell suggested may have once formed a collection separate from the Kur'ān (Bell-Watt, 134f., 143f.) For the literature, see *Foreign words*, 257 f., and Paret, *Kommentar*, 279f. (3) *Ḥikma*, "wisdom", probably from the Aramaic *ḥekmā*, is used in several Medinan passages for the revelation or part of it. God sends down the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* to Muḥammad (II, 231, IV, 113, etc.). Muḥammad recites the *kitāb*, and teaches the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* (LXII, 2). And the *āyāt* and the *ḥikma* are recited in the Muslims' homes (XXXIII, 34). These verses should probably be interpreted in the light of IV, 105, where it is said that Muḥammad is to judge (*taḥkum*) mankind on the basis of the Book sent down to him. For the literature, see *Foreign words*, 111, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 68. The term *ḳur'ān* as the name of the Muslim scripture acquired connotations of these terms and others used for the revelation "sent down" to Muḥammad; see also Bell-Watt, 145-7, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 19, on *furḳān*.

2. Muḥammad and the Kur'ān

The Muslim scripture and Muḥammad's prophetic experience are so closely linked that one cannot be fully understood without the other. The orthodox view of the dramatic form of the Kur'ān as that God is the speaker throughout, Muḥammad is the recipient, and Gabriel is the intermediary agent of revelation—regardless of who may appear to be the speaker and addressee. An analysis of the text shows that the situation is considerably more complex than this. In what appear to be the oldest parts of the Kur'ān, the speaker and the source of the revelation are not indicated. In some passages (XCI, 1-10, CI, CII, CIII, etc.) there is not even any indication that the message is from a deity (on this cf. Muir, *Mohammad*, 39 ff.), and in some (LXXXI, 15-21, LXXXIV, 16-19, XCII, 14-21, etc.) Muḥammad seems to be the speaker. In the earliest passages that mention Muḥammad's God, he is not named but is spoken of in the third person, usually as "my Lord", "your Lord", etc. (LI, 1-23, LII, 1-16, LXXIV, 1-10, LXXX, 1-32, LXXXIV, 1-19, LXXXVIII, 1-22, XCVI, 1-8, etc.) From LIII, 10, LXXXI, 23, and other verses it is clear that Muḥammad had visions of God, and at least in the Meccan years it was the voice of God himself, and not some intermediary, that Muḥammad heard. In the earliest passages to indicate the source of the revelation, God is the speaker and the direct source, e.g., "We shall cast upon thee [Muḥammad] a mighty word" (LXXIII, 5) and "We shall cause thee to recite without forgetting" (LXXXVII, 6). And a number of late Meccan and early Medinan passages speak of God reciting the *āyāt*, the *ḳur'ān*, and the *kitāb* to Muḥammad (II, 252, III, 108, XLV, 6, etc.).

But during the same period a series of passages have the effect of elevating God from direct revelation. This is done in two ways. the message is said to be brought down by certain intermediaries, and it is connected in some way with "the Book" (*al-kitāb*). Both of these concepts occur in XLII, 51 ff., where it is explicitly denied that God speaks directly to Muḥammad: "It is not fitting that God should

speak to any mortal except by inspiration (*waḥy*), or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to inspire whatever He wills [...]. Thus have We inspired you [Muḥammad] with a spirit of Our bidding (*rūḥan min amrinā*), you did not know (before) what the Book and faith were". The role of this spirit as the agent of revelation is seen more clearly in XXVI, 192 f.: "Surely it is the revelation of the Lord of all beings, brought down by the faithful spirit (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*)" and XVI, 102: "The spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-quds*) has brought it down from your Lord in truth". Then in the fairly early Medinan passage, II, 97, the agent of revelation for the first and only time in the Qur'ān is said to be Gabriel. On the basis of this verse and a number of *ḥadīth* accounts, the commentators have identified the "spirit" in the earlier passages as Gabriel, and have placed Gabriel at the very beginning of Muḥammad's ministry as the agent of revelation. Also, contrary to popular belief, Gabriel is never identified in the Qur'ān as one of the angels, and the angels are never said to be agents of revelation (XVI, 2, comes the closest). The angels may be the speakers in a few passages such as XIX, 64 ff. and XXXVII, 161-6, just as Muḥammad or Abraham is sometimes the speaker, but there is no need to interpret the plural "we" as referring to the angels in the numerous passages that also refer to God in the third person. On the "say" passages, in which Muḥammad is sometimes the speaker, see 7 *a* below.

The Qur'ān also speaks of Muḥammad's human informants, at first in contexts involving accusations made against the Prophet by his opponents: "The unbelievers say, 'This is nothing but a fraud [Muḥammad] has devised, and others have helped him with it' ... 'Tales of the ancients he has written down; they are recited to him morning and evening'" (XXV, 4f.). Except for the element of fraud, the Qur'ān does not deny what is reported in this passage. The response given in XVI, 103, to a similar charge seems to concede that Muḥammad had a foreign informant. "We know very well that they are saying, 'It is only a mortal who is teaching him'. But the language of him whom they suggest is foreign, and this is clear Arabic speech". Here again the accusation is not denied; there is simply insistence that the actual wording of the Qur'ān did not come from the informant. Several Medinan passages give the impression that Muḥammad actively sought information from the scriptures of the Jews, since they are condemned for concealing their Book from him. Some mention written copies that were shown to Muḥammad or his followers, e.g. VI, 91: "the Book Moses brought [...] you have put on parchments you show, but you hide much of it". Others such as II, 79, accuse the Jews of writing out passages of their own and then saying "This is from God". See also II, 77, 140, 174, III, 71, and V, 15. In these passages it is not difficult to see Muḥammad receiving stories and other information from various informants, including Jews and Christians, and then in moments of inspiration reworking the material into its Qur'ānic form. Such a view, although considered unorthodox today, is not inconsistent with some reports found in the *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources.

This raises the question of the relationship between the Qur'ān and the scriptures of the Jews and Christians. Meccan and very early Medinan parts of the Qur'ān speak of a single revelation or Book, sometimes called the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*), and specify those to whom it had been "given" previously: the prophets (II, 213), the seed of Abraham (XXIX, 27, LVII, 25 f., etc.), the Children of Israel (XL, 53, XLV, 16), Moses (II, 53, 87, VI, 154, etc.), John the Baptist (XIX, 12) and Jesus (XIX, 30, etc.). In II, 101 and III, 23 (cf. III, 93) the *kitāb Allāh* is specifically identified with the scriptures of the *ahl al-kitāb*, "people of the Book". This expression, which occurs over thirty times (II, 105, 109, III, 64 f., IV, 123, 153, etc.—all Medinan), is often interpreted as "the people who have a scripture". But it more likely means "the people who have (previously) been given the Book of God", since it is synonymous with the Qur'ānic expressions *alladhīna ūtū 'l-kitāb*, "those who have been given the Book", in II, 101, 144, 145 III, 19 f., IV, 131, etc., and *alladhīna ūtayhumu 'l-kitāb*, "those to whom We have given the Book", in II, 121, VI, 20, 114, XIII, 36, etc. The often-discussed term *ummiyyūn* (II, 78, III, 20, 75, LXII, 2) seems to be the antithesis of these three expressions, thus meaning "those who have not been given the Book previously". And this is almost certainly the sense of the singular, *ummī*, which is applied to Muḥammad in VII, 157 f. That is, instead of sending to the Arabs and the world a missionary from among those who had already been given the Book (the *ahl al-kitāb*), God chose to send a prophet, Muḥammad, from among those who previously had not been given the Book (*al-nabī al-ummī*). There is no basis to the Qur'ān for the traditional view that *ummī* means "illiterate" (see ɔwd; *Gesch. des Qor*., i, 14-17, Bell-Watt, 35 f., and Blachère, *Introd*., 6-12). After the so-called "break with the Jews" in Medina around the time of the battle of Badr, the Book came to be distinguished from the Torah and the Gospel (III, 48, V, 110, etc.) and identified more closely with the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad (see, e.g., the Medinan formulas, XII, 1 f., XLI, 3, XLIII, 2 f., etc.). And the expression "those who have been given the Book" became "those who have been given a portion (*naṣīb*) of the Book" (III, 23, IV, 44, 52, etc.). About the same time the plural "scriptures" (*kutub*) was introduced in two credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136 (cf. LXVI, 12, XCVIII, 3).

In late Meccan and early Medinan passages Muḥammad is said to have been challenged to produce a book the people could read for themselves (e.g. XVII, 93), and his followers complained that they did not have a scripture like those of the Jews and Christians (VI, 155 f.). The establishment of an independent, Muslim community in Medina, distinct from the *ahl al-kitāb*, was marked by the granting of a separate Islamic scripture that was to serve as a criterion (cf. *furḳān*) for confirming the truth of previous scriptures (III, 3, IV, 105, V, 48, etc.). The evidence seems to indicate that Muḥammad began to compile a written scripture some time in the early Medinan years, but that the responsibilities of leading the rapidly growing Muslim community forced him to leave the task unfinished (see Bell-Watt, 141-4). That Muḥammad participated in and directed the task of preparing a written scripture seems certain. This is to some extent supported by the *ḥadīth*, where we are told that he dictated to scribes and instructed them on how to arrange the revelations, sometimes inserting a new passage into an older one (al-Buḫārī, *Faḍā'il al Qur'ān*, *bāb* 2 f., Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 2, Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 59). The Prophet most likely did not do the actual writing and editing himself, especially in Medina where he had scribes to perform these menial tasks (*Gesch. des Qor*., i, 46 f.). But it is not unlikely that Muḥammad did occasionally write out the revelations himself (see e.g. XXV, 4-6, quoted in part above, and Bell-Watt, 36, on this passage). The task

of preparing the written scripture included some revision and alteration of earlier revelations (see Bell-Watt, 89-101). The Kur'ān itself acknowledges that changes were made in the revelation: "For whatever *āya* We abrogate or cause (you, i.e. Muḥammad) to forget, We bring (another that is) better or like it" (II, 106), and "When We substitute one *āya* for another—and God knows best what He is sending down—they say: 'You (Muḥammad) are a mere *forger*'" (XVI, 101). A similar verse, XXII, 52, gives another explanation for changes in the revelation: "We have never sent any messenger or prophet before you [Muḥammad], but Satan cast [something] into his thoughts when he was yearning [for a message from God]. But God abrogates what Satan casts in, and then God adjusts his *āyāt*". These verses seem to be responses to complaints or accusations about changes in the revelation. The Kur'ān gives three explanations: that Muḥammad sometimes forgot parts, that Satan inserted something into the revelation, and that God simply replaced some parts with others as good or better. The term *āya* in these passages came to be interpreted as "verse", but the Kur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation that were withdrawn and replaced by others.

In his commentary on XXII, 52, and to his *Annales* (I, 1192 f.), al-Ṭabarī records several versions of a curious story in which Muḥammad is said to have recited the two short verses, "These are the exalted ones (*al-gharānīḳ* = cranes), whose intercession is to be hoped for", just after LIII, 19 f., which mention the Arabian goddesses, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt [*q.vv.*]. The Kuraysh [*q.v.*], who were in the mosque listening to Muḥammad, then prostrated with the Muslims at the *sadjda* at the end of the *sūra*, and some of Muḥammad's followers who immigrated to Abyssinia to avoid persecution returned to Mecca. But before they arrived, Gabriel informed Muḥammad that these two verses had been inserted into the revelation by Satan. God then revealed XXII, 52, to comfort Muḥammad, and then LIII, 21-7, to abrogate the two *gharānīḳ* verses. Hostility between Muḥammad and the Kuraysh resumed, and the immigrants had to arrange for protection before re-entering Mecca. This story of the "Satanic verses" has been accepted as historical by most Western writers who mention it, since they find it unthinkable that it could have been invented (*e.g. Gesch. des Qor.*, I, 101-3; Watt, *Mecca*, 103, A. Guillaume, *Islam*, 189 f.). Although there could be some historical basis for the story, in its present form it is certainly a later, exegetical fabrication. Sūra LIII, 1-20 and the end of the *sūra* are not a unity, as is claimed by the story; XXII, 52, is later than LIII, 21-7, and it almost certainly Medinan (see Bell, *Trans.*, 316, 322) and several details of the story—the mosque, the *sadjda*, and others not mentioned in the short summary above—do not belong to a Meccan setting. Caetani (*Annali*, I, 279-81) and J. Burton ("*These are the high-flying cranes*", in *JSS*, XV [1970], 246-65) have argued against the historicity of the story on other grounds. Caetani on the basis of weak *isnāds*. Burton concluded that the story was invented by jurists so that XXII, 52, could serve as a Kur'ānic proof-text for their abrogation theories.

3. History of the Kur'ān after 632

The history of the text and the recitation of the Kur'ān after the death of Muḥammad in 632 is still far from clear. The development of the canon involved three main stages, each of which is difficult to reconstruct and date: the collection and arrangement of the text from oral and written sources, the establishment of the final consonantal text, and the process by which several readings, i.e., different ways of vocalising the text, came to be accepted as canonical or "revealed". According to the orthodox view, the Kur'ān was *perfectly* preserved in oral form from the beginning and was written down during Muḥammad's lifetime or shortly thereafter when it was "collected" and arranged for the first time by his Companions. The complete consonantal text is believed to have been established during the reign of the third caliph, ʿUthmān (644-56), and the final vocalised text in the early 4th/10th century. Most Western scholars have accepted the main points of this traditional view. But there are problems here. In addition to the usual difficulties of evaluating Muslim sources that were regulated by the science of *ḥadīth*, the task of reconstructing the history of the Kur'ān is further complicated by the fact that the classical literature records thousands of textual variants, which, however, are not found in any extant manuscripts known to Western scholars. Several valuable works on the history of the Kur'ān were written during the 4th/10th century (see below), but later Muslim scholars, with just a few exceptions, have shown little interest in the problem of reconstructing the history of the canon. The basic European works continue to be the second edition of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, especially Part II, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns* (1919), ed. and revised by F. Schwally, and Part III, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts* (1938), by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, and A. Jeffery's *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān* (1937).

a. The "collection" of the Kur'ān. The most widely accepted story of the "first collection" of the Kur'ān places an official, written copy of the entire text in the reign of the first caliph, Abū Bakr (632-4), that within ten years of the Prophet's death. According to the dominant version of this story (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Kurʾān*, *bāb* 3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 9), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] became concerned that so many Kur'ān reciters (*ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*]) had been killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. So he suggested to the caliph that a complete, written text of the Kur'ān be prepared as soon as the revelation would be lost. Abū Bakr hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?", but ʿUmar convinced him of the need. Abū Bakr then sent for Zayd b. Thābit [*q.v.*], one of the Prophet's secretaries, and said, "You are a wise young man, and we trust you. And you used to write down the revelations for the Prophet, so go and find (all the fragments of) the Kur'ān and assemble it together". Zayd also hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?" But Abū Bakr convinced him of the need, and Zayd collected all the fragments of the Kur'ān "whether written on palm branches or thin stones or preserved in the hearts of men", and he wrote it out on "sheets" (*ṣuḥuf*) of equal size and gave them to Abū Bakr. When ʿUmar became caliph in 634 he acquired the "sheets", and on his death they passed to his daughter, Ḥafṣa, a widow of the Prophet.

This story makes several key points, either explicitly or by implication, that would be of considerable significance for our understanding of the history of the Kur'ān if they could be accepted: that Muḥammad did not leave a complete written text, that nothing of the Kur'ān was lost, that it was preserved primarily in oral form and that any written fragments were on crude materials, that the first

official recension, authorised by the first caliph, was also the first complete collection, etc. Muslim tradition came to accept this story as a historical account, and these points as facts. But there are serious problems with this account. For one thing, most of the key points in this story are contradicted by alternative accounts in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 132, *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 25-28; Burton, *Collection*, 120-8). According to one *ḥadīth*, 'Umar once asked about a verse and was told that it had been in the possession of someone who was killed at Yamāma, so he gave the command and the Kur'ān was collected, and "'Umar was the first to collect the Kur'ān" (*Maṣāḥif*, 20; *Itḥān*, i 58). Other accounts say that Abū Bakr began the collection and 'Umar completed it, or that Abū Bakr was the first to collect the Kur'ān on sheets (*ṣuḥuf*), while 'Umar was the first to collect the Kur'ān into a single volume (*muṣḥaf*). Others say 'Umar ordered the compilation, but died before it was completed (Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 212). In fact, each of the first four caliphs is reported to have been the first person to collect the Kur'ān (*Maṣāḥif*, 20, *Itḥān*, i, 57 9). And several alternative accounts state explicitly that no official collection of the Kur'ān existed prior to 'Uthmān's. Caetani (*Annali*, ii/1, 723) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 20) have questioned the significance of the al-Yamāma battles as an occasion for an official collection of the Kur'ān, pointing out that very few men distinguished for their knowledge of the Kur'ān are mentioned in the lists of those who died there (Schwally found two). Even more significant is the fact that there is no evidence that the alleged collection under Abū Bakr was ever accepted as authoritative. Finally, this story fails to acknowledge the role of written copies of parts of the Kur'ān left by Muḥammad. These important documents for the history of the Kur'ān, alluded to in the statement that Zayd "used to write down the revelations for the Prophet", must have played a significant role in the preparation of an official text. There are thus sufficient grounds for rejecting the historicity of this story, the most likely purposes of which were to obscure Muḥammad's role in the preparation of a written Kur'ān, to reduce 'Uthmān's role in establishing an official text, and to attempt to establish the priority of the 'Uthmānic text over those of the (pre-'Uthmanic) Companion codices. All three purposes would be accomplished by establishing the belief that the first official collection of the Kur'ān was prepared during the short reign of Abū Bakr and served as the basis for 'Uthmān's recension. See *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 22-27; Bell-Watt, 40-2; Blachère, *Introd.*, 27-34; also Burton, *Collection*, 127-37 (on Burton's view, see below)

The accounts of the collection of the Kur'ān under 'Uthmān assert that the final consonantal text was established during the last half of his reign, or about twenty years after Muḥammad's death. According to the dominant version (al-Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*; *Maṣāḥif*, 18 f.; *Itḥān*, i, 58 f.; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 14 f.; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 47-50), the occasion for the final collection of the Kur'ān was a dispute between Muslim forces from 'Irāḳ and Syria over the correct way of reciting it during communal prayers while on an expedition to Armenia and Āḏharbāyḏjān. The general, Ḥudhayfa b. al Yaman, reported this problem to the caliph and asked him to establish a unified text. 'Uthmān obtained the "sheets" from Ḥafṣa and appointed a commission consisting of Zayd b. Thābit and three prominent Meccans, and instructed them to copy the sheets into several volumes following the dialect of Kuraysh, the main tribe of Mecca. When the task was finished 'Uthmān kept one copy in Medina and sent others to Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, and, according to some accounts, Mecca (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 222 f.), with an order that all other copies of the Kur'ān once in be destroyed. This was done everywhere except in Kūfa, where Ibn Mas'ūd and his followers refused. The details differ in various versions of this story (*ibid.*, 50-4), mainly on the number and identity of the commissioners and the cities that received official copies.

This second collection story stands up to critical analysis no better than the first. Western scholars now accept the view argued by Schwally (*ibid.*, 57-62) and others that the Kur'ān is not in the dialect of the Kuraysh (see 5 a below). If this is so, one of the two main points of the story is discredited, and it is difficult to see what role the commission might have played. Schwally also showed (54-7) that those named in the various accounts are unlikely candidates for such a commission appointed by 'Uthmān, and he gave good reasons for doubting that the caliph would have ordered all extant copies of the Kur'ān to be destroyed. It also seems unlikely that differences in the way the Kur'ān was recited during the daily prayers would have caused serious dissension among Muslim forces involved in the initial conquests. These parts of the story all hint of a later historical setting. The Ḥafṣa element seems to be simply a device for tying the two collection stories together, while establishing an authoritative chain of custody for an official text going back almost to the time of the death of the Prophet, and explaining why this official text was not generally known (see Bell-Watt, 41 f.). For several alternative accounts that give completely different reasons and circumstances for 'Uthmān's order for an authorised text, see Burton, *Collection*, 138-59

We thus have before us another story whose particulars cannot be accepted. But this does not mean necessarily that the story has no historical basis at all. The unanimity with which an official text is attributed to 'Uthmān, to the face of a lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, leads most Western scholars to accept one central point of this story: that the Kur'ān we have today, at least in terms of the number and arrangement of the *sūras* and the basic structure of the consonantal text, goes back to the time of 'Uthmān, under whose authority the official text was produced. This was, however, certainly not a *textus receptus* or *recensior*, even in terms of its consonantal form (see below). Most Western scholars also accept one other element of the story: that Zayd played some role in establishing the 'Uthmānic text. Just what that role might have been is difficult to say; alternative accounts give several possibilities (see Burton, *Collection*, 117-26, 142-6, 150, 165 7, etc.). Burton contends that both collection stories are completely fictitious and that Zayd's prominence in the various accounts is due solely to the fact that he had been a young secretary to the Prophet and an early Kur'ān specialist who happened also to be one of the latest surviving Companions, dying at 45/665 (*Collection*, 110-4, 228, etc.). Burton has raised serious doubts about the role of Zayd in establishing the official text, and he has shown that the sciences of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* influenced the proliferation of Kur'ān collection stories; but he has not demonstrated the likelihood of his main contention that the collection stories were fabricated by later jurists to provide support for their abrogation theories by hiding the fact that the final text of the

Kur'ān was produced, not by ʿUthmān, but by the Prophet himself.

b Variant readings and Companion codices. The ʿUthmānic text tradition was only one of several that existed during the first four centuries A.H. The general view is that ʿUthmān canonised the Medinan text tradition and that this one was most likely the closest to the original revelation. Other text traditions, attributed to several Companions of the Prophet, are said to have flourished in Kūfa, Baṣra and Syria. The sources speak sometimes of various "readings" (*ḥurūf*, sing. *ḥarf*), i.e. different ways of reading or reciting the text, sometimes of "codices" (*maṣāḥif*, sing. *muṣḥaf*). On the usage of these two terms see KIRĀ'A and *Materials*, 23 f. A number of works on the "disagreement of the codices" (*ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif*) are said to have been written by Muslim scholars of the first four centuries. Ibn al-Nadīm lists eleven such works (*Fihrist*, 26, tr. Dodge, 79, which is incomplete), including the *K. Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif al-Shīʿa wa 'l-Ḥijāzīyīn wa 'l-ʿIrāḳ* by Ibn ʿAmr al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 218/736), *K. Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-ahl al-Kūfa wa-ahl al-Baṣra* by al-Kisāʾī (d. 289/805), *K. Ikhtilāf ahl al-Kūfa wa 'l-Baṣra wa 'l-Shām fī 'l-maṣāḥif* by Abū Zakarīyā al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), *K. Ikhtilāf al maṣāḥif wa-ḥasr' al ḥurūf* by al-Madāʾinī (d. *ca.* 231/845), and three works each called simply *K. al-Maṣāḥif* by Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928), Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/939), and Ibn Ashta al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970). Of these works, most of which have not survived, the last two seem to have been the most complete and the most highly regarded by later scholars. The shorter and somewhat earlier work by Ibn Abī Dāwūd, son of the famous traditionist was edited by A. Jeffery and published with his *Materials*, which lists several thousand variants taken from some thirty "main sources" (see 27 f.), including the classical commentaries by al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Rāzī, and various works on *ḥurūf*, *sharḥ shawādhdh*, *gharīb al-Kur'ān*, grammar, etc., including the *Maʿānī* by al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), the *Mukhtaṣar* by Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/979), and the *Muḥtasab* by Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) (see *Bibl.*). The comments made by al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) on variants (e.g. on XXIff, 106) show that the text of the Kur'ān was not fixed *ne varietur* in his day.

Most often mentioned to the sources are the "readings" or "codices" of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy, and Abū Mūsā, said to have been dominant in Kūfa, Syria and Baṣra respectively. All three codices are said to have been begun during Muḥammad's lifetime. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD] (d. *ca.* 35/655), an early convert who became a personal servant in Muḥammad and accompanied him on many major occasions, is reported to have learned some seventy *sūras* directly from the Prophet, who appointed him as one of the first teachers of Kur'ān recitation (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 107). Later he was appointed in an administrative post in Kūfa by the caliph ʿUmar, and there he became a leading authority on the Kur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Ibn Masʿūd is consistently reported to have refused to destroy his copy of the Kur'ān or stop teaching it when the ʿUthmānic recension was made official. Also, there are reports that many Muslims in Kūfa continued to follow his reading for some time after his death, thus dividing the community there. Ubayy b. Kaʿb (*q.v.*) (d. 18/639 or 19/640 or later), a Medinan Muslim who served as a secretary for the Prophet, seems to have been even more prominent as a Kur'ān specialist than Ibn Masʿūd during Muḥammad's lifetime. There are reports that he was responsible for retaining verbatim certain important revelations, apparently on legal matters, which from time to time the Prophet asked him to recite. Ubayy appears frequently and in a variety of roles in the various collection stories. For instance, the "sheets" of Ubayy are sometimes mentioned instead of those of Ḥafṣa, and he sometimes appears in place of Zayd, dictating the Kur'ān to a corps of scribes (see *Materials*, 214, Burton, *Collection*, 124 ff.). The accounts saying that when the ʿUthmānic text was made official, Ubayy destroyed his codex while Ibn Masʿūd refused to do so may be examples of historical telescoping, meaning that the people of Syria (possibly over a period of many years) gave up their distinctive reading (as that of Ubayy), while the people of Kūfa refused to give up theirs (i.e. that of Ibn Masʿūd). This would explain the later desire sometimes given for Ubayy's death and the conflicting reports regarding his role in compiling the official text. Abū Mūsā ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī (*q.v.*) (d. 42/662 or later) was a Yemenite famed for his eloquent recitation of the Kur'ān. His codex is said to have been accepted in Baṣra, where he served as governor under ʿUmar, and there are reports that his reading continued to be remembered and studied there for some time after ʿUthmān's text was made official. According to one account, when the messenger from ʿUthmān delivered the Baṣra copy of the new standard text, Abū Mūsā said to his followers: "Whatever you find in my codex that is not in his, do not remove it, but whatever you find missing (in mine), write it in" (*Maṣāḥif*, 13). This is consistent with other reports saying Abū Mūsā's codex was large and that it contained the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's codex (see below) and other verses not found in other codices (*Materials*, 209-11).

In addition to these three codices, two of which are discussed in more detail below, Jeffery classified as "primary" the codices attributed to twelve other Companions of the Prophet: the second and fourth caliphs, ʿUmar and ʿAlī; three of Muḥammad's widows, Ḥafṣa bint ʿUmar, ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr, and Umm Salama; four whose readings seem to have been variations of the Medinan text tradition, Zayd b. Thābit, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, Anas b. Mālik, and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; and three others, Sālim the Client of Abū Ḥudhayfa, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, and Ibn ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*q.v.*) (d. 40/661), cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is often said to have been the first to collect the Kur'ān after the Prophet's death (e.g. *Fihrist*, 28, tr. Dodge, 62 f.). He is reported to have arranged the *sūras* in some sort of chronological order, e.g. XCVI, LXXIV, LXVIII, LXXIII, etc., and to have given up his codex to be burned when ʿUthmān's text was made official. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (*q.v.*) (d. *ca.* 68/688), also a cousin of Muḥammad, later gained fame as the doyen of early Kur'ān exegetes. He is said to have included in his codex the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's text (see below), and several later scholars are said to have taken their readings from him. Sālim b. Muʿkib (d. 12/633), sometimes called Sālim b. Maʿḳil (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 21, 2, etc.), one of the Kur'ān reciters killed in the battle of Yamāma, was one of four to whom Muḥammad is reported to have advised his followers to turn for guidance concerning the Kur'ān. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (d. 74/693) was an early Kur'ān reciter in Mecca; his codex may have been the basis for the Meccan text tradition, which seems not to have been as strong as those of Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus (or Syria). Compared with the large number of variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd

and Ubayy, relatively few are mentioned in the literature for these other codices. Jeffery also collected variants attributed to a number of Muslims of the second generation: al-Aswad b. Yazīd, ʿAlqama, Hattān, Saʿīd b. Djubayr, Talha, ʿIkrima, Mudjāhid, ʿAṭāʾ b. Rabāḥ, al-Rabīʿ b. al-Khuthaym, al-Aʿmash, Diʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Shāhr b. Ḥawshab and al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd. More variants are attributed to some of these "secondary codices" than to most of the "primary" ones. In some cases, Jeffery was able to determine the primary codex from which a secondary one was derived.

Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed from the ʿUthmānic text in several important respects. The sources are fairly consistent in saying it did not contain the *Fātiḥa* and the two charms that became *sūras* I, CXIII, and CXIV of the ʿUthmānic text (see 4 a below). Variants in the *Fātiḥa* are, however, attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (*Materials*, 25), and Ibn al-Nadīm reported in 377/987 that he saw a number of Ibn Masʿūd Kurʾān manuscripts and that one that was about 200 years old included the *Fātiḥa* (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 57 f.). Of the many variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, II, 60-83, *Materials*, 25-213), some involve only different vowels with the same consonantal text, and some are purely orthographic, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd is said to have written *kulla mā* as two words rather than one in a number of places. But the vast majority of variants listed by Bergsträsser and Jeffery for Ibn Masʿūd involve differences in the consonantal text that would also show up in recitation. Of these, many may be regarded as explanatory glosses on the ʿUthmānic text, but in some cases it is the ʿUthmānic text that seems to contain an "expansion" or "improvement", sometimes apparently for theological reasons (see *Materials*, 17). Among the most questionable of the variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd are the "Shīʿa readings", e.g. in V, 67, XXIV, 35, XXVI, 215, XXXIII, 25, 33, 56, XLII, 23, XLVII, 29, LVI, 10, LIX, 7, LX, 3, LXXV, 17 19 (*see ibid.*, 40, 65, 68, etc.). More difficult to evaluate are the numerous "synonym variants", as for example the following found in Sūra XXV, where, instead of the ʿUthmānic terms given in parentheses, Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read *ghaʾaia*, "makes, brings about", in verse 48: "and He it is Who sends (*arsala*) the winds", *li-nunshira*, "give life", in 49: "that We may give life (*li-nuḥyiya*) thereby to a dead land" *baldat*, "castles", in 62: "Blessed is He Who has placed in the heavens constellations (*burūdj*)" *yatafakkara*, "ponder, consider", in 62: "for him who desires to remember (*yadhdhakkara*)", and *al-djanna*, "the Garden, Paradise", in 75: "They will be awarded the high place (*al-ghurfa*) inasmuch as they were steadfast". Just as frequent are cases where an entire phrase is different, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's reading in III, 39: "Then Gabriel called to him, 'O Zachariah'", instead of the ʿUthmānic reading, "Then the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary". Some variants may have significance for the early history of Islam or the history of the Kurʾān, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's well known reading *al-ḥanīfiyya*, "the way of the Ḥanīfs" (q.v.) instead of *al-islām* in III, 19: "Behold the [true] religion (*dīn*) of God is Islam", and the fact that he is said to have included the *basmala* at the beginning of Sūra IX (see 4 c below). Also the order of the *sūras* in Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed considerably from that of the ʿUthmānic text. Two slightly different, incomplete lists are recorded, the earlier one by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 53-7) and a later one by al-Suyūṭī (*Itḳān*, I, 64). The missing *sūras* in each list are included in the other, and it is possible to reconstruct a single list. The principle of arranging the *sūras* in order of descending length is followed more closely than in the ʿUthmānic text, but there is still considerable variation from this criterion (see Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren*, Tables IV). Following the assumption that the longer *sūras* were not put together until the ʿUthmānic text was compiled, some scholars have concluded that the Ibn Masʿūd lists are "post-ʿUthmānic" and have little validity (e.g. *Materials*, 23 f.). But if most of the *sūras* were written down and put into approximately their final form during Muḥammad's lifetime, then there would be no strong reason for rejecting the validity of these reports outright.

Ubayy's codex seems according to the extant evidence to have been less important than Ibn Masʿūd's. It appears not to have been the source of any secondary codices, and very few unique variants are attributed to it. Most variants attributed to Ubayy are attributed also to either Ibn Masʿūd or Ibn ʿAbbās. Probably the best known feature of Ubayy's codex is that it is said to have included two short *sūras* not in the ʿUthmānic and the Masʿūd texts, Sūrat al-Khalʿ, with *three* verses, and Sūrat al-Ḥafd, with *six* (see *Materials*, 180 f.). The order of *sūras* in Ubayy's codex is said to have differed from that of ʿUthmān's and Ibn Masʿūd's, and again we have two slightly different lists (*Fihrist*, 27, Dodge tr., 58-61, and *Itḳān*, I, 64). These lists are, however, less complete and less reliable than those given for Ibn Masʿūd, and some *sūras* are difficult to identify. Dodge (60) is probably correct in identifying *al-walī* as Sūra LXVI, and Jeffery (*Materials*, 115) is no doubt mistaken in saying it is Sūra LXV. But Dodge is certainly wrong in reading *al-dīn* (one of the titles for Sūra CVII—see Paret, *Kommentar*, 554) as *al-fīl* (the title of Sūra XCV), and in failing to recognize Ubayy's two famous extra *sūras* mentioned above. Ibn al-Nadīm states at the end of his list in the *Fihrist* that Ubayy's codex contained 116 *sūras*, and he reports that his source of information, al-Fadl b. Shādhān, saw a copy of an Ubayy codex in a village near Basra in the middle of the 3rd century A.H.

Western scholarship has not reached a consensus on what value this mass of allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants has for our knowledge of the history of the Kurʾān. Confidence in the variants declined during the 1930s as they were being collected and analysed. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, II, 77 f., 92-6) still gave a fairly positive appraisal, but Jeffery (*Materials*, 16) wrote "With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value", a view that came to be shared by O. Pretzl. Then after the project to prepare a critical edition of the Kurʾān came to a halt A. Fischer (*Isl.*, xxviii (1948), 5) concluded that most of the allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants were later attempts by philologers to emend the ʿUthmānic text. Recently J. Burton (*Collection*, 199-222, etc.) and J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 44-6, 202-7, etc.) have concluded that, not just some, but all of the accounts about Companion codices, metropolitan codices, and individual variants were fabricated by later Muslim jurists and philologers; but they reach opposite conclusions on the reason for this hoax. Burton argues that the Companion codices were invented in order to provide a setting for the ʿUthmān collection story, which in turn was invented to hide the fact that Muḥammad himself had already collected and edited the final edition of the Kurʾān (see I., 239 f.). Wansbrough, on the other

hand, asserts that the collection stories and the accounts of the Companion codices arose in order to give ancient authority for a text that was not even compiled until the 3rd/9th century or later. He claims, without providing any convincing evidence, that the text of the Kur'ān was so fluid that the multiple accounts (e.g. of the punishment-stories) represent "variant traditions" of different metropolitan centres (Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina, etc.). Each writer has stressed a valid point, i.e., that Muḥammad played a larger role in compiling and editing the Kur'ān than is admitted by the traditional accounts (Burton), and that as late as the 3rd/9th century a consonantal *textus receptus* or *variatae* still had not been achieved (Wansbrough). But both writers seem to have overstated their cases. Neither has given convincing reasons for his own hypothesis, or for the shared assertion that the Muslim accounts should be rejected altogether.

c. Establishment of the canonical text and readings. Historically, it is better to speak of the ʿUthmānic text and the oral tradition that accompanied it as evolving gradually over a period of about three centuries. The process by which this text came to prevail over its rivals and then became the foundation for several sets of accepted or "canonical" readings is far from clear, and the issues involved are complex. They include the difficult task of reconstructing the stages in the development of Kur'ānic orthography, the relationship between the written text and the oral tradition, and the tension between a critical evaluation of the historical evidence and the orthodox views on the Kur'ān.

From the beginning there were variations in the copies of the ʿUthmānic text. Even the official copies of the Medina standard codex (*al-imām*) sent to the main centres are said not to have been identical. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 6-19) lists and discusses a number of variations in the Medina, Damascus, Baṣra, Kūfa and Mecca copies of the ʿUthmānic text, reported in the *Muḳniʿ* of Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) and in other works. E.g. the Damascus copy is said to have had *wa-bi 'l-zubur* and *wa-bi 'l-kitāb* instead of *wa 'l-zubur* and *wa 'l-kitāb* in III, 184, and *minhum* instead of *minhum* in XL, 21; and the Kufa copy is said to have had *ʿamilat* instead of *ʿamilat-hu* in XXXVI, 35, and *wa-ma* (which occurs in the Egyptian standard edition) instead of *wa-ʿmā* in XL, 26. These differences are of course minor, but they do involve changes in the consonantal forms. Such variations can best be explained as resulting from carelessness on the part of the scribes or lack of concern for exact uniformity among the authorities.

Deficiencies in the Arabic script used in the earliest copies of the Kur'ān led to further differences in the oral tradition as well as the text tradition. During the first Islamic century, Arabic was written in a so-called *scriptio defectiva* in which only the consonants were given, and in several instances the same form was used for two or more consonants, e.g. *d* and *dh*, *ḥ* and *kh*, and even very different phonemes such as *s* and *sh*, and in some positions *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, and *y*. Since no diacritical points or vowel signs were included, the vocalization was moreover left to the reader. This meant that even when there was agreement on the consonants, some verbs could be read as active or passive, some nouns could be read with different case endings, and some forms could be read as either nouns or verbs. The lists compiled by Jeffery in his *Materials* contain many examples of canonical and non-canonical variants based on forms that are indistinguishable in the *scriptio defectiva* of early Kur'ān manuscripts. In most cases the meaning is affected very little, as for example whether *kabīr* or *kabīr* is read in II 219 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and two of the Sevan, Hamza and al-Kisāʾī—see below), or *ḥadab* "mound", or *ḥadath* "tomb", is read in XXI, 96 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and others). In some instances the alteration of a case ending or some other slight change in the vowelling does significantly affect the meaning (see KHATT and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 122 ff.).

During the Umawyad period (41-132/661-750) the ʿUthmānic text tradition became more and more diverse, and new readings arose combining elements of the ʿUthmānic and Companion oral and text traditions, especially those of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. By early ʿAbbāsid times there was such a confusion of readings that it became impossible to distinguish ʿUthmānic from non-ʿUthmānic ones, or to recover with confidence the "original" ʿUthmānic text. Some order was brought to this confusion by the establishment of a *scriptio plena*, a fully vowelled and pointed text. Muslim accounts of the introduction of this improved script are unreliable because they vary so much and are not consistent with palaeographical evidence (Blachère, *Introd.*, 78-90). A popular view is that al-Ḥajjādj was responsible for introducing vowel signs and dots for the consonants when he was governor of ʿIrāḳ (74-95/694-714). But Kur'ān manuscripts from the first three or four Islamic centuries show that a *scriptio plena* came to be accepted very slowly. Dots of different colours or in different positions (above, below, and beside the consonants) were used to indicate the three short vowels in some fairly early manuscripts, and in some, but not all, later ones. Strokes or dots for distinguishing consonants, as well as other signs for doubled consonants, pauses, and even the finer points of recitation, were introduced later (see KHATT, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 19-57 and N. Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic script*, 17-44; on the difficulty of dating these early manuscripts, see A. Grohmann, *The problem of dating early Qurʾāns*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii (1958), 213-31).

By the early 4th/10th century the improved Arabic script was widely, although not universally, accepted by Kur'ān scholars. One result of the general use of the more precise script was that the differences in the texts became more pronounced, and this caused heated disputes as to which reading was the correct one. Another result was that it became possible for the authorities to enforce a greater measure of uniformity. The central figure in what became the most important Kur'ān reform since the time of ʿUthmān was Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid (d. 324/936). His aim was to restrict the number of acceptable readings, accept only those based on a fairly uniform consonantal text, renounce the attempts of some scholars to achieve absolute uniformity (something which he realized was impossible), and at least ameliorate if not bring to an end the rivalry among scholars, each of whom claimed to possess the one correct reading. With a stroke of genius he chose seven well known Kur'ān teachers of the 2nd/8th century and declared that their readings all had divine authority, which the others lacked. He based this on the popular *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says the Kur'ān was revealed to him in "seven *aḥruf*" (*al-Bukhārī, Faḍāʾil al-Kurʾān, bāb* 4, Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trads. 270-4, etc.). The meaning of this expression in the *ḥadīth* is uncertain, the term *aḥruf* being the plural of *ḥarf* "letter" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 48-51, iii, 106 f.). Ibn Mudjāhid interpreted the ex-

provision to retain "seven readings". His view, worked out in a book called al *Kirā'āt al sab'a*, "The Seven Readings", came at just the right time. It was adopted by the *wazīrs* Ibn Muḳla and 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*q.vv.*] and made official in the year 322/934 when the scholar Ibn Miḳsam was forced to retract his view that the consonantal text could be read in any manner that was grammatically correct. The following year another Kur'ān scholar, Ibn Shanabūdh [*q.v.*], was similarly condemned and forced to renounce his view that it was permissible to use the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy.

Selecting several rival systems and declaring them equally authoritative was of course the same method used elsewhere by Muslims to avert endless disputes, e.g. the four Sunnī legal schools. But Ibn Mudjāhid's system of seven readings was not completely arbitrary. Strong Kur'ān traditions existed in Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina and Damascus, and Mecca also had its own tradition. Kūfa stood out above the others as the leading centre for Kur'ān studies and the seat of several rival traditions. So Ibn Mudjāhid selected one reading each for Medina, Mecca, Baṣra and Damascus—these of Nāfi' (d. 169/785), Ibn Kathīr (d. 120/737), Abū 'Amr (d. 154/770), and Ibn 'Āmir (d. 118/736), respectively—and three for Kūfa, those of 'Āṣim (d. 127/744), Ḥamza (d. 156/772), and al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804). His attempt to limit the number of canonical readings to seven was not acceptable to all, and there was strong support for alternative readings in most of the five cities. Eventually scholars began to speak of the Ten readings, and even the Fourteen. The most widely accepted of these, the so-called "three after the seven" are the readings of Abū Dja'far (d. 130/747), Ya'kūb al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/820), and Khalaf (d. 229/843). Among the "four after the ten", two deserve special notice, the readings of the famous al-Ḥasan al Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and al-A'mash (d. 148/765), of Baṣra and Kūfa respectively. For each of the Ten, two slightly different "versions" (sing. *riwāya*) came to be accepted according to scholars of a generation or two later, e.g. the "version" of Warsh (d. 197/812) and Ḳālūn (d. 220/835) for the reading (*ḳirā'a*) of Nāfi', those of Ḥafṣ (d. 190/805) and Shu'ba (d. 194/809) for 'Āṣim, and those of Khalaf (mentioned above) and Khallād (d. 220/835) for Ḥamza. For complete lists and discussion of this development, see *Gasch des Qor.*, iii, 169-90, and Blachère, *Introd.*, 116-35.

During the 5th/11th century the exclusive authority of the Seven began to prevail, and several works were written on them, e.g. the *K. al-Taysīr* by al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) (see *Bibl.*), which replaced Ibn Mudjāhid's work. The seven came to be followed exclusively in public readings, while the others continued to be used in Kur'ān commentaries and works on philology, grammar, etc. The Kur'ān readers (*ḳurrā'*), who maintained a lively tradition, continued at least a scholarly interest in the "three after the seven", and further refinements were made in all of the Ten readings. Two "ways" (*turuḳ*, sing. *ṭarīḳ*) of reciting each "version" (*riwāya*) came to be accepted, and then two more "ways" for each *ṭarīḳ*, making altogether eight "ways" of reciting ten "readings". See Labīb as-Saīd, *The recited Koran*, Princeton 1975, including a complete list of the eighty, 127-30; on the readings, see ḳirā'a, and on methods of reciting, tadjwīd.

At the present, only two "versions" are in general use, that of Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim, which for centuries has been followed in most regions and in 1924 was given a kind of official sanction by being adopted in the Egyptian standard edition of the Kur'ān, and that of Warsh 'an Nāfi', followed in parts of Africa other than Egypt. The latter was used by the Yemenite scholar al Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), in the manuscript of his Kur'ān commentary (see *Bibl.*), but in the printed edition the Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim reading was substituted. The Egyptian standard edition is now regarded as the best of the Kur'ān as far available, although it was based on oral tradition and late *ḥadīth* literature and is not always consistent with the oldest and best sources (see G. Bergsträsser, *Koranlesung in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, xx [1932], and O. Pretzl, "Anmerkungen" to *Orthographie und Punktuierung des Koran*, 1932).

The history of the text of the Kur'ān is yet to be written. One aspect of this task is a thorough analysis of the relationship between the Seven or the Ten and all the other readings, including the Companion codices. Until such an analysis is undertaken it will not be possible to give a final evaluation of the sources. The variants found in the "four after the ten" often involve a consonantal text that differs from that of the majority among the Ten (i.e., the "Uthmānic text"), and they sometimes have completely different words—see, e.g., the references to the readings of al-Ḥasan al Baṣrī and al A'mash in *Materials*, especially in the listings for Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy. A rough survey of Jeffery's lists shows that Ibn Mas'ūd's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two of the Seven from Kūfa, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī, as is to be expected, and even more frequently with those of al-Ḥasan and of A'mash (the latter was also a Kūfan reader). Ubayy's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two others among the Seven, Ibn Kathīr and Abū 'Amr (from Mecca and Baṣra), and also with those of al Ḥasan and al-A'mash, but somewhat surprisingly not with those of Ibn 'Āmir, the only reader from Damascus among the Fourteen. This important aspect of the history of the Kur'ān deserves a thorough scientific study, preferably with the use of a computer. On the question of the completeness and authenticity of the Kur'ān, see Bell-Watt, 50-6, for a clear statement and defence of the modern orthodox position. Labīb as Saīd, *op. cit.*, 29-41.

4. Structure

a. The *sūras* and their names. The Kur'ān consists of 114 sections of widely varying length and form called *sūras*, which are divided into a number of verses (*āyāt*), ranging from three to 286 or 287. As shown above, the terms *sūra* and *āya* both occur within the text of the Kur'ān, but it is not certain that either has its present meaning there, i.e., refers to the present *sūras* and verses. *Sūra* is sometimes translated "chapter", but this is misleading. The first *sūra*, *al-Fātiḥa*, "The Opening" [*q.v.*], is a prayer, and the last two, known as *al-mu'awwidhatān*, "the two [*sūras*] of taking refuge", are charms or incantations. These three serve as a kind of introduction and two-part conclusion to the Kur'ān. Except for a few other very short *sūras* near the end (e.g. CIX, CXI, CXII), very few treat a single topic (XII, on the story of Joseph, and LXXI, on Noah, are notable exceptions) or otherwise appear to be structured entities (*e.g.* XXVI and LV). Most of the *sūras* consist of several segments or pericopes that are only loosely connected, often with little or no apparent connection of thought. Some short *sūras* (e.g. CIII, CVIII) seem to be isolated fragments, and it is not unlikely that some of the present *sūras* or parts of them were once joined with others. For instance,

Ubayy b. Ka'b and other early authorities are reported to have regarded CV and CVI as a single *sūra* (see *Itḳān*, i, 186 f., *Materials*, 179, Birkeland, *The Lord guideth*, 100-50).

After the *Fātiḥa*, the *sūras* are arranged roughly in order of descending length, beginning with 'The Cow' (II), with over 700 lines (60 pages) in a modern printed copy of the Egyptian standard edition, and ending with several *sūras* with just two or three lines. Actually, the *sūra* called "Abundance" (CVIII), mentioned above as a possible fragment, has the distinction *of* being the shortest, having only ten words. The length *of* the *sūras* was only one of several factors affecting the arrangement of the Kur'ān. If the *sūras* were exactly in order of length the first thirty would be: II, IV, III, VII, VI, V, IX, XI, XVI, X, XII, XVII, XVIII, XXVI, XXVIII, XX, XXIV, XXXIII, XXII, VIII, XXI, XL, XXXIX, XXVII, XXIII, XXXVII, XIX, XXV, XLIII, and XXXIV. Note that Sūra VIII (which is 40th in order of length) and XIII, XIV, and XV (not in this list) are much too short for their positions while XXXIX, XL, and XLIII are too long. The explanation for these last two groups is clear. XIII XIV, and XV begin with the "mysterious letters" *alīmr* and were kept with the other *alīr sūras*, X-XII while XL and XLIII begin with *ḥm* and were kept with the other *ḥm sūras*, a group to which XXXIX also belongs (see 4.d below). Other factors that influenced the order of the *sūras* include their dates, main topics, and introductions. For instance, LVII-LXVI are a group of Medinan *sūras* kept together in spite of varying length (see also their introductory formulas); X-XV, besides being *alīr sūras*, all feature prophet stories and are named after prophets, except for XIII, which has *alīmr*, and XXXIV and XXXV begin with the same formula, as do LXV and LXVI, and several groups of *sūras* with the same mysterious letters (see below); cf. also LXXIII and LXXIV, LXXXV and LXXXVI, and others that begin with oaths. For complete lists of the *sūras* and their relative lengths, see Bell Watt, 206-12, and Royer, *Anordnung der Suren* (see *Bibl*.)

Muslim writers normally refer to the *sūras* by their names rather than their numbers. Since the names were not established during Muḥammad's lifetime and did not come to be regarded as parts of the text, most *sūras* came to be known by more than one name. The Egyptian standard edition has had a considerable impact in establishing uniform names, and most of the alternative ones are no longer used. Notable exceptions are the continued use by Indo-Pakistani writers (and also Pickthall's translation of the names *Banū Isrā'īl* for Sūra XVII, *al mala'ūka* for XXXV, *al mu'minūn* for XL, *al laffāf* for LXXXIII, *al mufrikāt* for XCIV, *al nāzil* for XCIX, and most *also* use *ḥā'mīm* for XLI, *al ḥajj* for LXXVI, and *al-lahab* for CXI. Flügel and thus Bell and other European writers use *al malā'ika* for XXXV, *al mu'minūn* for XL, *alnūn mufrikāt* for XCIV, and *tabbat* for CXI. A complete list of the *sūra* names and abbreviations found most often in the literature on the Kur'ān is given in Paret, *Kommentar*, 552-9. Most of the *sūra* names do not indicate the subject-matter, as would normally be expected of a title. Instead they are taken from a key term or catchword that would identify the *sūra* for those who had them memorised, showing that the names arose within the oral rather than the written tradition.

The *sūra* names used in the Egyptian standard edition can be classified as follows: (1) Just over half of the *sūras* take their names from key words at or near the beginning of the *sūra*. The method most often used is to name the *sūra* for the first rhyme word, i.e., the last word of the first verse. This is done in 30 *sūras*: XX[a], XXIII, XXX, XXXVI[a], LII[a], LIV, LVI, LXIX[a], LXXIII V, LXXXIII, LXXXV VIII, LXXXIX[a], XC, XCII[a], XCVII-VIII, CI[a], CII, CIII[a], CV-VI, CVIII IX and CXIII XIV. In the eight marked with asterisks, the first rhyme-word is also the first word of the *sūra*, a method used in 24 other *sūras*. XXXVII, XXXVIII[a], L[a], LI, LIII, LV, LXVIII, LXXVII, LXXIX, LXXX, XCI-II, XCV and C. The four marked with two asterisks are named for their mysterious letters. A further 18 are named for other key words in the first or second verse: VIII, XXV, XXXV, XLI, XLVII-VIII, LIX, LXIII, LXVII, LXX-LXXII, LXXVI, LXXVIII, XCVI, XCIX, CIX and CX. (2) In about one-third of the *sūras* the name is a key term or catchword that occurs elsewhere in the *sūra*. In 16 of these this is the only occurrence of the term in the Kur'ān (given here without the definite article): Cow in II, 67-71; Table, V, 112-14; Heights, VII 46-8; Hijr, XV, be: See, XVI, 68, Cave, XVIII, 9 ff.; Pests, XXVI, 224; Ant, XXVII, 18; Spider, XXIX, 41; Luḳmān, XXXI, 12 f.; Troops, XXXIX, 71-3; Counsel, XLII, 38; Hobbling, XLV, 28, Sand-dunes, XLVI, 21, Apartments, XLIX, 4; and Mutual Fraud, LXIV, 9 (some first-word and first rhyme-word names listed above are also truly occurrences). Only two of the narrative *sūras* are named for a key term or the *sūra* that designates the single theme: Joseph (XII) and Noah (LXXI). Twelve are named for a key term that designates one of several themes or stories: Family of 'Imrān (III), Women (IV), Jonah (X), Hūd (XI), Abraham (XIV), Mary (XIX), Pilgrimage (XXII), Confederates (XXXIII), Sheba (XXXIV), and three listed above—Ḥijr, Cave, and Luḳmān. Seven are named for other striking terms that occur also in other *sūras*: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (XXIV), Ornaments (XLIII), Smoke (XLIV), Iron (LVII) and Ranks (LXI). (3) The names of 14 *sūras* do not occur in those *sūras*, and most do not occur anywhere in the Kur'ān. Most of these names are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the *sūra*: Night Journey (XVII), Prostration (XXXII), Disputer (LVIII), Woman Tested (LX), Congregation (LXII), Divorce[a] (LXV), Prohibition (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Reading (LXXXIV), and Expanding (XCIV). The names of the other three were chosen to indicate the function of the *sūra*, The Opening (I), or the main theme, Prophets[a] (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). Only the two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Kur'ān. On the names and abbreviations used for the *sūras*, see Paret, *Kommentar*, 545-50.

b. The verses. Like the *sūras*, the verses vary considerably in length and style. In some *sūras*, which tend to be short and early, the verses are short and often rhythmic. Sometimes there even seems to be an element of metre (LXXIV, 1-7, XCI, 1-10, cf. XCIX, CIVI, but this is caused by the repetition of certain grammatical forms and not by an effort to carry through a strict metre of either syllables or stresses. These short, rhythmic verses are often also difficult to translate or interpret because of their use of rare terms, symbolism, metaphor, and other "poetic" features. Most longer *sūras*, and some short Medinan ones (e.g. LX, LXV), have longer, more prosaic verses, often with short statements or formulas attached to the ends in order to provide the rhyme. The one feature that all the verses have in

common is that they end in an irregular rhyme or assonance (discussed in 6.c below). Because of the rhyme the verses form the most natural divisions of the text, and yet we cannot be certain where some verses originally ended. Verse divisions are not indicated in the oldest manuscripts, and they vary somewhat when they are marked, possibly reflecting differences in the early oral tradition that go back to revisions made in the text during the Prophet's lifetime. There is clear evidence that the rhyme and the verse divisions were altered in some *sūras*, where passages originally in one rhyme were inserted into passages in another rhyme (see Bell-Watt 80 ff.) But the main reason for the variation in the verse divisions is that the rhyme or assonance is usually formed by certain grammatical forms and endings that occur frequently in Arabic, and thus within many of the longer verses.

Several different systems of verse division and numbering arose within the Muslim community. In his English translation M. Pickthall followed an Indian text tradition in which VI, 73 of the Egyptian standard text is divided into two verses, so that 74–165 become 75–166, XVIII, 28 is divided so that 29–110 become 30–111, and XXXVI, 34 and 35 are combined so that 36–83 become 35–82. The editors of the 1976 Festival edition (see *Bibl.*) adopted the Egyptian verse divisions and numbering throughout. Even where the verse divisions are the same, there are variations in the numbering in various Muslim editions of the Arabic text and translations, depending on whether or not the *basmala* and the mysterious letters are counted. The Egyptian standard edition counts the *basmala* (see below) as verse 1 only in the *Fātiḥa*, and is inconsistent in counting the mysterious letters, counting them as a separate verse (verse 1) in *sūras* II, III, VII, XIX, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXVI and XLVI, except that in **XLII** *ḥm* and *ʿsḳ* are counted as two verses. In all other cases the mysterious letters are regarded as the beginning of verse 1. Pickthall counted these letters as a separate verse in the same *sūras* as in the Egyptian edition and also in X and XXXVIII. Some Indo-Pakistani Arabic texts and translations of the Kur'ān, e.g., those of Pīr Salāḥad-dīn, M. Zafrulla Khan and M. G. Farīd, always count the *basmala* as verse 1.

The Arabic text of the Kur'ān most widely used in the West until recently is that of Gustav Flügel (1834), which does not follow any one Oriental text tradition. In an effort to establish an improved text, Flügel made many changes in the verse divisions, altering the numbering in slightly over half the *sūras*. The verse divisions and numbering are the same in the Egyptian and Flügel editions only in *sūras* XV, XLVIII-IX, LI-II, LIV, LIX-LXX, LXXIII, LXXV-VII, LXXIX, LXXXI-VIII, XC-XCVII, XCIX, C, CII-V and CVII-XIV. The Flügel text never counts the *basmala* as a verse, and never counts the mysterious letters as a separate verse, but always as the beginning of verse 1. The English translations by R. Bell and A. J. Arberry follow the Flügel numbering. The Italian translation by A. Bausani and the English by A. H. Siddiqui follow the Egyptian numbering, as does Yusuf Ali, usually but not always. The German translation by R. Paret and the French by R. Blachère give both numberings, Paret giving the Egyptian first, Blachère the Flügel first. For a complete list of the differences in these two numbering systems and a table for converting the Flügel numbers to Egyptian, see Bell-Watt, 399 f. The standard work on the various Islamic numbering systems is A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*, Munich 1935.

c. The *basmala*. At the beginning of each *sūra* except IX stands the *basmala*, the formula *bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīm*, which can be interpreted or translated at least three ways: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (e.g., Bell, Arberry); "In the name of God, the compassionate Merciful (One)" (cf. Blachère); or "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. Paret). This formula occurs one other time in the Kur'ān, in XXVII, 30, as the opening of Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba. The elements of the *basmala* also occur separately: *bismi 'llāh* (without the *alif* in *bism*, as in the *basmala*) occurs once, in XI, 42, and the twin attributes *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* occur together four more times, in I, 3; II, 163; XLI, 2 and LIX, 22. It may be significant that whenever these attributes appear together, including in I, 1 and XXVII, 30, *al-raḥmān* always serves as a rhymeword: *Al raḥmān*, always with the definite article, occurs within the text 57 times altogether—i.e. counting I, 1, but not the other occurrences of the *basmala* at the head of the *sūras*. *Al-raḥīm* occurs 33 times with the definite article, and frequently without. The fact that the last two terms of the *basmala* occur together elsewhere in the Kur'ān following the same pattern as many other pairs of divine attributes (see 6.c below) suggests that the first of the three interpretations given above is the best (cf. Jomier, *Le nom divin "el-Raḥmān" dans le Coran* [see *Bibl.*])

On the origin of the *basmala* and its placement at the head of the *sūras* there is difference of opinion. Some Muslims believe that this formula was part of the revelation and was included at the head of the *sūras* from the beginning. Textual evidence within the Kur'ān, supported by other early historical evidence, suggests that this is not the case. 'Allāh' in the *basmala* is clearly the preferred name for God, and *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm*, according to their Kur'ānic usage, are either names or epithets for God. Yet these names are conspicuously absent in earlier parts of the Kur'ān, where Muḥammad's Lord is referred to as *rabb*, "Lord", and the Kur'ānic formula that occurs during this early period is *bi 'smi rabbika*, "in the name of thy Lord", occuring in LVI, 74, 96, LXIX, 52, and XCVI, 1 (in this formula *bi 'smi* loses the *alif*). Then, possibly as much as two years or even more after the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry, the names al-Raḥmān and Allāh were introduced into the revelation. For a while the name al-Raḥmān was preferred, see, e.g., XIII, 30, XXV, 60 and sixteen times in XIX. Kur'ānic evidence supports the testimony of early Muslim scholars who report that the Meccans refused to accept al-Raḥmān as the name of God, while they did know Allāh as a type of "High God" (see W. M. Watt, *Belief in a "High God"*, in *JSS*, xvi [1971], 35-40). The next stage in this development is seen in XVII, 110, a key verse that says Muslims may use either name, Allāh or al-Raḥmān, but the effect of this verse was to replace al-Raḥmān with Allāh as the primary or preferred name for God, as is seen in XIII, 18, XXXIV, 24 and many other verses that parallel the earlier al-Raḥmān contexts. After the revelation of XVII, 110 the term *al raḥmān* seldom if ever occurs in the Kur'ān alone, and it loses its significance as a proper name for God, partly by being connected with *al-raḥīm* and the Arabic root *r-ḥ-m*. Further evidence for the conclusions stated here are given in Welch, *Allāh and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*); on the foreign origin of *al raḥmān* and its

use in Arabia as a proper name for God before and during the time of Muḥammad, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 122 f.; Horovitz, *Jewish proper names*, 57-9; *Foreign words*, 140 f.; and BASMALA.

The evidence seems to indicate that the *basmala* came into use as a result of this controversy over divine names, probably a short time after the revelation of XVII, 110. It is possible that the *basmala* was formed from existing Qur'ānic expressions, i.e. *bismi 'llāh* in XI, 42 and *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* in what is now I, 3; but it seems much more likely that the *Fātiḥa* and all Qur'ānic occurrences of these twin attributes date from after XVII, 110. It also seems likely that the *basmala* was not originally part of the Fātiḥa; note that the Qur'ān scholars of Medina, Baṣra, and Syria did not count it as a verse in the *Fātiḥa*, and that this *sūra* without the *basmala* is often referred to as *al-ḥamd*, which may have been its original title (see BASMALA). As soon as the *basmala* came into use, Muḥammad no doubt used it to introduce *each* recitation of a portion of the Qur'ān. Since many *sūras* contain passages from different periods (see 5 e below), Muḥammad must have recited the *basmala* before many segments that are now in the middle of the *sūras*. Only when the *sūras* reached their final, written form, in some cases after Muḥammad's death, was the *basmala* placed at the beginning of each *sūra* as we have it today.

d. The mysterious letters. At the beginning of 29 *sūras* just after the *basmala* stands a letter or group of letters called in Arabic *fawātiḥ al-suwar*, "the openers of the *sūras*", and *'l al-suwar*, "the beginnings of the *sūras*", *al-ḥurūf al-muḳaṭṭa'āt*, "the disconnected letters", etc., but generally referred to in European languages as "the mysterious letters". They are recited as letters of the alphabet, and for 14 centuries they have intrigued and baffled Muslim scholars. Some saw them as abbreviations, e.g. *alr* for *al-rakyatu*, *alm* for *al-rahīm*, *ḥm* for *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, *ṣ* for *ṣādi'u muḥammad*, *ys* for *ya sayyid al-mursalīn*, etc. 'Ikrima and others relate from Ibn 'Abbās the view that *alr*, *ḥm*, and *n* together stand for *al raḥmān* (*Itḳān*, ii, 9). Others concluded that the letters are not abbreviations, but offered a variety of alternative explanations, that they are sounds meant to arouse the attention of the Prophet or to captivate his audience so they would be more attentive, mystical signs with symbolic meaning based on the numerical value of the Arabic letters, (written) signs of separation (*fawāṣil*) between the *sūras*, simply Arabic letters attesting that the revelation is in the familiar language of the people, etc. Al-Suyūṭī (*ibid.*, 10) mentions, for instance, a tradition related by Ibn Isḥāḳ on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās in which a group of Jews tell Muḥammad that the numerical value of the letters would indicate the number of years his community would last. At first they heard him recite *alm* (1 + 30 + 40 = 71), and said it would last 71 years. Then they heard *alms* (1 + 30 + 40 + 60) suggesting 131 years, then *alr* (1 + 30 + 200) or 231 years, and then *almr* or 271 years. In the end they concluded that the matter was ambiguous. Al-Suyūṭī discusses these and many other possibilities (*ibid.*, 8-13) and concludes that the *fawātiḥ* are simply mysterious letters or symbols known fully only to God. Later Muslim scholars have tended to accept this view, although the abbreviation theory has remained popular. A few modern Muslims have put forward new variations of mediaeval suggestions, e.g. Hashim Amir Ali (see *Bibl.*) argues that all of the groups of letters, not just some of them, are vocatives addressed to the Prophet, and 'Alī Nāṣūḥ al-Ṭāhir (see *Bibl.*) proposes that the numerical value of the letters represents the number of verses in the "original" (in most cases, Meccan) versions of the *sūras* or groups of *sūras* concerned. Citing the same examples as al-Suyūṭī (but not always the same values), al Ṭāhir says, for instance, that Sūra VII, which has 205 verses and begins with *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 90 = 161), originally consisted of only the first 161 verses. In other cases he has to combine various groups of *sūras* in order to obtain the required number of verses. Thus, adding the 122 verses of XII and the "200 Meccan verses" of XI gives him 232, the value of the letters *alr* which occur at the beginning of these two *sūras* (and also X, XIV, and XV, which he does not mention). Sūra XIII, with *almr* (1 + 30 + 40 + 200 = 271), he argues has 40 Meccan verse which when added to the 231 of XI and XII gives the required 271. In response, it is sufficient to note that no *sūra* with the letters now has the same number of verses as the value of the letters, and in no case does al Ṭāhir's suggested number of original 19 Meccan verses agree with the view given in the Egyptian standard edition, much less a critical view of the chronology of the *sūras* involved. This theory is a prime example of the way arbitrary speculation has been applied to these letters.

A number of Western scholars have taken up the challenge to explain these letters since the publication of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorâns* in 1860. Nöldeke suggested (225 f.) that they are the initials or monograms of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Qur'ān, e.g. *alr*[a] for al-Zubayr, *almr* for al-Mughīra and *ḥm* for 'Abd al-Raḥmān. These monograms, he said, got into the text by accident when later Muslims no longer knew their meaning. This view was widely accepted for a while in Europe and was taken up again and defended in 1900 by H. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, 142-3) who however regarded each letter as the initial of a different owner, *ṣ*[a] for al-Zubayr, *n* for al-Mughīra, *ḥ* for Ḥudhayfa, etc. Hirschfeld's reason for rejecting the view that the letters went back to Muḥammad was that if they did "he must have had an important share in the arrangement of the *sūras*, and this would contradict all we know of the compilation of the Qorân" (142). But by the time Hirschfeld's book was published, Nöldeke had reversed his position, on the basis of a brief but insightful discussion on the subject by O. Loth (*Tabari's Korancommentar*, in *ZDMG* xxxv [1881], 603 f.). According to Loth, the letters occur only in "late Meccan and early Medinan *sūras*" when Muḥammad was "drawing near to Judaism", and in some cases the beginning verses contain an allusion to the letters (i.e. "these are the signs (*āyāt*) of the Book"). He concluded that the letters are Cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the *sūras* before which they stand. Loth's arguments were sufficient to cause Nöldeke to abandon his earlier view and conclude that the letters are part of the revelation, having however no special meaning other than as mystical allusions to the heavenly Book (*Orientalische Skizzen*, 1892, 50 f., also stated in *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., xvi, 597 f.). F. Schwally, in a perceptive survey of the literature up to 1919 (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 68-78), wisely rejected Loth's abbreviation suggestions as being too arbitrary (73), while commending him on his main argument (73-5). Schwally would not, however, accept Nöldeke's later view, calling it "doubtful" and insisting that "the symbols are still somehow connected with the redaction of the *sūras*" (76). Leaving open the

possibility that the letters are part of the revelation, Schwally made the following important statement: "If Muḥammad was indeed the originator of the symbols, then he must also have been the editor of the ciphered *sūras*. This would indeed contradict earlier prevailing views, but would agree with our earlier statements that the Prophet relied on secretaries to whom he dictated his revelations, that already his object was to produce a special book of revelation, and that the manner in which pieces from various periods but of similar content are strung together in certain *sūras* produces the impression that this editing originates from the Prophet himself" (77). Schwally was thus a harbinger of the work of Bell in the 1930s.

In the meanwhile, two more attempts were made to follow up on Loth's version of the abbreviation theory. In 1901 Hans Bauer (*Anordnung der Suren*) provided statistical evidence for Schwally's first point, that the letters are connected with the redaction of the *sūras*, but failed to follow up on the second. Instead, he offered an unconvincing list of catchwords for which the letters are said to be old abbreviations: *ys* for *yasʿā*, "he who runs", in XXXVI, 20, *ṣ* for *ṣāffāt*, "chargers", in XXXVIII, 32, *ḥ* for *ḥarbuhu*, 'he who is at his side', in L, 23 and 27, etc. For the groups of *sūras* with the same letters he sought some "inner or outer connection among the *sūras*", and suggested that *ṭs(m)* in XXVI-VIII stood for *ṭūr sīnīn*, 'Mount Sinai', and Moses, and that *alm* stood for *al-maṯānī* (see 1 b above). Independently E. Goossens proposed a similar view in a 1923 *Isl.* article (see *Bibl.*), that the letters are abbreviations for discarded *sūra* titles: *ḥ* for *ḥurʾān*, *n* for *al-nūn*, "the fish", or *dhū ʾl-nūn*, one of Jonah's titles, etc. The *alif sūras*, now named after individual messengers, he said once formed a *sūra* group called *al-rusul*, "the messengers", and the *alm sūras* formed a similar group called *al-maṯānī*, "the parable". His most innovative suggestion was that some letters are remnants of titles that were discarded or abbreviated when some *sūras* were rearranged, e.g. *ys* (XXXVI) is the remnant of *al-ǧinn* or *al-ṣāsin* (two names for Elias in XXXVII, 123, 130), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVI + XXXVII, 1-182, and *s* (XXXVIII) is the remnant of *al-ṣāffāt* (the first word and title of what is now XXXVII), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVII, 1-11 + XXXVIII. Bauer and Goossens inspired another abbreviation theory, that of Morris Seale (see *Bibl.*) who suggested that the letters served as mnemonics of the contents of the *sūras* involved. Seale accepted Bauer's Mount Sinai and Moses for *ṭs(m)* and Goossens' *al-rusul* for *alr*, but preferred *al-mawʿiẓa*, "admonition", for *alm* and *Yūnus* (Jonah) for *ys*. The diversity of these proposals and the fact that several alternative suggestions are often equally plausible demonstrate the futility of this approach, which also fails to respond to some of the textual evidence. In the end, what Schwally said of Loth's abbreviation suggestions applies also to those of Bauer, Goossens, and Seale.

James A. Bellamy in a 1973 *JAOS* article (see *Bibl.*) has proposed an abbreviation theory that attempts to avoid the arbitrariness of the others. Starting with the views recorded by the classical commentators that *alr*, *alm*, *almṣ*, *ḥm*, and *n* (letters that occur at the beginning of all but ten of the effected *sūras*) are abbreviations for *al-raḥmān* or *al-raḥīm* or both, Bellamy proposes that these letters stand for these terms in the *basmala*, and that all the other mysterious letters are also abbreviations for this formula. In order to accomplish this he suggests a number of emendations, so that *ṭ* and *ḥ* > *ba*, *ṣ* and *ḳ* > *m*, *y* > *b*, and *ʿ* > *ha* or *a*. Thus with the change of only one letter, *ṭsm*, *ṭs*, *ṭh*, *ys*, *almṣ*, *ṣ*, and *ḥ*, become *bsm*, *bas*, *bah*, *bs*, *almm*, *m*, and *m*, all suitable abbreviations for the *basmala*. This leaves only *ḥmʿsq* and *ḥkyʿṣ*, which with two and four changes respectively become *bm hsm* and *bah bsm*. Bellamy suggests that when the *basmala* was first introduced (in the "middle and late Meccan" *sūras*) it was abbreviated variously by the Prophet's scribes at the beginning of these 20 *sūras*, and that the later compilers, failing to recognise these abbreviations, gave them a permanent place in the text by writing the *basmala* out in full just before them. Most of Bellamy's suggested emendations are indeed plausible, but his theory as a whole is not consistent with some of the textual evidence (e.g. the letters are almost certainly not Meccan, but Medinan), does not answer some crucial questions (e.g. the relationship of the letters to their immediate contexts), and is based on several very unlikely assumptions (e.g. that a new formula was abbreviated a dozen different ways by unknown scribes in Mecca who died without revealing their meaning, that the well-known scribes in Medina knew nothing about the abbreviations, etc.).

Any solution to the puzzle of the mysterious letters must provide a reasonable theory that is consistent with all of the textual evidence, and the plan to begin is the immediate contexts of the letters, which provide some important clues. The following list gives the *sūra* number, the position the *sūra* would have if all the *sūras* (except the Fātiḥa) were arranged exactly according to length (based on Bauer, *op. cit.*, Table II), and also Bell-Watt 205-12, for the length of each *sūra*), the letters, and the opening formula or phrase:

2 (2)	*alm*	That is the Book, wherein is no doubt
3 (4)	*alm*	... He has sent down on thee the Book
7 (5)	*almṣ*	A Book sent down to thee
10 (11)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Wise Book
11 (10)	*alr*	A Book whose signs are made clear
12 (12)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the clear Book, We have sent it down as an Arabic Kur'ān
13 (14)	*almr*	Those are the signs of the Book
14 (13)	*alr*	A Book We have sent down to thee
15 (41)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Book and a clear Kur'ān
19 (29)	*ḥkyʿṣ*	Mention of thy Lord's mercy to His servant Zechariah
20 (27)	*ṭh*	We have sent down the Kur'ān upon thee
26 (25)	*tsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
27 (25)	*ṭs*	Those are the signs of the Kur'ān and a clear Book
28 (16)	*tsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
29 (47)	*alm*	Do the people reckon that they ... will not be tried?
30 (36)	*alm*	The Romans have been vanquished
32 (54)	*alm*	Those are the signs of the wise Book
32 (54)	*alm*	The sending down of the Book wherein is no doubt
36 (40)	*ys*	By the wise Kur'ān .. the sending down of the Almighty
38 (39)	*ṣ*	By the Kur'ān, containing the remembrance
40 (23)	*ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God the Almighty
41 (37)	*ḥm*	A sending down from the Merciful, the Compassionate. A Book whose signs

		have been distinguished as an Arabic Kur'ān.
42 (35)	*ḥm ʿsq*	So reveals to thee and to those before thee God, the Almighty
43 (32)	*ḥm*	By the clear Book. Behold, We have made it an Arabic Kur'ān
44 (55)	*ḥm*	By the clear Book. We have sent it down in a blessed night
45 (47)	*ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
46 (42)	*ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
50 (52)	*q*	By the glorious Kur'ān
68 (62)	*n*	By the Pen and what they inscribe

Two points, stressed by Schwally, Bauer, Loth and others but largely disregarded by all the abbreviation theories, stand out in this list, the mysterious letters influenced the final arrangement of the Kur'ān, and they are closely related to the introductory formulas and to the Book. Groups of *sūras* with the same letters but with widely varying lengths have been kept together even though this violates the principle of arranging the *sūras* according to length. This suggests that separate collections of *sūras* with the same letters existed at the time of the compilation of the Kur'ān and that the redactors were hesitant to break them up. The most likely reason for this hesitancy is that they regarded the letters as part of the revelation, and the groups of *sūras* as going back to the Prophet. In nearly every case the letters are followed immediately by a reference to some form of the revelation, usually a distinctive revelation formula or oath that mentions the Book or the Kur'ān or both (XXIX and XXX being obvious exceptions) In III this formula occurs in verse 2, which Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, II, 75) says was probably the original beginning of the *sūra*. In XIX a Book formula, "Mention in the Book Mary (Abraham, etc)", introduces five other accounts (verses 16, 41, 51, etc.), but what appears to be an older formula is retained at the beginning of the first (verse 2) The close connection between the mysterious letters and the Book is proved by the fact that, although many *sūras* begin with formulas or oaths, only one other *sūra* opens with the same type of revelation formula, namely, XXXIX, which belongs with the *ḥm sūras*. It begins exactly the same as three of them (XL, XLV and XLVI), it shares the same themes, and it is placed with them despite its length (see Bauer, Table II) Ubayy and others are in fact said to have read *ḥm* at the beginning of this *sūra* (*Materials*, 160) Revelation is mentioned in a few other *sūra* introductions, but they are different, e.g XVIII and XXV begin with praise formulas (*al ḥamdu li 'llāh* and *tabāraka*), XCVII with a *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7a below) and LV contains *al-Kur'ān* in verse 2, but is in a completely different style There is also some correlation between specific formulas and groups of *sūras* with the same mysterious letters, e.g the *ḥm sūras* have the same formula, three of the *ḥm sūras* have the same formula, and four with unique letters (*ṭs, ṣ, ḥ*, and *s*) begin with oaths.

Whether or not Loth is correct to saying that several of the introductory formulas contain allusions to the mysterious letters, there is other evidence that these letters are part of the revelation and were recited as separate letters from the beginning For one thing, most of the groups of letters when recited as letters of the alphabet introduce the rhyme of their respective *sūras*. The 17 *sūras* with groups of letters ending in *īm*, *īn*, or *ūn* (i.e. six with *alif lām mīm*, six with *ḥā' mīm*, two with *ṭā' sīn mīm*, and one each with *ṭā' sīn*, *yā' sīn*, and *nūn*) all have this rhyme, with one partial exception Sūra XX, on the other hand with *ṭā' hā'* has the *ā* rhyme (in verses 1-24); XXXVIII, with *ṣād*, has the rhyme *āb*, *āṣ*, etc., XI, with *alif lām rā'*, has *īr*, *ūr* in verses 1-5; and XIII, with *alif lām mīm rā'*, and XLII, with *ḥā' mīm*, *'ayn sīn ḳāf*, both have *īn*, *ūn* in verses 1 3, and then change to *āb*, *ār* and *īl*, *īr*, respectively. The correspondence is not exact, and there are exceptions, but this close relationship between the letters and the rhyme or assonance of the *sūras* must be more than a coincidence.

Another striking fact that must be more than coincidental is that the mysterious letters represent every consonantal form in Arabic, while no form occurs for more than one letter Thus we have *y* but no *b*, *t*, or *th*, *ḥ* but no *ḫ*; or *dh*, *r* but no *z*, *s* but no *sh*, *ṣ* but no *ḍ*, *ṭ* but no *ẓ*, ' but no *gh*, *ḳ* but no *f* or *w*, and *k* but no *d* or *dh*—along with each of the forms that represent only one letter, *', l, m, n*, and *h* (note that in Kūfic Arabic *w* was written like *ḳ* and *f*, and *d* and *dh* were written like *ḥ*, except that letters were not attached to the ends of *w*, *d*, and *dh*). The most reasonable explanation of the fact that these 14 letters, and no others, occur is that they were intended to represent the Arabic alphabet If this is so, then the statements in the introductory formulas saying that the revelation was being sent down as a "clear Book" (*kitāb mubīn*) in Arabic take on new significance, other passages (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195) speak of the revelation being in "plain Arabic speech" (*lisān 'arabī mubīn*) The fact that the literature on variant readings does not record differences in the way the 14 consonantal forms were recited seems to indicate that there was a strong oral tradition supporting the mysterious letters.

A number of questions still remain, but the evidence seems to support Loth, the later Nöldeke, Schwally, Bell, and Alan Jones (see *Bibl*) in regarding the mysterious letters as part of the revelation. Moreover, Bell seems to have been correct in seeing the letters and the introductory formulas as part of the early Medinan revisions adapting the *sūras* for inclusion in the written scripture Muḥammad was preparing. It is not unlikely that the *sūras* with the letters are the ones Muḥammad prepared for the Book. The letters are significant for understanding the history of the text and the chronology of the text is important for understanding the letters.

5. Chronology of the Text

The Kur'ān responds constantly and often explicitly to Muḥammad's historical situation, giving encouragement in times of persecution, answering questions from his followers and opponents, commenting on current events, etc Major doctrines and regulations for the Muslim community, which are never stated systematically in the Kur'ān are introduced gradually and in stages that are not always clear There are apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the presentation of both the beliefs and the regulations, and the latter are sometimes altered to fit new situations. Thus it is essential to know the approximate dates or historical settings of some passages, and at least the chronological order of others, if they are to be understood fully This problem was recognised by early Muslim scholars who devoted much attention to it in the first few centuries, until a fairly rigid system of dating was established and given the imprimatur of orthodoxy. In modern times the study of the chronology of the Kur'ān has been almost exclusively a domain of

Western scholars, who have not however been able to reach a consensus on a dating system, or even on the possibility of establishing one.

a. Historical references and allusions in the Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ān mentions specifically or alludes to a number of historical events in the life of Muḥammad and his contemporaries but it gives no dates or other indications as to exactly when these events occurred. In most cases, the specific occasions alluded to and the dates of the passages involved cannot be determined. This is especially true for the period before the Hijra in 622, for which there are only a few references to dateable historical events, and even if the events could be identified with certainty this would be of little help in dating the passages that refer to them, e.g. XXX, 2-5, mentions a military defeat of the Byzantines, presumably their loss of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614 (cf. also CV, believed to refer to a military expedition against Mecca in the middle years of the 6th century). There are many allusions to Muḥammad's personal situation in Mecca (e.g. the persecution he suffered, accusations made by his opponents, his early life and orphanhood) and to specific practices of the Meccans, but the passages that contain these allusions cannot be dated with any precision. It is only to the Medinan period that we have a number of passages that can be dated fairly precisely on the basis of references or allusions to specific historical events that can be dated from other sources. For instance, the battle of Badr (spring 624) and the battle of Ḥunayn (early 630) are mentioned by name in III, 123, and IX, 25, respectively. The change of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] (direction one faces when performing the ritual prayer) from Jerusalem to Mecca in late 623 or early 624 is discussed in II, 142-50. The adoption of the ancient pilgrimage rituals about the time of the battle of Badr is discussed in II, 158, 198, V, 95 ff., etc., where the Ka'ba, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (two ancient holy places in Mecca), Mount 'Arafāt, and al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām (the sanctuary in Muzdalifa) are all mentioned by name. Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd (b. Ḥāritha), is mentioned by name in XXXIII, 37 in connection with an episode that occurred in the spring of 627. And many other events are alluded to, although not by name: the battle of Uḥud (625) in III, 155-74, the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of al-Naḍīr (625) in LIX, 2-5; the Day of the Trench (627) in XXXIII, 9-27; the expedition to Khaybar (628) in XLVIII, 15; the expedition to Tabūk (630) in IX, 29-35, etc. All Ḳur'ānic dating systems, Muslim and non-Muslim, take these historical references and allusions in Medinan contexts as their starting point.

b. Traditional Muslim dating. During the early Islamic centuries a number of passages in the Ḳur'ān came to be connected with stories that arose in the attempts to reconstruct the life of the Prophet, especially for the period in Mecca before the Hijra: LIII, 1-18, and LXXX, 15-49, came to be interpreted as Muḥammad's call visions, while XCIV came to be associated with a story about the miraculous opening of his breast and purification of his heart, XCVI and LXXIV with his call to public prophethood, XVII, 1, with his Night Journey, etc (*see*, e.g., al-Ṭabarī and al-Zamakhsharī, *ad loc.*, for the European literature, Paret, *Kommentar*, 460 f., 513 f., 493 and 295 f.). Other passages came to be connected with certain events in the life of the Muslim community. XIX is said to have been recited to the Negus of Abyssinia by Muḥammad's followers who were forced to emigrate from Mecca to escape persecution around 615, and a written copy of XX is said to have been involved in the conversion of 'Umar at about the same time. Early Ḳur'ān scholars also attempted to identify and explain vague allusions in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. they explained that the blind man alluded to in LXXX was a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm, and that the man involved in a divorce dispute in LVIII was Aws b. al-Ṣāmit. And episodes related to IX, 49, XXIV, 11-20, XXXIII, 37, 40, LXVI, 3-5, CXI, 1-5 and many others were similarly explained. From these stories and explanations there arose a separate genre of Islamic literature called *asbāb al-nuzūl*, "the occasions of the revelation", the prime example being a work of the same title by al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075 f.). This literature does not attempt to provide a complete system for dating the various parts of the Ḳur'ān, and only a small proportion of the text is treated. Also, there are a number of inconsistencies, e.g. whether XCVI or LXXIV was the "first revelation" (*see Ithkān*, i, 23 f.). Some of the stories and other explanations found in this literature and in the Ḳur'ān commentaries are obviously legendary, and in some cases the process by which these accounts came to be attached to Ḳur'ānic passages can be reconstructed (see, e.g., H. Birkeland, *The legend of the opening of Muḥammad's breast*, Oslo 1955, and *The Lord guideth*, Oslo 2956, 38 55). Others probably have some historical validity, but there is often good reason to suspect elaborate embellishment. These accounts—historical, semi-historical, and legendary—came to be accepted, often without discrimination, as the basis for the traditional Muslim dating of the Ḳur'ān.

The adoption of the Ḳur'ān as a primary source for Islamic law played an important role in the establishment of a chronological order for the text. Rather than attempting to explain away the inconsistencies in passages giving regulations for the Muslim community, Ḳur'ān scholars and jurists came to acknowledge the differences, while arguing that the latest verse on any subject "abrogated" all earlier verses that contradicted it. A classic example involves the Ḳur'ānic teaching on regulation on drinking wine, where V, 90, which has a strong statement against the practice, came to be interpreted as a prohibition, abrogating II, 219, and IV, 43, which appear to allow it. This theory or doctrine of abrogation (*nasḵh*) has only limited support in the Ḳur'ān itself, since the verses on which it is based, especially II, 106, involve passages that are no longer in the Ḳur'ān. But a number of treatises on the subject influenced the development of the traditional dating of the Ḳur'ān by establishing a widespread belief in the chronological order of certain groups of isolated verses. Eventually, long lists of "abrogating and abrogated (verses)" (*al nāsiḵh wa 'l-mansūḵh*) were drawn up, as jurists and others, in efforts to support their own views, sought out all possible inconsistencies and claimed that the "earlier" verses involved had been abrogated. See NASḴ and TAFSĪR. *Itḳān*, ii, 20-7; Bell-Watt, 86-9; Burton, *Collection*, 46-104.

The task of dating parts of the Ḳur'ān and determining its chronological order was further complicated by the assumption that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, i.e. that except for a few verses in some *sūras*, each *sūra* was revealed all at once or during a short period of time before the next *sūra* was begun. This assumption led to the practice of designating each *sūra* as "Meccan" or "Medinan" (i.e. revealed before or after the Hijra) and to attempts to determine the exact chronological order of all the *sūras* as wholes—rather than dealing with

separate parts as to the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* literature. But al Suyūṭī's lists of *sūras* attributed to Ibn 'Abbās (d *ca* 68/688), Ḳatāda b. Di'āma (d *ca* 118/730), and others show that the schools of these early Kur'ān scholars could not agree even on whether some *sūras* were "Meccan" or "Medinan", much less on their exact chronological order (*Itḳān*, 1, 20 f.). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) classified the *sūras* as "Meccan", "Medinan", or "disputed", and included 17 in this last category: XIII, XLVII, LV, LVII, LXI, LXIV, LXXXIII, XCV, XCVII C, CII, CVII and CXII-CXIV. The lists given by al Suyūṭī show that there was also difference of opinion on six others: XLIX, LXII-LXIII, LXXVII, LXXXIX and XCII. The chronological order attributed to Ibn 'Abbās (*ibid.*) came to be widely accepted, and with a few changes was adopted by the editors of the Egyptian standard edition of the Kur'ān (1322/1924), who indicated in the heading to each *sūra* the *sūra* revealed just before it and any verses that belong to a different period. Thus the heading for XIV reads: "Sūra of Abraham, Meccan, except verses 28 and 29 which are Madinan, it has 52 verses. It was revealed after Sūra of Nosh".

The Egyptian standard edition gives the following chronological order of the *sūras*, with the verses said to date from a different period given in parentheses: XCVI, LXVIII (17 35, 48-50 Med.), LXXIII (20 f., 2e Med.), LXXIV, 1, CXI, LXXXI, LXXXVII, ACII, LXXXIX, XCIII, XCIV, CIII, C, CVIII, CII, CVII, CIX, CV, CXIII, CXIV, CXII, LIII, LXXX, ACVII, XCI, LXXXV, CVI, CI, LXXV, CIV, LXXVII (48 Med.), L (38 Med.), XC, LXXXVI, LIV (54-6 Med.), LXXVIII, VII (163-70 Med.), LXXII, XXXVI (45 Med.), XXV (68-70 Med.), XXXV, XIX (58, 72 Med.), XX (130 f. Med.), LVI (72 f. Med.), XXVI (197, 224-7 Med.), XXVII, XXVIII (52-5 Med., 85 during Hijra), XVII (26, 32 f., 57, 73-80 Med.), X (40, 94-6 Med.), XI (12, 17, 114 Med.), XII (2-3, 7 Med.), XV, VI (20, 25, 91, 114, 141, 152-3 Med.), XXXVII, XXXI (27-9 Med.), XXXIV (6 Med.), XXXIX (52-4 Med.), XL (36 f. Med.), XLI, XLII (13-5, 27 Med.), XLIII (54 Med.), XLIV, XLV (14 Med.), XLVI (10, 15, 35 Med.), LI, LXXXVIII, XVIII (28, 83-101 Med.), XVI (126-8 Med.), LXXI, XIV (28 f. Med.), XXI, XXIII, XXXII (16-20 Med.), LII, LXVII, LXX, LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXII, LXXXIV, XCV (17 Med.), XCIX (1-11 Med.), LXXXIII—Hijra—II (21st later), VIII (30-6 Mec.), III, XXXIII, LX, IV, XCIX, LVII, XLVII (13 during Hijra), XIII, LV, LXXVI, LXV, XCVIII, LIX, XXIV, XXII, LXIII, LVIII, XLIX, LXVI, LXIV, LXI, LXII, XLVIII, V, IX (128 f. Mec.), CX. Sūra II is the only one said to have an addition later in the same period. Sūras VIII, XLVII, and IX, all Medinan, are the only ones said to have earlier verses inserted into later *sūras*. Of the 86 Meccan *sūras*, 33 are said to have some Medinan verses. The traditional dating seen here is based on three assumptions: (1) that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, (2) that it is possible to determine their chronological order, and (3) that Tradition (including the *ḥadīth*, *sīra*, *asbāb al-nuzūl*, *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, and *tafsīr* in *'l-ma'thūr* literature) provides a valid basis for dating the *sūras*.

c. Modern Western dating. Since the mid-19th century, Western scholars have been applying critical methods to the Kur'ān to varying degrees, and have proposed a variety of dating systems. The one that has gained the most acceptance is that of what might be called the Fons period School, founded by Gustav Weil in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in der Koran* (1844, 2878). Weil reassessed the dating of the Kur'ān and offered his own chronological order of the *sūras* using three criteria: (1) references to historical events known from other sources, (2) the character of the revelation as reflecting Muḥammad's changing situation and roles, and (3) the outward appearance or form of the revelation (1st ed., 54 f.). His most notable contribution was his division of the "Meccan *sūras*" into three groups, thus establishing altogether four periods of revelation, with the dividing points at about the time of the emigration to Abyssinia (*ca.* 615), Muḥammad's return from al-Ṭā'if (*ca.* 620), and the Hijra (September 622). Weil's four-period dating system and his three criteria were then adopted, with some changes in the order of the *sūras*, by *Th. Nöldeke* in 1860 and *F. Schwally* in 1909 in their monumental *Geschichte des Qorʾāns*, and then by *R. Blachère* in his *Introd.* (1947, 1959) and translation, *Le Coran* (1949-50, 1966). In the 1st ed. of his translation, Blachère arranged the *sūras* in what he took to be their chronological order, in the 2nd ed. the *sūras* were put in the traditional order (this 2nd ed. was meant for a wider public; but Blachère may also have felt, after deeper acquaintanceship with Weil's work, that it was not possible to arrange the *sūras* in an exact chronological order). In order to show the similarities and differences among the three versions of this four period system, and to facilitate a comparison of this system with the traditional dating, the three European versions are all given below. The few verses in some *sūras* that are said to date from a different period are not indicated here, except where Blachère divided two *sūras* in the first edition of his translation.

The *sūras* of the First or Early Meccan Period tend to be short, with short, rhythmic verses. They often begin with a series of Allāh-style oaths, and the language is said to be full of "poetic imagery and power". Assuming a progressive deterioration of style, Weil placed in the First Period the *sūras* he felt have the most exalted poetic style, along with others that share the same themes and general style. The chronological order of the *sūras* of the First Period according to the three versions is as follows. Weil: 96, 74, 73, 106, 111, 53, 81, 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 86, 70, 78, 79, 82, 89, 88, 88, 52, 69, 83, 99.

Nöldeke: 96, 74, 111, 108, 106, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114. R. Blachère: 96[1-5], 74[1-7], 101, 93, 94, 103, 91, 107, 86, 95, 90, 102, 100, 92, 82, 87, 80, 81, 84, 79, 88, 52, 56, 89, 77, 78, 75, 55, 97, 53, 110, 96[6-19], 70, 73, 76, 83, 74[7-56], 111, 108, 104, 90, 105, 89, 112, 109, 1, 113, 114.

The *sūras* of the Second or Middle Meccan Period are longer and "more prosaic", but still with "poetic" qualities. In style they are said to form a transition between the *sūras* of the First and Third periods. The signs of God in nature and the divine attributes such as mercy (*raḥma*) are emphasised, and God is often called the Merciful One (*al-raḥmān*). There are vivid descriptions of paradise and the hellfire, and here too the punishment-stories are introduced. The *sūras* of the Second Period are (italics = Nöldeke only; parentheses = Blachère only): Weil: 1, 51, 36, 56, 54, 44, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 67, 37, 38, 43, 72, 55, 15, 76

Nöldeke and Blachère (52), 54, (68), 37, 72, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 23, 29, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 22, 25, 17, 27, 28.

The *sūras* of the Third or Late Meccan Period are even longer and "more prosaic", and Weil says the "poetic power" has been lost altogether. The revelation often takes the form of sermons or speeches, and the prophet stories and punishment stories are retold in more and more detail. Nöldeke emphasises changes in vocabulary, but similarity of form, in Late Meccan and Medinan *sūras*. The *sūras* of the Third Period are.

Weil 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 37, 20, 22, 10, 6, 32, 34, 39, 40, 30, 42, 45, 46, 28, 18, 14, 42, 30, 29, 13, 64

Nöldeke and Blachère, 32, 42, 45, (17), 26, 30, 22, 24, 22, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 70, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 25.

The Medinan *sūras* and their chronological order are determined by the subject matter of these revelations that reflect Muḥammad's growing political power and the general development of events in Medina after the Hijra. New themes and key terms are said to help distinguish these *sūras* from certain Late Meccan ones. The Medinan *sūras* are.

Weil 2, 98, 82, 63, 22, 4, 8, 47, 57, 3, 56, 24, 63, 33, 48, 110, 61, 60, 58, 49, 66, 9, 5.

Nöldeke and Blachère 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

Here we see a combination of excessive dependence on traditional Muslim dating and on matters of form and style, e.g. in Weil's First Period the first 34 *sūras*, with just a few exceptions, are in almost exactly the same order as in the traditional Muslim dating (cf. the Egyptian list above). Weil then closed this period with eleven *sūras* that have the same "poetic style", but are dated considerably later by Muslims (note the exact order of LXX-LXXXIV) Nöldeke then accepted all of Weil's First Period *sūras*, and added three more (I, LI, LV), and Blachère accepted all of Nöldeke's except for two (LI, LXVIII), and added one (LXXVI)—these differences involve mainly the dividing points between the periods. Also, the traditional stories involving certain *sūras*—Muḥammad's call (XCVI, LXXIV), an incident involving Muḥammad's uncle, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (CXI), the emigration to Abyssinia (XIX, XX), etc.—seem to have been accepted as historical. But the Tradition, especially on the Meccan period, is not thus trustworthy. Weil, Nöldeke, and Blachère have accepted the three assumptions of the traditional Muslim dating stated above; their four-period system is essentially little more than a European variation of the traditional dating. On the question of style, it is true that there were changes through the years; but there is no reason to assume that all *sūras* with the same style belong to the same period. The Four-period Schools have not demonstrated the validity of the historical framework or the development of ideas and key terms assumed by their system, which has been widely accepted in the West with much more confidence than is justified. It should be emphasized, however, that this system is often used by others in a rigid way not intended by its founders (Weil and Nöldeke), e.g. giving the exact chronological order of several verses, or the exact number of occurrences of a term in each period. Schwally in particular emphasised that the order proposed by Nöldeke was only approximate.

Three other dating systems were proposed by Europeans within a span of ten years around the turn of the 20th century. That of H. Grimme presented in his *Mohammed* (1892-5), ii, 25 ff., was basically a variation of Nöldeke's, with more emphasis on stages in the development of doctrinal themes. Grimme's analysis of groups of ideas that occur together in the Qurʾān was useful, but his view of the overall sequence of ideas (monotheism, resurrection, the Last Day, etc.) was not widely accepted, and has since been discredited. Sir William Muir, in his *The Coran: its composition and teaching* (1878), 43-7, offered an arrangement of the *sūras* in six periods (five Meccan and one Medinan). His most significant and innovative suggestion was that the first period in the composition of the Qurʾān comprised eighteen short *sūras*, which he called "rhapsodies", dating from before Muḥammad's call: CIII, C, XCIX, XCI, CVI, I, CI, XCV, CIJ, CIV, LXXXII, XCII, CV, LXXXIX, XC, XCIII, XCIV and CVIII. Muir pointed out that none of these is in the form of a message from a deity. His second period has four *sūras* (XCV, CXIII, LXXIV, CXI) treating "the opening of Muḥammad's ministry", presumably as 610. The other dividing points are the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry (ca. 613), the Abyssinian emigration (ca. 615), the Year of Sorrow (ca. 619), and the Hijra. Muir is no doubt correct in dating some *sūras* before XCVI and LXXIV, but I and others he lists are almost certainly later. In general, the criticisms stated above of the four period system apply also to Muir's. In 1902 H. Hirschfeld, in his *New researches* (see *Bibl.*), proposed a chronological arrangement of the Qurʾān based on the character or function of individual passages. After the "first proclamation", XCVI, 1-3, Hirschfeld's arrangement also has six periods, in which the revelations are classified as "confirmatory" (LXXXVII, LXVIII, 1-33, XCII, LXIX, 40-52, etc.), "declamatory" (LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, etc.), narrative" (LXVIII, 34-52, LI, XXVI, 1-220, LIV, etc.), "descriptive" (LXXIX, 27-46, LXXI, LV, etc.), "legislative" (VI, 1-73, XCII, 9-11, XXV, 63-72, etc.), and Medinan, grouped together but discussed separately as those up to the battle of Badr, political speeches, revelations on Muḥammad's domestic affairs, and preparations for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This system has a number of obvious flaws, but Hirschfeld's work was valuable for its preliminary analysis of Qurʾānic literary types and its recognition of the fact that in dating parts of the Qurʾān we must deal with individual pericopes rather than entire *sūras*.

This insight became a guiding principle in the most elaborate attempt so far to identify and date the original units of revelation, Richard Bell's *The Qurʾān, translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the sūrahs*, 2 vols. (1937-9). Over a decade earlier he became convinced that Nöldeke's dating was inadequate (*ibid.*, 665 f.). Bell's verse-by-verse analysis of the entire Qurʾān led him to conclude that the *sūras* are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional Muslim and European dating, that the revelations underwent considerable revision, including expansion, replacement of older passages with new material, changes in the rhyme, etc., that this revision involved written documents and was done during Muḥammad's lifetime under his supervision, and that the material for most of the *sūras* was compiled, but not put into its final form, under Muḥammad's supervision. Bell did not present a rigid dating system, but concluded "provisionally" (vii) that the composition of the Qurʾān fell into three main periods, an early one from which only some sign-passages and exhortations to worship God survive; a "Qurʾān period", covering the latter part of the Meccan period and the first year or two in

Medina, during which Muḥammad's task was to produce a *kur'ān*, a collection of lessons for liturgical use; and a "Book period", beginning about the end of the year A.H., during which Muḥammad began to produce a written scripture. According to Bell, the present Kur'ān is not to be divided into these three periods, since a number of sign-passages were incorporated into the liturgical *kur'ān*, and in Medina this collection of oral materials was revised to form part of the Book. Bell attempted to date some Meccan passages fairly precisely—"early Medinan, revised after Badr", "shortly after Uḥud", "year VII", etc. But for most passages he gave very general and often tentative suggestions, especially for the Meccan material, e.g. "early, revised in Mecca (?), "Meccan, with Medinan additions", and very often "Meccan" and "late Meccan or early Medinan". A survey of Bell's provisional dating of the individual passages shows that he regarded fewer than twenty *sūras* as being probably completely Meccan, I, LIII, LV, LXIX, LXXV, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII LXXXIX, XCI XCII, XCV-XCVI, XCIX, CIV and CXIII, all of which are said to have material from different dates. Of the other short *sūras*, some of which he regarded as possible unities, Bell said CII, CV, CXII and CXIV seem to be Medinan, I, XCIV, CIII and CVI-CVIII could be either Meccan or Medinan, and on C, CI, CIX and CXI he gave an opinion. He regarded as completely Medinan the same 24 *sūras* said to be Medinan by Nöldeke, but saw them as having significant amounts of material from several different dates, thus making it impossible to put the *sūras* as wholes in chronological order. This leaves exactly half of the *sūras* (57) which Bell regarded as having significant amounts of material from both before and after the Hijra. 38 said to be mostly Meccan, with Medinan revisions and additions—VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV-XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVI-XXXVIII, XLI, XLIV, LI-LII, LIV, LVI, LXVIII, LXX-LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXXXI, LXXXIV, LXXXVII and XC; and 24 said to be mostly Medinan, with some Meccan passages, or based on Meccan material—X, XI, XIV, XVI, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVII-XXXII, XXXV, XXXIX, XL, XLII-XLIII, XLV-XLVI, LXVII, LXXXIII, LXXXV and XCVII He thus distinguished between dates of original revelation (or earliest recitation) and dates of later editing and composition during Muḥammad's lifetime. The fact that he indicated breaks in the text and identified older components, e.g Meccan passages in *sūras* that were completed in Medina, does not mean he based as recognise that some longer *sūras* (e.g XII, XIX, XXVI) and many shorter ones (e g LXXXVII, CIV) are carefully composed, unified works in their final form.

Bell's analysis of the Kur'ān has often been misunderstood as ignored by later writers, partly because the extensive notes to his translation, giving the arguments for his reconstructions, were never published. Nas has any thorough study and critique of Bell's work yet appeared. The review articles by J. E. Merrill and W. M. Watt (see *Bibl.*) and Watt's remarks in Bell-Watt (113 f., 201-7, 137-41, etc.) are useful introductions. Watt has expressed reservations about Bell's hypothesis on the disjointedness of the Kur'ān. Bell suggested that when some passages were being revised Muḥammad instructed the scribes to write the new versions on the backs of the sheets on which the verses being replaced were written, and that the later editors, not wanting to discard any of the revelation, inserted the old verses just before or after the new ones. E.g II, 285, was written on the back of 284, 286 (on fasting), II, 196, on the back of 197-9 (on the Pilgrimage), XXIV, 2-9, on the back of 10-28 (on fornication), and XVIII, 6-9 (a new introduction to the story of the Seven Sleepers), on the back of 10-12, which was replaced by a longer version of the story in 13 21a. In other cases the scribes simply used the backs of sheets on which older, discarded material was written, e.g. IV, 21-24, on the back of 1-20, IV, 29-21, on the back of 15 28, and VII, 3-5, on the back of 6 9. This hypothesis provides a feasible explanation and solution to textual problems in some cases, but not in others. It now seems that Bell was sometimes too quick to designate a passage as "discarded" material or a "scrap" that got into the Kur'ān by mistake, and he seems to have failed to recognise some literary forms, e.g. the *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7a below) But it must be remembered that Bell was a pioneer in this field, and that he attempted to locate all possible breaks in the text, acknowledging that many of his suggestions were uncertain or tentative and that some would be proved untenable by later research. On the whole, his dating and reconstructions have been supported by later studies, e.g. A. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden 1968), 47 81, on II, 183 ff.; see also Welch, *Allāh and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*) on the emergence of the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, and idem, in W. M. Watt and A. T. Welch, *Der Islam*, I (Stuttgart 1980), 264-72, 300-3, on the origin and early development of the *ṣalāt* and *zakāt* Careful studies of a number of passages and topics are needed before a final judgment of Bell's work can be made.

There is room for disagreement on specifics, but there can now be little doubt that Schwally was correct in concluding that passages from different dates were put together to form the present *sūras*, that written documents were involved, and that this revision was done under Muḥammad's supervision (*Gesch. des Qor.*, I, 45 ff., II, 2 f., 77, etc.) Furthermore, Bell seems to have been right in his *basic* conclusions, which went beyond Schwally's position. Most *sūras* have significant amounts of material from different dates, and nearly all of the longer *suras* with Meccan material were revised as expanded in Medina, so that we can no longer speak of "middle Meccan" or "late Meccan" *sūras*. We can speak with more confidence of "early Meccan" *sūras*, although we cannot be certain as to which ones belong to this group And we can speak of "Medinan *sūras*", i.e. those that are made up completely of Medinan material (of various dates) It is not possible to put the *sūras* as wholes in chronological order, or to determine the exact order of the passages on any major teaching—the creation, God and other super natural beings, the nature and destiny of man, etc. This does not mean that nothing can be said on the development of ideas in the Kur'ān. On the major teachings and other subjects on which the Kur'ān has much to say, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of the main stages of development, and sometimes the approximate dates of these stages. It now seems certain that the most important single turning point in the development of the Muslim scripture was not the Hijra, dividing the Kur'ān into "Meccan" and "Medinan" *sūras*, but a series of events surrounding the battle of Badr and Muḥammad's so-called "break with the Jews". Late Meccan and very early Medinan material is difficult to distinguish; there are many passages that could just as well date from Muḥam-

mad's last year in Mecca or his first in Medina.

6. Language and Style

a. Language of the Kur'ān. Most mediaeval Muslim scholars believed that the Kur'ān was in the spoken language of the Prophet, the dialect of the Kurayš, which was also the language of the "Classical Arabic" poetry of Muḥammad's day. It was assumed that the Kurayš and the classical poets retained the pure language of the Bedouins (*al-ʿarāb*). Support for this view, more a theological doctrine than a linguistic theory, was found in the Kur'ān in the statements that the revelation was in "clear Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*) (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195, of XLI, 44), which came to be interpreted as "pure Arabic". This Kurayš dialect theory was attacked by Karl Vollers in a series of well-documented articles beginning in 1894 and culminating in his classic *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (1906), in which he argues that the Kur'ān was first recited by Muḥammad in a colloquial Arabic without case-endings (*iʿrāb*) (thus distinguishing it from the Classical Arabic of the poets), that the language of the Kur'ān as we now have it was a fabrication of later philologists who attempted to put the revelations into Classical Arabic, and that the original language of the Kur'ān survives only in a few orthographic peculiarities (e.g. the omission of the *alif* in some words) and in the non-canonical readings. Vollers's theory gave rise to much discussion of the language of the Kur'ān, but it found little support outside of Germany, except for several articles by Paul Kahle (e.g. *The Arabic readers of the Koran*, in *JNES*, viii [1949], 65-71), who presented evidence to show that at least during the 2nd century the Kur'ān was indeed recited without *iʿrāb*, a characteristic of colloquial Arabic. Kahle's arguments also failed to convince others, and the earlier refutations of Vollers' thesis given in a lengthy review by R. Geyer (*Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, clxvi [1909], 10-36) and by Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge*, 1-8) have been generally accepted (on the views of Vollers, Kahle, Geyer, and Nöldeke, see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 112-30). Nöldeke *(loc. cit.)* and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.* ii, 59) argued that the language of the Kur'ān was not the spoken language of any tribe, but was a somewhat artificial *Hochsprache* that was understood throughout the Ḥiǧāz. On the other side, it has come to be generally agreed that the Classical Arabic of the poetry of Muḥammad's time was not the spoken language of the poets or the dialect of any one tribe, but a literary language that was understood by all the tribes. This language has come to be called the '*poetic koine*' or the '*arabiyya*. In the late 1940s three European writers, H. Fleisch, R. Blachère, and C. Kahle, reached the conclusion, apparently independently, that the language of the Kur'ān, far from being the spoken dialect of the Kurayš or a *Hochsprache* of the entire Ḥiǧāz, was simply the "poetic *koine*" of the Classical Arabic poetry, with some adaptation to the Meccan speech, e.g. the omission of the *hamza* (for references and discussion, see C. Kahle, *The beginnings of Classical Arabic*, in *Stud. Isl.*, iv [1955], 19-37, and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 250-72). This view has been accepted by most Western Arabists. One notable exception is J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 85-118) who rejects the *koine* as '*arabiyya* concept, without offering any clear alternative. He asserts that very little can be known about the text of the Kur'ān as about Classical Arabic prior to the "literary stabilisation" of both at the 3rd/9th century. There is nothing in the Kur'ānic usage of *ʿarabī* and its cognate forms in support the suggestion of J. Fück (*ʿArabiya*, Berlin 1950, 1-5) that *ʿarabī* in the expression "clear Arabic speech" refers to the *ʿarabiyya*, the literary language of the Bedouins.

b. Foreign vocabulary. The earliest exegetes recognised and discussed freely a large number of non-Arabic words in the Kur'ān, and Tradition credits Ibn ʿAbbās and his school with having a special interest in seeking their origin and meaning. Then when the dogma of the eternity and perfection of the Kur'ān was elaborated (see 8 below) some jurists and theologians, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 205/820), came to believe that it was in pure Arabic and that denied that any of its vocabulary was borrowed from other languages. But prominent philologists such as Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) continued to argue that the Kur'ān contained foreign words. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) and others, attempting to reconcile the two *views, asserted that the alleged foreign elements* in the Kur'ān were simply words that Arabic and other languages had in common. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873/1468) explained in his *Kitāb al-Dhamāʾir* (Algiers 1905, i, 17) that these words came into Arabic through the ancient Arabs' contacts with other languages in foreign travel and commercial affairs, but that they had been thoroughly Arabised by the time of the Prophet. Other writers seem to have freed themselves altogether from religious considerations, e.g. al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who gave special attention to foreign loan-words in the Kur'ān in his *Itḳān*; he has a chapter on words that are not in the language of the Ḥiǧāz (i, 155-5) and another on words that are not in the language of the Arabs (135-41). In a separate treatise, the *Muʿtarakkāt* (ed. and tr. Wm. Y. Bell, Cairo 1924), he classifies a large number of terms as words borrowed from Ethiopic, Persian, Greek, Indian, Syriac, Hebrew, Nabataean, Coptic, Turkish, Negro, and Berber (for a discussion of these see *Foreign vocab.*, 12-32). Jeffery indicates surprise that al-Suyūṭī was able to gather from the older authorities so many words "whose Arabic origin to us is obvious but which they regarded as foreign", and he says that some of these are simply rare Arabic words, while others are variant forms used in the Kur'ān to establish the rhyme. He then concludes that the foreign elements in the Kur'ānic vocabulary are of three distant types: (1) words that are entirely non-Arabic and cannot possibly be traced to Arabic roots, e.g. *istabraḳ* (silk brocade), *zanǧabīl* (ginger), *firdaws* (paradise), (2) Semitic words that, although their triliteral root is found in Arabic, occur in the Kur'ān in a sense used in another language but not in Arabic, e.g. *fāṭir* (creator), *sawāmiʿ* (cloisters), *darasa* (to study [the scriptures] earnestly), and (3) words that are genuinely Arabic and commonly used, but are used in the Kur'ān with technical or theological meanings influenced by other languages, e.g. *nūr*, "light", used in the sense of "religion"; *rūḥ*, "spirit", and especially *rūḥ al-ḳudus*, "the spirit of holiness"; and *kalima*, "a word", when used of Jesus (*ibid.*, 39 f.). Jeffery then discusses about 275 words, other than proper names, that have been regarded as foreign, and he summarises the views of earlier European scholars as to their origin, and sometimes gives his own views. For the Arabic and European literature on this topic, see *ibid.*, xi-xix, in which should be added two studies by L. Kopf, *Religious influences on medieval Arabic philology*, in *Stud. Isl.*, v (1956), esp. 40-5, and *The treatment of foreign words in mediaeval Arabic lexicology*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1961), 191-205 (both reprinted

in Kopf, *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew lexicography*, Jerusalem 1976) and other works cited by him.

c. Rhymes and refrains. A distinctive feature of Kur'ānic style, closely related to its oral nature and liturgical function, is that it is all rhymed or resonanced prose. There is no attempt to produce the strict rhyme of Arabic poetry (see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 103-10). Some short *sūras*, and segments of longer *sūras*, do have a fairly consistent rhyme in the short inflectional vowels at the ends of the verses are disregarded. For instance, the three verses of CVIII end in *-ar*, the four verses of CXII end in *-ad*, CV has *-īl* except for the last verse with *-ūd* and the 55 verses of LIV end in *r* (or *rr*) preceded by a short vowel. But in most *sūras* there is a loose rhyme or assonance formed by common grammatical endings and word forms. By far the most frequent assonance in the Kur'ān is *-ūna/īna* (considered interchangeable), which is formed by the plural endings of nouns and verbs. And even this form, which occurs frequently in Arabic, is often varied with words ending with one of these vowels but a different consonant. The feminine singular endings *-at* and *-āt* occur in CIX, XLVII, XCI and XCIX; the dual ending *-āni* occurs in LV, the accusative ending *-an* occurs in XVIII, LXXII, and C; and the form *-ā(l)*, a long *a* followed by a variable consonant, occurs in parts of longer *sūras* such as II, III, XIV, XXXVIII and XL. On the various *rhyme* forms in the Kur'ān (technically known as *fa'īl*, *fa'īl*, *fā'ilat*, *ifʿāl*, *tafʿīl*, etc.), see *Ithm*, II, 96-105, and F. E. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Reimprosa im Koran* (Bonn 1969), who presents a systematic compilation of the evidence that peculiarities in Kur'ānic style and vocabulary were brought about by the imposition of rhyme.

The whole of the Kur'ān is often said to be in *sadʿ*, the rhythmic, rhymed utterance of the *kāhin* (soothsayer) [*q.v.*], which, like the Kur'ān, does not have a fixed metre or proper rhyme and is thus distinct from both poetry and prose. But those who have insisted that the Kur'ān is not in *sadʿ* seem on the whole to be on sounder ground (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, I, 36 ff., Blachère, *Intr.*, 212, Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 157 ff.). Some of the shorter *sūras* do have short, rhythmic, rhymed verses of the *sadʿ* type, often beginning with *wa-*, e.g. XC to XCIII (see 7.a below), and parts of a few somewhat longer *sūras*, e.g. the beginning of LXXV and LXXXII-LXXXV can be described as being "*sadʿ* like". But most *sūras* have longer, prosaic verses that are simply made to fit a loose rhyme or assonance pattern. In some a distinctive, fairly consistent rhyme is formed by words that are integral to a context and its meaning, giving the impression of being carefully constructed compositions, e.g. XVIII-XX. But in others, especially some of the *sūras* that are completely Medinan, the rhyme is formed by set formulas that are attached loosely to the ends of the verses, often with little or no connection of thought with the contexts. For instance, in II, the longest *sūra* in the Kur'ān, the rhyme in about three-fourths of the 286 verses is formed by divine epithets, aphorisms, and other formulas that often have little relevance for the meaning of the narrative. In verses 127-268 double divine epithets occur over 30 times, e.g. God is *samīʿ ʿalīm* (Hearer, Knower) occurs seven times, *ʿazīz ḥakīm* (Mighty, Wise), six times, *ghafūr raḥīm* (Forgiving, Compassionate), six times, etc. Theological aphorisms occur even more often, and some are repeated several times: "God is not heedless of the things you do", in verses 74, 140, 144, 149, etc.; "God sees the things you do", in 110, 233, 237, 265, etc.; "God has knowledge of everything", in 29, 231, 282 and "God is powerful over everything", in 20, 106, 259 and 284, etc.

A special type of rhyme-formula that occurs on a number of *sūras* is the refrain, i.e. an entire verse or more repeated verbatim at more or less regular intervals. The most striking example is the rhetorical question, "Then which of the benefits of your Lord will you two deny?", which occurs in LV, 13, 16, 18 and 21 and then almost every other verse to the end of the *sūra* in verse 78. A similar refrain, "Woe is that day to those who deny it!", occurs in LXXVII, 15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47 and 49. In both of these cases the refrain has little connection with the meaning of the other verses, and it is difficult to tell whether the latter should be read as an introduction (see Bell, *Transl.*, 697 f.) or a conclusion (e.g., Arberry trans., II, 318 f.). In the ten segments ranging in length from two to five verses. Each of the seven punishment-stories in XXVI ends with the two verses "Lo, in that is a sign, but most of them have not believed" and "But, lo, thy Lord is the Sublime, the Compassionate", which appear to be separate refrains, the latter being later. Four punishment-stories in LIV end with "We have made the Kur'ān as the Reminder (*dhikr*), but is there anyone who takes heed?", and the first three also have what appears to be an earlier refrain, "Of what nature, then, was My punishment and My warning?" Similar formulas occur frequently in the Kur'ān, but usually not as refrains. On internal rhymes and the possibility that there are strophes within the Kur'ān, see Bell Watt, 70-3.

d. Schematic form and multiple accounts. The last two examples of refrains occur in stories that also share another characteristic of Kur'ānic style, schematic form, i.e. the repetition of certain verses, or formulas that are woven into the narrative in a regular pattern in different stories presented together as a group. A good example of one type of schematic form occurs in XXVI, where five punishment stories have the same five verse introduction, as well as the refrains mentioned above and other repeated verses. The introduction of the first story reads: "The people of Noah denied the envoys / When their brother Noah said to them: 'Will you not show piety? / Lo, I am in you a faithful messenger / So show piety towards God, and obey me. / I ask you for no reward for it; my reward rests only upon the Lord of the worlds'". The only difference in the five verse introductions of the other four accounts is the name of the people (the tribes of ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc.) and the prophet (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, etc.). Another type of schematic form occurs in the Sūra VII versions of the same five punishment-stories, where about two-thirds of the Noah story is repeated in the Hūd story (a smaller percentage is repeated in the others), but the repeated parts are interspersed with statements, phrases, and individual words that are distinctive to each story. To show the first stage in the development of this group of schematic accounts, the Noah story is given here with the elements that also occur in the Hūd story put in italics: "We sent Noah to his people, and he said 'O *my people*, *serve God. There is no god for you other than He.* Verily I fear for you the punishment of a mighty day'. *Said the nobility of his people: 'Verily we think you are in manifest error'. He said 'O my people, there is no error in me; I am but a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and* give you *sincere advice*; I have knowledge from

God which you have not. *Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from among yourselves, in order that he may warn* you and that you may show piety? Perhaps mercy will be shown you' But they denied him; so *We rescued him and those with him* in the ark and We drowned *those who denied Our signs* Verily they were a blind people.' Part of the Noah story and other parts of the Hūd story are then repeated in the Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and Shu'ayb stories. Other groups of parallel accounts in the Kur'ān have one of these two types of schematic form. The extent of the repetition in these parallel accounts has important implications for understanding their nature and purpose, e.g. they are not intended as historical accounts.

These groups of punishment-stories also illustrate another feature of the Kur'ān: the complex development of its multiple accounts and their changing relationships with other accounts. Many stories are repeated in different versions in two or more *sūras*, and these multiple accounts of the same story differ not only in length and details, but also in their purpose and their relationship to other stories. For instance, different versions of the punishment stories or brief references to them occur in 26 different *sūras*. Longer versions of the Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Lot stories occur in LIV, XXVI, VII and XI, the first three also occur in XXV, LI and LIII; they are referred to in IX, XIV and XXIX, and they occur separately in still other *sūras*. There are two different Lot punishment stories: the first occurs in LIV, XXVI and VII (mentioned above) and also in XXVII and XXXVII, the second, involving the visit of celestial messengers, occurs in XI and XV. Then in XXIX both appear together separated by a brief version of an Abraham story, which also occurs in another, longer versions in the XV and XI. On the punishment stories, see 7 d below, Bell-Watt, 127 35, and bibliography given there A similar development can be seen in the creation stories the story of (the fallen angel?) Iblīs occurs as a complete, independent story in XV and XXXVIII and is repeated in shorter versions in XVII and XVIII, then it occurs with an account of the temptation and fall of Adam in VII, XX, and finally II In the last two the Iblīs story is reduced to a single verse, and in II these two story segments are preceded by the only Kur'ānic version of a third creation story about God consulting the angels before creating man A third example, of a somewhat different type, involves the two parallel accounts of the miraculous births and childhood of John (the Baptist) and Jesus in XIX, 2 34 and III, 38-51. In XIX the stories of John and Jesus are the first two in a series of separate accounts in III they are woven together as part of a longer account that begins with the birth and early life of Mary Among the significant patterns seen in the development of these and other multiple accounts in the Kur'ān is that the earlier groups of stories tend to be ahistorical in their arrangement, e.g in XXVI we have Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hūd Ṣāliḥ Lot, and then Shu'ayb (who came to be identified with Jethro, the father in-law of Moses), while the later versions are put in "historical order", e.g in XI we have Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham, Lot, Shu'ayb, and Moses The ahistorical groups are typical of what Bell calls the Kur'ān period, while the "historical" ones reflect the Book period, where we see stories combined to form longer multi-episodic narratives that constitute the beginning of a Muslim sacred history going back to the creation

7. Literary forms and Major Themes

The nature and arrangement of the Kur'ān make it difficult to classify its literary forms or systematize its main themes Any attempt to classify the parts of the Kur'ān according to the standard literary types—myth, legend, saga, fable story, parable, etc —very soon founders. A few examples can be given for each of these types but altogether they comprise a very small percentage of the text. Also, they have been adapted so much to conform to the style and message of the Kur'ān that they have little significance as distinct types. Bell has argued that since the Kur'ān disclaims that Muḥammad was a part and since his function as a prophet was to convey messages from God to his contemporaries, we should seek "didactic rather than poetic or artistic forms" (Bell-Watt, 75) This is true, except that only parts of the Kur'ān can be described as "didactic" in purpose. Other parts are hortatory, rhetorical, legislative, etc , and some parts addressed to Muḥammad and his family can only be described as personal (Bell questioned whether some of these, e.g CXI and parts of LXVI, were "intended for publication"). Thus it seems best to discuss the literary forms of the Kur'ān in terms of its own distinctive types of sentential What follows is not a complete, systematic classification, but brief descriptions of the main literary forms found in the Kur'ān, which at the same time provide summaries of some of its major themes.

a. Oaths and related forms. An interesting variety of oaths and related forms occur in the shorter *sūras* usually at the beginning. The assumption that most (but certainly not all) of these oaths are among the earliest parts of the Kur'ān seems to be justified. Some oaths that are cryptic and difficult to interpret or translate are generally thought to be typical of the ancient Arabian soothsayer utterances. In other cases, the oath form has simply been used to convey Kur'ānic (and sometimes Biblical) themes. The oath form that occurs most often consists of one or more verses beginning with *wa*, "By", followed by a noun in the genitive case, and ending with one or more verses beginning with an asseverative particle, usually *inna* but sometimes *lā*, both meaning "verily, surely" A fairly typical example occurs at the beginning of XCII "By the night when it veils, / By the day when it shines out in splendour, / By what created the male and the female, / Verily your course is diverse" (Bell tr.). Here the first three verses begin with *wa*, and the assertion closing the oath begins with *inna*. Sometimes the intervening verses between the opening *wa* verse and the closing *inna* begin with *fa-* instead of *wa*, as in XXXVII, 1 4. "By those who dress the ranks, / By those who scare by shouting, / By those who recite the warning, / Verily your God is One" (Bell). The *wa* and the *fa-* in the intervening verses can be interpreted as conjunctions (see e g , Arberry's tr. of these two passages), but this seems to weaken the impact of the oath. Some *wa/inna* oaths have only two elements (e.g XXXVI, 2 ff , CIII 1 ff.), while others have several, including additional *inna* assertions, e.g. LI begins with a six-verse oath, the verses beginning with *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna mā*, *wa inna*; and C has *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna*, *wa innahu*, *wa-innahu* (other variations occur in XLIII, XLIV, LII, LIII, etc.) A fairly typical example of a *wa/lā* oath occurs at the beginning of XCV: "By the fig and the olive, / By Mount Sinai, / By this land secure, / Surely We have created man most beautifully erect" (Bell)—with *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *la ḳad* The ten-verse oath at the beginning

of XCI, the longest in the Kur'ān is also of this type, with *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *fa-*, *bal*, *wa bal* (the *wa* before the asseverative particle in these examples is the conjunction "and"). Other types of oaths also occur in the Kur'ān, e.g. the stronger *lā uqsimu bi-*, "No! I swear by", oath, at the beginning of LXXV "No! I swear by the Day of Resurrection", also in LXXV, 2, XC, 1, and within other *sūras*.

Related to the Kur'ānic oaths are several other formulaic usages that are typical of soothsayer or prophetic utterances. One is the *idhā*, "When", passage, which has the same force, if not the same meaning, as an oath. A good example occurs at the beginning of LXXXII: "When the heaven shall be rent, / When the stars shall be scattered, / When the seas shall be made to boil up, / When the graves shall be ransacked, / A soul shall know what it has sent forward, and what kept back" (Bell). The longest "when" passage is LXXI, 1 *sq*, culminating in "A soul shall know what it has presented". See also LVI, 1 ff., LXXXIV, 1 ff., XCIX, etc. Other passages, especially at the beginning of some of the other shorter *sūras*, feature rhetorical questions, such as "Have you seen him who denies the Judgment?" (CVII, 1 ff., cf. XCIV, CV), or a modified type of curse or threat, such as "Woe to every assigner, scoffer, / Who gathers wealth and counts it over . . " (CIV, 1 ff.; cf. LXXXIII, 1 ff., 10 ff., CVII, 4 ff., etc. and a different type in CXI) This last example of a "Woe" (*waylun*) passage continues with another distinctive Kur'ānic form, consisting of at least three verses the second of which is the rhetorical question *wa mā adrāka mā* ——?, "And what has let you know what —— is?"; see XCVII, 2 ff., CI, 2 ff., CIV, 4 ff., and LXXXVI, 1 ff., which begins with an oath.

The fact that the Kur'ān itself affirms that Muhammad was accused of being a soothsayer (*kāhin*) suggests that his contemporaries saw a similarity between what he recited and what they heard from the soothsayers Bell identified five passages in the Kur'ān as having '*kāhin*-form' XXXVII, 2-4, LI, 1 ff., and C, 2-6 mentioned above, and also LXXVII, 2-7, and LXXIX, 1 *sq*. But most of the Kur'ānic oaths and related forms are more in the nature of prophetic than soothsayer utterances

b Sign-passages. Meccan and early Medinan parts of the Kur'ān often speak of certain phenomena of nature and human life as "signs" (*āyāt*) of God's omnipotence and benevolence towards man, calling for gratitude and worship of Him alone. Most often mentioned are the creation of the heavens and the earth, the creation or procreation of man, the shining of the sun, moon, and stars, the alteration of day and night, the sending of the rain, and the permanence and stability of nature Thunder, lightning, fire, and other natural phenomena are also mentioned, as are human understanding and relationships, the variety of languages and colours, hearing, sight, etc The "sign-passages" treating these themes have no distinctive form, but are recognised by their content An example of an early sign passage is seen in LXXX, 24 32: "Let man look at his food, / Lo, We have poured out water in showers, / Then have broken up the earth in cracks, / And have caused to sprout up in it grain, / And grapes and green shoots, / And olives and palms, / And orchards luxuriant, / And fruits and herbage —— / A provision for you and for your flocks" (Bell) See also XXIII, 17-22, 78-80, LXXVIII, 6-16. An example of a late, more structured sign passage is XXX, 20-5, which begins. "And of His signs is that He created you of dust, then lo, you are mortals, all scattered abroad / And of His signs is that He created for you of your own species spouses that you may dwell with them, and has set love and mercy between you Surely in that are signs (*āyāt*) for those who consider. / And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variety of your tongues and hues. Surely in that are signs for all living beings" The next three verses also begin with "And of His signs is. .", and the first two of these end with 'Surely in that are signs for those who ——" ('hear' in verse 23 "understand" in 24) A similar sign-passage in XVI, 10-18, begins "It is He who sends down to you out of heaven water of which you have to drink, . . / And thereby He brings forth for you crops, and olives, and palms, and vines, and all manner of fruit Surely in that is a sign (*āya*) for those who reflect" And a similar formula closes the next two verses. These last two examples are typical of most sign passages in consisting of separate sign verses grouped together in no particular order, but they are somewhat unusual in having set introductory phrases and concluding formulas (of VI, 97 9, XIII, 2-4, XVI, 65, 67, 69, 79, XXXVI, 33, 37, 41, XLI, 37, 39, XLV, 3-5). The singular, *āya*, is used occasionally in sign-passages, either with one verse treating one sign (as in XVI, 11, quoted above; also XVI, 13, 69, 67 etc.), or with two or more verses treating a single sign (XVI, 10 f., 81 f., etc.) The plural, *āyāt*, occurs much more often, usually with two or more signs mentioned in a single verse (as in XXX, 20-2, quoted above, also X, 6, 67, XIII, 3 f., XXX, 23 f., etc.) This analysis provides no clue as to how *āya* came to mean "verse" In many sign-passages that are otherwise like those cited above the term "sign" does not occur (e.g. VI, 141 f., XIII, 12 15, XVI, 3 f., 80 f., XXX, 48 52, XXXII, 4-9). On the other hand, the term "sign" occurs many times in contexts that are not "sign passages". See 1.b above and Bell-Watt, 221-7.

c. Say-passages. Scattered throughout the Kur'ān are a number of passages in which the main element is a short statement or question introduced by the imperative verb, 'Say' usually the singular, *qul*, but occasionally the plural, *qūlū*. Most say-passages i.e the immediate contexts in which the say statements occur, have two main parts (1) a statement or question indicating the setting, and (2) the say-statement, which is sometimes followed by a comment or two on 1 or 2. The setting statement occasionally involves Muhammad's followers, but usually is a report of something said or done by the unbelievers. One frequently occurring form is "They say . . . Say: . . ", e.g. X, 21 "They say 'If only a sign had been sent down to him from his Lord'. Say, 'The unseen belongs to God' " (see also II, 80, 91, 93, 111, 135, etc.). Sometimes the setting statement has two or more parts, and the say-statement either has two or more parts or is followed by one or more comments A good example of this more complex form is seen in X, 18 "They serve apart from God what neither injures them nor profits them, and they say 'These are our intercessors with God'. Say 'Will you inform God of what He knows not either in the heavens or in the earth?' Glory be to Him, and exalted be He far from what they associate with Him!" Here the setting statement has two parts, involving something the unbelievers do and something they say, and the say-statement, a rhetorical question, is followed by a praise formula (cf. II, 80-2). In X, 68 f. a praise formula, "Glory be to Him", and

a comment on the setting statement some between the 'They say' and 'Say'' elements. Another common form is "They will ask you (Muḥammad) ... Say ...", e.g. II 220 "They will ask you about the orphans. Say. 'To set right their affairs is good.' Sometimes one *wa* introduces a question, and a second one gives an answer, e.g. VI, 12? 'Say 'To whom belongs what is in the heavens and the earth?' Say 'To God ...'" (also VI, 63 f., 71, etc.) Some say-statements are formulas that can be classified as maxims or slogans, e.g. "To God belongs the East and the West" (II, 142), "The guidance of God is the guidance" (II, 120, III, 73, VI, 71), "God guides to the truth" (X, 35), "Those who invent falsehood about God will not prosper" (X, 69), and "Intercession belongs to God alone" (XXXIX, 44), and some of these (e.g. the first two mentioned here) occur elsewhere in the Kur'ān. On maxims and slogans, see Bell-Watt, 75 ?. Others are credal statements, e.g. II, 136: "Say (*qūlū*): 'We believe in God and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham ... and what Moses and Jesus received ... and to Him we have surrendered'" (cf. XXIX, 46). Still others are prayers, e.g. III, 26 f.: "Say (*qul*). 'O God, owner of sovereignty, Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt, and seizest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt ... Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living, Thou providest for whom Thou wilt without reckoning'" This last example is unlike the say-passages described above, since it is not preceded by a setting statement. Thus it is best classified with a second group of say-statements, some of which are in the first person singular and seem to be spoken by Muḥammad, e.g. a group of four in LXXII 20-8, beginning "Say: 'I call only upon my Lord, and I do not associate with Him anyone' / Say 'Surely I possess no power over you, either for hurt or for rectitude'" (Arberry); see also XXXIV, 36, 39, 46-50, CIX, etc. Other isolated say-statements occur in LXVII, 23 f., 28-30, CXII-CXIV, etc., the first of these being two short say-statements in the form of the sign passages. Say passages and separate say statements are often grouped together, e.g. VI, 12-19, 56-8, 63-6, 161 *q.*, and the groups mentioned above.

d. Narratives. If the term "narrative" is taken in the broader sense to include any story or description of actual or fictional events, then many parts of the Kur'ān can be classified as narratives. There is virtually no historical narrative, even though as mentioned above (see 3.a) there are many references and allusions to historical events. Most Kur'ānic narratives are versions of traditional stories found in other Near Eastern cultures, which have been adapted to conform to the world-view and teachings of the Kur'ān. Several versions of ancient Near Eastern myths and many mythic motifs occur. The creation of the world in six days and the Throne from which the universe is controlled are mentioned several times, as in VII, 54 "Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then seated Himself upon the Throne causing the night to cover the day" and the well-known "Throne verse", II, 255 "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal Slumber overtakes Him not nor sleep .... His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them" (cf. X, 3, XXV, 59, XXXII, 4, and on the Throne, IX, 129, XIII, 2, XX, 5, XXI, 22, etc.) But there is no six-day creation story, and no account of what was created on each day (a partial explanation is given in XLI, 9-12, see Paret, *Kommentar*, 433). The seven heavens are mentioned (XVII, 44, XXIII, 86, etc.), as is the Trumpet that signals the Last Day (VI, 73, XVIII, 99, XX, 102, etc.), but there are no stories or complete descriptions. Brief accounts of the fall of Iblīs (Lucifer?), the fall of man, and the naming of the animals (not so specified) do occur (II, 30-9, VII, 11-25, XV, 28-44, XVII, 61-5, XX, 115-26 etc.). There are several versions of the ancient Near Eastern shooting star myth (XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, etc.), and several accounts of Noah and the Flood (XI, 36-48, XXV, 37, XXIX, 14 *f.*, LIV, 9-17), which however is not a world-wide deluge.

The prophet stories, some of which are also punishment stories, make up the largest category of Kur'ānic narratives. The longest single story, which could be classified as a 'short story', is that of Joseph, taking up nearly all 111 verses of Sūra XII. It follows the Biblical account more closely than do most Kur'ānic stories, and it shows evidence of revision, including what appear to be two introductions. There are two parallel accounts of the births of John (the Baptist) and Jesus, III, 33-51 and XIX, 2-36, which have some significant differences in details, reflecting the development of ideas in the Kur'ān. Both accounts have elements from apocryphal Christian writings and oral tradition, e.g. Mary's stay in a convent or temple until the time of the conception of Jesus, and his miracles of speaking from the cradle and forming a bird out of clay that became alive when he breathed on it. Abraham, Moses, and Solomon have major roles in Kur'ānic narrative in that there are several different stories about each, as well as several versions of some stories. Also, there are non-Biblical stories about each of these three: Abraham destroying the idols of his people (XXI, 51-72, etc.) and building the Ka'ba in Mecca (II, 122-9, etc.), Moses and his servant on a journey (XVIII, to 82), and Solomon building the Temple with the jinn and demons (XXXIV, 12-14, XXXVIII, 36-40) and dealing with his army of jinn, men, and birds (XXVII, 15-21). There are also stories about Adam and Noah (mentioned above) and Lot, Ishmael, David, Elijah, Jonah, and Job; and several others are mentioned, including Isaac, Jacob, Elisha, Aaron (in some Moses stories), Saul, Ezra, and Haman, who however is an associate of the Pharaoh. The heroes of these stories are generally referred to as "messengers" (*rusul*, sing. *rasūl*), but sometimes as "envoys" (*mursalūn*, sing. *mursal*) or "prophets" (*nabiyyūn*, sing. *nabī*). The latter seems to occur only in Medinan passages and is applied specifically only to Muḥammad and certain "messengers" mentioned above from the Hebrew and Christian traditions, while the other two terms occur earlier and have broader usages. But in later parts of the Kur'ān *rasūl* and *nabī* are synonymous, although not exactly interchangeable. Note, for instance, the consistent usage, "God and His Messenger", but "the Prophet" for Muḥammad throughout XXXIII. This no doubt explains why *rusul* occurs in the credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136, which require belief in "His angels, His books, and His messengers (*rusulihi*)", while of *nabiyyūn* occurs in II, 177, which requires belief in "the angels, the Book, and the prophets". Among the non-Biblical characters, the most prominent are Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Shu'ayb (see below), but there are also stories about Luḳmān, an Arabian sage (XXXI, 12-19), and Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, generally regarded as Alexander the Great (XVIII, 83-98), and brief references to Dhu 'l-Kifl and Idrīs (XXI, 56, XXI, 85, XXXVIII, 48), sometimes said to be Elijah and Enoch. The story of the Men of the Cave (XVIII,

10-16) is usually identified with the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. On these stories, see the commentaries and Paret, *Kommentar, ad loc.*

Several forms are used indiscriminately for introducing prophet stories and some of the stories about non-Biblical characters, e.g. "Recite to them the story (*naba'*) of ..." (V, 27, VII, 175, X, 72, XXVI, 69; cf. XVIII, 27, XXIX, 45) "We recite to you [Muḥammad] part of the story (*naba'*) of ..." (XXVIII, 3, cf. III, 58), "Has there come to you the story (*ḥadīth*) of ... ?" (XX, 9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, etc.), "Has there come to you the story (*naba'*) of ... ?" (IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXXVIII 21, etc.) and "Mention in the Book ..." (XIX, 16, 41, 51, 54, 56). All of these are addressed to Muḥammad. Far more frequent are two simple forms, *wa-ḏkur* (or *wa-ḏkur bi-*) "(Recall) when ——— said", said of Moses (V, 20, XIV, 6, XVIII, 60, XXVII, 7, etc.), Abraham (VI, 74, XIV, 35, etc.), Joseph (XII, 4), God (V, 110, 114, XV, 28, XVII, 61, XVIII, 50, etc.), and others, and *wa-laḳad arsalnā*, "And We sent", said of Noah (XI, 25, XXIII, 23, XXIX, 14, etc., cf. VII, 59), Moses (XI, 96, XIV, 5, etc. cf. XXIII, 45), and others Cf *wa-laḳad ātaynā*, "And We gave" (e.g. 'And We gave Moses the Book') in XVII, 102, XXI, 48, 51, XXXI, 12, XXXIV, 10, etc

One special type of Kur'ānic narrative that made up a major part of the revelation during the Meccan years is the punishment story, discussed above for its use of refrains and schematic form In some versions Five punishment-stories stand out from the others, those of Noah, Hūd and the tribe of 'Ād, Ṣāliḥ and the tribe of Thamūd, Lot, and Shu'ayb and the people of Midian And two others are prominent in some sūras, the story of Moses and the drowning of Pharaoh's army, and the story of Arabham rejecting the idols of his people. These seven occur together in XXVI, 10-191, and are mentioned together in XXII, 42-4. Fairly complete versions of some of these stories also occur in VII, 53 93 (all but Abraham and Moses), XI, 25-95 (all but Moses), XXXVII, 75 148 (only the Biblical ones), and LIV, 9-42 (all but Abraham and Shu'ayb) Shorter versions of some of these seven and references to these and some others (Jonah, the people of Sheba, the men of el-Rass, and the people of Tubba') occur in IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXI, 48-77, XXIII, 23-48, XXV, 35 40, XXVII, 7-58, L, 12 14, LI, 24-46, LIII, 50-5, LXIX, 4-10, and LXXXIX, 6-14 The "men of al-Ḥijr" in XV, 80-4, are probably the tribe of Thamūd, the "men of the Grove" (XV, 78 f., XXVI, 176-91, etc) seem to be identical with the people of Midian (see MADYAN SHU'AYB); and "the subverted (cities)' (*al-mu'tafikāt*) are most likely Sodom and Gomorrah, the cities of Lot. Thus these three are apparently vacations of three of the seven. Most Western scholars have accepted the view of A Sprenger (*Leben*, I, 462) and J Horovits (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, 26 8) that the term *mathānī* in XV, 87 and XXXIX, 23 (see I.b above) refers to the seven most prominent punishment stories, since the first verse says "seven of the *mathānī* and the mighty *ḳur'ān*" have been sent down to Muḥammad by God, and the second describes the Book sent down to Muḥammad as having *mathānī* "at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep". See Paret, *Kommentar*, 379 f., and Bell Watt, 234 f.

The Kur'ān also contains some parables, the longest and clearest one being the parable of the Blighted Garden in LXVIII, 17 33. Others include the parable of the man with two gardens (XVIII, 32 44), the good and corrupt trees (XIV, 24-7), and the unbelieving town (XXXVI, 13 32). Several other brief parables are little more than expanded similes, e.g the fire at night in II, 17, the downpour in II, 19, the slave in XVI, 75, the dumb man in XVI, 76, the water and vegetation in XVIII, 45, the light of God in XXIV, 35, the master and his slaves in XXX, 28, and the slave with several masters in XXXIX, 29 (see Bell Watt, 82). These parables have no standard form, some are introduced by the statement addressed to Muḥammad: "And coin for them a parable" (*wa 'ḍrib lahum mathalan*), e.g. XVIII, 32, 45, XXXVI, 13, others by the statement: "God has coined a parable' (*ḍaraba 'llāhu mathalan*), e.g XIV, 24, XVI, 75, 76, 112, XXXIX, 29, LXVI, 10

e Regulations. The Kur'ān provides detailed regulations on some aspects of the conduct of the Muslim community, and general instructions on others. No complete code of conduct or list of required duties is presented; each issue is treated separately, usually in several different places The main religious duties are introduced in stages, and there are inconsistencies in some of the requirements What follows are some examples that illustrate the nature and form of the various Kur'ānic regulations, beginning with four that later became Pillars of Islam.

On the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*) 'Observe thou [Muḥammad] the Prayer (*aḳim 'l-ṣalāt*) at the two ends of the day and the neighbouring parts of the night" (XI, 114, cf XVII, 78 f.); "Remember the Prayers (*ṣalawāt*), including the middle Prayer, and stand (in worship) to God reverently' (II, 238), "so recite what is convenient of it [the Kur'ān], and observe the Prayer (*aḳimū 'l-ṣalāt*), and pay the Zakāt, and lend to God a good loan" (LXXIII, 20)); "verily the Prayer has become for the believers a thing prescribed for stated times" (IV, 103). On alms giving (*ṣadaḳāt, ṣadaḳa*) "If you give alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) publicly it is well, but if you conceal it and give to the poor it is better for you" (II, 271). "Observe the Prayer, pay the *zakāt* (*atū 'l-zakāt*), and obey the Messenger" (XXIV, 56), "The alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) are for the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over, for the ransom of slaves, for the relief of debtors, for expenditure in the way of God, and for the follower of the way—an ordinance (*farīḍa*) from God" (IX, 60). On fasting (*ṣiyām, ṣawm*) "O believers, fasting is prescribed for you (*kutiba 'alaykum*) as it was for those before you ... [during] the month of Ramaḍān

It is allowable for you on the night of the fast to go in to your wives . . and eat and drink until so much of the dawn appears that a white thread may be distinguished from a black; then keep the fast completely until night' (II, 183-7). On the Pilgrimage (*ḥaḍjdj, 'umra*): "Fulfil the pilgrimage (*ḥaḍjdj*) and the visitation (*'umra*) unto God. . . . If anyone of you is sick or suffering from an injury to the head, then a compensation (*fidya*) by way of fasting or almsgiving (*ṣadaḳa*) or pious observance" (II, 196), "Ṣafā and Marwa are among the manifestations of God. . . . It is an fault (*ǧunāḥ*) If anyone makes the circuit of these" (II, 158)

These four religious duties are required of all Muslims only in Medinan passages dating from around the time of the battle of Badr or later. The *ṣalāt* is mentioned in Meccan or early Medinan passages, but is required only of Muḥammad, with the imperative verb in the singular, *aḳim 'l-ṣalāt* (XI, 114, XVII, 78, XXIX, 45, XXX, 31, etc.). The term *zakāt* in Meccan passages (XVIII, 81, XIX, 13) means "purity". Passages that are late Meccan or early Medinan say that earlier prophets instituted the

ṣalāt and the *zakāt* (X, 87, XIV, 40, XIX, 30 f., 54 f., XX, 14, XXI, 73, etc.), or recommend them to the Muslims as signs of piety (II, 177, XXVII, 1–4, etc.). Then in passages dating from the year 2 AH and later these two practices are required of Muslims, with the imperative verbs in the plural, *aḳīmū 'l-ṣalāt* and *āti 'l-zakāt* (II, 43, IV, 77, 103, IX, 11, XXII 78, XXIV, 56, LVIII, 13, LXXIII, 20, etc.). The Muslim fast was introduced in two or probably three stages in the Kur'ān (see Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, 41 ff.), and the pilgrimage was adopted as a Muslim ritual probably before Badr, but was not practised as such until the last years of Muḥammad's life.

The form used most frequently for introducing and stressing regulations for the Muslim community is the plural imperative verb, used several times in the examples given above and often elsewhere involving a variety of practices, e.g., "O believers, when you stand up for the Prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet up to the ankles" (V, 8), "O believers, show piety towards God and abandon the usury that remains if you are believers" (II, 278), "O believers, when you contract a debt with another for a stated term, write it down" (II, 282), "Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not provoke hostility" (II, 190), "Contribute in the way of God, hand not yourselves over to destruction, but do well" (II, 195). Sometimes negative commands are given, as in VI, 152: "Come, let me repeat what your Lord has forbidden you: do not associate anything with Him . . . do not kill your children because of poverty —do not draw near indecencies . . . do not kill the person whom God has made forbidden except with justification", cf. XVII, 22 ff. The expression *kutiba 'alaykum*, "prescribed for you is", seen in II, 183, above on fasting, also occurs elsewhere, e.g., "O believers, retaliation in the matter of the slain is prescribed for you, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female; so if anyone is forgiven anything by his [injured] brother, let him follow it with what is reputable, and pay with kindness" (II, 178), and "Prescribed for you, when death draws nigh to one of you, and he has goods to leave, is the making of a testament in favour of parent and relatives reputable—a duty resting upon those who show piety" (II, 180). And an expression having the opposite meaning *ḥurrimat 'alaykum*, "forbidden to you is", also occurs, e.g. in IV, 23, and V, 3. Other forms and many other regulations occur, especially in the *sūras* that are completely Medinan. Some of these passages can be classified as commandments or divine legislation, others are more in the nature of religious instruction or exhortation.

f. **Liturgical forms.** While all of the Kur'ān is recited in liturgical settings, only some parts are distinctly liturgical in form. By far the most important part of the Kur'ān for use in worship is the opening *sūra*, the *Fātiḥa*, a seven-verse prayer recited at least twice in each performance of the *ṣalāt*. Whether or not the *Fātiḥa* [*q.v.*] was considered to be part of the Kur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime is uncertain. Prayers ought seem out of place in a text in which God is the speaker, but others also occur, the best example being the prayer at the end of Sūra II: "O our Lord, take us not to task if we forget, or make a mistake, O our Lord, lay not upon us a task such as Thou didst lay on those before us . . . Pardon us and forgive us, and have mercy upon us, Thou art our patron, so help us against the people of unbelievers" (Bell). Some prayers are also included within narratives, e.g. Abraham's prayer in XIV, 35 ff. Exaltations, in which God is praised in the third person, occur more frequently, the best known of these is the "Throne verse", II, 255, mentioned in 7 d above for its mythic motif. The divine epithets mentioned in 6.c above as rhyme phrases are also a type of praise formula, which however do not give the impression of being liturgical. Praise forms that do seem to have a liturgical purpose occur at the beginning of several Medinan *sūras*. A *sabbaḥa li 'llāh* formula, "Magnifies God (*sabbaḥa li 'llāh*) all that is in the heavens and the earth", occurs at the beginning of LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII and LXIV, those of which continue with "He is the Almighty, the All-wise". These five *sūras* date mainly from the middle Medinan years, after the completion of the *sūras* that begin with revelation formulas and the mysterious letters (see 4.d above). The liturgical setting of the *sabbaḥa li 'llāh sūras* is suggested by their introductions and conclusions. One might conjecture that the Friday prayer service was the occasion for the first recitation of these *sūras* (see LXII, 9–11), and possibly also those with the revelation formulas. Other praise formulas, which may or may not have specifically liturgical functions within the Kur'ān, include the *tasbīḥ*, i.e. *al-ḥamdu li 'llāh*, "Praise be to God", at the beginning of I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV and XXXV, and in VII, 43, X, 10, XVII, 111, etc., the *taṣbīḥ*, i.e. *subḥāna 'llāh*, "Glory be to God", occurring with variations in XVII, 1, 93, 108, XXVIII, 68, XXXVI, 36, XXXVII, 180–2, XLIII, 82 etc., and *tabāraka 'llāh*, "Blessed be God", occurring with variations in VII, 54, XXIII, 14, XXV, 1, 10, 61, XL, 64, XLIII, 85, LV, 78 and LXVII, 1.

Others: The Kur'ān contains other distinctive literary forms and themes that can be mentioned only briefly here. Especially important in Meccan parts of the Kur'ān are a large number of dramatic scenes usually involving death, the Last Judgment, the pleasures of paradise (*al-djanna* = the garden), and the tortures of the hellfire (see the O Shaughnessy arts. in *Bibl.*). Dramatic scenes constitute the main Kur'ānic form for treating these subjects, which are nowhere fully or systematically explained, and they also occur frequently in narratives, reflecting the oral qualities of these Meccan parts of the Kur'ān (see Bell-Watt, 80 f.). There are also many addresses in a variety of topics. Most Meccan ones treat theological topics—the signs of God, messages of earlier prophets etc.—and these can be classified as sermons. Early Medinan ones are often addressed to the Jews, either as the Children of Israel or the People of the Book. Later Medinan ones, usually addressed "O believers", but sometimes "O children of Adam" or "O people", treat specific legal, political, and military matters as well as general religious, moral and social themes. Another special type of material found in both Meccan and Medinan parts of the Kur'ān involves Muḥammad's personal situation. Many Meccan passages addressed to Muḥammad bring comfort and encouragement in times of persecution, instructions on religious practices, etc. Some Medinan ones, addressed "O Prophet", give special marriage and divorce regulations. Others are addressed to Muḥammad's wives or otherwise treat his family problems (see *sūras* XXIV, XXXIII, LXVI).

8. The Kur'ān in Muslim Life and Thought

For Muslims the Kur'ān is much more than scripture or sacred literature in the usual Western sense. Its primary significance for the vast majority through the centuries has been in its oral form, the form in

which it first appeared, as the "recitation" (*kur'ān*) chanted by Muḥammad to his followers over a period of about twenty years (on its liturgical function during Muḥammad's lifetime, see VII, 203-6, LXXIII, 20, LXXXIV, 20 f., etc.). The revelations were memorised by some of Muḥammad's followers during his lifetime, and the oral tradition that was thus established has had a continuous history ever since, in some ways independent of, and superior to, the written Kur'ān. During the early centuries when the written Kur'ān was limited to the *scriptio defectiva* of the period (see 3a above), the oral tradition established itself as the standard by which the written text was to be judged. Even when the Egyptian "standard edition" was prepared in the early 1920s it was the oral tradition and its supporting *ḳirā'āt* literature (rather than early Kur'ān mss.) that served as the authority for determining the written text. Through the centuries the oral tradition of the entire Kur'ān has been maintained by the professional reciters (*ḳurrā'*) (on Kur'ān reciters in Egypt, see M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today*, Cambridge 1970, 12-13, 37-43, and for the oral tradition in general, Labīb al-Sa'īd, *The recited Koran*, see *Bibl.*), while all Muslims memorise parts of the Kur'ān for use in the daily prayers. Until recently, the significance of the recited Kur'ān has seldom been fully appreciated in the West.

The Kur'ān also had a central role in the theological debates of the early centuries, and it has continued to be one of the most controversial issues in Islamic theology. Since the Kur'ān was held to consist of messages brought from God to Muḥammad by Gabriel, and since God is the "speaker" in these messages, it was natural for Muslims to think of it as God's speech (*kalām*). About the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, theologians began to discuss whether or not the Kur'ān was created. Among those who maintained that it was were the Mu'tazila, including some who had positions at the court of al-Ma'mūn. Convinced by their arguments, and also thinking that adoption of the doctrine would be politically beneficial, al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 established the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or "inquisition", in which most leading officials were obliged to profess publicly that the Kur'ān was created. Nearly all submitted but a few refused, notably Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) (*q.v.*). In 234/848, shortly after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the *miḥna* was abandoned, probably because its political results were disappointing. Up through the time of the *miḥna* the issue seems to have been whether the Kur'ān was the actual speech of God or was created. Those who accepted the latter view, arguing that God "has never spoken and does not speak", were called by their opponents the Lafẓiyya [*q.v.*—see also Watt, *Formative period*, 243-8]. Then Ibn Ḥanbal argued that the Kur'ān *is* part of God's knowledge (*'ilm*), and after the *miḥna* he accepted the expression "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlūḳ*) as a description of the Kur'ān. This led to the formulation of the doctrine that it is eternal (*ḳadīm*), argued for by al-Ash'arī (d. 323/935) [*q.v.*] and others. Although this became the standard Sunnī view (see, e.g. the 4th/10th century Ḥanafī creed called by Wensinck *Fiḳh Akbar II*, art. 3), it has not been accepted by all. The Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) [*q.v.*], for instance, disavowed this view, arguing that the question of the eternity or temporality of the Kur'ān was not an issue before the time of Ibn Ḥanbal, and that to affirming the uncreatedness of the Kur'ān the "pious ancestors", including Ibn Ḥanbal, never meant to assert its eternity. It should also be noted that even the expression *ghayr makhlūḳ* does not occur in Muslim creeds until after the *miḥna* (see, e.g. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 103 f., 227, 229) and that the early discussions and creeds do not mention the Kur'ānic expression "preserved tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*) (see LAWḤ) in LXXXV, 22, and "mother of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*) in III, 7, which only later came to be interpreted as referring to a heavenly archetype of the Kur'ān in support of the doctrine of its eternity. See W. Madelung, *The origins of the controversy concerning the creation of the Koran*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, Leiden 1974, I, 504-25; W. M. Watt, *Early discussions about the Qur'ān*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 27-40, 96-105; Idem, *Formative period*, 278 f., 242 f., 280 f., 293; J. Bouman, *The doctrine of 'Abd al-Djabbār on the Qur'ān as the created word of Allāh*, in *Verbum*, the H. W. Obbink *Festschrift*, Utrecht 1964, 67-86; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich 1962, 75-89. For an outline of the views of the various schools on the Kur'ān as the *kalām Allāh*, see KALĀM.

Parallel to the development of the doctrine of the eternity of the Kur'ān there also arose the dogma of its inimitability (*i'djāz*) [*q.v.*]. From the beginning, the Kur'ān had been seen as a "sign" (*āya*) or "proof" (*burhān*) of Muḥammad's prophethood. This belief took a more precise form in the teaching that each prophet was given a verifying miracle (*mu'djiza*), and that the Kur'ān was Muḥammad's, the term *i'djāz*, it should be noted, still had not received its technical meaning as late as the time of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see Tor Andrae, *Der Person Muhammad in Lehre und Glaube*, Uppsala 1917, 101). Early discussion of the *i'djāz* of the Kur'ān centred around the concept of *taḥaddī* or "challenge", based largely on several verses of the Kur'ān (II, 23, X, 38, XI, 13, XVII, 88, etc.). The failure of Muḥammad's contemporaries to take up the challenge to produce even one *sūra* like those he recited was taken as proof that it was impossible. This argument was then supplemented by the concept of *ṣarfa* (lit. "turning away"), meaning that God prevented the competent from taking up the challenge. In one of the earliest treatises devoted solely to *i'djāz*, 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/944) mentioned both of these arguments along with several others, involving the eloquence of the Kur'ān, its prophecies of future events, its establishment of new literary forms and style that surpass all others, etc. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) in his *al-Bayān fī i'djāz al-Kur'ān* (see *Bibl.*) stressed the rhetorical eloquence of the Kur'ān, and al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) in the most famous work on the subject (see *Bibl.*) rejected the *ṣarfa* argument and compiled what he regarded as empirical evidence of the Kur'ān's superior style. He also argued that since Muḥammad was illiterate, he could not have read other scriptures or written down stories told by human informants, and thus Kur'ānic reports of past events and prophecies of future events are further proof of the miracle of the Kur'ān and its divine source. For summaries of the development of these views see *Zahīd*, II, 226-93; Abdul Aleem *I'djāz al-Qur'ān*, in *IC*, VII (1933), 64-82, 215-33; J. Bouman, *La conflit autor du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāḳillānī*, Amsterdam 1959; H. Stieglecker, *op. cit.*, 371-408; and art. I'DJĀZ. The standard modern work on the subject is that of Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfi'ī (see *Bibl.*).

The doctrines of the eternity and perfection or inimitability of the Kur'ān contributed to its excessive influence throughout Islamic life and culture.

It became the first 'source' (*aṣl*) of Islamic law, the *Sharī'a*, which also came to be regarded as eternal (cf. the Torah in Jewish belief). Its grammar became standard for later Arabic, which replaced other languages across the Near East and North Africa (among Christians and Jews as well as Muslims), and its script came to be adopted in Persian, Turkish, Urdu, and other languages. Verses of the Ḳur'ān became the main subject of Islamic calligraphy and one of the main decorative motifs of Islamic religious art and architecture, as a substitute for statues and pictorial representation. At the same time, these two doctrines have been the strongest factor working against the acceptance of critical studies of the Ḳur'ān within the modern Muslim community in the early centuries, Muslim scholars studied the Ḳur'ān as literature and as a historical source, analysing its grammar, style, poetic imagery, etc., and attempting to determine its chronology, development of ideas, and historical settings. But the widespread acceptance of belief in the eternity and *ʿiṣma* of the Ḳur'ān has made modern Muslims loath to accept methods of historical and literary criticism that have proved so fruitful in the study of other scriptures. To a certain extent this is understandable to Christians, since the development of the doctrines of the eternity and *ʿiṣma* of the Ḳur'ān is parallel to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the closest analogue in Christian belief to the role of the Ḳur'ān in Muslim belief is not the Bible, but Christ. Thus the difficulty Muslims have in adopting a critical approach to the Ḳur'ān is comparable to the difficulty many Christians have in accepting a critical view of the life of Jesus (e.g. regarding his virgin birth and resurrection). But this should not prevent critical analyses of the Ḳur'ān, which is after all still a literary work of supreme importance and an invaluable historical document.

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(A. T. Welch)

9 Translation of the Kur'ān

a. The orthodox doctrine concerning translation. In the time of Muḥammad it is certain that nobody had considered the possibility that the Kur'ān might be translated either as a whole or in part into a foreign language. It was revealed expressly as an "Arabic Kur'ān" (Sūra XII, 2; XX, 113; XXXIX, 28; XLI, 3; XLII, 7; XLIII, 3), in "clear Arabic language" (XVI, 103; XXVI, 195; cf. XLVI, 12), that the Prophet through it might "warn the capital (i.e., Mecca) and the people in its surroundings" (VI, 92; XLII, 7). It was not originally intended for non-Arabs. It was truly as a result of the spread of the Arabic-Islamic conquests that the sphere of influence of the Kur'ān was extended to territories outside the Arabic-speaking world. The Persians and other non-Arabs who embraced Islam were obliged, in the same way as their genuinely Arab fellow-believers, to recite in the ritual prayer the Fātiḥa and several other texts from the Kur'ān. The question thus arose whether they should be permitted to recite the texts in question in their native language instead of in Arabic. In so far as Muslims from the non-Arabic speaking territories were interested in getting to know not only the texts used in the prayers, but also other parts of the Kur'ān, or the whole of the Kur'ān, there arose the further question whether this might be achieved with the help of a translation.

The theologians and jurists who had to decide on this matter in general adopted a rigorous attitude. With regard to the recitation of the Fātiḥa in the ritual prayer, the Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs insisted that the text must be spoken in Arabic. In a case where the person praying could not recite the Fātiḥa in Arabic, he must substitute for it another passage from the Kur'ān, or observe a silent pause, or repeat the name of God for the same length of time. On the other hand it is reported that Abū Ḥanīfa had originally declared that the recital of the Fātiḥa in Persian was permitted without reservation, he later restricted this concession to those worshippers who were unable to speak Arabic. This then became the general rule for the Ḥanafī school. In similar circumstances other non-Arabic languages besides Persian might be employed.

As for the production and use of translations of the whole of the Kur'ān, the attitude of the scholars was that a "translation" of the Kur'ān in the true sense of the word was not possible. They based their attitude mainly on the argument that the wording of the Kur'ān is a miracle (*muʿdjiza*) incapable of imitation by men. This characteristic would be invalidated in a translation into a foreign language, since this would be made by men. Furthermore, the scholars maintained that a translation of the Kur'ān which was both literal and at the same time true to the meaning was not possible. They conceded, however, that a so-called translation (*tardjama*) in the sense of a commentary (*tafsīr*) might be used, on the assumption that the text of the original was not superseded by this. Thus manuscripts of the Kur'ān might be provided with an interlinear (quasi-)translation. In more recent times this was extended to the printing of the translation (as a commentary) beside the Arabic text. This is the practice which remains usual for translations made by Muslims.

The question whether in the ritual prayer texts from the Kur'ān may be recited in a non-Arabic language and whether the production and use of translations of the Kur'ān should be permitted became once again acute when in Turkey in the nineteen-twenties the authorities proceeded to "nationalise" the ritual prayers and to publish Turkish translations of the Kur'ān not accompanied by the Arabic original. Authoritative theologians found themselves induced once again to explain and to justify the orthodox standpoint by reference to earlier authorities.

The first statements were mainly of a polemical and negative nature. In the course of time, however, there prevailed a more eirenical judgement on the matter. Thus the Ḥanafī scholar of al-Azhar, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, in a thorough investigation first published in 1932, adopted the attitude that for a Muslim without a knowledge of Arabic the recital of the Kur'ānic texts prescribed for the prayer in an appropriate translation was absolutely obligatory (*wādjib*). The important thing in the prayer is the meaning of the text, not the character of the *ʿibāra*. The true sense is, however, transmitted through a translation. Furthermore, it is not realistic to require the great mass of Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories to learn Arabic on account of the Kur'ān. It is much more desirable and indispensable (according to Maḥmūd Shaltūt, even obligatory) for them to use translations, quite apart from their use in the prayer. The thesis that the Kur'ān in translation ceases to be the Word of God (*kalām Allāh*) is according to Marāghī, valid only with reservations. The translation does not simply represent human speech (*kalām al-nās*), for although it does not contain the Word of God literally, yet IN content consists of the meaning of God's Word.

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vi, 68, ix, 8; Ibn Kutayba, *Ta'wīl mushkil al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1373, 75 f., Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf* on Sūra XLIV, 44, Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Itḳān*, Cairo 1317, i, 122, R. Brunschvig, *Kemāl Pāshāzāde et le peraan*, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, 1963, 48-64, at 54-9.

M. M. Morcano, *È lecito ai Musulmani tradurre il Corano?*, in *OM*, v (1925), 532 45, [Muhammad Shakir], *On the translation of the Koran into foreign languages* in *MW*, xvi (1926), 262-5; Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Manār*, ix, Cairo 1347, 314 53; J. Jomier, *La commandeur coranique du Mandr*, Paris 1954, 538-47, W. G. Shellabear, *Can a Moslem translate the Koran?*, in *MW*, xxxi (1937), 287-305 Muhammad al-Khaḍr Ḥusayn, *Naḳḍ ʿaḳīdat "l-tarjama"*, in *Nūr al-Islām*, ii (1350), 122 30, Maḥmūd Abū Dakīka, *Kalima fī tarjamat al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, *ibid.*, iii (1352), 29-35, Ibrāhīm al-Djibālī, *al-Kalām fī tarjamat al-Ḳurʾān*, *ibid.*, iii (1351), 37 65; Muhammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, *Baḥth fī tarjamat al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm wa-aḥkāmihā*, in *Madjallat al-Azhar*, vii (1355), 77-122, Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *Tarjamat al-Ḳurʾān wa-naṣṣ al-ʿulamāʾ fīhā*, *ibid.*, vii (1355), 123-34, A. L. Tibawi, *Is the Qurʾān translatable?*, in *MW*, lii (1962), 4-16; J. J. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 10 f. (R. PARET)

b. Translations into specific languages. The Kurʾān has been translated into most of the languages of Asia and Europe, and into some African ones. A Persian translation is said to have been made during the time of the Orthodox Caliphs by Salmān al-Fārisī, a Companion of the Prophet, and into Berber in 127/744-5; and a Sindhī one in 276/889-90; but none of these survives.

Bibliography: *Index translationum, passim*; the catalogues of the British Library, India Office Library, Cambridge University Library, and others; J. C. Lohherz, *Dissertatio historico philologico-theologica de Alcorani versionibus* . . . , Nuremberg 1704, C. F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811, V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes* . . . , ix. *Le Coran et la tradition*, Liège and Leipzig 1910, M. Hamidullah, *Quran in every language*, Hyderabad Deccan 1939 (continued in *Pensée arabe*, iii-xii, 1960-2, revised ed. *France-Islam*, ii, 1967-), S. M. Zwemer, *Translations of the Koran*, in *MW*, v (1915), 244-67, W. S. Woolworth, *A bibliography of Koran texts and translations*, in *MW*, xvii (1927) 279-89.

1. Persian and Turkish. One of the oldest surviving works in the Persian language is the translation of the large Arabic *tafsīr* of Ṭabarī (d. Baghdād 310/923), which was made for Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, Sāmānid ruler of Transoxania and Khurāsān (350-66/961-76). The precise date is not recorded, but the Persian preface explains how it came to be made. Abū Ṣāliḥ, after questioning his *ʿulamāʾ* about the legality of translation of the Holy Book into Persian, decreed that this should be done by learned men from the cities of this realm. Several MSS are mentioned by Storey, the earliest, at Rāmpūr, being dated ca. 600/1203-4. There is a Persian translation in Roman characters in the Vatican.

Possibly not much later is the Persian text, translation and commentary, copied (and perhaps composed) by one Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Fatḥ in 628/1231, which is preserved at Cambridge and described by E. G. Browne.

Storey lists 48 dated translations and commentaries, and in an appendix, 74 titled or quasi-titled commentaries as well as a selection of 8 miscellaneous unidentified commentaries and specimens of the numerous anonymous translations to be found in Persian Indian and other MS. collections, and some lithographs.

The Bregel Borshčevsky Russian translation of Storey (*Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972) records earlier MSS of the Ṭabarī translation (Rūsa 56a/1166-7 and end of 6th/12th century), as well as some 250 other translations and commentaries.

The Persian translation of Ṭabarī's commentary was the basis for the first Turkish version, which Togan regards as its contemporary, but which Inan places in the first half of the 5th/11th century.

There are said to be over 70 translations into Turkish made from at least the 4th/12th century onwards, existing in many hundreds of MSS in public and private collections, and these have frequently been printed. These are in various forms of the Turkic languages, Eastern and Western, and in the Uyghur and Arabic scripts and in Roman characters, with at least four transliterations into Modern Turkish of the Arabic text.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne *Description of an old Persian commentary on the Kurʾān*, in *JRAS* (1894), 427-524, A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian translation of the Koran in Latin letters*, in *Acta Or Hung* xiii (1961), 261-76, Zeki Velidi Togan, *The earliest translation of the Quran into Turkish*, in *Islam Tetkikleri Enst. Dergisi*, iv (1964), 1-23; Abdülkadir Inan, *Kurʾān i Karīm'in turkce terceümeleri üzerinde bir inceleme*, Ankara 1962, J. K. Birge, *Turkish translations of the Koran*, in *MW*, xxvii (1938), 394-3; J. Eckmann, *Eastern Turkic translations of the Koran*, in *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, 1971, 149 59; idem, *Middle Turkic glosses of the Eylands interlinear Koran translation*, Budapest 1976, Yasaroğlu, in M. Hamidullah, *Kurʾān-ı Kerīm tarihi ve türkçe terceümeler bibliyografyası*, Istanbul 1965.

2. Indo-Pakistani languages. Of the many Urdu versions, the earliest one said to have been made by Shāh 'Abd al-Ḳādir (q.v.) and Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn, each of them an uncle of the celebrated preacher and scholar Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Shahīd [see ISMĀʿĪL SHAHĪD]. The British Museum Hindustani catalogue lists innumerable anonymous, including versions made by Christians and printed in Roman characters. Details may also be found in the bibliographies of the Anjuman-i tarakkī-yi Urdū Pākistān (i, Karachi 1962) and of 'Abd al-Sattār Chaudharī (1974).

In the other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, there are versions in Assamese, Bengali (innumerable, a 1908 version by Rev. Wm. Goldsack of 1908 is illustrated in *MW*, v (1915), 254-5), Gujarati, Hindī, Kashmirī, Marāthī, Oriya, Panjabi (often combined with a Persian version and the Arabic text), Pashto, Sanskrit (Chauvin, x), Sindhī (surveyed by A. M. Schimmel in *Orients*, xvi (1963), 224-43), Sinhalese; and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu.

3. South East Asian. There are many translations into Malay and Indonesian mentioned in the catalogues and bibliographies, and into other Indonesian languages (Sundanese, Javanese, Macassarese and Buginese). A Burmese version with the Arabic text, by one Ḥādjdjī Nūr al-Dīn known as Ḥādjdjī Lā, published in 1938, may be found in the British Library (*BM Arab. cat.*, and suppl.), while Tinker mentions that a project to translate the Kurʾān into

that language was initiated by U Nu while Prime Minister in 1955. Two translations into Thai (one with Arabic text) of 1968 and 1972 are in the Wason Library at Cornell University.

Bibliography: *Catalogus van de Bibl. v. het Kon. Inst v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk* and suppls., Ockeloen, *Catalogus van boeken en tydschriften uit. gegeven in Ned. Oost Indië*, 1870 (-1953); H Tinker, art. BURMA.

4. Far Eastern (Chinese and Japanese). Several 19th and 20th century works contain selections in Chinese, sometimes with commentary A MS believed to date from about 1800 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, gives "pieces from the Koran and prayers transcribed from the Arabic original in Chinese sounds". Translation into Chinese was recommended by Sakuma, a Japanese businessman and convert to Islam who, in 1925, founded the progressive but short lived newspaper *Mu hsing* Another source says that in that same year a complete translation was under consideration by the International Muslim Association. The British Museum has a *Kuo-yü ku-lan ching*, with commentary translated from English versions by Shih Tzu-chou and others (Taipei 1938).

Japanese versions by Toshihiko Izutsu and Tanaka Shiro were published in several editions in the nineteen fifties, sixties and seventies.

Bibliography: *Un commentaire chinois du Coran*, in *RMM*, iv (1908), 540-7; I. Mason, *Notes on Chinese Mohammadan literature*, in *J North China Branch RAS*, lvi (1925), 172 215; R A Syrdal, *Christ in the Chinese Koran*, in *MW*, xxvii (1937), 72-83.

5 Non-Islamic Near Eastern Languages. Three manuscripts of Hebrew translations exist (in Oxford, Cambridge and the Library of Congress), the first two made from the Italian of Arrivabene, the third from the Dutch of Glazemaker All of these predate the translation of Hermann (Hayyim) Enslendorf, Leipzig 1857, made direct from the Arabic. Two further translations have since appeared, by Joseph Joel Rivlin (Tel Aviv 1936-41, 1963[2]) and by Aharon Ben Shemesh (Ramath Gan 1971).

Quotations from the Kur'ān, in Syriac, appear in a polemical work against Jews, Nestorians and Muslims by the West Syrian writer Harsalībī (d. 1171), which exists in a manuscript now in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester and in another in the Harvard University Semitic Museum It is doubtful if a complete Syriac translation ever existed

In the Bhopal State Library is to be found a Kur'ān in classical Armenian translated from the Latin by Stephanos of Ilov, a monk of Echmiadzin. This MS., in a "simply perfect calligraphy", lacks title page and date but is thought to be of the first half of the 17th century. A printed translation, with a life of Muhammad, by Laron Larinc[i], made from the French versions of Savary and Kasimirski, was published in Istanbul (pt. 3 in 1913).

A Georgian version (Tiflis 1906) is in the Wardrop Collection in the Bodleian Library.

Bibliography. M. M. Weinstein, *A Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript*, in *Studies in bibliography and booklore* (Cincinnati), x (1972-4), 29-43; A Mingana, *An ancient Syriac translation of the Kur'ān*, in *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, ix (1925), 188-235, and repr.; J. Rendel Harris, *The new text of the Kur'ān, and*, x (1926), 219-22, Meerch J Seth, *A manuscript Koran in Classical Armenian*, in *JASB*, N S. xix (1919), 251-4.

6. African languages There are three translations of the Kur'ān into Swahili: Christian, Ahmadī and Sunnī Shāfi'ī. The earliest, made by Godfrey Dale, a missionary with the Universities Mission for Central Africa, was published by the S.P.C.K. in London in 1923. It contains over *two million* (explanatory comments or notes) by Dale or his colleague, G. W. Broomfield.

The Ahmadī version (Nairobi 1953, 1972[2]) was made by Shaykh Mubārak Ahmadī, chief missionary of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission in East Africa, while the Sunnī Shāfi'ī version, by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Sālih al-Farsī was published in fascicules between 1956 and 1962 at Zanzibar, to a one-volume edition in Bangalore (1949), and by the Islamic Foundation at Nairobi in 1956

Other African-language versions exist in Yoruba (Rev M S Cole, Lagos 1924), Ganda (Uganda Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1965) and Amharic (Artistic Press, Addis Ababa, 1961) Possible versions in Berber are discussed by Henri Basset, see *Bibl.*

Bibliography. H Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 63 4; G. Dale, *A Swahili translation of the Koran*, in *MW*, xiv (1924), 3-9, V. Monteil, *Un Coran ahmadi en Swahili*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxix, B (1967), 479 95; J. D. Holway, *The Qur'ān in Swahili, three translations*, in *MW*, lxi (1971), 202-10.

7. European languages. The Latin paraphrase made by Robert of Ketton at the behest of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, and completed in 1143, exists in the autograph of the translator in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris Robert is said to have been "always liable to heighten or exaggerate a harmless text to give it a nasty or licentious sting, or to prefer an improbable but unpleasant interpretation of the meaning to a likely but normal and decent one" (N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, 110 Index, s.v. Ketton) The work of Robert formed the basis for several mediaeval versions, but was apparently unknown to another early translator, Marc of Toledo. It was recopied in the 17th century by Dominicus Germanus, whose work exists in Montpellier, the Escurial and elsewhere, and was published in the Cluniac corpus, together with various other works of Christian propaganda, by Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann) in three editions at Basel in 1543, and one at Zürich in 1550 containing a preface by Martin Luther

The first translation in a modern European language was the Italian version of Andrea Arrivabene published in 1547 Though its author claims that it is made directly from the Arabic, it is clearly a translation or paraphrase of Robert of Ketton's text as published by Bibliander Arrivabene's version was used for the first German translation made by Solomon Schweigger, preacher at the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg, which in turn formed the basis of the first Dutch translation, made anonymously and issued in 1641.

The first French version by André du Ryer, "Sieur de la Garde Malezais", came out in a great many editions between 1647 and 1775. All editions contain a "summary of the religion of the Turks" and other documents. This gave rise to the first Koran in English by Alexander Ross, and also fathered versions in Dutch (by Glazemaker), German (Lange) and Russian (Postnikov and Veryovkin).

The second Latin version was made directly from the Arabic text by Ludovico Marracci (or Marracci), published first in 1698 and secondly, with additions and annotations, by Reinaccius in 1721. It was translated into German by Nerreter.

The 18th century brought translations made directly from an Arabic original by Sale into English (first published in 1734), Savary (French, 1751) and Boysen (German, 1773). Sale's version was in vogue in the English speaking world for nearly two centuries his renowned preliminary discourse, based, according to Nallino, on Marracci and Edward Pococke senior, was translated into several European languages. It was even translated into Arabic by Protestant missionaries in Egypt

Savary's version was, according to Chauvin, evidently made from the Latin of Marracci: it bears the distinction of having been published in Mecca in A.H. 1165 (or so the title-page of one edition states!). Kasimirski whose translation has also had a long run, and indeed like that of Savary, is still being republished in our own time, was requested by Panthier to revise Savary He preferred, however, to make a new translation directly from the Arabic while consulting the works of Marracci and Sale.

Throughout the 19th century, the translations were normally made without remove from the Arabic. In the 20th century, the first English versions made by Muslims appear, and the Ahmadiyya movement began to issue the Kur'ān text with translations into European and even African languages. In recent times translations have been made by many of the most prominent Arabists and Islamic scholars into all the main languages of Europe, undeterred by the dictum of A. Fischer that only second or third-grade scholars dared to undertake this task

Conspectus of European Language Versions.

Afrikaans Anon. 1950 M. A. Baker, 1961

Bulgarian. Lica, 1902-5 Tomev and Skulov, *ca.* 1930 (*MW*, xxiii [1933], 289-90)

Czech Vesely, 1913-25 Nykl, 1934 Hrbek, 1972 (A. Schimmel, *Die neue tschechische Koranübersetzung*, in *WO* vii [1973-4], 154-62)

Danish Madsen, 1967 Selections in chronological order, Buhl, 1921, 1954[2].

Dutch. Anon., 1641 Glazemaker, 1658, 1696, 1698, 1707, 1721, 1734- Tollens, 1859 Keyzer, 1860, 1879 Bashir al-Dīn Aḥmad (Aḥmadiyya), 1953 Kramers, 1956, 1965, 1969.

English. Versions by Christians Ross, 1649, 1688, 1719, 1806. Sale, 1734-1892, American versions 1833-1923. Rodwell, 1861, 1876, 1909 (often reprinted to 1963). Palmer, 1880 1900 (often reprinted to 1964). Bell, 1937-9 Arberry, 1955 (repr. 1963, 1964, 1969, 1971) Many versions by orthodox Muslims including Pickthall, 1930 etc., bilingual eds. 1938, 1976 A. Yusuf Ali, 1934, etc ; Dawood, 1956 etc. and by the Aḥmadiyya.

Finnish Ahsen Böre, 1941 Aro, 1957

French. Du Ryer, many editions, 1647-1775 Savary, 1751-1960. Kasimirski 1840-1970. Fatma-Zada, 1861. Mauriet, 1929. Laïmèche, 1931. Peale and Tidjani, 1936. Blachère, 1949-50, 1957, 1966 Rajabalee (Mauritius) 1949-. Mercier, 1956. Ghedira, 1957. Hamidullah, 1959, 1966. Masson, 1967. Si Boubakeur Hamza, 1972

German Schweiger, 1616, 1623, 1659. Lange, 1688. Nerreter 1703. Arnold, 1746 Megerlin, 1772. Bovsen, 1773, 1775 Wahl, 1828 Ullmann, 1840-1959 (10 editions) Grigull, 1901, n.d Henning 1902, 1960, 1968 Goldschmidt, 1916. Aubier, 1957 Sadr-ud-Din, 1939. Ahmadiyya versions, 1954, 1959 Feret, 1966, 1977, paperback ed 1979, second ed. 1980

Greek. Pentaks, 1878, 1886, etc. Zographou-Meranitou, 1959

Hungarian. Sedmajer, 1851 (*MW* [1927]). Szekolay, 1854.

Italian Arrivabene, 1547, 1548, 1912. Calza, 1847 Anon., 1882, 1912, 1913. Fracassi, 1914. Bonelli, 1929, 1940 (repr. 1948, 1956) Bausani, 1955, 1961, Moreno, 1967, 1969. Violante, n.d.

Latin Robert of Ketton, 1543, 1550. Marracci, 1698, 1721.

Polish. Sobolewski, ? 1828 Buczacki, 1858,

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(J. D. PEARSON)

AL KŪRĀNĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ AL-ḤASAN SHAHRĀNĪ, AL-MADANĪ (1023-1101/1615-90), scholar and mystic, born in Shahrazūr in the mountains of Kurdistān on the frontiers of Persia. He studied first in Turkey, then in Persia, 'Irāk, Syria and Egypt before settling in Medina. In one of his works, *Maslak al-abrār ilā ḥadīth al-nabī al-mukhtār* (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Taṣawwuf, 55-6), he refers to a period of 5 months at the Azhar in 1057/1650, where he studied with Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Shabrāmallisī, *Imām* of the Azhar until 1087/1677, the whole *Taysīr fī 'l-jurʾāt al-sabʿ*

attributed to al Kuṭubī, and with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shihābu 'd-Dīn al-Yamanī the *Tayyibat al nashr fī ʿilmi 'l-ʿashr* of al-Djazarī up to Sūra *IV*, 41, *fa-kayfa idhā dja'nā min kulli ummatin bi shahīdin*, after which he travelled in Baghdād where he spent a year and a half. He was a member of several *turuḳ*, the most important among them being the Naḳshbandiyya. In Medina, he was a student of al Kushāshī and succeeded him as head of his *tarīḳa* on the former's death in 1071/1661.

He was a prolific author in various of the Islamic disciplines, and wrote on *fiḳh*, *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. He was one of the last great exponents of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, and is of particular interest because of his use of the techniques of scholastic theology in his *Iḥḥāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-tuḥfa al-mursala ilā 'l-nabī* (edition in preparation) in order to explain and defend the monistic tradition of Ibn ʿArabī. Yet despite his commitment to the Ibn ʿArabī tradition, he was by nature a conciliator, arguing that it was preferable to reconcile two opposing points of view than to choose one of them or the other. This did not save him from condemnation by the followers of al-Sanūsī in Fās for his Ḳadariyya teachings on the question of *kasb*, and for Muʿtazilī influence in his views on the material character of non-being as well as for his views on the faith of Pharaoh, and his assertion of the historicity al and explanation of the so-called "Satanic verses" allegedly interpolated into Ḳurʾān, LIII, 21.

Other Moroccans, however, thought highly of him and of his humility and learning. He was esteemed by foreign students in the Ḥiḏjāz and was well-known among Indian scholars. He had an important influence on the development of Islam in the region now known as Indonesia because of his special relationship with the Achehnese ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel [*q.v.*] and with succeeding generations of Javan students referred to in the *Faiḍ'l-ʿal ʿalā'l-ʿabdi 'l-ḍaʿīf al safar* of Muṣṭafā al-Ḥamwī (Ms. Dār al Kutub, *Taṣawwuf* 1093, *fl.* 166 *v*). His association with ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was particularly close. They were friends in Medina, they corresponded across the Indian Ocean for thirty years after ʿAbd al-Raʾūf returned in Achen in 1073/1661, and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf made renderings of some of his works in Malay.

The number of works attributed to him ranges from forty-two (Brockelmann, s.v.) to over a hundred, only two of which have been published, *sc.* *al Lumʿa al sanāya* and *al-Awāmil li-ṭālib al-kamāl* (see *Bibl.*). The former is a brief treatise on the "Satanic verses", for which some of the Moroccans condemned him; the latter is a most interesting and important work, setting out in detail his intellectual credentials as a teacher.

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KURĀNĪ, Gurānī, Shams al Dīn (see Gurānī).

KURAYBIYYA or, more commonly, **Karībiyya** is the name of a subsect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] derived from its otherwise unknown leader Abū, more rarely Ibn Karīb (or Kurayb, Kurnab) al-Ḍarīr.

The heresiographical sources are agreed that Abū Karīb denied the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the *Imām* and *Mahdī* of the Kaysāniyya. It is thus evident that he was active immediately after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700 and probably played a major rôle in promoting Messianic ideas about him among the Kaysāniyya. The sources disagree, however, in regard to other points of his teaching. The Muʿtazilī and Sunnī sources attribute to him the belief that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was alive hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā near Medina, guarded by a lion on his right and a leopard on his left and provided with food in the morning and the evening, until the time of his reappearance. Some of Abū Karīb's followers held that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was punished by God with confinement in the Djabal Raḍwā because of his voluntary submission to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. In the account of these sources, Abū Karīb appears as the founder of what became the mainstream of the Kaysāniyya expecting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and whose views were later expressed in the poetry of Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] and al Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*].

According to the Shīʿī sources, on the other hand, Abū Karīb and his followers asserted that the place where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was concealed could not be known and they were distinct from those who believed that he was hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. They maintained that ʿAlī had named him the *Mahdī*. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī adds to this that Abū Karīb considered Ibn al Ḥanafiyya the immediate successor of ʿAlī in the imāmate and opposed those who upheld the imāmate of al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn before him. This view was in conflict with the position of the majority of the Kaysāniyya, expressed in verses by Kuthayyir, that the three sons of ʿAlī were consecutively *Imāms* and *al Mahdīs*, representing the Muʿtazilī account, expressly states that Abū Karīb (Ibn Karnab) considered al-Ḥasan as the *Imām* after ʿAlī. According to al-Nawbakhtī, the extremist Shīʿī Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī of Medina was originally a follower of Abū (Ibn) Karīb, and among Ḥamza's early supporters in Kūfa were Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*] and Ṣāliḥ al-Nahdī. The Karībiyya and all its extremist offshoots claimed that they would return to life at the time of the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to the account of the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al Balkhī, on the other hand, the doctrine of return (*radjʿa*) was first taught by Hayyān al-Sarrādj who, in contrast to Abū Karīb, believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and would return to life. While there is no external evidence supporting either of the two groups of sources, the Shīʿī sources, providing more specific details, appear to be generally better informed.

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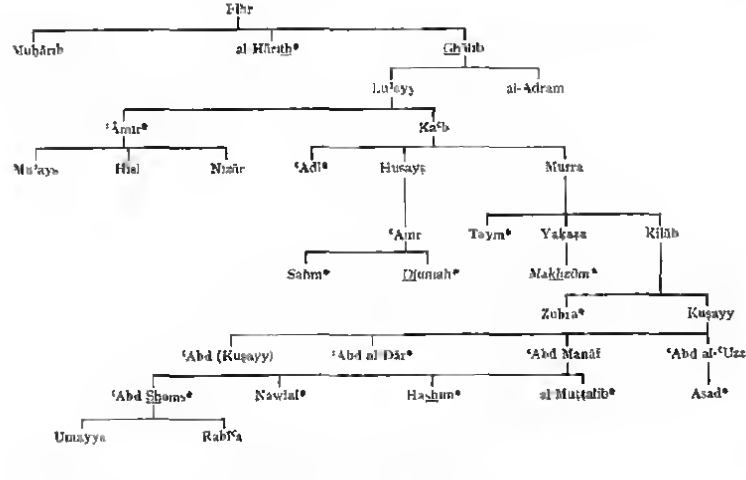
ḲURAYSH, the tribe inhabiting Mecca in the time of Muḥammad and to which he belonged, the name, which may be a nickname, is mostly (e g Ibn Hishām, 61) said to come from *takarrush*, "a coming together, association"; but it is also possible (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1104) that it is the diminutive of *ḳirsh*, "shark", and it could then be a totemic name like Kalb, etc (A man called Ḳurayth, other than Fihr, is mentioned in *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 12.7 9.) The tribe is taken to consist of the descendants of Fihr, and he himself is sometimes spoken of as Ḳuraysh; but the name is mostly used only of the tribe, which is reckoned among the "northern Arabs" (cf. ʿADNĀN and AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vi, p 544b). The ancestry of Fihr is given as b. Mālik b. al Naḍr b. Kināna b Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The following table shows the main subdivisions of Ḳuraysh (for a fuller version, cf Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 7), an asterisk indicates those commonly spoken of as "clans" in Muhammad's time.



Fihr is said to have been the leader of men of Kināna, Khuzayma and other tribes in fighting to defend the Kaʿba against an attack by Yamanī tribes, but the sanctuary and various privileges connected with it remained in the hands of the tribe of Khuzāʿa. There was probably little, if any, permanent settlement at Mecca at this period. The descendants of Fihr lived in scattered groups among their relatives of Kināna A change came about through Kusayy [q v], in the sixth generation from Fihr He collected together the scattered groups of his kinsmen of Kuraysh (and this may be the occasion of their receiving the name), and, with help from certain men of Kināna and Ḳuḍāʿa (normally resident in Syria), he wrested the possession of the sanctuary from Khuzāʿa and became virtual ruler of Mecca. He is also said to have assigned quarters of Mecca to the various groups of Kuraysh, those in the area round the Kaʿba were known as the Ḳuraysh of the Biṭāḥ, and included all the descendants of Kaʿb b Luʾayy, and perhaps some others, while those on the outskirts were the Kuraysh of al Ẓawāhir In so far as this assignment of quarters implied permanent settlement, it must have been made possible by the development of trade. Certainly by 600 A D, the leading men of Kuraysh were prosperous merchants who had obtained something like a monopoly of the trade between the Indian Ocean and East Africa on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other They organised caravans which went to the Yaman in winter and to Gaza and Damascus in summer, and they were involved in mining and other activities along these routes. Victory in the war of the Fidjār [q v] against Hawāzin and Thakīf brought the routes of the Nadjd under Kuraysh In particular, they gained control of the trade of the town of al-Ṭāʾif, which for a time had been a rival. Since al-Ṭāʾif [q v] was much higher and cooler than Mecca, many Ḳuraysh acquired estates there. They had also stations in other parts of Arabia. The Kuraysh

became renowned for their *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] "steadiness" or "absence of hotheadedness", and in practice this meant that they placed business interests first and maintained a measure of unity despite their rivalries.

On the death of Quṣayy (probably in the first half of the 6th century A.D.), his powers and rights passed to ʿAbd al-Dār, but after a time he was challenged by ʿAbd Manāf, and this led to a division of Quraysh into two rival groups. ʿAbd al-Dār was supported by Makhzūm, Sahm, Ḏjumaḥ and ʿAdī, and these were known as the Aḥlāf or Confederates. The opposing party, known as the Muṭayyabūn, the Perfumed, *consisted of ʿAbd Manāf, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and al-Ḥārith b. Fihr.* It is impossible to know how long these groups remained effective. There is a reference to Muṭayyabūn in a letter from Muḥammad to some men of Khuzāʿa written in 8 A.H. (al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 750). Long before this, however, about 605 A.D (*Muḥammad*, 46), the Muṭayyabūn had been replaced by a new confederacy, the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl (*q.v.*) (exact meaning uncertain), which consisted of Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and perhaps al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. The essential change here is that ʿAbd Manāf has split into four parts, of whom two, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, have remained with their former allies, while the other two, ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, have abandoned them. This may mean that ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal had become strong through commercial success. It is clear that ʿAbd Shams, though not fully identified with the Aḥlāf, had developed close business relations with them. In all the stories of the pre-Islamic period there is admittedly a legendary element, but the main outlines of events appear to be roughly correct, even if most of the dating is uncertain.

A man did not cease to belong to his clan when he became a Muslim, and in many of the events of Muḥammad's career, and of the period up to 132/750, the influence of old rivalries or alliances can be seen. As late as the reign of Muʿāwiya I, an appeal against injustice was made by al-Ḥasayn b. ʿAlī (of Hāshim) to the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, and was given a whole-hearted response from men of Taym, Zuhra and Asad (Ibn Hishām, 861). The leaders of the revolt defeated at the Battle of the Camel in 656 were from Taym and Asad. Of course, there were changes in the relative power and wealth of the clans. The clan of ʿAbd Shams rose to pre-eminence through the Umayyad dynasty, since Umayya was a son of ʿAbd Shams, and the early Shīʿīs and then the ʿAbbāsids represented their old rivals, Hāshim. Under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads, men of Quraysh played a very important role in the organisation and administration of the empire, and without their skills in these fields the empire would probably not have endured.

On the death of Muḥammad, the Anṣār wanted one of them to be head of the community of Muslims, but they were persuaded by ʿUmar to accept Abū Bakr as *khalīfa*, on the grounds that only a Ḳurashī could hold together the federation. There are indications that the Anṣār continued to feel strongly about this point for some decades (cf. Watt in *MW*, xlii (1952), 161, 164). A *ḥadīth* came to be generally accepted, however, that "the *imāms* are from Quraysh" (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 129, 183; iv, 421; cf. T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 47). The Qurʾānic verse IX, 100/101 was also quoted in support. When the Sunnī theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally insisted that the caliph or *imām* should be from Quraysh (e.g. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1952, i, 26, 34; ii, 21; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 5, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 350-9; Eng. tr., i, 396-403). A few scholars, however (e.g. Dirār b. ʿAmr), held otherwise, and most of the Khawārij considered that a pious and upright man of any origin could be *imām* (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 461 f.; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 275-7, etc.). This matter caused a little difficulty in more recent times when the caliphate was claimed by Mughal emperors and Ottoman sultans, but most *ʿulamāʾ* found a way of circumventing the difficulty (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 162, 173).

The geographer al-Ḥamdānī (d. 334/945) mentions small groups of Quraysh in various parts of Arabia, possibly remnants of trading stations (ed. D. H. Müller, 119, 122, 165, 294, 258), while al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) reports a group of Quraysh near Sayda[1] in the Lebanon (*Buldān*, Leiden 1892, 327). At the present day there are many Quraysh living as Bedouin in the neighbourhood of Mecca, while in Mecca itself the key of the Kaʿba is held by a clan of Quraysh called Shayba.

The nisba is Ḳurashī, but this was not much used in the heartlands of the caliphate in the early centuries, if any *nisba* was used it was mostly that from a clan. After a time, some men seem to have prided themselves in descent from Quraysh. The following are some examples: one in ʿIrāḳ, 7/13th century, six in Egypt and Syria, 8/14th, 9/15th, 11/17th, 12/18th centuries, two in North Africa, 7/13th and 9/15th centuries (*GAL*, ii, 112, 122, 124, 449, *GAL S*, i, 898 foot, 537, No. 20, 609, ii, 38, Ibn Khaldūn, Eng tr., iii, 128n.). In Pakistan, etc., it is common at the present time in the form Ḳoreshi.

Bibliography: (for the earlier period) Ibn Hishām, *ed.*-70, 73 f., 79-87, etc., Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad 1942, idem, *K. al Munam maʿ fī akhbār Ḳuraysh*, Hyderabad 1964; al Azraḳī, *K. Akhbār Makka*, in F. Wustenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858; al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iii, 91-122, etc., al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 4-16, etc.; H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḲURAYSH v. **BADRĀN** [see ʿUQAYL, Banū —]

ḲURAYYĀT al-MILḤ, a group of villages in the extreme northwest of Saʿūdī Arabia, in the northern section of the NW-SE depression of Wādī al Sirḥān (approx. long. 37° 40' E and lat. 31° 05' N.). The largest settlements, (though none are larger than 2,000 inhabitants) are Ithra, al Ḳarkar, Manwā, Ghaṭṭī, Ḳāf, and an-Nabk, which is the administrative centre and residence of the local *Amīr*, who now reports to Mecca, but at the time of Euting's visit (1307/1883) reported to the *Amīr* of Ḥāʾil. Until the consolidation of the Nadjd by Ibn Saʿūd's power, the villages were frequently under dispute between the Shammar and Ruwāla Bedouins, to whose leaders the inhabitants of Ḳuraiyyāt al-Milḥ had to pay tribute. Aside from some meagre oasis agriculture (chiefly dates, alfalfa, and a little grain in good years), the principal income was derived from the caravan trade, particularly during the pilgrimage season, but most importantly from the area's extensive salt pans, which have been intensively mined for several centuries; hence its collective name of "Salt Villages". The salt was traded southwestwards to al-Ḥidjāz, Ḥabīka, and Ḥāʾil, and northwards to Jordan and Syria. By the mid 20th century the drilling of deep water wells and the spread of industrialisation had allowed a greater diversification of agriculture and employment for

cash wages, so that the villages were much less dependent on trade and salt production.

Reputedly Nabatsean, but certainly pre-Islamic ruins, pottery, and inscriptions attest to the antiquity of settled life in this area.

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KURAYẒA, Banū, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Yaṯrib (Medina), with lands towards the south-east of the oasis. As in the case of the other Jewish groups, it is not known whether they were descended from refugees of Hebrew stock or from Arabs who had adopted Judaism. They adhered firmly to the Jewish religion, but at the same time had adopted many Arab practices and had intermarried with Arabs. According to a genealogy given by al-Samhūdī, Kurayẓa, Hadl and ʿAmr were sons of al-Khazrad̲j b. al-Ṣarīḥ, who was descended from Aaron (though only eight intermediate names are given). The related tribe of al Naḍīr was said to be al-Naḍīr b. al Nabhām b. al-Khazrad̲j b. al-Ṣarīḥ. Kurayẓa and al-Naḍīr, with the related groups, after their settlement in Yaṯrib developed agriculture (palms and cereals) and dominated politically the previous Arab inhabitants. The Jews lost their dominant position, however, after the coming of al Aws and al Khazrad̲j, though they appear to have retained a measure of independence. Both Kurayẓa and al Naḍīr supported al Aws at the battle of Buʿāṯ (*q.v.*) At the time of the Hid̲jra, the two most important men of Kurayẓa appear to have been al Zabīr b. Bāṭā b. Wahb and Kaʿb b. Asad, each of these had an *uṭum* as fort. These and fifteen others are named as hostile to Muḥammad (Ibn Hishām, 353). Kurayẓa are said to have had two assemblies (*maǧlisān*), those of Banū Kaʿb b. Ḥurayẓa and Banū ʿAmr b. Kurayẓa (*ibid*, 691 *inot*, 711).

It is reported that at the Hid̲jra, Kaʿb b. Asad, acting on behalf of Kurayẓa, made an agreement (*ʿahd*) with Muḥammad, and that later during the siege of Medina (the Khandak) he was persuaded by Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab of al Naḍīr to break it, and the actual document was torn up by Ḥuyayy (Ibn Hishām, 352, 674; al Wākidī, 456). This report is open to grave doubt, however. Ibn Isḥāḳ does not name his sources. Al-Wākidī has two, one is a grandson of Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima, a clan hostile to the Jews, and the other is Muḥammad b. Kaʿb (d. 117-20/735-8), the son of a boy of Kurayẓa, who was sold as a slave when they surrendered and later became a Muslim. Both these sources may be suspected of bias against Kurayẓa; and it is therefore probable that there was no special agreement between Muḥammad and Kurayẓa. It is virtually certain, however, that Muḥammad had a general agreement with the Jews that they were not to support an enemy against him (al Wākidī, 176); and something like this was probably implicit in his alliance with the Arab clans of Medina, since the Jewish clans were allied to one or other of the Arab clans. The Constitution of Medina as given by Ibn Hishām (341 4) does not mention Kurayẓa or al Naḍīr or Kaynuḳāʿ by name, but its present form almost certainly dates from after the execution of the men of Kurayẓa, and these Jewish groups were probably mentioned in an earlier version.

The question of an agreement affects the moral judgement on Muḥammad's treatment of Kurayẓa. During the siege of Medina (Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 5/April 627), Muḥammad became anxious about their conduct and sent some of the leading Muslims to talk to them, the result was disquieting. Though Kurayẓa does not appear to have committed any overt hostile act, they had probably been involved in negotiations with the enemy. On this ground, as soon as the besiegers withdrew, Muḥammad attacked Kurayẓa and besieged them in their forts (*ḥiṣn*) for twenty-five nights. After negotiations they agreed to surrender unconditionally. Saʿd b. Muʿādh, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-Ashhal, with whom they had an alliance, was brought to give judgement on them. He decreed that all the men (who numbered between 600 and 900) were to be put to death and all the women and children sold as slaves. This decree was carried out (recently, W. N. Arafat in *JRAS* [1976], 100-7, has maintained that by no means all the adult males were killed, but his argument is not entirely convincing). Three young men of the clan of Hadl, who had been with Kurayẓa in the stronghold, slipped out before the surrender and professed Islam. One or two other also escaped. As part of his share of the booty, Muḥammad received one of the women, Rayḥāna, and married her as a concubine, though the n said to have become a Muslim. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al Kurazī (mentioned above) gained distinction as a scholar.

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KURBA [see ḳurʿāna]

KURBĀN, sacrifice, sacrificial victim. The word goes back to the Hebrew *ḳorbān*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Mingana, *Syriac influences on the style of the Kurʾān*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xi (1927), 85, S Fränkel, *De vocabulis in ... corano peregrinis*, 20) The language of the Kurʾān, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in *-ān* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This is true of *ḳurbān*, which occurs three times in the Kurʾān. In sūras III, 179 and V, 32 it obviously means sacrifice. In sūra XLVI, 27, however, we read "Did those help them, whom they had taken for *ḳurbān* as gods to the exclusion of Allāh!" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *ḳ-r-b* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" [see shafīʿ].

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *ḥadīth*. The *Lisān* mentions two traditions which are striking enough. "The characteristic of the community (i.e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *ḳurbān* is their blood", i.e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *ṣalāt* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual

to the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu ʾl-Ḥiḏḏa and the whole celebration on this and the following *tashrīḳ* days is called *ʿId al Kurbān* [cf. ʿID AL-ADHA] in Turkish-speaking countries *Kurbān-bayramı* (cf. BAYRAM).

In Christian-Arabic the word means the eucharist; cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (= CSCO, 147), Louvain 1954. the consecrated elements, especially the host, *ʿId al-Kurbān* = feast of Corpus Christi.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word *ḳurbān* plur. *ḳarābīn*, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king; the word probably comes directly from *ḳ-r-b* "to be near"

Bibliography Given in the article

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KURBUḴA, properly KOR-BUGHA (T. "stout-hearted bull, stallion") ABŪ SAʿĪD KIWĀM AL-DAWLA, Turkish commander of the Saldjūḳ period and lord of al Mawṣil.

In the war waged by Tutush b Alp Arslan, Berk yaruḳ's uncle [q.v.], against the two rebellious governors Aḳ Sonḳor and Büzān, which ended with the capture and execution of these two, the *amīr* Kurbuḳa, who had been sent to their help by Berk yaruḳ, was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Ṣafar 488/February 1095 (cf. BARKYARUḲ), Kurbuḳa was released by his son Ridwān, and with his brother Altuntāsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Ḥarrān. Muḥammad b Muslim b Kuraysh lord of Naṣībin then applied to him for help against his brother ʿAlī, who had been appointed governor of al-Mawṣil by Tutush; Kurbuḳa made an alliance with Muḥammad, but had him murdered after he had caused Naṣībin and set out against al-Mawṣil, which ʿAlī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 489/Oct.-Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawṣil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altuntash and occupied al Raḥba. In 491/1098 Berk yaruḳ sent him with a large army to retake Anṭākiya [q.v.], which had just been conquered by the Christians. Edessa, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuḳa on the way, but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Anṭākiya. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers, Kurbuḳa's own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him to the battle between Berk-yaruḳ and his brother Muḥammad in Radjab 492/May-June 1100, which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuḳa commanded Berk-yaruḳ's left wing. In the following year he was sent to Āḏarbāydjān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country, but when he was nearing the town of Khōy or Khoi [q.v.], he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 495/Aug. Sept. 1102, after appointing Sonḳordja his successor.

Bibliography, Ibn al-Athīr, x, index; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii, 290, 692, 308, 316, 322, 336; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 140, 151, 152, 154, 164-9. M. F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūḳī empire*, Calcutta 1938; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 109-10.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

KURČI (from the Mongolian *korči*, "an archer", from *kor*, "quiver"; *Taḏkirat al muluk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, 32, n. 4), a military term with a variety of different meanings, "he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman" (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turc. or.*, 425; "armourer, sword-cutler, troop of cavalry, captain of the watch, leader of a patrol, commandant of a fort, gendarmerie in charge of a city's security" (Sulaymān Bulḳārī, *Lughat i Čaghatāy ve Türkī ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1880-1, 233), "sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector" (Vambery, *Čaghataische Sprachstudien*, 316).

In Ṣafawid usage, *kurčī* denoted a member of the Turcoman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Ṣafawid military power, and in this sense was therefore synonymous with *ḳizil-bāsh* [q.v.]. The *kurčis* were clearly distinguished from non-*ḳizil-bāsh* units, which were termed *lashkar i umarāʾ*; *sipāhiyān*; and *kurčis* with special functions were denoted by special titles (see index to Minorsky, *op. cit.*, under *gurčī*; for additional titles, see index to Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh i ʿĀlam-ārā yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, Tehran 1335/1956, 1219 ff.); some of these titles [e.g. *kurčī yi tarkash*, "*kurčī* of the quiver", *kurčī yi shamshīr*, "*kurčī* of the sword", *kurčī yi tīr-u kamān*, "*kurčī* of the bow and arrow"], appear to denote ranks, but their relative importance is not certain. *Kurčis* constituted the royal bodyguard, in this capacity sometimes being specially designated *kurčiyān-i khāṣṣa yi shāhī* (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 99), or *kurčiyān-i ḥaḍra-i shāhī* (*ibid.*, i, 47).

The commander of the *kurčis* was called *kurčibāshī*. This office is first mentioned in the Ṣafawid chronicles in 911/1505 6, and seems from the first to have been distinct from the office of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* (R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ismāʿīl I* (907-30/1501-24), in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 102). At first overshadowed by the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, the *kurčibāshī* became one of the most important officers of state under Ṭahmāsp, Ismāʿīl II and Sultān Muḥammad Shāh [q.vv.], wielding great authority in both military and political affairs. It is noteworthy that for a period of forty years (ca. 955-95/1548-87), nearly all the *kurčibāshīs* were drawn from the Afshār tribe. With the accession of ʿAbbās I [q.v.], the importance of the *kurčibāshī* declined *pari passu* with that of the *kurčis* themselves, but he still "carried great weight in public affairs" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 117).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I* (930-84/1524-76), in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 79; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 427 ff., contains an excellent discussion of the various meanings of *bīr* and *bīrī*, with full textual references.

(R. M. SAVORY)

KURD ʿALĪ, MUḤAMMAD FARĪḌ, Syrian journalist, scholar and man of letters, was born in Damascus in 1876, of a father of Kurdish origin and a Čerkes mother. From an early age, he showed an interest in nature and in books, and it was reading which, combined with his innate curiosity and gifts of observation, made the greatest contribution to his intellectual development. Already bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, he learnt French from the Lazarist Fathers of Damascus, and this enable him to acquire, thanks to assiduous reading of books and periodicals a knowledge, extensive for his time, of Western civilisation and in particular, of French literature. He perfected his Arabic-Islamic education as a pupil of some distinguished masters: Ṭāhir al-

Djazāʾirī, Muḥammad Mubārak and Salīm al-Bukhārī. In 1897 he joined the staff of the first Arabic newspaper of Damascus, *al-Shām*, and at the same time collaborated in the Egyptian review *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. He also attempted to translate some French novels into Arabic. Four years later he decided to visit Paris but while passing through Cairo he was detained there by the friends whom he had made by his collaboration in *al-Muḳtaṭaf* and he thus had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrities of the age, most notably with Muḥammad ʿAbduh (*q.v.*), whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended. Obliged to leave Egypt because of an epidemic, Kurd ʿAlī returned to Damascus, but the atmosphere there seemed to him so oppressive that he soon returned to Cairo, where he stayed until 1908, during this second stay, he collaborated in editing *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Muʾayyad*, and *al-Muʾayyad*, and founded the review *al-Muḳtabas*, a periodical which was always very close to his heart, after three years of publication in Cairo, *al-Muḳtabas* was transferred in 1908 to Damascus and continued to appear for a further six years, until the time when the Ottoman authorities, irritated by Kurd ʿAlī's frankness, forbade its publication.

At the end of 1908, Kurd ʿAlī succeeded in realising the dream which he had first cherished eight years before and, passing this time through Lebanon, went to France and spent a year there, in the course of this visit, for which he had been preparing himself for a long time he observed the people of the country and their way of life, visited the principal libraries, attended, theatrical performances and took a special interest in the Académie Française. Returning to Damascus via Istanbul, he continued to edit his review and then, at the end of the year 1913, undertook a second journey to Europe, he went first to Italy, where he had the good fortune to install himself in the library of prince Leone Caetani, whose *Annali dell'Islam* had revealed to him a method of working to which the Orient was not yet accustomed, it was here that he assembled much of the documentation which he required for the composition of a definitive history of Syria, the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, a monumental work which is still the most complete study of this vast subject. In 1921-2, a third journey took him to the countries of western Europe, and it was on his return that he wrote the *Gharāʾib al-Gharb*, a *rihla* (*q.v.*), published in 1923, based on notes taken in the course of his three journeys and reflections inspired by his observations. Immediately after the Great War, he had been appointed general secretary of the Committee for Public Education and it was in this capacity that he considered the creation of an organisation responsible for purifying and enriching the Arabic language, publishing texts and encouraging the literary and intellectual activity of his country. On 8 June 1919, he obtained authorisation to transform the *Dīwān al-Maʿārif*, which had been founded a few months earlier, into an Arab Academy [see MAJMAʿ ʿILMĪ Arab countries]; he was thus able to put into effect the project of which he had been inspired, ten years previously, by his visit to the Académie Française. The career of Kurd ʿAlī was henceforward inseparable from the activity of his Academy, to which he devoted the greater part of his time and over which he presided until his death, on 2 April 1953, the only intervals in his work with the Academy were his two terms of office as Minister of Public Education and his third journey to Europe.

Kurd ʿAlī was of a witty and playful nature, a great conversationalist, he loved to joke and play with words, and his style is an accurate reflection of his personality. He left an abundant corpus which included, apart from the thousands of pages of articles published in the review in which he collaborated at the start of his career, in *al-Muḳtabas* and in the *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* (*MMIA*), editions of texts and original works of a historical or literary nature. He was largely responsible for making known the "epistles" of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, of Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.vv.*], etc. in his *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1908, 1913, 1946, and he enriched the Arab Academy Publications with the *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* of al-Bāzawī (1939), the *al-Mustaṭraf min ashʿār al-mustaṭraf* of al-Tanūkhī (1946), the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām* of al-Bayhaḳī (1946), the *Kitāb al-ʿIḳriḍa* of Ibn Ḳutayba (1947), and the *al-Bayzara* of Kushādjim (1933).

Among his original works, mention should be made of his contribution to literary history and criticism: *Umarāʾ al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, and *Kunūz al-adjdād*, Damascus 1950. Apart from the *Gharāʾib al-Gharb* of 1923 and the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damascus 1925 (6 vols.), his major work, Kurd ʿAlī collected in *al-Ḳadīm wa 'l-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1925, a large number of the articles published in *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Muʾayyad* and *al-Muḳtabas* and added an account of his travels in the Ḥidjāz and Palestine. In addition, he pleaded the cause of Arab-Islamic culture in *al-Islām wa 'l-ḥaḍāra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1934 (2 vols.), published a critical study of the morals and customs of the Orient in *Aḵlāḳunā wa-ʿādātunā*, to Cairo 1946, devoted a monograph to the oasis of Damascus, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, Cairo 1949, and finally published four volumes of memoirs, *Muḏakkirāt*, Damascus 1948-51.

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KURDS, KURDISTĀN.

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i. — General Introduction

The Kurds, an Iranian people of the Near East, live at the junction of more or less laicised Turkey, Shī'ī Iran, Arab and Sunnī ʿIrāḳ and North Syria, and Soviet Transcaucasia. The economic and strategic importance of this land, Kurdistān, is undeniable. Since the end of the First World War, the Kurdish people, like all the rest of their neighbours, have undergone considerable transformations as much in the political order as in the economic, social and cultural domain. Many works have been published, a few in every country, on these different problems. Some excellent general bibliographies exist: F. B. Rostopčin, *Bibliografiya po kurdskoy probleme*, in *Revol' Vostok*, 1933/3 4 (19 90), 232 326, 5 (22), 139 73; O. Vil'čevskiy, *Bibliograficheskiy obzor sarubežnykh kurdskikh pečatnykh izdaniy v XX stoletiy*, in *Iranskoe Yazīki*, 1, Moscow Leningrad 1945, 147-87; M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie Kurdskikh rukopisey Leningradskikh sobranij*, in *Izdat Vost. Lit*, Moscow 1961; N. A. Alekseanan, *Bibliografiya kitābā k'ōrdēya Sovetie*, Erevan 1962, in Kurdish and Russian, J. S. Musaelian, *Bibliografiya po kurdovedeniyu*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit* 1963; C. J. Edmonds, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1900-1936*, in *JRCAS*, xxiv (1957), 487 97; idem, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish 1937 1944* in *JRCAS*, xxxii (1945), 185-91, D. N. MacKenzie, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1945-1955*, in *JRCAS*, lxiv (1957), 31 7, E. R. McCarus, *Kurdish language studies*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1960), 325 35, P. Rondot, *Les Kurdes, le Kurdistan, la question kurde, Essai de bibliographie*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2, A. Bennigsen, *Les Kurdes et la Kurdologie en Union soviétique*, in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, ii (April-June 1960), 313-30, M. Mokri, *Kurdologie et enseignement de la langue kurde en U.R.S.S.*, in *L'Ethnographie*, 1963, 71-106, Th. Bois, *Bulletin raisonné d'études kurdes*, in *Machriq*, lvii (1964), 527-70, *ISK* 2 *Kurdish bibliography*, ed. Silvio van Rooy and Kees Tamboer Amsterdam 1968, i, 658 pp. (9350 nos.) cf. review by Th. Bois, in *BiOr*, 1969/3-4, 184-87, Mistefa Ehmed Nerlinan, *Kitêwanê kurdî*, Kirkūk 1960

ii — The Kurds and their Country: Kurdistān

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistān. If the ethnic term "Kurd" is of ancient usage, for it is known since the Arab conquest if one does not wish to go further back (cf. below, *Origins*), it seems that, historically, the name Kurdistān or "land of the Kurds" dates from the time of Sultan Sandjar (d. 552/1157), the last great Saldjūḳid, who created a province with its capital called Bahār, to the north-east of Hamadān. This province, situated between Ādharbāydjān and Luristān, included the regions of Hamadān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Senna, to the east of the Zagros and to the west of Shahrazūr and Khuftiyān, on the Zāb. The whole numbered 16 cantons, enumerated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 750/1349), in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 108; ed. Tehran 1957, 127). The nominal extent of Kurdistān varied however throughout the centuries. Sharaf al-Dīn, in his *Sharaf nāma* (1596), does not hesitate to include the Lurs in Kurdistān, in chs. 3 and 4 of his 1st Book, as do all the Arab historians, who include everything in the province they call al-Djabal (*q.v.*), cf. V. Barthold, *Istoriko-geograficheskiy obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 138. For his part, the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebī (d. *ca.* 1093/1682), in his *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iv, 74-5, enumerates the 9 *wilāyets* which formed Kurdistān in his time: Erzurum, Van, Hakkārī, Diyārbakr, Djazīra, ʿAmādiya, Mawṣil, Shahrazūr and Ardalān, and which required 17 days to traverse.

But the rivalries between the Ottoman sultans and the Shāhs of Persia broke up this unity. In the 17th century the Turkish administration gave as more than 3 *livā*'s to the *eyālet* of Kurdistān: Darsim, Muṣ and Diyārbakr. In the same way, in Iran in the 18th century, Hamadān and Luristān were detached from Kurdistān and the name was reserved for the region of Ardalān with Senna as its capital. Today, Iran is the only country to recognise a province by the name of Kurdistān. Everywhere else, Kurdistān has been banished from the language of the administration and the geographical atlases. In Turkey one speaks of Eastern Anatolia, in ʿIrāḳ, of the provinces of the north; in Syria, of the province of Djazīra (Ghassanlou, 14).

B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistān. From the above, it is clear that the historical and then political extent of Kurdistān does not coincide with its actual ethnic extent. So the frontiers within each of the countries concerned must be defined more or less approximately.

In Turkey, the Kurds inhabit the whole of the eastern region of the country. According to Trotter (1878), the limit of their extent to the north was the line Divrīgī—Erzurum—Kars. In the region of Erzurum they are found especially to the east and the south-east. The Kurds also occupy the western slopes of Ararat, the districts of Ḳaghizman and Tuzluca. On the west they extend in a wide belt beyond the course of the Euphrates (Ritter, xi, 144), and, in the region of Sivas, in the districts of Rangāl and Divrīgī. Equally, the whole region includes areas to the east and south-east of these limits. Some quite important colonies of Kurds are even found in Cilicia, to the south of Ankara in Heymana and in the large towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In brief, it may be said that if Turkey is at present divided administratively into 67 *ils* or provinces, Turkish Kurdistān numbers at least 17 of them almost totally in the north-east, the provinces of Erzincan, Erzurum and Kars; in the centre, going from west to east and from north to south, the provinces of Malatya, Tunceli, Elazīg, Bingöl, Muṣ, Karaköse (Ağrī), then Adiyaman, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis and Van; finally, the southern provinces of Urfa, Mardin and Çölamerik (Hakkārī). The Kurds of Turkey are also linked on the east with their brothers from Iran.

The latter inhabit the north-west of Iran. Firstly in the provinces of Western Ādharbāydjān, to the east of Lake Riḍāʾiyya (Urmiya), the districts of Mākū, Ḳotur, Shahpur, and to the south of the lake, Mahābād (ex-Sabla), in the province of Ardalān, called the province of Kurdistān, whose capital is Senna or Sanandadj, the districts of Bukān, Saḳḳiz, Sardasht, Bana, Bidjar (Garrus), Merīwān and

Hawrāmān; in the province of Kirmānshāh, Kaşr-i Shīrīn. There are furthermore isolated groups of Kurds in Khurāsān, of Bujnurd and in Fārs and Kirmān, not to mention the numerous Kurds who live in the cities such as Tabrīz and the outskirts of Tehran (Brugsch, *Reise*, ii, 496). Much further to the east and outside Iran, as important Kurdish tribe is to be found in Baldjistān.

In ʿIrāḳ, the Kurds occupy the north and north-east of the country in the *livā*'s or provinces of Duhok, recently detached from the province of Mawṣil, the *nāḥiyas* or districts of Zākho Mazurī Dēr, ʿAmādiya and ʿAḳra Left outside their administration are Sindjār and Shaykhān, peopled by the Yazīdīs [q.v.], the *livā*'s of Kirkūk, Arbīl and Sulaymānī (entirely Kurdish) and, in the *livā*' of Diyāla, the *nāḥiyas* of Khānaḳīn and Mandalī, where they are neighbours of the Kurds of Iran to the west of the Zagros. The Kurds are equally numerous in Baghdād and Mawṣil.

In Syria, they constitute three distinct belts, in the north of the country and to the south of the highway which forms a frontier and where they are in direct contact with their compatriots in Turkey. A belt of 40 km. width, in the Kurd Dāgh, a group (60 × 40 km.), to the east of the Euphrates where the river enters Syria near Djarābulus, and finally, a belt of 250 km. in length by 30 km. in depth in the Djazīra, between the Khābūr, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Raʾs al-ʿAyn, Darbisiyya, ʿAmūda, Kamishlī, Andīvar and Dērik. In this "duck's beak", the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ and those of Turkey are juxtaposed (Rondot, 80). The Syrian towns of Damascus, Ḥamāt and Aleppo count many thousands of Kurds.

Some still exist in Soviet Transcaucasia. In the Republic of Armenia, 35 villages in the *rayons* of Aparan, Basargečar, Hoktemberin, Talin and Ečmiadzin, in the Republic of Ādharbāydjān, 15 villages in the *rayons* of Kelbadjan, Lačchin and Kubatli (Aristova, 47-8, 64). There are numbers of Kurds living in Erevan, Baku and, in the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi or Tiflis.

The imprecise limits of the frontiers of Kurdistān hardly allow an exact appreciation of the area. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* estimates the length of Kurdistān at 600 miles and its breadth at 150 miles. The *Kāmūs al-ʿAlām*, Istanbul 1896, which naturally is only concerned with the Kurdish *sandjaḳs* of the Ottoman Empire, sets its length at 900 km. and its breadth between 100 and 200 km. At present, the different provinces of Kurdistān cover around 190,000 km² in Turkey, 125,000 km² in Iran, 65,000 km² in ʿIrāḳ, and 12,000 km² in Syria. The total area of Kurdistān can then be estimated at approximately 392,000 km².

While there are many Kurds who live outside ethnic Kurdistān, there are numerous non-Kurds who live in Kurdistān. In Turkey, there are some Turks everywhere, but also, in the north, some Ossetes and some Tcherkesses, and in the south some predominantly Syriac or Jacobite Christians (Cl. Dauphin, *Situation actuelle des communautés chrétiennes du Tūr ʿAbdīn* (*Turquie orientale*), in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xxii/3 (1972), 323-7). The Armenians have in fact completely disappeared. In 1220 to the west of Lake Riḍāʾiyya and as ʿIrāḳ in the region of Duhok/Zākho and Kirkūk, some Nestorians and Chaldaeans are to be encountered, together with, in the towns, a few rare Armenians. The Jews at one time relatively numerous, have all emigrated since 1948 (W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Kurdistan a hundred years ago, a traveler's record*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, vi [1944], 193-226; I. Ben-Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed lost in Assyria*, in *The Jewish Publication Society of America*, Philadelphia 1957). In Kirkūk one finds some Turcomans (I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 342-3).

C. Numerical extent of the Kurds. As the Kurds are not ordinarily registered as such in the censuses of the population carried out by the different states where the Kurds are resident, it is impossible to have exact statistics of the total population of Kurdistān. Besides, statistics require delicate handling, and they risk being manipulated for political motives. Cf. for ʿIrāḳ, M. Durra, 1st ed. 1963, 21a and 2nd ed. 1966, 225; for Turkey, E. Ezenkova, 1967, 29. Here are a few examples, whose divergences, which show the complexity of the question, may undoubtedly be explained by the fact that their authors do not apply the same criteria of ethnic adherence, religion and language. Hence the elimination of the Lurs. Account must also be taken of demographic progression, which works in favour of the Kurds, a fact which is at times equally forgotten. Here are a few figures, in thousands, supplied by (1) B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 42, (2) S. I. Bronk, *L'ethnographie*, 1956, 30, (3) A. Ghassemlou, *Kurdistan*, 1965, 23, (4) I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 1970 30, (5) C. J. Edmonds, *Kurdish nationalism*, in *Journal Cont. Hist.* viii (1973), 92:

	1	2	3	4	5
Turkey	4,500	2,500	4,900	6 600	3,200
Iran	1,500	1,800	3,300	4 250	1,800
ʿIrāḳ	500	900	1,550	2 000	1,550
Syria	500	300	250	500	300
Transcaucasia	250	—	160	150	80
Total	7,250	5,500	10,160	13,500	6,930

(cf. Edmonds, 92 n. 1).

D. The geography of Kurdistān.

1. *Physical aspect*

Kurdistān is in its entirety a country of high mountains. Its skeleton, in its Turkish part, is constituted by the different chains of the Eastern Taurus. These chains begin to take shape from the shores of the Mediterranean at the latitude of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and radiate at first towards the north-east. To the north of Maraş, they form a fork whose northern tine pivots away from the Engirek Dağ and Nurubak Dağ (3,090 m.), continues by the Akra Dağı, joins the chains of Mounts Mouzur (3,088 m.), Mercan and Kargapazarı (3,388 m.), then curves in and crosses the mountainous chain of the Araxes and finally ends at the Ararat system.

From our point of departure a second chain, very clearly a crescent in shape, begins in the south of Malatya, continues by the mountains of Maden, the ridges of Haçres (2,689 m.) and Sasun (2, 590 m.) to the south of Muş, pursues its curve to the south of Lake Van, via Mounts Bitlis and Hakārī (3,630 m.), with the Cilo Dağı which culminates in Mount Reşko (4,170 m.)

Between these two lines is situated what is called the Armenian plateau, whose altitude comes down no lower than 1,500 to 2,000 m. Furthermore, some parallel chains on the northern border maintain quite a high level, such as the Çalımak Mountains and, to the south of Erzurum, the volcanic system of Palandöken Dağı (3,124 m.), to the south of which the combination of Mounts Bingöl, Şerafettin and,

further to the west, the heights of Tunceli, constitute this natural fortress of Dersim. In this mass of crystalline rocks the Euphrates has hollowed out deep canyons, and the mountains with steep slopes clothe these inaccessible sites in fantastic shapes. But beautiful fertile plains extend to the north of Malatya (975 m.) to the south-east of Elazīg (1,020 m.) and to the north of Muş (1,500 m.). All along this Anatolian scar frequent tremors shake the region and claim numerous victims. We may recall the earthquakes of Erzincan in 1939 which killed 25,000 and those, less murderous meanwhile, of Varto in 1966 and Bingol and Genc in 1971.

To the south of the curve of the Taurus spread the vast flat regions of Adiyaman, Urfa (550 m.) and Diyarbakir (650 m.) which descend abruptly towards Mesopotamia with contours of 3,000 metres, always allowing for certain land movements, such as the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,975 m.) and the chain of Tūr ʿAbdīn, which extends from Mardin (1,130 m.) and meets on the east with the much higher massifs of Herakol (2,943 m.) and Mount Cudi (2,089 m. [see ARARAT]).

To the extreme east and more to the north is the supporting point for the Great Ararat or Agrı Dağ (5,165 m.) and the Small Ararat (3,925 m.) perhaps considered as the pivot of a new system of mountains. Indeed, from this centre seem to radiate several points which, on one side, encircle Lake Van, with to the north the chain of the hermetic sulphur-spring which is the Tendurek (3,313 m.) and that of the Ala Dağ (3,255 m.); to the east, the Kuh Değ (2,850 m.), the Mengene (3,620 m.) and the Ispiriz Dağ (3,537 m.) and to the south the Vavrān Dağ (3,550 m.) and the chain of Satak. Let us note, apart from the two Ararats whose structure is due to very ancient volcanic eruptions, two famous volcanoes on the shores of Lake Van: to the north, the Sipan (about 4,434 m.) and especially Mount Nemrut (Nuarīd), whose highest peak has an altitude of 3,140 m. and whose crater has a diameter of 6,400 m. with an exterior lake of fresh water at a height of 2,552 m. All the region to the south of Lake Van, which is itself at an altitude of 1,720 m., is in its entirety the highest part of the Kurdish inhabited area of Turkey.

Elsewhere, other chains of mountains are connected with Ararat; these are clearly oriented north-south, lying between Lake Van and that of Urmia and also separating Turkish Kurdistān from its Iranian part. After having rejoined the almost inaccessible node of the Hakkı-Oramar country, they slant towards the south-west and also form this *chaîne magistrale* of the Zagros which, in a set of parallel lines, makes up for a good part, the portions of Kurdistān, the eastern faces being situated in Iran and the western faces in ʿIrāk. As C. J. Edmonds remarks, it is not always easy to give a name known by all to designate the different chains, for their names vary with the informants, according to whom they are situated on such or such a slope, or close to a better known peak, pass, village or the tomb of a famous saint.

We have, in Iran, some chains which be oriented north-west to south-east, with multiple ramifications and parallel series. Let us note in passing some of the highest summits: the Dalanpar (3,748 m.) at the intersection of the three frontiers: Turkish, ʿIrāqī and Iranian, the Spīraz, the Ḥandīl or Kogur (3,782 m.) the Galala (3,364 m.), further to the west the Čehel Česhma (ʿat the forty springs') (3,418 m.) a real rampart of water of Iranian Kurdistān, and further to the south, the chain of Hawramān (3,276 m.) and that of Cilo, whose average height is 3,500 m., up to the mountains of Luristān and the Pusht-i Kūh.

On the ʿIrāqī side, to the south of the Turkish frontier, in the extension of the chains of the Cudi Dağ, Seman Dağ and Cilo Dağ, but at the same time in a graduated descent towards the Mesopotamian plains, between the Tigris and the Great Zāb, are the Bēkhayr, Metina and Gara chains and, approaching the Iranian frontier, beyond the Zāb: Mounts Ser-i Korawa (3,603 m.), Dolaresh (3,449 m.), and Khuwarabite (3,168 m.). In this region of Bradost, if the frontier chains are still high, e.g. Mount Halgurd (4,013 m.), they tend to become lower as they approach the plains. Also, Mount Hamdrin to the south-east of Rawāndiz [*q.v.*] is no more than 2,793 metres. As soon as one crosses the Little Zāb, the chains stretch out in parallels from the dorsal column of the Zagros. The line Kurakadjaw-Godar Kurkur-Asis includes further numerous peaks between 2,950 and 3,380 metres high. A second line Asmir-Karasird is yet lower, between 2,870 and 1,608 m. high, with however, to the north-west of Sidayndkuyya, the remarkable ridged upthrust of the Pira Magrun (3,183 m.). A last parallel chain Bingird-Baranan is still several hundreds of metres lower (between 2,739 and 1,477 m.). Further to the west, the long chain of the Kara Dağ, from 1,378 to 2,027 metres, with multiple passes, henceforth separates the high country from the plains which now extend without an obstacle towards Altun Köprü, Kirkūk and Tawk, to be bordered and limited further to the west by the Hamrin Mts. (1,640 m.) which, oriented transversely south-east to north-west, traverse the Diyāla, the Sarwān and finally the Tigris, quite near to where the Little Zāb flows out.

Let us further note although the new administrative division of ʿIrāk leaves it outside Kurdistān, the Djebal Sindjār where the Yazīdīs, who are themselves really Kurds, live. This chain, 60 km. in length and 15 km. in width and lying at an altitude of approximately 1,600 m., is situated in Mesopotamia to the west of Mosul and at the same latitude.

If Kurdistan is a country of very uneven relief, it is no less generously watered by numbers of clear springs and many watercourses and actual rivers.

Let us first note the Araxes or Aras whose source is clearly in Kurdistān in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates. But in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

The two great Biblical rivers traverse Kurdistān in particular. The Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] is formed by two principal branches which enclose a vast Kurdish region. The northern branch, the Kara Su (450 km. long) is made up at its source of numerous springs which come from the Dūmlū Dağ, then it flows in the plain of Erzurum where it receives the springs which rise in the Çoruh Dağ, directs itself westward in narrow gorges, waters Erzincan, slants towards the south and follows a capricious course which snakes in every sense. It waters Kemah, passes by Kemaliye, and runs into mountains on all sides which block its passage, to rejoin a little to the south of the Eğil the southern branch or Murat Su (659 km. long). This last has its source to the north of Lake Van, at the foot of the volcanic Mounts Ala Dağ and Tendürek; the Murat Su climbs up again a little to the north, passes by Diyadin and Karaköse, turns off again to the south and waters Tutak and Malazgirt.

Then, always following its sinuous course, it passes to the north of Muş, waters Genç, Palu and Pertek, finally joining the northern branch to the north of Keban. Thereafter the two branches form the Euphrates properly so-called. Although the only important tributary on the right bank of the Kara Su is the Tohma Su (194 km. long), which flows into it to the north of Malatya and then runs outside Kurdistān, the Murat Su has numerous tributaries which, like the Peri Su (235 km. long), with their sub-tributaries, literally criss-cross Kurdistān, no area is very far from a watercourse.

The Tigris [see DIJLA], the other great river of the region (1,718 km. long), waters Kurdistān in its upper course. It has its source in the region of Lake Hazar to the north of the Maden Mts. waters for 300 km. of Turkish Kurdistān the towns famous in Kurdish history, sc. Ergani, Dayarbakir, Hasankeyf and Cizre/Djazira. There are numerous tributaries, all on the left bank: Anhar, Batman, Gurta and especially Botan (226 km.), fertilise the land. It passes the ʿIrāḳī frontier at Pēsh Khābūr, where its tributary the Khābūr (q.v.) joins it, and whose sub-tributary the Hasil waters Zakho. There then develops a complete network of beautiful streams, all tributaries of the Tigris and which are actual rivers. First of all the Great Zāb (392 km. long), which rises in Turkey in Mergene Dağı between Lakes Van and Riḍāʾiyya. It waters Culamerik/Dhulamarg, then an ʿIrāḳī the regions of Zibar and Barzan and, by one of its offshoots, the highly picturesque town of Rewāndiz. It joins the Tigris 45 km. south of Mawṣil. The Little Zāb (400 km. long) has its source in Irān, near Lāhidjān, a land of lakes. Its tributaries are numerous in Persia as well as in ʿIrāḳ. After having watered Taktak and Altun Köprü, it joins the Tigris. On its lower course, at Dukan, an enormous dam was completed in 1958 with a capacity of 7 billion m³ of water, which stretches over 50 km.[2] Its aim is firstly to regulate the flow of the Tigris, subject to catastrophic floods, but also to irrigate about 250,000 hectares. A hydro-electric plant with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts is of importance in the region of Čamčamāl and will give the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ self-sufficiency in energy. The ʿAdhaym (230 km. long) rising in the locality of Bazyan, with its various ramifications, waters Kirkūk, Dakūk Tuz and Khurmatu, and traverses the Hamrīn Mts., hurling itself into the Tigris 30 km. south of Baghdād. Finally, there is the Diyāla (386 km. long) which rises in the mountains of the ʿIrāḳī-Iranian frontier. Its principal source in ʿIrāḳ is the Tandjaru which waters the plain of Shahrazūr, and in Irān the Sirwān rising in Luristān. After Derbend-i Khān, where a great dam has been constructed which is intended to serve for irrigation in ʿIrāḳ, these two branches constitute the Diyāla, which flows into the Tigris south of Baghdad.

Iranian Kurdistān is also traversed by numerous streams of which several rise in the Čūl Čeşme, a great massif of 2,085 m. height in the Mukri country. Let us note only the Khīl Uzun, whose various ramifications water all the Ardalān country, not to mention the Djagatu (240 km.) and the Tatalu which both flow into Lake Riḍāʾiyya.

As with the mountains, the streams which run through Kurdistān may change their names according to the region traversed. Many watercourses, moreover, take their name very simply from the principal locality that they traverse.

There are also several lakes in Kurdistān, of which the largest is Lake Van. Situated at an altitude of 1,700 m., it has an area of 3,700 km.² Its salt waters are due to a volcanic barrier which deposits on its banks carbonate and soda sulphate. Only one kind of fish is caught there, a sort of large bleak with changing colours. To the north of Lake Van is Lake Nazik and to the north-east of Van is Lake Erček. Further to the north is Lake Balık lying to the east of Karaköse. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Maden is the Hazar Gölü, quite deep and with an area of about 50 km.² Its waters are salt and eels are caught there. In Irān one may cite Lake Urmia with a Kurdish population bordering it. It is larger than Lake Van (5,700 km.²), 130 km. long and 40 km. wide in places, it is more salt than the Dead Sea, and no fish can live there. Not far from there and to the south are two small lakes, the Shor Gōl and the Daryāče-i Ropi. At the ʿIrāḳī frontier to the west of Marī Van and south-east of Pendjwin is Lake Zrēbar. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān there are no lakes at all.

Because of its altitude, the climate of Kurdistān is harsh. Snow covers the high summits for many months of the year. Precipitation is variable according to the regions. In the plains, rainfall varies between 200 and 400 mm. a year, although it may reach between 700 and 2,000 and even 3,000 mm. on the plateaux between the different chains of mountains. But in the valleys of central Kurdistān, the climate is continental and even arid, and there are sometimes several months without a drop of water.

The temperature also undergoes quite large variations. At Karakōse in the north it may fall to −30° 15°C. in winter and rise in the south in summer to +35° 40°C. at Kirmānshāh (Ghassemlou, 15). In Iranian Kurdistān, where a dry continental climate rules, the range may vary between −22°C. and +32°C. In general, the eastern slopes of the Zagros are more favoured than the western slopes. At Senna we have −15° in January and +35° in July; at Khānḳīn, +2° in January and +41.8° in July, at Kirkūk, + 14.5° and +43°C. Further to the west, we find, in January and July respectively, at Malatya −2°, 5° and +26.5°, at Urfa, +4.5° and +36°, at Diyarbakir +2.5° and +32°; and at Van, −3.5° and +22.5°.

2. *The living landscape and habitat*

Harsh as Kurdistān may be, it is far from being a desert, its mountains are covered with pasture and vegetation, and its valleys with forests and meadows which, in spring, are dotted with multicoloured flowers. There are also 10 million hectares of forests in Turkish Kurdistān, 4 million in Irān and 1,720,000 in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of which 50 km.² are firs. The oak, of which more than 15 kinds can be counted, is the most widespread species up to an altitude of 2,700 m.; then there are the firs and other conifers. Moreover, the forests are not always very dense and often have the appearance of scrub with many stands of junipers. The plane tree, willow and especially the poplar, flourish by the waters.

In the mountains, high mountain pastures stretch over many kilometres and provide pasturage for herds of goats and sheep. In places, edible wild plants grow, sought after by shepherds and simple folk for their medicinal properties and carefully collected by old women. In spring, flowers cover in abundance the smallest corner of earth, whose richness of colours literally stupefies and whose perfumes intoxicate the passersby. All this flora is familiar to us, for the species of Europe are found there and travellers do not fail to record the names (see e.g. C. J. Rich, i, 264; Bishop, i, 290-1, 343, ii, 12, 14, 115;

Lynch, i, 182, 190-1, ii, 208, 248, 253, 268, 269, 303, 360, 369, 239, 241, 242, 322; Freya Stark, 257, 273, 330; Hamilton, 142-3, Balsan, *passim*, etc.).

Only a part of the arable Kurdish lands is covered by cultivation and crops. If, in Turkey, there are 25 million hectares of cultivable lands, only 30% are cultivated, of which one-third lies fallow each year (Esenkova, 108). In Iranian Kurdistān, out of 5 million hectares of cultivable lands, 24% are cultivated and 16% lie fallow (Ghassemlou, 30). In the various districts of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of an arable area of about 8 million hectares, one quarter is cultivated (Khosbak, 43). Despite this, the cultivation of cereals in Kurdistan plays a good part in the economy of the respective countries: 15% in Turkey, 35% in Iran, in ʿIrāḳ, 30% for corn and 15% for barley (Ghassemlou, 69, n. 6). Let us add here the cultivation of rice, which supplies ʿIrāḳ with one third of its production. Apart from this cultivation of foodstuffs, cotton and the newly introduced sugar beet give a good yield. The best tobacco of Turkey and ʿIrāḳ is cultivated in Kurdistān which for ʿIrāḳ, supplies almost all of its needs (Khosbak, 43; Durra 1963, 226, 1966, 245). If the vine grows a little everywhere in Turkey, ʿIrāḳ and Iran, it only flourishes in Kurdistān on sunny slopes; there are 12 millions stands in ʿIrāḳ (Vernias, 468) and the kinds of grapes are numerous and varied (see the names in *Hasar*, no 34, 8; Wahby, *Dictionnaire*, 148). Some are reserved for the preparation of raisins used so much for food. Fruit trees also abound in Kurdistān: pomegranates, peaches, apples, figs, apricots and centenarian walnuts. Market-gardens are developed around the villages and even in the mountains where the Kurd, an ingenious gardener, constructs terraces supported by small walls in order not to lose any parcel of arable land. Of the vegetables in general use in the west, the onion, for example, so much appreciated by all the Kurds, is especially cultivated, and certain vegetables such as watermelons, cucumbers, melons, aubergines, corn on the cob, capsicums, etc., without forgetting the lettuce, held in abhorrence by the Yazīdīs.

Wild animals are far from having disappeared in Kurdistān. There were still lions at the beginning of the 19th century, if they no longer exist, the *pāng*, a kind of leopard, survives. Bears are plentiful in Nehirman to the south of Van, where they have "a table served from June to Septembec" (Balsan, 229); the wild boar also abounds at Bingöl (1,200 shot in 3 months in 1939 (*ibid.*, 90-1), and 55 killed at a single round-up in 1963 at Barzan. Wolves, jackals, boars and hyenas often approach the villages. But there are other animals called wild which are neither carnivores nor predators, but which are hunted either for their meat, such as the ibexes, or for pleasure, such as hares and rabbits. One also finds porcupines, which are edible according to the Christians of the region, agile squirrels, and martens and sables sought for their fur. So it is not surprising that the Kurd is a born hunter. Birds are also plentiful. The high mountains shelter the majestic eagles, streams and watering places attract ducks, teal and snipe. In 1972, 300,000 spent the winter on Lake Riḍāʾiyya, nourishing themselves there on the small crustaceans which abound there, and at the same time Lake Van housed numerous colonies of pelicans (J. Viellard, in *Le Monde*, 23 January 1973). Nightingales, storks and cranes are also found in the Kurdish countryside, as much as in the songs of Kurdistān. Doves and pigeons frequent in thousands the innumerable grottoes and caves of the mountains. Partridges and quails are choice game. Fish abound in the streams of fresh and crystalline waters. But it is not always easy to identify them and give them a name. A large fish is caught in the Zāb, called by the Christians "Tobias's fish", which is two metres long and whose flesh is excellent. One may see a photograph of it in Hamilton (between pp. 32-3). Apart from these pleasanter creatures, one must beware of the snakes, small but venomous, such as vipers, and of the yellow or black scorpions whose sting can be deadly, especially for the very young, although the numerous lizards, geckoes or varans and the chameleons are harmless, as are the tortoises. But as spring, flies, mosquitos and fleas are dreadful and constitute a real plague. The bee also stings, but produces a very tasty wild honey.

Apart from these creatures, who live wild, there are in Kurdistān many animals which have been domesticated and have been raised for profit since the earliest antiquity (cf. Ch. A. Reed, *Animal domestication in the Prehistoric Near East*, in R. J. Braidwood, B. Howe, etc. *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago 1960, 119-45). Indeed, Kurdistān is a land of stock-breeding: sheep, goats, cows and buffaloes supply milk, butter, cheese and meat, skins, fleeces, guts, horns etc. of which the leather and wool serve to make clothes, shoes, felts, etc. and provide an obvious economic yield. In 1957, in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, there were 7,662,332 sheep, 4,176,016 goats, one-quarter of all Turkish stock breeding, and 2,240,825 cows, one-sixth. There are also many buffaloes (Balsan, 128). In the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ there are 1,674,912 sheep or two-thirds of the ʿIrāḳī breeding stock, 1,234,238 goats (two thirds), 226,858 cows (one third) and 4,287 buffaloes (one tenth). Apart from the large-scale breeding of the nomads (half the production in Iran, Stauffer, 291), each household has its small herd of a few animals, sheep or goats, four to eight (*ibid.* 290). The Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ studied by Barth (19) are richer. Each house also possesses a few chickens. There are different breeds of sheep with fat tails and goats with long hair, carefully watched by shepherds expert in their craft. Other animals indispensable in everyday life are also reared. Among the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ are found 22,283 horses (one-seventh), 32,356 mules, almost the whole production, 130,804 donkeys (one-third, Khosbak, 52). Also, let us not forget the Kurdish sheepdogs, a strong, imposing and redoubtable breed (Balsan, 236). Naturally, no pigs or rabbits [see ARNAB in Suppl.] are reared in Kurdistān.

The interior of the soil in Kurdistān is no less rich in minerals than its surface in vegetation and animals. But until now, its resources have been very little exploited. Quite abundant supplies of coal have been discovered in the region of Maden, Kiği, Kemah and Harput, where it has been exploited (several thousand metric tons in 1970), but not at Zakho in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. Near Sulaymānī limestone is extracted and, at Sar Çinar, a cement works has been producing since 1958 350 metric tons of cement a day. Deposits of rock-salt can be exploited at Singilār, Shaykhān and Tuz Kurmatu. Sulphur is found in the province of Senna, at ʿAmādiyya, and a Polish group plan to extract 250,000 metric tons of it a year at Bighrak in the north of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. Iron is not lacking in Kurdistān and is mined (1,600,000 tonnes in 1960 at Maden). But very rich, easily exploitable deposits of iron ore are found in the region of Rawāndiz and Sulaymānī. Copper is exploited (32 000 t.) at Ergani,

Diyarbakīr and Palu, is also to be encountered in the region of ʿAkra. Chromium is found in the region of Barzan and at Diyarbakīr, where it is extracted (270,000 t. annually). There is lead at Keban, Elazīg and Maku, gold at Yergīn and to the south of Kirmānshāh, and also silver at Kemah At Kirkūk, the reserves of salts allow the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride. But it is petrol which is the chief riches of Kurdistān. The petrol of Kirkūk gushes forth in the midst of Kurdish territory and represents a good part of the ʿIrāḳī production (83 million t. in 1970). The same applies to the petrol of Batman in the Siirt region and the oil-fields of Karaçok in northern Syria. Natural gas is abundant and sulphurless in the region of Čemčamāl.

3. *The human aspect*

This region which the Kurds occupy today has been inhabited since the most ancient antiquity, e.g. Berda Balka, the cave of Hazar Merd of the Mousterian period, not far from Sulaymānī or that of Shanidar, near Rawāndiz, where the first Palaeolithic human skeleton in ʿIrāḳ was discovered. Djarmo, in the valley of Čemčamāl, may be the most ancient village in the Near East, for it was probably one of the centres where man cultivated for the first time various species of barley and corn, according to excavations of a team of researchers of the University of Chicago (cf. Braidwood Howe etc., *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*) Today, the Kurd is settled throughout the land and has established numbers of villages there.

Originally, he was content to occupy the innumerable refuges, shelters under rocks and numerous caves, some at which are difficult of access and very picturesque with stalagmites and stalactites (Edmonds, 235), and which sometimes extend deep under the mountain. These caves always serve, on occasion, to shelter the herds, but sometimes peasants are still to be encountered living in them. Numerous legends circulate about some of these caves where treasures are said to be hidden and where the passing of djinn and ifrits is mentioned (Edmonds 206 7, 246, 332, 368 9, Hamilton, chs. XIV-XV). Certainly, the nomadic Kurds, on the verge of extinction, and the semi-nomads live under their black tent, which should not be confused with the tent of the Bedouin Arab, the *khēṭhe* of the Mongols, the *yurt* of the Samoyeds and the *kota* of the Lapps (cf. C. G. Jedberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 81-8, Bishop, 1, 375, Lescot, 144 5, and SHAYMA). It is formed from a great awning made of woven strips of goats' hair 50 × 60 cm. wide The poles which hold it up are 2 50 by 3 m in height, their number varies according to the size of the tent, i.e. according to the importance of its owner There are no ridge poles Reed partitions separate the corner of the women and provisions from the part of the tent where the men and visitors stay. All the furniture consists of a few mats, cushions and some carpets in the chiefs' tents But the Kurdish peasant lives in rough houses The construction materials are ordinarily unfired bricks in the plains, but fired ones at Sulaymānī, for example, or rough stones, in the mountains joined together with mud. The walls are 2 by 2 50 m. high In the rough stone walls are sometimes inserted poorly-hewn beams to make them stronger. Inside, niches are arranged in the walls to serve as cupboards

The walls are roughcast with mud and sometimes whitened with lime. The door is of massive wood There is no window on the exterior, but these exist looking out on the courtyard, with protective bars. Simple little lanterns light the place, when the door cannot be left open. The floor is of beaten earth. In the centre the hearth (*tendur*) is covered in winter by the *kursi*, a kind of wooden bench with a covering on which all the family warm themselves in the coldest regions A hole in the roof serves as a chimney. Along the walls runs a broad bank of earth where people sit during the day and where they sleep at night on mats, felts or mattresses. The terrace is made of poplar trunks spaced 50 cm. apart and covered with branches, leaves and dried grass and a thick bed of hard-pressed earth. If the room is too wide (more than 3 m.), poles hold up the beams and roof battens. For the water to run off, the terrace extends beyond the retaining walls or gutters for a metre, e.g. at Sulaymānī, facilitating the running off of rainwater In any case, a roller is always to be found on the terrace in order to press it down after downpours. One climbs up by a ladder or outside staircase. The house of the plain, where there is space, has a courtyard and a building principally composed of a rectangular living room, lengthened by a corner reserved for the animals A solid annexe building serves as a kitchen and store for household utensils, tools and work implements. There is no cellar or attic, often not even latrines. In the mountain houses the stable is often in the courtyard, as are the annexes. The living room is situated above with, at the bottom, a small corner for the provisions Often there is also a small veranda or loggia facing south. The terrace is the favourite retreat for the women, who perform their many daily occupations there (For descriptions, plans, photos or drawings of different Kurdish dwellings, see in Djalīla, R Montagne 53-66; at Sindjār, R Lescot, 146 7; at Sulaymānī, Edmonds, 90-3 again at Sulaymānī and at the village of Topsaya and Balkha, H H Hansen, 21 43; and in Iranian Kurdistān, Bishop, 1, 88, 11, 191, M. Mokri, 89-91 See also Leach, 49, T. F Aristova, 95, 97, 99 for Transcaucasia.) Naturally, man does not live isolated in his house, but in a group Villages have grown up, and the Kurd, a man of the earth, lives more in the village than in the towns. Like all villages in the world, and especially those in mountainous countries, the position is chosen in relation to the sun and to water, a stream or spring So it must be oriented to be at once well exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, following the axis of the mountain chains. Exposure to the north is avoided The south, the direction of Mecca (Mokri, 82), is preferred to the east. The importance of the village depends on their proximity to places of passage (mountain passes and bridges) and also on sufficient cultivable lands and pasturages. Many villages are built on a slope, the roof of the higher houses forming a terrace for the houses below, and this occurs in all the regions of Kurdistān, e.g. at ʿAkra, Barzinǧa and Sharē Hawramān. It is not rare to sight on a neighbouring peak some ruins of an old castle, a trace of the past glory of a local magnate vanished for centuries Such as it is, the Kurdish village has a rather pleasing and sympathetic appearance, precisely because of the water, gardens and trees

The Kurdish villages are closer to one another or more dispersed, according to whether the region is more or less exposed to hazards. In the whole of the 17 provinces of Turkey with all or a high proportion of Kurdish population, according to the official census of 1960, 8,817 villages were counted, of which 395 had less than 100 inhabitants 573 from 101 to 500, 1891 from 501 to 1000, 372 from 1,801 to 2,000 and only 39 with more than 2,000 inhabitants

Three provinces of Muş, Hakārī and Van can be taken as criteria for appreciation:

	Area in km²	Inhabitants	Density in km	Number of cantons	Number of villages
Muş	8,195	167 638	20	15	368
Hakārī	9,532	67,766	7	12	133
Van	18,619	211,034	11	21	557

Thus the villages are more or less dispersed. They are also unequally populated, as the table below shows:

Inhabitants	less than 100	101 to 500	501 to 1000	1001 to 2000	+2000
Muş	9	280	64	14	1
Hakārī	5	84	40	5	0
Van	39	456	52	11	0

This average of small villages from 500 to 300 inhabitants is found in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the region of Rewāndiz (Barth, 1), and in other regions, 300 inhabitants is also the average of the Kurdish villages of Iran.

Altitude is also a very important factor in the establishment of the Kurdish village. By examining the snow contours on Hütteroth's map e.g. to the south of Lake Van in the region of Hakārī precisely, it may be ascertained that the villages are relatively very numerous between 2,000 m. and 1,500 m., quite numerous between 1,500 and 2,000 m., rare between 2,000 and 2,500 m. and that they disappear altogether above 2,500 m., apart from pasturing camps or *zozān*. Some agreable summer dwellings are found in the middle altitudes. Thus in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the province of Duhok, we have Zawitha, at 1,422 m. in the midst of vast fir woods, Suwarelka, at 1,675 m. among cypresses and maples, Sersing, at 1,046 m. with gushing springs, Sulav, at 1,150 m., and its waterfalls. Ser ʿAmādiyya, at 2,905 m, in the province of Sulaymānī. Ser Çinar, with great plane trees, as its name indicates; in the province of Arbil, Salāh al-Dīn, at 1,090 m., Shaklawa, at 565 m. with luxuriant orchards at the foot of Saffin, Gali ʿAlī Bag at the same altitude with a great waterfall, and especially Hādjdjī ʿUmrān, at 1,780 m., very fresh in summer and a ski resort in winter. In the province of Hakārī, the high peaks of Cilo Dağ, which are between 3 500 and 4 000 m., have for some time attracted foreign mountaineers (cf. B. Amy, *La montagne des autres. Alpinisme en pays kurde*, 1972, with maps, photos and bibliographies of the last expeditions).

The smaller the village, the more its comfort is reduced. This is the case also in Turkish Kurdistān, where more than half of the villages do not have drinking water, a mill, a school, a *ḳaysma* (or cafe) or a special house for guests. The lighting there is primitive, the hygiene deficient. The wells are near the latrines when these last exist. In winter, in view of the lack of means of communication, hundreds of villages are isolated from the rest of the world (E. Esenkova, 55-7). It is the same in the Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ, where electricity and running water only exist in 22 of them among the hundreds that are to be counted in the provinces of Sulaymānī, Arbil, Kerkūk (Khosbak, 56-7). For a population estimated at 8,766,000 in 1962, in 1970 for the whole of ʿIrāḳ there were only 150 hospitals, 987 dispensaries and 18,256 beds with 2,890 doctors and 1,771 nurses (Ministry of Information, *L'Irak à la Pavant*). The same situation applies in Turkish Kurdistān. In 1967, there were 12,275 doctors in Turkey, but only 2,500 for the whole of Anatolia, with a total of 60,196 beds, of which nearly half were for the towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir alone. Malaria affects especially the Kurdish provinces of Diyarbakir, Siirt, and Hakārī (E. Esenkova, 87-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, malaria, which was the cause of a quarter of the mortality in ʿIrāḳ (Dr. A. Ghalib, *Malaria and malaria in Iraq*, Baghdād 1944) has been practically eliminated since the campaign of the WHO in 1954-6 (cf. J. Manevy, *Il est quatre heures docteur Malaria*, in *Réalités*, no. 122, March 1956, 48-53). In Iranian Kurdistān, there are only 250 to 300 hospital beds = 1 for 10,000 persons (Ghasseniou, 32).

To move from one village to another, to enter into more or less intimate social relations of family, friendship, tribe or commerce, the Kurd follows either the paths or tracks which link the villages or else the larger motor roads of commercial or strategic value which have been constructed by the interested governments. In the mountains, the mule tracks or tenfollow either the stream which runs at the bottom of the valley, passing from one side to the other or the flank of the mountain, often precipitous and hazardous. They rise steeply to reach the mountain passes, at times quite high, e.g. in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, Pavkuh, 2,000 m. and Sagirma, 1,700 m. To cross the streams, one fords them or uses trail-bridges or *kelegs* [*q.v.*] at a fixed point, where the river is wider and the current less swift, or bridges. The Kurdish bridges are still rudimentary today and sometimes dangerous, being made of ropes and planks (Layard, 1050, 166; Bishop, ii, 214) or else of tree trunks (Wigram, 188; Hamilton, 90). On the more important roads, the ancient bridges are of stone, hump-backed with one or several arches. Today, some modern iron bridges replace at many points these primitive bridges which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges (Hamilton, 192). Many legends are attached to these ancient bridges (Edmonds, 201, 212, 247). In the plains, especially in Turkish Kurdistān, there are still many simple earth tracks only usable in the good season. But some modern metalled, tarred and macadamised roads have also been built. The roads through the mountains are often real works of art.

ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān is now furrowed with numbers of fine roads which facilitate human relations. In ʿIrāḳ, some roads are good tracks link Mawṣil to Zākho, ʿAmādiyya, Arbil and ʿAkra. From Arbil one goes to Harir and Rawāndiz and also to Kerkūk and then Sulaymānī. In Turkey, one road goes from Malatya to Elazīg, Tunceli, Erzincan, Askala, Erzurum, and Kars. From Elazīg a branch goes off for Bingol, Muş and Tatvan, and another towards Diyarbakir, Mardin and Nusaybin. From Diyarbakir, one may branch off for Silvan and Siirt, or Silvan in the direction of Bitlis, Tatvan and Van, by the road or by steamer on the lake.

Few railways cross Kurdistān. In Turkey one may pick out the line Erzincan-Erzurum-Kars, towards Armenia; the line Malatya-Elazīg-Genç-Muş-Tatvan-Van by ferry in the direction of Tabrīz, and the line Malatya Sivrecs-Maden Ergani-Diyarbakir Batman, towards Siirt. The Orient Express from Istanbul goes to Aleppo, skirts the Kurdish populations of the Turko-Syrian frontier, and reaches Mawṣil and Baghdād. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, a single narrow

gauge railway goes from Baghdād to Kirkuk (320 km.)

Several military routes fan out from the airports situated in Kurdistān. The most important are in Turkey: Erzurum, Kars, Karaköse (Ağrı), Elâzığ, Malatya, Van and Diyarbakır; in ʿIrāk Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Semel, Sar ʿAmādiyya and Bamerni; in north Syria: Kamishli, in Iran, Sanandadj, Kirmānshāh and Ridāʾiyya.

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistān. Situated as it is at the crossroads of populations as different as the Turkish, Persian, Caucasian and Arab peoples and in very intimate relations with most of them, does the Kurdish people possess characteristics such that it may be distinguished very clearly from the others? The question can legitimately be posed, and many scholars have tried to distinguish the anthropological aspects which would allow this process of discrimination. It is evidently not a matter of searching for a Kurdish race, since this notion of race can scarcely be applied to humans, although some important genetic differences are ascertainable between more or less homogenous populations possessing such-or-such characteristic blood group (Ruffié, 1972). Anthropological researches on the Kurds began more than a century ago with E. Duhousset (1863) and N. V. Khanikoff (1866). They have been carried out in all the regions of Kurdistān.

In Iran, first of all by the authors cited: then by M. Houssay (1887), in Transcaucasia by E. Chantre (1880, 1890) and Pantukhoff (1891), in Turkey in the valleys between the Euphrates and the Tigris (G. Pisson, 1892), to the south of the Black Sea at Karakus, at Nemrut Dağ, to the west of Lake Van, and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1902), in Syria, at Damascus (Ariès Kappers, 1932). The Yazīdīs of the Caucasus were studied by Eliseyev in 1887 and in 1900 by Ivanovski; those of Sindjār and Shaykhān by Field (1934), as well as the Kurds of ʿIrāk, of Zakho, Rawandiz, ʿAkra, Kirkūk and Sulaymāniyya: these latter studies were not published until 1951 and 1952. All these researches are only in fact sample surveys, given the relatively restricted number of individuals examined (some hundreds or more out of several thousands of inhabitants) and of the really scientific measures obtained. Some travellers have in their turn made certain records and added some typical photographs. Despite all this, and because the observations concerning the Kurds are of different regions, the results obtained do not always coincide perfectly. There has been an attempt to make an anthropological classification of them (A. Bashmakoff). The Western Kurds (von Luschan) have been distinguished from the Eastern and Southern Kurds. The former are of a blond, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic type. The others are of a brown, black-eyed, brachycephalic type. The one group consider themselves of the same race as the Turks (Sekban, Iran) or the Iranians (Modi), the others regard themselves as close to the Arabs or Armenians. Certain photographs of Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-3, 427, 429) of Lynch (ii, 4-5) or of Soubrier (112, 113, 144, 160, 172) reveal at first sight types among the Kurds: Arab, Jew, Biblical, Nestorian and Turkoman. It is this which H. Field confirms and expresses in a more scientific fashion in the photographs of 162 individuals out of 598 examined, where he personally discovers Armenoid types (48), Balkan (22), Modified Mediterranean (36), Eur-Anatolian (38), pure or mixed Iranian (4), Alpinoid (10), Mongoloid (1) and Negroid (1). The proportions are not exactly the same among the 233 Yazīdīs examined, and the comparison with the Assyrians, the Shammar and Sulubba Arabs or the Turkomans also studied by the author is interesting. The resemblances encountered are no doubt to be explained by intermarriage. But this does not prevent E. Duhousset (1863) from recognising in the Kurdish people a rare homogeneity with respect to its type and, for his part, Ariès Kappers (1932) admits that the Kurds, despite their anthropological differences, constitute a truly distinct race. Thus we can, in summarising the studies of H. Field, present as follows the portrait of the Kurd of ʿIrāk. "The Kurd is of medium height (1 66 m.) with a relatively long body and short limbs. The forehead is wide and the head wide and round. The brachyecephalics predominate. The height of the face is medium. The nose is quite often convex. The Kurd is more hirsute than the Arab. His hair, rather wavy and pliant, is normally dark brown and the eyes black. But blond hair and blue eyes are also to be encountered, especially in the western regions. The colour of the skin is more clear than that of the Arabs, but less fine than that of the Assyrians. The teeth are normal and well placed. The musculature is good, as is the health, in general, of those who have been observed" (Th. Bois, 18).

Despite everything, these anthropological researches on the Kurds are too fragmentary and uncertain for us to be able to conclude from them what may be the origin of this people. It is indispensable here to combine the study of the language with that of the history.

Bibliography. Maps. No complete scientific map of Kurdistān exists. The *Carte du Kurdistan 1/4,000,000*, Cairo 1943, aims especially "to give a graphic representation of that which the Kurds occupy in the Middle East"; a *Note* of 12 pp. which accompanies it is intended to explain it and to justify the different data. *Die Kurden, Volke ohne Staat, 1/1,500,000*, ed. Die Aktuelle Landkarte, no. 224, Munich 1966, clear and simplified, does not indicate the relief at all. For Turkey, the old maps of H. Kiepert, 1892, or better *Türkiye, 1/1,000,000* of Faik Sebri, Istanbul 1948, *La carte de l'Asie orientale 1/4,000,000* of the Troupes du Levant, Beirut 1939, or that of the War Office and Air Ministry, London 1962-2, 1/1,000,000, sheets NJ37 Erzurum, NJ38 Tabriz and NI38 Baghdad, of series 2301, GSGS, cover the whole of Kurdistān. More or less elaborate maps are often to be found in the different accounts of journeys. So much the more to be appreciated are the precise and detailed maps in the book and many articles of C. J. Edmonds.

Albums. To illustrate all this: M. Zikmund and J. Hanzelka, *Kurdistan, country of insurrection, legends and hope*, Artia, Czechoslovakia 1962; K. Dettmann, *Vertraue der Franke . . . Lass die Heiligen werden der nicht helfen*, Hoeburg 1966.

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iii. — History

A. Origins and Pre-Islamic history.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistān) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistān, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Kardū) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B C., Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 93 vi, 67) found a country *Kur da-ʿa* mentioned (in which word the initial is *k* and not *ḫ* and the function of the element *ʿa* is uncertain) This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf *ZA*, xxxv, 230 n. 3), which G. R. Driver located south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Sūy in the region of Bidlīs (*Sharaf nāma*, i, 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called Kur ti-e in the mountains of Asu, which Driver (in *JRAS* [1923], 460) identifies with the modern Ḥasō (Sāsūn). The reading Kur ti-e is not certain, however.

Herodotus in the 5th century B.C mentions on same like this, but, according to him (iii, 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Παρικανίη which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtān (= Bohtān).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401-400 B.C.) made famous the name of the Karduchoi (Καρδοῦχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentrītēs (Bohtān) From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Ǧūdī [*q.v.*] In classical authors, the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name, probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Kardū and the present town of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Gazarth of Kardū. The Armenians had the name Korduḳ, the Arabs (Balādhurī, 176, Ṭabarī, iii, 610) Bakardā (Kardau). According to Yāḳūt (iv, 56), who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr, the canton of Bakardā formed part of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, contained two hundred villages (al-Thamānīn,

Dādī, Firūz Shābūr) and was situated on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Bāzabdā on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 33-5). Later, the name, which was only applied to the district, disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Bohtān, etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of Kardū in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene, its three towns, Saraisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finīk) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix, 12, 4) is remarkable, according to this, the term Γορδυάϊα ὄρη was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern Diyārbakr and Mūsh.

Now, who were the Καρδοῦχοι whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination χοι must represent the Armenian plural in k̲h̲, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv, 3, 2), the Karduchoi recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes nor that of Armenia. When in the 1st century B.C. Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II, he had its king Zarbienus executed. In 115 A.D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 239, and *Armenische Grammatik*, i/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Karduchoi. The name has Semitic analogies (Akkad., Assyr. *kardu*, "strong", "hero", *karādu* "to be strong"), on the other hand, there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Khaldi, better known under the Assyrian form Urarṭu/Urashṭu, in Hebrew Ararat, among the Greeks Ἀλαρόδιοι, Χάλδοι and sometimes Χαλδαῖοι. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Wān which lasted until the beginning of the 6th century C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, 123, sees in them Khaldi immigrants from the west; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i/2, Stuttgart 1913, § 474, seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the 7th century, the Khaldi were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii, 2 3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Van (the Byzantine theme Χαλδία near Trebizond, the town of Khilāt = Akhlāt, etc., cf. Belck and Lehmann, in *ZA*, ix (1894), 84, de Goeje, in *Mélanges Kern* (1903), 101; Streck, in *Mélanges Nöldeke*, i (1906), 122). Parallels for the name *Khaldi* have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Kharthueli* or *khartli-ni* (in Svanian *khyardi*, in Mingrelian, *khori-ni*), cf. N. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustinianа*, St. Petersburg 1908, 398.

Whether we identify the Kardū as Semites or as an indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the Karduchoi were identical with the Kurds, and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the 20th century, cf. *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 464. Going a step further, the Kurds were directly connected with the Χάλδοι, Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, B 13 (723, 12) said "Chaldi et Kordi vel Curti, Gordyaei fidem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of P. Leech's work *Recherches sur les Kurdes iraniens et sur leurs ancêtres, les Chaldéens septentrionaux* (St. Petersburg 1856).

A new turn was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Wetzsbach who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Karkh*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the Κύρτιοι, Curtii, mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi, 13, 3, and xv, 3, 2). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānid period (*cf. Kārnāmak-i Ardashīr-i Pāpakān*, tr. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, 37, 46, and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Kardū* does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Kardū, and the mountains of the Anti Taurus as far as northern Syria. This problem still requires careful research. In the first place, the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sistān. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagartians in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zakruti*, cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xiv (1899), 146) and in the time of Darius (Bīsitūn inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Citrantakhma executed, whose portrait on the rock of Bīsutūn suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The sculptures of Behistun*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find Cyrtii mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (Livy xlii, 58, 13, xxxvii, 40, 9, Polybius, v, 52, 5; cf. Wuissbach in Pauly-Wissowa[2], s.v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les mercenaires de Pergame*, in *Revue Archéologique* [1909], 113-29). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century, in the case of the province of Korčēkh (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, 418, Korčēkh is from **khorič-akh* where *khorič* means "Kurd" as *atrpati* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (4th century) Korčēkh was only a canton near Salmās [q.v.] As a province, Korčēkh stretched from Dīdēmgerd to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and included the following cantons: Kordukh, the three Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aituankh, Aigarkh, Motholaukh (Otholaukh), Orsaraukh (Orisanikh), Karathumkh (Sarapanikh), Cahuk and Little Aibak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 255-9).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordukh Kordikh and Tmorikh, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordukh had become a mere canton of Korčēkh and Tmorikh disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordrikh (Kordikh), of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann *op. cit.*, 385), confines himself to distinguishing between the Kordrikh (Kordikh) of the Κύρτιοι, but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 92 "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"), Nöldeke even

distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic Kartewāye (Arabic Kartāwiya?), meaning the true Kurds cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 207, n. 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnic term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or Iranicised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the Kardū, the Tmorīkh/Tamurāyē in the district of which Alkī = Elk was the capital; the Χοβάρεια [= al-Khuwaythiyya] in the canton of Khoyt of Sīsān, the Ορτάγε [= al-Artān] in the bend of the Euphrates), some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the Kurd tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the Manuskān tribe is of Mamikonian origin).

In the 10th century, the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds has been definitely established (the Gūrān-Zāzā group). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers has been established (at Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*], at Sāwdjī-Bulāk [*q.v.*]) and at Kotūr, where we find remnants of the Kūreshān [?] in subjection to the Shabāk). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular etymologies The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 237) already speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant Dahhāk. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh nāma* (Macan, i, 27 ff., Mohl, i, 72 Vullers, i, 36, verses 29-38). In 1812 Morier (*Second journey*, 337) mentions the celebration at Damāwand (on 31 August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of Dahhāk, known as the *'Ayd-i Kurdī*, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand, the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii, 253) claimed as their ancestor Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add, others Mudar b. Nizār, both eponyms of the districts of Diyār Rabī'a (Mawsil) and Diyār Mudar (Rakka). They said that the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the Ghassānids, and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find Kurd b. Mard (cf. of Μαρδοί the neighbours of the Kurds) *b.* Sa'sa'a b. Harb b. Hawāzin (Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, and *Tanbīh*, 66 ff.; Kurd b. Isfandyādh b. Manūshahr, Ibn Hawkal, 285 f.; Kurd b. Murd b. 'Amr). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (Iranicisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of the Zagros and of Fārs).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*, the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon Diasad ('driven out' by Solomon). Very frequently (cf. Driver, in *JRAS* [1923], 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* ("hero"), although this root really had a *g* in Pahlavī and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (Horn, *Neupers. Etymol.*, 200).

In later times, the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Sharaf nāma*, i, 258, makes all the Kurds (the Badjnawī and Bokhtī tribes) come from Badjan and Bokht, the former of these names may be connected with that of Basn āw, a tributary of the Tigris (Andreas, in Hartmann, 131), while the second recalls the Ηαγετυχή of Herodotus, or the "dragon king" (Kurd?) Haitān Bokht killed by Arlakhshīr I Pāpakān, cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 12. According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milān and Zilān, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east, the Zilān were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in *Jnal. R. Anthropological Inst.*, xxxviii [1908], 479).

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8. The Islamic period up to 1920

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the Hidjra, the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several Kurd dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. But the period of the wars between the Ottoman Sultāns and the Safawid Shāhs produced a state of affairs in Kurdistān favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful

picture is given in the *Sharaf-nāma* (1009/1598). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the 19th century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared to Turkish territory (Hakkārī, Bidlīs, Shāyḵānīyya) and in Persia (Ardalān). But the great tribes still exist, and their cadres assure the preservation of the Kurdish element with its social and ethical peculiarities. Ḳājār Persia hardly ever interfered in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes, while in the late Ottoman period Turkey tried to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds were overwhelmed with favours, and sometimes they had to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the 19th century, and towards the beginning of the 20th century a Kurd movement added one more element to the nationalist agitations within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the First World War of 1914-18 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistān was first mooted by the Western Powers, but the plan was only partially and temporarily realised so far as the part of the old *wilāyat* of Mawṣil attached to the new state of ʿIrāḳ was concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistān being unknown before the time of the Saldjūḳs, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, Khilāṭ, Armīnīya, Āḏharbāyḏjān, Dīnawar, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *The dispersion of the Kurds in ancient times*, in *JRAS* [1918], 563-72).

Masʿūdī (about 332/943) and Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūḏj al-ḏhahab* (iii, 253) Masʿūdī enumerates the following tribes, at Dīnawar and Hamaḏhān: Shahārān, at Kangawar: Mādjurdān, in Āḏharbāyḏjān (so the text should be amended): Hadhbānī and Sarāt (probably Shurāt = Khāḏḏīk [*q.v.*], cf. the story of Daysam below), in Dīnār Shādanḏjān, Lazba (Lurī?), Mādanḏjān, Mazdīḳānān, Bārisān, Khāl (Dīnārī), Dīnārān, Dīnawārī and Mustakān, in Syria: Dabābila etc., at Mawṣil and Ḏūḳī the Christian Kurds al-Yaʿḳūbiyya ("Jacobites") and the Dūrḳān (Djurḳān). To this list, the *Tanbīh* of the same author (88-91) only adds Bāzanḏjān (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 175), Nāshawira, Būdhīkān and Kīkān (at the present day found near Marʿash), but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*rumūm?*) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 244, a Kurd village in the canthe of Asadābād), Iṣfāhān (a section of the Bāzanḏjān tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, Yaʿḳūbī, 275; Iṣṭakhrī, 195), Dīnawar, notably Māh Kūfa, Māh Baṣra, Māh Sabaḏhān (Māsabaḏhān) and the two Īghārs (i.e. Karaḏj Abī Duluf and Burḏj), Hamaḏhān, Shahrazūr, with its dependencies Darāhān and Ṣamghān (Zamḳān), Āḏharbāyḏjān, Armenia (at Dwin on the Araxes the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone, Mukaddasī, 377), Arrān (one of the gates of Bardhaʿa was called Bāb al-Akrād and Ibn Miskawayh says that at the invasion of the Rūs in 332/942 the local governor had Kurds under his command), Baylaḳān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), al-Diazīra, Syria and al-Thughūr (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Iṣṭakhrī, 98, particularly mentions five *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *EGA*, iv, 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *rumūm rumūm* [from Persian *rama*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *sons* could have given a plural *rumūm*). Each *rama* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *ḥarāḏj* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were 1. Diliūya, or Hāmidjān, bordered by Iṣfahān and Khūzistān; 2 Lawāliḏjān, between Shīrāz and the Persian Gulf, Dīwāna, in the *Kūra* of Sābūr; 4 Kārīyān in the direction of Kirmān; 5 Shāhriyār, alongside of Iṣfahān also called Bāzanḏjān after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Iṣfahān. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Iṣṭakhrī, 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*hayy*, plur. *aḥyāʾ*) of Fārs, based on the records of the *dīwān al-ṣadaḳāt* and reproduced by Ibn Ḥawḳal, 285 7 and Mukaddasī, 446: Kurmāni, Rāmāni, Mudaḥḥir, Muḥammad b. Bashar, Ḥalīlī (Mukaddasī: Thaʿlabī), Bundāḏhmahrī, Muḥammad b. Ishāḳ, Sabāhī, Ishāḳī, Aḏharkānī, Shahrakī, Ṭahmādānī, Zahdī, Shahrawī, Bundādakī, Khurrawī, Zandī, Safarī, Shabyārī, Mubārakī, Muḥārakī, Ishtāmharī, Shāhānī, Furātī, Salmūnī, Sīrī, Azāḏḏokhtī, Harāzḏokhtī, Muṭallabī, Mamallī, Shāhkānī, Kaḏhī, Diallī, in all 300,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (ca. 500/1107) says (168) that the Kurds of the old large *rumūm* of Diliūya, Dīnwāra, Lawāliḏjān, Kanyān and Bārsenḏjān, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islam, with the exception of a single ʿAlak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Iṣfahān to Fārs by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 300,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *rumūm* of Diliūya (Kūh-Gilū) is now inhabited by Lurs, we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest, Iṣṭakhrī's list mentions a tribe al-Lurriya (variant, Lazba?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last Būyids. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī speaks of the Shabānkāra under a separate heading, and the *Sharaf nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans, however (Rāmāni), bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Iṣṭakhrī. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistān (cf. infra, and tur).

The term al-Zawzān, which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistān (reads in Kurdish "summer pastures"), is not well defined. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 250, the king of al-Zawzān was called al-Dayrānī (= Daranik', Armenian king of Vaspurakān) Mukaddasī, 137, regards Zawzān as a *wilāya* of Djanīrat Ibn ʿUmar. Later this region, which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population, became extended in area. According to Ibn al-Athīr (in Yāḳūt, ii, 857), al-Zawzān began at two days' journey from Mawṣil and stretched to the borders of Khilāṭ; on the Āḏharbāyḏjān side it extended to Salmās. Many strong places belonged to the Bashnawī and Bokhtī Kurds, the former held Barḳā, Bashīr [and Fanak],

be the latter belonged· Djurdhakān (Gurgān), the residence of their *malik* Atīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 127· Nash Atīl ?), ʿAlīān, Bāz al-hamrā. To the lords of Mawṣil (the Zangids) belonged Aīkī (= Elk), Arwakh, Bukhawīsha (= Bukhtī in Barwārī), Barkīne, Kinga war (?), Nīrwa (east of Akr ?) and Khawshtab. The text of Yākūt is not very certain, in any case, the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the Hamdānids and the Zangids (see below).

The Kurds under the caliphs and Būyids. Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Islamic period of feuds between the Arab princes of Ghassān [*q.v.*] and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrīt and Ḥulwān in 16/637. Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ marched on Mawṣil, where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (al-Marḏī, Bā Nuhadhrā, Bā Ṣadhrā, Ḥīṭān, Dāsin etc.), cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 408. The conquest of the region was completed by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm and ʿUtba (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 331). The Batrīḳ of al-Zawzan in 19/640 obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *kharādj* (*Futūḥ* 176). In Sūsiana in 18/639 the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of al-Hurmuzān, Persian governor of Ahwāz (*Kāmil*, ii, 425). In Fārs, likewise, the Kurds supported the Persians in 23/642 at the defence of Fasā and Darābdjird (*ibid.*, ii, 32). ʿUmar had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of Ahwāz (*Futūḥ*, 382, 389, *Kāmil*, iii, 37). On the other hand, in the reign of ʿUmar the Kurds invaded the region of the central Karkhā (Saymara, Māsabadhān), the language of which was still Persian in the time of Yāḳūbī (*Buldān*, 256). The Arabs had reached Shahrīzūr before Islam (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 130), but the final occupation of Shahrīzūr Dārābādh and Samghān in 22/643 was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, 334, *Kāmil*, ii, 69). In the south, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], governor of Baṣra, had to put down risings of the Kurds at Bīrūdh and Balandjān in 23/645, but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islām, apostatised *en masse* (*Kāmil*, ii, 56-76). Under the caliph ʿAlī, the Kurds along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of al-Khirrīt [*q.v.*] near Ahwāz and in Fārs, but the chief was defeated at Rām-Hurmuz (*ibid.*, iii, 309).

Al-Muḳtadir, who had seized Armenia and Ādharbaydjān in the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malīk, appointed in 66/685 a governor at Ḥulwān whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv, 187), but the death of al-Muḳtadir prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel ʿAbd al-Kalīm b. al-Ashʿath (see IBN AL-ASHʿATH) made an alliance in 83/702 with the Kurds of Sābūr in Fārs (*ibid.*, iv, 352). In 90/708 the Kurds ravaged Fārs and were punished by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In 129/746 the Kurds of Sābūr resisted the allv of the Khāridjites, Sulaymān, who had rebelled against the caliph Marwān II and had besieged Sābūr (*ibid.*, iv, 387, 341; v, 283). The caliph Marwān himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 51) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (Sir William Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, London 1891, 429).

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, the invasion of Armenia by the Khazars in 147/764 resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*muḥāribū al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at Mawṣil and its repercussions at Hamadān (*Kāmil*, v, 448; vi, 9). Dja'far, son of al-Manṣūr, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 449).

In the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225/839; it broke out in the district of Mawṣil, led by Dja'far b. Faharūsh, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at Bādaghīsh, Dja'far took refuge in the mountains of Dāsin, where he defeated the troops of the caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk Aytākh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi, 360-1). A Kurd rising broke out in 232/845 in the regions of Iṣfahān, Dīnawar and Fārs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Waṣīf.

The Kurds of Mawṣil in 252/866 joined the Khāridjī Muḥallim, who had seized Mawṣil. In 262/875 they played a considerable part in the Zandj slave-revolt (cf. Nöldeke, *A servile war in the East*, in *Sketches from eastern history*, Edinburgh-London 1892, 246-75) led by an ʿAlid Khāridjī (?) ʿAlī Muḥammad, called al-Khabīth, and in the rising of Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*]. At Ahwāz, Yaʿḳūb appointed a Kurd lieutenant Muḥammad ʿUbayd Allāh b. Hazārmard, who, skerushing ambitious plans engaged in secret negotiations with al-Khabīth. With reinforcements sent by the latter, Muḥammad marched on Sūs, but was defeated by Aḥmad b. Laythūya, the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down Yaʿḳūb's rising (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv, 304 ff.). When Aḥmad had departed, Muḥammad, after securing from al-Khabīth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shustar where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *khuṭba* read in the name of al-Khabīth, but instead he did it in the names of the caliph al-Muʿtamid and his adversary Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār. His Zandj allies deserted Muḥammad, and Shustar was reoccupied by Ibn Laythūya. Muḥammad retired to Rām-Hurmuz, but he was dislodged from it by al-Khabīth's generals. As a result of difficulties with the Dārān Kurds, Muḥammad again sought the help of al-Khabīth. The latter sent him troops, which Muḥammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabīth, Muḥammad agreed to proclaim him caliph. The death of Yaʿḳūb (265/879) and of al Khabīth (270/883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii, 264).

About 281/894 the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (cf. HAMDANIDS) when he established himself in Mawṣil. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284/897 by Abū Layṯā did not last long (*ibid.*, vii, 325, 337). In 293/906 the Ḥadhbānī Kurds led by their chief Muḥammad b. Bilāl laid waste the region of Nīnīveh. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the new governor of Mawṣil, pursued them, but suffered a reverse at Maʿḳūba. With reinforcements sent by the caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Ḥadhbānī families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Ādharbaydjān. ʿAbd Allāh returned to Mawṣil and with new troops set out once more against the Ḥadhbānīs, who had entrenched themselves at Djabal al-Salak (probably Lālidjān, cf. SAWD-BULĀG). The Ḥadhbānīs were forced to surrender, and their pacification was followed by that of the Humaydī tribe and of the people of Djabal Dāsin (*ibid.*, vii, 371). In the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawṣil but were punished by the Ḥamdānid governmeat; the Djalālī tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii, 118). Under the year 337/945 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, GMS, vi, 105, speaks of the expedition of the Ḥamdānid Ḥusayn against Ādharbaydjān, on this occasion he

had as an ally Diʾfar b. Shakkūya, chief of the Hadhbānīs who were settled at Salmās.

About this time, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm appeared on the scene, and his adventurous life is closely associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Daylamīs. Daysam was a Khārijī. He seized Āḏharbāydjān after Yūsuf b. Abī ʾl-Sādj and in 327/938 used his Kurds to drive out Lashkarī b. Mardī, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr. But the Musāfirid Marzubān, a noted Shīʿī, succeeded in taking Āḏharbāydjān from Daysam and the latter took refuge with his friend Hādjīk b. al-Dayrānī (the Armenian king of Vasputrakan Khačikʿor Gagikʿ, son of Derenikʿ). Then the people of Tabrīz appealed to Daysam, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Musāfirids left Tabrīz. In 337/948-9, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who sent a representative to Āḏharbāydjān. Marzubān's brother Wahsūdān then thought of Daysam, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against Rukn al Dawla's representative. Daysam was defeated, but held out in Ardabīl and Barḏaʿa. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daysam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdād, where the Būyid Muʿizz al Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Āḏharbāydjān, he went to the Marwānīds of Mayyāfāriḳīn and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daysam returned to Salmās in 344/955-6, where in had the *khuṭba* read in the name of Sayf al Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daysam sought refuge with his Armenian friends, Ibn al-Dayrānī (Derenikʿ b. Khačik) had to hand him over to Marzubān, much against his will. Daysam was blinded and died in person in 345/956-7 (*Taḏkīrāt*, ed. Amedroz, i, 343; ii, 148 *sq.*, *Kāmil*, viii, 289, 361, 375-7).

During Marzubān's captivity, in Rayy, several independent governors set themselves up in the north west of Persia. One of them (about 340/952) was Muḥammad Shaddād b. Kartūʾ of the Rawwādī tribe, out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the Ayyūbids. The principal lines of the Shaddādids were Dabīl and Gandja. The Shaddādids were allies of the Byzantines and of the Saldjūḳs. In 463/1072 Abū Suwār bought Ānī for his young son Manūčeʾ. From this time onwards, the dynasty was divided into two branches, that of Gandja and that of Ānī. In 1124, Ānī was taken by the Georgians but between 540/1120 and 557/1161 and again from 1185 to 1174. Ānī was again held by the Shaddādids. The Shaddādids were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles ANĪ, DWIN, GANDJA and SHADDĀD the Armenian bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia* i, 365-7; cf. also Barthold in the appendix to his Russian translation of Lane Poole's *Muhammadan dynasties*, St. Petersburg 1899, 294; Barthold, *Pers nadpisi* as ... *mečeti Manučēr*, Anisykaya Seriya, No. 5, N. Y. Marr, *Ešče o slove "Lebeb"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1912), 220; E. D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215.

In 349/960 a pretender appeared in Āḏharbāydjān. He was called Ishāḳ b. ʿĪsā, and was supported by Faḍl, chief of the Rabīʿānī (?) Kurds, while his adversary, the Musāfirid Dīsam b. Marzubān relied on Hadhbānī support. Ishāḳ was soon disposed of (*Taḏkīrāt*, ii, 279). The Kurds and the Daylamīs also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Dīsam and his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla and between Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān and his cousin Ismāʿīl b. Wahsūdān (*Taḏkīrāt*, ii, 219, 229; Kāmil, viii, 420 *sq.*).

About 348/959, the second Kurd dynasty arose in al-Diḳḳī (Zambasr, Manasl, 222) founded by Ḥasanawayh (Ḥasanūya) b. Ḥusayn [q.v.; cf. also the *Sharaf nāma*, i, 20-3], chief of the Barzīkānī (Basīnī) tribe, who had assisted the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on his expedition to Khurāsān. Rukn al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds, and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Taḏkīrāt*, ii, 282). Ibn al Athīr (viii, 549) praises the noble character of Ḥasanawayh, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When Ḥasanwayh died in 369/979, in his capital Sarmāḏī (south of Bīsutūn), ʿAḍud al Dawla overran his possessions (Ḥamadān, Dīnawar, Nihāwand) to bring them under his authority, but in the end he granted investitures to Badr b. Ḥasanwayh (369-405/979-1014), who remained loyal to ʿAḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel Fakhr al-Dawla. The caliph gave Badr the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa ʾl-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on Badr, he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, ii, 067 *sq.*, 327, Hilāl b. Muḥassin, in *ibid.*, ii, 429, 449-54; ʿUtbī, *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, tr. Reynolds, 424). Badr's successor Ẓāhir (Fāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406/1015 was driven out by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla. Ḥasanwayh's uncle Wandād, chief of the ʿAyyārīyya faction, died in 349/960, his brother Abū ʾl-Ghanāʾim died in 350/961, and a little later his son Abū Sālim Daysam, the last of this collateral branch, was dispossessed of his castles (Kaṣrān or Kaṣnān [Kaṣlān? near Bābā Yādgār on the Zohāb), Ghānim ābād, etc.).

ʿAḍud al Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father Rukn al Dawla. In 368/978 the Kurd Ibn Wadūya with the help of the Hamdānid Abū Taghlib [q.v. in Suppl.] became an independent ruler at Ardamusht (= Kawīshī nam Djabal Dūdī, Yāḳūt, i, 199), but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of ʿAḍud al Dawla (*Taḏkīrāt*, ii, 394). In 369/979 the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of Shahrizūr whom he wished to separate from the Banū Shaybān Bedouins, who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of Shahrizūr was occupied, and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Taḏkīrāt*, ii, 398; *Kāmil*, viii, 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370/980 against the Hakkārī Kurds, who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five *farsakhs* between Maʿāyāyā and Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, viii, 522).

Even in the lifetime of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the Humaydī chief, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Dūshandī (or Abū Shudjāʿ Badr b. Dūstak), known as Ḥādh, had attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of Arḏīsh, Āmid and Mayyāfāriḳīn. A rising on Nuṣaybin brought him into conflict with Ṣamṣām al Dawla. Ḥādh defeated the latter's forces at Bā Dūdīʾiya (on the Khābūr al Ḥusayniyya in the canton of Kawāshī = Ardamusht), seized Mawṣil and was planning a march on Baghdād to aid Būyid rule when he was defeated by Ṣamṣām al Dawla. He fell back on Mayyāfāriḳīn and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of Diyārbakr and the western part of Tūr

ʿAbdān (374/984) Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379/990, having collected a large number of Bashnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānid princes, who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, sacured the help of the Banū ʿUkayl Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and his son slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix, 25, 27, 58, 40; Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 83-4, 176-8, Abu 'l Faraḍ, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321-3)

In 380-90/990-1000, Samṣām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b Mundhir, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds, but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 284, on Ibn Fūlād, see ʿUtbī, *op cit*, 424-5)

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Zambaur, 136; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 53-4) is closely connected with Bādh After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh's sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn Kayfā (*q.v.*) where Bādh's Daylamī wife lived He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamdānī who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself to Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380/990 to 489/1096. Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzān, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā) but also in Khilāṭ, Malāzgird, Arḏīsh and the canton in the northeast of Lake Wān. In the west they held Urfa for a time. Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan in 387/997 invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387/997 by the people of Diyārbakr, who had rebelled His brother Abū Manṣūr Munaḥḥid al Dawla, who after the death of Bādh had seized Mayyāfāriḳīn, reigned there till 402/1011 (Abu 'l Fidā', *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii, 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (Ibn Khallikān, i, 257 8) succeeded him and reigned from 402/1012-12 to 453/1061. In 416/1025 he seized Urfa, but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422/1031 (Abu 'l-Faraḍ, 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure In 442/1050 Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Saldjūk Tughril Beg His son and successor Abu 'l Ḳāsim Naṣr, called Niẓām al Dawla (455 72/1062-79), shared the power with his brother Saʿīd (d. in 457/1065). He added to his possessions Ḥarrān, Suwaydā, etc. His successor was Manṣur b. Saʿīd, who nominally reigned from 472 89/1079-96, but by 478/1085 the Saldjūk general Fakhr al Dawla b. Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ] had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atābeg of Mawṣil (Abu 'l Fidā', iii, 77 9, 87, 122, 125, 249). On the Marwānids, cf. the special study by H. F. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-34

On the eve of the Turkish invasions, we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Aḥmad b. al-Dubhāk, who killed the Emperor Basil II's general and thus stopped the Byzantine advance (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 247) Between 366/976-7 and 388/998 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārids for the possession of Djurdjān (ʿUtbī, tr Reynolds, 298-302; Ibn Isfandiyār, abridged tr E G Browne, 226-8) A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ghazna using Kurds against the Karakhānids (ʿUtbī, 336)

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū ʿUḳayl for the possession of Mawṣil etc In 422/1020 they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Hamadān In 415 20/1024-9 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālīdjār (*Kāmil* ix, 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249 265; Hilāl b Muḥassin, iii, 34°, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish conquest When in 426/1029 the Ghuzz precursors of the Saldjūks reached Rayy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ghaznawids, went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds The leader of the Kurds, being captured by the Ghuzz, sent a message to his men to cease fighting This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix, 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbānī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Ādharbāydjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz, after a raid into Armenia, returned to Urmia and the lands of Abu 'l-Hayḍāʾ Hadhbānī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat In 432/1041 the Musāfirid Waḥsūdān II b Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabrīz, the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkārī, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 2,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, ix, 270 2)

On the approach of Tughril Beg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al Zawzān to the Djazīra. One section of the Ghuzz under Manṣūr b Ghuzoghlī remained in the east of the Djazīra, while the other under Būkā marched on Diyārbakr, and going on pillaged the districts of Kardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥusayniyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 270 a town between Mawṣil and Djazīra) and Fēshābur. The Marwānid Sulaymān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Djazīra, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Manṣūr, and with the help of the Bashnawī Kurds of Finīk, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations, they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix, 272 3)

Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids had perished and the power in Dīnāwar had passed to a new family the Banū ʿAnnāz (see Zambaur, 222, and ʿANNĀZIDS. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 22, has ʿAyyār), which is often called that of Abu 'l-Shawk. Previously in 340/951 during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abī 'l-Shawk, chief of Ḥulwān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 2) The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b ʿAnnāz (*Kāmil*, ix, 258) who ruled 380-401/990-1011. His son Abū 'l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwayhids, Ẓāhir [Ṭāhir] in 406/1015-16 The possessions of the Banū ʿAnnāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431/1039-40; *Kāmil*, ix, 300, 316),

Bīlawār, Ṣanǧān, Dakūka and Khuftiǧākān. In 437, Tughril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Ynal to pacify Dībil. Ibrāhīm drove the Kākāyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the Dūzakān Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abu 'l-Shawk's composed of Daylamīs and Shādjanānān Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū Shawk died in 438/1046 at Sirwān. Ibrāhīm took Ṣamārān (Shamirān? Ṣaymara?) and subjugated the Dūzkān. Sa'dī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the Saldjūks. The dynasty lasted till 520/1116 (Münedidjim bashī).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāzgird (463/1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great Saldjūks there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the Shabānkāra (*q.v.*), but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421/1030 to 756/1355, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand, the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493/1100 the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of Khilāt, where the Turk Sukmān Kuṭbī founded the dynasty of the Shāh Armans which lasted a century until the coming of the Ayyūbids. Under the date 495/1101 Ibn al-Athīr (x, 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of Surkhāb b. Badr, a scion of the Banū 'Annāz, by the Turkomans of Saighūr Karabulā. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of Surkhāb except Shahrizūr, Dakūka and Khuftiǧākān. In spite of these crushing blows, the Kurds are often mentioned in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. In his struggle with Kāwurd of Kirmān, Malik Shāh employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x, 53), where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 88. Ibn Khallikān, i, 516). Raids of Kurds took place at Dunbuli, Mārdīn etc. in 496/1103, 498/1105 and 503/1109 to in Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's campaign against Syria (504/1110) there took part the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl b. Wahsūdhān, a Kurd of the tribe of Rawwādī (cf. *Kāmil*, x, 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" Sukmān. The campaign was a fiasco, and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk Sukmān (*Recueil des hist des Croisades, docum orientaux*, ii, 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousâma b. Munḳidh*). Under Sandjar the province of Kurdistān was formed out of the western part of Dībil, Sulaymān, the nephew of Sandjar, became its ruler with Bahar (to the north-east of Hamadān) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of Sandjar also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 513/1119. In 516/1122 a punitive expedition passed through the Hakkārī Zawzān and Bashnawī districts (*Kāmil*, x, 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at Tur 'Abdīn (Assemani, *Bibl. or*, ii, 221)

The Atābaks of Mawṣil. The Atābaks, the immediate neighbours of central Kurdistān, played an important part there. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded Kurd territory. In 528/1134 he took Tanza (on the left bank of the Bohtān) and to punish the Humaydīs who had supported the caliph Mustarshid when he was besieging Mawṣil, seized their fortresses, al-'Akr, Shōsh, etc. (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 666 7. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Ātābakiyya*, in *ibid.*, ii 87). Abu 'l-Haydjā', lord of Arbil, Āshib, etc., submitted to Zangī (was he perhaps a Hakkārī? At this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 203) After the death of Abī 'l-Haydjā', Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Āshib and dismantled its defences, the fort of Djalāb received the name of 'Amādiya (= 'Imādiya, in honour of 'Imād al-Dīn). In 534/1139 Zangī took Shahrizūr from Kifdjāk b. Arslān Tash the Turkoman. In 537/1142 he sent a new expedition against the Hakkārī and took the fortress of al-Sha'bānī (= Āshib?), which he rebuilt. In 538/1143-4 Irūn and Khizān were taken (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 685) 'Alī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf nāma*, i, 284, Rābiya-bulāk?), Farah and Alka (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the Bashnawī of Fanak (Fmik), but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atābak in 541/1146 (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atabakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 86, 114, 129, 188) Karādja Tadjna, *mukṭa'* (?) of Hakkari, who was sent in 547/1152-3 by the Atābak of Mawṣil against the Atābak of Ādharbāydjān, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe

Later, after the death of Salāh al-Dīn (589/1193), the Zangids consolidated their position in central Kurdistān. In 607/1211 'Imād al-Dīn, a younger son of Arslān Shāh Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of the Humaydīs ('Akr and Shūsh). In 615/1218 the same prince seized 'Amādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkārī and Zawzān" which were ceded to him by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūrī of Arbil (Abu 'l-Faraǧ, 453, 458) It must have been these events that caused the Hakkārī to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zāb

The Artukids (*q.v.*), Atābaks of Diyārbakr, several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abu 'l Fidā', iii, 583, Usāma, i, 321). The 'Abbāsid caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors, negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of 'Izz Humaydī in 528/1134, and *Kāmil*, xi, 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks In 582/1185 under the caliph al-Nāṣir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, xii, 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyārbakr, Diezira, Mawṣil, Shahrizūr, Khilāt and Ādharbāydjān) Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles, the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours, and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thelmuzen(?) and Arabthil (= Arabgur?) (Michael the Syrian, in *Recueil, doc armen*, 395).

The Ayyūbids. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well established (*Sharaf nāma*, i, 55-82). The Armenian historian Hayton (Hethum) says on this point: "Postea vero Sarraceni amiserunt dominum Egypti et Medi, qui Cordini vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, docs arm*, ii, 225, 343). The grandfather of Salāh al-Dīn Shādhī b. Marwān was a Rawādī Kurd (Rāwadī, Rawanda, a clan of the Hadhbānī) of Dwīn (*q.v.*), see Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 107 57.

The important fact is that it was from Dwīn that the Shaddādī dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shādhī Ayyūb [see AYYŪBIDS] and Shīrkūh (*q.v.*), son

al Shāghī, were born in the old home (the village of Aḥdamakān). Salāḥ al Dīn (*q.v.*) was born at Takrīt, but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Ayyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless, the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Saldjūḳ Atābaks, even when they became vassals of the Ayyūbids, continued as rule in Diyārbakr (Artuḳids), Mawṣil (Zangids) and Arbīl (the Begtegīnīs, at first deputies of the Zangids). By the treaty of 585/1189 with ʿIzz al Dīn Zangī, Salāḥ al-Dīn annexed only Aleppo and Shahrizūr (Ibn al-Athīr, *al Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 334; *Kāmil*, xi, 340; Bakrī al Dīnī, in *Recueil*, iii, 85). In 585/1189 Salāḥ al Dīn gave Shahrizūr to his *mamlūk* Keshtoghlī (?), a relative of Yaʿḳūb b. Kuḏīḏ. The only independent way by which the Ayyūbids penetrated into Kurdistān was that of Khilāṭ. This district was at first conquered by Ṭaḳī al Dīn in 587/1191 (*Kāmil*, xii, 90), but it was only after the death of Salāḥ al Dīn that his nephew al Malik al Awḥad Nadjm al Dīn Ayyūb installed himself there in 604/1207. Later, Khilāṭ passed to his brother Ashraf, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother Muẓaffar who ruled there till 642/1244. The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the Khwārazm-Shāh and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round Khilāṭ at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes Zakarē and Iwanē, whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Khēt Bahrahān*, i.e. of the Kurd tribe of Bāpīrakān, cf. Marr in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1912), 120.

The Ayyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks, but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583/1187 Salāḥ al-Dīn addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The Djazīra forces were dithanded in 584/1188, but the Diyārbakr detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (Bahāʾ al Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Ayyūbids, but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When Shīrkūh died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of Salāḥ al-Dīn as his successor (Ibn Khallikān, iv, 494).

An important part was played by the family of Abu 'l-Hayḏāʾ (Hadhbānī), hereditary chief of Arbīl (?). He directed the defence at ʿAkkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *sipahsālār* of the army and governor of Jerusalem. In 592/1196 he was transferred to Baghdād; he conducted an expedition against Hamadān and died at Dakḳūḳa. His nephew Ḳuṭb al Dīn built the Ḳuṭbiyya *madrasa* in Cairo. Another Kurd, at the tribe of Hakkārī, Sayf al-Dīn b. Ahmad al Mashṭūb, succeeded Abu 'l Hayḏāʾ at ʿAkkā. His descendants had exciting careers, his son Aḥmad ended his days in the prison at Ḥarrān, his grandson, the Ḳāḍī ʿImād al Dīn plotted against al Kāmil and had to go into exile.

The Khwārezm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. In 614/1217 the Kurds of Zagros inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Khwārazm-Shāh sent from Hamadān to Baghdād. Djalāl al-Dīn's operation against Khilāṭ (623-6/1226-9) disorganised the life of the country, and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Admat*, xii, 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge among the Kurds of Diyārbakr and in 628/1231 was killed, probably by one of them (Djuwaynī, ed. Muḥammed Ḳazwīnī, ii, 190; *Kāmil*, xii, 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 62). In 634/1237 again the remnants of the Khwārazm hordes traversed and plundered the region of Kharpūt (Abu 'l-Faraḏ, 477). After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, the Mongols laid waste the region of Diyārbakr and Khilāṭ. Another horde had descended from Marāgha on Arbīl; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645/1245, Shahrizūr was laid waste and in 650/1252 Diyārbakr.

The Mongol Il-khāns. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the Il-khāns. As these rulers—at first pagans and later Muslims—were on good terms with the Christians, and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Ayyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the Saldjūḳs, the capital of which was Bahār (near Hamadān), was conquered by Malik b. Tudān, father of the celebrated Amīr Čoban. Leaving Hamadān in 655/1257, Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. At Kirmān shāh the Mongols began to murder and plunder (Rashīd al Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 229, 253, 267). Before the capture of Baghdād, Hūlāgū sent troops to take Arbīl. The governor of this stronghold, Tādj al-Dīn Salāba (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 261), submitted to the Mongols, but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. Arbīl was taken with the help of the Atābak of Mawṣil Badr al Dīn Luʾluʾ (d'Ohsson, iii, 256). The taking of Baghdād resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shihāb al Dīn al ʿUmarī, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawāṭa and Babīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 461, iii, 413).

Returning to Ādharbāydjān, Hūlāgū set out for Syria in 657/1259. In the Hakkārī country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (Rashīd al Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 328). Djazīra, Diyārbakr, Mayyāfāriḳīn (held by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn) and Mārdīn were taken in succession. After the death of the Atābak Badr al Dīn Luʾluʾ, who had remained faithful to Hūlāgū, his son Ṣāliḥ went over to the side of Baybars, Sultān of Egypt, and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around Mawṣil at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison at Mawṣil consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and Shīʿīs, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the Mamlūks. In his letter to the Khān Berke, Baybars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii, 383). In the time of Abaka, the Armenian Hayton tells how after an invasion of Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 3,000 houses of Kurds (Gordiens) living in northern Syria (*Recueil, docs. armén.*, ii, 279). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680/1281, a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste Cilicia. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant Fārs. Under Öldjeytü there were Kurds in the troops that invaded Gīlān in 706/1306-7. A little later a Kurd, Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the Shīʿīs, was executed by Öldjeytü in 712/1312-13. Badr al-Dīn, the Kurd lord of Rahba, resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol *umarā*. The fighting on Arbīl never ceased. The

"Kayāzī", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbīl, brought a charge against their chief Zeyn al-Dīn Balā and came into conflict with the Kurds, whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 696/1297 but the situation came to a height in 710/1310. With great difficulty the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege, but their *umirs*, who were friendly with the Christians wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place, but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1895, 152-77).

The country between Marāgha and Arbīl was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies, at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀK).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistān" under Ōldjeytū was moved from Bahār to Sultānābād (or Čarčarāmā). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the Hamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-kulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 107), according to which its revenues were reduced to one tenth of what they were under the Saldjūks.

When the Ilkhāns had disappeared, two facetious al-Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Suldūz [*q.v.*] and Djalāyir [*q.v.*] became rivals for power. By virtue of *the division of the lots between "the two Hosains"* (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistān and Khūzistān returned to the children of the *amīr* Akrandj or Akrash (?). In 784 s/1382 s the Djalāyir Bāyazīd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistān and ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 253, and d'Ohsson, iv, 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlūk Sultāns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes, but in Egypt, where the Mamlūk Sultāns were cherishing secret plans against the Ilkhāns, much interest was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlūk Sultāns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-ʿUmarī, there were Kurds near al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Diyār al-ʿArab and to Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-Djūdī) inhabited by the Kurds began near Mamadān and ended in Cilicia (*bilād al-Takfūr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds al al-Djazīra and Mārdīn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mārdīn, however, a certain Ibrāhīm al-ʿArt Bāg (?) had thortly before then proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadān and the part of al-Djazīra that lies between Mawṣil and Kawār (cf. Kēwar in the *Sharaf-nāma*).

1. The Gūrānī, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa raʿāyya*).

2. The Gilālī (cf. the mountain called Galāla among the Sohrāb, *Sharaf nāma*, I, 286, and Rich, *Narrative*, i, 123 *Ghellali*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Sharaf al-Dīn was governor of Arbīl under the Mongols, but was killed by a Mongol.

3. The Zangalī (Zangana?).

4. The Kūna and the Mahīr (??) of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] migrated to Syria and Egypt.

5. The Sabūlī (Sutūrī?), lived in Shahrizūr and Ushnū. Near them lived the Kartawī (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, 207).

6. The Hasnāwī (Khushnāwī?), several thousand in number, divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkūr alongside of the Kartawī (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karaboli (the defile of the Little Zāb cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 263).

7. Near Karbīn (= Kirkūk?) and Dakūk lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*baṣn al-djabalayn*) on the territory of Arbīl in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols, and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Māzandjān [?] to the number of 500 lived near Arbīl and Māzandjān, Nērwa and Bēkhma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zāb east of ʿAḳra). The chiefs of Māzandjān also ruled the related tribe of the Humaydī (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Māzandjān called Kak had received the title Muḥārik al-Dīn from the ʿAbbāsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nāʾib* of Arbīl. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghūn, but according to the *Subḥ al-aʿshā*[1] of al-Ḳalḳashandī, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief (ʿAḳra and Shōsh).

10. Near Tell Haftūn was the land of the numerous Sohrī tribe (Sohrāb).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzārī ("children of gold"). They also possessed Maʿlagard (= Rābaṭ i Barāzgird) and Kuṭlīs (the southern part of Shara dīzān).

12. The *Dīlāmerg, of Umayyad origin*, numbered 5,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawān (read Marzgawar) were allies of their Dīlāmergī and Zarzārī neighbours.

14. Near Dīlāmerg was the canton of Gawār.

15. Near Dīlāmerg beside ʿAḳr and ʿAmādiya was the canton of Zībārī inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkārī lived at ʿAmādiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkārī beside Mardī were the Djabal al-ʿAmrānī and the cave of Kahf Dāwūd where lived the Bedlīkī (??)

18. Near Dīlāmerg towards Mawṣil lived the Boikhī, rivals of the Humaydī.

19. The Dasinī had been very numerous but their chief Badr al-Dīn came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dāsinī in the province of Mawṣil. 500 Dāsinī lived at ʿAḳr.

20. The Dumbūlī (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masālik*, the *Subḥ al-aʿshā* basing itself on al-*Tathḳīf* composed by Tāḳī al-Dīn Ibn Nāẓir al-Diaysh about 748/1347, adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Timūr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistān. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The Kara Koyunlu dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistān, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extremist Shīʿa of the Kara Koyunlu) and provoked considerable movements of the population. It was at this period that the Mukrī Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia (cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḠ). In contrast to this, the conquest by Timūr which temporarily swept aside the Kara Koyunlu had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Hīn Kayfā and Djazīra between 796-897/1393-1491 are recorded in the Syriac Chronicle (written at Haytam) published

by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Timūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796/1394 and 803/1400-1. After overrunning Baghdād and Diyārbakr, Timūr attacked Djazīra, which was destroyed. The dependencies of Djazīra were likewise conquered. Timūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Dīn al Bidlīs "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistān". In 803/1400-1 Timūr returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydjān and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Timūr, Kara Yūsuf b. Kara Koyunlu [see KARA KOYUNLU] returned to Kurdistān and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820/1417 Kara Yūsuf by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlīs in their possessions. When in 824/1421, Shāhrukh, son of Timūr, arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs Malik Muhammad Hakkārī, Malik Khalīl of Hīn Kayfā, the *amīrs* of Khīzān, etc. The Kurds of Khoy also remained loyal to Shāhrukh's governor (*Matla' al-sa'dayn*, in, *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 253).

The Ak Koyunlu (*q.v.*) (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 264: *mīfāk-i khānawādahā-yi Kurdistān*), and in general they persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Kara Koyunlu, like the great tribe of Camīshgezek. Uzun Hasan's generals Şūfī Khalīl and 'Amr Shāh conquered Hakkārī, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbulī tribe from Boltān. In 875/1470 (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, 14) Djazīra passed entirely into the power of the Ak Koyunlu, who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the *Sharaf nāma*, i, 223. The Ak Koyunlu general Sulaymān b. Bīzan drove out of Bidlīs the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Ya'kūb b. Uzun Hasan.

The Şafawid Shāhs and the Ottoman Sultāns. Shāh Ismā'īl had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Ak Koyunlu. After the battle of Sharūr (907/1502) he won all the country between Baghdād and Mar'agh. Ismā'īl I's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Ak Koyunlu. Like the latter, the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes, but being a zealous extreme Shī'ī (cf. BEKTĀSHĪ in *EI*) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoy to pay homage, Ismā'īl imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Kizil-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistān became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sultāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat of Čāldirān (*q.v.*) (920/1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismā'īl, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismā'īl's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Hakīm Idrīs, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistān a feudal organisation assuring the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čāldirān deeply affected Kurdistān. Malik Khalīl (*Sharaf nāma*, i, 155), the dispossessed prince of Hīn Kayfā, had regained possession of Si'ird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muhammad Beg of Sāsūn was fighting against the Persians. Ahmad Beg of Mayyāfārikīn, Kāsim Beg of Agīl, Diamshīd Beg of Pālū had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Djazīra had succeeded in repulsing the Persians from Mawşil. Sa'īd Beg Sohrāb had taken Arbīl and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idrīs to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sultān.

When Selīm had left Tabrīz, Ismā'īl sent reinforcements to Diyārbakr and Hīn Kayfā. Idrīs summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian governor of Kurdistān. The Kurds of Diyarbakr resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Biyīklī Mehmed Pasha. Biyīklī and Idrīs met at Hīn Kayfā and defeated the Persians. Then, reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from 'Amādiya?), the Turks relieved Diyārbakr and took Mārdīn, except for the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdād and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdīn drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Nişībīn-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated, and Biyīklī forced Sulaymān Khān, who was still at Mārdīn, to surrender. The occupation of Nişībīn, Dārā, Mayyāfārikīn, Diyārbakr and Sindjār followed and Idrīs completed the administrative organisation of the *sandjaks*. In the province of Diyārbakr eleven *sandjaks* were put under Turkish officials and eight under Kurds (*Akrād beyleri*). The *mīlis* confirmed the investitures of the new begs, but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *hukūmets* (*Kurd hukūmets*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, chs. II and IV, quoting 'Ayn-i 'Alī Mu'ayidhzāde who wrote at the beginning of the 11th/17th century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistān from Malāţiya to Bāyazīd and Shahrizūr (cf. below the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 176-80, 271-316, on the 37 *sandjaks* joined to Wān by the law of Sulaymān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idrīs was liberally rewarded and the *firmāns* of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 749).

In 936/1530 Shāh Tahmāsp recovered Baghdād from Dhū 'l-Fakār a Kurd of the tribe of Mūsh (Mosul?). A long series of wars began again. Sultān Sulaymān led armies against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdād troops conquered the Kurds of Belkas and Shahrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii, 236).

By the peace of 999/1590 'Abbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces, including Ādharbāydjān, Shahrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii, 559) but in 1010/1601 fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1022/1612 Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahrizūr (*ibid.*, ii, 745). Shāh 'Abbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khurāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdād

During Idrīs Pashā's first campaign (1012/1603) his army included the Kurdistān troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians, having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Marāgha. After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās, the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha [q.v.] advanced on Baghdād in 1035/1625. Sayyid Khān of ʿAmādiya, Mīra Beg Sohrāb and the mixed Kurdi Arab tribe of Bādīnān took the side of Khosrew Pasha, while Ahmad Khān Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. Khosrew Pasha advanced as far as Sinna [q.v.] and Hamadān. On their way back, the Turks defeated at Čamčamāl and Dartang a Persian force. Baghdād still held out, and when Khosrew Pasha had retired, Ahmad Khān Ardalān reoccupied Shahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii, 27, 33, 49, 86–93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Baghdād, and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia which *grosso modo* fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the 19th century (Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā, i, 680). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain

The great struggle between the Ṣafawīs and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *Sharaf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005/1596

Sharaf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlīs, Sharaf al-Dīn (see BIDLĪSĪ), finished in 1005/1596, occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof-Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*sahīfa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*salṭanat*), the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *khuṭba* recited in their name, the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*ḥukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlīs. Part I. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [q.v.] of Diyārbakr and Djazīra, the Hasanwayhids [q.v.] of Dīnawar and Shahrizūr, the Padīdyāds of the Great Lur (see LUR-I BUZURG), the princes of little Lur (see LUR-I KŪČIK) and the Ayyūbids [q.v.]

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Sharaf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary, it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the *lieus*, taking Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The chiefs of the second class (including Bidlīs) will be marked with an asterisk (*)

Sharaf al-Dīn distinguished as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs, and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistān. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*ʿashīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi nomad

Group A. Between Djazīra and Dayrīm

1. The chiefs of Djazīra* claimed Umayyad origin, but gave as their ancestor Khālid b. al-Walīd. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Umayyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general Khālid b. al-Walīd [q.v.], whose tombs are shown near Sīʿird (Hartmann, *Beiträge*, 19, 124) These chiefs were at first Yazīdīs and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnīs. After the death of Sulaymān b. Khālid his three sons divided his possessions. Djazīra fell to Mīr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Gurgīl to Mīr Ḥādjī Beg and Finīk to Mīr Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *Sharaf nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyat-i Bohtān* (i, 320), and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 *nāḥiyes* forming this important fief. Gurgīl, Arwakh, Pīrēz, Badān and Tanaz (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kānī, Finīk; Tūr, Haytaos (Hethum) and Shākh inhabited by the Christians, Nīsh Atal, Aramshāt the tribe of which (Brāspī) is the chief among those of Bokhtī, Kēwar or Kamīz (?), Dayr-dīh which belongs to Tanaz.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *Mittheil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell* (1896), No 2, and (1897), No 2, 2-163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhtī were the Sindiyān (cf. under ʿAmādiya) settled on the Khābūr

2. The ancestors of the rulers of Khizān, Isbāyard (Sparhet, Ispart, in Ewāyā Čelebi. Isbaʿird) and Muks (Muksu) were three brothers who came from Baldjān (Khnis) in the time of the Saldjūks (*Sharaf nāma*, i, 227) The tribe of the principal fief was Namārwa, this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. Shīrwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below Khizān and north-east of Sīʿird). The ancestors of the "Shīrawī" chiefs were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to Shīrwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Hīn Kayfā The Shīrawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i 155). The capital of Shīrwān was Kufrā The other dependencies were Āwīl, Shabistān (also called, Garnī = Kirnik?) and Irūn

Bidlīs. The Rōzagī (Kozagi) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūz*) in the village of Tāb in the canton of Khoyt (now the *kaḍā*ʾ of Mudkī west of Bidlīs), and formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāsī and Kawālīsī. Sharaf al-Dīn (i, 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of Rōzagī, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers. Bilbāsī (20 clans) and Kawālīsī (20 clans)

The Rōzagī took Bidlīs and Hāzo (Sāsūn) from the Georgian king Tʿāwl (David the Curopalatus, 984-1001?). Later they brought from Akhlāt two brothers of Sāsānid origin. One became chief at Bidlīs and the other at Sāsūn. 28 chiefs of the line of Dayrʾ al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlīs before 1005/1596 The only interruptions took place under the Saldjūks (534 76/1139-80) under the Ak Koyunlu (871 900/1467 95), under Shāh Ismāʿīl (913-30?/1507-24?) and between 941/1534-5 and 986/1578. In this last year Sultān Sulaymān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. Sharaf al-Dīn had to leave Bidlīs, but fearing new intrigues, went to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp who treated him with generosity Sharaf al-Dīn died in Persia in 965/1558 His son Sharaf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940/1533-4, was carefully educated at the court (the Shāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismāʿīl II, Sharaf al-Dīn fell under suspicion

and was sent to Nakhčuwān. From there he succeeded in reaching Vān and received from Murād I investiture for Bidlīs, to which Mūsh was added in 992/1583. For the year 1065/1655 Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 82-122) gives us a detailed description of Bidlīs. The last prince of Bidlīs Sharaf Beg, was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 149).

The rulers of Ṣāṣūn (Hazo) were called ʿIzzān from their ancestor ʿIzz al-Dīn, brother of Diyāʾ al-Dīn of Bidlīs. The *aṣḥāb* of Ṣāṣun were at first Shīrawī, Bābūsī, Sūsānī and Tamūdī. The Kūzakī (see below) arrived afterwards, later, after the annexation of Arzan the clans of the district Khālidī, Dayr Mughānī, ʿAzizan, who had at first belonged to Hīṣn Kayfā, came to join those of Ṣāṣūn.

6. The Suwaydī chiefs claimed a Barmakī origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaydī tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaydī was Gandī (this should be read for *Kṭā* in Vēhaminof-Zernof, i, 260).

7. The Pāzūkī tribe, which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i, 328), is said to have been of Suwaydī origin. According to the *Sharafnāma*, i, 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafḍ wa ilḥād*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khālid-beglu and Sheker-beglu, and one was under the Amīrs of Bidlīs. Khālid received as fiefs Khīnis, Malāzgird and the canton of Unkān (?) of Mūsh. They grew so proud that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Čāldirān, the Suwaydī dispossessed the Pāzūkī from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i, 257). In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, Killīj Beg, appointed chief of the Pāzūkī, received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later, Pāzūkī were transferred to Alashkert, where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsī chiefs (*Mirdasī* in the *Selīm nāma*) claimed to be descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Their ancestor was a religious leader who came from Hakkārī to Agīl and whose disciples the Mirdāsī became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kilāb from around Aleppo, who migrated about 420/1029 as a result of troubles with the Fāṭimids (see KILĀB B. RABĪʿA and MIRDĀSIDS). The main one of the three branches, the Bitlīsīkānī, lived at Agīl, it maintained good relations with the Ak Koyunlu, but under Shāh Ismāʿīl, Agīl was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdāsī, one ruled at Pālū, at Bāghin (below Kighī) and at Kharpūt, and the other first at Bardandī and later at Dārmūk (south of Arghanamaʿdan).

9. The rulers of Čamishgezek claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saljūk). Their *aṣḥāb* was called Malikshāh (Malik-Shāh?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malikshāh in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malikshāh were so numerous that the name *Kurdistān* had become synonymous with Čamishgezek (*Sharaf nāma*, i, 263). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Timūr and Kara Yūsuf, but the Ak Koyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Kara Koyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Čamishgezek. Shaykh Ḥasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shāh Ismāʿīl. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selīm I restored the hereditary *amīr* Pīr Musayn.

Group B. Between Dyarbekr and Kilīs

10. Ḥasan-kayfī (cf. HĪṢN KAYFĀ). The local chiefs (*malikān*) claimed to be of Ayyūbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was alleged to have received the fief of Hīṣn Kayfā from the ruler of Mardīn. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Malik Sulaymān who died in 736/1335. The Ak Koyunlu seized Hīṣn Kayfā, but Malik Khalīl, who had taken refuge in Hamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khalīl. Among the dependencies of Hīṣn Kayfā, the *Sharafnāma* mentions Siʿird, Bishīrī, Tūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Diyārbekr, cf. *ibid.*, 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

12. Sulaymānī, rulers of Marwānid origin (i.e. from the later branch of the Umayyads) established themselves at first at Khūkh in the canton of Ghazālī (between the Kulp and the Baṭmān Ṣu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory on far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Banūkī, but the more enterprising was Basiyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyazīd under their chief Shāhsa. war. A number of these tribes professed Yazīdī doctrines. The Sulaymānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Ṣāṣūn. They were divided into two branches, that of Kulp and Baṭmān and that of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

13. Zrakī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], 229-39); according to Sharaf al-Dīn, Zrakī is a contraction of the Arabic Azrakī. The ancestor of the family, who was an Arab holy man from Syria of ʿAlīd origin, arrived in Mārdīn in the time of Artuḳ (d. 516/1122), Abu 'l-Faraḍī, *Muḵtaṣar*, 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Artuḳids and later with the Ak Koyunlu. There were four branches of Zrakī, the principal branches being those at Tarḏīt (west of the Baṭmān Ṣu) and ʿAṭāk. The two other branches were that of Darzīnī (an old Christian convent Dayr Zīr [2]) and that of Kurdikān (between Diyārbakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn), the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zrakī chief and a gipsy woman (*ḍuḳḵtar-i Kāhwīl*).

14. Kilīs. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkārī and ʿAmādiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantashā) had rendered services to the Ayyūbids, who gave him the canton of Kusayr (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazīdīs of Kusayr and those living between Ḥamā and Marʿash, as well as the Kurds of Dīdān and Kilīs. Under the Mamlūk Sulṭāns and under Selīm I, disputes broke out between the Yazīdīs (Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter; but the hereditary rights of the north Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Dyarbekr and Khoy.

14. Hakkārī[1] (see HAKKĀRĪ and MARDĪNĀN). Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around ʿAmādiya from which the Zangid Atābegs had driven them northwards. The *amīr* claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent.

The first *amīr* mentioned in the *Sharaf nāma* is ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yazdān Shīr) who held out against Timūr in 789/1387 in the fortress of Vān. Under the Ak Koyunlu, the tribe of Dambulī (of Dyalra) took possession of Hakkārī, but the Christians of Dīz (*Ḥayrs* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dīn Zarrīn Carg ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shemdō (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della*

lingua kurda, Rome 1787, 4 *Scomiki*) In the time of Ismāʿīl I, the Shasebo chiefs lived in the castle of Bāy (to Shamdīnān), a member of the family ruled at Vostīn (southwest of Vān), but the possession of the *nāḥiya* of Kawāsh west of Vostīn was disputed with the Hakkārī by the Rūsakī. Hakkārī rule extended to Afbāk to the north. The last representative of the Hakkārī house, Nūr Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān Beg of Bohtān, and in 1845, Hallme Khānīm surrendered Bash-kalʿa to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānish (*ibid.*, i, 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkārī.

15. The Mahmūdī fief lies north of Hakkārī on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arčak The rulers (Marwānids or ʿAbbāsids of Bohtān), who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharafnāma*, i, 307) settled there in the Kara Koyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkārī and Dumbulī.

16 The Dumbulī are a tribe of Bohtān (*Sharafnāma*, i, 218, 310. *Dumbulī*: *Bohtān*, which for long remained Yazīdī) The Dumbulī later came into Ādharbāydjān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sōghmānābād) north west of Khoy (now Zūrawā). Under the Ak Koyunlu, the Dumbulī had seized the castle of Bāy (to Shamdīnān) and a part of, Hakkārī (*ibid.*, i 193). To their *ocḥāk* of Sukmanābād Shāh Tahmāsp added Khoy. Under Sultān Sulaymān, the Dumbulī received Kotur and Bārgīrī, later they annexed Abaghā, Sulaymān-Sarāy (the modern Saray) and Čāldirān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī in his *Bustān al-siyāḥa* (beginning of the 19th century) says that all the Dumbulī are Shīʿa (cf the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādost The ruling family was of Gūrān [*q.v.*] or Hasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of Urmia. One branch ruled at Somāy [*q.v.*], another at Tergewer and at Kalʿa Dāwūd The remnants of the Brādost tribe now live south of Shamdīnān on the Rūbār i Brādost (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter, which is wanting in the manuscripts, must certainly refer to the first dynasty of Shamdīnān, whose headquarters were Sustūn in the *nāḥiya* of Harkīk [see SHAMDĪNĀN]

19 The history of the Zarzā (cf the Zar-zarī of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī) announced in the preface to the Sharaf nāma is lacking in the text.

20 Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe

Group D. South of Hakkārī

21 ʿAmādiya [*q.v.*]. We have seen that the town of ʿAmādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (521-41/1127-46) The local dynasty of Bahdīnān mentioned in the *Sharaf nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) The chiefs of ʿAmādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Timūrid period. Later (under Ismāʿīl I), the Bahdīnān annexed the Zākho district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaymānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*wilāyat-i Sindiyān*) In this way the fief of Bahdīnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawsil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Tasūnī (Dāsinī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts, but in the text we find a reference which shows that the *asīrs* of ʿAmādiya took Dohāk from the *sandjāḳ*-s *Tāsnī* (i, 109) and that in 941/1534 Sultān Selīm I gave the *sandjāḳ* of Arbīl and the whole *wilāyat* of Sohrān to Husayn Beg Dāsenī, a Yazīdī chief which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i, 274-7). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony and Husayn Beg was executed at Istanbul. On the region called Dāsen, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 202-7.

23 Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalīb, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hudīyān in the *nāḥiya* of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory) His son was proclaimed Amīr of Balakān (east of Rawāndiz) and seized the castle of Āwān The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i, 257) was Harīr (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawāndiz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005/1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i, 257) benefited by their decline

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties Their principal fief lay south of the little Zāb and had as its capital Shāri Bāzār, but in 1190/1784 the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniya [*q.v.* for details].

25. Mukrī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia [for details see ʿAlwānī-SULĀḲ] had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26 Bāna The fightiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted islām of their own free will (*bāfiyār*) [for details see ʿALWĀNĪ-SULĀḲ]

27 Ardalān see the articles, ARDALĀN, SHAHRAZŪR, SINNA, SĪSAR

28 Gāl Bāghī (*Sharaf nāma*, II, suppl 36 45, the addition is dated 1092/1681 Their chief ʿAbbās Agha of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalu received a "spring of water" in Mariwān [cf. SINNA] from Bigebeg Ardalān (900-42/1495 1535). ʿAbbās Āghā later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur His followers were recruited from different tribes Shāh Tahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Oymāḳ".

Later, the Porte gave ʿAlī Khān Gālbāghī the *sandjāḳ* consisting of Kirīod, Shaykhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhora, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *timar* of Frekle (?), Rangrazān and Sahbanān (?)

29 Kalhur (kalhurr) The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gūdarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The *Ṣafwat* of the Kalhur is called Gōran (i, 327) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf nāma*, ii, suppl. 6) There were three branches of the Kalhur; those of Palangān [cf. SINNA], Dartang and Māhī-dasht [cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH].

The possessions of the chiefs of Darena and Dartang (now Ridjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to Sharaf al-Dīn, i 319, corresponded to the older Hulwān [*q.v.*] About 1005/1596-7, the power of Kubād Beg stretched from Dīnawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Māhīdasht and Bīlāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*oḥāḳ*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Mahīdasht branch was nomadic All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony, but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds:

The plan of the section (*fiṣl*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrād-i Irāḳ* is not very clear The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Mansūr, Cigaal and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardalān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn, there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dörd*) of Karābāgh (*q.v.*) (in Transcaucasia), about 3,000 men under one ruler, and the Gīl tribe in Khurāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Mansūr. In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp its chief had become *Amīr al-umarā'* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Cigaal emigrated to Gharčistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-'Irāk and Khurāsān.

From 1650 to 1730 "Great Kurdistān", as it has been described by Sharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships, had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the *sanǧāks* of Diyārbakr and Wān. Not only did the treaty of 1049/1639 put an end to the Persian expansion westwards, but Turkey during the reign of the Safawid epigoni succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *GOR*[1], iv, 335). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Ahmad Pasha, appointed governor general of Diyārbakr in 1048/1638, making an expedition against the Yazīdīs of Shangār. Later (1065/1655), the same Pasha after his transfer to Wān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1076/1666 a Kurd, the son of a *shaykh*, declared himself the *Mahdī*, but was captured by the rulers of Mawsil and 'Amādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sultān Muhammad IV taking the so-*disant Mahdī* into his personal service (von Hammer, *iii*, 589).

In the reign of the feeble Shāh Husayn the Kurds of al-'Irāk in 1131/1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1134/1722 by order of Shāh Tahmāsp II an attempt to retake Isfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandūn (Feridūn?), but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandūn who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (J. Hanway, *A historical account of the British trade*, London 1753, iii). Fortune deserted the Šalawīds. Even 'Abdūs Kull Khān Ardalān submitted to Hasan Pasha (von Hammer, ii, 221, cf. however *RMM*, xlix, 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Diyawandī Durna, Dīnī, Harsīn and finally by the *mutasallim* 'Alī Mardīn Bakhtiyārī [Feyli?] (von Hammer, iv 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Isfahān, Ashraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1138/1726), who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Batak Sulaymān-oghlu (Sulaymān Bābān?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ashraf had lavished promises, indeed, shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140/1727 Ashraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia, including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Shāh. Towards the end of the reign of Sultān Ahmad III, affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144/1732 the Persians regained their western provinces, and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1146/1733 Topal 'Othmān Pasha appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements which he had raised in Mawsil. Nādir was defeated in 1147/1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflis, which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149/1736 the old frontiers of 1049/1639 were restored in 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory, but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Sinna where he was finally defeated (von Hammer, iv, 317, 398 sq).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds, although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal 'Othmān Pāsha. Among the Ardalān, Nādir replaced Subhān Verdī Khān by his brother, which provoked a popular rising (*Rāhā* xlix, 88). In 1139/1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans, the Kurds of Khurāsān (Čamishgenek and Karaferia) refused their help to Nādir, who punished them and transported them to Mashhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747, while on his way to punish races more the Kurd rebels of Khurāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nâdir*, London 1770, 118 sq). The Kurds (Dumbuli, etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir, but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Ilghār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Khurāsān, but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Ta'rīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed Beer, pp xi, xviii). With the death of Lutf 'Alī Khān in 1209/1794, the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty, but Karīm Khān, like his predecessors, had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistān to Shīrāz (Ahmadāwand, *RMM*, xxxvii, Kōrānī, who live in a particular quarter in Shīrāz, O Mann, *Die Tâyfe Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p xxix).

The Kādjārs. On the death of Agha Muhammad Shāh Kādjār (1211/1797), Sādik Khān Shakāki seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, 20, 27, 32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 107, 115, 123). In 1222/1805 the Persians had intervened on behalf of 'Abd al-Rahmān Pasha of Sulaymāniyya (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i, 384; Watson, *op cit*, 155, and the Mukrī Kurd song to the collection made by O Mann, No xvi). In 1236/1821, as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Haydarānlu and Sipkān, the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlis and Mūsh, at the same time they advanced as far as Sherīfān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238/1823 signed at Erzerūm restored the frontier of 1049/1639, but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kurds. The fate of Sulaymāniyya remained in suspense. A new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate, and in 1246/1847 a new treaty was signed at Erzerūm by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts, while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaymā-

anyya in favour of Turkey. During 1848-52, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwīsh Pasha prevented an agreement being reached. Darwīsh Pasha not only had the canton of Kotūr occupied by soldiers, but in a secret memoir (published at Istanbul in 1286/1869 and 1321/1903) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged in Turkey.

Turkey in the 19th century. In 1826, the governor of Sīwās, Rashīd Mehmed Pasha, was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistān. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khān and Sa'īd Beg, Ismā'īl Beg and Muhammad Pasha of Rawāndiz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khushnāw in 1831 he seized Arbīl, Altun Köprü, Koy Sanjāk and Rāniya The following year he extended his power towards Mawsil, at Alkosh 272 Christians were put to death 'Akra, Zībār and 'Amādiya were next taken In 1833 the troops of Rawāndiz penetrated as far as Zākho and Djazīra to re-establish Badr Khān in power there The Yazīdīs were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief 'Alī, who refused to become a convert to Islām, was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *JA* [1910] 234-6), and a whole body of Yazīdīs were massacred on the hill of Koyundjik in 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Rashīd Mehmed Pasha from Baghdād, Mawsil and Sīwās, and in 1836 the Mīr of Rawāndiz was captured by a ruse Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i, 373, Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, 259-84)

The defeat at Nizīb (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistān. In 1843 began the rising of Nūr Allāh Beg of Hakkārī and of Badr Khān of Djazīra. The Nestorians of Hakkārī had lodged a complaint in Mawsil against the oppressions of Nūr Allāh Beg. In reply, the latter had waste the Nestorian canton of Barwārī The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The powers made representations at Constantinople, and in 1847 a large army under 'Othmān Pasha attacked the Kurds. Badr Khān and Nūr Allāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistān (cf Sir H. Layard, *Nineveh, viz*; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* [1900] v, 649-53, Addaï Scher, to *JA* [1910], *loc cit*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see A. Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841, G. P Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; J Perkins, *A residence of 8 years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, New York 1852, C Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan und Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *The Contemporary Review* [Sept. 1889], F. N. Heasell and J Margoliouth, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913, W A. and E. T. A. W Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914, W. W. Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan*, New York 1916, M C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925)

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804-5, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828 9, 1853-8, 1877 8, each had far-reaching effects in Kurdistān (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdi v voinakh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably further north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand, when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān Shīr, nephew and a former rival of Badr Khān.

The war of 1877 8 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdīnān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr Khān and later by the rebellion under Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh of the Nakshbandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sawdj-Bulāk, Miyāndoāb and Marāgha and threatened Tabrīz it self The chief victims were Shī'is Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier Persia mobilized considerable forces including the Mākū [q v.] cavalry Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications Finally, the Shaykh returned to Shamdīnān, whence he was sent to Istanbul He soon escaped from the capital, and via the Caucasus returned to Shamdīnān, but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The *Hamidiyya* troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn reaction of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London, brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians, in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shākir Pasha, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory, for later the *Hamidiyya* levies were transformed into regulars (*Khafif suwārī*). The creation of the *Hamidiyya* in any case, by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relations. At the same time, relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Sāsūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talori (Dalvorīk) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Sāsūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppressions, in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt at a rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds, but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the 20th century to the World War, the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general, see Abovian, *Kurdi*, to the *Kavkas* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 [where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character]; Creagh, *Armenians, Kooeds and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte rasprostraneniya armianob.*

nosciensyn, in *Zapis Kavkas. Otd. Geogr. Obshč.* (Tiflis 1893), xvm, A. Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1890), lxxxvi, 236 53; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Verhand. d. Gesell. Erdkunde* (Berlin 1900), 128-33, Baron L. de Contenson, *Chrétiens et musulmans, voyages et études*, Paris 1901, H. B Lynch, *Armenia, passim*, Mayevski, *Opisaniye Vanskago i Bulis nskoyelev*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work), N. Y. Marr, *Yeshče o slove "Islebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1910), Zarzecki (consul of France at Vān), *La question kurde arménienne*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 April 1914, and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian "Orange book" of 1914.

The 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century a *new figure* appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrāhīm Pasha b Mahmūd b Tīmawī b Ayyūb, chief of the Milī (Milān) tribe in the canton of Shariwērān (between Diyārbakr and Aleppo). Ibrāhīm Pasha had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed, he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of 'Abd al-'Azīz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, in *Asien*, viii, 1909, 34-7, 32-4, and Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 327 27)

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sāwdj-Bulāk inhabited by the Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912), but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoy and Urmia Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia On 17 November 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Istanbul and just before the World War, a Four Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, Britain and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-persidsk razgran čennye*, in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obšč.*, Petrograd, III [1916], 331 92).

The War of 1914 18. In the course of the war from 1914 to 1918, the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismā'īl Agha Simko, see SIMKŪ. On the inter allied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistān, cf the documents in *Razdel Anatolsi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, 265-7, 225.

After 1917 18, the situation was radically changed Kurd committees were formed everywhere (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919, this publication is in the British Museum) Sharīf Pasha assumed the role of Kurd representative in Paris and on 22 March 1919 and 1 March 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie française*, No 175, 1919, 132-3) At the same time, on 20 December 1919, an arrangement was reached between Sharīf Pasha and the Armenian representatives, and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Peyām-i Sabāh*, Istanbul, 24 Feb. 1920, cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, 10 March 1920). The Treaty of Sèvres of 10 August 1920 having created Armenia (Arts. 88-93) out of the four *wilāyets* (of Trebizond, Erzerūm, Vān and Bidlis), provided in articles 64 4 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned showed to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agreed to conform to the recommendation, and in this case the Allied Powers would raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the *wilāyat* of Mawsil. As a result of later events, the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the *wilāyat* of Mawsil The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of Ismat Pasha at the meeting of 23 Jan 1923) By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on 16 December 1925, the *wilāyat* of Mawsil was allotted to 'Irāk, both with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawsil, serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharpūt and Diyārbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shaykh Sa'īd Nakshbandī Shaykh Sa'īd was captured on 16 April 1925 and executed at Diyārbakr. After the settlement of the Mawsil question, the Turkish government in Ankara enforced a policy, the tendency of which was to eliminate from Kurdistan feudal and tribal influences; cf Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 Oct. 1925

Bibliography: A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the *Selīm-nāma* of Hakīm Idrīs and his son Abu 'l-Fadl and the *Ta'rīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* would yield a rich reward The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Sharaf-nāma* [down to 1005/1596) The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Vellaminof Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, I (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860, ii (variants of volume I, and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005/1596), St. Petersburg 1862. New editions of it exist by M 'A. 'Awnī, Cairo 1931, and by M. A. 'Abbāsī, Tehran 1343/1965; Arabic translations by M J Bendi Kojbayani, with copious notes and comments, Baghdād 1377/1953, M. 'A. 'Awnī and Yahyā al Khashshāb, Cairo 1958 62, 2 vols.; a Russian translation by B. I Vasil'eva, i, Moscow 1967, the French translation by F. B. Charmoy, *Chéref nâmah ou fastes de la nation kurde*, in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868 75, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Dzhan-numā* of Hādidī Khalīfa), but is now in many respects out of date and lacks an index Cf. also the works of M. Barb, *Über die Kurden-*

Chronik von Scheref, Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 vornehmsten kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter; Geschichte d. 5 Kurden Dynasten; Gesch. d. westlichen Kurden-Dynasten; Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Erdlu, which appeared respectively in *SB Ak. Wien*, x (1853), 958-96; xxii (1857), 3-28; xxvii (1858), 3 34; xxxi (1859), xxxii (1859), 143-50. The lost history of Kurdistān by Muḥammad Efendī Shahrastūrī (*d.* 1073/1662 at Medina, cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *Kurd*), had not come to light by 1927. For the histories of the house of Ardalān, cf. supra, where should be added the history (to 1254/1834) of Khusraw b. Muḥammad b. Mundhir, cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, i, 305, No. 498. On the *Risālat Anṣāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd, cf. Romaskevič in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, 392. The newspaper *Edʿa Kurmānjī* (of Rawāndiz) published in Kurdish a short history *Ghunche-yi Bahārestān* (1926) and announced the early publication of the *Taʾrīkh-i Kurdān* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette da religione ivi existenti*, Naples 1818, E. Quatremère, *Notice sur le Mesdâh al-akyâr*, in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 1838; C. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836 (cl. sulaymāniyya), Charmoy, in the preface to his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*, P. Lerch, *Izsledovaniya ob inaskikh Kurdakh*, St. Petersburg 1859, i, 20-33; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880; W. Tomaschek, *Sassun*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1895), 133-4, M. Bittner, *Der Aurdengau Uschunja*, in *ibid*, 133, H. Rawlinson and A. Wilson in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 1911, xv, 949-51; Addai Scher, *Épisodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, in *JA*, xv (1910), 119-40 = the events of 1202, 1308, 1510-12 (Djezīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 (ʿAmādiya), 1820-36 (Rawāndiz), E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, London 1912, ch. xvi; V. Minorsky, *Kurdā*, St. Petersburg 1915, G. R. Driver, *Studies in Kurdish history*, in *BSOS*, ii (1922), 491-513, V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, in Publ. Soc. Ét. Ir. et Arts persans, Paris 1932 (also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 12-36); idem, *La Perse au XVe s. entre la Turquie et Venise*, in *ibid*, No. 3, Paris 1933; A. Sakisian, *Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVIe s. et ses tribeurs*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1937), 253-70; A. Safrastian, *Kurds and Kurdistan*, London 1948; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951; M. A. Zaki, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa 'l-imārāt al-kurdiyya fī 'l-ʿahd al-islāmī*, Ar. tr. M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1364/1945, Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, Damas, xii (1947-8), 103-63, V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history I. New light on the Shaddādids of Ganja. II. The Shaddādids of Ani. III. Prehistory of Saladin*, London 1953; idem, *Thomas of Metsopʿ on the Timurid Turkman wars*, in *Prof. Muhammad Sosfi volume*, Lahore 1953, 145-70, *Mongol place-names in Muḥrs Kurdistan*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 56-82; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'histoire du Dayār-Bakr au quatorzième siècle*, in *JA* (1955), 65-100; H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1966, 74-90, idem, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *ibid*., 92-107; M. S. Lazarev, *Kurdistan i kurdskaya problema*, Moscow 1964, A. Khalfin, *Borʾba za Kurdistan, Kurdskiy vopros v mezhdunarodnikh otnosheniyakh XIX veka*, Moscow 1963, Djalile Djalil, *Versiunea Bandow 1880 gods*, Moscow 1966, M. Kh. Mahmudov, *The Kurdish people* (in Armenian), Frivan 1959, M. M. ʿUmar al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-ʿabbāsiyya fī Kurdistān al-wusṭā*, Baghdād 1972; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925.

(V. MINORSKY)

C. From 1920 to the present day.

The First World War (1914-18) led to many political upheavals in the Near and Middle East. The Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ) were detached from the Ottoman Empire. The sultanate was abolished in 1922, the republic proclaimed in Turkey on 23 October and the caliphate suppressed on 3 March 1924. Finally, the Council of the League of Nations assigned to ʿIrāḳ the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil on 16 December 1925. For his part, General Riḍā Khān overthrew in Persia the Ḳājār dynasty and founded the Pahlavī dynasty on 25 October 1925. These rectifications of frontiers resulted in rendering still more complicated the situation of the Kurds who, instead of living under only two governments, the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire, were henceforth to find themselves divided between five different countries: Turkey, Iran, ʿIrāḳ, with some quite important minorities in Syria and several colonies in the lands of Soviet Transcaucasia, sc. Armenia, Georgia and Āḏarbaydjān. From now on, their destiny would evolve differently, according to the different states which sheltered them.

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In TURKEY, from after the First World War and during the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, some Kurdish nationalists, disillusioned at seeing their hopes of an independant Kurdistān vanish, a Kurdistān foreseen by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) but suppressed by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 June 1923), provoked troubles. Shaykh Saʿīd Nakshbandī of Piran led a rebellion in the regions of Urfa, Severek and Diyarbakir, rather through religious fanaticism and respect for the caliphate (Gantzon) or at the allegad instigation of Britain (Mustafā Kemāl). The Shaykh was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Tribunals of Independence (April-June 1925) and hanged at Diyarbakir with 33 other insurgents. The whole trial was followed by the Turkish newspaper *Vakit*, from 20 April 1341/1925 to the 28 June, insisting upon the nationalist character of the movement. The failure of the attempt forced the leaders who had escaped to seek refuge abroad.

On 3 October 1927, the Kurdish National League

Hoyboun ("Independence") was constituted by the fusion of all the old committees or associations. Ihsān Nūrī Pasha of Bitlis was appointed commander-in-chief and a civil administration was established. Some conversations even took place with the representatives of the Turkish government in September 1928 at Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salām Barzānī's Kopru with the promise of a general amnesty for those who had been compromised. The few Kurds who came forward were massacred. After that, the revolt of Āgrī Dāgh (Ararat) (1930-2) broke out in the spring. Well-organised militarily, the Kurdish troops, who were supported by the tribes in the region of Diyarbekir, achieved some spectacular successes but ended by succumbing under the blows of a Turkish army, 45,000 men strong and supplied with modern equipment in artillery and aircraft. The Second International, in its session at Zurich, published a resolution of its executive in favour of the Kurdish people (*Vol vii*, no 60, 30 August 1930). The attitude of the Soviets at the time has been interpreted differently by Agabekoff in his *Mémoires*, published in French in 1930, and by N. A. Rondkarian in the Russian newspaper of Paris, *Dni*, of 31 August 1930, the former speaking of a Soviet activity among the Kurds themselves and led from Tauris by a certain Minosian who represented the G.P.U. there, and the latter asserting to the contrary that the Turks found an aid and complete assistance from the Russian Bolsheviks outside. From 1931 to 1934, some periodic convictions were felt at Menemen, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, and, in a series of articles of the *Hakimiyet i Milli*, Burhan Asaf Bey denounces Armeno-Kurdish intrigues. Soon a Turkish law was promulgated on 5 May 1932 which established a plan destined to organise an actual deportation of Kurds to the interior of Turkey. This law, however, was only to be applied after the visit of the Shāh of Iran to Ankara in the summer of 1934. But henceforth, officially there were no longer Kurds in Turkey. All the inhabitants of the eastern provinces were from now on regarded as "mountain Turks".

This psychological error and the assimilation of the Kurds by force were to trigger off in 1937-8 a new revolt, in its centre, the mountainous region of Dersim, inhabited by the Zaza Kurds. It was Sayyid Riḍā, *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī brotherhood, who headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the Kurds, for it was suppressed with the utmost harshness by the Turks. After having hanged the *shaykh* and ten of his companions at al-ʿAzīz on 15 November 1937, the Turks erased Dersim from the map and replaced this ill-fated name with that of Tunceli. The Kurds disappeared from the official vocabulary, and the region remained under martial law until 1946.

After this, there was no more armed uprising in Turkey. Kurdistān stayed calm throughout the Second World War, during which Turkey moreover remained neutral. There followed a certain softening of the régime for the Kurdish regions. Meanwhile, intellectuals were always strictly watched, 49 of them were even arrested in December 1959 and accused of separatism. The military coup d'état of the 27 May 1960 was followed by a new more liberal constitution. Despite some declarations by official personages (cited in the Swedish journal *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 November 1960, cf. *C.E.K.*, Paris, nr 12, 9), some articles on Kurdistān and the Kurds were able to appear in the Turkish press and, between 1965 and 1968, some bilingual, Turko-Kurdish journals: *Dicle Fırat* and *Deng*, a Kurdish grammar, a Kurdo-Turkish dictionary, a play *Birîna mn* "The black wound", and the long classical poem *Mem-u-Zin* saw the light of day. But soon everywhere the journals were forbidden, published works confiscated and their authors prosecuted. In addition, to avoid all possible contamination by events in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, which had been in revolt for several years, a presidential decree of 25 January 1967 and published in the official journal no. 12,527 of 14 February 1967 declared: "It is illegal and forbidden to introduce the country and to distribute, under whatsoever form, every publication, record or tape registered of foreign origin and in the Kurdish language." Some virulent articles against the Kurds appeared in the Turkish nationalist review *Ötüken* (no. 40, April 1967, no. 42, June 1967; cited in Vanly, *Kurdistan sraken*, 298-300). It was this which led to a retort by the associations of Kurdish students of 19 Kurdish towns, protesting that such an attitude was contrary to art. 12 of the Constitution and art. 37 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In April 1970, brutal police operations in the town of Silvan, in the province of Diyarbakir, provoked the condemnation of the Kurdish students and of liberal Turks (cf. *Milliyet*, June-July 1970), as well as the question, on 24 July 1970, in the House, of a Kurdish deputy, Mehmet Ali Aybar, an old president of the Labour Party of Turkey (TIP). The Fourth Congress of the TIP (29-31 October 1970), in a resolution recognised the right of existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey (Vanly, *Survey*, 31-4). More than the ethnic and political side, it seems that from now on the economic and social question must play a role in the solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey (Ramboul, 23-44, Nikitine, 196-8, J. Blau, 35-40, Ghassemlou, 50-62; Arfa, 33-48).

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In IRAN, the situation of the Kurds has always been different from that which they experienced in Turkey. Indeed, the Iranian government often insists on the affinities, as much racial as historic, which unite the two peoples. But this does not prevent political and social malaises appearing from time to time, and conflicts, often latent, sometimes bloody, must be recorded. Already during the Great War, the province of Āḏarbaydjān in northern Persia had been troubled by the movements of the Turkish or Russian armies on this territory. The chief of the Shakāk, Ismāʿīl Āgha Simko, profited from it to attempt to carve out for himself a small Kurdish state of which he intended to assume the leadership. He also succeeded in uniting under his command the Kurdish tribes of the north of the country, achieving several victories over the Turks, the Assyrians and the Iranian troops, changing camp according to the circumstances. He also became the only authority of the region, to the west of Lake Urmiya, finally to be assassinated at Ushnu by the Iranians on the 21 June 1930 (Arfa, 48 sq.) in the same manner in which he had murdered the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimun Benjamin, on the 3 March 1918 (Joseph, 140-1).

For his part, further to the south, in the province of Kurdistān, Sālār al-Dawla Kādjār, related by marriage to the great Kurdish families of Sanandadj, rose in revolt, but was defeated. Some Kurdish chiefs refused to be disarmed, and it was not until 1930 that Diʿfar Sultān surrendered (Arfa, 64-7; Ghassemlou, 73-5).

But the Second World War was also bound to have a great influence on Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Indeed, the occupation of the provinces of the north and west of the country by the Soviet and British troops (25 August 1941), followed by the abdication of Riḍā Shāh (16 September 1941) favoured, by the enfeeblement of the central power, the movements of emancipation, and, for several months, the Iranian army had to confront harshly Hama Rashīd Khān of Bīnāb who, aided by numerous neighbouring tribes, had made himself master of the Sardasht-Bānch-Marīwān region in the summer of 1942 (Arfa, 67-70). But this was only the prelude to a real independence movement. First of all, the Kurds profited from the situation to form (September 1942) in the no-man's land where central authority had disappeared an organisation *Komalai jyanī Kurdistan* "Committee for the Life (Resurrection) of Kurdistan" (Eagleton, 34). This nationalist but quite conservative committee was composed of city intellectuals and of petits bourgeois from Mahābād, the ancient Sāwdj Bulāk [*qv.*], but to which the religious *shaykhs* and chiefs of tribes soon rallied. Soon Kādī (Kazi) Muḥammad, from a family of rich notables and a jurist himself, adhered to it in his turn (October 1944) and after the end of the war, all these judged the occasion favourable and proclaimed on the 22 January 1946 the Kurdish Republic of Mahābād, in the heart of the autonomous Republic of Āḏarbaydjān, which had been established at Tabrīz. In fact, Kādī Muḥammad wished rather for internal autonomy within the framework of the Iranian empire. This small state, with its limited area, to the west and south of Lake Urmia, was well-organised; schools and hospitals were opened, classical books and reviews in the Kurdish language were published, attempts were made to promote the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and hygiene. A small army was constituted of tribal elements with four generals, among them Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, who came from ʿIrāḳ with his well equipped contingent of armed men. But on the departure from the Iranian territories of the Russian army (May 1946), who had helped the autonomous republic of Āḏarbaydjān, the government of Tehran was to recover the dissident provinces of the north of the country. Kādī Muḥammad surrendered, but was hanged at dawn on 31 March 1947 together with several other chiefs. The Kurdish Republic of Mahābād had lasted eleven months. But this event had a great repercussion among all the Kurds (Arfa, 70-102; Ghassemlou, 76-82, Bamboat, 94-108 and especially Eagleton, *passim*). Then, in September 1950 and February 1956, for economic reasons, the tribe of Diavāndūl was taken to task by the troops of the Shāh and harshly repressed, on the pretext that it refused to pay its taxes, give up its arms and devote itself to the cultivation of *haschich*. According to Roudot (*Vie intel.*, 1956, 207-9), the efficacy of the intervention of the Iranian troops was the first positive result of the Baghdād Pact (1955). Since these last backwashes, the Iranian government, by constructive social reforms, attempted to gain the sympathy and even the help of its numerous Kurdish population. It published at Tehran, from May 1959 to May 1963, the weekly *Kurdistān*, in which literature, religion, sciences, history and even politics were competently treated. Later on the ʿIrāḳī government accused that of Tehran of having aided, materially and morally, the insurrection movement of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. But this political attitude has in no way changed the distrustful position of the Iranian authorities with regard to its own Kurds.

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In ʿIRĀḳ, the period from the end of the First World War to the revolution of 1958 saw the foundation of the new ʿIrāḳī state and the establishment of the Hāshimite monarchy. The British who, at San Remo (1 May 1920) were to receive from the League of Nations a mandate over ʿIrāḳ and Palestine, were charged with organising the land which they had already occupied militarily. Few among them knew the Kurds and their problems, which rendered their task difficult. In December 1918, Major Noel installed at Sulaymānī Maḥmūd Barzandjī (1880-1956) as governor, *ḥukmdār*, with authority over the Kurdish tribes situated between the Great Zāb and the Diyālā. At the end of six months, Shaykh Maḥmūd proclaimed the independence of Kurdistān (end of May 1919), and the British army had to intervene to

overcome him. Wounded at the battle of Bazyan (17 June 1919), Maḥmūd was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but, with his sentence commuted, was sent into exile to India. Meanwhile, several British officers had been assassinated at Zakho, ʿAmādiyya and ʿAkra. Major Soane governed instead of the *shaykh*, and calm soon returned. Difficulties arose with the installation as king in Baghdād (23 August 1921) of the Amīr Fayṣal of Arabia, who had been chased from Damascus by the French, and the intention of attaching to the ʿIrāḳī crown the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, which the Turks continued to claim and which the Kurds wanted to organise for their own profit. The recent Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) recognised in effect the right of the Kurds to independence. Since agitation did not cease to spread over the whole of Kurdistān, Shaykh Maḥmūd was recalled to Sulaymāniyya (September 1922) and was no longer content with the title of *ḥukmdār*, but proclaimed himself king of the whole of Kurdistān (November). He set up a government of eight members, issued postage and fiscal stamps, levied taxes on tobacco and published a newspaper *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The sun of Kurdistan" which gives many details of all these events (Edmonds, *A Kurdish newspaper: Rhoj-i Kurdestan*, in *JRCAS*, xii [1925]). On 24 December 1922, His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of ʿIrāḳ recognised "the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government within these frontiers, in the hope that the different Kurdish elements would reach agreement as soon as possible on the form to give to this government and the extent of its frontiers, and that they would send to Baghdad some responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of Iraq" (Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 328; Rambout, 58-9). But these were soon fractions between King Maḥmūd and his British protectors, as well as with some Kurds who envied his authority. His intrigues with the Turks also triggered off raids by the R.A.F., who forced him to take refuge at Sardasht (3 March 1923), where he published a newspaper, *Bangī ḥaḳ* "The call of truth". He stayed there until 1930, the year which saw the end of the British mandate.

This new political régime did not help the situation of the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ much, for the ʿIrāḳī government wanted immediately to withdraw from the Kurdish regions the local Kurdish officials in order to install Arabs and to suppress the teaching of the Kurdish language in the administrations of the north. Whence a malaise which degenerated into open revolt when ʿIrāḳī soldiers opened fire on the civil population of Sulaymāniyya (5 September 1930). Shaykh Maḥmūd once more headed the movement. The ʿIrāḳī army was incapable of bringing it to an end (September 1930-April 1931), and asked for the intervention of the R.A.F. This was very severely criticised by a number of Britons and especially in a Note of General H. C. Dobbs, former High Commissioner at Baghdād, Maḥmūd was sent into house arrest in Baghdād. In 1931, Shaykh Aḥmad of Barzān, a less balanced personage as Longrigg says (86, 103), quarrelled with a neighbouring Kurdish chief. In order to restore calm, the government undertook a winter campaign which also necessitated the intervention of the R.A.F. (cf. Mumford and Wilson, *The Crisis*). There was a new uprising in 1933-4, and Shaykh Aḥmad and his young brother Mullā Muṣṭafā, who had helped him militarily, were forced to reside at Kirkūk and then at Sulaymāniyya. In 1941, during the abortive insurrectional adventure of Rashīd ʿAlī Gaylānī and the "Golden cadre", Shaykh Maḥmūd, who had profited from it to escape from Baghdād, had tried to raise a levy of Kurdish troops to help the British (Longrigg, 295). In 1943, Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, in residence at Sulaymāniyya, unhappy with the food supplies and the social conditions of his supporters, succeeded in escaping as far as his territory of Barzān, accompanied by Shaykh Laṭīf, son of Shaykh Maḥmūd, and raised the standard of the revolt. A Kurd, Madjid Muṣṭafā, named as Minister of State, intervened to settle the affair. Barzānī surrendered on condition that the Kurdish districts would be better provisioned, that Kurdish and non-Arab officials would be sent there, and finally that schools and hospitals would be opened in Kurdistān. These conditions, accepted by Nūrī Saʿīd, the Prime Minister, who even foresaw the establishment of an entirely Kurdish *land* (Longrigg, 325), were not agreed by the regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh and, in the spring of 1945 the revolt broke out more fiercely. This time it was more serious. The Kurds achieved several spectacular victories, while the army underwent heavy losses. Once again the R.A.F. came to play its rôle of saviour of ʿIrāḳ and the Hāshimite monarchy. At the end of August, the operation was completed. Mullā Muṣṭafā withdrew to Iran with a party of his troops and his plunder (Rambout, 74-80). Four of his officers who had had faith in governmental promises of amnesty, Muṣṭafā Khushnāw, ʿIṣmat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muḥammad Maḥmūd and Khayr Allāh ʿAbd al-Karīm, were tried and executed on 19 June 1947.

After these events determined by force, all that remained for the Kurdish nationalists of ʿIrāḳ was to go underground, and this is what they did. They founded the Democratic Party of Kurdistān (D.P.K.) with leftist tendencies, and published two bulletins *Azadī* "Liberty" and *Rizgarī* "Liberation". In its second issue (October 1946), the latter extolled an Armeno-Kurdish Union. At the same period, Colonel Elphinston, chief of the Intelligence Service in the Levant, asked himself if these efforts were not going to lead to the constituting of a Republic of the Soviet Union with an Armeno-Kurdish character. In any case, the calm returned, the Kurds profited from the liberty which had been left them to work with more ardour in the cultural domain. Literary reviews saw the light of day. Collections of poetry and articles on the history of Kurdistān and famous Kurds of the past were published. Sulaymāniyya became a very active cultural centre and a lively seat of Kurdish nationalism.

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'Irāķī Kurdistān since the proclamation of the 'Irāķī Republic (14 July 1958) until 1970 underwent many vicissitudes. This Republic aroused the enthusiasm of the Kurds who with the other political parties, had participated in the overthrow of the Hāshimite monarchy. For the first time in history, the (provisional) Constitution of the state proclaimed in effect, "the Arabs and Kurds are associated in this nation". The Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the heart of the 'Irāķī entity (art. 3) (cf. *Orient*, no. 7 (3rd quarter 1958), 191-9). For his part, General 'Abd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [q.v.] reinstated the Kurdish officials suspended in 1947 and authorised (2 September 1958) Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union since this date, to return to 'Irāķ. He received him there with joy on the 7 October 1958, while his companions in exile returned in April 1959. Ḳāsim gave him a personal guard and a house in Baghdād and, for some time, made him his counsellor to whom he paid attention. The Kurdish Democratic Party, which had prepared itself in secret for the great day and, from April 1959 published its weekly newspaper *Xebat* "Struggle", was authorised to appear. The Kurdish reviews and newspapers prospered, and from now on had a political aspect no longer simply a literary one. But this state of euphoria was not to last much longer, and the struggle of the Kurds for liberty broke out again and lasted ten years, interrupted by arrests and by more and more terrible reprisals. Four periods may be distinguished here.

Difficulties—as much external as internal—were not lacking for the "Faithful Leader". His see-saw politics ended by his setting everyone against him. The Kurds themselves, impatient to see him fulfil the promises which were late in coming, ended up by taking up arms against his dictatorial régime. Naturally, Mollā Muṣṭafā headed the movement (9 September 1961). This uprising was in no way tribal, for it was truly all the 'Irāķī Kurds, peasants and townsfolk, intellectuals and feudalists, who formed a bloc against Ḳāsim. The riposte was terrible: a strict economic blockade to starve the north of the country, massive bombardments with napalm, burning villages and harvests and shooting women, old men and children as well as combatants, but which only electrified the courage of the Kurds who, in March 1962, were the uncontested masters of all the 'Irāķī north, with the exception of the cities where the government troops were garrisoned. The losses of the army quickly rendered this war in the finest colonialist style unpopular. The soldiers deserted or went over to the enemy; business and commerce were reduced to nothing. A coup d'état was afoot, and the Kurds—without whom nothing could be done—were kept well-informed. At dawn of 8 February 1963, Ḳāsim disappeared tragically from the political scene and, from the next day, the Kurds declared the ceasefire. The Baath (Ba'th) took power in Baghdād. But when the Kurds reminded the new government of their neutrality, they were met with excuses. However, negotiations were embarked on and, on the 24 April 1963, the Kurds even presented a detailed *Memorandum* in which they expressed their desiderata (*Orient*, no. 26 (2nd quarter 1963), 207-12). Meanwhile, once it considered itself quite strong, the Ba'thist government imprisoned the Kurdish deputies, issued an ultimatum (10 June 1963) and the same day resumed hostilities with no increased violence. As in the interval, the Ba'th had also assumed power in Damascus, the Syrians lent assistance to their 'Irāķī friends by sending aircraft and the Yarmūk Brigade. The Kurds had soon eliminated the latter. They multiplied their ambushes, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The 'Irāķī army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the "National Guard", aid of the Ba'thist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the régime aroused universal reprobation. By a new coup d'état, aided by the army, General 'Abd al-Salām 'Ārif ousted the Ba'th and took all power into his own hands (18 November 1963). Military actions did not continue any the less. Barzānī launched an appeal to the International Red Cross (September 1963; Vanly, 319-21), and the Kurds addressed themselves to the Pope on the occasion of his journey to the Holy Land (2 January 1964; *L'Orient*, Beirut, no. 5240 (4 January 1964), complete text in *C.E.K.* no. 30, 82-8, cf. Mauries, 95, 96).

With a view to finally settling the Kurdish problem, Field-Marshal 'Ārif negociated a ceasefire (10 February 1964) which Mollā Muṣṭafā accepted without even consulting the political bureau of the D.P.K. The Kurds who, as much as the 'Irāķīs, needed a breathing space, profited from it to make known to the outside world the true situation, thanks to foreign journalists who came to visit them; they renewed their provisions in livestock and munitions. The 'Irāķī government, occupied with still-born projects of Arab unity, left things to settle down, persuaded that in the end everything would be settled through weariness. Nothing came of it and the Kurds, disillusioned at seeing that no-one was seriously occupied with their demands, after October 1964 resolved to organise in effect their internal autonomy. They nominated administrative officials at all levels, levied dues and taxes, meted out justice in their tribunals. Naturally too their troops were better-and-better equipped and trained. For the Sixth Congress of the D.P.K. (1-7 July 1964), the general state of the revolution (9-10 October 1964) as well as the new organisation of the Party and Constitution (17 October), cf. Vanly, 227-44 and texts: Constitution, 375-6, Administrative Law, 376-7. On the military organisation, *ibid.*, 244 ff., Pradier, 218-23.

But the ceasefire of February was bound to provoke a serious crisis in the heart of the Kurdish insurrectional movement between Barzānī and the political bureau of the D.P.K., which in a brochure published on the 19 April, *L'accord 'Ārif Barzānī, une faute ou une capitulation?* accused him of having by this accord betrayed the objectives of the revolution. There was even a bloody engagement at Mawat, on 17 July, between antagonistic groups. At the Sixth Congress, 14 out of the 17 members of the political bureau were excluded from the party, among them Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and Djalāl Talabānī, and took refuge in Iran. This crisis due to differences of view between theoreticians and realists, despite its miseries, did not have any repercussions on the later military

events (cf. Vanly, 218-25; Pradier, 203-9, Viennot, 95-122, Arfa, 149-52).

But the ambiguity of the situation between Kurds and ʿIrāḳīs was bound soon to be dissipated. On 10 May 1964 the ʿIrāḳī government promulgated a new provisional Constitution which passed over in silence the rights of the Kurds explicitly recognised to the 3rd art. of the Constitution of 1936. This would not do for the Kurds who, for their part, had not disarmed their troops. The spring offensive was launched on the 4th March 1963 by almost the entire ʿIrāḳī army (infantry, armour, aircraft) with at its head General ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀrif, brother of the President. It began by achieving some local successes (March-May), but in summer (June-September) some murderous combats developed in the chain of Safin. The small town of Penǧwin, which had been destroyed, was occupied by the ʿIrāḳīs. Throughout this period, while the Kurds used artillery for the first time, the ʿIrāḳīs used toxic gases, but suffered heavy losses (4,294 killed, 2,202 wounded, 12 tanks destroyed and 3 aircraft shot down). Egypt helped ʿIrāḳ (*Le Monde*, 23 October). The winter campaign (22 December 1964-end February 1966) was resumed with intensity. On 1st January 1966, Barzānī sent a Memorandum to the U.N.O. (text in Vanly, 378-9). On 13 April 1966, Marshal ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif was killed in a helicopter accident. His brother, the general, was chosen to replace him as head of state. The same day as this death a new offensive began to liquidate definitively the rebellion. This campaign, which lasted from 12 April to 15 June, was particularly notable in May for the battle of Rawāndiz or Handrīn, the "Kurdish Verdun", as an eye-witness called it, R. Naurūz (171-213), and was transformed into a rout for the ʿIrāḳīs who, despite intensive use of napalm, lost 2,056 killed, 476 wounded, 600 mercenaries, the "cavaliers of Saladin" were put out of action and an enormous booty taken. The Kurds for their part only had to lament 38 killed and 83 wounded. Despite proclamations of victory, after a new ceasefire demanded from the 25 June by the government, an accord negociated by the Prime Minister Bazzāz (d. 28/6/73) was signed on 29 June 1966 (Vanly, 379, Viennot, thesis, ii, 189-92). Some secret clauses recognised in effect a certain autonomy for the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, ʿĀrif made a visit to Barzānī (28 October) to try to reach agreement with him, for the ʿIrāḳī General Staff, unhappy with the ' Bazzāz plan ' did everything to torpedo it. Again, things dragged on for a long time. But the war of 5-11 June 1967 was bound to have its counter-effect in several Arab lands, as also in ʿIrāḳ, where a new coup d'état (17 July 1967) saw General Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr install himself as President of the Republic, followed by a second coup d'état (30 July 1968) in which al Bakr took over all power and re-established the Baʿthist dictatorship, whose ' National Guard " in 1963 had hardly left behind good memories. While the Kurds maintained their material and moral potential and made a great effort in the field of primary instruction by opening 300 schools in 1968, the government flirted with the Kurdish dissidents, created an (Arabic language) University at Sulaymāniyya and the new administrative division (*liwāʾ*) of Duhok among the Kurds, but nevertheless prepared to resume hostilities. These, preceded by several skirmishes, began in April around Koy-Sandjak. The ʿIrāḳī troops had to abandon the towns of Kala Diza, Penǧwin and Čwarta, and then attacked in June the peasant population of Arbīl, Ḥalabdja and Raḍāniya, spraying the harvests with napalm and sulphuric acid. In July, cholera broke out at Kala-Diza. In August there was the massacre of Dakan, at Shaykhān. In January (5 January 1970 *L'Express* mentioned that between September and December 1969, the Kurds had stopped the ʿIrāḳī offensive outright; 151 aircraft had been shot down during the last six months. Also in January 1970, the Baʿthist régime opened negociations with Barzānī and the executive bureau. A Kurdish delegation, headed by Dr. Maḥmūd ʿUṯmān, went to Baghdad and on the 11 March, an accord on 15 points was signed at Nawperdān, in Kurdistān, between the two parties, which put an end to a war of nine years (text in *Kurdish facts* February-March 1970). The Kurds obtained their internal autonomy and the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Kurdish language became the second official language of ʿIrāḳ (Arabic text in *al Dumhūriyya*, Baghdad *a.h.* 704, of 12 March 1970; English text in *Kurdish facts*, February March 1970, German text, Nebes, *Kurdistan*, 232 s.) Five Kurds were named as ministers, the amnesty was declared on both sides. Great festivities celebrated the event. However, all the problems were not solved. There was an attempt against Mollā Muṣṭafā (29 September 1971), troubles at Sindjār (summer 1972) and controversies over the attribution of the territories of Kirkūk after the nationalisation of the I P C (1st June 1972). In June 1973, an *appel au jugement du Kurdistan irakien* for the application of the accord of 11 March 1970, emanated from combined groups and from Black Africa (*Le Monde* 15 June 1973).

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The Kurds of SYRIA and LEBANON, apart from some great families and their entirely arabised dependants, such as the Barāḍī of Ḥamāt, the beys of ʿAkkār, the Djumblāṭ Druze chiefs (Djido Rustd "sand of steel "), have preserved their original characters, although some may often have been settled for several centuries and, in every case, well before the establishment of the French mandate. They posed practically no political problem to the mandatory

power and were able to develop freely a very lively cultural movement. They had a large share in the economic prosperity of the Djazīra (Rondot, *Les Kurdes de Syrie*, 94, 99 and passim, A. Muʿawwad, *al-Akrād fī Lubnān wa-Sūriyā*, Beirut 1945). But difficulties of a political order arose under the various régimes after 1957 and the plan for the "Arab Belt" (1963). Then, on the pretext of agrarian reform, the lands of the peasants were confiscated, and 120,000 Kurds forfeited their Syrian nationality, also loosing the right to become civil servants, to send their children to state schools and to be admitted to the public hospitals. All Kurdish books and music were forbidden. The names of villages were changed to give them Arab names and to settle Arabs there instead and expel Kurds (J. C. Vanly, *Le problème kurde en Syrie, 1968* (cf. Muḥammad Ṭālib Hilāl, *Durūs ʿan muḥāfaẓat al-Djazīra ʿalā al-nawāḥī al-ḳawmiyya al-ishtirākiyya al-siyāsiyya*, 1963, ed. J. C. Vanly, and 1968); idem, *La persécution du peuple kurde par la dictature du Baas en Syrie*, Amsterdam, October 1968.

(The Ed.)

iv. — Kurdish Society

The social and economic life of Kurdistan is strongly structured. If a small part of the Kurdish people still leads a nomadic life, its great majority is now sedentarised in numerous villages, but "it survives as well today, and in the countryside Kurdish society is essentially tribal" (Edmonds, 12), as always among nomads. But in the detribalised villages the organisation of the group comes under the influence of the government administration, *landlords and religious leaders. This leads to a certain* number of transformations of fundamental structures at present clearly evolving in Kurdish society, family, tribe and landlord, which we are going to examine first before considering the religious impact, then drawing attention to the social customs which are attached to them.

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society.

1. *The Kurdish family*

The normal Kurdish family consists of a cell or household composed of the father, mother and children. This household, founded on marriage is ordinarily monogamous and not patriarchal. Marriage is essential in Kurdistān there are no old bachelors or spinsters, and also no celibacy nor free love at all. Prostitution does not exist in the small Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ or Iran. Adultery is practically unknown because too dangerous. People marry young, the boys at 20, the girls at 12. But in the towns, and since the young Kurds prolong their studies, marriage is delayed. Cousins frequently marry one another. The agnatic cousin is preferred and has rights over his cousin. This way of doing things has many advantages, for the father of the bride knows his nephew better who, himself, is more in a position to protect the girl. Moreover, in the case of tribal conflicts, especially in the past, this would make one rifle more. At the same time, the marriage portion is diminished. To renounce his cousin, the agnatic cousin will exact the price of his renunciation. If not, he will be able to abduct the girl or even to shoot her as well as her parents (Daghestani, 22-3). So abduction is not therefore unknown, with all its risks (ʿAkrāwī, 130; Daghestani, 17). Marriage can also be conducted by the exchange of sisters, *berdēl* (Avdal, 222; Daghestani, 3) in this case, the marriage portion is not exacted and only the costs of the wedding feast remain. Marriage can also be conducted between people who are not related, but there is a preference for the same village or the same tribe, more than for a stranger, so that marriage is always endogamous in the broad sense. Barth (61) was able to ascertain a much greater frequency of marriage between cousins in the tribal populations (57%) than in the non-tribal populations (17%). Hence the importance of knowing lineage and names well (cf. genealogical table: Leach, 63, Barth, 31, Hansen, 116). Among the Yazīdīs and the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ strict endogamy is obligatory between some families (Avdal, Mokri, 44). The marriage portion, except to the cases cited is enacted everywhere (Daghestani, 28; Leach, 44 5; Hansen, 223-4) and is not necessarily considered by the interested parties as being a sale, as it is often seen in the West. On the contrary, they like it as an appreciation of their value. This marriage portion, which varies according to the regions and especially the social situation of the family, is paid in kind, livestock, lands, a mill, etc, or in cash, of which the sum varies enormously, and its high sum may at times cause the aspirant to despair. Despite the critics, even among the Soviet Kurds, it has not completely disappeared. Cf on this subject some poems translated in *Mashriq*, 1958. The virginity of the girl before marriage must not be in doubt and proof must be given on the night of the wedding and kept for a year at least (Nikitine, 109, 115, Hansen, 23-4, Mokri, 68).

Polygamy exists legally as much among the Muslim Kurds as among the Yazīdīs. Horizontal or simultaneous polygamy was very frequent in the past, and *was still so in the 19th century. The chiefs of tribes* did not always keep to the four legitimate wives authorised by the Ḳurʾān. Ibrāhīm Pasha, founder of Sulaymāniyya, had 40 wives (Campanile, 197); the great Bedir Khān had 14 and 99 children. At his death, 21 boys and 21 girls remained to him. These customs are now ended. In the past, polygamy was a luxury and a sign of power, today it is sometimes an economic need. It can still be encountered in the urban poorly-educated milieu (Hansen, 138), but also in the peasant milieu (Barth, 25). In any case, where it is found, it does not exceed 2% in the Kurd Dagh (Daghestani, 79) 4% in ʿIrāḳ (Barth, 24), and there are never more than two wives. Among themselves, they are called *kewi*. In Turkey and among the Soviet Kurds, polygamy is forbidden by the civil law. But vertical or successive polygamy always exists, thanks to divorce or repudiation, for three *talaḳs* suffice for a husband to be able to repudiate a wife who no longer pleases him in order to marry another. Also, the *shaykh* of Shadala at 70 had been married 29 times (Hansen, 138), and similarly old Ibrāhīm, *agha* of the Dizal (Hay, 43). The wife can also be repudiated because of sterility or the impossibility of bringing male infants into the world. In this case, she may remain with her husband. If she is repudiated for other reasons, she returns to her father and has few chances of remarrying. A woman guilty or even simply suspected of adultery will not only be repudiated, but will run a high risk of death which her own father or brother or one of his parents will be entitled to inflict on her. The children of the repudiated wife remain with their father. The widow remains in the house of the father or brother of her husband (Barth, 29). The levirate is practised at times, and a little everywhere (Daghestani, 99; Avdal, 221, Barth, 29, Edmonds, 348, Hansen, 136), not as a rule of law, but for convenience. In the Kurdish family, the husband has great authority,

but the wife also has her word to say. Speaking of the situation of the two spouses, Mrs. Hansen (127) finds that of the woman inferior to that of the man in the humble villages, equal in the village aristocracy and the educated urban milieu, but superior in the uneducated urban milieu.

The birth of a child is always desired, even if a son is not necessarily preferred to a daughter. Also, the children are numerous but decimated by a fairly severe infant mortality. The children are always well-treated, but without excessive refinement, for life is harsh. The name is given at birth and ordinarily by the women (Nikitine, 106), but at times by the mollah (Barth, 112; Hansen, 108). This name is often that of an Islamic personage or a hero of history or national legend, or it may well be one of the virtues which one wishes to see possessed by the newborn, or the name of a flower, fruit, animal with qualities appreciated by everyone. Hypocoristic forms of the name are very widespread. Some names possess at the same time the desinence *a* of the masculine and the desinence *e* of the feminine. But curiously, the masculine forms are used to address individuals who are not noble, while the feminine forms are reserved for personages of distinguished birth (Celadet Bedir Khan, *Grammaire* 58). On names, diminutives, surnames, see Edmonds, 42.

Circumcision, *sunet*, is practised a few days after the birth, either by a specialist *sunetker* or by a simple barber (Barth, 112, Nikitine, 106). In some places, the ceremony may be carried out later, when the child is 5 or 7 years old and often with several children at the same time. The chief or notable whose son has to be circumcised organises a small festivity, and offers a meal to the families concerned (Barth, 112).

2. *Tribal organisation.*

(a) *Listings of the Kurdish tribes.*

A fundamental element of Kurdish society is without dispute the tribe. We possess at present the nomenclature of all the Kurdish tribes. In 1826 Lerch already made a good summary of the Kurds of Turkey (63-87); the Russian territories (68-9) and the Persian territories (92-122). Jaba (1860) specified some numbers of them (2-8 of the Kurdish text). A map of their habitat in Transcaucasia was published by Tiflis by E. Kundrateuko (1896) and Col. Kuznov (1897). In 1908 Sir Mark Sykes recorded 305 names of Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, and G. R. Driver (1919) drew up Sykes' list differently and added the Kurdish tribes of southern Kurdistān (ʿIrāḳ) and those which remain outside the Kurdistān foreseen after the Great War (19-74). But the different political events which have occurred since then have led to many changes in the distribution and situation of the Kurdish tribes. In the Kurdish edition of his *History of Kurdistan* (1931), M. A. Zaki draws up a complete table of all the tribes (319-98, Arabic tr. [1939], 373-468 with map). The Kurdish tribes of Syria were counted by the French services of the Levant in 1930 (5th part, 137-90), and with more care and exactitude by P. Rondot in 1939. The lists published in Kurdish in *Roja nû* of the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (No. 66,14—January 1946) and those of Iran (No. 68,4 of February 1946) are not of much use, given the few precise figures, in particular. M. Mokri in Persian gives information on the Sandjābi tribes of Iran (1946), and A. ʿAzzāwi presented in Arabic (1947) an excellent study on the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (27-222). A good account of the tribes and sub-tribes of ʿIrāḳ, northern Kurdistān (18-27), and southern Kurdistān (45-51), is supplied for us by H. Field in his *Anthropology of Iraq* (1953), with their numerical importance, the names of the chiefs and the habitat. But in fact, his information is earlier than that supplied by ʿAzzāwi. In Persian, the name of 490 tribes are to be found in Mardūkh (1953), I, 75-119, and a long study on the tribes of Sanandadj, II, 10-48. Finally, in B. Kurebudat there are eight sketches of the position of the Kurdish tribes and clans of Turkey in the *wilayets* of Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Van and Hakkâri, and similarly in the border districts of Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Iran. As for the Yazidi tribes they were in their turn enumerated and placed by A. ʿAzzāwi in 1935 (90-110), and those of Sindjār and Djabal Akrād especially by R. Lescot (1938), 251-62. The interest of this vast table and listing is particularly to show the universality of the tribal phenomenon in the history and life of the Kurdish people. Clearly, it is not our concern to write at length on these different tribes. The fundamental work remains the *Sharaf-nāma* (1596). Much historical and ethnographical information is to be found in the different works of Soane (1912-26), Longrigg (1925), Leach (1940), Nikitine (1950), Barth (1953) and Edmonds (1957). An exhaustive study of the Yazidi tribes, clans and villages with statistics is given us by S. Damlūdjī (1949) in his work on the Yazidis in Arabic (224-60).

(b) *The Kurdish tribe and its components.*

"The Kurdish tribe is a community or a collection of communities which exists for the protection of its members against an external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and way of life" (Hay, 65). It is evident that a land of mountains, such as Kurdistān, favours the birth and development of groups more or less closed and shut in on themselves, as perhaps was the tribe in its origin. Although constituted like every human grouping which is formed from a kernel like the family, it would be wrong to believe that the Kurdish tribe is an enlarged family, a little in the manner of which the Bible speaks of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (F. Millingen, 284). Indeed, many contemporary Kurdish sociologists are opposed to this way of seeing things. If the vertebral column of the Arab tribe (*ḳabīla*) is a kinship line (*nasab*), among the Kurds it is the soil (*erd*), i.e. the region inhabited by all and submissive to the chief of the group (Khesbak, 68; ʿAkrāwi, 18).

However, the western sociologists who have studied tribal organisation among the Kurds (Leach, 1940; Barth, 1953; W. L. E., 1956) seem to have remarked some differences among the nomads on the one hand and the sedentaries on the other. Barth also examined the political organisation of the Djaff, a powerful federation of tribes, almost entirely nomadic until very recently (34-44 and diagr. no. 3); political organisation among the Hamawend (45-9 and diagr. nos. 4 and 5), where the economy is based on agricultural exploitation and where non-tribal elements are mixed with the population, and finally, the organisation and political structure of the Baban, a princely family (60-6 and diagr. no. 6). For his part, the anonymous W.L.E. (432) was able to distinguish in the rural population various types of social and economic organisation, e.g. the classical tribe under an *aghā* claiming a common origin and divided into *tīra* or fractions, such as the Girdi and the tribe under a "feudal" chief of different lineage, such as the Dizai and Djalī. The influence and the social role of the landlords and religious *shaykhs*, who are not chiefs of a tribe, are another aspect of the problem (cf. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 39-47).

Furthermore, real social classes are recognisable in Kurdish society. The most evident distinction exists between the villagers of tribal origin, *ayīr* (*'ashīra*) and those who are not and are named after the regions and dialects, either *kurdmanǰ* (Kurdmanǰī), *gorān* or *mukrīs*, some of them being sometimes almost the serfs of the landlords of the village (Nikitine, 124). The last name *mukrīs* should be preferred, says Edmonds (123), for the two others denote different meanings (dialect or tribe). Perhaps they are to be seen as the descendants of the autochthonous populations conquered by the warlike tribes? But even within the same tribe, there is no uniformity of rights and duties. There are the noble families, one might say, *tarīn*, such as the Begzādas; and the commoners who comprise firstly a military caste, the *zalam* (*ghulām*) (Nikitine, 125) or *pyādalā* (Barth, 42), a kind of praetorian guard of the chiefs who are recruited in all the *tīra* of the tribe (Barth, 46) and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave (Nikitine, 125), and finally the class of peasants.

Perhaps one may now give the classical scheme of the organisation of a Kurdish tribe according to Rondot (*Tribus*, 18 ff.) with regard to the Omerān. At the base is the house or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. A group of houses form a *hawsh* or *mal*, an extended family. The union of many *hawshs* constitutes the clan or *her*. The collection of all these clans gives us the tribe or *ayīr* (*'ashīra*). The *terminology* is different in Barth, who divided e.g. the Dīnārī *'ashīra* into a certain number of tribes or *tīra*, a political group not to be confused with the *boa*, a group of the same lineage. The *tīra* is subdivided into many *khēl*, each *khēl* composed of no to 30 tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. At the head of the *'ashīra* there is, or used to be, a *pasha* of the family of Begzāda, each *tīra* has at its head a *reis* (*ra'īs*); and at the head of each *khēl* an elected chief of a village, the *kkha*. Among the Hamawend, the chief of a *tīra* is called *agha*. For his part, Leach (13-14), distinguished the *'ashīra* whose "name describes at the same time the people and the territory which occupies it." It is essentially descriptive of a political grouping. It is formed of one or several clans or *hōbūn*, descriptive of a kinship grouping and divided into several subsections or *tīra*. He also finds, he says, the normal anthropological classification *'ashīra*, *hōbūn* and *tīra*, i.e. tribe, clan and lineage. This divergence in vocabulary where Arabic and Kurdish words of different dialects are mixed together hardly favours clarity of exposition.

Let us draw attention to the system of the *oba* (cf. the *khēl*), which is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and which makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is a temporary association of stock breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the *oba*. The *ser oba* or *oba bash* organises the transhumance on condition that he has dues appropriated in kind. There are still to be remarked the differentiations in the groups: the chief *ser oba* and his family, the different more or less important landlords and the simple shepherds. On this organisation of the *oba*, see Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê hard* (ed. Beirut 1947, 29), Nikitine, 149-52; Ghassemlou, 258-60. According to O. L. Vil'chevsky, *Economie de la communauté agricole chez les Kurdes*, 1936, it is around the *oba* that the "class struggle" is concentrated in Kurdistān.

(c) *The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations.*

The chief of the tribe, whatever its importance, is ordinarily called *agha*, a relatively recent title, at the earliest after the conquest of Baghdād by Sultan Murād IV in 1637 (Edmonds, 123). He always comes from the family of the chiefs. He normally acquires this rank by heredity, but not always. The eldest son generally takes the place of his deceased father, but not necessarily, for a younger brother, judged more able, because some competent or better liked, can supplant his elder brother. But the choice can also be made after the election of other chiefs or clans, or even, if necessary, by violence. In some cases even, the central government can intervene and nominate the chief directly.

In the feudal age, the chief, almost autonomous in his tribe, had to supply the suzerain, sultan or shāh, with levies in the form of troops or tributes which, naturally, he levied on his dependents, whom he had besides to aid protect in time of war and danger. But this is ancient history. Today the chief has other obligations, and especially it is to him or his representative, the chief of the village that there falls the duty of sheltering guest travellers, Kurds or foreigners, more or less numerous according to the seasons or circumstances. To collect his expenses, the chief imposes on the people of his tribe certain dues, which bear the general name of the *agha*'s right, *asatī*, either taxes on all the revenues of the shepherd or peasant, or services, *korewe*, days of obligatory work, not to mention some obligatory presents, *dāwī*, in certain circumstances (marriages, feasts) and the rights of justice or fines in cash which he can exact for theft, abduction or murder, if recourse is had to his good offices and to his intervention to regulate the litigation (details of all levies due to the chief will be found in Th. Bois, *Connaissance . . .*, 36-8 or *La vie sociale*, 510-12 and notes 46 and 47 with the references). These tribal rights should not be confused with the other rights to which the Kurdish shepherds or peasants are obligated by the landlords.

3. The *economic structures*.

(a) *Kurdish nomadism*

The nomads are essentially organised around the tribe and are devoted almost exclusively to stock-breeding in a fairly closed economy. The life of a nomad is harsh and is submissive to the heavy authority of the chief. But this way of life, both for social and economic reasons, is tending to be transformed and to disappear. On nomadism and its repercussions on the economy of Kurdistān, see J. Frōlin, *Les formes de la vie pastorale en Turquie*, in *Geografiska Stockholm Annalen* (1944), 219-72; H. Christoff, *Kurden und Armenier*, Hamburg 1935, O. L. Vil'chevsky, *Economie de la communauté agraire nomade kurde de la Transcaucasie et des districts environnants dans la 2e moitié du XIXe s.*, in *SE* (1936), No. 4-5, 135-61; N. Bogdanova, *L'exploitation féodale des nomades*, in *Arch. Inst. Acad. Sc. URSS*, ii (1939); I. P. Petrushevsky, *Essais sur l'histoire des relations féodales en Azerbaïdjan et en Arménie du XVIe au début du XIXe s.*, Leningrad 1949, 389, W. D. Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus*, Marburg 1959, 190; T. R. Stauffer, *The economics of nomadism in Iran*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1963), 284-302, V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars et la sédentarisation des nomades*, Paris-The Hague 1966. Also, X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 442; H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Aperçu sur le problème du*

nomadisme au Moyen-Orient, in *Documentation française, Notes et Etudes*, doc. No. 2095 (3 November 1955).

Some efforts at sedentarisation were undertaken between the two World Wars, in the different states where nomadic tribes, Kurds or others, were living, but both in Turkey as well as in Iran, with Mustafā Kemāl or Rizā Shāh Pahlavī, the methods used were not always well received by the interested parties. This is the reverse of Russian policy with the tribes of the Caucasus, according to R. J. M. Goold Adams (*Middle East journey*, London 1947, 95), who says that the Russians succeeded better than anywhere else in the Middle East. "In fact, their way of approaching the problem was economic as much as political and military ... For they offered the nomads lands, water and the advice of agricultural experts to make them capable of augmenting the harvests necessary for their subsistance." Elsewhere, sedentarisation has been effected without violence and in stages, as for the Djaff, for example (Edmonds, 146).

(b) *The Kurdish peasantry.*

The Kurdish population is essentially rural. The Kurd is thus a peasant in a rough proportion of 65 to 80%, although industrialisation is beginning to take place. If such are the facts, it is understandable that the land must play a fundamental rôle in the life of the peasant. The land system in force among the Kurds poses more of a problem. Until the First World War, the major part of Kurdistan was contained in the Ottoman Empire, and the land system came under the Ottoman Land Code (1858), for military fiefs had been abolished in 1839. This system existed until around 1930, in the lands (Syria, 'Irāk) which were inheritors of the Ottoman Empire (Warriner, 66). This Code recognised various kinds of properties. *mulk* property, in the absolute form *tabū*, recognised by a title deed or *senet tapo*, or in the form of usufruct, *tasarruf*, property of the state, *miri*, absolute for the state, with usufruct possible for some private individuals, properties of *mulf* or main morte, either *khayri* if the beneficiaries are works of charity, such as mosques, schools or students' hospitals, or *ahli* if the beneficiaries are minors, public properties for the use of all, *matrūka*, e.g. roads, rivers, village commons etc., and finally dead properties, *mawāt*, desert and empty lands which all belong to the state. In Iran the *khāliṣa* crown properties must be added here (Lambton, 238-58).

The extent of these different types of property varies between the countries, and in general leaves little room for the small landowner (1/4 of the rural population in Turkey, 1/4 in 'Irāk). Everywhere large landownership is the rule. In 'Irāk out of 20 million hectares of arable land, 4 millions belong to the state and 6 million to private landowners. In Iran 20% of the peasants possess 5% of the land, from 1 to 3 hectares or 1 *cot* per household. The *cot* is both the pair of oxen used for labour and the work carried out by the peasant in one day (Ghasemlou, 128). The great landowners, i.e. the state, the chiefs of tribes the religious *shaykhs* and the great bourgeois businessmen, lease out on short lets their immense lands at a price which renders the situation of the peasant highly precarious. Indeed, the dues are heavy. If, in Iran, the annual revenue of the great landowners reaches 5,600 dollars a head, that of the average peasant only reaches 60 dollars (Ghasemlou, 168). In 'Irāk, before the Second World War, the income of the Kurdish peasant came to £ 10 a year (Khoshaki). There are the dues in kind or in corvée labour (80%), in kind (15%) and for the rest (5%), which fall so heavily on the peasant. In Turkey, several systems are distinguishable *yarisikh*, where the peasant uses his own tools, plough and livestock and gives half of the harvest; *resimsikh*, where the amount of the rent depends on the situation and fertility of the soil, the manpower, the suitability of the cultivation and the degree of dependance of the peasant; and *muras hasilik*, where, in exchange for his work the farmer only touches 1/4 of the harvest (Moitalov, 25). In Kurdish Iran, the same servitudes under different names and rather similar systems are to be found: *nimchara*, in which the landowner leases out the irrigated lands and supplies the seed, and the peasant supplies the work, with the landowner taking 6/10 of the harvest and the peasant 1/10; *sīyākar*, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the beasts of labour, and takes 2/5 of the harvests; *shpul*, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives 2/5 of the harvest, and *dawudi*, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes 6/10 of the harvest (Ghasemlou, 138-8). In 'Irāqī Kurdistān the same problems are encountered. Thus for the summer harvests, tobacco or cotton, the landowner takes 1/2 and 1/3 in the case of the rice, for the winter harvests, wheat or barley, 1/10 or 1/5. In addition, there is that which is owned or levied 7.5% for the *serkal*, the agent of the landowner, 10% for the government, and in addition, all that there is set aside for the *qahwa* or coffeemaker of the master, the *mudhif* or guest house, etc. (Khosbak, 48). Also, for the distributed villages under landlords, the revenues of the soil are distributed roughly as follows. 1/4 for the landowner, 1/4 for his representative in the case of the landowners who do not always live on the spot but are settled in the towns, 1/4 for the share-cropper or farmer, and 1/4 for the agricultural worker who has neither land nor beast, but only his labour. If account is made at the end of the year, the poor Kurdish peasant is left with empty hands and overwhelmed by debts (Rondi, 26), for he is often forced to take on usurious loans in order to survive until the next harvest.

If such are the conditions of life of the Kurdish peasant, one can understand the rebellions which break out from time to time, e.g. that of the *mouvad* of the Kurd Dagh (Syria) directed by Ibrāhīm Khalil between 1930 and 1940 (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Kurdes*, 25-275), and the revolt of 20,000 families of Dizai, in 1954, who demanded the reduction of the tax to 1/5th of the harvest, the suppression of forced labour, and the suppression of gifts on the occasion of feasts or marriages (Gavan, 19).

To remedy this feudalism of the land which makes the Kurdish peasant a taxable serf, subject to forced labour at pleasure, some projects of agrarian reform have been envisaged by the governments of the regions inhabited by the Kurds. In all these lands however the feudalists, chiefs of tribes or religious *shaykhs*, privileged in the past, have been the stubborn enemies of these attempts at reform.

In Iran, since 1955, a law provides for the distribution of the lands belonging to the crown and state (Muhammad Shāh, 205). In 1960, an agrarian law aimed at regulating the property of private lands by fixing the maximum at 400 hectares for irrigated lands and 800 hectares for non irrigated lands. Provision was also made for rural co-operatives which, from 300 in the beginning, rose to 4,500 in 1965 and 6,000 in 1969. But above all, the Shāh proclaimed the "White Revolution" (26 January 1963), approved by referendum and which, in its

twelve points, was among other things to lead to the abolition of feudalism and the liberation of the peasant. In Turkey, since 1938, provision has been made for the purchase of the lands of the great landowners to distribute them to the peasants, but few have benefited from it. A legal project regarding agrarian reform was promulgated on the 21 June 1945, which envisaged the distribution of the lands of the state and of landowners whose area exceeded 500 hectares, but this art. 27 was abrogated in 1950. The price had to be paid within 20 years (Mouselev, 14). A new agrarian project began in 1961. The deplorable situation of the peasants was acknowledged, hence it was concerned with the distribution of the lands belonging to the Treasury, 8 million *dönums* (in Turkey 1 *dönum* = 1,000 m² approx.), those managed and cultivated by the state, quite extensive to the provinces of the east and south-east, those of *mülks*, of which there still remained 1 million *dönums* to distribute; and finally the private estates, whose total area exceeded 38 million *dönums* (Vatan, 14-15). In 1965, out of 13,591,822 members of the active population, nearly $^{6}/_{7}$, i.e. 9,764,652 lived by agriculture (Esenkova, 116). They were also the most unprovided for (cf. M. Makal, *Bizim köy*, Fr. tr. *Un village anatolien, récit d'un instituteur paysan*, Paris 1963, Eng. tr., *A village in Anatolia*, London 1954).

In ʿIrāḳ, the agrarian policy of the royal government was originally rather favourable to the chiefs of tribes, Arabs or Kurds. In 1932, law No. 50 (Dowson) assigned landed property, pasture or arable, to the tribes, then law no. 51 (called *lazma*) assigned to the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In 1933, Law No. 28 forbade the peasant "in debt" to leave the land of his master, unless his house was destroyed. Finally, in 1954, Decree No. 22 allowed the Minister of Justice to assign the national properties. Furthermore, e.g. in 1952-4, 1,794,360 *dönums* (in ʿIrāḳ a *dönum* = $^{1}/_{4}$ hectare) were distributed to 6,663 peasant families from the region of Sindjār, but the major part was assigned to Aḥmad al-ʿĀdil, *shaykh* of the Shammar (Warriner, 180)

Such a situation could not continue. After 30 August 1958, the new Republic published an agrarian law which was aimed at putting an end to feudalism, to raise the social level of the peasant and develop agriculture. According to this law, the area of properties should not exceed 250 hectares in irrigated lands and 500 hectares in non irrigated lands. The benefits of cultivation were strictly regulated. The lands thus freed had within five years to be distributed to the peasants from 30 to 60 *dönums* of irrigated lands or from 60 to 120 *dönums* of non irrigated lands. The landowners had to be compensated in goods from the Treasury at 3%, reimbursable in 20 years (Vernier, 396). There was euphoria among the peasants, who did not wait to help themselves, and a general outcry on the part of the landlords, and many rebellions had to be faced

In these different lands, the Kurdish peasant was bound to benefit from these agrarian reforms. But it is not sufficient to have the land, he still had to have the means to cultivate it. The means are lacking or insufficient: seed is expensive, the agricultural equipment rudimentary and primitive, everywhere medieval ploughing methods are still in use, the indispensable irrigation works are expensive and the co-operatives cannot answer all needs. The Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, as Kurds, are the only ones to have their word today. Thus the D.P.K. at the time of its Seventh Congress, in November 1968, published its programme whose long article 14 presents its views on the group of projects which take account of the special needs of their region (Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 363-6). A witness records a partition of lands at which she was present in Kurdistān in 1964, Joyce Lussu, *Anche i Kurdi conquisteno il loro socialismo*, in *Rinascità Sarda*, an. ii, No. 9, 10 March 1964, 19.

These problems of the land are not posed in the same manner for the Kurds of Soviet Armenia. Indeed, the First World War was still not finished when the peasants of the Alagöz rebelled with the cry of, "We want the land. How long are we to remain slaves?" They were excited by their young compatriot who relates it himself (Ereb Şemo, *Sînand hurd*, Beirut 1947, 62). After many struggles against the *bulaks*, the dream was realised, but perhaps not in the fashion originally envisaged. From then onwards, property has been collective and the peasants enrolled in the *kolkhoz* (cf. Arustova, *Kurdi Zdsokar'ya*, 1966, 64). Instead of the plough and cart of the past, it is the tractor and the combine-harvester which serve to cultivate the lands of the *kolkhoz*. Hence the standard of living of the Kurdish peasant has been noticeably raised. But perhaps this new life is somewhat idealised in the work (le Armenian) of Emine Evdal en the *Manners and customs of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*, 1957 (cf. Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, 105-9; P. P. Mousalev, *Le problème agraire en Turquie*, in *Sovietskoe Vostokovedenie*, 1956, No. 1 (Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franç., Articles et Documents*, No. 0.369, 14 June 1954, 8-13); Warriner, *Land reform and development in the Middle East, a study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq*, 1957, 1962; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia, a study of land tenure and land revenue administration*, London 1953, 1969, P. Rossi, *L'Irak davanti la riforma agraria*, in *Oriente*, viii/3 (1958), 81-93; *La réforme agraire en Irak* in *al-Bilād*, Baghdād, 21 September 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franç., *Articles et Documents* No. 01027, 29 November 1960, *Un projet (une) de réforma agraria*, in *Vatan*, Istanbul, of the 9 and 12 October 1961, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franç., *Articles et Documents*, No. 0.1174, 9-10; Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961; *B.* Vernier, *L'Irak aujourd'hui*, 1963, ch. 19, *Structure du secteur rural*, 371-7, ch. 22, 1, *La réforme agraire*, 397-406, H. Mandras and Y. Tavernier, *Terre, paysans et politique*, Paris 1963, Jaafar Khayyat, *The Iraqi village, a study in its condition and reform*, Beirut 1950 [in Arabic], anon., *Notre question de l'Est aux yeux d'un musulman*, in *Yön*, 3rd yr., No. 90, 28 December 1964 [in Turkish], İsmail Beşikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'da ger birakilmişliği olayımız* ("The under development of Eastern Anatolia"), in *Ant*, No. 10, February 1972, 46-73, idem, *Doğu Anadolu'nun düzeni. sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik temeller*, ("The situation of Eastern Anatolia: its socio-economic and ethnic causes"), *Iran-Shahr, a survey of Iran's land, people, culture, government, economy*, Tehran Univ. Press 1963, published with the assistance of UNESCO, I, 127 pp.)

B. The religious impact

Kurdish society, based on the land (tribe and village) and blood (family), is coloured by a religious aspect which appears often in daily life (cf. Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 47-8). The central kernel of the present Kurdish habitat, to the east of the Tigris, around Lakes Van and Urmiya, as well as in the north and east of ʿIrāḳ, was contained before Islam within the Sāsānid empire (224-642) where Zoroastrianism became the state religion. But already before that, in the time of the Parthians, Christian evangelisation had encountered there some Jewish groups against pagan populations who worshipped trees, had

a solar cult and sacrificed to the devil. Some of them were converted. The *Acts of the martyrs of Persia* (Syriac ed. Bedjan, Leipzig 1892) report that these autochthonous Christians suffered under Sapor II (309-63). But at the beginning of the 5th century the church was reorganised, bishops were installed in all the Kurdish lands (cf. P. Labourd, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (224-632), Paris 1904, *passim*) and a number of monasteries were built, some of which were maintained until the invasions of Timūr (1336-1405); cf. Fley, *Assyrie chrétienne*, *passim*. But the mass of the people followed the official cult, and the Kurds recognise that their ancestors could have been *madjūs* (*q.v.*) or followers of Zoroaster (Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 424).

The fall of the Sāsānid dynasty (642) favoured the Islamisation of the country that the Arabs had begun to invade a decade or so previously. This happened neither without a flaw nor without regret. But after many combats in which they allied themselves sometimes with the Sunnīs, sometimes with the heretical Khāridjīs the Kurds ended by rallying collectively to the new religion. Having become Muslims faithful to the Sunna, the Kurds follow almost in their entirety the juridical school of al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820), as the *Sharaf-nāma* already recognised (i, 24) and also Evliyā Čelebi (iv, 75).

In the course of history, the Kurdish chiefs of the community have shown a fine religious zeal without the national factor intervening, beginning with Ṣalāh al-Dīn or Saladin (1137-93). They immortalised their passing by building mosques, schools, hospitals or simple fountains (*Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Cairo, 96-7). Alongside these builders, an intellectual élite, *'ulamā'* and *fukahā'*, devoted itself to the study of theology and law. Also to be noted are the famous *madrasas* of Bitlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, 455, 495), of Diyārbakr (*ibid.*, 272) and of Zākho (*ibid.*, 147). At Akhlāt, one of these scholars worked on the construction of the Observatory of Marāgha in the 7th/13th century (*ibid.*, 409). 'Amādiyya is also a centre renowned for its masters (cf. Damlooji, *Imārat Bahdīnān*, 59-62; of 'Abbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān*). The famous university of al-Azhar in Cairo counts numerous Kurds as teachers of theology (cf. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 280). The cemetery of Eyyūb in Istanbul and that of Scutari contain the tombs of numerous Kurds who, in the Ottoman period, held the post of *Shaykh al-Islām* (cf. Th. Bois, *La religion*, 7).

But over against this official and institutionalised Islam, there has sprung up a popular Islam, often on the fringe of the authorities, civil as well as religious, and which leads a very active life. It is the world of the small folk, peasants or artisans, illiterate for the most part, a kind of secular tertiaries attached to a mystical *tarīka* and linked directly to a *shaykh* who serves them as spiritual guide, *murshid*. From the 6th/12th century onwards Ṣūfīs entered Kurdistān and prospered there (cf. Lescot, *Enquête*, 23-4). Today, the principal brotherhoods strongly implanted among the Kurds are the Kādiriyya, who trace their origin to 'Abd al-Kādir al-Gīlānī (1078-1166), who died at Baghdād and was a Kurd himself, and the Naḳshbandiyya, who claim attachment to Bahā' al-Dīn of Bukhārā (1317-89) and are quite widespread in the Islamic world, especially in India and as far as China. This *tarīka* was introduced into Trāḳ Kurdistān at the end of the 19th century by Mawlānā Khālid after a journey to Dihlī. He was of the Djāf tribe, born at Kara Dag in 1779 and dying at Damascus in 1826 (cf. Rich, *Residence*, i, 140-1, 320-1; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 212-15; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 77-8). He was to encounter strong opposition on the part of the Kādiri *shaykhs* but ended by supplanting some of them. In south Kurdistān, the disciples of the Kādirī order are ordinarily called *darwīsh* and those of the Naḳshbandīs are termed Ṣūfī (Edmonds, 63). The meetings of the brotherhood are held with the *shaykh* in his residence *khānḳāh* or *takiyya* or simply *tekke*, a kind of monastery-hospice where the *shaykh* who keeps open table there dispenses his teaching to his *murīds*. But in every place where a mystical *tekke* is established, in a tribe or in a village, some tensions are going to be produced almost automatically. For the *shaykh* is rich, he is the owner of numerous villages, and because of that he is opposed to the *agha* of the tribe who sees there competition with his authority, he is endowed, it is believed, with supernatural and miraculous powers and also is regarded askance by the orthodox *'ulamā'* who have almost no faith in him and distrust him, finally, and above all, he often has the ambition to play a political role, whence the suspicion which he meets with from the government authorities. On the other hand, the credulity of the *murīds* is well imaginable, and their fanaticism can lead to many excesses and eccentricities. Hence from time to time some individuals with an inner light arise who claim to be their *mahdī*, or who are reformers without a mandate but preaching social revolution. Examples abound (Campanile, *Storia*, 91-3; Nikitine, *op. cit.*, 221, Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 43; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 52-3; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 74-6). A recent group of Naḳshbandīs, the Nurcular, was founded by the Kurd Sa'īd Nūrsī (1870-1960); 232-3, 338-42, [1961], 72-4). The hand of the *shaykhs* and their adepts, especially Naḳshbandīs, is to be found in many uprisings in Turkey and in 'Irāḳ, with the bloody government reactions which follow, as e.g. the movement of Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh of Nehrī (1880) and that of Shaykh Sa'īd of Pīrān (1925), which brought about the closure of all the mystical *tekkes* in Turkey, and also the insurrections of Shaykh Maḥmūd of Barzindja (1919 and 1922).

The teaching of certain *shaykhs*, in order not to be revolutionary, must be heard and followed with prudence. Such is the mystical doctrine and procedures for contemplation of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Shāfi'ī al-Naḳshbandī of Arbīl (d. 1904) in his *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb*, in numerous editions (7th in 1961), cited by A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, and the French translation of his mystical technique of *dhikr* by J. Gaillard, *Petite philocalie de la prière du coeur*, Paris 1953, 234-48.

But these different brotherhoods, despite all their excesses and political involvements, are always considered as integral parts of orthodox and official Islam. It is not the same with some sects who, pushing their theories to the extreme, have left Sunnī Islam, such as the Yazīdīs (*q.v.*) who, born of the 'Adawiyya of Shaykh 'Adī b. Musāfir (ca. 1073-1162), have diverted their spirituality completely from it to the point of having forgotten their origins (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Yazidis, essai historique et sociologique sur leur origines religieuses*, in *Mashriq*, iv (1961), 109-28, 191-243). Similarly, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (*q.v.*) are really Shī'ī extremists. Dr. Mohammad Mokrī has published numerous Gūrānī and Persian texts concerning them, e.g. *L'évolution kurde*, Paris 1966. Edmonds studies the members of the sect at the 'Irāḳ Iranian frontier, known by the name of Kakaī, *op. cit.*, 289-307; idem, *The beliefs and practices of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Iraq, in Iran*, *Journ. Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, vii (1969),

80-101. Also to be encountered among the Kurds are some aberrant small groups in ʿIrāk, such as the Sarlī who are connected with them and, around Mawṣil, the Shabāk who are Kurdish Kizilbāsh, not without contact with the Bektāshīs, formerly so powerful in Turkey (Edmonds, 268 9).

Bibliography. In Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 228-33, is to be found an excellent account of the theories of N. Marr, *Ethnè o slove Čelèsh*, in *ZAF*, xx (1918), 99-154, G. R. Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, in *BSOS* (1922), 197-215, Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, in *RHR* (1922), 147 56; idem, *Une apologie kurde du sunnisme*, in *RO*, viii (1923), ii, 170-60; idem, *Les thèmes religieux dans les textes kurdes du sud-est*, in *Actes du Cong. univers. d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1925, ii, 428-34; idem, *Les Kurdes racontés par eux-mêmes*, in *Asie française* (1925), No. 231, 248-57; P. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes de l'Asie antérieure, Quelques aspects sociaux des populations kurdes et assyriennes*, in *BEO*, Damascus, vi (1936), 1-50, Th. Bois, *La religion des Kurdes*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xi (1961), 105-38, J.-M. Fiey, *A la recherche des anciens monastères du nord de l'Irak*, in *POC*, ix (1959) idem, *Assyrie chrétienne Contributions à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du Nord de l'Irak*, Beirut, i, ii, 1965, iii, 1969, Bois, *Monastères chrétiens et temples yezidis dans le Kurdistan irakien*, in *Mashriq*, lxi (1967), 75-102; D. N. MacKenzie, *Pseudoprometheus kurdicus*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 170-3, J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam* Oxford 1971 R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Beirut 1938; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967

Religious texts in Kurdish Cf Huart, *La prière canonique musulmane*, in *JA* (1895), 86-109, K. A. Bedir Khan, *Derûbi şerîetê*, in *Kulturano Hawarê*, 22 Damascus 1938; idem, *Tefsîru Qurani*, 2dra I-iv, v. 48, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27 37 (15 April 1941 to 25 March 1943), Idem, *Hedîsên Cemhê Pêxembir*, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27 47 (27 July 1942), D. N. MacKenzie, *A Kurdish creed*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 262-70

C. Customs and social traditions

1 *Dress*

Clothing is characteristic of man. The style of clothing changes from one country to another and varies with the social rank [see DRESS] It also evolves with the times So it is among the Kurds Today, the costume of the Kurds tends to fall into line with Western costume, in order to conform with the law *(September 1925) in Turkey, and to follow* the fashions, especially the masculine ones, for the other Kurds of the towns. But all the Kurdish women and the men in the villages keep to the traditional national costume The evolution of Kurdish clothing can be followed through the accounts of travellers and the sketches that they give us, e.g. Campanile (1810), 135-40, Rich (1820), i, 180-1, 287-9; Frazer (1834), i, 71, 85 7; or in addition Binder (1885), 172 n. 1; Soane (1912), 399-402 and Nikitine (1956), take up the descriptions of their predecessors. One must wait for the women to have detailed information on the modern dress of the Kurds. Mrs Aristova (1965), 208 16, speaks of the Kurds of Transcaucasia and gives some photographs of the woman's jewels, and Mrs. Hansen (1961) has a very long chapter (55-98) to explain to us in detail the materials and colours of different parts of the clothing, with what is specifically Kurdish, what is the consequence of Islamic customs, and what derives from Western influence, together with measurements, diagrams and numerous photographs, so that one may have an exact idea of the present national Kurdish costume, for men as well as for women. Wide jewels of every kind and in every material, gold, silver, precious stones, necklaces, bracelets and pendants, sparkle on the costumes of the women, the pride of the man is to be noted in their arms, cartridge pouches and damascened belts, chased daggers and lethal revolvers. The pipe and the tobacco pouch also form part of the Kurd's accoutrement.

2 *Marriage and burial customs.*

From the cradle to the grave, man is everywhere accompanied by customs or traditional rites, which vary with civilisations. Among the Kurds are to be found some customs very much alive which have been preserved from time immemorial. The choice of a fiancée, her toilette before the wedding, the price of prenuptial virginity, whose linen bloodied by the ruptured hymen will bear clear proof, the crossing of the threshold and introduction into her new household, the joys at the birth of the first baby, after a confinement which has nothing of a story about it (cf. A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946, 109-21), are the occasion of usages respected by all. It does not concern us to give a systematic and exhaustive account, but to indicate some examples, according to the various Kurdish regions Kurds in general: Campanile, 103-5, R. A. Bedir Khan, *La femme kurde*, in *Hawar*, 19 (1933), 6-8/294-6, Tawoßparêz, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *ibid.*, 52 (1943), 12-16/764-8 Kurds of ʿIrāk: Barth, in *op. cit.*, 24-9/29 37; Edmonds, 235-6; Hansen, 125-38. Kurds of Iran and the Urmiya region *ibid.*, 113 15. Kurds of Syria and the Kurd Dagh: K. Daghestani, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1931, *passim*. Kurds of Azerbaïdjan, Nikitine, 208-11. Kurds of Transcaucasia. E. Aydal, *op. cit.*, 22-83 (cf. Nikitine, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix [1960], 61-6). Kurds of the Alagöz. Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd, The Kurdish shepherd*, ed. Beirut, 44-7, 124-8 Kurds of Afamut: Freya Stark, *The Valley of the Assassins*, 1946, 270-1 Yezidi Kurds: Giamil, *Monte Singar. Storia di un popolo ignoto*, Rome 1900, 45-9, Isya Joseph, *Daul worship*, Boston 1919, 186-91 E. S. Drower, *Peacock angel*, London 1941, 17-25, 86; S. Damīnḍji, *al-Yazīdiyya*, Mawṣil 1949, 276-88. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ Kurds: M. Mokri, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1962), 42-68

The funerary rites are no less varied, whether in regard to the *toilette* of the dead, the funeral *cortège* or *hotel*, the ceremonies of mourning and the tree of the deceased, *dara şîn*, or the collective meal of condolences. Descriptions of them are found for the Kurds in general: Campanile, 62-6, with a fine elegy, Nikitine, 233-8, Mukri Kurds: O. Vilčevsky, *Mukrinskie Kurdy*, in *Narodnomuzikalnyi etnograficheskiy Sbornik*, i (1958), 214-28. Kurds of Turkey: Ahmed Mêrxanî, *Bîranyêd min* ("My memoirs"), Erivan 1966, 89-91 Yezidi Kurds: Lescot *op. cit.*, 154-6; Drower, 97 8, 285-6, I. Joseph, 192-3, Damīnḍji, 70-2. Children's funerals: Hansen, 159 43.

3 *Festivals and seasonal rites.*

Among the numerous festivities which punctuate periodically the life of the Kurdish people, the Islamic religious festivals are famous everywhere and as do

not merit special mention, with perhaps an exception for the *mawlid* or festival of the birth of the Prophet. Indeed, the brother-in-law of Saladin, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūrī, governor of Arbil, is perhaps at the origin of this festival which he had celebrated with much solemnity and gaiety in 604/1207. An account of it has been given by a native of Arbil, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), French tr. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 228 25. On the occasion of the festival, a panegyric is read, of which numerous specimens are to be found in Kurdish. Let us cite simply the *Mawlidnāma* of Mullā Aḥmad of Bātē (1425 95?) edited in Cairo in 905 and re-edited in Istanbul in 1929 and always used; Elyās Pēxember, *Life of the Prophet*, edited in Damascus, in *Kulīsana Hawarē*, 4 (1933); Shaykh Muḥammad Khāl, *Mewlidnāma i new eser* ("The new account of the birth of the Prophet"), Sulaymānī 1937, *idem*, *Mewlidnāma*, in *Kurdistān* (Tehrān) Nos. 266 ff., Mullā Ḥasan Ḥartūshī, *Mewlidnāma*, in *ibid.*, Nos. 43-134 (1960-2).

A very popular festival among the Kurds, and now official in ʿIrāḳ since the establishment of the Republic (1958), is *Nowruz* (see NAWRŪZ), or the festival of the new year, i.e. in spring (21 May). It is a sort of national festival of the Kurds. Moreover, it has always been celebrated by the Yazīdīs, who are supposed to have preserved many ancient traditions and who call it *Serṣal*. There is also the Festival of the New Year (cf. Lescot, *op. cit.*, 71). The festival is in any case older than Islam, as "myth of the eternal spring" which was always celebrated in the Iranian world (cf. G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, 58 67). It is said to have been instituted by the mythical King Djamshīd (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 145). Today, the official festival is accompanied by speeches, poems, dances and theatrical scenes, where the myth and struggle of the smith Kāwe against the dragon Zahḥāk or Aẓī Dahaka is mimed, a prefiguration of the struggle of the Kurdish people for its independence. In Sulaymānī, the festivities are associated with all kinds of entertainment and masquerades with a false *emīr*. It is a real carnival (Edmonds, 84-5, Tawfīḳ Wahbī, *The rock sculpture of Gundūk caves*, in *Sumer* iv/2 [1948], Fr. tr. in *BCEK*, vii (1949), 2-23 Ereb Şemo cites another form of carnival: *Kone geldi, Ferhang*, in *Berevn*, Erivan 1969, 81-2. It is in connection with this festival that a special cake, *nemam ġaran*, is baked, which, by night, ʿĀʾisha or Fāṭima will come to bless by touching it with their hands. It is eaten in the family and with friends, with the aim of having offspring (Wahbī, 11-12). In Iran on the eve of the New Year, magical rites are mixed with the rejoicings (M. Mokrī, *Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du "Dernier Mercredi de l'Année" en Iran*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963, 288 ff.) The girls make vows then. Thirteen at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in the lap (Massé, *op. cit.*, 159) Abroad, the Kurdish students celebrate this national festival with gaiety (Delchi Delair, *Nawroz and the legend of Kawa*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, U.S.A., ii/1 [March 1965], 3 5) Let us note further in *Kurdistān*, London, organ of the KSSE, Nos. 7/8 (1962), the poem *The festival of Nawroz* of Salīh Karadaghi, 32.

Other seasonal festivals are celebrated above all by the shepherds on the occasion which concerns them particularly: the first lambing, *zeraper*; the departure for the *zozan* or summer pasturage, *beredan*, the shearing of the sheep, *berdor*; and above all the releasing of the rams, *beran berdan*. Ereb Şemo, *ibid.*, 58, has described these entertainments with many picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed that he had discovered in this last festival reminiscences of ancient myths (*Ein Fest bei der Kurden und im Avesta*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1960], Uppsala 1962, 7 10 The peasants also have their traditions. At the time of the harvest, the first sheaf reaped is offered to the stranger who passes by (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 51), and the gathering of the mulberries is the occasion of a festival with a special dance, *gelan*, the sweeping, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries (Edmonds, 170, n. x).

Although it does not really concern us here as a festival properly so called, let us indicate some more or less superstitious practices which relate to the cycle of nature and whose origins stretch back without doubt into remote antiquity. If activities to make the rain stop are mentioned only rarely (cf. Nikitine, *Une apologie kurde*, 16), by contrast T. Wahby, *op. cit.*, 7 9, counts no less than nine different rites, more or less laughable and doubtless efficacious, to combat drought and obtain rain. If the prayer *noja baranê* does not suffice, a dervish is to be thrown into a water tank or women are to harness themselves to a plough and till the river. Still other singular acts are to be performed in order to have one's prayers finally answered (cf. S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie (en Kurdistan)*, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii [1906], 633)

4. *Dances and music.*

The Kurd sings always and everywhere. All the family festivals, birth, circumcision, and especially marriage, are accompanied by dances and songs, and equally the tribal or peasant gatherings and some religious ceremonies. The name of the dances varies according to whether it designates the region or the tribe where it is danced, e.g. Botanī Serhedī, Şēxanī, or according to the different figures which distinguish them, *zīgzīg*, *girawī*, *xuyas*, or the rounds *govend* and *çopī*. The students have a special dance *bilīte* or *bilūte*, of which Tawūsparē has given us some examples and has described the rhythm (*La vie universitaire au Kurdistan*, in *Hawar*, No. 53 [15 March 1943], 772 6) The old or more recent travellers admired the particularities of these Kurdish dances (e.g. F. Millingen, *Wild life*, 378-9, or Edmonds, *Kurds*, 84, Drower, *Peacock angel*, 230-4; Bois, *Connaissance*, 81-2, cites the name of twenty dances) Let us note that these folkloric dances are mixed, which distinguished the Kurds from the other neighbouring Muslim peoples

Kurdish music, inseparable from the dances and songs, is part of what it is convenient to call oriental music, but it cannot be confused either with Arabic music or with Armenian or Turkish music at all, although it has had an influence at times on the songs of the neighbouring countries, such as Iran or Mesopotamia (cf. S. Jargy, *Chant populaire et musique savante en Proche Orient arabe*, in *Orient*, vi/2 [1958], 108 9) Kurdish music today is not learned, but popular, and knows neither harmony nor polyphony. Its melodies, as numerous as varied, preserve a serious, pathetic, quite often melancholy character, as a consequence quite astounding among this warlike people (cf. Dulaurier, *Chants épulaires de l'Arménie*, in *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 10 April 1832, 224 55). Western travellers have not failed to draw attention to the originality of this music. Some have felt the attraction and very palpable charm of these chants, others, on the contrary, e.g. Mrs Hansen, 129-9, have found this music "flat and false" with its 17 tones. It was an Armenian priest, Vartabed Comitas (1869-

1935) who was the first to gather and note down some popular Kurdish songs (*Quelques spécimens des mélodies kurdes*, in *Recueil d'Erevan*, Moscow 1904, and re-edited in Erivan in 1959). In Erivan precisely, the Malikhan School of Music is formed of young Kurds who study the traditional songs with the old *dengbēj* or troubadours. Thos Nora Cewari noted 33 *Chansons de danse kurdes*, 1960 gathered at Tiflis. For her part, Camila Celil has published two annotated collections of *Chants populaires kurdes*. The first, at Erivan (1964), gives the Kurdish text and the musical annotation of 75 pieces, the second, at Moscow in 1965, apart from the Kurdish text, gives the musical notation and Russian translation of 100 varied songs. In 'Irāḳ, since 1938, a society of Kurdish music has been organised with a view to preserving, standardising and developing in Kurdish music (cf. B. A. Ali, *An approach to Kurdish music*, in *Kurdistan*, K.S.S.E., 2 March 1938), 3-6, S. S. Gavan, *Dwdad nation*, London 1938, 15). But Europeans too are interested in Kurdish music (cf. Dr D. Christensen, *Tanzlieder der Hakkari-Kurden. Eine materialkritische Studie*, in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völker Kunde*, Berlin i [1963], 22-47). This is a very serious study of the dance, instrumental and vocal music of Hekkāri, whose melodies the author analyses and whose style and rhythms he studies scientifically. See also Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *The Music of Kurdistan Jews. A synopsis of their musical styles*, in *Yuval, Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, ii, Jerusalem 1971.

The Islamic religion does not authorise music at all in its liturgy, and music has taken refuge in the rites of the different *ṭarīḳas* where its use probably dates from the foundation of these groups (cf. Trimingham, *op cit.*, 198, 196 and *passim*, M. Mokri, *La Soufisme et la musique*, in *Encycl. de la Musique*, Paris 1961, 1082 15). From there, music has passed without any problems into the aberrant acts of the Yazīdīs, into their processions and their gatherings for *samāʿ* or religious recital. These religious songs of the Yazīdīs had already been noted by H. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, 507, Nos. 609-9. Similarly, E. S. Drower (*op cit.*, 118-19), recorded the rhythm of the drums in the course of a ceremony. As for the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Mohammed Mokri enlightens us on their musical customs in his article on *La musique sacrée des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encycl. des musiques sacrées*, Paris 1968, 444-55.

Musical instruments among the Kurds are often manufactured by artisans. The most usual are, among wind instruments, the pipe, *bilūr*, which every shepherd carries in his bag, the *surna*, a kind of clarinet or oboe which has a place in all the dances, and the *duzale*, a flute with two pipes of reed or bird bone, pierced with holes and whose mouthpiece has a kind of vibratory tongue. The sound resembles that of the Scottish bagpipes. The percussion instruments include the *dahol* or bass drum which is beaten on both sides, the *tefil*, a narrow drum, a kind of tattledrum in pottery covered with a thin which is beaten with the fingers; and the cymbals, *seilīs*, are sometimes used by the Yazīdīs in their religious ceremonies. Among the stringed instruments, there are the *rībāb* or monochord viol, the *kemanī* or *kemance*, violin, and especially the *tanbūr*, the lute, whose player plucks the strings in the sacred and heroic songs. The nomenclature of all these instruments varies with the regions. A description of some clumsy impressions of musical instruments is found in *Serincirk le demanes-i folklor-i kurdewe*, Notes for an introduction to Kurdish folklore, Hewlēr/Erbil n.d., 36-7.

3. Games, sports and hunting.

On the occasion of seasonal or other festivals, travellers have remarked among the Kurds the practice of certain popular games or sports, always in use. It is not possible to recount them all. Among the indoor games: cards, *shenbil*, can be cited among the most frequent, especially among the townspeople, backgammon, *nard*, and above all these, *ṣeṭrenj*, the noble game par excellence. Among the outdoor games are the *cerīd* or horseback fantasia, the ball game *ṭewgan*, a kind of hockey; and many games of pursuit or throwing, not to mention some modern sports like football and basketball and some games reserved for children. Worth noting are the fights of rams, buffaloes or partridges. Much information is to be found in Tawusparīz, *Les jeux kurdes*, in *Hawar*, 42 (15 April 1942), 654-6; Kurdī we Mēṛtwarī, *Kulāb-i Yarī* Baghdād 1932, 32; M. Mokri, *Bazīkā-ye Kordī: Khurmāyla*, in *Yaghmā*, 2nd year Tehran 1331/1951, *Bazīkā-ye Kordestān*, in *Tamaddon*, 2nd ser. 7, 327 ff., Tehran 1332/1952. In his *Kurdish dialect studies*, i, Oxford 1961, 247, 228, D. N. MacKenzie gives the name of several Kurdish games; Bois, *La vie sociale*, 32-3/628-9 and notes 136-41.

The abundance of game in Kurdistān, furred and feathered, already mentioned above, is at the origin of the Kurd's passion for hunting. The best way of learning about this outdoor sport is to read the two articles of Osman Sabrī, who explains in them the methods employed with the art of an experienced hunter. *Nāçīr* ("Hunting") in *Ronahī*, 27 (1 August 1943, 317 23, 28 (1 Sept. 1943), 347 50. The bear is hunted in three ways (327), also the hyena (327), the ibex (328), the fox (329) and the hare (329). There are five ways of hunting the partridge, with the spear, the decoy, the rifle or the running noose, depending on whether one wishes to capture it alive or to kill it (320). Game can also be hunted with the help of birds, sparrow-hawks or falcons of three different kinds and at a more or less expensive cost (321 2). The way in which these birds are trained is also indicated (347-8). O. Sabrī very much appreciates hunting the hare with the help of a hound, of which there are several kinds (348 9). The author does not forget fishing (319), which may be done with the net, hook or harpoon. Hamilton devotes a whole chapter to the hunting of the ibex, so picturesque and so difficult (*op cit.*, 163 73). There are also to be found patterns of different bird-calls or whistles, traps, nets, running nooses or snares used for certain forms of hunting, in *Serincirk, op. cit.*, 99-102.

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Erivan 1933; Fr. Barth, *Principles of social organization in southern Kurdistan*, in *Unes. other Mus Bull*, vii Oslo 1953; W. L. E., *Iraqi Kurdistan, a little-known region*, in *The World today*, October 1956, 417-32; C. J. Edmonds, *The Kurds of Iraq*, in *MEJ*, xi (Winter 1957), 52-62; Nikitine, *L'état social des Kurdes et du Kurdistan, d'après les publications russes récentes*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlvi/2 (1959), 49-55; L. M. Kotlov, *Le soulèvement de libération nationale de 1920 en Iraq*; O. L. Vilkovsky, *Les Kurdes Moukri*; T. F. Aristova, *Aperçu de la culture et du mode de vie des paysans kurdes de l'Iran*; cf. also A. N. al-Saadi, *The Kurds in Iran*, in *Kurdistan*, KSSE, iv (April 1959), 11-14; Nikitine, *La structure sociale des Kurdes de Transcaucasie*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xliii/2 (1960), 61-6 (i.e. E. Avdal, *Way of life of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*), Sh. Khosbak, *al-Kurd wa 'l mas'ala al-kurdiyya*, Baghdād, N. Erdentung, *A study on the social structure of a Turkish village*, Ankara 1959, Dina Feitelson, *Aspects of the social life of Kurdish Jews*, in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 1/2 (Dec. 1959), 201-16, H. H. Hansen *Daughters of Allah among Moslem women in Kurdistan*, London 1956; idem, *The Kurdish women's life, field research in a Muslim society, Iraq* Copenhagen 1961; Barbo Karabeda, *Unter vm Kufrat, i Kurdenland*, Stockholm 1960; Mokri, *Le foyer kurde*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1961), 79-95; Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, in *Mashriq*, lvi (1962), 599-662; P. Gache, *Les Kurdes*, in *Rev. de Psychol. des Peuples*, 1964/1, 23-57, 2, 193-220, Mahmūd Bāyazīdī, *Nrawī i ebāen Kurdew*, *'Ādāt u rusūmātnāma yi Ahrāziyya*, Russian tr. and Kurdish text by Mss. Rudenko, Moscow 1966, *'Akrāwī, *Fondements psychologiques et sociologiques des traits kurdes*, Kirkūk 1972.

(Th. Bois)

v. — Language

The many forms of speech known to outsiders as Kurdish do not constitute a single, unified language. Instead it can be said that the various Kurdish dialects, which are clearly interrelated and at the same time distinguishable from neighbouring but more distantly related Western Iranian languages, fall into three main groups. The differences between dialects are generally proportional to their distance apart and beyond a certain distance certainly make them mutually unintelligible. The Northern group of dialects comprises all those spoken in the Turkish republic, the Armenian and Azerbaidjan S.S.Rs, the Mawṣil *livā'* of 'Irāk (Bahdīnān [q.v.]), and some areas bordering on these, together with those of Kurdish colonies in Khurāsān and the Turkmen S.S.R. All these dialects are known as *Kurmāndjī* (*Kurmānjī*), as the speakers all call themselves Kurmānd̲j̲ī. Within the group a sub division into Eastern and Western Kurmānd̲j̲ī can be made, from each of which a literary language has emerged. The Central group is made up of the dialects spoken in the Arbil, Sulaymāniyya and Kirkūk *livā's* of 'Irāk and the neighbouring districts of Persian Kurdistān, Kirmānshāh (Sawd̲j̲ Bulāk) and Sanandad̲j̲ī (Sinna). These dialects are generally called *Kurdī*, but are also now known collectively as *Sōrānī*, from the name of the former principality of Sōrān. The dialects of Sulaymāniyya and Sanandad̲j̲ī, especially, have gained pre-eminence as literary languages. The remaining Kurdish dialects, a heterogeneous group spoken in the areas south and east of Sōrānī, of which Kirmānshāhī is probably the most important, may be classed together as a Southern group. Some of these dialects, e.g. Lakkī, appear to merge with the neighbouring non-Kurdish dialects of Luristān. Between the Central and Southern groups of Kurdish as island of non-Kurdish speech, with mixed dialects on its shores, is formed by the area occupied by the Gūrān [q.v.]. Other Kurdish dialects are spoken by isolated colonies of Kurds scattered throughout Iran.

Northern Kurdish is more archaic than the other dialects in both its phonetic and morphological structure, and it may be inferred that the greater development of the Central and Southern dialects has been caused by their closer contact with other (Iranian) languages or, indeed, their absorption of such a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish appears to have been somewhat more open to the penetration of Arabic and especially Turkish loan words. Traditionally Kurdish has been written in various modifications of the Arabic script and still is so written in 'Irāk and Iran. The Armenian script has also been used on occasion, and in recent years alphabets based on both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been devised, especially for Northern Kurdish.

The common "Iranian" phonemic inventory of Northern Kurdish is *a-u, ā-ū-ē, ī-ī-ē, b-d-j (ǰ)-g, f-s-š (ş)-x (x̌)-h, v-z-ž (ẓ)-γ (ġ)-m-n-r* (flapped) *-ř* (rolled), *k-g-y*, to which most dialects add the "Arabic" phonemes *q* (*k̇*), *ḥ*, *ʿ*, and emphatic *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*. In the north east, probably under Caucasian (Armenian) influence, a further distinction between aspirated phonemes *pʿ*, *tʿ*, (*cʿ*), *kʿ* and unaspirated *p*, *t*, (*c*), *k* is found. In a large part of the Kurmānd̲j̲ī area *d*, *ā* are replaced by *ẓ*, *ē* respectively. In Central and Southern Kurdish the distinction between *e* and *ə* is lost, in favour of *ə*. A new distinction is made, however, between palatal *l* and velarised *ɫ* (though this coincides with *r* in Arbil), and *r* has acquired phonemic status in Sulaymāniyya and other more southerly dialects. In general, Kurdish is marked by a greater degree of phonetic development than Persian, notably of post-vocalic stops to fricatives, e.g. *āv/w* "water", P(ersian) *āb*; *šav/w* "night", P *šab*. Many post-vocalic consonants, especially dentals, have been lost, e.g. *birā* "brother", P *barādar*; *dān*, *dātin* "to give", P *dādan*, *stp* "white", P *sapīd*; as "dog", P *sag*, *šāyā* "mountain", P *šahīd*. The development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North. *mirī*, Cent. *murdū*, South. *murdag* "dead", cf. Cent. *zīndū*, *zīyā*, South. *zīnag* "alive", P. *zanda*.

There is no single early historical sound change which characterises Kurdish, but a combination of two later changes and one conservative feature serves to identify a dialect as Kurdish, viz. (i) *-m-*, *-ɱ-*, *-xm-* > *-m-* (*-w-*), e.g. *nāv/w* "name", P *nām*, *čāv/w* "eye", P *čašm*, *tov/w* "seed", P *taxm*; (ii) Iranian initial *x* > *k-*, e.g. *kar* "donkey", P *ḵar*, *kānī* 'spring, source", P *ḵānī*, *krīn* "to buy", P *ḵaridan*; (iii) Ir *čy-* > *č-* (other West. Ir > *š-*), e.g. *čūn* "to go", P *šudan*. Kurdish shares many phonetic developments with non-Persian dialects, e.g. *z-d*, *zān* "know", P *dān*; *s-h*, *dasθ* "deer", P *āhū*; *θ-s*, *θn* "woman": P *zan*, *θ-t* "day": P *rūz*, but others with Persian, e.g., *y* > *j-*, *j-*, *ǰ-*, P *jaw* "barley"; *θw* > *sw-*, *xwa*, *xo*, P *xwad*, *xud* 'self"; *rz* > *-l-* (*-ɫ-*), *pālaw-*, P *pālāy* "to filter". Taken in conjunction with a number of characteristic lexical items, these isoglosses show proto Kurdish to have been a close, if not the closest, neighbour of Persian. There is no sound evidence to suggest a Median origin for Kurdish, though it has been suggested that the name Kur-

aśoḍi may combine Kurd with a form from *Māda* "Median".

Old morphological features preserved in North. Kurd. are a distinction of case (nominative and oblique) and gender (masculine and feminine) in nouns and pronouns and the "agential" construction of the past tenses of transitive verbs, e.g. *az hātim* "I came", but *min xawnak dīt* "I saw a dream (lit., of me . seen)". Both case and gender have been lost in South. Kurd. and in the literary forms of Central Kurdish. In these dialects the pronominal suffixes, absent from North Kurd., have largely taken over the functions of the cases, cf. *ezā hātim* "I came", *xewn im dī* "I saw a dream". In some Central dialects, at least, the agential construction has developed in a remarkable way, with the verbal stem sometimes taking two personal endings, one representing a person only indirectly affected, e.g *xewn pēwa dīwa* "I have seen a dream about thee (-it, lit. 'art')", and even the agential suffix as well, *dā m-ē-w-ē* "he (-ē)" gave me (-m, lit. 'am") to (-ē) you (-w, lit "am"). Note the 3rd person pronominal *-ī*, plural *-yān*, in contrast to Persian *-ē*. All dialects have an indefinite suffix, North *-ak*, Cent., South *-ēk*, but only Central and Southern share (with Gūrānī) the definite suffix *-aka*. In all dialects the *iḍāfa* (q.v., iii), appearing in various forms, plays a considerable rôle both as relative pronoun and simple connective particle, e.g North *xawnak-ē xweš*, Cent. *xewnik-ī xoš* "a pleasant dream", North *xawn-ē min dīt*, Cent. *xewnka-y dī-m* "the dream which I saw". In the north east, the *iḍāfa* construction of both Northern and Central dialects has been contaminated, especially in the plural, by a particle *da, -d, -t*, probably of Aramaic origin, e.g Cent. (Bākrī) *pyāw-t da pātā* "the king's men", North. *kuř-ē xwe* (= *kuřā di xwa*) "his sons". (That is not, however, a "*ā* plural" comparable with those of Eastern Iranian, Ossetic, Sogdian, etc.) Central and Southern Kurdish, unlike Northern dialects, have developed a secondary passive conjugation of the verb, formed from the active present stem, e.g *kuštin, kuž-*, "to kill", Cent. *kuržān, kuržē*, South *kuž-ān, kuž-ye* "be killed".

Bibliography A comprehensive list of all studies and monographs on Kurdish in 1926 is given in Minorsky's (otherwise outdated) article on "Kurdish Language", in *EI*[1], ii, 1153 f. This is supplemented by a select bibliography in D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies I*, London 1961. Fuller, but uncritical, lists of relevant publications appear to Ż. S. Musaélyan, *Bibliografiya po Kurdovedeniyu*, Moscow 1963, and S. van Rooy and K. Tsanboer, *ISK's Kurdish bibliography*, Amsterdam 1968 ff. The following are most readily available: (1) *History*. D. N. MacKenzie, *The origins of Kurdish*, in *TPhS* (1961), 68-86. (2) *Grammars, dialect studies*. D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies* i, K. Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdskogo yazika (Kurmandžī)*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Dj. Bedir Khan and R. Lescot, *Grammaire kurde (dialecte kurmandji)*, Paris 1970; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Govor Kurdov Turkmenii*, Moscow 1962; idem, *Yazik Asmušadinskikh Kurdov*, Moscow 1965. (3) *Dictionaries*. A. Jaba and F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Kurdsko-Russkiy slovar*, Moscow 1957; T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish-English dictionary*, Oxford 1966.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

vi. — Folklore and Literature

A. Popular and folk literature.

As among all peoples whose scholarly instruction is little developed, the oral literature of the Kurds is superabundant and very rich. Prof. O. Vilčevsky was able to speak of the "hypertrophy" of their folklore. A mass of documents has also been collected and published by foreign orientalists: A. Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; E. Prym and A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890; O. Mann, *Kurdische u. Persische Forschungen. in Die Mundart der Mukri*, Berlin, i, 1906, ii, 1909; H. Makas, *Kurdische Texte* (Mardin), Leningrad 1926; F. Nikitine, *Kurdish stories from my collection*, in *BSOS*, iv (1926), 121-38; idem, *Quelques fables kurdes d'origine*, in *Folklore*, xl, (1929), 228-44. E. Lescot, *Textes kurdes*, i, Paris 1940, ii, Beirut 1942; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes d'après leurs chants populaires*, in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Beirut, Nos 5 and 6 (1946); S. Wikander, *Recueil de textes kurmandji*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*, London 1961-2. Kurds themselves, since the end of the First World War, have gone about collecting their treasures of folklore from the old folk or the decreasingly numerous professional storytellers and singers. Firstly, the Bedir Khān *emirs* from 1932 to 1946 in their reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahī*, and *Roja nû*; H. Cindī and E. Evdal, *Folklora kurmanca*, Erivan 1936; Cindī, *Folklora hêrmancî*, Erivan 1937, and there is a comprehensive survey in I. M. Resul, *Edebî folklorî kurdî*. Lêkolînewe, Baghdād 1970 (cf. Th. Bois, *Connaissance*, 117-25).

The folkloric richness is found, firstly, in the proverbs, popular sayings, enigmas or riddles. The Kurd likes to embroider his conversation with rhymed and rhythmic sentences which denote a real sense of observation. Proverbs also supply a racy summary of practical wisdom. Thousands of them have been published: E. Noel, *The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings*, in *BSOS*, iv (1927), 79-80; D. F. Marguerite and Emir K. Bedir Khan, *Proverbes kurdes*, Paris 1938; Lescot, *Proverbes et énigmes kurdes*, in *REI*, xv (1937), 307-50, reprinted and added in *Textes kurdes*, i, 189-237, Prampelani, *Proverbi kurdi*, Milan 1963; MacKenzie, *Some Kurdish proverbs*, in *Iran, JNIPS*, viii (1970), 105-13; Ismail Haqī Šaweys, *Otax i pêşînan*, Baghdād 1933, Marūf Çayawok, *Hwar bêj ū pend*, Baghdād 1930; Cegerxwin, *Gotina pêşînan*, Damascus 1957; M. Xal, *Pend-i pêşînan*, Baghdād 1957, Djamil Kenna, *Amthāl kurdiyya*, Aleppo 1937; O. Celîl, *Mesela û mal-elxêl cema'n ti'rda*, Erivan 1965-71, 2 vols.; O. Celîl and C. Celîl, *Kurdshe poslovîtsi i pogovorki*, Moscow 1972. J. Nehen, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Kurdistan*, Munich 1970. There are numerous proverbs and sayings cited in Cindī, *Folklor*, 1937, 249-81, and in the grammars of Jardine and Bedar, as well as in the dictionary of Mardukh, ii, 1-86.

The songs are infinite in number and variety: dance songs, *dîlok*, songs of love, *lawrk*, or war, *ser* or *delal*, songs which accompany the transhumance in the spring, *serlîa*, or in the autumn, *paîzok*; lullabies, *lorî*; epithalamia, *henâ* or *serbestano*, also songs of mourning, *şîn* or *gewrî*, punctuate the daily life of the Kurds from the cradle to the grave and throughout their days of hard labour. The reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî* and *Roja nû* have published hundreds of them, as have Cindī and Evdal, *Folklor*, 342-474; Cindī, *Folklora hêrmancî*, 189-248; see also Rondot, *Trois*

chansons kurdes, in *Cahiers du Sud*, No. 274 (1945), 817-24; Nikitine, *La poésie lyrique kurde*, in *Ethnographie*, xlv (1945-50), 39-53; Mokri, *Gūrānī yā tarǰumahā-yi kurdī*, Tehran 1951; G Chaliand, *Poésie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes*, Paris 1963; Cindī, *K'lamdē sma'ia K'ēdzye Irikie*, Erivan 1972. Furthermore, see the collections with musical notation mentioned earlier.

Stories and anecdotes (*ṭirak*) abound and are full of imagination. The stories of marvels allow one to forget the worries of life, the anecdotes are replete with humour, the satirical stories do not hesitate to criticize the faults of individuals, rival tribes, religious leaders, in the spirit of the fables of the Middle Ages. Above all, the Kurds are fond of animal stories which always contain a spiritual moral. M. Duiresne, in *Un conte kurde de la région de Sēʿērt*, in *JA* (1930), 107-27, Nikitine and Soane, *The tale of Sato and Tato*, in *BSOS*, iii (1923), 69-106, Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, in *ibid.* (1926), 121-38; Lescot, *Textes*, i, 2-185; Cindī and Evdal, *Folklor*, 1936, 679-651; Cindī, *Folklor* 1957, 161-88; M. Khaznadar, *Aleman kurdi and other Kurdish short stories*, Baghdād 1969; A. Brunel, *Gulasur, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946; Joyce Blau, *Trois textes de folklore kurde*, in *Études*, Brussels, vii (1965), 29-50; J. Nebez, *Kurdische Märchen und Volkserzählungen*, NUKSE, 1972.

Alongside these minor genres, the numerous much longer legends constitute choice morsels of Kurdish folklore. They can be classified in different categories which, however, are often combined. Some legends basically concern the supernatural, such as *Mamē Alan* (Lescot, *Textes*, ii, 2 369) or Silvahacē or Hozbek, others are a purely idyllic form, such as *Zelixa ū Fatīl*, *Layla ū Mayxūn*, *Seyabend ū Xasē*, *Zembilfiroş*, "the basket-seller", *Xurşid ū Xawer*, *Şīrin ū Xosraw*, *Şīrin ū Ferhad*, *Farē ū Sitīyē*, *Manon ū Bēyan*, finally, the epics with an historical plot, such as *Dimdim*, *Jelindī*, the adventures of Rustem with Zoraw, Cihangir or Zendehang and more recently the exploits of Nadir and Tepal, the Twelve Cavaliers of Merīwan, Abdul Rehman Beban as Ezdinşēr Bedir Xan. These accounts were the glory of the *dengbēj* or professional troubadours, whose class is on the point of disappearing. All these texts can be read in the collection of Mann, Socin, Cindī etc., and also Bois, *Poètes et troubadours au pays des Soviets*, in *al-Machriq*, liii (1959), 268-93; various authors, *Kurdskie ėpicheskie poemy shasē*, texts and tr. Moscow 1962, V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943), 75-103, O. Dē. Dtallov, *Kurdskoy geroicheskiy ėpos "Zlatoruhyikhan"*, Mzmow 1967; O. F. Qazi, *Mehr ū Vafa*, Tabrīz 1966; A. Ayyubian, *Çirūkē kurdī*, Tabrīz 1961; idem, *Çirūkē Xec ū Siyamend*, Tabrīz 1956, Piramerd, *Dwanzdē sward Merīwan*, Sulaymānī 1935; Gew Mukriani, *Zembilfiroş*, Hewlēr 1967; Mokri, *La légende de Bīwn-ū Mamūla*, Paris 1966; idem, *La chasseur de Daw et la mythe du Roi Asğī*, Wiesbaden 1967. K. A. Bedir-Khan and A. de Falgairolle, *Le Roi du Kurdistan. Roman épique kurde*, Gap, n.d.; K. A. Bedir Khan and Herbert Oertel, *Der Adler von Kurdistan*, Potsdam 1937; Cegerxwin, *Serpēhatiya Reswī Dart*, Damascus 1956, J. Blau, *Le kurde de ʿAmādiya et du Djabal Sindjar*, thèse de doctorat du 3e cycle, Paris 1973.

B. Written and learned literature.

Alongside the mass of illiterate people, there has always been among the Kurds a highly cultivated intellectual élite. The fact was already mentioned by the Kurd Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) in his *Kāmil* (ix, 7-8) and taken up many times in the *Sharaf-nāma* and also by other witnesses, such as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1658) (cf. Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 92, 106), or the traveller Evliyā Celebi in his travel account (1682), who was justly ecstatic when confronted with the so well stocked library of Abdāl Khān, the lord of Bitlis, cf. A. Sakisian, *Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVIIe siècle et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1937), 255-76. Unfortunately, these men of letters preferred to write their scientific works either in Arabic, the language of the Kurʾān, if the works were concerned to deal with law, theology or history, as did Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), author of biographical notices of famous men, or Abū ʾl-Fidā (672-732/1273-1332), historian and geographer, or else in Persian, as did Sharīf Khān Bidlīsī (q.v.) himself in his *History of the Kurds* or *Sharaf-nāma* (1005/1596-7), as also Idrīs Ḥakīm of Bitlis (d. 926/1520), who wrote the first history of the Ottoman Empire, *Hasht bihisht*, "The eight paradises" [see IDRĪS I, IDRĪS]. The great poet in the Turkish language Fuḍūlī (d. 963/1556) (q.v.) was a Kurd, as was the modern sociologist Ziyāʾ Gök Alp (cf. J. Deny, in *RMM*, lxi [1925], 3). Even today, many poets in the Arabic language—al-Zahāwī (1863-1936), Aḥmad Shawkī, the prince of poets (1868-1932), al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945), the sociologist Kāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the novelists al-ʿAkkād (1889-1964), Muḥammad Taymūr (1892-1921) and his brother Maḥmūd (born in 1894)—are all of Kurdish origin. The following historians who write in Persian, such as Muḥammad Mardūkh Kurdistānī, Rashīd Yāsimī and Iḥsān Nūrī, or those who write in Turkish, such as M. N. Dersimli and A. Yamulkī, are all Kurds. If the old writers knew and composed in all the great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, rather than their mother tongue Kurdish, the young authors of today use the European languages, English, French, German and even Russian, especially in Armenia, where they further add Armenian. Indeed, the Kurds have been at all times polyglots as they have been polygraphs, the same authors exercising their talents as much in poetry as in history, in the physical and human sciences and in journalism.

In 1860, A. Jaba, in his *Recueil de notices et de récits kourdes*, 3-22, gave a brief notice on eight poets, who used the Kurmanci dialect, and almost all originating from Hakkāri. Less than a century later, ʿAlī ʾal Dīn Sīdīdī published in Baghdād a *History of Kurdish literature* (1952), a large volume of 634 pages in which, after an introduction on Kurdistān and the Kurds (3-66), he recounted the stages and forms of Kurdish literature (69-246), then gave substantial notices on twenty-four poets (247-534), followed by a rather dry list of 212 other authors (535-58). Even so, he confines himself to the no longer living poets of ʿIrāk and Iran. Since then, there have been two more recent works of Maʿrūf Xīznedār, *Essay on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature* [in Russian, 1967, 232 pp.] and of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl, *Realism in Kurdish literature* [in Arabic, 1968, 236 pp.], not to mention other studies which show the progress of Kurdology since Jaba's time and felicitously complete our information on this oriental literature still so little known in the West.

1. *Origins and the classical period.*

Jaba's informant gave the 15th century as the period in which the first poets flourished: Eli Herīrī (1425-95), Şēx Ehmed Nīşanī, better-known under the name of Melayē Cizrī (1407-81) and Mela Ehmed of Batē (1444-95), who were therefore contemporaries. Mir Mihemed of Mukus, surnamed Feqiyē Teyran, was

supposed to be even earlier than them (1307-75). All these dates are to be corrected and placed later. In fact, D. N. MacKenzie in his article *Mahd-i Jazīri and Faqī Tayrān*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, showed pertinently, thanks to the method of the *ʿaḏāḏ*, that Mālāyē Cizrī lived between 1570 and 1640 and his disciple, Feqīyē Teyran, between 1590 and 1660. The most famous is Mālāyē Cizrī, later than Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390) and Jāmī (817-98/1414-92), whose *Dīwān* of more than 2,000 verses has remained very popular among the *shaykhs* and mullahs, much more than among the masses. It has always been read and commented on in the Kurdish schools of Kurdistān, but its text is difficult. His ideas are those of Persian Sūfism. His *Dīwān* was published by M. Hartmann, *Das kurdische Dīwān des Scheich Ahmed*, Berlin 1904, in photocopy, by Muḥammad Ṣeffīq Anwasī Hesenīye, Istanbul 1340/1921, Qadrī Cemīl Paşa, *Dīwana Melā*, in Latin characters, in *Hawar*, Nos. 35-37 (1941-3), incomplete text; and above all, the fine edition of Shaykh Aḥmad b. al-Mullā Muḥammad al-Bidlīsī al-Ziyāʾī, *al-ʿAʿāḏ al-dawāhirī fī sharḥ Dīwān al-Shaykh al-Ḏjazīrī*, 2 vols., 943 pp., Kamishlī, 1377/1958. Under the vocalised Kurdish text, at a lower level, are given, every two verses, an Arabic word-for-word translation, a more elegant total translation and finally a mystical commentary. Mālāyē Batē is especially known for his *Mewlūd*, published by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1909. Feqīyē Teyran, who composed an elegy on the death of his master Cizrī, is the author of numerous works, in particular of the *History of Shaykh Sanʿān*, published and translated into Russian by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1963, and in Persian by Q. F. Qazī, Tabrīz 1967.

The succeeding generation of poets cited by Jaba is dominated by Aḥmadē Xanī (1650-1706), who settled at Bayazīd. He is the author of the famous Kurdish national epic, *Mewzūn*. In this work, which has been frequently re-published, the poet adapted the popular epic *Mamē Alan*, publ. by R. Lescot, Beirut 1942, and by N. Zaza, Damascus 1957, which he recomposed according to classical literary rules, and also Islamising it more. This poem of 2,655 couplets is the real breviary of Kurdish nationalism. If the text of the popular epic *Mamē Alan* has multiple variants which have been translated into German, Fersh, Russian, Romanian, English, Armenian and Arabic, the classical poem *Mewzūn* has also had numerous editions: Istanbul 1338/1920, Aleppo 1947, Hewlēr (Erbil) 1954, translated into Mukrī by Hejar Baghdād 1960; with Russian translation by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1962, with Turkish translation by M. E. Bozarslan, Istanbul 1968. Many authors often confuse these two epics. Apart from numerous pieces of verse written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Aḥmadē Xanī is also the author of a rhymed Arabo-Kurdish vocabulary *Nūbuhār* "First fruits" edited by Yūsuf Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, of *Hadiyya al-Ḥamīdiyya fī l-lugha al-Kurdiyya*, Istanbul 1310/1892, 279-97 and also in facsimile by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, i, 1-47. His disciple and successor in his school of Bayazīd, Ismāʿīl Bayazīdī (1654-1709), also left behind many Kurdish poems and a Kurmancī-Arabic-Persian glossary, *Gulzār* "The rose garden".

In the 18th century, mention should be made of Şerīf Xan (1682-1748), of Culamerg, of the family of the *amīrs* of Hakārī, author of numerous verses in Kurmancī and Persian, and Mūrād Xan of Bayazīd (1736-76), author of numerous lyrical poems.

In the same period, but at the court of the *mīrs* of Ardalān or the sultans of Hewrāmān, appeared a whole pleiade of poets whose lyrical or religious works are in the Gūrānī dialect. One may cite Aḥmadē Texti (ca. 1840) and Şēx Ḥesenē Besaranī (1641-1708), whom Minorsky believes to be more recent (d. 1760). In this case, he would be contemporary with a whole group of poets with Xāney Qubādī (1700-59), author of a *Salawāt-nāma*, and with Maḥzūnī (ca. 1783).

It is impossible to cite all the poets who lived in the 19th century and whose works have been printed between the two World Wars. Their names and the list of their works will be found cited in the literature of Xurmadar (928 2e) and Rewāṭī (928 3a). On the poets in Gūrānī, cf. Minorsky's article, *The Gūrān*. Some have been studied at greater length by Sajjādī in his *History of Kurdish literature*, e.g. (247 7ff), Mewlewī (1806 8a). It will be noted that the dates advanced by the different authors do not always coincide, and the taste of the Kurdish poets for choosing a *takhalluṣ* or pseudonym will also be remarked.

Among the poets of the 19th century whose formation was purely religious, one may mention above all Nālī (1797-1845), who travelled extensively, wrote verses in Kurdish, Persian and Arabic, and whose Kurdish *Dīwān* was published in Baghdād in 1932 and in Erbil in 1962. Salīm (1800-66), and Kurdī (1803-45) (ed. Hewlēr 1961), whose lyricism blossoms into patriotism, the Naḳshbandī Shaykh (1830-1909) explains Ṣūfī theories (ed. Sulaymānī 1922), likewise, too, Mīrzā Reḥīm Weṣfī (1836-92) (ed. Hewlēr, 1952-61, 2 vols.). The greatest poets of the end of the century are Ḥājī Qādir Koyī (1815-92), whose patriotic poems still arouse enthusiasm in many young people (ed. Hewlēr 1953, Baghdād 1960), Şēx Riżā Ṭālebānī (1842-1910), agnostic and satirist, very popular still today and who composed verses in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish (ed. Baghdād 1935, 1946; cf. C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaikh Riza Talebani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii [Jan. 1935]), Salīm Meriq (1851-1907), writing in traditional forms and on Ṣūfī themes (ed. Baghdād 1938); Edeb, Evdelah Beg Mishab al-Dīwān (1862-1917, *Dīwān* ed. H. H. Mukrānī, Rawāndiz 1936, ed. Gēw Mukrānī, Hewlēr 1960, and unpublished poems ed. Ḥ. Xiznadar, Baghdād 1970), a delicate and romantic poet.

Let us also mention some women who have played a role in literature: Mah Şerēf Xanim of Ardelan (1800-47), Sīra Xanim of Diyarbakr (1814-65) and Mihreban of Berwarī (1858-1905).

2. *The modern age.*

The end of the First World War gave Kurdish literature an impetus which still continues, thanks to the numerous newspapers and journals which have allowed young talents to publish their poems and express their national and social ideas (see section 3, below).

It is extremely difficult to make a choice among the poets of this revival which extends from 1920 to our own days.

In the intellectual radiance of Sulaymānī, the real capital of Kurdistān, let us cite before all Pīremērd "The old man" (1893-1950), pseudonym of Ḥaǰ Tewfīq, an original spirit, indefatigable traveller, journalist, who devoted the last years of his life to making known to the young Kurds, who adored him, the beauties of their land, their language, their history and their literature. The tortured Bākes, Fatḥ Abdullāh (1905-43), did not cease to encourage the youth and to exhort them to work and study and to exalt in them love of their homeland and of goodness. Zīwer,

Abdallah Mihemed (1875-1948), is full of lyricism and sensibility in singing of nature and the national soil.

Goran, Abdallah Suleyman (1904-62), one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, has abandoned stereotyped forms and classical metre, for he is the partisan and practitioner of free verse as he has been of liberty of ideas and of life, a poet with advanced ideas, who is not lacking in lyricism to criticise social abuses. Qani, Mihemed Sex Abdul Kerim (born in 1900), published from 1951 to 1955 numerous small books which each evoke an aspect of the Kurdistan which he celebrates with love. Let us further mention among the Kurdish poets of ʿIrāḳ, Ehmed Muxtar Caf (1897-1935, ed. Sulaymānī, 1960), Hamdī (1878-1936, ed. Baghdād, 1958) and the younger Abdul Wahid Nūrī (1903-44), Dildar (1918-48, *Dīwān*, ed. Hewlēr 1964) and Dilkar, born in 1920, who edited in 1957 the *Quatrains* of Bābā Ṭāhir, the 5th/11th century writer, whom some Kurds claim as their own.

In Iran, at the time of the Republic of Mahābād, two young patriotic poets came to the front: M. Hemin and especially ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Hejar (born in 1920), who was the official poet and who published thousands of verses to exalt love of the homeland and liberty, such as *Alsheḳ* (Tabrīz, 1945), in 1958, he published a collection of verse narratives and the comedy of the Dog and the Moon, *Betî seremer û lasayî sag û mangesew*, he presented a summary of his autobiography (142-85) and several poems (185-222), in the *Kurdskiy dialekt Mukri* of K. B. Ayyubī and I. A. Smirnova, Leningrad 1958, and published a translation of the *Quatrains* of Khayyām (Beirut 1962).

In Kurmancī, we may note Kamkaran A. Bedir Xan, writer of romantic free verse, and above all Cegerxwîn, Séxmus Hesen (born in 1903), author of two collections: *Dwanê Cegerxwîn* (Damascus, 1945) and *Serve azadî* "The revolt of liberty" (Damascus, 1954), an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the instruction of youth and the union of all the Kurds, and going beyond pure nationalist ideal to hope for radical social reforms, his many verses, varied in their workmanship, often preserve a classical form, but also he knows how to use more modern techniques. His rhymes are very rich. He is well-known and loved by the Kurds of Syria and Turkey (cf. Ordîxanê Celîl, *Poêtna Cegerxwîn bajarmanî*, [" Civic poetry of Cegerxwîn "], Erivan 1966).

But the great novelty is the vitality of Kurdish letters in Soviet Armenia, including Kurmancī. Those who were the pioneers in this field were mostly from the old Yazīdīs, illiterate by definition, immigrants from Turkey, who were to profit from their new social situation. Without the least Islamic culture and with not any contact with the educated élite of the rest of the Kurdish world, their works are often ideologically oriented, but of a much more natural workmanship. They ignore classical prosody and their versification gains from simplicity. Lyricism is far from absent. They sing of love of the family and the beauties of nature, such as Casimê Celîl (born in 1908) and especially Mikaîlê Reşîd (born in 1925), who is rich in sensibility. Some of their strongly committed poems have social inspirations. Woman must be liberated, says Etarê Şero (born in 1906) in numerous quatrains. Usivê Bako (born in 1909) criticises feudal exploitation; Çaçanê Murad (born in 1914), Wezîrê Nadîn (1918-47) and Emînê Evdal (1906-64) are pleased to recall the heroic times of the war of liberation. Let us further cite Hacîyê Cindî (born in 1908) and Semont Siyabend (born in 1908), hero of the Soviet Union, who clothed in a new form the fine popular lyric epic *Siyabend û Xecê*, 1959. The teacher Karlênê Çaçanî, a younger man, has published in particular animal fables which are not lacking in freshness. The paper *Riya taze* of Erivan and various anthologies, not to mention numerous small booklets, make known these Kurdish poets of Soviet Armenia, all nourished by their rich folklore.

In fact, it is only since 1920 that prose has made its appearance in Kurdish letters. In order to enlarge the intellectual horizon and to enrich the vocabulary by allowing its progress and modernisation, the Kurdish men of letters have translated, at least in the shape of fragments, the works of foreign authors. In Syria and Lebanon they have translated from French; in ʿIrāḳ, from English and Arabic; in Iran, from Persian, in Soviet Armenia, from Russian and especially from Armenian. There have also been placed at the disposal of the potential Kurdish reader out of the plays of Shakespeare, *The tempest*, by Jamal Nebas (Baghdād 1957); of the stories of Voltaire, *Zadig*, by Mohammad Elî Kurdî (Baghdād 1954), of the pages of Victor Hugo, *Gavroche* and Daudet, *Les étoiles*, translated by Zana, or of Anatole France. J. Nebas has also translated *The cloak* of Gogol (Baghdād 1958). But it is especially the Soviet Kurds who are the translators of Russian authors, Pushkin, Gorkî, Tolstoy or Lermantov, not forgetting Lenin and Stalin, or Armenians, Abovian, Toumanian, Isahakian, etc. The principal names of the translators to be encountered are C. Celîl, H. Cindî, E. Evdal, Q. Murad, N. Esed and T. Murad. Some even write several of their works directly in Armenian, such as C. Celîl, E. Evdal, Nadeyê Xdo Mehmûdov and many others.

In ʿIrāḳ, many articles of scientific popularisation have been translated, e.g. Dr. Hasan Dzurmaqî, and Naçî Kabe have specialised in the translation of accounts of early British travellers in Kurdistān.

In the purely literary domain, the novel is the genre which seemed the best adapted to the mentality and art of the Kurds. In the review *Hawar*, one may read the stories of Nuredîn Zazā (born in 1919), and the fables in prose of Mistefa Ehmed Botî. In these stories, Qadrî Can (born in 1918) is concerned with religious fatalism and the feudal ascendancy. But one should note very especially Osman Sebrî (born in 1909) who, whilst a poet when in the mood, is particularly a born storyteller, with a lively, simple and direct style.

In ʿIrāḳ, where the intelligentsia is more numerous, history is a privileged field, with the learned Husayn Huzni Mukriyanî (1886-1947) as the author of varied studies: *The history of the Kurdish emirates*, 1929-31, *Famous Kurds* 1932, *The Soran emirs*, 1935, *The Kurds and Nadir Shah*, 1934, *The Zand Kurds*, 1934, *Mukriyans Kurdistan or Atropatene*, 1938, etc. General Mihemed Emîn Zekî (1880-1948), published a *Summary of the history of the Kurds and Kurdistan*, 1931, a *History of the Kurdish states and emirates in the Islamic period*, 1948, a *History of Sulaymani and its district*, 1939, and two volumes of *Kurdish celebrities and Kurdistan*, 1935-7. All these works have been translated into Arabic. Reṭiq Hilmî (d. 1961), began the publication of his *Memoirs*, in fascicules of a hundred pages, beginning in 1958 and entitled then *A recollection, Southern Kurdistan, the revolutions of Shaykh Mahmud* (a work still uncompleted). Tewfîq Wahbî, pioneer of Kurdish grammar, 1929, 1956, is also a historian who has studied the Yazīdīs, 1962, and the origins of the Kurds and their language, 1965.

Literary criticism began with Yûnis Reûf and Dildar. Kamuran and especially Marûf Xaznedar, who

in review articles and prefaces of anthologies presented many ancient and modern poets. Xinedar, apart from his *History of Kurdish literature*, also composed *Kēş ū qafiyet le şi'ŗi kurdī da* "Rhyme and rhythm in Kurdish poetry", Baghdād 1961) Cemîl Bendî Rojbeyanî, Arabic translator of the *Sharaf nāma* in 1957, is especially interested in the poets and writers of the Zengeneh, Kelhūr and neighbouring tribes. 'Alī' al-Dīn Sājādī published not only his *History of Kurdish literature* (in 1952), *Researches in Kurdish literature* (1968) and also the *Values of knowledge* (1970), but also five volumes of *Necklace of pearls* (1957-72), a collection of literary narratives, stories and anecdotes, in which philosophy, beliefs and history are mixed, and his *Journey in Kurdistan* (1956). Let us finally cite 'Izz al-Dīn Rasūl (born in 1938), for his works on literature and folklore (1968)

In 'Irāk also, numerous authors, writers, journalists and militants, have published, in verse and prose, collections and articles in which they have pleaded the most urgent social causes of the disinherited, such as Şekir Fetah in *The companion of the children* (1948), *The Kurdish woman* (1958), *The new life* (1960), Ibrahîm Elmed (born in 1918), in *Misery* (1959) and many articles in newspapers, Mîheremi Mihemed Emîn (born in 1922), in *Uncle Omar* (1954), *The tranquil lake* (1957) and *The path of liberty* (1954).

In Soviet Armenia, one also finds young literary critics who give in *Riya taze* their often severe appreciations of poetic works which appear. Among them are Mikaîlê Reşid, and especially Emêrikê Serdar, and Ordîxanê Celîl is an excellent critic. His books on Cegerxwîn, Dîndîm, on proverbs and his articles on folklore are the proof of that, and he has also published *Poems* (1954) and *Tell Hawza*, a kind of epic (1963) But the prose writers there are less numerous than the poets They do not enter into the domain of the dream, nor even into history properly speaking, but most of their writings set forth the wretched life that they led in the past in the time of the Turks and the revival of this present social situation. At their head is their veteran Erebê Şemo (born in 1898) who is also the most fecund. His latest compilation, *Bersiv* (Erivan 1969), takes up the text of *Berhang* "Dawo" (1958), a rchash, revised and corrected, of *Şivanê kurd* "The Kurdish shepherd" (1955), retranslated and republished in Beirut (1946), in which he narrated with much freshness and simplicity the life of his childhood as a small herdsman, the picturesque events of the life of the tribes and the implantation of communism among them there are also his *Jina bextewar* "The happy life" (1959) and the unpublished *Hopo*, which is its complement, in which is described the existence of the Kurds under the Soviet régime Şemo has also published *Dimdim* (1966), which is the romanticised history of this famous epic. He is furthermore the author of numerous articles in many Russian language newspapers on all the social and historical subjects which interest the Kurds. Elî Evdal-Rehman published in this same vein of social preoccupations, *Xatî Xanim* "Lady Xatî" (1959) and *Gundê Mereşan* "The village of heroes" (1968), and Rehîm Gasî, *Hişyarbûn* "Awakening" (1960), which speaks of the resistance of the Kurds of Iran against their Turkish or Iranian oppressors

Thus one sees the true novel, as it is understood in the West, does not yet really exist in Kurdish literature It is rather the new genres which Kurdish writers prefer even in 'Irāk. The same remark may be made with reference to the theatre. In Armenia, from the beginnings, there were attempts with W. Nadîrî, *Rewa jinê*, "The abduction" (1935) and A. Mîrazî, *Zemanê çuyê* "Time past" (1945), and recently Ismaîlê Duko, *Zewaca ol dil* "Marriage without love" (1964) In all these cases, the theme is the struggle against the customs of the past age. Similarly in Irak with Burkan, *Kēç ū xutekane* "The girl and the school" (1956), and Jirî, *Afrat ū cinnik* "The woman and the talisman" (1956), plays performed in the schools. There are also critical themes in the comic scenes of Emîn Mîrza Racko. In 1953-4, Goran published in his newspaper *Jîn* several verse plays, including *The poor man's dream*, *The voice of death*, etc., which aim at waging a vendetta against the faults of the present society. But the *Four martyrs* (1959) is a patriotic play of Xalîd Delair Cemal Abdul Qadir Rahan published *Nêrût* (1960), a play in five acts in verse, and Zaki Ehmed Henarî, *The fate of the oppressor Dahak* (1960) Let us mention especially, because it was published in Istanbul (1965), *Birîna reş* "The black wound" of Musa Anter (born in 1920), in which the author calls attention to the misery and ignorance of the Kurdish peasant in Turkey. On Kurdish theatre, cf. Azad Kardo, *The Kurdish stage*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, iii/3 4 (1965), 23 5

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C. The Kurdish press.

The influence of the press is basic in the national and cultural life of a people. With regard to this, the development and transformations of the Kurdish press are characteristic of the political evolution of the Kurds Of the 119 recorded newspapers and reviews, whose periodicity is all relative, some have only had ephemeral life. The publishing centres have been moved from Istanbul to the different towns of 'Irāk, Baghdād, Sulaymānī, Hewlêr and Kirkūk, of Iran, Tehran, Mahābād and Tabrīz, or even to Damascus and Beirut. Often these newspapers are bilingual. Most of the journals consist of a precious

and inexhaustible mine of information on language, folklore and the customs of the Kurdish land, and also on its history and geography. Furthermore to be found in them are numerous texts of poets, ancient or modern, as well as fine ideas of literary criticism. Young talents are also exercised there.

The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, was founded in Cairo in 1898 by Miḥdat Paşa Bedir Xan and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and moved from Cairo to Geneva and Folkestone (31 nos.), republished in Baghdād, 1977, by Kamāl Fuʾād. In Istanbul, there was the monthly *Roja kurd* "Kurdish day", which became "The Kurdish sun", in 1912 (3 nos.). In 1916, Soreya Bedir Xan published in Turkish the weekly *Jin* "Life" which proclaimed "Kurdistān for the Kurds". He also published there in 1917-18 the weekly *Kurdistan* (37 nos.)

Between the two wars (1920-45), the Kurdish press really began to flourish and develope. There appeared in Sulaymāniyya in 1920-2, *Pēshkewtin* "Progress" (128 nos.), in 1922-3, *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The Sun of Kurdistan" (15 nos.), re-published in Baghdād in 1973 by Djamāl Khaznadār, the weeklies *Bangē Kurdistan* "The call of Kurdistān" 1922 (24 nos.) in 1925, *Bangē ḥaqq* "The call of truth", the official newspaper of Şēx Maḥmūd (3 nos.) and *Umēdi istiqlal* "Hope of independence", edited by Reffiq Ḥilmī (25 nos.). In 1925-6, *Dyarē Kurdistan* "The gift of Kurdistān" of Salih Zeki Sahīḥqran, in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, had 16 nos. In 1924-6, the weekly *Jyānewe* "The resurrection" an official newspaper (56 nos.) which took the name *Jyan* "Life" 1926-38 (556 nos.), and that of *Jīn*, 1939-63, under the direction of Firenerd until his death (1950), exceeded a thousand nos. In 1938 there appeared the scientific review *Zanisti* "Science" of Salih Qutfan, who published in it historical and literary articles, but which only had a few issues, while the weekly *Ziman* "Language" 1937-9 published by the municipality, had 70 nos. in Rawāndiz, Huseyn Ḥurmī Mukriani published 1926-32 *Zari kurmanci* "The Kurdish language" which had 30 nos. Baghdād was to become an important Kurdish cultural centre through the publication of the very numerous monthlies, *Gelawēj* "Sirius", 1939-49, directed by Ibrahim Ehmed and *Dengē Gēti-ē Taze* "The voice of the New World" edited by the British Embassy and edited by Tewfiq Wehbī. Outside ʿIrāḳ, it is important to mention the major reviews, in Latin characters, *Hawar* "The alarm cry", 1932-5 and 1941-3, 57 nos., and its illustrated supplement, *Ronāhī* "The lamp" 1941-5, 28 nos., both published in Damascus by Emīr Celadet Bedir Xan, and the weekly *Roja nū* "The new day" 1943-6, 73 nos. and its supplement *Stēr* "The star" which only had 3 issues, published by Emīr Kamuran Bedir Xan in Beirut. These journals provide an enormous mass of folkloric documents. Let us mention, in Erivan, the bi-weekly newspaper *Riya taze* "The new view", the organ of the Kurdish section of the Communist Party of Armenia, which appeared, in Latin characters from 1931 to 1938 (612 nos.), then in Cyrillic characters from 1955. It has now exceeded its 2,500th number. It is along with *Jīn* of Sulaymāniyya the best example of longevity of the Kurdish press.

The equivocal political situation in Iran between the years 1941 and 1946, especially after the proclamation of the independent Kurdish Republic (1945-6), brought about the blossoming of a whole Kurdish press in Mehābād: *Kurdistan*, 1945-6, the official newspaper (123 nos.) and a literary review of the same name (16 nos.) *Hawar-ē niştiman*, *Awaz*, *Gir-ē gul-i mirdalani ḥurd*, *Helale* "The red poppy" only survived a spring. For his part, in Lāhidjān, Şēx Laṭīf, son of Şēx Maḥmūd, published the journal *Niştiman* "Homeland" which had 3 issues.

After the War and until the proclamation of the Republic in ʿIrāḳ (14 July 1958), the journals normally appeared in both Kurdish and Arabic. In 1948-9, in Baghdād, Eladin Sēcadī published *Nisar* "The rock" (22 nos.), and in 1957-63, Hafiz Mistefa Qazī published there *Hēwa* "Hope" (36 nos.). In Erbil, from 1954 to 1960, Gew Mukriani published the bi-monthly *Hetaw* "The sun", which had 188 nos. Under the Republic, in Kirkūk, 1959-62, *Ray gel* "Popular opinion" (34 nos.), 1959-61, *Azadī* "Liberty", organ of the ʿIrāḳī C.P. (56 nos.). In Sulaymāniyya, the Teachers Union published the monthly *Bilind* "The flame", 1959-60, with 10 nos. In 1960, appeared *Roj-i nuwe* "The new sun" with 18 nos. and the communist political and literary daily, *Hawar* "Belief", from July 1960 to January 1963 brought out 95 nos., while Baghdād, the bilingual daily *Xebat* "Effort", organ of the D.P.K. brought out 462 nos. in 1959-61. The Ministry of Agriculture published from 1959 to 1958, in Arabic and Kurdish, *Çaraw kurdini hest ū hal* (22 nos.), and the Ministry of Orientation *Iraqī nuwe* (24 nos.). In the course of the year 1960, the lawyer Omer Celal Huwaiz published 69 nos. of the democratic political daily *Dangē ḥurd*. One cannot pass over in silence *Kurdistan*, a weekly, published in Tehran under the auspices of the Iranian Government from May 1959 to May 1963 with 205 nos., political, scientific, literary and social, this very interesting weekly was only circulated abroad.

The internecine Kurdī-ʿIrāḳī war from 9 September 1961 to 13 March 1970, diminished the activity of the Kurdish press. Nevertheless, in Erbil the municipality published (1962-3) its newspaper *Hewlēr*, with 76 nos. in Baghdād there appeared in 1964 the first Kurdish issue of the seasonal journal *Tutin*, published by the tobacco administration, and, in 1967, *Biyanet* "Fraternity", a political newspaper of Sālih Yūsufī. It is this period which saw the appearance in Turkey, in Turkish and in Kurdish, several ephemeral reviews: *Dicle û Furat* (1962-3) in Istanbul with 8 nos.; *Deng*, in 1963 and in 1966 *Dengē taze* "The new voice" which only had 4 nos. before it was immediately stopped and the directors prosecuted.

The end of hostilities in Kurdistān saw the birth, from 1970 to 1975, of 29 periodicals, of which 2 were in Kirkūk, 6 in Hewlēr, only 4 in Sulaymāniyya, but 16 in Baghdād, which seems to indicate that the ʿIrāḳī capital has now become the intellectual and cultural centre of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. In Sulaymāniyya, there is *Birayetī* (1972-3, 18 nos.), *Deng-i mamosta* (7 nos.), *Jīn*, since 1972, presented as the continuation of the newspaper founded by Firenerd, and since 1972, the monthly *Ēstire* "The star", intended for children. In Baghdād, there is *Birayetī*, supplement of the daily *Taʾāḵī* (1970-1, 18 nos.). Since 1970, the Philatelist Club has published *Gēti-ē pūl* "The world of stamps", in Arabic, Kurdish and English. The General confederation of trade unions has as its official organ *Hişyar-i kurdistan* "The awakening of the workers" which, since its no. 189 of December 1972, has a Kurdish section. One should mention as an unusual publication *The Journal of the Kurdish Academy*, i/1 (1973), a great volume of 800 pages whose editor in-chief is Ibāhīm Shīrzād, Minister of Municipalities, and of which one section is in Arabic. In Iran, one should note the name *Rēga-i yekīti* "The path of unity", a monthly publication of the Iranian Govern-

ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1971 and which continues to appear regularly (in 1978).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed (in 1949, there appeared in French *Dengê Kurdistan* "la Voix du Kurdestan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1938, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year *Kurdistan*, in Kurdish and in Latin characters, some annual issues of *Hêviya welat* "Hope of the homeland" in 1963-5, and similarly *Çiya* "The mountain" in 1965-7. The Commission for the Advancement of Kurdestan (CAK) of the United Kingdom published in English a single issue of *Kurdistan* in English also there exists one of the best publications of this genre, *The Kurdish Journal*, from December 1963 to September 1969, published by the Association of the Kurdish Students in U.S.A. Finally, in Kurdish and Turkish, *Renahî*, "The Ismp", organ of the Kurds of Turkey in Europe, since August 1976, this is now (1978) at its 5th issue.

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AL-KURDĪ, *Muḥammad Amīn* (d. 1332/1914), one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Naḳshbandī order, and author of several influential works.

Born in Irbil, he made early acquaintance with Ṣūfism, for his father, Fatḥ Allāh ʿAdīa, was a Khālidī *shaykh*. His own initiation was at the hands of a Naḳshbandī *shaykh* of the city, Shaykh ʿUmar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the Naḳshbandiya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1826). After several years spent in the company of Shaykh ʿUmar, Muḥammad Amīn received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Naḳshbandī path, and he left his homeland, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh ʿUmar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Naḳshbandī technique known as *rābiṭa*. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn ʿArabī when he began the composition of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Cairo, he left the Ḥijāz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the *riwāḳ* of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambāba outside of Cairo, and finally to Būlāḳ. Initially he concealed his Naḳshbandī affiliations and Ṣūfī interests, concentrating on the study of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* at the Azhar. Later he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh ʿUmar contained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him, and indeed vigorously to propagate the Naḳshbandī order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numerous towns and villages. He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafī movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Naḳshbandī practice, silent *dhikr* and the recitation of a litany known as the *khams-i khwādjagān*. He died in Būlāḳ in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Karāfa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous *khalīfas*, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Saḳḳā; many contemporary Naḳshbandīs of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb fī muʿāmalat ʿallām al-ghuyūb*, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Ṣūfism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1368/1949. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Naḳshbandī saints (*al-Manāḥib al-sarmadiyya fī manāḳib al-Naḳshbandiyya*, published in Cairo in 1349/1927, as well as manuals of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī *fiḳh*.

Bibliography A comprehensive account of Muḥammad Amīn's life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salāma ʿAzzāmī to *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* (5th ed., Cairo 1368/1949). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, where Muḥammad Amīn's description of Naḳshbandī practices of *dhikr* is summarised. The same passage from *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard's version of *La petite philocalie* (Hamid Algar)

AL-KURDJ, Gurdj, Gurdjistān, the names in *Islamic sources for* the province of *Georgia* in western Caucasia. Georgia comprises four distinct regions: Mingrelia and Imereti in the north west; Samtskhe in the south west (adjoining the Black Sea coastal region of Lazistān [see LAZ]), inhabited by a people closely related to the Georgians), Kartli in the north, with the capital Tiflis (*q.v.*), Georgian Tbilisi, and Kakheti in the east. Topographically, much of Georgia comprises mountains, hills and plateaux, with lowland only on the Black Sea coastal plain and in the valleys of the River Rioni and its tributaries, draining westwards into the Black Sea, and of the River Kura (Georgian Mtkvari, Islamic Kur [*q.v.*]) and its tributaries, draining eastwards into the Caspian.

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartveli obi and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartlos) are linked with the Svans of northern Mingrelia and the Mingrelo-Laz in the so-called "Ponto-Zagros" group of Caucasian peoples, although over the millennia their blood must have been much mingled with that of other peoples who have invaded or have passed through their country. Linguistically, the Georgian language forms with Svanetian and Mingrelo-Laz the southern or Ibero Caucasian group of Caucasian languages, for details, see AL-ḲAWḲ, languages. It is written in an alphabet of considerable phonetic exactness, which is traditionally considered to be the creation of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but which apparently had two forms originally, these must at all events have been derived in the first place from Aramaic-Pahlavi scripts (see D. Diringer, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*, New York 1968, 252-4).

Early history. From earliest times, Georgia has been a meetingpoint for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European

and Asian commerce were exchanged. In Homeric times, the western Georgian coastal region, Imereti and Mingrelia, formed the famed Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts, whilst the lands to the east, Kartli, Kakheti and Samtskhe, formed the Caucasian Iberia, with its capital at Mtskheta Armazi, on the River Kur just upstream from modern Tiflis. The campaigns of Pompey in the 1st century BC brought Georgia into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influence, and to classical geographers like Strabo we owe a description of Iberia, and the fourfold class division of its society, a division not dissimilar from that of ancient Iran. The Iberians did indeed have close cultural links with the Parthians, and we find Iberian kings and nobles with Iranian names like Parnavaz and Asparukh, together with a certain spread of the Zoroastrian religion within Iberia, a process only arrested by the adoption of Christianity within Georgia *ca.* 330 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and through the missionary efforts of a Cappadocian slave woman, St. Nino. The consequences for the future history of Georgia and its people of this conversion to Christianity were incalculable. Georgia, and Armenia [see ARMĪNIYA] to the south of it, henceforth became bastions of the new faith against the pagan regions of the eastern Caucasus and against the Sāsānids of Persia, the enemies of Byzantium. At first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Georgian Church, like that of the Armenians, espoused Monophysitism and rejected the formulae of the Council of Coalcedon, and at the Council of Dvin of the Armenian and Georgian Churches in 506, the Georgians seceded from Orthodoxy and set up their own national church of St. George, with its Catholicos-Patriarch resident at Tiflis.

The period of Byzantine-Persian rivalry. The old capital of Georgia Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5.12 Μεστλήτε = Μεσχῆτα) was sometimes called by the Arab geographers by a popular etymology Masdjid Dhu 'l Karnayn (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 58; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle, the Persian *eristav* ("athanarch") strat against Varaz-bakar (379-93?), king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty, descended from the Sāsānids), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (i.e. between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 140)

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgasal (446-99?) with the Persians, the fortress (*kala*) and the village (*sop'eli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dachi (499-524) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, 180, 196-201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzbān* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i, 228; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 397, 451 2; Djavakhov, *Khrist Vasiak*, i [1932], 119). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzbān* Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφλις (Τιφλίς) μητρόπολις under the year 571 (Theophanes apud Photium, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, ciii, 139, cf. Murait, *Essai de chronologie byzantine* St Petersburg 1855, i, 256).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having distracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575-600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i, 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by Khusraw Parwīz (after 606), the son of Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristavi* = "athanarch"), joined the Persians. Later, when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *mtsavar* ("chief") Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristav* Dibghu (Theophanes Ζιέβηλ, according to Marquart, T'ong Yabghu Khakan). The citadel (*kala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 194, and Yākūt, ii, 56, where Djurzān is a *nāhiya* of the country of Arminiyā). According to the Georgian chronicle (*K'art'lis tskhovreba*), the Agarians invaded Somkhetia ("Armenia", a rather ambiguous term, for "Somkhetia of Kartl" began to the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles south of Tiflis) in the reign of Stephanos II (730-65?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arčil withdrew to Egris in Mingrelia. In the period of their joint reign (663-8) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Kru ("Marwān the Deaf") sent by the *Amīr al Mu'minīn* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105-25/724-43!) Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period, the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from C'oreloh (Klarghetia). The thread of events may, however, be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [see ARMĪNIYA].

In reality, Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Tabarī, i, 2666, in 22/643 Surāka, having made peace with Shahr Barāz (king of Bāb al Abwāb [*q.v.*]), sent Habīb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Tcharī, i, 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town, but it was actually made in 25/645 in the reign of 'Uthmān (Ya'kūbī, *Historiae*, 194; Balādhurī, 198). When Habīb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia, he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tlw = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the *batrik* of Djurzān and his people were well-disposed. Habīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhurī, 201 and Tabarī, i, 2764, Yākūt, i, 857, rather follows Balādhurī) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in [the *rustāk* of] Mandjalis (now Manglis) in al Djurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Habīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Dja'ūn to expound the law of Islam, and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islam

After reducing Tiflis, Habīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhurī, 202-3 cf. the attempts to analyse them in Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, in *Zeitschr. f. armen. Philologie*, ii (Marburg 1903), 149-225) Among these, the Sanārīya play a prominent part Ptolemy, 5.8.13 Σανασσίοι; in Armenian: Tsanarich), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakheti and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N.Y. Marr, were identical with the modern T'ush, whose language is related to that of the Čečens (cf. *Izv. Akad. Nauk*, xxii [1916], 1379-1406).

From the time of Habīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) the Durzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (*q.v.*, here in the wide sense of 'western Georgians of the valley of the Rion', i.e. of Imeretī) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Mawāḳi'*, ii, 65, Yāḳūt, ii, 583). From the time of Yazīd II (101-5/720-4) we have a letter in which Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed to the Durzān the guarantees given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama (Balādhurī, 202; there is a reference there also to the *sunūḳ* of Manḏjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Kru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān, of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who in the reign of Hishām was fighting mainly in Dāghistān, but whose expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān (*q.v.*) must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisilī(?), 20 *farsaḵhs* from Tiflis and 40 *farsaḵhs* from Berdhaʿa (probably Kesaia below Tāwūs which satisfies the description, see below). A *dirham* is known of ʿAbd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85/704.

The ʿAbbāsids. In 141/758 the Khazars (*q.v.*) under Baʿs Tarkhān invaded Armenia (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446). Ṭabarī (iii, 328), speaking of the same event under 147/764, says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khᵛārazmī (*sic*), many Muslims and *dhimmīs* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Yaʿḳūbī immediately after 241/758 mentions a rising of the Ṣanārīya. The latter were defeated by ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl, who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183/799. Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country, but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 518; Ṭabarī, iii, 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Djuanshar (718-86?) the Khāzārs's general Bloḳan (in Armenian Bulčʿan) took Tiflis and conquered Kartli.

Of the governors whom Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) sent to Armenia, the harshest was Khuzayma b. Khāzim (Balādhurī, 210). The Georgians called him Cʿēt'um Asim. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 520, confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The Durdjān (read Durzān) and the Ṣanārīya rebelled Khuzayma's general Saʿīd b. Hayṯam defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Maʾmūn (196-218/813-33) a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAṭṭāb established himself in Armenia. In 214/829 he conquered the land of the Durzān and the Ṣanārīya joined him (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 540, 565 *ff.*) Khālid b. Yazīd gave *amān* to Muḥammad b. ʿAṭṭāb and defeated his allies, the Ṣanārīya, but the disturbances in Armīnīya went on (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 566; Balādhurī, 210-11). In 215-39/830-53, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 65 he was of Kurayṯ origin. His father Ismāʿīl was the son of Shuʿayb, a client of Marwān II (126-32/744-50); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph al-Amīn (193-8/809-13) and had had skirmishes with the governor Asad b. Yazīd (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 528). The uncle of Isḥāḳ, ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb, mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i, 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. ʿAṭṭāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Bādhghīsī, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Isḥāḳ. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilos (829-42) reached Wanand (near Kars), they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. 3, tr. Dulaurier, 171). As a result of such exploits, the caliph al-Wāṯhiḳ (227-32/842-7) recognised Isḥāḳ as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Isḥāḳ and drove out the Ṣanārīya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Isḥāḳ and his allies, the people of Kakheti and the Ṣanārīya.

Finally, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the Turkish commander Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharābī (*q.v.*) was sent to Armenia. In Rabīʿ I 238 (August-September 852), he left Dabīl for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabīl (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabīl).

Isḥāḳ made a sortie, but Bughā's *nafṭīdas* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Isḥāḳ's palace was burned. He and his son ʿAmr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Mughāriba. Isḥāḳ was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Mughāriba took the survivors prisoners and mutilated the dead. Isḥāḳ's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarīr (= the principality of the Avars in northern Dāghistān), was at Sughdabīl, which was defended by the Khuwaythiya (people of Sasun, cf. MAYYAFARIQIN). Bughā granted them *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and he continued his operations in the direction of Diardmān and Bayinḳān (Ṭabarī, iii 1224-26, cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii chs. 9-10, 66 Brosset, St Petersburg 1874, 140-50. A Georgian inscription on the church of Atenī gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā, cf. Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former chiefs of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Masʿūdī ii, 67, Yāḳūt, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled, cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 266-8, and Thomas Artsruni, *ibid.*

There was an ʿAbbāsid mint for *dirhams* at Tiflis till 332/942 (pieces are known of 318, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 312, 322, 324, 330, 331); cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khalifs orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873, Pakhomov, *Monnaies Géorgiennes*, i. *Domongolskiy period*, in *Zap. Num. Otd. IRAO*, i/4 (1910); E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 89-90.

The end which Bagrat (826-76) had lent to the caliph against Isḥāḳ did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty, called Abkhāsa (cf. the explanation of this term above), seized Kartli. Thus Masʿūdī (writing in 332/944), *Murūdj*, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjān (Bagratid of the lateral line, d. 961, Marquart, *op. cit.*, 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (*sic*) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which, although surrounded by infidels on all sides, still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885-90?) also intervened in the affairs of Kartli (Brosset, i, 270, n. 2). Masʿūdī gives Masdjid Dhī 'l-Karnayn (= Mtskheta) as the residence of the king of Durzān (*al-janbaḏ*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 186, to the Armenian **mamaḵ* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title).

The Sādjids, the Sallārids and the Shaddādids. In the meanwhile, there arose in Adhar

Bāydjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the supremacy of Baghdād, the Sādjids (276/889 or 279-893 to 317/929), see SAMARRA and B. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, in *Izvestiya Obshch. izuch. Azerb.* (Baku 1927), No. 3, 22-51) Abu 'l-Kāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north In 299/912 (?) he came to Tiflis, the *amīr* of which was then called Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī (cf. below), and seized the fortresses of Udjarma and Bočʿorma (in the upper Iori) (cf. Brosset, i, 375, *n.* 2) The chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 305/918 and 311/923) of the "Saracens called Sadji", in the course of which Mtskheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Musāfirids [*q.v.*] or Sallārids at Bardhaʿa and in Ādharbāydjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset), until the king Bagrat III (980-1014?) reunited Kartli, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Čʿorokhi) and Ardanudj. In his time, the Shaddādid [*q.v.*] Faḍlūn invaded Armenia, but was defeated by the Georgians, and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city although the rulers resided in Kutaïs (Kʿutʿatʿisi) In 421/1030 the Georgian and Kakhetian notables, with the help of the *amīr* Djaʿfar of Tiflis undertook an expedition against the Shaddādid Fadlun (Faḍlūn of Gandja) But when the latter died, Liparit Orbelian, the powerful lord of Tʿrialetʿ (on the upper Khram), captured Djaʿfar by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027 72), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. Djaʿfar was re-established at Tiflis, but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with Djaʿfar. After the death of the latter, the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Tsʿkalkin and Tʿabor. The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the left bank of the Kur however, destroyed the bridge, and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūḳs. In 439/1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yināl (in Georgian Bahram Lam) appeared for the first time in Basian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes) In 445/1053 (?) the Saldjūḳs undertook an expedition against Ganḏja, but a counter-movement by the Byzantines, who were allies of Bagrat IV, saved the town Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat, but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslan (455 63/1063 72) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i, 326). On 10 December 1068, Alp Arslan, accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakheti (Aghsartʿan, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of Korikoz (Chorapiscopi), which ruled from 787 to 1105) as well as the *amīr* of Tiflis, marched against Bagrat. All Kartli was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādids were given compensation Tiflis and Bustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Ganḏja, and Ani to Manūčihr b. Abu 'l-Aswār In the spring of 461/1069, Bagrat returned to Kartli. Faḍlūn encamped at Isar (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country Bagrat defeated Faḍlun, who took the road through Kakheti, but was taken prisoner by Aghsartʿan. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis, where in the meanwhile a certain Sidhlaraba (Sayyid al-ʿArab ?) was proclaimed *amīr* This plan failed, for Alp Arslan obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072-89, lived to 1125), lived in Kutaïs. In Kakhet Aghsartʿan retained his possessions on condition that he adopted Islam

David II. The revival took place under David II Aghmashenebuli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kartli and Abkhazia" (1089-1125?) David brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Kipčaks (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity In spite of their turbulence (Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 379), these warlike elements enabled David to throw off Saldjūḳ domination. He ceased the payment of the *Khwārāj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter Tʿamar in marriage to the Shirwān-Shāh [*q.v.*] Akhsitān (in Georgian, Aghsartʿan) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515/1122. On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis, the Saldjūḳ Mahmud b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Artuḳid Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Marwānid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa (Darbas of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sultān Tughrīl (lord of Arran and Nakhčewan) with his atabeg Kūn-toghdī, all took part On 26 August 1121 this army entered Tʿrialetʿ and Manglis, but was destroyed by David and his Kipčaks, after which in 515/1121-2), David stormed Tiflis, so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons". Brosset, i, 365 7, and *Additions*, i, 230, 236-42; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 398-9 (= Defrémery, *Fragments*, 26); Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Halab*, in *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, iii, 628; Yāḳūt, i, 857 (s.v. art. Tafilis). The Arab historian al-ʿAynī (762-854/1360-1451), who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i, 242), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasise the atrocities committed by David (Matthew of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i, 230), says that the king respected the endings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomov, *Monetï*, ste., 77 82) bear the image of the Virgin. Great cautere in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because, as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i, 380).

The Banū Djaʿfar. David succeeded in Tiflis in the Banū Djaʿfar, of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin While the Georgian Chronicle (i, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-ʿAynī gives the Banū Djaʿfar alone a period of 600 years. Indeed, we have seen that in as 300/912 the *amīr* of Tiflis was already called Djaʿfar [b. ʿAlī] (Brosset, i, 275) His successor struck coins at Tiflis; *dirhams* are known of Manṣūr b. Djaʿfar, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muṭīʿ li 'llāh), and of Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Ṭāʾiʿ li 'llāh) In the time of Bagrat IV (1027 72) the *amīr* of Tiflis was called Djaʿfar (his father ʿAlī had carried off the property of the Sveti Tskhoveli church of Mtskheta) The Chronicle calls him Mukhatʿ Gwerd Diapʿar (Mukhatʿ Gward is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Djaʿfar family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-ʿAynī).

The atabeg kings. The reign of Dmitri (1125-54) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbelians' family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Adharbaydjān, the *atābeg* Ildeñiz II Eldigüz (*q.v.*) (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Ani, the scions of the *Shaddādids*, at Khilāt, *Zahīr al-Dīn Shāh i Armen* (523-79/1128-83), at Erzerum, the *amīr* Saltuk b. ʿAlī, whom the Georgians defeated near Ani in 548/1153, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126, year 548/1153; Münedjdjim bashī, ii, 377, Defrémery, *Fragments*, 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelatī (cf. Prazhu, *Mém. Ac. St Pétersbourg*, sér. 6, *Sc. morales*, iii 551). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azrak, the historian of Mayyāfārikīn, who visited Tiflis in 548/1153. He says the Muslims were to a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *khatīb*, cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic manuscripts* , in *JRAS* (1902) 798 (al-Azrak may have been the source used by al-ʿAynī).

Under Georgi III (1156-84), the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same, and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Ani, Dwin, Nakhčewān, Gandja, Bardhaʿa and Baylakān. To assist his cousin the Shīrwān Shāh Akhsatān, son of Tamar, Georgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i, 383-403, and *Add.* i, 253-7, 268, Ibn al-Athīr, years 556, 557, 559, 562, 569).

The reign of Tamar (1184-1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kartlī", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the dindochi of the Saldjūks to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Tamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond (Kunik, *Otnos. Trapez. imperii v 1204*, in *Ukaz. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, ii (1853), 705-33). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildeñizids of Adharbaydjān. The sack of Ardabīl by the Georgians (Brosset, i, 469-73) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-nasab-i safawiyya*, Berlin 1843, 05, cf. Khanykov, *Mél. Asiatiques*, i (1852), 580-3. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210-11 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Komguare (= Kamdjār near Nihāwand), but beyond Tabrīz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i, 469-73). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzeli family (Armenian of Kurdish origin, cf. Brosset, *Add.*, i, 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Tamar could only retain Kars (Brosset, i, 467). At home also (Djavakhov), the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia, the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sultāns"; Brosset, i, 474). In the reign of Tamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Hasan, *ʿamīr* of Tiflis and Kartlī" (is this a scion of the Banū Diaʿfar?).

The Mongols. The son of Tamar, Georgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212-23, levied the *kharādj* of Gandja, Nakhčewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and Khilāt, but in 617/1220 the Mongol troops of Subutay and Djebe (in Georgian: Subé and Iama or Cʿeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated, the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 493) considers the defeat at Berdudj (in the Borčala) as the turning point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Georgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223-47) (*Kīz malik*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims), a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, *whose hand* was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i, 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūk of Erzerum, Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrīl (in Georgian Orʿuli) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270 *bi-shart an yataṣarrā-ha ʿalā yadd al-batrak*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224), the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn defeated the Georgians at Garni in Shaʿbān 622/August 1225; (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 283; Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 123; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwayni, ii, 159 he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on 9 March 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaynī, Djalāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to with draw to Abkhazia, but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*ʿanawat-hu ma-bayn man ghayr amān*) and all those who did not accept Islam were massacred. Nasawī (222) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 504-7). The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winterquarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī 125). Djalāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 625/1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Lorī, he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements: Georgians, Alāns, Armenians, people of Sarīr (= the Avar of Daghistān), Lakz Kipčak, Svan, Abkhāz, Djanit (= Cʿan-atyi, cf. LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaynī, ii, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djalāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in Shawwāl 628/August 1231, but the remnants of the Khʷārazmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1238 (Brosset, i, 355; according to d'Ohsson, iii, 75 *en* 632/1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutaïs, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *noïns*, of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghtar, Ieser and Büüy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rioa.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country. The Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Saldjūks of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mʿamar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *noïns*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the *heir* to the throne, Dawīd (called in Mongol Narin, "splendid"),

was removed from the country. A certain Egarsha tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king", Brosset, i, 542), but the Mongols set up against him Dawūd, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Karakorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among those present at the *kurultay* of Güyük Khān in 643/1245 (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 205, 222, Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248-59), they ruled together at first.

As Hülegu did not like Dawūd Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains on the one side, Batu Khān lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia, on the other side, the Il Khāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawūd, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khodja 'Aziz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashīd al-Dīn ed. Quatremère, 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *mo'in* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülegu against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shīrwān in 1262 (d'Ohsson, iii, 282). In the reign of Abagha or Abaka, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266, cf. *ibid.*, 428).

The successor to Dawūd, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273-89), who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Ahmad, but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him T'av-Dadabuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols in vain. Dawūd VI (1292-1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otskha = Tokhtoghu), he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the Orthodox Catholicos and the *kādī* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 675, this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan!). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *mo'in* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan Brosset, i, 647) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gīlān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Öldjeytü (717/1317), Giorgi V (Brtskinvale, the Splendid" !) was placed on the throne (1318-46) under the patronage of the *amīr* Čoban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Il Khāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imeretia, and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (75 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Timūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360-95) that Timūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *ghazā*. Timūr set out from Kars to the winter of 788/1386 (*Zafar-nāma*, i, 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsop' (Brève, *Exposé*, 37) mention the apostasy of the King, but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Timūr's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Zafar-nāma*, i, 705, 720, does not give these details. In 796/1394 it only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhiskha [*q.v.*]) in order to apply the law of *ghazā*. Timūr in person finally abastated the Georgians called Kara Kalkanlik ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pshaws and Khewsurs) and returned via Tiflis to Shakkī [*q.v.*].

In 798/1395 the Georgians, allied with Sīdī 'Alī of Shakkī, inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Timūrid Mīrān Shāh who was besieging Aliadjak (near Nakhčewān) and delivered Sultān Tāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii, 103). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802/1399 when Timūr took Shakkī and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?) probably in northern Kakhetī, where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareti to the east of T'ianet'i (Brosset, ii/2, 464). In the spring of 803/1400 Timūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgin) should hand over Sultān Tāhir. On receiving an evasive answer Timūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii, 224). Tiflis received a Khurāsānian garrison, but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djalāl-Beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarīt (?), Timūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Svanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Tāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Iamā'īl (Brosset, i, 668) he offered to Timūr to pay the *kharādj*. Timūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Ivanē (the *eristhevi* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islam and that of the Kara Kalkanlik plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Parasgird (P'anaskert, on the upper Č'arokh); *ibid.*, ii, 250.

In 804/end of 1401 Timūr returned to Transcaucasia via Sīwās, Baghdād, Tabrīz. His delegates (*mu'hassil*) went to collect the tribute (*dar mu'kharādj mu djizya*) from Giorgi, who sent his brother with the contributions. Timūr gave Giorgi *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii, 379). In the summer of 804/1401 Timūr went from Karabāgh (*q.v.*) to Min-gol and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdīlik, lieutenant of a certain Tadīl (?).

When, in 805/1403, Timūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bāyazīd. At Min-göl, Ivanē, son of Ak budjā, arrived with gifts as did Kustāndīl (Constantine), brother of Giorgi who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii, 512). Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii, 522). Giorgi sent new presents, but Timūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In Muharram 806/August 1403 he himself laid siege in the impregnable fortress of Kūrtīn defended by Nazāl or Nazwīl (the Chronicle calls it Burthwis on Aigot) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii, 524-32). The troops then laid waste the country round (*atrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*hudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country". Seven hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the historian of Timūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii, 536). Timūr only stopped them when the *'ulamā'* The Georgians sent 1,000 *tanpos* (impossible to grant *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tanga*s of gold struck in the

name of Timūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 28 *miṯḳāls*, etc.

Timūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Bayazīd (winter of 806/1403-4). All the country from Bayazīd to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalīl Mīrzā (ii, 545).

Post-Timūrid period. The general disorder, after the havoc wrought by Timūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, in *Notices and extracts*, xiv, 235 and Mīrkh-wānd, cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, 245) mention an expedition of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyirids against the Kara-Koyunlu Kara Yūsuf in which Kustandīl, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes, and Kara Yūsuf slew Kustandīl with his own hand. This happened in 815/1412-13. Also 300 *azn-ōurs* (Georgian nobles, cf. Armenian azn "race") were massacred Vakhusht (Brosset, i, 589) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1424. In 1425 (1428 ?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhalts'ikhe, Kara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsop', cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, 96, Brosset, *Add.*, i, 399). The Chronicle confirmes that down to the accession of Alexander (1423-43) "no consoler arose from anywhere". The king gradually drove out the invaders restored the cathedral of Sveti-Tskhoveli (at Mts'kheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāh-Rukh in 823/1420 at Kara-bāgh (cf. Mīrkh-wānd, in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841/1437 Shāh-Rukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above) Alexander sent him rich gifts, after which the son of Timūr left Georgia. In 1444/848 the Kara-Koyunlu Dīlāṭa shāh made a raid to Akhal-ts'ikhe (cf. Brosset, i, 683), according to Thomas of Metsop', Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440, cf. Nève, 149).

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 695-89). The history of Vakhusht, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1465-1505), during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, ii/1, 21-18, 147, 208, 249). Kartli, with capital Tiflis Imereti, with capital Kutais, and Kakheti with capital at Gremi (Persian Girīm) and later at T'elav. In addition, the *atābeg* of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-ts'ikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Samtskhe (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjet'i on the Č'orokhi), the princes of which from Manučar III = Safar-pasha (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imereti (the Gurieli of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Svans, cf. ABKHAZIA). In Kartli also, Constantine II's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imereti.

The Ak-Koyunlu. In this period Uzun Hasan comes on the stage. According to Münedjdjim-bashī, iii, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 872/1467, when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Čemākūr (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-ts'ikhe, but on returned to the attack in 877/1472. King Bakatī (read: Bagrat II of Imereti) was dethroned (*kabr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Vakhusht'a version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Hasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Hasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 23, 25). The *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, however, calls the governor (*ṣāḥib*) left by Uzun Hasan, Sūfī Khalīl Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Hasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sultān Yaʿḳūb Ak-Koyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891/1486 to chastise the *Atābeg* Kvarḳvare. In the next year, Yaʿḳūb sent Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-ḳal'a and Kanzam was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography of Vakhushti* Kustandīl (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis, Ṣūfī Khalīl began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kuḏīr (Kodori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis, the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Walī aghā eḳīḳī-aghasī took the town (3 Rabīʿ I 894/4 February 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Yaʿḳūb, *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 102, fols. 102a 5a and 155a-9a). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 326-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Saburat'ians (called Barāt II by the Muslims) on the Algeti inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Safawids. In 907/1501 a detachment of Ismāʿīl's forces under the command of Khādim Beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhnāmeh-i ādima*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sultān in 926/1520 was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismāʿīl I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, iii, *djuz'* 4, 92). In 929/1522-3 the founder of the Safawīd dynasty seized Aghdja-ḳal'a and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge", cf. Vakhusht, in Brosset, ii/2, 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskandar Munshī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Tahmāsp against Georgia. In 947/1540 Tahmāsp raised Tiflis, the governor of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next, the fortress of Bartīs (? Birtvis) was taken (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, Tehran 1314, 65). The second time was in 103/1546 when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Tahmāsp at Shūragel (near Gūmri = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958/1551 was sent from Shakī on the appeal of the *atābeg* Kay Khusraw, son of Kurkura (Kwarkwara) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Ithandar Munshī writes Lawirsāb, but the name is Iranian Lahrāsp; cf. *Mirʾāt al-buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 85, by the Turco-Persian peace of 962/1553 the territories of Mask (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtlī (Kartli) and of Kākhīt were alloted to Shāh Tahmāsp, while Sultān Sulaymān received those of Bashī-aḥuḳ ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imereti), of Dādiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trabizon (Tire-boli). Luarsab I, however, continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition Barāt II (Saburat'iano), Gori and Atent were occupied and the king himself fell in battle. Vakhusht dates the four expeditions to 1538, 1542, 1553 and 1558 respectively Brosset, ii/2, 452, considers these very probable as they coincide very well

with the vicissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swinon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by this brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān), who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swinon was imprisoned in Alamūt, from where he was released by Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-7) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman domination 986-1012/1578-1603. In 986/1578, during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābanda, the Ottomans under Muṣṭafā Lala Pasha penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe, and in August seized Tiflis, from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with ten guns in Tiflis. Muḥammad, son of Ferhād-Pasha, was given the *sanǧaḳ* (*paşalıḳ*?) of Tiflis (von Hammer, *GOR*2 ii, 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a *sanǧaḳ* to Swinon. When Muṣṭafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Imām Kulī Khān, son of the Shamkhāl slain by Özdemir-Pasha, and Swinon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Ḥasan Pasha (*ibid.*, 489), but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new *serʿasker* Sinān Pasha *arrived in Tiflis and appointed* as *Beglerbeg* a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islam under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swinon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In Rabīʿ I 990/April 1582 Muḥammad Beg left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis, but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pasha put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 990/December 1582) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 992/1584, Riḍwān Pasha left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swinon attacked Riḍwān but without success. Ferhād Pasha's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal kalaki, which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Āḏarbāyǧān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of 25 Ǧumādā I 999/March 21, 1590), cf. the *Chronicle of the Prather of Meskhi* (1559-87) in Takaishvili, *op. cit.*, 265 214, von Hammer, ii, 461-97 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, ii/1, 412-19). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nuzhet-nāma* of ʿAlī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1582). On the other Turkish sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 227, 282. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1003/1595), Swinon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Istanbul, where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 999/1591 till 25 Ǧumādā I 1012/21 October 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh ʿAbbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1021/1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sultān Selīm (918-26/1512-20).

Shāh ʿAbbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakheti) in the region of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kartli and Alexander of Kakheti had fought under his banner at the siege of Erīwān in 1604, ʿAbbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605 10) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāb-kalʿa. In 1025/1616 ʿAbbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kartli to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616 19). He then punished Kakheti. According to the official history of the reign, *Ālam-ārā*, 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-150,000: "since the beginning of Islam no such events have taken place under any king". In 1033/1623 Karčīkā Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakheti and instead of leading them against Imereti had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*Shāhrī-wār*, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 719). Exasperated by such treachery, the *marzuv* ("governor of lower rank", Brosset, ii/2, 224, the Persians write *mahrow*) *Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and cht then a faithful* servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kartli which the Persians did not overcome till 1035/1626 (Iosseliani, *Žizn mouromza G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848. Brosset, ii/2, 53-9, 489-97). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important, and Shah Ṣafī, successor to ʿAbbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusraw Mīrzā, brother of the King Bagrat who was *darūgha* of Isfahān.

When Swinon II perished in the civil war (1629), Tʿeimuraz I of Kakheti (1605-64, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes, his mother Khetʿewan was put to death at Shīrāz in 1624, Brosset ii/2, 127) came to Kartli, where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kay Khusraw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-58). *The old King, brought up in Persia*, took the Persian title of *ḫullar-aḳasi* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had became converts to Islam returned from Persia. Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta, etc.

In 1045/1636 Murād IV took Erīwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 Persia renounced her claims to Kars and Akhal tsikhe (*Taʾrīḫ-i Naʿīmā*, 686), according to Vakhusht (Brosset, ii/1, 68), the Sultān received Imereti and Saatbago and the Shāh kept Kartli and Kakheti.

Vakhtheg (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-76). The Persophile policy continued. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-68) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid.*, 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz, the Muslim tribes of Āḏarbāyǧān and Karabāgh (25,000 Ḏjawānghīrī and Bayats) were settled in Kakheti (cf. the *History of Shāh ʿAbbās II* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd, in Dorn, 109, 122 — Brosset, ii/2, 503-4). Shāh Nawāz fought in Imereti, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1049/1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaymān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakheti and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-91, 1695-1703). This King, who had been brought up in Russia, became a convert to Islam under the name of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān.

The Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Balūč and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia, King Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Ḥusayn. He restored order in Kandahār, but in 1121/1709 was treacherously slain by Mīr Ways [*cf.* AFGHĀNISTĀN *v. History (a)*], who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kay Khusraw (1709-11). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Vakhtang (governor of Kartli 1703-11; king,

1721-24 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave trading. Vakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, ii/1, 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1714 and 1716 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Jesse (= ʿAlī Kulī Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islam.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gunābād, near Isfahān (1134/1722), Shāh Husayn sought help from Vakhtang but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, ii/1, 117). Peter the Great, who reached Darband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muhammad-Kulī Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The second Ottoman occupation (1135-47/1723-34). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shīʿīs was declared permitted. In Ramaḍān 1135/June 1723 the *serʿasker* Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had been negotiating with Vakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel Bakar soon rebelled, but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of ʿAbd Allāh). In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of 12 September 1723, was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise, through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on 12 June 1724. Russia kept Dāghistān and the narrow strip of littoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 226 ff.). The Ottoman historian of these events is Čelebi-zāde; on the other sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 189, Nāʾīlī, *Feth-nāme der kabḥ-i Gürdjistān*).

The deposed King Vakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (August 1724). The Turks, having taken possession of Kartli, took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble ʿOthmān Topal Pasha alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, ii/1, 129). Iese did not bear the title of king, and the real power passed to Isḥāk Pasha, a hereditary ruler of Akhaltsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727), Isḥāk Pasha was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, ii/1, 236). In 1728 he divided Kartli among the feudal lords (*eristavar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *l.c.*; von Hammer, iv, 223, 231, 235, 280, 323).

Nādir Shāh in 1143/1730-1 after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, po = tr. Jones, i, 141, von Hammer, iv, 227 dates the peace to 6 February 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Ṭahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Dāghistān (1147/autumn of 1734) Isḥāk Pasha of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. T'eimuraz, son of Nazar ʿAlī Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew ʿAlī Mirzā = Alexander (son of Imām Kulī = David III) attacked Isḥāk Pasha and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, 114 = Jones, i, 200). At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Ṣafī Khān Bughārlī to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mumāshīn ba sardamūn*; *ibid.*, 116 = Jones, 205).

When ʿAbd Allāh Pasha was defeated at Bagharward near Erīwān, Isḥāk Pasha surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on 22 Rabīʿ I, 1147 = 27 Sept. 1734 (*ibid.*, 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*khānān wa sardārān*) of Kartli and Kakheti among whom Ṭahmūrath (= T'eimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as *wālī* of Kartli and Kakheti, ʿAlī Mirzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muḥammad Mirzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against ʿOthmān Pasha. Ṭahmūrath was allowed to go to Kakheti to bring his family (*khāṣ*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision", he fled to the mountains of "Karakaikhān (Pshawi, Rūs (Rus), west of Gori?) and Čerkes". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, and arrived himself at Tiflis on 29 Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Kaykul (Abots) were transported to Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 124 = Jones 219). In 1149/1736 Ṣafī Khan captured T'eimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning of the Indian campaign, Nādir released T'eimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156/end of 1743, Ṭahmūrath Khān captured the pretender Sām Mirzā and later (1157/1744) along with ʿAlī Khān Kilidja (? the Georgian sources call him Khandjal Kizildjali) new *begler-beg* of Tiflis, defeated near Raʾīs on the Araxes Yūsuf Pasha of Akhaltsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghistān to work for another pretender Ṣafī Mirzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Ṭahmūrath's services, transferred him to Kartli and gave Kakheti to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, 202 = Jones, ii, 164; cf. Brosset, ii/2, 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and ii/2, 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1158/1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. T'eimuraz went to obtain a reduction, but on reaching Tabrīz he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter's successor was ʿAlī Kulī Khān, husband of Khet'evan, daughter of T'eimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakheti. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1161/1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skilfully exploited by T'eimuraz (king of Kartli 1744-61) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakheti 1744-51, king of Kartli and Kakheti 1762-90). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1735 the Afghān Āzād Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Erīwān and on 1760 captured at Kasakh and sent to Karīm-Khān. The Kards of Erīwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1782, and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazīd. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Dāghistān (the most dangerous leader of whom was ʿUmar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shakki, Hadjdji Celebi and Agha Kishi (in 1752-3), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these success, the situation of Georgia was precarious, and in 1782 T'eimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 6th/20th January 1762.

Erekle, becoming king of the united kingdoms, continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Tatishchev arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of 4 December 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imereti, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küčük-Kaynardja (1774 [q.v.]) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty, Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Istanbul. On the other hand, he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisoyedinenie*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramoti*, No. 244). Russia gave an evasive answer, and it was not till 24 July 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy, but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Kādjārs. During this period the Kādjārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Agha Muhammad Kādjār laid siege to Shūsha in Karabāgh and then turned against Tiflis, which was taken on 11 September 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, ii/2, 260, Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, ix, 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Dāghistānīs. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But on Nov. 6/18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Agha Muhammad set out again for Transcaucasia, but was assassinated near Shūsha (15 June 1797). The aged King Erekle died on 12/23 January 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fath ʿAlī Kādjār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Kars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgis under the command of his two sons, dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg, the object of which was as follows. Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate, but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand, the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On 18 December 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedinenie*) of Georgia, which was proclaimed on 16 January 1801 after the death of Giorgi on 28 December 1800. On 12 March, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On 12 September 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I and affirmed that Kartlī-Kakheti were henceforth to be an integral part of the Imperial Russian dominions. The remaining members of the old Georgian ruling house were exiled forcibly to Russia.

Georgia under Russian rule. Russian possession of Georgia facilitated the extension of Russian power in Transcaucasia. The Commander of the Caucasus, Prince Tsitsianov (himself the scion of the noble Georgian family of Tutushvili and governor 1802-6), had to preserve Russia's latest acquisition against several open enemies, including the Lezghian tribesmen of Muslim Dāghistān and the Muslim khāns of Bakū, Shakkī and Gandja in Ādharbāydjān, nominal vassals of Persia. He now carried the war into the enemy's camp and in January 1804 captured Gandja, killing its ruler Djawād Khān, who had helped the Kādjār Agha Muhammad to invade Georgia and sack Tiflis in 1795 (see above); Gandja [q.v.] was now renamed Elizavetapol in honour of the Tsar Alexander I's wife Elizabeth. But when Tsitsianov marched on Bakū in January 1806, he was killed in battle by local Persian troops, although a further expedition later on that year led to the capture of both Bakū and Darband. Pressure was also exerted on the Ottomans, and the Black Sea port of Poti captured in 1809, Sukhum-Kal'e in Abkhāzia in 1810 and the strategic centre of Akhalkalaki in south-western Georgia in 1811, it was only now, in 1812, that the local ruler of Imereti submitted to the Russians after strenuous fighting.

Meanwhile, Russian rule in Georgia had speedily become hated, and a mass revolt of the Georgians came in 1812, when a Bagratid prince was proclaimed King of Georgia, before the outbreak was suppressed. However, a general peace in Transcaucasia was now made between the exhausted warring parties. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored Poti and Akhalkalaki to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Finkenstein of 1807, by which the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had recognised Persia's rights over Georgia, had never had any practical effect, and in the Gulistān Treaty of 1813 Russia was now confirmed in possession of Georgia, together with Dāghistān and the Muslim khānates of Karabāgh, Gandja, Shakkī, Shirwān, Darband, Bakū and Kuba [q.vv.]. Naturally, the Persians were unreconciled to these serious losses of ancestrally-controlled territories in the eastern Caucasus, and in 1826, taking advantage of the death of Alexander I and the Decembrist conspiracy in St. Petersburg, Persia invaded Georgia and Karabāgh. The attack was nevertheless repulsed by General Paskevich and by the Treaty of Turkmānčay in 1828, the Russian frontier was firmly fixed at the Araxes and Persian influences in the Caucasus finally eliminated. An important consequence of this was that Persia was now cut off from direct contact with the Muslims of Dāghistān. Paskevich now turned to deal with Turkey in the west, aiming at the reconquest of the former Georgian province of Samtskhe, and Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzurum, the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 handed Samtskhe over to Russia and also the Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa, thereby cutting the Ottomans off from direct access to Circassia and the north-western Caucasus.

Muslim alarm at Russian aggrandisement in the Caucasus showed itself in the outbreak in 1829 in the eastern Caucasus of the *Murīd* movement under the *Imāms* Kāzī Mollā and then Shamil [q.vv.], who for a quarter of a century kept large numbers of Russian troops tied down in the region. Rebellions against the Russians also broke out in the western Caucasus, in Circassia and Abkhāzia, with Turkish and British encouragement. During the Crimean War (1854-6), Georgia was the base for Russian attacks on Turkey, leading to the capture of Kārs in 1855, meanwhile, a Turkish army under ʿOmer Pasha landed in Abkhāzia and invaded Mingrelia.

Internally, Georgia stagnated in the first decades

of Russian rule, an especial cause of resentment being the suppression in 1811 of the independent Georgian Church, as a focus for national Georgian loyalties in defiance of the guarantees of the 1783 Russo Georgian Treaty, and its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Catholicos-Patriarch Antoni II exiled to St. Petersburg. The Russian administration cut down the feudal rights of the Georgian nobility and taxation for the numerous wars impoverished the land. In 1830-2 Georgian conspirators, grouped round such figures as Prince Alexander Bagration, an exile in Persia, made at last attempt to throw off Russian rule in Georgia, but when this failed, all hopes of a Bagratid restoration ended, and Georgia sank into what D. M. Lang has called "a mood of torpid acquiescence" for two or three decades. Only during the viceroyalty in Georgia of Count Michael Vorontsov (1845-54) did Georgia at last enjoy a measure of prosperity, educational and cultural encouragement and commercial development, with the beginnings of industrialisation in the Tiflis district as part of the distinct industrial revolution in Russia as a whole during Nicholas I's reign (1825-55). It was during Vorontsov's time that the doyen of modern Georgian studies in the west, Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-80), visited Georgia and worked there under his encouragement. The old Georgian nobility suffered a general decline in this period of transition, accompanied by an increased domestication on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1857 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhāzia, a region half Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Sharvashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see ČERKES]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhāzia and Svanati in the following years, although the burden of redemption payments imposed on the former serfs meant that their emancipation was formal rather than real.

There was another period of enlightened rule under the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander II's brother, Viceroy of the Caucasus 1862-81, during whose tenure of power Russia recovered during the war with Turkey of 1877-8 substantial areas of ancient Georgian territory which had been under Ottoman control since the 16th century. By the abortive Treaty of San Stefano and then the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia acquired the port of Batum and retained her conquests of the important fortresses of Kārs and Ardahān [q.vv.], commanding the routes into eastern Anatolia (these last two districts were not recovered by Turkey till 1920 and 1921 respectively). The latter years of the Grand Duke's governorship were however marked by the intensification of Pan-Slavist feeling which characterised Imperial policy at this time and which was common for the non-Russian minorities of the empire, seen e.g. in the banning of 1872 of the use of Georgian for instruction at the Tiflis Theological Seminary, the main centre for the training of the Georgian priesthood and a focus for Georgian nationalist and anti-Russian feeling (one of its future students was to be Joseph Dzugashvili, the later Stalin). One aspect of the Georgian cultural reaction and re-awakening in these years was the appearance of anarchism and the Populist or Narodnik movement in Georgia from the 1870s onwards, together with the Marxist so-called "Third Group", one of whose leaders was Noe Zhordania, the future Menshevik and president of independent Georgia (1918-21). The ending of serfdom and the break-up of feudal estates in Georgia, and the growth of railway and oil-producing industries in Transcaucasia at places like Baku, Batum, Tiflis and Kutaïsi, created propitious conditions for the spread of these movements, aimed in the first place at the Russian Imperial government (which was in fact by far the largest landowner in Georgia). The 1903 revolutionary period was preceded in 1902 by peasant unrest in Guria in south-western Georgia, where holdings were especially fragmented, and in 1905 itself, the Georgian (Marxist) Social Democratic Party organised strikes and communes. Subsequent repression by Russian and Cossack troops drew the attention of the West to Georgia's claims as a nation, seen for instance in Britain by the formation through the efforts of the Georgian scholars Oliver and Marjory Wardrop of the Friends of Georgia Committee, which worked on lines parallel to those of E. G. Browne for the Persian Constitutionalists.

During the First World War, Georgian émigrés organised themselves in Central Europe, under German patronage, and in 1915 a Georgian Legion was formed to fight on the Black Sea coastal front. In the Russo-Turkish fighting in the western Caucasus, the Muslim Georgian Laz (q.v.) and Adjars supported the Ottomans, and Armenian irregulars the Russians. With the fall of the Tsarist government in April 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks assumed power, but the crumbling of the Imperial Army allowed Turkey to recover her occupied territory in eastern Anatolia and to advance on Transcaucasia, wreaking vengeance on the local Armenians in requital for Armenian slaughter of Muslims. The Muslims of Ādharbāydjān refused to continue fighting against Turkey, and now, cut off from Russia itself, Transcaucasia on 22 April 1918 declared itself an independent federative republic, comprising Christian Georgia and Armenia and Muslim Ādharbāydjān. The Ottomans still pressed for the retrocession of territory in Georgia lost to Russia in the 19th century, and had taken the offensive and occupied Batum. Centrifugal forces then soon made the Transcaucasian Republic dissolve into its three component parts, and on 26 May 1918 an independent Georgian Republic, under German protection, was set up, peace was made between Georgia and Turkey at Juna, with Turkey regaining Batum, Kārs, Ardahan, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki. Hence from 1918 to 1921 a Menshevik or Social Democratic régime governed Georgia, headed by Zhordania, with a great upsurge of Georgian nationalism (Georgia's first university being opened at Tiflis in 1918) and hopes of the following of a peaceful policy of democratic socialism. After the Armistice of November 1918, British troops replaced the German ones in Georgia, with Oliver Wardrop as Chief British Commissioner in the three Transcaucasian republics, with his headquarters in Tiflis. On 27 January 1921 France and Britain recognised Georgia diplomatically as a sovereign state. However, the new state was under pressure, having to fight off Armenian claims to Georgian territory, the Kemālist Turkish forces to the south, and above all, the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 the Bolsheviks were

threatening Tiflis itself, and it fell after a heroic resistance on 25 February to a fearful sacking by the Red Army, Zhordania fleeing with his government by sea to Istanbul

Georgia under the Soviets inevitably suffered from the recrudescence of Great Russian chauvinism and imperialism, the excesses of Russian troops provoking a guerilla resistance movement in Georgia akin to the Basmačī movement [*q.v.*] in Central Asia, culminating in a general uprising in 1924, ruthlessly suppressed For the next two decades or more, up to 1953, Georgia groaned under the repression of Stalin and his henchman Beria, himself a Mingrelian and who exercised dictatorial powers in Transcaucasia 1932 ff. Until 1936, Georgia was deprived of its autonomy and became part of a Transcaucasian Federated SSR, of which Tiflis was the capital, but in that year it became the Georgian SSR, and now forms one of the constituent republics of the USSR and includes the Abkhas and Adžaa Autonomous SSRs and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, with a total area of 27,000 sq. miles/70,000 km²

According to figures from January 1970, the total population of the republic is 4,686,000, 48% of these being town dwellers and 52% rural, the main towns being Tiflis (pop. 907,000) and the much smaller centres of Kutaisi, Rustavi, Sukhum and Batum. Ethnically, the population is returned as being 67% Georgian, but with considerable minorities of Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Abkhazians (see *ESE*², vii, 360-92). What proportion of all these may still be described as Muslim is unclear, but in 1921 the capital Tiflis had a fair number of Turks in its population, and in 1922, under Soviet rule, there was still being produced a local Turkish newspaper, *Yeñi fikr*, and a journal, *Dan yıldızı* (see Mīrzā Bālā, *Āẕarbāyd̲j̲ān türk maṭbūʿāt*, Baku 1922), but the 1922 census enumerated only 3,235 Azerbaijani Turks and 3,964 Persians, presumably all Muslims The Azerbaijani Turks in Georgia are naturally to be found mainly in the extension of the Āẕarbāyd̲j̲ān plain to the east and south east of Tiflis, in such districts as Borčalī and Karayazı, and they formed part of the Kazak-Shams al-Dīn tribal group (see Bala, *IA* art. *Gürcistan*)

Ethnography The older bibliography is given at length in Minorsky's *EI*¹ art. TIFLIS. The basic standard work still remains M.-F. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1849-57. On general bibliography, see D. M. Lang, *Catalogue of Georgian and other Caucasian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1962, D. Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop collection and of other Georgian books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1973, and the *Bibl.* given in Mīrzā Bālā's *IA* art. *Gürcistan*. Specific works include W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the nineteenth century*, London 1932, Zurab Avalishvili, *The independence of Georgia in international politics 1918-1921*, London 1940, S. S. Jikia, *Gruzinskaya revolyutsiya dvā desyatʿāi*, Tiflis 1947 [= Turkish text and Georgian translation of a 16th century Ottoman *muṣṭafṣal tapu defteri*); Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921*, Oxford 1951; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Paris 1958; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields*, Cambridge 1953, D. M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs, No 130, New York 1955 idem, *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*, New York 1957; idem, *A modern history of Georgia*, London 1962; M. Canard, *Les relues de Géorgie dans l'histoire et la légende musulmanes*, in *REI*, xxxvii (1969), 3-20 Allen, ed. and A. Mayo, tr., *Russian embassies to the Georgian kings, 1589-1605*, Hakluyt Society Cambridge 1970 J. M. Rogers, *The Mzxetskhis between East and West*, in *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale sull'arte georgiana, Bergamo 1974*, Milan 1977, 257-72. (V. Minorsky - [C. E. Bosworth])

KURḤ, al-Kūrḥ, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic times in the northern Ḥid̲j̲āz, mentioned in early Islamic sources as of prime importance, but not now known under this name.

It seems very likely that the place had a role in the pre-Islamic history of the Wādī 'l-Kurā [*q.v.*], where the settlement of later Kurḥ was situated, although the principal towns then were Dēdān (modern al-Ḵhurayba) and al-Ḥid̲j̲r [*q.v.*] or Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ (modern al-ʿUlā) According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-5/1955-7, iv, 320-2, and al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut 1393/1973, ii, 1288, there was a well-known fair at Kurḥ in the Djāhiliyya, and popular tradition located there the destruction of the people of Hūd, see ʿĀd [*q.v.*] As the culture of Dēdān and Lihyān decayed in the northern Ḥid̲j̲āz, Kurḥ seems to have become the main settlement of the Wādī 'l-Kurā around the time of the coming of Islam, and *mukhaḍram* poets like Ibn al-Muḵbil [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt mention it. The tribe of Ḏhubḥ [*q.v.*] lived in the district; the Prophet prayed in Kurḥ, and a mosque was built there (see Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, ed. M. M. al-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, iv, 36, and H. Lammens, *L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Ḥid̲j̲āz, notes de géographie historique*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 304-5).

Following a well known process in Islamic geographical nomenclature, the name Kurḥ was applied both to the town, the administrative and commercial centre of the Wādī 'l-Kurā, and to the surrounding district, in effect, the Wādī 'l-Kurā itself. Hence al-Muḳaddasī, 69 says that Kurḥ is one of the four regions (*nawāḥī*) of Arabia and also one of the towns of the Ḥid̲j̲āz; al-Bakrī, *Muʿd̲j̲am mā ʾsta ʿd̲j̲am*, iii, 1056, describes it as the *bayḍa* of the Wādī 'l-Kurā, with a variant form of the name as al-Kurḥ (*loc. cit.* and i, 247). It obviously flourished highly at this time. Al-Muḳaddasī, 83-4, says that it was populous and much frequented by traders, and had many amenities, it had a strong citadel, a defensive ditch and walls, and Jews were a decisive element (*al-ghalab*) there (cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 307), though elsewhere (96) he states that Kurḥ (here meaning the district) was essentially Sunnī in faith.

Where exactly, then, was the town of Kurḥ located, since the toponym is not in use today, although that of al-Ḥid̲j̲r (*pace* Vidal, in *EI*² s.v.) does in fact survive? C. M. Doughty (1876-7) inquired among the local people, but could find no memory of it, although he was shown a ruined site "el-Mubbiḍ" six miles south of al-ʿUlā; he nevertheless thought that the mediaeval Kurḥ lay much further south towards Medina (*Travels in Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 262 n). Subsequently, A. Musil definitely identified Kurḥ with al-ʿUlā (*The northern Ḥid̲j̲āz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 295, but elsewhere, 217-18 n. 52, he placed it, more correctly, to the south of al-ʿUlā). It has now been convincingly argued by ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāṣir, himself a native of the region, that the site of mediaeval Kūch should indeed be located at the present-day ruins known

locally as al Mahyāt/al Mahyāl (cf. *mahīt* "place where one halts for the night") along the main route down the Wādī 'l-Ḥurḍ to Medina, in an extensive plan, a spot well-fitted to be a flourishing commercial centre and market and a convenient staging-post, 12 miles/18 km. south of al-'Ulā (al-Nazīl, *The identification of the wādī 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mahyāt*, in *Arabian studies*, v [1979], 1-19). Jaussen and Savignac saw ruins there, and in 1908 the expedition of P. J. Parr, G. Lankester Harding and J. E. Dayton made a surface survey of the site (see *Preliminary survey in N.W. Arabia*, 1968, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Archaeology*, London, viii in [1970], 199-204, section on "Maʿabiyat") Excavation of the site may well settle the question finally.

Bibliography given in the article, but see also Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1150*, Beirut 1973, 220-1. (C. E. Bosworth)

KURḤUB b. Dīnār al-Khuzāʿī, the ardent eulogist of the Zīrīd princes of al-Ḳayrawān and of their governors, the Banū Abī 'l-'Arab, and a virulent and shameless satirist. He dominated with great verve the poetic contests stirred up by his strong personality and his biting aggressiveness in the literary sessions of al-Ḳayrawān, owing his success as much to his lack of scruple as to the swiftness of his replies and his improvisations

However, Kurḥub remains a poet with a ready talent able to adapt himself to the thematic and formal exigencies of the genres employed by him. Variety of usage of verse-forms, suppleness of verses and purity of language combined in due course to place him in the élite of the poets of Ifrīḳiya during the Zīrīd period. He died at al-Ḳayrawān in 420/1029

Bibliography 'Umarī, *Masālik al abṣār*, ms. Paris 2327, xvii, ff. 96a-98a, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Tunis 4830, xxii, 65-6, who both use Ibn Rashīḳ's *al Unmūdhadj*. See also 'A.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawānī*, Beirut 1962, 108, 214-15; H.-R. Idrīs, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 792; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīḳiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972. (Ch. Bouyahia)

KURILTĀY, Arabic orthography of Mongol *ḳuriltai* from *ḳur-* "to collect, gather together", an assembly of the Mongol princes summoned to discuss and deal with some important question such as the election of a new khan. Ḏjuwaynī describes the *ḳurīltāy*s that preceded the accession of Ögedei, Güyük and Möngke. John de Plano Carpini was present in person at the *ḳurīltay* held in the Khangay mountains at which Güyük was elected and enthroned. The institution still survived in the time of Timūr, when however it seems to have become little more than a parade. The very word has disappeared from the modern Mongolian language, it has been resuscitated by the Turks in the form *kurultay* and used in the sense of "assembly, congress".

Bibliography Ḏjuwaynī-Boyle, i, 178-92, 248-56, ii, 335-602; J. A. Boyle *The seasonal residence of the Great Khan Ögedei*, in *Spraache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 145-51 (147); V. V. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1958, 27, G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 435-7 (No. 305). (J. A. Boyle)

KŪRIN, designation used by the Ottomans in the 16th/10th century and by the Russians in the 18th-19th centuries for the Lezgi[as [*q.v.*] Kūrin (Russian. Kūrinskiy yazīk) is also the former designation for the Lezghin language, and appears as such in the 1926 Soviet census. (R. Wixman)

KŪRIN KHĀNATE [see lezgiens]

KŪRIYA, Kawriya, the Arabic name for the modern town of Coria in Spain, municipio of the province of Cáceres on the banks of the Alagón River. It was the Cauriurs of the Romans, who built its walls, as was noted by al-Ḥimyarī ("strong walls of ancient construction"). Al Idrīsī states that Coria belonged to the *ṣaḳlīm* of al-Ḥadjar, and was then "an attractive, well built and spacious town, whose surrounding countryside was fertile and highly productive of fruit". Al Iṣṭaḫrī's itinerary (43-7) places it at 12 days' journey from Cordova.

When the Muslims withdrew to the line of Coria, after the famines of the year 136/753 period (*Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 62/67), the town was thus left in the frontier zone, and must have been one of the main centres of the Berber settlement of the north west of the peninsula. There were frequent rebellions there. In 170/786 'Abd al-Raḥmān I attacked there the rebel Abu 'l-Aswad Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (*ibid.*, 116/126). Muḥammad b. Ṭāḏjīt al-Maṣmūdī rebelled there during the amirate of Muḥammad I, and in alliance with Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made Coria one of his main centres (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 466; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Iber*, tr. de Slane, iv, 289). It is in this region and around this same period that the Christian sources place the revolt of Zerth/Zerti (*Cron. Alfonso III*, Valencia 1961, 62-3). The town became much fought over, it was taken by Ordoño I in 850, but recaptured by the Muslims in 862. Alfonso III besieged it without success in 868, but ended by taking it some years later. Yaḥyā al Tudjībī, sent by al-Ḥakam II, attacked the king of Navarre and the Count of Castile near Coria (Nuwayrī, *Analectes*, i, 248). Al Mansūr [*q.v.*] passed by Coria on his route into the Christian territories during his campaign of 387/997. The town was taken by Alfonso VI (472/1079), and he died there after the defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Aftas mourned the loss of Coria in a letter to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [*al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Allouche, 23). It was occupied by the Almoravids in 513/1119-20, but definitively taken by Alfonso VII in 1142.

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KURḲŪB, a town in Khūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statments regarding distances given by the Arab geographers were collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, 1902, iv, 396 ff.; cf. also 431. The town was noted for its carpets, there was also a state *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] manufacture there. A material called *tustarī* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *BGA* iv, s.v. Al Iṣṭaḫrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal say that the *tustarī* of Fasā [*q.v.*] was better than that of Kurḳūb, the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton, while in the former wool was used, cf. on the textiles of Kurḳūb, R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol con-*

quest, Beirut 1972, 45, and J. Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susamischird*, Leipzig 1881.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 241, 246. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, II, 98, where all the important quotations from the Arab geographers are given, to which should be added *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 133, 382.

(M. PLESSNER)

QURRĀ'. Political organisation. The term *qurrāʾ*, sing. *qāriʾ* (A.), occurs in Arabic historiography referring to a group of "Iraḳians rising against ʿUthmān and later on against ʿAlī, after he had accepted the arbitration. In European research, *qurrāʾ* has been usually rendered as "reciters of the Kurʾān" (*qurrāʾ* < *q-r-ʾ* "to recite").

Brünnow was the first historian to try to assess the role of the *qurrāʾ* as an independent group acting within a heterogeneous Khāridjite [*q.v.*] movement. Brünnow's results were partly rejected by Wellhausen, who held that the *qurrāʾ* were not an autonomous movement which was merged in Khāridjism at a certain date. He claimed that the *qurrāʾ* had been in close connection with the learned *fuḳahāʾ* forming a wider circle of pious men around these *fuḳahāʾ*, the supposed nucleus of men of religious learning. It was the *qurrāʾ*'s religious zeal, unhampered by scrupulous deliberation, which according to Wellhausen led them to act against an Islamic authority which in their opinion had failed to carry through the commandments of the Holy Book. Their ardour for the sake of Islam became obvious for the first time, when they took part in fighting against the Ridda [*q.v.*] rebels (Battle of the Yamāma or of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*]). During ʿAlī's war against Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, they threw in their lots with him, and they supported ʿAlī in his abortive warfare against Muʿāwiya. When the Syrians proposed to resort to the judgement of the Kurʾān, they at first approved of ʿAlī's compliance with this proposal, but later on, when the disastrous consequences of the arbitration had become obvious, they turned against ʿAlī, blaming him ruthlessly for having preferred human decision to God's judgement. In the Khāridjite rebellions against ʿAlī, and later on against the Umayyads, the *qurrāʾ* are said to have been the most fanatical instigators. Wellhausen's account of the *qurrāʾ* shows his general view of the early Muslim parties as resulting from a politico-religious conflict. This view, which aimed at studying the development of political and religious thought in Islam, has proved very fruitful, but it impedes us in realising the social conflicts concomitant to religious strife. Therefore, until recently the character of the *qurrāʾ* was described vaguely or even misleadingly. If the *qurrāʾ* actually had been a group of people applying themselves to a peculiar form of reciting the Kurʾān, or holding a certain view concerning the validity of the Kurʾānic commandments, why do we not find any trace of such a group in treatises on hereseography or on recitation of the Kurʾān? Besides this *argumentum e silentio*, one doubts whether Wellhausen's almost generally-accepted assumption was right that only after ʿAlī's political defeat did the *qurrāʾ*, repenting of their imaginary failure, become the fanatical partisans of the Kurʾān. For according to the sources, they had never been wholehearted followers of ʿAlī's cause, hence they had no reason to consider themselves as traitors because they had urged ʿAlī to accept the appointment of the two arbiters.

Recent research into the matter has tended to take the social groups into consideration, resuming in principle Brünnow's idea. In a detailed study on Kūfan political alignments, G. M. Hinds has drawn an entirely new picture of the *qurrāʾ*. He states that a group of people called *qurrāʾ* first acted jointly against Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfa until 33/653. The evidence adduced by Hinds proves that most of them were people who had settled in southern ʿIrāḳ at the very beginning of the conquests and thus had acquired some privileges. But under ʿUthmān, the political situation in southern ʿIrāḳ was changing rapidly, those early-comers who could not stabilise their position by amalgamating with an influx of population belonging to their respective tribal entities gradually lost their influence. Al-Ashtar and Yazīd b. Kays, who were to play a prominent part in the subsequent troubles, were among these early-comers who feared lest they be ousted from their position. Their situation was even aggravated when ʿUthmān allowed the fighters of al-Ḳādisiyya now resident at Madīna to exchange their shares of ʿIrāḳian land for landed property in the Arabian Peninsula. To carry through this measure meant first of all a careful distinguishing between the *ṣawāfī* estates and *dhimma*-land. The early-comers suspected that they would be the losers by these administrative measures. Fearing a blow to their pretended rights, they succeeded in removing Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ from his post. They then elected Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī governor of Kūfa. During the events which led to the murder of ʿUthmān, the *qurrāʾ* played only a secondary part, though al-Ashtar figures in the list of the assassins. When ʿAlī arrived in the neighbourhood of Kūfa, the powerful tribal leaders did not join him. They seem to have favoured a neutral position, which would have served their interests best. ʿAlī, pursuing an egalitarian Islamic policy, did not even want to attempt a compromise with them. A coalition between him and the disappointed early-comers therefore came into being. Al-Ashtar, Hudjr b. ʿAdī, and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim are said to have been *qurrāʾ*, now they were Shīʿī leaders. During the fighting at Ṣiffīn, the *qurrāʾ* are mentioned as separate para-tribal entities supporting ʿAlī. When Muʿāwiya suggested settling the points at issue by means of arbitration, the *qurrāʾ* urged ʿAlī to accept the proposal, because they envisaged a peace in which ʿAlī would be able to accomplish an Islamic policy checking an ascendancy of the new comers. When they felt that their dreams would not be realised, they turned against ʿAlī, who refused to withdraw from the agreement. ʿAlī tried to placate this dangerous internal opposition by giving high appointments to the most prominent *qurrāʾ*, but the majority of the *qurrāʾ* became his irreconcilable enemies. In the Khāridjite movement of the first century they are often mentioned as one of the most active groups.

In the light of these new results, it seems rather absurd to refer to the *qurrāʾ* as "Kurʾān-readers". Shaban was the first to suggest a new interpretation. He holds that *qurrāʾ* means "villagers" (*ahl al-ḳurā*), denoting those participants in the early wars (*ahl al-ayyām*) against the Sāsānid Empire who had occupied the vacated estates of southern ʿIrāḳ and whose *de facto* privileges used been threatened since ʿUthmān's reign. Shaban and G. H. A. Juynboll have adduced evidence corroborating this thesis, but it still remains speculative. The rendering of *qurrāʾ* as "Kurʾān readers" seems to be a result of the well-known fact that Muḥammad used to appoint reciters for stimulating the zeal of the Muslim fighters (see Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa ʾl-iḳtiṣādiyya fī ʾl-Baṣra*, Beirut 1969, 56 ff.), further-

more, the ʿIrāḳian *ḳurrāʾ* had appealed to the Kurʾān. But they did so, not because they held some special doctrine concerning it, but because they wanted to enforce the judgement of the Kurʾān in that actual issue, where the reference made in the Ṣiffīn agreement to an all defined "practice" (*sunna*) seemed dangerous for their interests.

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KURRA B. SHARĪK B. MARTHAD B. ḤAZIM AL-ʿABSĪ AL-GHAṬAFĀNĪ, governor of Egypt 90-6/709-14 for the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Kurra came from the group of North Arab tribes which had settled extensively in northern Syria and the Djazīra and which were in the forefront of the warfare along the Taurus Mountains with Byzantium. He himself came from the region of Ḳinnasrīn [q.v.] to the south of Aleppo, and was thus a member of the experienced and capable cadre of Syrian Arabs whom the Umayyads liked to appoint to high civil and military office, the fact that al-Walīd's mother Wallāda bint al-ʿAbbās was also from the tribe of ʿAbs may well have helped further Kurra's career.

The early part of this last is very obscure. From indications in Michael the Syrian's chronicle, Lammens inferred that he may have served as governor of Khūzistān or possibly of Armenia, it is obvious that he would not have been appointed to such an elevated post as the governorship of Egypt without considerable administrative experience previously.

Kurra was appointed governor of Egypt *ʿalā 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-kharādj*, i.e. as *amīr* and as *ʿāmil* or financial director, in place of the caliph's own brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, whose governorship had been rendered difficult by economic hardship through failure of the Nile to rise sufficiently. Kurra accordingly reached the capital of Egypt, Fusṭāṭ [q.v.], on 3 or 13 Rabīʿ I 90/10 or 20 January 709 or shortly afterwards, and took up his duties there. The Arabic general chroniclers give woefully little information about Kurra's governorship, if indeed they mention it at all. Ṭabarī merely records the dates of his appointment and of his continued tenure of the office, and then records his death (ii, 1200, 1208, 1266, 1305, repeated in Ibn al-Athīr).

Our best sources of historical information are naturally the local Egyptian ones, above all Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 63 ff., more briefly in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 302, also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 217-20, resuming several earlier authorities, but the information given here is fairly copious too. However, contemporary records, as embodied in the papyri discovered in Egypt over the last 80 years or so, round out the later chronicles and give a much better picture of the administrative and financial condition of Egypt during Kurra's governorship. They also supply a corrective to the unfavourable image of Kurra as a typically tyrannical Umayyad governor of the stamp of al-Ḥadjdjādj [q.v.], which grew up in the ʿAbbāsid and post-ʿAbbāsid periods, a condemnatory view which is expressed in both the Muslim and the Coptic Christian sources. Thus one oft repeated saying attributed to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz runs "al-Walīd in Syria, al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, ʿUthmān al-Mussāl in Medina, Khālid al-Ḳasrī in Mecca and Kurra in Egypt! By God, the earth has become filled with iniquity!" (cf. the biography of Kurra in Zirikli, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 36-7). Another libellous story is that after the completion of the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ (see below), he called for wine and music-making and held an orgy there.

Amongst the occurrences of Kurra's governorship is mentioned a plot against his life staged at Alexandria by a group of Ibāḍī Khāridjīs under al-Mubāḏir b. Abī 'l-Muthanna al-Tudjībī, which failed, and the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr. At the beginning of 92/autumn 710, the caliph ordered Kurra to demolish some additions made by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik and to rebuild the mosque entirely. Yaḥyā b. Ḥanẓala al-ʿĀmirī was appointed supervisor of work; the mosque was enlarged at the north-east and and in the *ḳibla* direction, which Kurra caused to be corrected from ʿAmr's slightly inaccurate alignment. Whilst the work of rebuilding was in progress, the Friday prayers were held in the Kaysāriyyat al-ʿAṣal, and the mosque was completed in Ramaḍān 93/June-July 712 (see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1932-40, i, 99-100, with extensive bibliography). Yet much of Kurra's governorship was necessarily taken up with the financial administration of Egypt and the economic and agricultural regeneration of the province, and it is here that the papyri give valuable information. The serious famine of 86-7/705-6 in the preceding governorship of ʿAbd Allāh (see above) had left a legacy of hardship in the land. Kurra was therefore concerned to increase agricultural production and to bring disused land (*arḍ mawāt*) into cultivation once more. The chronicles mention his restoration of the Birkat al-Ḥabash as an instance of this work of *ihyāʾ*, this being planted with sugar cane [see ḲAṢAB AL-SUKKAR] and subsequently known as "Kurra's stable".

A further, controversial problem was that of the imposition of the poll-tax or *djizya* [q.v.] on new Muslim converts from the Coptic community. The papyri show Kurra as keen to exact the full *djizya* from these *mawālī*, to collect arrears of taxation and generally to safeguard the caliph's financial rights. Egypt suffered, like ʿIrāḳ and other of the conquered provinces, from the flight of peasants in the towns in order to escape taxation, a process which had already been discernible in Byzantine Egypt; these fugitives were now rigorously pursued and brought back to their villages wherever possible. However, Kurra was equally concerned to punish tyrannical local officials, and he maintained control over the provinces by means of an efficient intelligence system or *barīd* [q.v.]. The bilingual (Greek and Arabic) papyri also mention the levying of special taxes (*liturgia*) for the building of ships for *kourtos* or *ghurāb*, presumably against the Byzantines in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, Kindī notes that Kurra re-organised the *dīwāns* of Egypt in 95/713-14, being the third person (after ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān) to do this. As Becker observed (*Beiträge*, ii, 124 f.), this doubtless increased the Arab element in these departments, the official language there had already been changed from Greek and Coptic to Arabic just before Kurra's time [see DĪWĀN].

Kurra died of the plague whilst still in office on

Ṣafar 56/October-November 724 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1305) as on 23 Rabīʿ I 96/6 December 714 (Maḥmūd, i, 308), and was succeeded (as *amīr al-ṣalāt* only) by his trusted deputy ʿAbd al-Malīk b. Rifāʿa al-Fahmī, who had been *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* as police chief under Qurra, Usāma b. Zayd became head of finances in Egypt.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KURRAM, Kurram, the name of a river which flows down from the western end of the Safīd Kūh or Spīn Ghar range of the Hindū Kush-Koh-i Bābā massif of eastern Afghānistān and which joins the Indus River in modern Pakistan just below ʿIsā Khēl. The lower course of the river flows through Bannū [*q.v.*] and the middle reaches through the northernmost part of Waziristān [*q.v.*]. The upper valley, beyond the railhead of Thāl, forms what in British India and now in Pakistan is the administrative region of the Kurram Agency, a thin wedge of territory some 70 miles long and covering 1 305 sq. miles. From the headwaters of the river, the fairly easy Shutargardān Pass leads towards Khōst and Kābul [*q.vv.*], with the village of Parwar Ketal marking the present frontier between Afghānistān and Pakistān; this has always been one of the historic routes by means of which migratory peoples and armies from Central Asia and Afghānistān have descended to the Indian plains.

Little is known of the early history of the region of Kurram, though the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien was there in the early 5th century A.D. Kurram is certainly mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89, as the place (here spelt Kurramān) to which the Ghaznavid sultan Bahrām Shāh fled ignominiously in 543/1148 when the Ghūrid chief Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī temporarily occupied his capital Dūzdūdānī (7th/13th century) further records that Kurramān was granted as an *iḳṭāʿ*, together with S.n.k.rān (? Shalozān, the name of a modern left-bank affluent of the Kurram River, in the surmise of Raverty), by the Ghūrid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad in 572/1176-7 to his slave commander Tāj al-Dīn Yildiz; Muʿizz al-Dīn used regularly the Kurram valley route for descending from Ghazna to the Indus valley (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Habībī, Kabul 1342 š./1962-4, i, 411-12, tr. Raverty, London 1881-99, i, 498-500). The original Pathan inhabitants of Kurram were Sunnī Bangash, but ca. 1500 nomads of the Tūrī tribe of the Karlānī group of Pathans appeared as vassals (*hawālīya*) of the Bangash and gradually came in control all the villages of the upper Kurram valley. The Tūrī are Shīʿī in faith, and claim popularly to be of Persian origin, in the early 11th/17th century they participated, with other Pathan tribes, in the general movement of the Rōshanīyya sect [*q.v.*] against the attempted domination of the Mughal Emperors of Dihlī.

In the early 19th century, Kurram never formed part of the Sikh empire of the Panjāb, but the Durrānī and Bārakzay rulers of Kābul claimed a vague suzerainty over the region. In 1845 they affirmed their claims by appointing a resident governor in Kurram, the later *amīr* Shēr ʿAlī Khān. In 1878 a British expedition was sent into the valley after Tūrī raids on the people of Kōhāt [*q.v.*] In autumn 1878 Lord Roberts entered the valley and temporarily occupied the region as an advance base during the Second Afghān War, pushing on from these to capture Khōst. The Shīʿī Tūrī began to complain of oppression by Afghān officials, and this created a sentiment in Kurram in favour of a British presence there or at least of some degree of British protection, especially as the Treaty of Gandamak made with Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Khān in 1879 declared Kurram to be an assigned district, to be administered by the Government of India, together with the Khyber and the Pathan districts of northern Balūčistān. Hence in 1892 British forces moved up from Thāl at the request of the Tūrī, and in the next year the border with Afghānistān was delimited along the Durand Line at the head of the valley. In 1894 it became a political agency, and thus at the time of Lord Curzon's creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901, Kurram became one of the five tribal agencies. British garrisons were withdrawn, and replaced by two battalions of the Kurram Militia, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles [see KHAYBAR PASS]. It was down the upper Kurram valley that Nādir Shāh briefly penetrated with an Afghān force during the Third Afghan War of 1919.

Kurram now comes within Pakistan, and has its administrative centre in the town of Parāčinār. The Pakistan government gives the Kurram Agency the same degree of autonomy as the other tribal areas, except that it enforces certain regulations identical with those prevailing in the directly administered areas along the Indus, including the collection of land-tax, in fact, a negligible amount of taxation is collected from this economically poorly-endowed region, and the Agency receives back far more from the central government by way of subsidies and salaries of local militiamen and officials. It nevertheless forms the only tribal area along the Frontier where the central government's authority goes right up to the Afghānistān border. Administratively, Kurram is divided into two *tahṣīls*, an Upper Valley and a Lower Valley. The 1961 census estimated the population of the whole Agency at 200,512, with the population of Parāčinār as 22,953.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KURRAT AL ʿAYN, FĀṬIMA UMM SALMĀ, also known as Dhakiyya, Zarrīn-tādj Ṭāhira (*see* below), Persian poetess and Bābī martyr, was born in Kazwīn in 1231/1814, the eldest daughter of a famous *mudjtahid*, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Baraghānī.

She was educated in Kazwīn, and became proficient in the Islamic sciences. She was married to Mullā Muḥammad, the son of her uncle Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, by whom she had three sons, Shaykh Isḥāḳ, Shaykh Ibrāhīm and Shaykh Isḥāḳ, and one daughter. While staying with him in Karbalā, she joined the Shaykhī sect, together with her sister Mardiyya and brother in-law, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī, an action that earned her the fierce hostility of her husband and father in law, though her own father remained central. She studied with Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī, then living in Karbalā², who was so impressed by a *risāla* she wrote on Shaykhī doctrine, that he gave her the *laḳab* of Kurrat al ʿAyn. Her sectarian activities led finally to her divorce, by which time she had returned to Kazwīn. It was here that she first heard of the Bāb, and when Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūyī left for Shīrāz to seek out the Bāb in Rabīʿ I 1260/April 1844, he took with him a letter from Kurrat al-ʿAyn which so impressed the Bāb that he nominated her among the eighteen *Ḥurūf al Ḥayy* ("Letters of the Living"). Later, in a letter addressed to certain Bābīs who had expressed doubt about the propriety of Kurrat al ʿAyn's activities, he described her as *Dirrat-i Ṭāhira*, whence the name by which she came commonly to be known amongst the Bābīs and Bahāʾīs. By this time she was back in Karbalā, where she is reputed to have preached without a veil, to have claimed to be the incarnation of Fāṭima, and to have proclaimed the abrogation of the Sharīʿa. Her preaching of Bābī doctrines eventually alarmed the Ottoman authorities, and in 1263/1846 she was arrested and exiled to Iran. She travelled by way of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān, preaching openly on the way, and in due course arrived in Kazwīn, where she found herself subjected to the same family hostility as before. Matters came to a head when her uncle, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, a strenuous opponent of Bābism, was found murdered (15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1263/25 October 1847). Widely suspected of complicity, it was no longer possible for her to remain in Kazwīn, and she left for Tehran, and thence for Māzandarān, where she joined the great gathering of Bābī leaders at Badashṭ. Here she preached constantly (sometimes unveiled, though this has been denied), and took an active part in the decisions taken there. After the break up of the gathering by local villagers, she went to Māzandarān with some of the other leaders of the community, and stayed for some time in Nūr. In 1268/1850 she was arrested and taken to Tehran, where she was detained as a prisoner in the house of Maḥmūd Khān Nūrī, the Kalāntar [*q.v.*] of Tehran, for the next four years. After the attempt on the life of Nāṣir al Dīn Shāh in 1268/1852 by three Bābīs, Kurrat al ʿAyn, together with at least twenty-seven other Bābīs, was cruelly put to death by means that have been variously reported but are still unknown, the only eyewitness account—by Dr. Polak—merely stating that "she endured her slow death with superhuman fortitude"

By a strange twist of fate, Kurrat al-ʿAyn was the only one of the eighteen "Letters of the Living" never to meet the Bāb. She was famous both inside and outside the Bābī movement for her beauty, eloquence, and devotion to the cause. Her poetry, a fair amount of which has survived, is said to have been widely read by the Bābīs long after her death. Though doubts have been cast on the stories of her discarding of the veil, it cannot be denied that her way of life was extremely emancipated for her time, and she has remained a symbol of women's liberation in Iran ever since

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton and D. M. Macboth)

KURṢĀN (A.), pl *kuraṣna* and also *karāṣina*, *karāṣa*, "corsair, pirate", stems from Italian *corsale*, which has further given forms closer to the original but less commonly found, such as *kursāl*, pl *karāsilliyarāsil*, and *kursāliyya*, pl *kursāliyyāt*. In turn Arabic has formed the abstract noun *kurṣana* "privateering, piracy", still in use today, as is also *kurṣān*, sometimes conceived of as a plural. In the colloquial there is further the verb *kaṛṣan* "to raid, act as a pirate", and the dialects also given to *kurṣān* the double sense of "corsair" and "boat". This latter term was an Andalusian one (cf. Pedro de Alcala, ... *De lingua arabica libri duo*, Göttingen 1883, 158), and it is uncertain whether one should link with the Spanish *corsario* the adjective *kurṣariyyāt* used by al-Sakāṭī, ed G. S Colin and E Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de hisba*, Paris 1931, 50 to denote women who are supposed to have recovered their virginity (the two editors prudently suggest the translation "carried off by the corsairs?", and P Chalmeta, in *al Andalus* (1971 ff), § 111, translates this term as *corsarias*).

The necessity felt by the Arabic language, probably in the course of the 3rd/9th century, to use a loanword shows that, even if piracy had long existed on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the Arabs (who called a pirate *liṣṣ* of *ḥaḳr* "sea robber") had a distinct feeling that privateering had a different character. They

nevertheless adopted the same term to denote two distinct forms of activity, which are indeed often enough confused, even by Europeans; in fact, privateering consists of attacking enemy ships with the more or less explicit connivance of the authorities, whilst piracy proper is a purely private enterprise involving the capture and pillaging any vessels encountered.

i. The Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic

It was in the Mediterranean, "the sea of adventures" (Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XVe siècles* Paris 1965, 574), that the Muslims most continuously practised *ḥarāba* from the moment onwards when they established themselves along its shores and had to face attacks from the Christian powers there. In reality, the Arabs—and very soon, as will be seen, adventurers of European origin, renegades and captives—were merely participating in a traditional practice of the Mediterranean basin since the most early antiquity, whilst at the same time giving it, more or less consciously, a religious aura, since it was often in the name of Islam that the corsairs of the southern shores of the Sea acted, just as those of the northern shores acted at times in the name of Christianity. It was for this reason that privateering, if not piracy, soon came to be considered as an integral part of the holy war, *ǧihād* (*q.v.*), and it is on part of this that the question is treated in the works on law.

Given the fact that it is impossible, in an encyclopaedia article, to go into detail and to trace the entire history of privateering and piracy as they were practised by men based on the coasts of the Muslim lands, what follows is a sketch of the broad features of the topic. Reference should be made to those sources which are in general well-documented and which have been utilised for this present article, and also to the articles MILĀḤA and BAḤRIYA, especially for technical details, the article BIDĀ^c in the Supplement should also be consulted for the topic of the ransoming of captives.

From the 1st/7th century onwards, there were added to the attacks against the Islands and the shores of the western Mediterranean by corsairs coming from the Near East, raids undertaken by the people of Ifrīḳiya, whose regularly organised fleets succeeded in gaining control, in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century of Malta, Sicily and Pantelleria (see ṢAWṢARA), whilst the Balearic Islands were definitively taken over by the Spanish Umayyads in 290/903.

However, from the 2nd/8th century onwards, what one may properly call organised pirate activity began to take shape both in North Africa and in Muslim Spain. One notable action is that in which, after the suppression of the "Revolt of the Suburb" in Cordova (see AL-ANDALUS and KURṬUBA) in 202/818, a group of émigrés who practised piracy in the central and eastern Mediterranean gained control of Alexandria and in 212/827 seized the island of Crete, which they made into a Muslim possession and a centre for their further activities (see ḤAFṢIDS). It was likewise from Spain that there set out the Muslims who, between 278/891 and 281/894, established themselves at Fraxinetum [*q.v.*], where they founded a pirate state which lasted for 80 years. As early as 227/842, other corsairs sailed up the Rhône to Arles, and they renewed their incursions in 235/850 and 255/869, under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the sailors of Péchina acquired a great notoriety in this respect (cf. Lévi Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 244, 349, 350, 355, ii, 254 60). Some centuries later, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, text i, 679, tr. de Slane, iii, 227, summarised the two essential forms which the activities of the *ḥarāfīsh* took. "A more or less numerous group of corsairs gets together. They build a ship and choose as its crew men of proven valour. These warriors go off and descend on the coasts and islands where the Franks dwell, arriving there suddenly and carrying off everything they can find. They also attack the infidels' ships, frequently capturing them, and then return home, laden with plunder and prisoners". This text is one of the ones rarely encountered on this subject in the Arabic sources, which dwell at much greater length on the Christians' naval enterprise against the Muslim lands, or on the spectacular attacks from the Atlantic made on al-Andalus by the "Northmen" from 230/844 to 355/966 (see AL-MAǦūS). In the Mediterranean, violent attacks by the Christians were more difficult, for a defence system had been established along the coasts, whether in Spain (see R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, Paris 1973, 273 6) or from Alexandria to Tangier (see M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 355).

Concerning the situation obtaining on the high seas, Ibn Khaldūn's remark (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 35, tr. de Slane, ii, 42, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 41) alleging that "the Christians could not even launch a plank on the Mediterranean" is probably correct for the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when the Muslims did have command of the seas. Economic necessity accordingly compelled the states to try and assure the safety of navigation along the various commercial routes (see Chr. Courtois, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 53-9), but the international agreements made with this end in mind were not always respected by the pirates. The activities of these last were however controlled, and there are extant some interesting *fatāwā* on these. M. Talbi has published one of them (in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1956), pronounced by Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]) and concerning three associates who had organised a pirate enterprise but had then fallen out over the division of their booty. More interesting still is a *fatwā* of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) analysed also by Talbi (*Émirat aghlabide* 534-5); it emerges from this that seizure was legal in the case of a Christian merchant ship making for a neo-Muslim country, but illegal when it was a case of a building utilised for commercial exchanges between Christendom and Islam. Thus, whilst hindering freedom of navigation, pirate activity tended to divert traffic into a pattern favourable to the Muslim lands.

After the beginning of the 6th/12th century and during all the Crusades period, privateering may be regarded as more often than not assimilable to the *ǧihād*. The Zīrids (see H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, index) organised it on a grand scale and sowed terror in the western Mediterranean, whilst the island of Djerba [*q.v.*], already an important base, became a real haunt of pirates, who were not content with attacking Christian ships but also infested the coasts of Ifrīḳiya. Djerba was conquered in 510/1116 by ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, but soon resumed its traditional rôle, until it was captured in 529/1135 by the Normans of Sicily; it was to remain the plaything of Christian and Muslim rivalries until the end of the 8th/14th century, and then was to play a leading part in the events of the 10th/16th century.

Various dockyards built along the coasts of the Maghrib and al-Andalus (see DĀR AL-ṢINĀ^ca), especially at La Calle (Marsā 'l-Kharaz), Bōna and Bougie,

provided local pirates with galleys which skimmed the coasts of the Mediterranean islands and swept the seas in search of prey. As well as the cargoes and crews seized on the open seas, the raids on the Sardinian and Corsican coasts secured slaves of both sexes which were much in demand.

Dufourcq (*op. laud.*, index) has gathered together considerable material on the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. From this, it appears that, despite the rulers' desires to make maritime commerce safe, the occasional prohibition of privateering warfare and concluding of international treaties, the Mediterranean remained for adventurers of all varieties a special field of activity. After having died down somewhat, from the Muslim side, in the 7th/13th century, *ḥarāsa* revived with fresh force and the islands and shores of the Christian world were often ravaged. On the Christian side, their exploits yielded nothing in scope or violence to the Muslims. Sicily was a fine jumping-off base and arsenal, and Djerba was neutralised for a while by Roger de Lauria and Ramon Montaner.

The other bases in the Maghrib remained active, but the situation hardly changed in the course of the next century. On the other hand, it took a completely new turn in the 10th/16th century, when there began the so-called "Barbary corsairs", whose activity was to last until the 19th century. This is the period in which such figures as the Barbarossa brothers [see ʿARŪDJ and KHAYR AL-DĪN], Dragut [see TURGHŪD], Sinān Pasha, Aydin, and many others for whom there is not space here to recount the prowess, distinguished themselves. The articles devoted to the most famous of them should be consulted and one should merely note that ʿArudj chose Tunis as his base and from there, was able to defy the power of Charles V and to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/1528, his brother Khayr al-Dīn (d. 953/1546), who had offered the province of Algiers to the Ottoman sultan, resumed his pirate activities against Mediterranean shipping and his attacks on the Christian towns. For his part, Dragut (d. 972/1565) set up his base in Djerba, and then succeeded Murād Agha, whom he had helped, together with Sinān Pasha, in seizing Tripoli from the Knights of Malta, he may be considered as the founder of the new regency.

It is, it is true, difficult to distinguish between naval warfare, privateering and piracy in the activities of these corsairs, whose common feature is that they succeeded in founding "Barbary" states in more or less nominal dependence on the Sublime Porte and that they established pirate organisations which necessitated numerous interventions by the Europeans. The battle of Lepanto in 979/1571 [see AYNA-BAKHTĪ] put an end to privateering, but made no difference to pirate activity, which continued to rage until the conquest of Algiers.

Amongst these pirates, Murād Raʾīs was especially notable. He was the first, in 903/1585, to venture into the Atlantic (if one accepts the expedition of Khāsh Khāsh [see of Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 258 = § 274] and his companions from Cordova in the 3rd/9th century, see Lévi Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 354, iii 342). Murād went on to plunder the Canary Islands, and on return put in at Salé, which was not as yet the nest of corsairs of which later history was to have a burning memory.

It should also be noted that, at the moment when these Barbary states mentioned above came into existence, there was an event of highest importance happening in Spain, to the reconquest of Granada, followed by the exodus of the Andalusians and then, in 1610, by the expulsion of the Moriscos [*q.v.*]. Like their predecessors, these last groups settled in various parts of North Africa where, without always openly proclaiming *djihād*, they constituted a fresh impetus and a new protest for the Barbary pirate activity, seeing in this a means of mounting a revanche. Algiers and Tunisia remained very active centres (see M. de Epalza and R. Petit (eds.), *Études sur les Moriscos andaluces en Tunisie*, Madrid 1973, index), but it is from this point onwards that piracy based on the port of Salé comes into prominence, and the history of this is well-documented for us (see H. de Castries, *Les corsaires de Salé*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, xv/2 (1903), L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 252-72 and R. Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé*, Paris 1948). During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Salé (see SALĀ) had been a centre for privateering on a relatively modest scale only, like other ports of the Moroccan littoral like Tetuan [see TṬAWĪN], whose corsair fleet had however been destroyed by the Spaniards in se 893/1490, or al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], which on occasion gave refuge to pirates, when captured booty was sold to the sultans. In the 17th century, however, the twin ribāṭ of Rabat became, under the influence of Andalusian emigrants, a real corsair republic, in which certain strong personalities stand out, these being used for diplomatic missions (e.g. the Bénache and vars. = Sīdī ʿAlī b. ʿĀʾisha, who was charged by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl with a mission to Louis XIV for the hand of the Princess de Conti). These Salé corsairs, called "Turks" by the Europeans were generally no more Turkish in origin than were the "Barbary" pirates, they included in their ranks Andalusians and Moroccans, to be sure, but also Greeks, Russians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, etc., renegades and even Christians. The diverseness of the polyglot crews allowed them to hoist false colours and to reassure ships under attack by addressing the enemies in the tongue of their own nation. One notable feature of the Salé pirates was that, being right on the spot for combing the North Atlantic seas, they were bold enough to sail as far as Iceland, to reach the fishing grounds of the coasts of the New World and Nova Scotia, or to enter the Channel and reprovision themselves in the Netherlands, where they had accomplices. For almost a century, from 1668 to 1757, privateering was organised by the sultans and may be considered as taking the place of a national fleet.

There is no need here to dilate upon the various types of vessel employed by the corsairs and pirates, nor upon their arms, for these questions will be studied under MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA. It should merely be noted that until the end of the 16th century, the pirates in the Mediterranean used galleys propelled by a large number of oarsmen (sometimes more than 200) and that the lateen sails of these ships were only auxiliaries, on the other hand, in order to secure a speed superior to that of the merchant ships, these galleys were slender in shape (the proportion of length to breadth reaching up to 9 times) and hence instable. In 1606, a Dutch renegade called Simon of Danser taught the Algerians to construct and to operate sailing ships, and Salé, which, because of the bar and shallow waters, could only used light vessels benefitted particularly by this innovation, and built so-called "round" (i.e. with a proportion of only 3 *or* 4) ships, which were much more stable.

Finally, thanks to the anonymous author of *La connaissance des Pavillons ou Bannières que la plupart des Nations arborent en mer*, The Hague 1737 (of

Coindreau, *op. laud.*, 221-22), we have information about several of the flags of the Muslim corsairs.

Bibliography The above account, inevitably brief, can only give a slight sketch of *kurṣān* in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Outside the archives, some of which have been used by the authors cited above, and the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, reference should be made to the works cited in the text, which usually have detailed bibliographies, and to the following basic works: F. Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1649, J. Morgan, *Histoire des États barbaresques qui exercent la piraterie*, Paris 1757, L. de Mas Latrie, *Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale avec les nations chrétiennes au moyen âge*, Paris 1886, S. Lane Poole, *The Barbary corsairs*, London 1890, P. Gosse, *The history of piracy*, London 1932 (Fr. tr. P. Tudiac, *Histoire de la piraterie*, Paris 1933, 2nd edn., 1932), Ch. Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle*, Rabat 1944, G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris 1946, 225-6, I. de las Cagigas, *La cautividad del corso y de la piratería berberisca en el Mediterraneo*, in *Curso de conferencias sobre la política africana de los reyes católicos*, i, Madrid 1952, 227-49. (CH. PELLAT)

ii. In Turkish waters

Within a decade of the Saldjūḳ victory at Manzikert (Malāzgird [*q.v.*]) in 463/1071, the Turkish invaders had extended their raids to the Aegean. In 474/1081, or shortly afterwards, the Turks of Nicaea (Iznik [*q.v.*]) constructed a fleet at Kios (Gemlik [*q.v.*]), possibly for the transport of troops. However, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenos, burned it before it could put to sea. A more formidable Turkish maritime force appeared in 481-2/1088-9, when a Turkish chieftain called Tzachas (this name is probably a Greek form of Čaḳa), with the aid of a Smyrniot Greek, built a fleet at Smyrna (Izmir [*q.v.*]), which harried the Aegean coast of Asia Minor from Smyrna to Adramyttion (Edremit [*q.v.*]) and captured the neighbouring islands of Chios (Sakız), Lesbos (Mytilene), Samos (Susam), and possibly some other islands. The unexpected appearance of Tzachas, so soon after the Byzantine destruction of Arab pirate bases in Cilicia, led to the construction of a new fleet at Constantinople in 484/1091, and the expulsion of Tzachas from the islands. His rival, the Saldjūḳ Kilič Arslan, poisoned him in 489/1096.

After the defeat of Tzachas, Alexios I was able to recapture the coastlands lost to the Turkish invaders and built a number of coastal fortresses between Abydos (near Čanaḳ ḳala [*q.v.*]) and Syria. Muslim corsairs did not disturb Byzantine waters again until the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, when Arab pirates reappeared in the eastern Mediterranean. This does not mean that piracy in general diminished. In fact, it increased with the growth of commerce in the Levant following the Crusades. A pattern arose of professional pirates in the Aegean and Mediterranean finding employment in the Byzantine and other fleets. The same phenomenon was to occur with the growth of Turkish fleets.

The Latin occupation of Constantinople in 601/1204 did nothing to prevent piracy, despite the presence of Venetian fleets in the Aegean. In 633/1236, the Despot Manuel of Epiros could claim that pirates made the sea too dangerous for his bishops to cross from Greece to the Laskarid capital at Nicaea. The Latin conquest seems merely to have increased the number of Latin pirates, such as the Lombard Licario, who was to serve Michael VIII Palaiologos as Admiral after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 659/1261. Muslims, however, were not in evidence. The Laskarid administration effectively fortified the boundaries with the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor, preventing the Muslim access to the Aegean coast. Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] refers to an *amīr-i ṣawāʿiḳ*, possibly commanding Saldjūḳ vessels in the Mediterranean, but there are no further references as Muslim maritime activity.

Despite Michael VIII's construction of a powerful Byzantine fleet after 659/1261, his reign saw the foundations of Turkish naval power in the Aegean. Pre-occupied with regaining Byzantine territories in the west and warding off the threat of an Angevin invasion, Michael neglected his eastern frontier. Turkish raids and settlements followed and, as in the 5th/11th century, the invaders soon took to the sea. Already in 676-7/1278, there are records of pirates, including the obviously Muslim "Seladinus" at Ania to the south of Ephesus. In 682-3/1284, Michael VIII's successor, Andronikos II Palaiologos, disbanded his father's fleet, which he evidently regarded as an unnecessary expense after the removal of the Angevin threat. The results were disastrous. Not only were the seas unprotected against burgeoning Turkish piracy, but unemployed Greek sailors now defected to the Turks. After 682-3/1284, Turkish sea-raids extended to the Cyclades and even into the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. By 700/1300, the Turks had occupied the Aegean coast and, according to the Catalan Muntaner, were pillaging Chios and the surrounding islands.

It was these years in the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries that saw the establishment of the Turkish emirates on the Aegean coast. Since these states sheltered corsairs and used their own vessels simply to collect booty by harrying foreign settlements or commerce, rather than to protect trade or acquire new lands, they may be described as "pirate-states". The most notorious was Aydin [see Aydınoghlu], especially in the days of Umūr Pasha [*q.v.*] but ships from other maritime emirates of Mentesḥe, Sarukhān and Ḳaraṣī [*q.vv.*] also engaged in sea borne raids. In the Black Sea, Ghāzī Čelebi (d. ca. 724/1324?) established an emirate around Sinop [*q.v.*], whence he made raids on Genoese and Trapezuntine commerce and settlements. The Ottomans do not seem immediately to have taken to the sea as corsairs. When Orkhan [*q.v.*] gave lands to Ḳara Mürsel after the conquest of Nicomaneia (Iznikmid, Izmit [*q.v.*]) in 737/1337, his purpose appears to have been to protect the shores of the Gulf of Izmit against Byzantine raids.

During the 8th/14th century, Turkish raids became a feature of life in the Aegean. In 718/1318, corsairs from the mainland of Anatolia ravaged Santorin, and in 726/1326 Marino Sanudo reported how the Turks infested the Cyclades, their attacks made easier by the disunity among the Latin Lords of the islands. In 739/1328-9, Umūr of Aydin occupied the harbour of Smyrna and began his attacks on Christian ships and on islands and territories in the Aegean and mainland Greece. In 736/1335, however, he signed an agreement with Andronikos III Palaiologos not to attack Byzantine shipping. It was possibly in part to compensate these lost lens of booty that Andronikos employed Umūr's troops as mercenaries in Albania. With the death of Andronikos III in 742/1341, Umūr again began to raid throughout the Aegean and, between 742/1341 and 745/1344, intervened in the Byzantine civil war on behalf of his friend and ally John Cantacuzene.

Piracy particularly affected Venetian and other Latin commerce In 733/1332, Venice had imposed a treaty on the Catalans of Athens, forbidding them to help or employ Turkish corsairs, although this did not prevent the Catalans calling on Umūr to defend the Duchy of Athens against the claims of Gautier de Brienne. The activities of Umūr and other Muslim corsairs eventually led Pope John XXII to assemble a fleet under the command of the Venetian Pietro Zen to which Venice the Papacy, France and the Knights of St. John contributed vessels This force did much damage to the Turkish corsairs and defeated the fleet of Yakhshi Beg of Karasi in the Gulf of Edremit in 735/1334. However, it disbanded after the death of Pope John in the same year, and piracy continued as before. More effective was the Latin occupation of the port of Smyrna in 745/1344, and the death of Umūr in 749/1348, after which Khiḍr of Aydin signed a treaty with the Latins, according to which he undertook to burn all the ships in the emirate, forbid all acts of piracy and offer no help to corsairs Large-scale raids may have ceased but in a letter dated 751/1350 the Doge Andrea Dandolo indicated that Turks from Aydin continued to attack Christian shipping Piracy based on other emirates seems also to have flourished. After 671-2/1360 Ahmed Ghāzī of Menteshe preyed on shipping between Cyprus and Rhodes.

Ottoman raiders began to appear on the Aegean in the 1390s. They seem to have infested the Sea of Marmara considerably earlier, leading the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene to clear the old harbour of Heptaskalon in Constantinople some time after 750/1349, as a base against Turkish pirates. The annexation by Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] of Sarukhān, Aydin and Menteshe brought the western Aegean shoreline under Ottoman control by the 1390s. With Bāyezīd's construction of an arsenal at Gallipoli, the Ottomans were able to build sizeable fleets. In 793/1391 an Ottoman fleet of 60 vessels ravaged Chios, the Cyclades and the coasts of Euboea (Negroponte, Khrisoboz) and Attika. To meet this new threat, Venice allotted a fleet to Francesco I Crispo of Naxos

The defeat of Bāyezīd by Timūr in 804/1402 and the subsequent restoration of the emirates put an end to the depredations of an Ottoman fleet under the Sultan's auspices, but did not otherwise prevent piracy In 806/1403, the restored ruler of Menteshe, Ilyās Beg, signed a treaty with Venice in which he undertook to prevent acts of piracy. He was evidently unsuccessful, since in 815/1412 a Venetian fleet appeared off the ports of the emirate as a forceful reminder of the *beg* to adhere to the terms of the treaty. It made no difference In 819/1416 vessels from Ottoman territory raided the Cyclades and, at about this time, the Florentine Buondelmonti reported Turkish raids on all the Aegean islands except Patmos. Perhaps the shared reverence for the shrines of certain saints, such as St George of Levitha, called Koč Papas or Koč Baba in Turkish led the Turks to leave the monks of Patmos in peace Piracy remained endemic throughout the 9th/15th century, and measures such as the imposition of direct rule on the Venetian Duchy of Naxos in 899/1494 only temporarily deterred the corsair fleets of Karā Ḥasan and others.

There were, however, significant changes in the Aegean in the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Under Mehemmed II and his successors, the Ottoman fleet became an instrument of conquest and a weapon of imperial policy rather than simply a pirate fleet of the Sultan Mehemmed II's fleet, for example, played an important part in the conquests of Constantinople in 857/1453, Sinop, Trebizond (Trabzon [*q.v.*]), and Lesbos (Midilli) in 865-7/1461-2 and Euboea in 875/1470 Under his successor Bāyezīd II, Ottoman fleets appeared in the Ionian Sea during the war with Venice between 904/1499 and 908/1503. As the frontiers of naval warfare moved south and westwards from the Aegean, Turkish pirates such as the famous Kemāl Re'īs [*q.v.*] extended their activities to North Africa and the western Mediterranean. By 947/1540 most of the Aegean coasts and islands were Ottoman possessions, and the odd exceptions such as the Venetian Tinos (Istindia) and the Genoese Chios, which in any case fell to the Ottomans in 974/1566, did not threaten Turkish hegemony in the area.

The Aegean was now an Ottoman sea and the Sultan had no wish to encourage piracy in his own waters. The Ottoman government attempted to control the activities of corsairs, forbidding the construction of privateer vessels without special permission. In 967/1560, the *bāliī* of Ismikmid received instructions to seize an illegally constructed ship whereas in 972/1565, the *levends* [*q.v.*] of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) and Menteshe were encouraged to build ships and serve in the Imperial Fleet The squadrons permanently based in the Aegean at Kavalla, Lesbos and Rhodes presumably guarded the seas against pirates as much as against enemy action. In the 990s/1580s Muṣṭafā 'Alī of Gallipoli or Gelibolu [*q.v.*] looked back with nostalgia to the mid-century when the Imperial Fleets kept the sea free of corsairs.

It is, however, most unlikely that Muslim pirates ever disappeared from the Aegean. The western shores of Anatolia seem, in fact, in the 10th/16th century to have been a forcing ground for pirates who, after acquiring sufficient ships and booty in their native waters emigrated to Algiers (al-Djazā'ir [*q.v.*]), or later to Tripoli (Tarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*]) or Tunis [*q.v.*], where their raids on non-Ottoman Christian shipping changed them, in Ottoman eyes, from pirates to warriors of the faith. The famous Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] and Ṣālih Re'īs of Algiers, for example, originated from the west coast of Anatolia, found fame in North Africa and, like many lesser known corsairs, later served in the Ottoman Imperial Fleet. Muṣṭafā 'Alī specifies Karadaghī in particular as an area from which many North African pirates originated

In the late 10th/16th century, piracy seems to have increased throughout the Mediterranean, and the Aegean too was affected It is most likely that the disorders in Anatolia in this period found their counterpart on the sea

Bibliography There are no modern studies of Turkish pirates in the Aegean. The only coherent account, relating to the 16th century only, appears to be Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Alī, *Mewā'id ul-nefā'is fī ḳawā'id ul-meǧālis*, facs. edition, Istanbul 1956, 54-9 For Tzachas, see *The Alexiad*, Books VII, VIII, IX, XI, and A N Kurat *Çaka Bey*, Ankara 1966. There are scattered references to piracy in Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* ed. Bekker, Bonn 1839 Nikephoros Gregoras, tr J. L van Dieten, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1973, Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi* ed. Sinner 1824, Legrand 1897, and in other contemporary Greek and Italian writers. See also Pīrī Re'īs, *Kitāb-ı baḥriyye*, facs. Istanbul 1935 For further references, see M. F. Köprülü, *Anadolu beylikleri tarihine aid notlar*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, ii (1926), 1 ff.; I H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*,

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iii. In the Persian Gulf

Piracy has been endemic in the Persian Gulf since ancient times, which is hardly to be wondered at in view of the poverty, until very recently, of the peoples dwelling around its shores and the richness of the commerce which has at various periods passed through its waters. Piracy has flourished most in time of war or in its wake, when authority has broken down and the predatory instincts of the maritime tribes have been given full rein. Thus, for example, the Karmatian revolt, the Mongol invasions and the collapse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate were all accompanied or followed by maritime depredations on a extensive scale.

To all intents and purposes, piracy in the Gulf was indistinguishable from maritime warfare which in turn originated in political, dynastic, sectarian or racial conflict among the littoral principalities. Hostilities at sea were apt to degenerate swiftly into the indiscriminate plunder of any and all shipping, not only in the Gulf but in the adjacent seas also. Such was the case with the first great piratical campaign of modern times, that waged by the seafaring tribes of ʿUmān against the trade and shipping of the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the western Indian Ocean in the late 11th/17th century. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Masḳaṭ, Ṣuḥār and their other footholds on the ʿUmānī coast by the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān b. Sayf (1059-90/1649-76), the ʿUmānīs pursued their vendetta against the Portuguese by attacking and plundering their shipping and their settlements on the coasts of India, Persia and East Africa. Under Sulṭān b. Sayf's successors, and especially the fourth Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sayf b. Sulṭān (ca. 1103-23/1692-1711), ʿUmān became a formidable maritime power and commensurate with the increase in her naval strength the scope of her marauding activities widened to embrace vessels under any flag wherever they might be encountered. The depredations of the Masḳaṭ and ʿUmānī pirates only ceased when civil strife broke out in ʿUmān over the succession to the Ibāḍī imāmate following the death of the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān II b. Sayf, in 1131/1718-19.

A wave of piracy followed the Afghān incursions into Persia in the 1130s/1720s and again after the death of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747. On both occasions, as during the height of the ʿUmānī piratical campaigns, some of the chief sufferers were the European trading establishments on the Persian coast. The most notorious pirate of the 12th/18th century was Mīr Muhannā b. Nāṣir of Bandar Rīg, whose family, an off-shoot of the Zaʿāb tribe dwelling on the southern shore of the Gulf, had migrated to the Persian coast earlier in the century, intermarried with Persians, espoused Shīʿism and settled at Bandar Rīg. While still a youth Mīr Muhannā had helped contrive the murder of his father, and when his mother reproached him with his crime he slew her in a fit of rage. He likewise put to death his two sisters for receiving offers of marriage, and exposed his first-born child a daughter to die on the seashore. The greatest triumph of Mīr Muhannā's career was the capture and destruction of the Dutch trading settlement on Khārg or Khārk I. island (see KHARAG) in Radjab 1179/December 1765-January 1766. Eighteen months later he despoiled the Masḳaṭ coffee fleet on its way to Baṣra in the summer of 1181/1767. It was his final *coup*. Driven from Bandar Rīg by his own people, who had finally sickened of his monstrous cruelties, he sought refuge in Dhu 'l-ḥaʿda 1182/March 1769 at Baṣra, where he was unceremoniously put to death by the Ottoman *mütesellim*.

An outbreak of piracy by the Kaʿb of the lower Kārūn followed the siege and capture of Baṣra by the Persians in 1189-90/1775-6. A far more serious upsurge, however, was that which occurred after the death of Karīm Khān Zand (*q.v.*) in 1193/1779. The coastal tribes of Fārs, most of whom were of Arab descent, threw off the authority of Shīrāz and became a law unto themselves, plundering any vessels that came within their reach. Their depredations were shortly to be overshadowed by those of the Kāsimī tribal confederacy (see AL KAWĀSIM) of Shārdja (al-Shārika) and Raʾs al-Khayma (*q.vv.*), who took advantage of the disturbed state of Persia to re-establish themselves at Linga (*q.v.*) (which they had first seized after the death of Nādir Shāh and from which they had been expelled by Karīm Khān in 1179/1765) and to prey upon shipping—European and Indian as well as Arab and Persian—off the Persian coast and in the Straits of Hurmuz.

Part of the impulse for the Kawāsim's marauding derived from their persistent quarrel with the Āl Bū Saʿīd rulers of ʿUmān, a quarrel which in the last two decades of the 18th century came to focus upon control of the stretch of coast to the north of Ṣuḥār, which the Kawāsim endeavoured—with some success—to wrest from the Āl Bū Saʿīd with the object of commanding the approaches to the Gulf and waylaying vessels passing through the Straits of Hurmuz. It was largely the exploits of the Kawāsim that were responsible for the southern shore of the Gulf, from Rams to Dubayy, becoming known to European mariners in these years as "the Pirate Coast". A new twist, and added strength, was given to the Kawāsim's piratical activities, and to their feud with the Āl Bū Saʿīd, by the assertion by the Wahhābīs of Nadjd of an ascendancy over the Pirate Coast in the first decade of the 19th century. The conversion of the Kawāsim and other maritime tribes to the Wahhābī practice of Islam injected an element of fanaticism into their piratical forays, so that the campaign of depredation that ensued took on the character of a seaborne *ghāzū*.

The Kāsimī war fleet, operating with Wahhābī encouragement, if not under actual Wahhābī direction, was reckoned in 1223/1808 to number some 70-80 large dhows, if fishing and pearling vessels were included, the Kāsimī confederacy's total strength was said to exceed 800 vessels manned by 18,000-25,000 fighting men. (Another estimate, made in 1233/1818, put the resources of the Arabian maritime tribes at 89 large dhows and 161 smaller craft, manned by 10,000 fighting men.) Controlling Linga and part of

Kishm island, and with bases at Khawr Fakkān, Dibba and Khawr Kalba, facing the Gulf of ʿUmān, the Kawāsim were able to strike at will at any ships entering or leaving the Straits of Hurmuz. Often they would lie concealed, waiting for their prey, in the deep winding inlets of Khawr al-Shaʿīm (Elphinstone's Inlet) and Ghubbat ʿAlī (Malcom's Inlet) on the western and eastern sides respectively of the Musandam peninsula (Raʾs al-Dibbī), the existence of which was not known to European seamen until the first survey of the Gulf was undertaken by the Bombay Marine (the armed maritime service of the English East India Company) after 1235-6/1820. Hence the Kawāsim were able on a number of occasions to elude pursuit by the cruisers of the *Bombay Marine by slipping into these hidden* anchorages.

With the passage of time the Kawāsim grew bolder, ranging as far afield as the coasts of Kutch and Kāthiāwar, the ports of the Ḥaḍramawt and the lower reaches of the Red Sea. They sailed in squadrons of up to twenty dhows, taking their prizes by closing alongside, grappling and boarding. As often as not they would put the entire crew of a captured vessel to the sword—generally amid clamorous avowals of religious fervour. Women, children and slaves taken captive were afterwards either distributed among their captors or, in the case of the first two, held for later ransom. A fifth of all booty taken was reserved for eventual consignment to the Saʿūdī *waṣīs* at Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the Wahhābī capital. A good portion of the remainder was customarily disposed of at Bahrayn, which served as the principal clearing-house for the proceeds of Kāsimī piracy.

After the capture of a number of European and Indian ships by the Kawāsim the British authorities in India dispatched an expedition to attack Raʾs al-Khayma, Linga and the Kāsimī outposts on Kishm I. and at Shinās, on the ʿUmānī coast, in the autumn and winter of 1809-10 (Shaʿbān-Dhu ʾl-Ḥijjah 1224). The expedition had only partial success in crippling the Kawāsim's naval capabilities. Many Kāsimī dhows were absent from their home ports on piratical or trading voyages, while others had been hidden, after word of the expedition's objectives had leaked out ahead of its sailing, in the inlets of the Raʾs al-Dibbī. The expedition's commanders were also inhibited by the orders given them not to cross swords with the Wahhābī rulers. A second expedition, dispatched in the winter of 1819-20 (Muḥarram-Jumādā I, 1235), after the defeat of the Wahhābīs and the destruction of Dirʿiyya by Ibrāhīm Pasha the previous year, was far more effective in subduing the Kawāsim. Raʾs al-Khayma and the other piratical ports were reduced, the Kāsimī war fleet was burned or seized, and the Kāsimī chieftains, along with the other principal *shaykhs* of the Pirate Coast, were made to subscribe to a treaty (the General Treaty of Peace of Rabīʿ I, 1235/January 1820) outlawing piracy for ever.

Neither the expedition of 1809-10 nor that of 1819-20 had attempted to bring to book the man who was undoubtedly the most reckless and ferocious free-booter in the Gulf in the entire 19th century—Raḥma b. Jābir, head of the Āl Jalāhima branch of the ʿUtūb, whose base for more than thirty years was located at Khawr Ḥasan in north-western Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*]. Raḥma's blood-stained career had its origins in his falling out with the Āl Khalīfa of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] over the division of the spoils from their joint conquest of the island in 1197/1783. From that time until the end of his life he conducted an unrelenting war of attrition, marked as much by fierce daring as by atrocious cruelty, against the trade and shipping of the Āl Khalīfa and their kinsman, the Āl Ṣabāḥ of Kuwayt. His most remarkable single feat was his capture in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 1224/December 1809 of twenty large Kuwaytī dhows, whose crews he massacred to a man. He escaped the attentions of the British expeditionary force at that time in the lower Gulf, partly because of confusion over his status (he was a Wahhābī protégé) but mainly because his stronghold at Khawr Ḥasan was deemed too difficult of access to attack from the sea. Some time later (in 1227/1812 or 1231/1816—the accounts vary) he fell out with the Wahhābīs and was forced to abandon Khawr Ḥasan. He established a new lair in 1234/late 1818, *after the Wahhābī collapse*, at Dammām, on the Ḥasā coast, from which he continued to harry the seaborne commerce of Baḥrayn.

Raḥma b. Jābir was again spared retribution at the hands of the British expedition of 1819-20, less because he had now assumed the guise of a Persian dependant than because his vendetta against the Āl Khalīfa, however, brutally it might be conducted, was reluctantly conceded to come within the category of legitimate warfare and not that of piracy. As a consequence of the improved security established by the British expedition and the subsequent system of "watch and cruise" operated by the Bombay Marine, Raḥma b. Jābir's fortunes steadily declined, until by 1241-2/1826 his fleet has been reduced to a single dhow. Now seventy years of age and totally blind, he had his last fight with the Āl Khalīfa war fleet off Dammām in Jumādā II, 1242/December 1826-January 1827. Surrounded and outnumbered, he calmly set fire to the magazine of his ship and blew her, himself and everyone aboard to the gates of Paradise.

The last serious piratical outbreak in the Gulf occurred in Shawwāl-Dhu ʾl-Ḥijjā 1250/February-April 1835, when the Banū Yās of Abū Dhabī (Abū Ẓabī), hitherto little given to piracy, made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in a desperate bid to recoup their economic fortunes, which had been severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the Kawāsim and the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running. Brought to action off the Tunbs by the Bombay Marine sloop *Elphinstone on* 18 Dhu ʾl-Ḥijja 1250/16 April 1835, the Banū Yās war fleet was outfought and scattered. The following month the British political resident in the Gulf, Captain Samuel Hennell, persuaded the rulers of Abū Dhabī, Sharja, Raʾs al-Khayma, Dubayy and ʿAjmān to agree to a suspension of hostilities at sea among themselves for the duration of the coming pearling season. The maritime truce signed on 22 Muḥarrem 1251/21 May 1835 ran for a period of six months, to 29 Rajab 1251/27 November 1835. It was renewed every spring for the next seven years, being gradually extended in length to cover the full twelve months of the year. In 1259/1843 it was renewed for a ten-year period, at the expiry of which it was made permanent, in a treaty signed by the principal Trucial Shaykhs on 25 Rajab 1269/4 May 1853. Though isolated outbreaks of piracy were to occur at intervals up to this century, notably in the narrow waters between Baḥrayn and the Ḥasā coast, the institution and consolidation of the trucial system brought to an end the great age of piracy in the history of the Gulf.

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KURSĪ, an Arabic word borrowed from Aramaic (Syriac form *kursyā*[2], in Hebrew: *kissē*, see Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 128, Frankfurt, *De vocabulis peregrinis*, 22, L. Koehler, W. Baumgarten, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 446) which can signify seat, in a very general sense (chair, couch, throne, stool, even bench). In the daily life of mediæval Muslims it refers more specifically to a stool (i.e. seat without back or arm-rests), and there are a number of other terms which are applied to a throne (*sarīr* and *takht*, for example).

Kursī is found on two occasions in the Kur'ān (II, 256, XXXVIII, 33), and the commentators (al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, Cairo 1323, iii, 7, al-Zamakhsharī, *al Kashshāf*, Calcutta 1856, i, 170, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Zād*, Cairo 1964, i, 304, al Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, Leipzig 1846, i, 139, Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1952, i, 309-310 al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al Djalālayn*, Beirut 2969, 56, al Khāzin, *Makhzūn*, Cairo 1957, iii, 659-67) tend to accord it the sense of throne, since its function (in the first verse, the throne of God which encompasses both Heaven and Earth, in the second, the throne of King Solomon) is to bestow a particular majesty on the one who sits there. In opposition to an apparently anthropomorphic concept of God 'sitting' on a seat, another explanation has been put forward according to which, of the seven heavens encircling the universe, the two furthest from the globe will be *'arsh* (see below) and *kursī* (the commentators and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*. Cairo 1929, ii, 21 Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-'Arsh*, Ms. Nuruosmaniye 4894, fol 494 b -495 b). *Kursī* (in the Kur'ān) need not therefore indicate a seat in the usual sense of the word There are other interpretations of the term, some allegorical (*kursī* = the absolute knowledge of God, or his kingdom), some literal, for example *'arsh* (Kur'ān, XVII, 44, XL, 15; XLIII 82, LXXXI, 20,) = throne of God, while *kursī* = footstool, a bench set before the throne. This throne of God has been as object of debate among theologians (A. J Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 67, 90, 93, 115 and especially 148, concerning *'arsh* and *kursī*). The rite of a certain Shī'ī sect, at as early period in Muslim history, attributed a particular sanctity to an empty *kursī* (al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed S D Goitein, vi, 242, J Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 85).

The distinction between throne (*'arsh*) and footstool (*kursī*) probably reflects the tendency of mediæval Muslims to indicate by means of the term *kursī* all kinds of supports: the word *mirfa'*, which, among other usages (including that of footstool) indicates an ink stand and the base of the small oriental table, may be replaced, in certain texts, by *kursī* (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, 91-4). To this meaning of "support", that of "lectern" should also be added. Many examples, designed to support copies of the Kur'ān (with straight or crossed legs) adorn mosques and are to be found in various museums (*ibid.*, 124-5, n. 470, J. A. Jaussen, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 19-23 and especially O Kurz, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, 299 314) The term tends thus to become loaded (especially in colloquial speech) with senses which, in richer and more exact terminology, are covered by distinct terms. Among the other objects designated by *kursī* the following are examples: a support (stool) on which the turban is deposited during the night (Dozy, *Suppl* ii, 455-6), a chair of particular design used by women in childbirth (*ibid.*); a stool for daily ablutions (al Tasūkhī, *al Mustadjād*, 108) in mediæval Egypt, a seat for flour sellers (Maimonides, *Teharōt*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 137), an astrolabe stand (Dozy, *loc cit.*), a slab into which a pointed instrument is implanted, through the base (*ibid.*); in Mecca, a kind of moving ladder (or staircase) near the Ka'ba (*ibid.*); among the Persians, a kind of stove (a low "table", under which a fire is lit, blankets are laid on this table and then wrapped round the knees to provide warmth, *ibid.*), the base of a column, pedestal (Beaussier, s.v.), a plate supporting the powder compartment and percussion mechanism of the flint lock rifle (*ibid.*), in Spain, small pieces of silver or gold worn by women in their collars and known in Spanish as *cores* (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, 93), *kursī* is the seat of a bishop, his see, diocese etc. (Dozy, *Suppl., loc. cit.*), an orthography, each of the characters (*alif, wāw, yā'*) and (or under) which the *ḥamza* is placed, in calligraphy, a kind of embellishment in square form (Huart, *Calligraphes*, 352).

In certain miniatures illustrating an Arabic astronomical work, which represent *dhāt al-kursī* (Cassopeia) in the form of a woman seated on a chair with back and arm-rests, we find the shape of a genuinely "classical chair (E. Wellesz, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii, 8-9 and figs. 6, 44, 47, 51), which, copied from one manuscript to another, tends to become modified to the point where it is adapted to the mediæval Muslim concept (Sadan, *op. cit.*, 125-6) In general, the *kursī* is nothing more than a stool But, surrounded by other lower seats (cushions for example), such a stool can draw attention to the person who is seated there (see the dimensions indicated by M. D. Luṭfī in *Sumer*, xvi, 219-30, in the Arabic section, unless it is lectems that are in question). These *kursī* stools were of various heights Some had straight legs, others crossed legs (they are illustrated by a rich iconography, as well as by texts: O Kurz, *loc cit.*, Sadan, *op. cit.*, 123-33). In the modern period, *kursī* is also applied to various chairs of "western style" form.

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KURṬUBA, Spanish CORDOBA, French CORDOUE, English, Italian and German CORDOVA (KORDOVA), Latin CORDUBA, a town of southern SPAIN situated at 370 feet above sea-level on the right (north) bank of the central course of the Guadalquivir (from the Arabic al Wādī al Kabīr "the great river"), the ancient Baetis, with 5,234,000 inhabitants, is at the present day the capital of the province of the same name which lies on both sides of the river in the heart of Andalusia.

The southern and smaller half of the province, practically the famous La Campiña [see RAMĀNIYA], rising in the south-east to a height of over 1,200 feet, is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted

to viniculture, while the northern, larger half which begins in the Sierra de Córdoba immediately to the north of the town, rises to heights over 2,500 feet high in the central Sierra Morena (Morrani Montes) with the plateau of los Pedroches which inclines in a northerly direction to the Zujar valley in the west and the Guadalmez valley in the east, this plateau is called *Iṣṭām al-Balūṭa* by al Idrīsī and by others *Faḥs al-Balūṭ* "Field of Oaks", and in it lies the little town of Pedroche, known to the Arabs as Bṭrawdj or Bṭrūsh (whence al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*]). The north has a more temperate climate and includes great stretches of hill country, suited for sheep and horse breeding (*caballos cordobeses*) and rich deposits of coal and minerals. The name Córdoba has frequently been explained as from the Phoenician Punic קרית טובה, "good town" since Conde first suggested this etymology in his *Descripcion de España de Xerif Aledris*, Madrid 1799, 161 (for even rather etymologies, see Madas, vi, 646 and al-Makkarī, i, 355). The name is certainly not Semitic but Old Iberian (cf. Saïduba, the Old Iberian name for Caesar Augusta, whence Saragossa, Zaragoza, there is a Saïduba = Marbella in the south between Málaga and Gibraltar). After the Second Punic war it became known as an important and wealthy commercial city (*see Cordubenses*) under the name Κορδόβη or Κορδοῦβα or Corduba. It was finally taken for Rome by C. Marcellus in 152 B.C., colonized with Roman citizens and an Colonia Patricia raised to be the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. As Corduba had taken the side of Pompey, it was severely punished by Caesar after the battle of Munda in 49 B.C., but in Imperial times it remained the capital of the province (it was the home of the two Senecas and Lucan) alternately with Hispalis (Seville) and Italica (later the Arabic Ṣāliḳa).

Towards the second decade of the 5th century A.D., Córdova was devastated when the Vandals conquered Baetica en route for North Africa. In 554 it passed to the Byzantines, who had come into the Iberian peninsula to help King Athanagild of the Visigoths, and the Goths spread all through southern Spain. They probably took upon themselves the rebuilding of the old protective wall of the Roman *urbs quadrata* and the enlargement of this enceinte in a southwards direction, as far as the northern bank of the river. In 572, King Leovigild, Athanagild's successor, recovered it from the Byzantines but although it was an episcopal see, it remained a place of no importance under the Visigothic domination.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Córdova was leading a precarious existence, its protective enceinte was partially ruinous on the west side, and a heavy surge in the river's height had destroyed its bridge. The freedman Mughīth al-Rūmī, lieutenant of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, occupied the town without resistance in Shawwāl 92/July-August 711, and three months later, in Muḥarram 93/October-November 711, the fortified church of San Acisclo to the south west of Cordova, where 400 knights of the Cordovan nobility had held out against the invaders, surrendered to al-Mughīth; he treated the Cordovan citizens with clemency and entrusted the guarding of the town to the Jews. The governor al Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al Raḥmān al Thaḳafī transferred the capital of al Andalus from Seville to Cordova (97 100/716 19). His successor, the governor al-Samḥ b. Mālik al Khawlānī (100-2/719-21) restored the old Roman bridge and the ruinous part of the protective enceinte, and he founded the first Muslim cemetery of the town, sc. the Makbarat al-Rabaḍ or "Cemetery of the Suburb" on the northern bank of the river. In 10o 133/750, the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī expropriated the church of San Vicente, where he established the first cathedral mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ*) in Cordova. This governor (129 38/747-56) was overthrown by the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], the only Umayyad who had escaped from the massacre of his house in Syria the great period of prosperity of the city now began and lasted throughout the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*] of Cordova, which was independent of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād (138-403 or 422/756-1013 or 1032).

This incomparable period of splendour of the western rival of Baghdād, the city of the caliphs, is uniquely perpetuated in the great mosque lying just in front of the lofty ancient Moorish bridgehead, the Christian fortress-tower of La Calahorra (Arabicised from the Iberian Calagurris), the Kaʿba of the west; although, at the reconquest in 1236, it became a Christian cathedral and was disfigured by alterations, it has on the whole faithfully retained its Arabic character with its forest of pillars, its outer court (Patio de los Naranjos), the wall which encircles it as if it were a fortress or monastery, and the bell tower, which is a work of the 16th century constructed from the remains of the 4th/10th century Arab minaret. Also, the name of La Mezquita or "The Mosque" has remained the popular one for this building. However, all the other splendid buildings and monuments of this world famed period of splendour in the early middle ages have disappeared except for a few wretched fragments. When the shrewd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had laid the foundations for the supremacy of his dynasty in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by attaining some success in putting a stop to the rivalries and quarrels of not only the Arabs of North and South but also between them and the Berbers of North Africa, the Spanish renegades and the Mozarabs who remained a constant weakness to Arab rule in Spain and brought about its ultimate fall, he began the building of the great mosque in the last two years of his life 171 2/787 8. His son and successor Hishām I (172 80/788 96) completed it, and built the minaret (often called in Spain *sawmaʿa* and *manāra* = *manara*), but ʿAbd al Raḥmān II (206-38/822 52), son and successor of the *Amīr* al-Ḥakam I (180 206/796-822), found himself forced to enlarge the building by extending the 11 naves southwards he added 7 transepts with 10 rows of pillars and built the second *miḥrāb* into the south wall, where was later constructed the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Villaviciosa (835 48), while his son and successor Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86) had in 852-6 thoroughly to overhaul the older building, which had been too hurriedly put up, he devoted particular attention to the decoration of the doors and walls, railed off the *maḳṣūra* reserved for the *Amīr* and the court in front of the *miḥrāb* by a wooden screen and built a covered passage (*sābāṭ*) from Alcázar, the palace to the west of the mosque, to provide a direct and private entrance to the *maḳṣūra* at the daily prayers. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) [*q.v.*] who marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in Spain, rebuilt the minaret, which had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 880, in splendid fashion. He enlarged the *ṣaḥn* or courtyard in a northerly direction, demolished the ancient *sawmaʿa* and built another one, the forerunner of the great Hispano-Moorish minarets of the 6th/12th century, which support an actual bell hidden behind a stone revetment. It was this same prince who was the builder of the celebrated country estate Madīnat al Zahrāʾ (now called Cordoba la Vieja) for his beloved al-Zahrāʾ, one-and a half

hours' journey north-west of Cordova at the foot of the Sierra (cf. al-Makkarī, i, 544 ff.). In 1853, Pedro de Madrazo identified the remains of this town, and in 1923 the whole of its enceinte was declared a national monument, since then, excavations have restored some of the splendours of the great caliph al-Nāṣir's creation, and especially the great hall called the "Salon Rico", which is at present to a considerable extent restored. The most beautiful extension of the mosque proper (almost doubling it) was carried out by the learned and scholarly caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir billāh (350-66/961-76), son and successor of the great ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who ordered his Prime Minister or Grand Vizier (called ḥādjib in Spain) Djaʿfar al-Ṣaḳlabī to extend the colonnades in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transepts, and built a splendid new *maḳṣūra*, a new *mihrāb* and the third noble *mi'ḏaʾa*, which alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hishām II al-Muʾayyad (366-99/976-1009) powerful vizier, the regent al-Manṣūr (Almanzor, d. 392/1002), who added seven colonnades to the whole length of the building on the east and thereby raised the total number of naves (previously 12) to 19, but threw the *mihrāb* out of its proper place at the end of the central axis of the sanctuary (on account of the precipitous slope down to the Guadalquivir it was found impossible to extend the building further to the south). Like al-Zahrāʾ in the north-west, al-Madīna al-Zāhira ("the flourishing city"), founded to the east of Cordova by al-Manṣūr to be the seat of the government and its offices, was destroyed in the period of revolution in the beginning of the 5th/11th century and has now quite disappeared.

After the complete extinction of the Umayyads with Hishām III al-Muʿtadd (418-23/1027-31), Cordova became a republic under the presidency of three Djahwarids: Abu 'l-Ḥasm Djahwar b. Muḥammad b. Djahwar (1031-43), Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad (1043-64) and ʿAbd al-Malik (1064-70) (in the latter year it passed to the ʿAbbādids of Seville, in 1091 to the Almoravids, who in 537/1142 built the protective enceinte of the eastern part of the town, and in 1148 to the Almohads. With its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, it was doomed to inevitable decline.

Of the countless Arab scholars who belonged to Cordova, we will only mention here Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), Averroës (Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]) (d. 595/1198) and Maimonides (d. 601/1204 (see ibn maymūn)).

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al Qurṭubī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farağ al Anṣārī al Khazrağī al Andalusī, Muslim scholar of the Mālikī law school, an expert on *ḥadīth* and well-known for his commentary on the Kurʾān. He is the subject of an article in the *Dībāǧ* of Ibn Farḥūn, which is devoted to biography of the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ* of Spain and the Maghrib up till the 8th/14th century. He also features in an article in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Makkarī. Very little information is known concerning his life. Born in Spain, he was one of those who travelled outside this country (al-Makkarī). Al-Dhahabī is said to have written of him: "He travelled, he wrote and he took lessons from the masters." In fact, he made his way to the Orient and settled at Munyat Abī ʾl-Khuṣayb in Upper Egypt (Minat Banī Khaṣīb in the version of Ibn al Imād, *Shaḏharāt*, v, 335), he died and was buried there in 671/1272.

Al-Dhahabī says of him, in his *Taʾrīḵ al Islām*, that he was an *imām* versed in numerous branches of scholarship, an ocean of learning whose works testify to the wealth of his knowledge, the width of his intelligence and his superior worth. Al-Kutubī, in his *ʿUyūn al-tawārīḵ*, refers to him in approximately the same terms. But in addition to being a conscientious scholar, he was remembered as a pious man, inclined towards asceticism and towards meditation on the life after death. He appeared in public attired in a single garment and wore a small cap (*ṭaḳiyya*) on his head.

Among his masters, the best known is Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Kurṭubī whose commentary on Muslim, *al Mufhim fī sharḥ Muslim*, he studied. This man was an eminent Mālikī *faḳīh*, born in Cordova in 578/1173, and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. (He was a teacher of traditions and a foremost expert on the Arabic language. He travelled in the Orient where his reputation became widespread. Al-Nawawī quotes his *Mufhim* in a number of places in his own work.) There is mention of two other masters from whom he learned *ḥadīth*: the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al Bakrī, and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥafṣ al-Yaḥṣubī.

Among his works, his biographers first mention his commentary on the Kurʾān entitled *al-Ǧāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Kurʾān wa ʾl-mubayyin li mā taḍammana min al-sunna wa-āyāt al furḳān*. Then they refer to the following titles: *al Asnā*, on the interpretation of the most beautiful names of God, *al Taḏhkār fī afḍal al aḏhkār*, where "he followed the pattern of the *Tibyān* of al-Nawawī, while producing a more complete work and making use of greater learning"; *Kitāb al Taḏkira bi-amūr al-āḵhira* [see al-Mahdī]; *Sharḥ al-Taḥassī*, *Kitāb Kamʿ al-ḥirṣ bi ʾl-zuhd wa ʾl-ḳanāʿa wa radd ahl al-surʾa bi ʾl-ḥirṣ wa ʾl-shafāʿa*, which Ibn Farḥūn considers the best example of writing in this genre; and an *Urǧūza*, where the names of the Prophet were brought together. All these titles testify eloquently to the religious preoccupations of al Kurṭubī.

His commentary is of great richness and of great utility. All the authors who have spoken of al Kurṭubī acknowledge it and insist on the benefit which may be derived from it. From the introduction onwards, he puts emphasis on the worth of the Kurʾān, on the elevated rank of those who are its "bearers", on the eminence in the eyes of God of those who make an effort (*iǧtihād*) to derive from it by *istinbāṭ* teaching which conforms to the *maʿnā*, that is to say, to that which God wishes to signify: "what is known with certainty by the man who

knows the Book of God, is that he is to reject that which He forbids and to remember that which has been explained to him in this Book, to fear God and stand in awe of Him, to hold himself under His protection, and to abstain from disobeying Him through shame in respect to Him; then he is charged with the burdens of the prophets (*fa-tamma ḥamaala a'bā'a 'l-rusul*) and he must become a witness to the Resurrection before adepts of religions of a different persuasion (*milal*)." Such is the high estimation placed by al-Kurṭubī on the role of the commentator.

The entire introduction is divided into chapters which constitute a sort of ethic, methodology and theology of the commentary. Attention is drawn to the superior qualities of the Kur'ān (*faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*) which comes from the light of the essence of God (*fa-huwa min nūr dhātihi*), God gives his servants the strength to bear it (§ 1f.). Then (10), al-Kurṭubī turns to the manner of reading the Book of God (*kayfiyyat al-tilāwa li-kitāb Allāh*) in a chapter which may be compared with that of al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyā'*, entitled *Ādāb tilāwat al-Ḳur'ān*. he discusses at length the problem of knowing whether the Kur'ānic text may be chanted or set to music. he maintains that it is impious to believe that the Kur'ān requires embellishment by the human voice. An important chapter (17) concerns the inward dispositions of men who pursue knowledge of the Kur'ān: they must rid themselves of all hypocritical consideration of the self (*tabarrīh min al-riyā'*) and, turning towards God through *tawba* and *nuba*, attain with self-purification to perfect sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*). This could be interpreted, on account of the opposition of the two terms *riyā'* and *ikhlāṣ*, well known in Sūfism, as a sign of deep mystical piety, and this is confirmed by the passage which follows (20) dealing with that which the soul must observe and not neglect. Then comes a technical chapter (23) on the *i'rāb* of the Kur'ān and the effort which must be made to read and recite it correctly. A few more headings may be noted. Value of commentary and commentators (26). That respect for the Book and its sacred character is an obligatory requirement of the reader and of the "bearer" of the Kur'ān (27). Against a commentary based on personal point of view (*ra'y*) (31). On interpretation (*tafsīr*) of the Book through the *sunna* of the Prophet (37). How to study and understand the Book and the *sunna* (39), and On the meaning of the saying of the Prophet. "This Kur'ān has been revealed according to seven letters" (or readings) *unzila 'alā sab'at aḥruf*, "therefore read according to that which is the easiest for you" (42). Particularly interesting is the chapter (49) on the unity (*ijtimā'*) of the parts of the Kur'ān, it composes a precise and concise history of the text, as far as the recension of 'Uthmān, with a study of the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the *sūras* and verses (59). After which, al-Kurṭubī defines the meaning of the words *sūra, āya, kalima, ḥarf* (65), and he replies to the question as to whether there are in the Book words foreign to the Arabic language (68), which leads him to speak of the inimitability of the Kur'ān (*i'jāz al-Ḳur'ān*) (59), of which he examines ten aspects: 1 the extraordinary stylistic arrangement (*al-naẓm al-badī'*); 2 the method (*uslūb*), different to all those followed by the Arabs, 3. the penetrating eloquence (*faṣāḥa*) which cannot be that of any created being, 4 the information regarding events of the past since the beginning of the world until the revelation given to Muḥammad; 5 the power to handle the Arabic language in a way that no Arab has been able to do, which has led to the unanimous consensus on the fact that God "has placed every word and every letter in its correct place": here al-Kurṭubī refutes the Mu'tazilī concept of *ṣarfa*; 6. the fulfilment of promises, whether absolute, or accompanied by a condition, 7. information concerning the future; 8 the teaching of *aḥkām*, the permitted and the forbidden constituting the sustenance of all men (*tasdīd ḥiṣṣat al-anām*) the sonorous phrases (*al-ḥikam al-bāligha*) of which the number and the nobility are beyond the abilities of a human being and 10. the coherence (*tanāsub*) between all that is contained in the Book whether of manifest or arcane nature, without any contradiction. The introduction ends with reflections on the *nāsikh* and the *mansūkh*.

The commentary of al-Kurṭubī is principally distinguished by the recourse to a very great number of *ḥadīths*. Many are found here which are not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and, unlike his eminent predecessor, al-Kurṭubī is more interested in the content (*matn*) than in the process of transmission. The *ḥadīths* are therefore assembled for the purpose of the reply that they offer to the question raised by the verse under discussion. Above all, the work consists of exegeses designed to clarify the meaning and implication of the Law. On this point, his work approximates to the composition of a treatise of *uṣūl* and of *furū'*, and it can be understood how Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Bardūnī, in the preface to the second edition of the *Tafsīr*, should write: "This work is such that the reader can almost dispense with the study of works of *fiḳh*."

Al-Kurṭubī also devotes considerable space to philological and stylistic commentary, founded on the vast knowledge that he had of the work of grammarians, of works of rhetoric, as well as of books of *adab*. In addition, there are brief references to the theological ideas of *kalām*, accompanied by discussion of doctrines. For example, with regard to the verse (II, 7) "God has set a seal on their heart", he gives the Sunnī interpretation and rejects that of the Ḳadarīyya. But, unlike Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Kurṭubī does not attempt to derive philosophical notions and conceptions from Kur'ānic verses. Thus, when explaining the word *bayyina* (II, 255) in the verse of the Throne, al-Rāzī interprets it of once as denoting *ḥāl'im li ghayrihi* (existing through Himself) as Ibn Sīnā defined it in the *Ishārāt*, and he draws from this all the metaphysical consequences. al-Kurṭubī simply gives it the sense, according to Ḳatāda, of *al-ḥāfiẓ li-tadbīr wa khalaḳa* (He who concerns Himself with the government of His creation), or, according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the sense of *al-ḳā'im 'alā kulli nafs bi-mā kasabat*, He who exercises His surveillance over every soul and that which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it according to its actions.

Finally, al-Kurṭubī reduces considerably, but not entirely, the dependence on interpretations and especially elucidations based on accounts furnished by rabbinical legends, apocryphal gospels and other equally unreliable sources. Thus he makes very little use of the *Isrā'īliyyāt* (*q.v.*), unlike al-Ṭabarī and even al-Rāzī.

Bibliography Given in the article. The *Tafsīr* is quoted according to the 3rd Cairo edition (*Dār al-Kutub*), 1387/1967. (R. Arnaldez)

AL-KURṬUBĪ, Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Sa'dūn al-Asadī, poet and Mālikī jurist, born in Cordova in 480/1093. He travelled extensively in the east, visiting Cairo, Baghdād and Damascus for the purpose of study. He died in Marw al-rūdh in the 'Īd al-Fiṭr in 567/1172. His chief surviving literary works are

Daḳāʾiḳ al-akhbār, ʿAḳīdat al-imām ʿAlī, and the poem on Muslim religious observances, the *Urdjūzat al-wildān*, also known as *al-Muḳaddima al-Kurṭubiyya*, for which he is best known. The *Urdjūza* sets out in summary form the basic observances of the five "Pillars of Islam" in rhyming couplets designed to be easy for children to memorise, but the contents of the poem are on no way simplified for the juvenile reader. The eighteen *abwāb* into which the *Urdjūza* is divided deal both with the obligatory rul (*furūʿ*) connected with each observance, and with rules which are recommended but not obligatory (*sunan*)

The *Urdjūza* has been the subject of two commentaries, those of Aḥmad b. Zarrūḳ al-Fāsī (died 898/1493) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khāṭir al-Tatāʾī (died 941/1535).

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(R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young)

KŪṢ, a town of Upper Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, some 30 km. to the north of the ruins of Thebes (al-Uḳṣur/Luxor) where the course of the river is at its closest point to the Red Sea, or about 200 km. from Kusayr [*q.v.*]

This large village with a Coptic name, first called Kus or Kūs (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, v, Cairo 1928, 178) seems to have become a more important place with the name Apollinopolis Parva in the Ptolemaic age, when the Greek sovereigns of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. undertook to develop commercial contacts between Egypt and Arabia Felix and the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, and favoured the building up to this region of various centres to the detriment of what was left of Thebes The remains of the small Ptolemaic temple are still visible in the town. Under the Roman domination, Apollinopolis Parva was, like Coptos/Kift [*q.v.*], although to a lesser degree, the terminus of the caravan route from Berenice, it took the name Diocletianopolis towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. A bishop of the town is mentioned among those present at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Greek residents would appear to have been in a minority, and when the pressure asserted by nomadic peoples between the Nile and the Red Sea brought to an end contacts with the east and caused a decline of urban life, the town reverted to its Egyptian name (in Coptic form, Kōu) more than a century before the Arab conquest, this name was retained, transcribed into Arabic as Kūṣ. In the organisation of Arab Egypt, it belonged first to the *kūra* of Kift and al-Uḳṣur. A rampart was constructed in about 222/837 to protect the urban area against the attacks of the Beḍja [*q.v.*].

Subsequently the town developed. al-Yaʿḳūbī noted towards the end of this century that it had taken the place of al-Uḳṣur (*Buldān*, BGA, vii, 334, tr. Wiet, 288) and according to al-Masʿūdī, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, it had taken the place of Kift (*Murūdj*, iii, 50 = § 893). The reason for this prosperity must doubtless be attributed to the trading of its merchants with Nubia, its administrative status, however, did not change, because the population of the town was basically Christian, and the Muslim community was comparatively small. Under the Fāṭimids, the restoration of contacts with the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, especially ʿAydhab [*q.v.*] brought advantages, at first most notably to Uswān [*q.v.*], where goods unloaded at ʿAydhab joined the Nile But at the time of the serious crisis experienced by the Fāṭimid caliphate in the mid 5th/11th century, the occupation of the region of Uswān by the negro troops who took refuge there after being expelled from the capital, after 458/1067, and the revolt of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, disrupted commercial traffic until the restoration of order by the vizier Badr al Djamālī [*q.v.*] in 469/1077, the traders then adopted the practice of joining the Nile at Kūṣ, thus avoiding the extreme south of Upper Egypt, where Uswān began to decline. The governor of the Upper Saʿīd, given the task of maintaining order in the region installed himself in the town which became the new capital of the south and a point of surveillance on the situation in the Red Sea. Kūṣ was henceforward an important market on the major trade-route with the Far East, frequently mentioned in the documents of the Geniza of Cairo on account of the presence of a Jewish community providing a staging-post for these exchanges

The establishment in Palestine of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which cut the normal route of the Pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, deflected towards Kūṣ a large proportion of the pilgrims (who used to embark at ʿAydhāb, which lies opposite Mecca) and added still further to the increase of traffic A mint was established there in 510/1122 (al-Makrīzī, *Itʿāẓ*, iii, 93) and no doubt continued to function there until the arrival of the Ayyūbids. In the troubled times that marked the decline of the Fāṭimid caliphate, the role of the governor of the Upper Saʿīd was seen as "the most important post after the vizierate" (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 191) and an ante-room of power, to which the careers of the viziers Riḍwān and Shāwar also bear witness

In 550/1155, Talīʾ b. Ruzzayk ordered the construction of the mosque and gave to the town one of the finest *manbars* of the Fāṭimid epoch, the Muslim community grew, apparently through the installation of families from Uswān and Isnā, but the town continued to have a Christian majority.

The abolition of the Shīʿī Fāṭimid caliphate seems to have been strongly felt, from 569/1167, Kūṣ was besieged by the Sunnī troops of Shīrkūh, who did not succeed in capturing the town, and it seems to have been affected by the revolts in Upper Egypt that followed Saladin's accession to power in Cairo. However, when the Ayyūbids reverted to the policies of the Fāṭimids to the area of the Red Sea, the growth of Kūṣ continued. It served as a point of arrival for Yemeni traders to Egypt and it was a staging-post for the merchants of the "Alexandrian Kārum" (al-Nuwayrī [see KĀRUM]) This flow of wealth into the town was reflected in the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding countryside, where the growing of sugar cane was developed, and Kūṣ became a centre for sugar production. The urban area outgrew its fortifications, and in the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt considered it the third city of Egypt, after Cairo and Alexandria (*Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 362). Cultured life developed, the poets Ibn Mutrūḥ and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr spent part of their lives in Kūṣ. The town was nevertheless unable to play the part of a regional capital because the minds of the growing Muslim community of Kūṣ were not reconciled to Sunnī

Islam the influence of the Sunnī counter-reformation promoted by the pietist school in the neighbouring town of Kinā [q.v.] led to the founding of the first *madrasa* of Kūṣ in 607/1210. Henceforward Kūṣ became in its turn a centre for the propagation of Sunnī Islam in Upper Egypt.

It is under the Baḥrī Mamlūks that the town seems to have reached its zenith, even though the inclusion of Egypt in a political unity embracing the Syrian states had long ago deprived the governors of Kūṣ of the power that they had enjoyed in the last days of the Fāṭimid caliphate. The expeditions mounted against the Christian kingdom of Nubia in the last quarter of the 7th/13th century and at the beginning of the 8th/14th one contributed to the maintenance of a strategic role for the town, its main function being to control the highways of the South.

Doubtless following the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and especially since the start of the Mamlūk period, the pilgrims to the Ḥijāz for the most part reverted to the route via the Gulf of Suez, but a certain number continued to use the ʿAydhāb route, and traders still frequented it. Kūṣ was then known to Europeans as a staging post in the transporting of spices. The profits from large-scale commerce, but also from urban craftsmanship (textiles in particular), created the wealth of its markets. The Christian community continued to be important and perfectly integrated into the Mamlūk state (they were employed in the administration of the funds of the sultans and *amīrs*); it was during *this period that Athanasius of Kūṣ drafted in* Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language. But the Muslim community now played a dominant rôle. Nothing, however, of an architectural nature remains of the Muslim city which seems to have developed around the ancient town, never penetrating the Christian enclave with its churches, grouped round the Pharaonic temple, this is because the severe post-mediaeval decline affected this peripheral zone first. The names are known, however, of some fifteen places of education, *madrasas* or mosques, including a *dār al-ḥadīth*, whose Sunnī Muslim teaching was felt throughout Upper Egypt, eliminating the last traces of Shīʿism which in the Mamlūk period continued to hold out only in Udfū, creating a movement of people from the minor centres of the province to Kūṣ, and from Kūṣ to Cairo, and ultimately spreading Islamic culture in Upper Egypt to an unprecedented extent. The Shāfiʿī chief *kāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd al-Kushayrī, al-Nuwayrī and al-Udfuwī were the products of this social and cultural phenomenon.

The factors which had assisted the expansion of the town disappeared altogether towards the end of the Baḥrī period and at the beginning of the Circassian era. The fight against the Arab tribes, constantly growing in strength since the disappearance of Christian Nubia permitted them useful access towards the upper Nile valley and Sudanese Africa, necessitated the dispatching and then the maintenance of military units at other points of the valley, especially at Asyūṭ [q.v.], from the middle of the 8th/14th century. On account of changes affecting the equilibrium between the Arab tribes controlling the highways, the use of the route from ʿAydhāb to Kūṣ came to be endangered following the disorders of 767/1365-6: goods still had to be transported to Kūṣ via Kuṣayr until, faced with the instability prevailing over Mamlūk territory as a result of the decline of the administration of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, the traders decided to avoid Upper Egypt, unloading their wares at Ṭūr in the Sinaï peninsula, closer to the Mediterranean. This occurred perhaps from 776/1374-5 onwards, the date at which a serious drought affected Kūṣ and the surrounding region. (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 300).

Henceforward, the major commerce of the spice trade only occasionally passed through Kūṣ. The town, living on its assets, nevertheless remained probably the most important urban centre of Upper Egypt until the catastrophic crisis at the start of the 9th/15th century: famine, epidemic and political upheaval. According to al-Maḳrīzī, the plague of 808/1405-6 killed 17,000 people at Kūṣ (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 124), or a large section of the population. In the unfavourable demographic context of the 9th/15th century, and in view of the total transformation of the regional framework which had formerly promoted the prosperity of the town, this destruction of the fabric of the town proved irreparable. When the Mamluk state had succeeded in surmounting the problems of the early decades of the century, at least from the time of the sultanate of Barsbāy [q.v.] onwards, the governor of Kūṣ was nothing more than a secondary figure under the authority of the *ḥākim* of Asyūṭ. A section of the Muslim élite apparently left this declining city, and the proportion of the population formed by Christians began to rise once more, in an Upper Egypt no longer invigorated by commerce of any kind and henceforward less Islamised then the rest of the country. Commercial relations, on a reduced scale, with the Red Sea through the Kuṣayr highway, now tended to be *directed from Kinā and not from Kūṣ, it was to* Kinā that the *ḥāḳim* was transferred after the Ottoman conquest. The major regional centre was henceforward Girga [q.v.], where the Hawwāra Bedouins [q.v.] settled, their hegemony was gradually established over the region in the course of the 9th/15th century and was to be maintained until the end of the 18th century. The material ruin of the mediaeval Muslim urban cadre seems to have been essentially brought about during the 17th century, a period when the city, although the seat of a *ḥākim*, appears to have sunk to its lowest depths of degradation and dilapidation. It only recovered a certain degree of vitality in the second half of the 18th century, although the population numbered only 5,000 at the time of the French expedition.

The renewal of the town dates from the end of the 19th century. The swelling of the population following the rural exodus to towns, the opening-up of the town towards the outside world by means of education dispensed by foreign missions and the Egyptian state, and the installation of a modern sugar-producing industry, have brought about the rebirth of a expansive urban area, where, apart from a few isolated remains, nothing bears witness to the ancient mediaeval centre.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

KŪS OWASĪ [see KOSOWA]

KUSANṬĪNA [see QUSṬANṬĪNA]

AL-KUSANṬĪNĪ (in dialect Ksentini, in French Kesntini) Rasūl, Algerian dramatist, comic actor and song-writer. Under his real name the son of Akhḍar (pronounced Bel Lakhḍar) he was born on 11 November 1887 at Bouzaréa (a suburb of Algiers). His father, a shoemaker, was a native of Constantine. As a child he attended a Kur'ānic school, where he

progress was mediocre, and he learned French in the street. Some years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. In 1909 he married one of his cousins by whom he had two daughters, both dying in infancy. Having grown up in a class of petty Algerian artisans nostalgic for the past and constantly on the verge of poverty, al-Kusanṭīnī inherited a dual legacy of bitterness and failure. He felt ill at ease in his milieu, from which he brusquely broke away in 1914, abandoning his wife and setting out to travel the world. During the first months of the war he worked as a merchant seaman, Marseilles, Malta, Salonica, India, China and America were all to be visited in turn by this son of the Mediterranean, this bit of a "card", insatiably curious, interested in everything but attached to nothing.

Four years later he returned to France, where he worked for a while in a factory in Normandy and married a Frenchwoman. In 1920 he moved to Paris and obtained employment as a submaitmaker in the workshop of a large store. It was at this time that he began attending theatres and he even played a number of walk-on parts, in particular at the Alhambra, the Châtelet and the Odéon.

Returning to Algiers in 1926, he rapidly became friendly with some amateur comic actors (ʿAllālū, Dahmūn, Bash Djarrāh), and, a few months later, he appeared in public for the first time in a play by ʿAllālū, *Bou Akliss* (*Bū ʿAkīs*), a play which owed its success to his flair for energetic buffoonery. From the very start he made a powerful impression, with his innate acting talent and his unusual gift for improvisation, expressing himself not only with his face but with his whole body, from head to foot, he was all movement. His silhouette, his mime, the twinkle of his eye, the unexpected laugh gave a sharp edge to each response emphasising the word, with an incomparable shaft of humour. To call him a comedian would be an understatement, he was a spectacle.

In fact, he was still not sure at this time how to make his own entry into the threatre, and his first attempt—*al ʿAhd al wafī*, "The promise kept", a drama in three acts performed in Algiers in March 1927, was far from being a masterpiece. After this failure, he was luckier the following year with a comedy (*Bū Bērma*), which was warmly received by the Algerian public.

Over the next ten years, al-Kusanṭīnī was to compose, stage and act in twenty five plays, as well as a number of farces, most of which have been lost. In this brief space of time he chalked up a number of important dates in the history of the young Algerian theatre. In fact, his successes were as varied as were the responses of the public and the critics, and the conditions under which the plays were staged. Even the settings varied: sometimes the municipal theatre of Algiers, Constantine or Oran, sometimes a cinema auditorium, sometimes, in a rural district, a hastily adapted barn. Furthermore, these performances generally gave only a meagre profit to the author and his colleagues, actors, singers, dancers and musicians.

During this same period, al-Kusanṭīnī played minor roles in French films like *Sarati le Terrible* and *Fièvre le Mâle*, alongside Harry Baur and Jean Gabin.

After 1938 he practically stopped writing for the stage, but, deeply attached to his profession, he was acting in the plays of his successor, Muḥyī'l-Dīn Bash Tarzī, almost to his last day. He died in Algiers on 2 July 1944, having lived for close on twenty years the somewhat austere existence of the milieu to which he belonged; he was however, a straightforward man, generous and sincere, an enemy of all forced pretence and all hypocrisy.

Written in Algerian dialect and almost entirely unpublished, al-Kusanṭīnī's work covers a wide variety of genres. But in spite of the diversity of form, the central core is one of powerful originality. His work comprises:

(a) Approximately two hundred satirical songs, for the most part on moral and social themes, often written as parodies of well-known Arabic and French songs. About a hundred have been recorded on disc. The most successful of these are *Mon taht l-ʿAṭṭār*, 'Under the veil', *Wlād l-blād*, "The father's son", *Kūlū bzūzū* "The gossips", *Bik grello* 'That gives him the itch', *Djārī Sīd-Aḥmad* "My cousin Sid Ahmad", *Z-zmān tbaddal* "Times have changed",

(b) About thirty sketches, composed of series of humorous and entertaining scenes with two or three characters, accompanied by songs, in a realistic setting, that of the Algerian petit-bourgeoisie, whose foibles and vices are energetically satirised. Half of these have been recorded on disc: the peasant before the judge, the rustic and the man about town, the drunkard, the old man and the old woman, the old woman and the ghost, the mysterious table, the newsilling sportsman Bachir, etc.

(c) Twenty-five stage plays, listed below in chronological order: 1 *al-ʿAhd al-wafī* (see above), 2. *Bū Bērma*, comedy in three acts, Algiers, 22 March 1928, 3. *Zaghrabbene ou les deux mangeurs de haschisch* (*et le fils de rien*) (*Zrirabbān*) comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 February 1929. 4. *Tūnes w-el-Djazā'ir*, "Tunis-Algiers", revue in two acts, Algiers, 22 March 1929. 5. *Khādh kitābī* "Take my book", comedy in three acts, Blida, 13 November 1929; 6. *Bābā Kaddūr al-ʿanūsī* 'Bābā Kaddour the Envious', or "My cousin from Istanbul", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 20 December 1929. 7 *Lunjia l-Andalusyya*, comedy in five acts, Algiers, 28 February 1930. 8. *Khalī rūḥak* "Take care!", comedy in three acts. Algiers, 23 January 1931. 9 *Thukba f-al-arḍ* "A hole in the ground", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 28 February 1931; 10 *Ṣawt* "Carry on talking!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 11 January 1932, 11. *Bū Sbūt* "The man with the pipe", comedy in three acts. Algiers, 28 January 1932; 12 *ʿAyyūa w-Hnūdī*, comedy in four acts, Algiers, 22 January 1932; 13. *al Murstān*, "The lunatic asylum", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1932. 14. *Fīkū* "They woke up!", revue in two acts and twelve tableaux, Algiers, 5 February 1932, 15. *Yā rāsī yā rāsū* "It's her or it's me!", comedy in two acts, Algiers, 7 February 1932, 16. *Zīd a'līk* "Outdo him!", melodrama in three acts, Algiers, 2 January 1933, 17. *Allāh yastorak*, "Allah protect us!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 23 January 1933, 18. *Bdeā Shūfk*, comedy in three acts, April 1933. 19. *Tekkīr ez-zmān* "The time is ripe", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 1933, 20 *Khūdnī b-rrūsif*, "Take me by force!" comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 21 *Shūfī ghīrī* "It's my neighbour's fault!", comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934, 22 *Skokī mīlh* "Hold tight!", comedy in two acts, Orléansville May 1935; 23 *Kasha Ūsīl*, comedy in two acts, Fez, 1936; 24. *Yā hasra 'lik*, "All this trouble you're causing me!", melodrama in three acts, Bougie, 3 July 1936 (inspired by Marcel Pagnol's film *Angèle*), 25. *Ash kālū* "What are they saying?", comedy in three acts, Blida, 19 February 1938.

The theatrical work of al-Kusanṭīnī thus presents a rich variety. It is in fact possible to classify his plays as drama (1) melodramas (2), revues (2);

farces (3), which were performed at public festivals and whose essential object was to entertain the spectators; moral comedies (7), where the author satirises Algerian society; and finally, comedies of character (5), which describe the failings and vices of humanity. But it is clear that such a classification cannot be absolute, since all these elements, or at least the majority of them, combine, in varying degrees, in each play: there is a plot, simple to the point of being negligible, a depicting of morals and a description of human nature in general, set in motion with the full panoply of sarcasm, with man as a prey to a quasi tragic contradiction, represented by the blunt and malicious rustic, or one of his rivals, the vagabond, the insecure, the unfortunate, condemned to do battle in the jungle of society and struggling there in his own way, clumsily, nervously, sometimes craftily, his conscience never easy, but at the same time anxious for respectability, secretly longing to integrate himself in the world which rejects him, always ready to accept the situation that presents itself, and even more than this, to be excited by outward appearances, as a means of approaching reality in short, a Charlie Chaplin figure, drinking anisette and munching Barbary figs.

The comedy of al-Kusanṭīnī depends to some extent on the characters, but more frequently on the situations, and also on the wit of the dialogue, which in most cases is not included simply for its own sake, but with the object of throwing light on a character.

However, without being totally pessimistic, the themes tackled by al-Kusanṭīnī are not primarily light-hearted—a fact not uncharacteristic of a humorist. We find here the naïve provincial cheated by flatterers and mischievous servants, vain bourgeois merchants exploited by swindlers, egotistical parents sacrificing the well being of their children for their own interests or for social traditions etc. But this gloom, which should not be exaggerated and which al-Kusanṭīnī, a keen observer, has drawn from his own experience of life, is always concealed beneath his comic sense. At the moment where comedy is in danger of turning into tragedy, farce intervenes, with its sometimes rather crude elements, and brings back the laughter. Predictably, under these circumstances, the dénouements tend to be happy. Al-Kusanṭīnī is no more concerned than was Molière in making his endings plausible. Often in fact, the dénouement should logically be an unhappy one; but then it would no longer be a comedy.

Al Kusanṭīnī is a comic author and not a philosopher. It is vain to attempt the discovery of a coordinated doctrine in his works. However, it is not impossible to draw from his plays a group of ideas which make up what might be called a system of morality.

Everything which is contrary to nature and hostile to reason is anathema to al-Kusanṭīnī: the prejudices which trap Algerian society in a stifling traditionalism, the superstitions which divert the faithful from true piety, the hypocritical distortion of religion to favour the machinations of corrupt individuals and profiteers, and the greed which transforms man into a kind of moral monster. Conversely, he is eager to spring to the defence of the young, even when they are not totally irreproachable.

It is clear that such a philosophy might appear to be a somewhat superficial approach to the problems; nevertheless, the fact remains that it is a philosophy closely linked to the life experienced by the mass of Algerians between the First and Second World Wars, concerned with the images that people saw around them every day, in the street as well as within their families, and this is fairly remarkable.

Al-Kusanṭīnī confined himself in general to making rough drafts, sketching out his ideas, laying down the simple foundations of what was to become a play on the stage. His style also reflects this improvisation. It is a comedy style, meaning that it commends itself better in performance than to reading. It is admirably suited to its purpose, natural, alive, full of ingenious features and significant images, always pleasing and witty, often provocative.

In his satirical verses, which by contrast were written before being sung, the phrases are short and staccato, punctuated by exclamations and rhetorical appeals; it could be said that they represent an almost breathless approach to the pursuit of emotion.

In conclusion, it is thanks to al Kusanṭīnī that Arabic comedy rose for the first time in Algeria to heights similar to those attained, for example, in Athens with Aristophanes, in Rome with Plautus and Terence, and in France with Georges Courteline.

For his high qualities of theme and of form, in drama as well as in his satirical songs, al Kusanṭīnī deserves to be long remembered.

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KUSAYLA b. Lamzam, or Kasīla was, in the tradition of the Masmūda and of Jugurtha, one of the most eminent figures in the struggle of the Berbers to preserve their independence. In 55/674, at the time when the *mawlā* Abū 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār came from Egypt to replace 'Ukba b. Nāfi' as governor of the recently-conquered province of the Maghrib Kusayla was certainly "king" of the Awraba, a broad alliance of tribes of the Barānis group, for the most part sedentary. The territory of the Awraba was centred at that time on the region of Tiemcen, called Pomaria in antiquity, and it probably stretched from west of the Aurès range to Wallila (= Volubilis) to the north of Fez. It may be recalled that *Idrīs* [q.v.] was brought to power by the Awraba of Wallila. At the time of the conquest, the majority of the latter were no doubt Christianised. In fact, according to al Bakrī their

capital Tlemcen reanimated, along with the features of its ancient civilisation, a large Christian population until the 5th/11th century. It was at Tlemcen that Abu 'l-Muhādjir was confronted by Kusayla. The new governor, preferring a policy of conciliation to one of force, took the opportunity of making an ally of the "king" of the Awraba. Kusayla became converted to Islam and henceforward lived with Abu 'l Muhādjir at Takrawān which had replaced the capital founded by 'Ukba b. Nāfi', and the name of which, by its prefix, symbolised a full scheme of Arab-Berber agreement.

The death of the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu'āwiya, led to a change of policy. In 64/683 'Ukba set out once again for Ifrīkiya, dreaming only of vengeance and a great *djihād*. With him, the policy of subjugating the Berbers by force took on a new lease of life. His first act was to put Abu 'l Muhādjir in irons, to take Kusayla prisoner, and to re-instate as the capital, with its former name, the place which he had initially selected for the purpose during his first term of authority. Subsequently, forcing Abu 'l Muhādjir and Kusayla to accompany him, he embarked on the major expedition which was supposed to take him—there is no serious reason to doubt it—as far as the Atlantic. On the way, in spite of the warning of Abu 'l Muhādjir, he went out of his way to humiliate the Berber "king". We are familiar with the typical scene, described in all the sources, where 'Ukba, as a means of humiliating Kusayla, forces him to skin a sheep in his presence.

In the early stages, the lightning campaign that he initiated, the more unexpected in that it followed the policy of peace and conciliation of his predecessor, seems to have had the advantage of surprise, which explains, in part at least, his initial decisive success. But resistance soon became organised. In fact, 'Ukba made no major conquest. The Barānis, the most romanised of the Berbers, allied themselves with the Byzantines. The Awraba secretly made contact with Kusayla, their chief. He—it is not known from where—escaped from detention under 'Ukba, and assumed leadership of the resistance. Over-confident in his successes, did 'Ukba for his part, as all the sources assert, commit the foolish error of sending the bulk of his troops towards al-Kayrawān, keeping with him only a handful of men, some of three hundred horsemen? Was there an over-riding need to relieve the capital threatened by the Byzantines? Or was this more simply a question of an act of indiscipline on the part of soldiers exhausted by a long and tedious campaign? Whatever the case may have been, to the south of Biskra, at Tahūda (= Thabudeos), 'Ukba found himself confronted by Kusayla at the head of powerful Barānis and Byzantine contingents. Here he found, along with all his men, including Abu 'l-Muhādjir, the epic and spectacular death of which he dreamed and which perpetuated his legend. A mausoleum, that of Sīdī 'Ukba, was erected on the site of the battlefield and became a centre for pilgrimage which is still revered today.

At al-Kayrawān, there was panic, which illustrates the importance of Kusayla's victory and especially the strength of his forces. The idea of evacuating the country, proposed by Hanash al-Ṣan'ānī, finally prevailed over that of resistance, supported by Zuhayr b. Kays al-Balawī. So the army withdrew. But al-Kayrawān did not see the whole of its Arab and Muslim population. It had already advanced beyond the status of a simple military camp, a fact which deserves underlining. Between the years 64-/683-8, it became the capital of a huge Berber kingdom ruled by Kusayla. Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, i, 31) notes that: "Kusayla granted *amān* to the Muslims who had stayed in al Kayrawān. He established himself there as sovereign (*amīr*) of all the inhabitants of Ifrīkiya and the Maghrib, including the Muslims present in that area." Hence no xenophobia, no persecution, no religious fanaticism. We may underline this fact, reported by witnesses who had no cause to flatter their adversaries. Kusayla himself, we are assured, took care not to renounce Islam after his victory. These measures are sure evidence of a political programme designed to deprive the Arabs of any religious pretext for invading the Maghrib once again.

But the wave of conquest was not yet exhausted. When the crisis which arose in the East with the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr had abated, Zuhayr b. Kays al Balawī set out for Ifrīkiya with a strong army. Kusayla, who was not sure of the conditions prevailing at his rear in al Kayrawān, chose to go and wait for his enemy at Mems, 50 km. to the west of the capital, thus in a region where mountains could offer refuge in the event of defeat. The battle, in which he lost his life, went against him. But it should not be believed that it was as decisive as our sources claim. In fact, although victorious, Zuhayr preferred to evacuate the region again, so as not to succumb to the good things of this world, so we are told. In turn, he met his death on the return journey, at Barka where the Byzantines had effected a landing. Was this supposed to be a combined operation, designed to catch the Arabs in the Ifrīkiyan trap, a plan which failed because of poor co-ordination? If Kusayla's attempt to found a great empire governed from the city founded by 'Ukba b. Nāfi' had succeeded, the history of the Maghrib would certainly have taken a different turn. But were the Berbers ripe then for such a scheme? With al Kāhina [*q.v.*], the torch of resistance passed subsequently to the Butr, but with no more lasting success.

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(M. Talbi)

KUṢAYR, a port situated on the African

shore of the Red Sea, a little to the north of lat. 26°. A gap in the madreporic barrier which runs along the coast (A. Prompt, *La vallée du Nil*, in *Bull. de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd ser. 1892) has allowed at various periods of history the utilisation of this anchorage which, by virtue of the sweep described by the Nile towards the east at the level of Kift, Kūs and Kinā [q.vv.], is in fact the nearest access from the sea to the Nile (about 200 km.).

Remains of works from the period of the Middle Kingdom and from Ptolemaic times (P. Jouguet, in *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iii, 94-5) show that the site was used from ancient times onwards, although it lost its importance in the Roman period when, because of difficulties in navigation through the Red Sea to Suez, landing was preferred on the coast further to the south, at the port of Berenice, in the neighbourhood of the future ʿAydhāb, despite the increased distance along the track between the sea and the Nile thereby required (G. W. Murray, *The Roman roads and stations and the Eastern Desert of Egypt in Ptol. of Egyptian archaeology*, xi [1925]). Towards the end of the Romano-Byzantine period, inadequate control of the regions through which this more southerly road passed probably brought Kuṣayr an increased importance, and at the opening of the Islamic period it served as a port of embarkation for pilgrims travelling to the Ḥiǧāz.

However, when the Fāṭimid caliphate in Cairo revived the ancient traffic of Greco-Roman times with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean shore lands, the security which was re-established in the mountainous desert between the Nile and the Red Sea favoured the use once more of the southerly route to ʿAydhāb, a port which was moreover more or less opposite the holy places of the Ḥiǧāz. From the end of the 5th/11th century, the installation of the capitol of Upper Egypt at Kūs nevertheless brought a certain amount of traffic to Kuṣayr, even if it was still much less important than that of ʿAydhāb. *Whilst ʿAydhāb was over two weeks' journey from* Kūs, Kuṣayr is given as only three days' journey from it, and is described as "*the* port of Kūs" in the Mamlūk period, naval units intended to maintain Mamlūk control over the Red Sea were stationed there, and some commercial operations were conducted through Kuṣayr. The western portolans of the 14th century mix up however, Kūs and Kuṣayr (which last they pinpoint correctly but call "Chōs"). The revival of Kuṣayr increased in tempo after 767/1365-6 when the abandoning of the ʿAydhāb road by now increasingly unsure, brought about the decline of the latter port, from which large-scale commerce now turned away, but after some fifty years it was Tūr, on the Sinaï peninsula, which inherited the role of ʿAydhāb as the main spices port on the Red Sea.

The local importance of Kuṣayr continued to grow in the 9th/15th century. Apart from the fact that the spice merchants sometimes still used it as a port of disembarkation, Kuṣayr became the main outlet for Upper Egypt on to the Red Sea. Corn exported to the Ḥiǧāz travelled via Kuṣayr, which had become the departure port for the Pilgrimage and whence one could also travel to the ports of Ethiopia. The inconspicuous Christian missions which tried to establish relations with the Negus of Ethiopia set off from Kuṣayr, and Fra Mauro's map of 1460 gives it the name of "Cuser" (the site of ʿAydhāb further to the south symptomatically received that of "Chaser"). Kuṣayr's primacy was all the more firmly established because the economic centre of gravity of the Upper Saʿīd was from this time onwards fixed in the northern part of the province. The beginning of the Ottoman occupation saw the rise of Kinā, which replaced Kūs as the regional centre and also, it seems, as the main departure point for Kuṣayr. The greater part of commercial traffic continued to consist of corn, continuously despatched to the Ḥiǧāz, and of *coffee* imported from the Yemen. In the 18th century, Hawwāra control over Upper Egypt did not harm the port's traffic, in fact the reverse, since Kuṣayr's situation along the route to the Indies attracted the attention of the French and British as much as that of the Beys of Cairo. Bonaparte's soldiers found at Kuṣayr an agglomeration essentially made up of stalls open to the sky, with a very scanty permanent population (this being also the case with ʿAydhāb in his time), and with Ḥiǧāzī influence very strong (*Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, 193-202). Under Muḥammad ʿAlī, buildings for the Egyptian government were again set up at Kuṣayr. The small town became one of the district centres of the province of Kinā. The pilgrim traffic resumed each year the main source of activity for the port, but after 1859 the Pilgrimage traffic was deflected to Suez. At the time of the 1897 census, Kuṣayr had ca. 4,802 inhabitants.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

KUṢAYR ʿAMRA [see architecture].

KUṢAYY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islamic cult of the Kaʿba in Mecca.

His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as Kuṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ġālib or Kurayṣh b. Ġālib (Ibn al-Kalbī Caskel, *Gamhara*, Tab. 4) and his life and exploits are recorded by our sources in three recensions which only differ from each other in trifling details; these go back to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763-4), Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ǧurayǧ al-Makkī (d. 150/767). Kuṣayy is represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who founds a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far from his native land and in obscurity. a younger son of Kilāb b. Murra, a descendant of the Kurayṣh whose supremacy in Mecca had been replaced by that of the Banū Khuzāʿa, he loses his father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother Fāṭima bint Saʿd b. Sayʿal who had married again, her second husband being a member of the tribe of Banū ʿUḏhra to that new husband's tribe in the north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood of Sargh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī [in Ibn Saʿd, i/i, 36 ad6] a place on the Syrian frontier of the Ḥiǧāz, near Tabūk [Yāḳūt, iii, 77] or right into Syrian territory near Yarmūk [al-Bakrī, 773]), here his original name of Zayd was changed to Kuṣayy from the root *k ṣ y* "to go far away". Having learned his true origin from his mother, he returned to Mecca where as a result of his marriage with Ḥubbā, the daughter of the Khuzāʿī chief Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an important position in the city. On the death of his father-in-law, Kuṣayy managed to succeed him in his offices, either after a long struggle with the Khuzāʿa, or as a less reliable tradition has it by means of a tricky bargain which he made with (Abū) Ġubshān, with the son or only some more distant

relative of Hulayl (cf. Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 277, 7 with 282, 2). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Kuṣayy to Iamr is given in the article Khuzāʿa.

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Kaʿba, Kuṣayy rebuilt the latter and organised its worship; he united the clans of the Kuraysh, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which assured them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Kuraysh (from *taḳarruḥ*, "to combine") replaced the old name Banū ʾl-Naḍr. Kuṣayy is said to have been called *al-Mudjammiʿ* "the re-unifier". On his death, the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and ʿAbd Kuṣayy, the second of whom through his son Hāshim was the direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Kuṣayy had built himself quite close to the Kaʿba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Kuraysh under the name *Dār al-Nadwa*. To Kuṣayy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-ʿAdjūl (ḳuṭb al-Dīn = *Chron. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wustenfeld, ii, 107, below, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 48; Yāḳūt, iii, 29-30 al-Bakrī, 646, cf 766)

From what has been said above, it is evident that the Kuraysh regarded Kuṣayy as their true founder and the founder of the Kaʿba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-Aʿshā (al Bakrī, 489) and by several of Ḥassān b. Thābit. Later historiography has tried to harmonise this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Kuraysh = Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (Wüstenfeld, *General Tabellen*, N.) as well as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Kaʿba and its vicissitudes under the Djurhum and the Khuzāʿa. Kuṣayy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say whether he should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab onomasticon: a Nahīk b. Kuṣayy al-Salūlī, a contemporary of Muḥammad, is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, vi, 24 15, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed. Cairo vi, 257, the *Djamhara* of Ibn al Kalbī (Caskel, Tab. 114) mentions a Kuṣayy b. ʿAmr and (Tab 125) a Kuṣayy b. Mālik. The fact that this name is to be recognised in the קצי of the Nabataean inscriptions and probably also in the Kouσaις of a parchment from Dura on the Euphrates (cf. Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura Europos*, Paris 1926, 320) does not justify us in concluding that it is of northern origin, since as we have seen, it is found among different tribes. The tradition which makes Kuṣayy pass his childhood in Syria is in favour of the hypothesis which makes the worship of the Kaʿba introduced, or at least renewed, as a result of influences from the north, perhaps in some statements of tradition (e.g. al Kalbī, quoted by Ibn Saʿd 1/1, 39, 2-11) we have an echo of an actual fact, namely that on the old cult of Hubal [q.v.], "the idol of the Khuzāʿa" there was super imposed that of al-ʿUzzā and Manāt-Manāt, for which we have definite evidence in Northern Arabia in particular.

In any case, the figure of Kuṣayy soon became legendary; his story, as we have seen, has the characteristic features of the legends of eponymous heroes; his alleged sons are only symbols of the part played by Kuṣayy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name ʿAbd al-Kuṣayy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship which certainly existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al Ṭāʾif, Thaḳīf, is analogous in character to Kuṣayy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dār al Nadwa [q.v.]

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the control of the Kaʿba and of the *siḳāya* was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Kuṣayy and that the Kuraysh were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Kuraysh, among others the Banū Umayya, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands; the Banū Makhzūm, for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Kuṣayy. It seems probable then that the Meccan "republic" was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banū Kuṣayy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banū Kuṣayy.

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

KUṢDĀR, Kuṣdār, the name of a town in mediæval Islamic Baluchistān [q.v.], modern town and district of Khuzdār in the former Kalāt state [see KALĀT] in Pakistan. It lies in lat 27° 48′ N and long 66° 37′ E. at an altitude of 4,050 feet, some 85 miles south of Kalāt, the long, narrow valley of the Kolachi River in which it is situated as strategically important as a nodal point of communications, from Karāchi and Las Bēla [q.v.] in the south, from Kaččhī in the east, from Kalāt in the north and from Makrān and Kharān [q.v.] in the west

Kuṣdār was first raided by the Arabs under Sinān b Salma al Hudhalī, who was appointed governor over the Indian marches early in Muʿāwiya's caliphate by Ziyād b. Abīh, and then by al Mundhir b al Djārūd of ʿAbdī (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 433 4). The 4th/10th century geographers mention it, together with Kizkānān or Kīkān [see KECH] as one of the towns of the region of Tūrān or Tuwrān, which must have lain in the east-central part of Balōčistān (see Minorsky, *H P art Tūrān*), and as being 80 *farsakhs* from al Manṣūra in Sind. Kizkānān is mentioned in the middle years of this century as being the residence

of the local ruler, but Kusdār is described as the chief town, with a citadel and a flourishing mercantile quarter, to which traders from Khurāsān, Kirmān and India resorted, and with fertile agricultural lands around it (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 324 6, tr Kramers and Wiet, 317 ff., Muḳaddasī, 476, 478, 486; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 123, 373, Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, iv, 353; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331-2). Kusdār was certainly the seat of the local rulers by the later years of the century, the time of the rise of the early Ghaznawids, for in 367/977-8 Sebüktigīn reduced the ruler of Kusdār to obedience. However, his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna had to come once more and attack Kusdār in 402/1011 and make its ruler tributary ('Utbī, in Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 74), and his son Masʿūd in 420 1/1030-1 also sent his uncle Yūsuf b Sebüktigīn to Kusdār and Makrān on a punitive expedition (Bayhaḳī, in K. Gelpke, *Sultan Mas'ūd I. von Ghazna. Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033)*, Munich 1957, 87 ff.)

Thereafter we hear little about Kusdār. In recent times it fell within the Khānate of Kalāt. H. Pottinger visited it in 1810 and found it a small town of *ca.* 500 houses, it being the summer residence of Mīr Murād ʿAlī of the Brahūī Kambarānī tribe, brother in law of Maḥmūd Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 357). C. Masson noted a large tepe north of the town of Khuzdār, with the remains of mud walls, presumably relics of the mediaeval Kusdār (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1844, ii, 42 4). In 1870 a fort was constructed there and a garrison placed in it by Mīr Khudādād b. Miḥrāb Khān of Kalāt in the course of his warfare with the Djām or local ruler of Las Bēla (*q.v.*) Khuzdār town and district now form a *tahsīl* of the Djhalāwan Subdivision of the Kalat District of Pakistan, with a population in 1961 of 26,478.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪSH, a Biblical personage whose name appears in ch. x of Genesis in the genealogical lists of the posterity of Noḥ (Nūḥ). According to the information in verses 6-7, Kush, the eldest son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Pūṭ and Kenaʿan (Ivan'ān) the father of Sebāʾ, Ḥawīlāh, Sabtāʾ, Raʿmāh and Sabteḳāʾ and, by Raʿmāh, the grandfather of Sheḇāʾ and Dedān. Miṣrayim is Egypt, Pūṭ doubtless Libya, Kenaʿan, the land of Canaan (Palestine and Phoenicia). Most of the names of the descendants of Kush are to be attached to the maritime regions of the Red Sea. Sebāʾ has been identified hypothetically with the port of Saba in the Bay of Adeïs on the south-west of the Red Sea, which is mentioned in Strabo (xvi, 4 8, 19); Ḥawīlāh, which is given in Genesis xxv, 18, for the western border of the Ishmaelites' territory, has been associated with the name of the South Arabian tribe of Khawlān, as Sabtah the Σαβαθα of Strabo (xvi, 4 21, the Sabota of Pliny (vi, 155, xii, 63), the Σαββαθα of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (27)? Whatever may be the case, it is to be located in the Arabian peninsula, as Raʿmāh is placed by various authors in Ḥaḍramawt Sheḇāʾ, which is not the Kingdom of Saba, is situated in the north west of Arabia. As for Dedān this is the oasis of al-ʿUlā, near Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, in the north-east of the Ḥiḏjaz

Thus Kūsh appears to be linked by this genealogy with Arabia and the Red Sea. But in verse 8 of the same ch. x of Genesis, which seems to reflect another tradition, he is presented as the father of Nimrōd (Arabic Hamrūd) with whom Mesopotamia is associated.

Indeed, in the whole text, Kūsh, as an ethnic term, in the ordinary way designates neither Arabia nor Mesopotamia, but the neighbouring populations of Egypt, on the south-west borders of the land, i.e. precisely the region which the Egyptians called *Kꜣš* (see also Babylonian *kāšu*, Assyrian *kāsu*, Old Persian *kūša*). An oracle of Ezekiel (xxix, 10) also announces the destruction of the land of Egypt 'from Migdol to Syene (from the extreme north to the extreme south) and as far as the frontier of Kūsh.' In 2 Kings xix, 9 the Pharaoh Tirhāḳāh, of the so-called Ethiopian dynasty is called King of Kūsh. Everything leads us to suppose that Kūsh is the name of ancient Nubia, i.e. of the region which extends as a whole from the first to the fourth cataract of the Nile. The Septuagint translates it in general as Ethiopia, which became of the value placed on the word "Ethiopian" in antiquity, is at the source of the erroneous interpretation of Kūshī as "black" or "African".

In the Kurʾān, Kūsh is named no more than the sons of Nūḥ. Islamic tradition, which knew his name, however, supplies pieces of evidence which do not agree totally with one another or with the evidence of the Bible. They are all reported by al-Ṭabarī. According to some Kūsh, son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Kūṭ (Biblical Pūṭ) and Kanʿān (*Annales*, i, 212, 217). But elsewhere Kūsh appears as the son, and not the brother, of Kanʿān, himself presented as a fourth son of Ḥām (i, 219, 220; see also i, 192; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 50). He is given finally as the predecessor of Kanʿān as king of the universe after the disappearance of the sons of Afrīdhūn (*Chronique*, French tr. H. Zotenberg i, 120). In all the traditions, he is the father of Namrūd, tyrant (*mutaḏabbir*) of Bābil, conforming with Genesis, x, 8. But if, in the general way, the paternity of the Habesha as well as those of the peoples of Sind and Hind are attributed to him, the Nubians on the other hand are never explicitly associated with him. In the genealogy supplied by al-Ṭabarī (i, 223) on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, it is from Kanʿān, brother of Kūsh, and his wife Lynbyl, great granddaughter of Yāfiṯ, that the Nubians are descended, together with the populations of Fazzān, the Zandj, the Zaghāwa and all the Blacks (or, according to another passage, the blacks with frizzy hair). Elsewhere (i, 226), it is Ḥām who is the only one named as the ancestor of these peoples.

The Kushitic languages.—It is from the name Kush that the word Kushitic is derived, under which are grouped a body of Hamito-Semitic (but not Semitic) languages spoken by about fifteen million people, the majority of these Muslims, scattered over a vast territory of almost a million km², within which are included the populations speaking the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The area is constituted basically by the Horn of Africa and spreads in the north into Sudanese and Egyptian territory to around the first cataract of the Nile and in the south into Tanzania, as far as the 4th degree of latitude

Beḍja (Tu-Bedawiye) is spoken by Muslims in the north of the area, in the northern part of Eritrea, and stretches between the Nile on the west (where it is in contact with Nubian and Arabic) and the Red Sea (where it is in contact with Semitic Tigré) as far as the environs of Kusayr. It is true that in the northern-

coast part, the Muslim ʿAbābde tribes are today almost entirely Arabized. At the same time, in the south, a part of the Beni Amer (Banū ʿĀmir) nomads have abandoned Bedja for Tigré. Between these two groups are to be distinguished, with their particular dialects, in the centre the Bishari and Hadendowa, and in the south the Halenga and Arteiga.

Still further to the south, on the shores of the Red Sea, there is the area of Saho and ʿAfar, other Kushitic languages.

Saho is the language of an almost entirely Islamised population leading a pastoral existence in the south of the Massawa region in Eritrea. The Irob Shao Christians, who constitute an enclave on the Abyssinian plateau, have partially abandoned Saho in favour of Semitic Tigrinya.

The language of the ʿAfar (Arabic Danākil) is spoken in the south of Eritrea, in the north of the region of Djibouti, and extends towards the west as far as the Awash River.

The Somali speaking tribes who inhabit the extreme shore of the Horn at the mouth of the Tana River are also almost entirely Islamised. The most important dialects are those of the Isāḳ who inhabit the shore of the Gulf of Aden and the Darōd tribes at the edge of the Indian Ocean as far as the north of Kenya and who also inhabit the province of Ogaden in Ethiopia. In the north, in the territory of Djibouti and as far as Diré Dawa in Ethiopia, it is the dialect of the ʿĪsā which is widespread.

In the valley of the Wēbi Shebelle as far as Khamar (ancient Mogadishu), it is Hawiya which dominates, while in the south, in the province of Benadir, Digil is spoken, a dialect of the Sab, also widespread in Aden among the emigrant foreigners called Djabartis [see DJABART].

The Oromo (whom the Europeans, adopting an Abyssinian word resented as pejorative by the natives, call Galla) at present occupy a vast territory from the centre of the Abyssinian plateau as far as the centre of Kenya (to the north of Mombasa and along the Tana River). These are on the whole pagans. Islam, however, has conquered a part of the northernmost populations. Of the dialects of the Oromo, Maca in the west, Tulamā in the north-east and Boranā in the south-east, are very close to each other. They are opposed to a southern dialect group, sc. that which constitutes the speech of the Bararetta and Kofira in Kenya.

Agaw, in the north of Ethiopia, occupies no more than a limited and fragmented territory, having for the most part given place to Semitic, sc. Tigrinya and especially Amharic. A northern Agaw dialect, Bilin, is spoken by a small Muslim population. Other dialects still in use are Khamir, Khamta, Kwara, Kamant and Awngy or Awiya.

To the west, a group of languages relatively close to one another covers the region of the lakes (from Zway to Shamo and Lake Rudolf) and extends into the adjacent mountainous zone (the province of Sidamo). These are Gudella or Hadiya and Karabatta in the north-west of the region in question, Alāba, Sidamo, Darasa, Burdji and Konso in the east. Generally connected with them, but without any totally compelling reason, are Gidole or Gardulla, Arbore, Galaba etc. On the other hand, there is a tendency today to consider Rendille in the north-east of Kenya, on the edge of Lake Rudolf, and Bayso as an island to the north of Lake Abaya, as projections of Somali.

In the region of Omo, one can distinguish Omoto, Dawro or Kullo, Goba, Walamo, Maroro or Gatsamba, Badittu, Zaysse, Basketto, Doko, Čara, Djandjero, Kaffeco, Anfillo, Shmasha or Gonga, etc.

In the same region, some languages, which are probably Kushitic, are spoken by Nilotic peoples, sc. Giraira, Madji and Gunza.

A Kushitic extension in Tanzania is possibly represented by Irakw and less probably by Mbugu.

There may be seen from this simple inventory, although it remains incomplete, the immense linguistic variety of the vast area generally considered as Kushitic. It is still very inadequately explored, and numerous tongues are known to us only by a rare and insignificant documentation. There result from this problems of classification which lead at times to calling into question the very membership in the group of some of the most anciently recognised languages. There has also been a proposal to detach from the Kushitic ensemble an Omotic group consisting essentially of the languages of the region of the Omo, and from this some authors have come to consider Bedja as a particular division of Hamito-Semitic without any special connection with Kushitic.

In so far as the existing documentation allows one to judge, such questionings appear excessive. The existence of common traits peculiar to a body which can be called Kushitic do not appear capable of being explained by simple phenomena of diffusion. But it is no longer as possible today to admit the traditional division into two groups: Lower Kushitic with Bedja, ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo, Upper Kushitic consisting of Agaw, Burdji, Sidamo and the western languages. Without attempting here to propose a real classification, for which the state of studies still gives no authority, one may to some extent rely on the characteristics of these languages to discern some particular affinities. The linguistic information which is to be supplied below can justify the following table:

A. *Northern Kushitic*: Bedja,

B. I. *Eastern and southern Kushitic*: ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo,

II. *Central Kushitic*: Agaw and languages of the region of the lakes,

C. *Western Kushitic*: languages of the region of the Omo.

The group of Eastern and Southern dialects and that of the Central dialects are closer to one another than each of the two others.

Linguistic characteristics.—These are the principal common traits in the Kushitic languages or in the majority of them.

(i) *On the phonetic plane*.—The predominant syllabic type is of the consonant + vowel form, at the beginning of a word, closed syllables of the consonant + vowel + consonant type are present especially as final syllables. In the intervocalic position, the best-tolerated consonant groups have a first liquid element or are constituted by a nasal — an oral homorganic consonant (*mb*, *nt*, etc.).

The consonant system includes in general "emphatics" most often glottalised in effect, which complete, at the same point of articulation, the orders formed by an unvoiced stop and a voiced stop, without always participating themselves in correlation of voicing. The majority of the languages also present a post-palatal order: *k*, *g*, *k*, but none opposes a *g* to a *k*. However, one must take account of the very frequent present of a voiced cerebral *ḍ* which can adjoin the "emphatic", unvoiced dental.

Except in some Agaw dialects which are innovative on this point, there is no distinction in the labial zone between the spirants and occlusives. Where there is

on *f*, it is not opposed to *p*, and the voiced equivalent is in general *b*, never *v*. The following table, in which the phonemes are put in parentheses, being frequently, but not to all cases, represented, will give an idea of the Kushitic consonant system:

labials: *p[f]*, *b*, *m*, *w*;
dentals: *t*, *d*, ([*t*], *d*, *n*;
sibilants: *s*, (*z*);
palatals: *k*, *g*, *h*, *y*,
laryngals: *ḥ*, ʾ;
liquids: *l*, *r*,

The pharyngals *ḥ*, ʿ, the labio velars *kʷ*, *gʷ*, at times *hʷ*, the prepalatals *č*, *ǧ*, at times *c*, the emphatics *ṭ* and *ḳ*, are only attested in certain languages. The minimal vowel system is triangular, with five vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, with most often an opposition of quantity.

The majority of languages are familiar with tonal opposition, in various degrees of development. In a language like Bedja, only a small number of lexemes of the CVC-form seem to bear a characteristic descending tone, capable of constituting a distinctive morphological mark, of *dat* 'mother' *dat*ʾ'mothers', *ḥwât* "sister", *kwat* "sisters", but in Awiya and in Moča for example, tones play as important a rôle in the morphological plan as in the lexical one (Moča *bâna* "ashes", *bâno* 'coffee', [Awiya] *ŋâté* "I give" *ŋâté* "he gives" Unlike the tonal schemes, the accentual schemes are not generally distinctive, except possibly in some forms where phonetic evolutions have accidentally conferred on them a differentiating rôle (Bedja *ka ḥîb adir* "I killed a lion", *ʾkadab adir* "I killed lions"

(ii) *On the morphological plane*.—Lexemes are constituted in Kushitic by constant radicals with variable morphemes, generally suffixed (Sidamo) *man min mo* 'he built' *min á* "house", (Ometo) *wuŋ muŋ ta* "he forms", *muŋ-a* "form" (Somali) *deh deh ta* "environment" *deh-á* "to be between, among", *deh-dehl* "between" Despite some phenomena of apophony in some languages (Bedja *dar* "to kill" *dar* "to massacre", *rumid* "to avenge" *rumad* "to be revenged", the radical vowel may be considered stable in every series of derivation, as may be seen from the preceding examples

By far the most frequent form of radical is CVC: 90% of the verbal radicals in Kaffeče, 67% in Somali In Bedja, however, and uniquely in Bedja, it yields predominance to radicals of type CVCC or CVCVC But analysis reveals that these roots are often derived from Semitic, and particularly from Arabic. The verbal system is based in general on the fundamental opposition of two aspects the incompleted and completed. Conjugation is of two types. In some languages, a certain number of verbs are conjugated by means of prefixed signs. This is the case with ʿAfar, *where this type of conjugation* represents more than a third of all verbs, and especially with Bedja, where it represents nearly two-thirds, but Somali and Agaw have only four verbs with prefixal conjugation For all the other verbs and in all the other languages, conjugation is suffixal. Thus the verbal forms are constituted in principia according to one of the following two schemes.

A *Prefixal conjugation*, sign of the person + sign of the aspect/mode + verbal root + desinence of the gender and/or number Example ʿAfar *a-fúgd* "you know" incompleted indicative); *á a-fúgd* "you know" completed or perfective indicative)

B *Suffixal conjugation* root + sign of the aspect/mode + desinence of the gender and/or number. For example Bedja *kâm t-ó-s* "you (fem.) eat" (incompleted indicative) *kâm ta-i* ' you (fem.) ate' (completed or perfective, *kam-ta-i* ' (if) you were eating" (modal)

These schemes are capable of minor modifications in various languages. In particular, attention is drawn to newly-developed forms by means of suffixed morphemes The most frequently used variable morphemes are:

— for the gender and number: *t* for the feminine singular and *n* for the plural

— for the aspect: *a* as the sign of the incomplete is often opposed to an antecedent vowel (*á*, *a*, *i*) for the completed or perfective while the modal form is characterized by *u* certain languages however, such as Bedja or Agaw, present some slightly different situations from this point of view;

— for the expression of the persons, the paradigm is the *following*. *Sing. 1. (ʾ-) a. t-, 3 masc (y-) fem. t*, Plur. *t a, a. t-, 3 (y-)* (The forms between parentheses are often represented by ø) The identity of this system of signs with that of Semitic and Berber conjugation, whose very characteristics it presents (the same form in the singular for the 2nd pers. and the 3rd fem., distinct forms for the 1st pers. sing. and plur., the 1st pers. plur. being in addition deprived of the sign of number) has led to the positing of the probable hypothesis that the morphemes of aspect/mode which in the scheme follow these marks, are no more etymologically than short auxiliary verbs conjugated by means of prefixes.

The completed incompleted opposition, with probably a modal form, does not exhaust the complexity of the Kushitic verbal systems. Periphrastic forms, constituted by means of auxiliaries, often serve to add the expression of different aspective-temporal nuances such as the near past, the pluperfect and especially the "continuous progressive" or "concomitant' Examples: ʿAfar *kibéli tind* (incomplete + complete of *nâ* "to be") "you were engaged in looking you were looking', Somali *ʿáa a* 'he eats (will eat)', *ʿaa ay a* 'he is engaged in eating".

As regards their conjugation the languages of the Omo have a separate place in the Kushitic group The scheme there is also suffixal, but the morphemes used and their modes of combination are peculiar to them. For example, Ometo and sing. incomplete *er-áse* "you know", complete *es ód-ara* "you knew ".

The Kushitic languages distinguish various secondary verbal themes by added signs. A few method of derivation is partial or total duplication of the radical) which gives the roots intensive or frequentative value Agaw (Bilin) *dáb-* "to cover" *dábáb* 'to cover completely", Sidamo; *ḫub* "to thoke *ḫubḫub* "to shake strongly"; Bedja *bʷâs* "to turn" *bâsʷâa* "to turn and turn again"), Oromo *bíl-* "to know" *bebbíl* "to know well '

The second method is the luxury of signs to express the orientation of the process in relation to the subject, *s* (*š*, *sh*) for the causative, *t* (*č*), *m*, *n* for the internal reflexive, the passive and the reciprocal Hence in Bedja *ḫigâam* "to extend ' (intraus.), *ḫigâam sâ* "to extend" (trans.), *dur* "to hill", *so-dur* ' to have [someone] killed"; *tam* "to eat", *tam-am* ' to be eaten", *mam* "to thave", (o)le-*mam* "to be shaved', In Oromo. *čab* "to break" (intrans.), *čab-s* "to break" (trans), *bîk a* "be know", *bîk-at-a* 'be understood"; *arg* ' to see", *arg-am* "to be seen". In Ometo *ke* "to go out ", *ke-z* "to cause to go out", *ḫe*ʾ "to see", *ḫeʾ-ti* ' to be seen'.

One should also mention a type of verbal composition widespread in the majority of the Kushitic languages and which consists in the juxtaposition of

an invariable element (plain verbal radical, noun, interjection, onomatopoeia, etc.) and of a verb meaning "to say": 'Afar *hŏ* y "to say *ho*" = "to roar", Sidamo: *suda y* "slowly + to say" = to act slowly", Agaw *yak y* "down + to say" = "to lower", Oromo: *ol gočč* "to say + up = to raise", Ometo: *ahi's ga* "hush + to say = to be silent".

The Kushitic languages of the centre and east have various series of pronominal forms. One of them, called "emphatic", is used especially to act as a subject. Other forms generally suffixal serve to express the complements of the verb and noun. The following tables will show both the common bases and the developments peculiar to the various languages.

"Emphatic" pronouns

		Somali (Benadir)	'Afar	Oromo	Awiya	Sidamo
Sing.	1	*aní*	*anú*	*ana*	*an*	*ana ane*
	2	*ádá*	*atú*	*ati*	*ras*	*áti, até*
	3 mas.	*wúxú*	*issuk*	*inna*	*yi*	*ísi, isó*
	fem.	*iyáá*	*issi*	*isiin*	*yi*	*ise*
Plur.	1	*anáa*	*nanú*	*nú(i)*	*nuuddi*	*nuhe*
	2	*idín*	*sintu*	*sun(i)*	*suuddi*	*hín'e*
	3	*iyáá*	*isxun*	*isón(i)*	*yáddi*	*ínse, ínsa*

Attached pronouns

		Somali	'Afar	Oromo	Sidamo
Sing	1	*hey*	*-ni*	*ko, Mva*	*'ne*
	2 mas	*ká*	*ka*	*-ki*	*-ka*
	2 fem	*ká*	*-ká(s)*	*-ki*	*ka*
	3 mas	*kú*	*-tá*	*-tu*	*su*
	fem	*kéd*	*-tá*	*-tí, she*	*su*
Plur	1	*keyn*	*-na*	*kéna*	*nke*
	2	*-kíin*	*-sin*	*-kísan(i)*	*n'e*
	3	*kéd*	*-kéen*	*-kísan(i)*	*nso*

In Northern Kushitic (Bedja) the "emphatic" forms, apart from the first persons, appear to be clearly constituted by an invariable base with personal suffixal signs added Sing 1 *ani* 2 mas *hor t-ik*, fem *hat-i ik*, 3 mas *hor-i ik*, fem *hat-i-it* plur 1 *ăni*, 2 mas. *hor t-ik* fem *hor t-ak*, 3 mas *hor t-ik*, fem *hor t-it*

The languages of the west have a system of their own which is well illustrated by Ometo Sing 1 *id*, 2 *id*, 3 *i*, plur 1 *nu*, 2 *intu*, 3 *ista*

All the Kushitic languages recognise a distinction of gender between masculine and feminine, at times in a vestigial state, as in certain languages of the west, for example. Among the varied signs which are used, the frequency of the suffixal morpheme *-t* for the feminine should be noted. On the syntactical plane, the essential fact is the agreement of the majority of the languages on the order determinant-determined. The only exceptions are Somali and Oromo which regularly present the inverse order, in Bedja, the qualifying adjective follows the qualified noun when the latter has a definite article. But in all the languages, the dependent proposition precedes that on which it depends (except, in certain particular cases, in Bedja and Somali) and the verb is placed at the end of the phrase after the subject and the various complements.

On the lexical plane, the certain cognate forms are still relatively few in number, above all because of inadequacy of the theory of phonetic correspondences. Nevertheless, the existence of a common vocabulary can be established in several forms. Here are some examples: Bedja *sim*, Agaw *shum*, Sidamo *shum'e*, Ometo *sun'a* Dhandjero' *sum* "name"; Somali' *wadne* 'Afar *wodana*, Oromo *onne*, Sidamo *wodana*, Ometo, *ocsana* 'heart'. Somali' *dam*, Oromo' *dandi*, Sidamo *dopa*, Burdji' *dama*, Agaw *dabo*, Ometo *age*, Kaffa *dag* "way". For some words, the languages of the west present forms which distinguish them from the rest of the Kushitic group: Bedja *iás*, Somali, *il*, 'Afar *il*, Oromo: *ig-sa*. Sidamo *ilia*, Agaw, *yil*, but Ometo *eeyfe*, Dhandjero *afa*, Kaffa *afo* "eye", Bedja *yaf*, Somali *af*, Sidamo *afo*, but Dhandjero, Kaffa *nóno* "mouth".

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(D. COHEN)

KUSHĀJIM, Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Sindī b. Shāhak, Abū ʾl-Fatḥ, poet of the 4th/10th century whose death is variously given in the sources between 330/942 and 360/971, but which must have taken place *ca* 350/962. Originally from a family of Sind [see ibn̲ānīm b. al-sindī], he was born at al-Ramla and lived at al-Mawṣil at the court of Abu ʾl-Hayjāʾ[2] ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān [see ḥamdānids], and then at Aleppo, in the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.]; he also made several journeys to Egypt, Baghdād Damascus and Jerusalem. His verses are described by R. Blachère, *Motanabbi*, 134, as 'excessively florid and enjoying a contemporary vogue', which is confirmed by al-Masʿūdī, who in his own lifetime, devoted long passages to him in his *Murūdj* (see index). He was closely associated with his son-in-law al-Ṣanawbarī [q.v.], and he is one of the creators of nature poetry in Arabic, in which he evokes visual pleasure by his descriptions of gardens, flowers and trees. But he was also a *ḥāfiẓ*, as astrologer and master cook to Sayf al-Dawla, he excelled in so many branches of knowledge and activity that his surname Kushājim is said to be an acrostic formed out of the initial letters of the subjects in which he excelled, or out of various adjectives—a *kāf* for *kuttāb/kātib*, *shīn* for *shāʿir/shaʿīr*, *alif* for *adabīdān* or for *anīḳ*, *dīm* for *djadalī/djawdī* and *mīm* for *munadjdjim*. It is even said that, after having studied medicine, he added a *tāʾ* [for *ṭabīb*] to his name which became Takushājim but had hardly any success.

He has left behind a *Dīwān*, first published at Beirut in 1313/1895-6, then at Baghdād in 1370 (by Y. Kh. Al Mahbūb), a collection of *Rasāʾil* (*Fihrist*, 200), an *Adab al-nadīm/al-muḥammadī*, ed. Bulāḳ 1298, Alexandria 1329; a *K. Akhbār al-ṭarab*, a *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, a *Kitāb al-buldān* (al-Ḥalkashandī, *Subḥ*, i, 154, 182-3; a *K. al-Maṣāyid wa ʾl-maṣāʾid* (partial ed., carelessly done, Baghdād 1954) comprising some 20 poems on hunting, some of which are reproduced in the *K. al-Bayzara* (cf. F. Viré *La traité du l'art de voleer*, Leiden 1967, 2), in the *Dīwān* and in vol. x of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*.

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al-**KUSHĀSHĪ**, Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus, al-Madanī al-Dadjānī, Ṣūfī mystic and scholar, b. Medina 991/1563. Little is known of his life. His family on his father's side migrated from the village of Dadjān near Jerusalem and settled in Medina. He spent part of his life as a soldier. In 1021/1602-3 he travelled with his father to the Yemen, where he studied with various of the religious teachers, especially those with whom his father, Muḥammad b. Yūnus had studied. An incident not specified in the sources disturbed him deeply, causing him to return hurriedly first to Mecca, and then to Medina, where he continued to study from some of the great mystics of Indian origin, especially al-Shīnawī and *Ṣuḥbat Allāh, and through them, the works of al-Ḥuwaythī al-Hindī*. He was affiliated to several mystical orders, including the Nakshbandī, the Khalwatī and the Shaṭṭārī. He attracted numerous students, and enjoyed a reputation for extraordinary humility. He is of particular importance because of the character of his transmission of the doctrines of the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī [q.v.], particularly as reformulated by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [q.v.] to various parts of the Muslim world, including Sumatra and Java. Among his students for almost twenty years (1031-70/1621-60) was the Sumatran ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel, and numerous Djāwī associates of whom we do not know the names. His pupil and successor as *shaykh* of the Shaṭṭāriyya order al-Kūrānī [q.v.], maintained his wide circle of students, and gives much information about him in his al-*Anwār* (see *Bibl.*). It is worthy of note that Ṭāhir, the son of his greatest student al-Kūrānī, was a teacher of Shāh Walī Allāh [q.v.].

His works include Ṣūfī interpretations of *ḥadīth*, rare among Ṣūfī authors, who devote most of their exegetical skill to the Kurʾān. He was noted for the extent to which he associated Kurʾānic and *ḥadīth* quotations with his views, and his skill in presenting the isnād of every *ḥadīth* that he cited. A commentary on his rhymed creedal statement al-*ʿAḳīda al-manẓūma* by his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī entitled *Kashf al-sabīl* was rendered into Malay, possibly by his student ʿAbd al-Raʾūf.

His books on *ḥadīth*, *waʿẓ* and *tasawwuf* number more than fifty. One has been published (*al-Sirr al-maḳṣūd fī talbīs al-ghayr*, Haydarābād 1327). Other works listed by al-Baghdādī, include *Hādiyya ʿala ʾl-Insān al-kāmil li ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī*, al-*Kalima al-wusṭā fī sharḥ ḥikam Ibn al-ʿAṭāʾ*, and al-*Kawākib al-shāhiyya*. He died at Medina in 1071/1660-1, and was buried in the Bakīʿ[2] cemetery

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KUSHAYR, an Arab tribe forming part of the great group of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (*q.v.*) whose fortunes we find them almost continuously sharing in the period before as well as after Islam.

They had particularly close associations with the tribes of ʿUḳayl and Ḍabba, whose genealogical table makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Kushayr b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Tradition makes the mother of Kushayr Rayṭa bint Kunfudh b. Mālik of the tribe of the Banū Sulaym (*q.v.*). During the pre-Islamic period, the Banū Kushayr settled in al-Yamāma were involved in all the wars of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, especially in those against the Tamīm, the Shaybān, whose chief Ḥāḍib b. Zurāra was made prisoner by Mālik b. Salama al-Khayr b. Kushayr, called Dhu ʾl-Rukayba, at the battle of Dhabala, and against the kings of al-Ḥīra (*cf. Nakāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 70, 404-5). After Muḥammad's successes in central Arabia, the Kushayr joined with the other tribes of the ʿĀmir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him, it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islam (cf. the texts in Caetani, *Annali*, i/1, 297 [9 A.H., § 78]). Later they took part, without particularly distinguishing themselves, in the wars of conquest in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Umayyad period they were very numerous and powerful in Khurāsān, of which several Kushayrīs were governors (among others Zurāra b. ʿUḳba, whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Kushayrī colony has as its founder and common ancestor Hayḍa b. Muʿāwiya b. Kushayr, a half mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii, 56, No. 1890, Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philol.*, ii, 97). On the other hand, we find in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu ʾl-Rukayba, the Kushayrī chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Kushayrīs of note settled in Khurāsān recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khayr to which Dhu ʾl-Rukayba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe.

The Kushayr did not number many poets of note among them, the best known is Yazīd Ibn al-Ṭaṭriyya who lived between the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

The genealogical sources, and in particular Ibn al-Kalbī, also mention other ethnic groups bearing the name Banū Kushayr, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the Aslam and the Aws (Anṣār).

Bibliography : Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Gamhara*, Tab. 101 and Register, ii, 473; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, D. 117 (*Register*, 140 f.), Ibn. Durayd, *K. al-Iṣtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 282; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 43, ed. ʿUkāsha, 85 and index. (G. Levi Della Vida)

AL KUSHAYRĪ, the *nisba* of two noted Khurāsānian scholars.

1. Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin, theologian and mystic. He was born in 376/986 in Ustuwā (the region of central Kūčān [*q.v.*] on the upper Atrak), the son of a man of Arab descent (from B. Kushayr) and a woman from an Arab (from B. Sulaym) *dihkān* family. He got the education of a country squire of the time: *adab*, the Arabic language, chivalry (*furūsiyya*) and weaponry (*istʿmāl al-silāḥ*). When as a young man he came to Naysābūr with the intention to get the taxes on one of his villages reduced, he became acquainted with the Ṣūfī Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ, who became his master on the mystical path. Later on he married Abū ʿAlī's daughter Fāṭima (born 391/1001).

Besides his mystical exercises, he studied *fiḳh* with the Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Ṭūsī (d. 420/1029) in nearby Ṭūs, he seems also to have visited the city of Marw *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* (Subkī, v, 258). In Naysābūr he studied *ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the Ashʿarī scholars Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d. 406/1015-16) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027).

After the death of Abū ʿAlī in 405/1015, he seems to have become the successor of his master and father-in-law as leader of the mystic sessions (*madjālis al-tadhkīr*) in the *madrasa* of Abū ʿAlī (built in 391/1001), which henceforth was known as *al madrasa al Kushayriyya* (later on as *madrasat al Kushayriyya*, "the *madrasa* of the Kushayrī family").

At an indeterminable date, al-Kushayrī performed the Pilgrimage in company with Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī (d. 438/1047), the father of the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn*, and other Shāfiʿī scholars, during these travels he heard *ḥadīth* in Baghdād and the Ḥidjāz. Probably after his return to Naysābūr he held his first *madjlis al-imlāʾ*, i.e. session for the teaching of *ḥadīth*, in 437/1046.

After Naysābūr had passed under the control of the Saldjūḳs in 429/1038, al-Kushayrī was involved in the struggles between the Ḥanafī and Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī factions in the city. In 436/1045 he issued a manifesto defending the orthodoxy of Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, the document (preserved by Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 222-24, cf. Subkī, iii, 374 f., Ḥalīm, *Der Il ʿizz al-Kunduri*, 224 ff.) was signed by the most renowned Shāfiʿī scholars of the city. When in 446/1054 the Ḥanafī-Shāfiʿī conflict broke out into a violent *fitna*, al-Kushayrī was imprisoned by his adversaries, but was rescued some weeks later by his partisans by force of arms. As a reaction to these events, he wrote his famous "Complaint", *Shakāyat ahl al sunna bimā nālahum min al miḥna* (preserved by Subkī, iii, 399-423, separately ed. by Muḥammad Ḥasan, *see* below), by which he defended al-Ashʿarī against the slanderous accusations of his adversaries (analysed in Ḥalīm, *Der Wezir al-Kunduri*, 224 ff.).

In 448/1056 al-Kushayrī went to Baghdād, where the caliph al-Kāʾim commissioned him to teach *ḥadīth* in his palace. After his return to Khurāsān he left Naysābūr, now dominated by the Ḥanafī faction, and emigrated with his family to Ṭūs, where he stayed until the accession to the throne of sultan Alp Arslān in 455/1063. When the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk re-established the balance of power between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, he returned to Naysābūr where he lived until his death. He died on 16 Rabīʿ II 465/30 December 1072 and was buried in his *madrasa* beside his father-in-law Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ. He left six sons and several daughters; some of his numerous descendants (cf. the pedigrees in Bulliet, *Patricians*, 180-4; Ḥalīm, *Ausbreitung*, 61) officiated as *khaṭīb* of the Shāfiʿī Manīʿī mosque in Naysābūr.

Even if al-Kushayrī's studies covered the whole scale of the traditional Islamic sciences, his writings

mostly deal with mystical topics. His great mystical *tafsīr*, the *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*, was composed before 429/1069, the *Tartīb al-sulūk* is an introduction to the practice of *tasawwuf*, and the famous *Risāla* (composed in 438/1045) is a most important compendium of the principles and terminology of Sūfism (analysed by R. Hartmann). In all his works (cf Subkī, v 159, Brockelmann, I, 556) al-Kushayrī tried to reconcile mystical practices, suspected by so many scholars, with the principles of the *Sharīʿa*.

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(H. Halm)

2. Abū ʾl-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin, son of the former, Shāfiʿī-jurist and Ashʿarī theologian. Born in Naysābūr before 434/1043, he studied *tafsīr* and *usūl* with his father and with the *Imām* al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī. When in 469/1077 he publicly taught Ashʿarī *kalām* in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād he provoked the wrath of the local traditionalist Ḥanbalī faction supported by the masses, and caused a violent *fitna*. The vizier Nuẓām al-Mulk, who protected the young scholar, had to summon him to Iṣfahān, from where he sent him back to Naysābūr. There Abū ʾl-Naṣr died, after a peaceful life, in 514/1120, in his eighties.

Bibliography ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī *Siyaq*, in Frye, ed. *The histories of Nishapur*, fols 45b-48a, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 308, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii, 207 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 341 f., iv, 45, Subkī, *Ṭabakāt*, vii, 159-66, Brockelmann, I, 557; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 350-66, R. W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, 155.

(H. Halm)

KUSHBEGI (see ĶOČU BEGI).

al-KUSHDJĪ (see ʿALĪ AL-ḲUSHDJĪ).

KUSHYĀR B. LABBĀN B. BASHAHRĪ, ABŪ ʾL-ḤASAN AL-DJĪLĪ, Persian astronomer and mathematician. He was born in Gīlān, to the south of the Caspian sea, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, probably between 328/934 and 332/944. The date of his death is equally obscure, but was probably in the first quarter of the 5th/12th century. Very little is known of his life, most of it was spent in Baghdād, with the peak of his career in ca. 990/1000.

His principal works comprise two *zīdj*s, the *z. al-jāmiʿ* and the *z. al-ḥāṣir*, as well as an arithmetical treatise, the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind*. His astronomical tables mark an advance on those of Abū ʾl-Wafāʾ and al-Battānī. Whereas the latter only indicate the values of sines and the cotangent, Kushyār also gives those of the tangent, and the values of these functions are given by him to the third sexagesimal.

His other great work, the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind*, contains the first description of the 'Indian system of calculation', i.e. of the system of numeration by position (the value of the figures depending on their place in a number), which brought about a revolution in the ways of calculating used in the Near East. The work is divided into two parts. In the first, the author works out logarithms for the four basic arithmetical operations and for finding the square root. Whole numbers are treated within the decimal system, and *fractions in the sexagesimal one. The second part* deals with this latter system, already used by the astronomers, but set forth by Kushyār in a way of numeration by position. He shows how whole numbers can be converted from the decimal into the sexagesimal system, and then sets forth logarithms for the basic arithmetical operations, for finding the square root and for finding the cube root. Finally, he gives a famous multiplication table, called "the table of sixty", for multiplying with in the sexagesimal system. In these various calculations, he already makes use of the elementary rules for multiplying and dividing both positive and negative whole powers. As for the figures which he uses, for calculations made in the sexagesimal system he uses the Arabic alphabetical characters the *ḥurūf al-djumal*, but for those in the decimal system, these so called "Indian" figures, the origin of what were later called "Arabic numerals". Kushyār's system of logarithms for finding the square root forms the basis for the theory of decimal fractions which was subsequently to be elaborated by al-Karadjī and al-Samaw'al.

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(K. Jaouiche)

BUSKUSŪ (A.), a word probably of Berber origin meaning *couscous*, a culinary preparation containing semolina which is the national dish of the peoples of North Africa. It appears with the article and with a final *nūn* as an anecdote depicting an Oriental being advised by the Prophet, in a dream, to treat with *al-kushkushān* a sick Maghribī, this anecdote, refused by Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) is very well known and is probably responsible for leading Moroccan scholars to adopt the form attributed to the Prophet. L. Bauer (*Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangssprache*", Wiesbaden 1957, 402), heard *kuskusūn/kuskusān* in Palestine, describing it as "Teigkügelchen in Fleischsuppe gekocht". Couscous was known in Spain, and the word *kuskusū* is provided with the article in the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* published by A. Huici Miranda (*Madrid 1965*, 181), but this is a case

of an arabeation which is not found in vernacular Arabic, where the word never takes the article, *sekso*, *ksekso*, *kushus*, *kushu*, etc., which betrays its non-Arabic origin. The equivalent term among the majority of the Berbour tribes of Algeria and at Tlemcen is *fdm* used alone, elsewhere it is *'ayn w'fak* or *an'wa* all of which illustrate the importance of couscous in the minds of the people, especially those in rural areas, who make it the invariable staple of their evening meal.

The quality and the weight of the grains as well as the presentation of the dishes offer a considerable diversity, which is covered by the generic terms cited above but which is expressed by means of a detailed and extremely varied vocabulary according to regions. We confine ourselves here to a description of the general processes.

Couscous may be prepared at any time, but it is exclusively the work of women: some chosen out of preference the nights of Monday and of Friday to take advantage of the *baraka* (*q.v.*) which is attached to them. The housewife makes an invocation and she must not see or hear anything that might constitute a bad omen, on the contrary, it is the custom to speak in her company only of saints, of the prosperity of the land, etc.

To make her couscous, the woman sits on the ground, places in front of her a wooden plate called *djafna*, *gṣ'a*, *kuṣṣiyya*, etc. and, to one side, a receptacle containing lightly salted water and a sack of semolina, in some regions, a little flour is also used and to the salted water are added a few drops of *alsān* water (rain of early May preserved in a flask). The housewife takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the plate, sprinkles it with salted water applied with the hand or with a spoon and proceeds to roll it (verb *fsl*) with the flat of her hand, until small grains are formed with the size of small buckshot. When the stock of semolina provided is exhausted, the grains are passed through a sieve, and the bigger ones are rolled again until they acquire the desired dimensions or set aside to make a coarse couscous called *mhammṣa*, *berkūkes*, *berkukesh*, *mardūd* etc. The grains are then cooked in steam and may be kept for some time.

When they are to be eaten, the housewife cooks them for a second time. In a cooking-pot (*kadra*), she boils water to which she adds vegetables (chick peas, turnips, wild teasels, etc.) and/or mutton or beef sometimes browned in a little oil, she puts the couscous grains in a special receptacle (*kaskās*), a conical vessel made of earthenware or pierced alfalfa, the perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking-pot and sealed by means of a twist of straw. Escaping, the steam passes through the holes and cooks the couscous. The housewife takes care that no curds are formed, and when the grain is cooked, she tips it into a bowl, garnishes it with a little butter and covers it with gravy. The vegetables and the meat are most often laid out on the grain. The diners make pellets with their thumb, index and second fingers, and flick these dexterously into their mouths.

In the preparation of couscous with sugar (*seffa*, *mesfūf*), the cooking-pot contains only water; once cooked, the grains, which are generally finer, are garnished with rather more butter, and the cone which they form in the dish is decorated with ground sugar and cinnamon.

Among the other varieties, we mention *berkūkes*, with fine grain, eaten cold, without butter, and moistened with a little milk, *berbūsha*, made with barley semolina; this is called *sikuk* in Morocco. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* gives the recipe of *fityānī* which is prepared by cooking grain in gravy and which is sprinkled with cinnamon it also mentions couscous with chicken.

Couscous is quite widely known at the present time, especially in France where it is found commercially produced in food factories and sold 'pre cooked'. conical utensils ('couscoussiers') made of metal are also produced. Restaurants serve several varieties of this Maghribī dish accompanied by a sauce strongly seasoned with pepper (*marqa ḥārra*; *harīsa*).

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KUSS B. SĀ'IDA al-Iyādī, a semi legendary character of Arab antiquity pictured as the greatest orator of all the tribes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 52) and whose eloquence has become proverbial (*aḥlaq min Kuss* al-Maydānī, *Maǧmaʿ*, i, 117-18 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (*q.v.*) even formed an adjective rhyming with *kudet* in the title of his history of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, al-*Fatḥ al-kuss* "of Kuedan inspiration"). He is also an heroic figure, described as being also the poet, sage, judge, etc. par excellence of the Arabs of his time. His genealogy cannot be established with certainty, but the nearest in reality seems to be Kuss b. Sā'ida b. 'Amr b. Shamir b. 'Adī b. Mālik b. Aydā'ān b. al-Namir b. Wā'ila b. al-Tamaṭṭān b. 'Awdh Manāt b. Yaḥdam b. Aṣlā b. Du'mī b. Iyād (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 473). Moreover, his very name poses a problem, since it is unique (cf. however the toponym Kuss al-Nāṭif, in Yāḳūt, iv, 97 ff.), although it is given without the definite article, it could well be connected with *kass* and *kassis* and point therefore to a relationship more or less close to the Christian clergy. It is not impossible that Kuss had relations with the Christians of Nadjrān, but it is wrong to take him, as has sometimes been done, as the bishop of that town, perhaps on account of an assimilatmo brought about by the phrase "eloquent as the bishop of Nadjrān" (see e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*, ii, 88). Legend, which also credits him with a number of miracles, has it that he presented himself at the court of the Emperor of Byzantium but he seems to have delivered his orations in the regions between 'Irāḳ (where the Iyād (*q.v.*) had been established, but had lost however their independent existence by the end of the Djāhiliyya), the Ḥidjāz and Syria. Nothing is known of the date of his death, which Chaikho (*Shu'arā' al Naṣrāniyya*, xxi) fixes arbitrarily in 600 A.D., and, it is at Rūḥīn one of the dependencies of Aleppo, that his tomb was fixed, becoming the goal of a still much followed pilgrimage in the 7th/13th century (al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 3/10, Yāḳūt, ii, 829, D. Sourdel, in *Syria*, xxxi (1953), 89-107) Interred beside him were supposedly the two friends to whom he is said to have devoted an elegy (in *tawīl* metre, and the rhyme-*ikhwān*) which is often

mentioned but attributed to various poets (al-Bagh dādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 262 = ed. Cairo ii, 66 79, of which *shāhid* 92 is taken from this piece of verse, lists the possible authors in his long commentary; see also D. Sourdel, *op. laud.*, 100-2)

In fact, as well as his eloquence—the specimens which are extant of this, in rhymed prose, being of very doubtful authenticity—tradition further ascribes to him a poetic talent and attributes to him an extensive œuvre whose remnants are equally suspect (they have been gathered together, with extracts from his homilies, by L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al Naṣrāniyya*, 211 16).

He is counted amongst those who enjoyed long gevity, having allegedly lived between 280 and 700 years, so that in the view of certain people he had even known the Apostles, but we have here the manifestation of a tendency of the traditionists to prolong considerably the lives of certain personalities of the past (see MUʿAMMARŪN) Although al-Suyūṭī (*al-Laʾāli al-maṣnūʿa fī ʾl-aḥādīth al mawḍūʿa* i, 95-100) criticises the legend of Kuss, no one doubts his historical existence, which seems to be attested by an *ḥadīth* often given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās When receiving a delegation from the Bakr b. Wāʾil (whom the Iyād had joined), the Prophet is said to have enquired about Kuss, and learning that he was dead, to have recited a passage from a speech which he had heard delivered at ʿUkāẓ and to have had someone (Abū Bakr or another person) remind him of some lines of the orator poet's which he had forgotten He is even said to have exclaimed, "I hope that on the Day of Resurrection, he will return to life and form a people of his own". Al-Djāḥiẓ, who is usually fairly prudent, remarks (*Bayān*, i, 52) that if the Prophet repeated his words it was because Kuss upheld the concept of monotheism and believed in the resurrection. This is why he was quickly included in the list of the *ḥanīfs* [*q.v.*] and of the "people of the interval" (see PATRA), and even considered as an ascetic (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 363). Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd*, iv, 204) and Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba*, No 7348) cite him in their biographies of Companions, and although Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn Hishām do not mention him, ʿAlī b. Burhān pays some attention to him in his *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* (i, 210-12, 216-18)

Finally, tradition attributes to him the merit of being not only the first to believe in the resurrection, but also to have been the first to preach mounted on a camel or leaning on a sword or staff (see ʿAṢAṢA) and to use the formula *ammā baʿd* and write at the beginning of a letter (!) *min Fulān ilā Fulān* (cf Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab Philologie*, ii, 56) He is even said to have formulated the juridical rule that "proof is incumbent on the plaintiff and the defendant who denies his guilt must speak on oath" All these legendary details are evidently aimed at exalting the prestige of a personage considered to be a precursor of Islam

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ḲUSṢĀṢ [see ḲAṢṢ]

ḲUSṬĀ B. LŪḲĀ AL-BaʿLABAKKĪ, mediaeval scientist and translator He was of Christian origin, from the town of Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. In Baghdād, where he worked for some time as a doctor, scientist and translator, his reputation was as high as that of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. He was fluent in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, being particularly noted for his excellent style in Arabic The last part of his life was spent in Armenia, where he was induced to take up residence by the prince Sanharīb According to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrāʾīl, he came into contact with a certain Abū ʾl Ghiṭrīf al Baṭrīḳ, for whom he composed a number of scholarly works. Ḳusṭā died in Armenia *ca.* 300/912 13, a shrine was erected over his grave, which was accorded the same honours as the graves of kings and other eminent personages.

It was, of course, usual for Arabic scholars to be well versed in a wide range of subjects and Ḳusṭā was no exception He is said to have been skilled in medicine, philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music—all these subjects are included in the lists of his works given by the biographers. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 450 tr.), having first stated specifically that he has excluded translations, lists over thirty of Ḳusṭā's original works, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa adds a further thirty works to this list (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 244 5). Medical works, which preponderate, include the following treatises on gout infectious diseases; insomnia; knowledge of fevers, types of crises in illnesses, the pulse, paralysis-types, causes and treatment, the four "humours"; and phlebotomy. Non-medical works include several treatises on philosophy and logic, on astronomy, on the celestial sphere; two commentaries on Euclid's *Elements*, a treatise on algebra, a commentary on the book of Diophantos on algebra; on the steelyard (*karastūn* [*q.v.*]), on weights and measures, and on burning mirrors. Some of Ḳusṭā's translations are extant, e.g. those of Diophantos, Theodosios, Autolykos, Hypsikles, Aristarchos, and Hero. For a list of his works, both originals and translations see Suter, 40-2 and Index, and Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 270 4, v, 285 6, and Indexes) Both writers give locations of extant manuscripts.

No comprehensive study of Ḳusṭā's works has yet been undertaken, nor has there been made any detailed evaluation of his contribution, certainly a significant one, to the progress of science. His services as a translator must surely rank at least equally with his original works. The biographers are unanimous in praising his skill as a translator of Greek works into Arabic, and in the light of the surviving translations their esteem seems to be fully justified. For example, although the original of Hero's *Mechanics* is lost, an examination of Ḳusṭā's Arabic version (Carra de Vaux in *JA*, 9e Série [1893], Tome i, 386-472, *Tome* ii, 252-269, 420-514 = Arabic text and French translation) leaves us with little doubt that this is a faithful and sensitive rendering.

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KUSTANTĪNA, Kusanṭīna, Constantine, a town in Algeria and the chief town of the *wilāya* (department) of the same name. It lies 330 miles east of Algiers and 50 miles south-east of Skikda (former Philippeville), which is the port for Constantine, with which it is connected by railway, in lat. 36° 22 N. and long. 18° 56′. The population in 1965 was 233,000.

The situation of Constantine makes the town a natural fortress. It is built on a rocky plateau in the form of a trapezoid, bounded on the south-east, north-east and north-west, by deep ravines and connected with the surrounding country on the south-east only by a narrow isthmus. The plateau itself declines rapidly from north to south. The Kasba on its highest point is 2,500 feet above sea-level, while the Marabout of Sīdī Rāshid not a mile away is only 2,170 feet high. Of the ravines which represent the moats of this natural fortress, the most remarkable is that which runs along the south-east and north-east faces of the plateau, at the bottom of which the Rummel (Wādī l-Rumīl) flows. This river runs along a narrow gully, a real canon, the walls of which rise sheer upright to a height of 500 to 600 feet, disappears for 1¼ miles under three subterranean passages which the water has hollowed out, makes its exit in waterfalls and descends to the verdant plain of al-Hamma. Across this gorge above which on the right bank rises the plateau of Manṣūra (2,340 feet), the Romans threw a bridge which existed for several centuries after the Arab conquest. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Ar. text 63, tr. 232 ff.) mentions it, and al-Idrīsī (ed. de Goeje, 111, ed. Naples-Rome, iii, 265) describes it as one of the most remarkable works which it had ever been granted him to see. Consisting of two rows of arches, one above the other, 217 feet high, a road and an aqueduct bringing the water necessary for the town ran across it. It collapsed on the 7th/13th century, was rebuilt in the 12th by order of Ṣāliḥ Bey under the supervision of a Spanish engineer, and on finally breaking down in 1947, it was replaced by an iron bridge 423 feet long crossing the Rummel at a height of 528 feet. Another bridge is, further up the river, to connect the plateau of Manṣūra with the quarters previously in existence to the south-west of the town.

This last preserves an originality of aspect which is in striking contrast to that of other Algerian towns. It resembles a great Kabyle village rather than a oriental city. It is an agglomeration of houses with clay roofs, penetrated by an irregular system of narrow, tortuous streets, which sometimes descend like stairways to the edge of the ravine, the heights of which are crowned by houses. A few monuments recall the past history of Constantine. The great mosques dates from the time of the first Ḥafṣid sovereigns (7th/13th century). The mosques of Sīdī al-Ghaṣīl, of Sīdī Lakhḍar and of Sīdī al-Kattānī, all of which were built in the 18th century, belong to the Turkish period, as does the palace built by Aḥmad, the last Turkish Bey, just before the French conquest.

The origins of Constantine are obscure. But in all probability, the site must have been occupied at a very early period by autochthonous peoples. The classical texts mention the existence of a town named Cirta at this place. The origin of the name (*kart* "town" [see QARṬA]) would lead one to suppose that the Carthaginians had established a colony there. In any case, Cirta appears in the period of the Punic Wars as the capital of the kings of Numidia, Syphax and a palace there. Masinissa and his successors erected important buildings in it and invited Greek and Roman merchants thither. During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C., P. Sittius Nucerianus, an adventurer, owed Cirta and on the latter's ultimate triumph received the town and territory. Cirta then became a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Cirta Julia or Cirta Sittianorum. Juba II made it his capital after the restoration of the kingdom of Numidia by Augustus and lived there for seven years (24-17 B.C.), till he was forced to exchange Numidia for Mauritania. Cirta still remained the capital of the republic of the "four colonies", then in the 3rd century A.D. it became that of the province of Numidia Cirtile or Numidia Cirtensis established by Maximianus Herculius in 297. In the course of the civil wars which followed the abdication of Diocletian, the inhabitants recognized the authority of the usurpers Alexander and gave him asylum after he had been driven from Carthage and thus brought upon their heads the wrath of Maxentius. The latter took Cirta and razed the town to the ground in 312. It was rebuilt in 313 by Constantine, the conqueror of Maxentius, and received the name of Constantine which it has retained to the present day. At the Vandal invasion, Constantine was occupied by the barbarians, but given back in 442 by Gaiseric to the Emperor. After the destruction of the Western Empire, Constantine remained independent, till the Byzantines, victorious over the Vandals, brought Northern Africa under their sway in 533. It remained subject to them till the invasion of North Africa by the Arabs.

The chroniclers are silent as to the date at which it fell into the hands of the Muslims. It is probable, however, that it was not affected by the first Arab incursions but was only occupied at the end of the 1st/7th century at the same time as Carthage and the other Byzantine strongholds which were the last to surrender. Included in the province of Ifrīḳiya, Constantine owned the rule successively of the governors of Kayrawān, the Aghlabids, the Fāṭimids, then the Zīrīds. The latter retained it even after the Ḥammādids had deprived them of a portion of the eastern Maghrib. They lost it entirely at the Hilālī invasion. The Ḥammādid al-Muʿizz took advantage of their troubles to seize the town and include it among his own possessions. The successors of al-Muʿizz retained the town for a century in spite of a revolt instigated by the uncle of the *amīr* al-Nāṣir. After the capture of Bougie by the Almohads, Yaḥyā, the last king of Bougie, sought refuge in Constantine, then giving up any idea of further resistance, surrendered to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose troops took possession of the town. Attacked unsuccessfully by ʿAlī b. Ghāniya in 582/1186, Constantine remained faithful to the Almohads till the final collapse of the empire founded by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

At this period, Constantine was a very prosperous city. "Kosṭanṭīna", says al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*, 63, tr. 232 ff.), "is a large and ancient town with a numerous population, . . . It is inhabited by various families who were originally part of the [Berber] tribes established at Mīla, in the land of Nafzāwa in that of Kasṭīlyā, but it belongs to certain Kutāma tribes. It has rich bazaars and a prosperous trade". Al-Idrīsī describes Constantine (Kusanṭīnat al-hawāʾ, "of the air", because of its position) as a populous and commercial town. "The inhabitants, he continues, "are rich, they have agreements with the rural population (*al-ʿArab*) and co-operate with them for the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of the harvests.

Their silos are so good that corn may be kept in them for a century without suffering any deterioration. They collect large quantities of honey and butter, which they export to the outside . . ." (*loc. cit.*)

When the Almohad Empire broke up, Constantine recognised the authority of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā', who was proclaimed at Tunis in 628/1230 (see ḤAFṢIDS). The history of the town under the Ḥafṣids (7th 13th/13th 19th centuries) is very confused and disjointed. The rulers of Tunis attached great importance to the possession of Constantine, they frequently lived there and delighted to improving it, they usually entrusted its government to princes of their own family. Nevertheless, in spite of their precautions and trouble they lost it on several occasions in 681/1282 for example, in the reign of Abū Isḥāk, the governor Ibn al-Wazīr rose against the sovereign of Tunis, who had to send his son, Abū Fāris, to retake the town by force. In 683/1284, its inhabitants opened their gates to the pretender Abū Zakariyyā' of Bougie in 704/1305 at the suggestion of the governor Ibn al-Amīr, they submitted to the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis, whom they cast off almost immediately afterwards, however, to place themselves again under the authority of the king of Bougie, Abū 'l-Baḳā'. The latter succeeded in restoring to his own advantage the unity of the Ḥafṣid kingdom in 705/1309 and for some years maintained peace in the eastern Maghrib. But new troubles were not long in arising. From 712/1322 to 729/1329, Constantine was almost independent under the authority of the vizier Ibn Ghamr, who succeeded in placing on the throne of Tunis a prince of his own choosing, Abū Yaḥyā. In 725/1325, the revolt of another vizier, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, exposed the inhabitants to an attack which proved unsuccessful, from the 'Abd al-Wādids. The wars which then broke out in the eastern Maghrib between the Marīnids and the 'Abd al-Wādids, as well as the good government of the governors Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Zayd, son and grandson of Abū Yaḥyā, king of Tunis, gained Constantine a few years of respite. But peace, which had only been established with difficulty, was again broken in the middle of the 8th/14th century by Marīnid expeditions. Abū 'l-Ḥasan entered Constantine without striking a blow and supplanted Ḥafṣid authority by his own in 748/1347. The defeat of Abū 'l-Ḥasan at Ḳayrawān brought about a revival in favour of the Ḥafṣids and one of them, al-Faḍl, took advantage of the occasion to seize the town. He held it for only a short time. The former Ḥafṣid governor, Abū Zayd, set at liberty by Abū 'Inān, retook Constantine, then abandoning his protector, proclaimed as Sulṭān a son of al-Ḥasan named Tāshfīn. Soon afterwards, Abū Zayd's brother, Abū 'l-'Abbās, overthrew him and dethroned Tāshfīn. He in his turn took the title of Sulṭān, repulsed the Dawāwida and Sadwikash Arabs, who had laid siege to Constantine in 746/1355 but could not prevent the town being taken by Abū 'Inān, who came in person against it. He regained it from the Marīnids in 761/1360. Becoming Sulṭān of Tunis in 772/1370, Abū 'l-'Abbās maintained peace in the province of Constantine till his death. His successor Abū Fāris had on the other hand twice to reconquer the town from his brother Abū Bakr, who had seized it with the help of the Arab tribes.

We have no exact details on the history of Constantine in the 9th/15th century. Rebellions against Ḥafṣid rule were frequent, it seems, less frequent than in the preceding century, but its authority was more nominal than real. During this period, the real masters of Constantine were the chiefs of the Awlād Sala, a section of the Arab tribe of Dawāwida. In the town itself the exercise of authority was in the hands of a few families, chiefs of the Awlād Sala. Such, for example, were the family of 'Abd al-Mu'min of Marabout origin, whose chiefs exercised by hereditary right the functions of *shaykh al-Islām* and *Amīr al-Ḥaḍj* (leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca); the family of the Banū Bīḍa, whose members had arrogated to themselves the duties of *ḳāḍī*, and that of the Banū 'l-Faggūn (or Laḳgūn), famous as legal authorities.

The arrival of the Turks in Northern Africa reopened an era of troubles for Constantine. There were two parties in the field. The one, led by the 'Abd al-Mu'min, was favourable to the maintenance of Ḥafṣid suzerainty, the other, led by the Laḳgūn, invited the Turks thither. According to Vaysettes, a first attempt by the Turks to occupy the town was made as early as 923/1517. According to Mercier, Ḥasan, one of Khayr al-Dīn's lieutenants, forced the people of Constantine to recognise his master's authority in 925/1519 or 926/1520. The submission of the town was only an ephemeral one, however, for in 932/1526 a representative of the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis was residing in the town. It is not till 940/1534 that the establishment of a garrison definitely marks the occupation of Constantine by the Turks. Their authority was not firmly established without difficulty. The belated partisans of the Ḥafṣids did not bow at once to the Turkish yoke, but sought to rid themselves of their new masters. In 975/1567-8 they massacred the Turkish garrison and expelled their supporters. To restore order, the Pasha Muḥammad had to lead an expedition against Constantine, the inhabitants of which did not dare resist but opened the gates without showing fight. Another rebellion broke out in 1572 and was suppressed with the greatest rigour. The 'Abd al-Mu'mins who had instigated it, were deprived of their privileges, and from that date ceased to play a predominant part in the affairs of the town. They resigned themselves to their fall with a very bad grace. We find them again in 1054/1644 taking advantage of the difficulties caused to the Turks by the revolt of the Kabyles and the insubordination of the great Arab chiefs to stir up risings again which were, however, speedily put down. After being selected as the capital of the *beylik* of the East in the 10th/16th century, Constantine enjoyed complete tranquillity for the half century following the period of government of the Bey Farḥat (1046/1637). But the intervention of the Algerians in the affairs of Tunisia ended in exposing Constantine to the reprisals of its neighbours. In 1112/1700, Murād Bey of Tunis, victorious in two battles against 'Alī Khōdja Bey of Constantine, laid siege to the town and blockaded it for three months. The Dey of Algiers at length received warning of the precarious situation of the town by a messenger, who had succeeded in escaping from Constantine after being let down the cliff by a rope, and sent an army to its help, the arrival of which the Tunisian general did not dare await.

The 18th century marks the zenith of Turkish domination at Constantine. The *beylik* was held during this period by men of energy and intellect, ruling like independent sovereigns rather than as docile representatives of the Dey of Algiers. Such were Kalyān Ḥasan Bey, called Bū Kmeya (1713-36), Ḥasan b. Hosmyn called Bū Ḥanak (1736-54), Aḥmad al-Ḳulli (1756-72) and above all Ṣāliḥ Bey (1771-92). Constantine owes to them many public works and buildings of general interest. Bū Kmeya built the

mosque of Sūk al-Ghazl; Bū Ḥanak made new streets and built the Mosque of Sīdī Lakhḍar. Ṣāliḥ Bey rebuilt the bridge over the Rummel and the Roman aqueduct bringing the waters of the Djabal Waḥsh to the city; he also built the mosque and *madrasa* of Sīdī al-Kattānī and commissioned Italian artificers to built him a palace adorned with fine cedar and marble columns purchased in Italy.

A period of anarchy and disorder succeeded this brilliant epoch. Ṣāliḥ Bey himself, deposed by the Dey of Algiers, to whom he had given offence, tried to stir up a rebellion but perished miserably. Seventeen Beys ruled Constantine in the period 1792-1826. Some of them only held office a few months or even a few days; almost all were distinguished by their cruelty and rapine. Constantine suffered much from this state of affairs. To the internal disorder were soon added attacks by the surrounding peoples. The Kabyle lords of the Marabout (Ibn al-Aḥraṭ Sulaymān Kāhya) rose against the Turks and advanced up to the walls of Constantine in 1804. A Tunisian army commanded by Sulaymān Kāhya besieged the town three years later. It was blockaded for two months (April-May 1807) and was once bombarded. The approach of a relieving army from Algiers caused the Tunisians to raise the siege, and in their retreat they lost 1,167 prisoners and all their artillery.

Aḥmad, the last Bey of Constantine, possessed those qualities which were lacking in his predecessors, intellectual active ambitions and energetic, he unfortunately made himself hated by his acts of cruelty and by the exactions levied by him to raise funds to built a palace in Constantine to replace the old Dār al-Bey. After the French occupation of Algiers, he sought to profit by the disappearance of the *odjak* to create an independent principality in the east, and had the title of Pasha given to him by the Ottoman Porte. Deposed by a decree from General Clauzel on 25 December 1830, he nevertheless retained possession of Constantine. The hesitations on the part of the French government, which tried to come to terms with him for his voluntary submission and after the failure of these negotiations did not wish to enter on a dangerous campaign, delayed his fall. But in 1836, Marshall Clauzel then governor general of Algeria, obtained permission to undertake an expedition against Constantine. Leaving Bone on 2 November, the French troops arrived without difficulty in sight of the town and took up a position on the heights of the Mansūra and of the Koudya. Two sorties by the besieged, led by Ibn ʿAlīa, *Khalīfa* to the Bey, were repulsed; on the other hand, two attacks by the French in the night of the 22-3 December also failed. Clauzel decided to raise the seige and returned to Bone after a retreat which was rendered very difficult by bad weather. This check was made good the following year. An army under General Damrémont laid siege to Constantine on 6 October 1837. He was killed on 12 October, but his successor, General Valée, ordered an assault on the 13th. The town was taken after fierce fighting by columns led by Colonels Combe and Lamoricière. Aḥmad Bey, who had left Constantine on the approach of the French troops, retired to the south where he held the country against the French for eleven years longer. It is said that the siege of 1837 was the ninetieth that Constantine had to endure.

After the French occupation, Constantine, the administration of which had been entrusted to a *ḥākim* under the supervision of the military authorities, became the headquarters of a *commandement supérieur* and the base of French operations in the eastern province. At first under military law, it was not given a municipal government till 1848 and became the capital of the *département* in 1849. Since then the town has developed considerably. It has in fact remained a market and centre of supplies for the tribes of the east, its native industries have survived and supply the population of the surrounding country with cotton stuffs and articles of leather.

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(G. YVER*)

(AL-)KUSṬANṬĪNIYYA, Constantinople.

1 To the Ottoman Conquest (1453)

The city, which Constantine the Great on 11 May 330 raised to be the capital of the Eastern Empire and which was called after him, was known to the Arabs as *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya* (in poetry also *Ḳusṭanṭīna*, with or without the article), the older name *Byzantion* (*Busanṭa* and various spellings) was also known to them, as well as the fact that the later Greeks, as at the present day, used to call Constantinople simply ἡ πόλις as "the city" par excellence (Masʿūdī, iii, 406 = § 1292 a, Ibn al-Athīr, i, 235; Abu 'l-Fidā, iii/1, 39, Dimashḳī, 248, 259; the Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 432). From εἰς τὴν πόλιν arose the Turkish name "Istanbul" [*q.v.*]. *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, with the variant *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, remained the official designation on coins and firmans under the Ottomans.

The campaigns of the Arabs against Constantinople. It is said that the Prophet himself had foretold the conquest of Constantinople by the faithful. The Ottoman historians adduce the following *ḥadīth*: "You shall conquer Constantinople, peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted!" (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 252, Ṣolaḳzāde, 194, Ewliyā, i, 32, 73, ʿAlī Sāʾī, *Ḥadīḳat al-ghazawāt*, i, 2); Suyūṭī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* is given as authority; older references are wanting. As a matter of fact, the Umayyads set about this enterprise with the energy and valour that inspired the early warriors of Islam. In the year of the world 6146 (beginning 1 September 653), according to Theophanes, 345, a fleet was equipped in Tripoli "against Constantinople", which, under the leadership of Ἀβδουλλάβ (i.e. Banū b. Abī Arṭāt) defeated the Greek fleet at Phoenix (Finīka) on the Lycian coast [see DHĀT AL-SAWĀRĪ in Suppl.], but did not reach Constantinople, at the same time, Muʿāwiya had invaded Byzantine territory by land.

In the year 44/664 took place the campaign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, who advanced as far as Pergamon; the admiral Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, according to Arabic sources, is said to have reached Constantinople (Ṭabarī, ii, 86).

In the course of the next years, Faḍāla b. ʿUbayd advanced as far as Chalcedon, and Yazīd, son of Muʿāwiya, was sent after him (according to Theophanes, in the year 6159 of the world, beginning 1 September 666; according to Elias of Nisibis, Yazīd

appeared before Constantinople in 51/672); a fleet commanded by Busr b. Abī Arṭāt supported this enterprise. In 672 a strong fleet cast anchor off the European coast of the Sea of Marmara under the walls of the city. The Arabs attacked the town from April to September; they spent the winter in Cyzicus and renewed their attacks in the following spring until they finally retired "after seven years fighting". A great part of the fleet was destroyed by Greek fire; many ships were wrecked on the return journey (Theoph., 353 ff.). There are difficulties in the chronological arrangement in Theophanes of the various phases of this seven years' blockade. The land army seems to have appeared before Constantinople in 47/667 and the fleet to have finally retired in 53/673. The Arab historians vary between the years 48, 49, 50 and 52 and place the death of Abū Ayyūb in the year 50, 52, 52 or even 55. As the fighting around Constantinople was spread over several years, the difference in the estimates is not so unaccountable.

This siege has acquired particular renown in the Arab world, as the Anṣārī Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd fell in it and was buried before the walls of Constantinople; the finding of his tomb during the final siege by Muḥammad II was an event only comparable to the discovery of the holy lance by the early Crusaders at the siege of Antioch (The grave of Abū Ayyūb is first mentioned by Ibn Kutayba, 140, according to Ṭabarī iii, 2304, Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 382, Ibn al-Dīwdār and Kazwīnī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimages to it in times of drought to pray there for rain (*istiskā'*); the Turkish legend is given very fully in Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, 42 ff. and in the painstaking monograph by Ḥādjdjī 'Abd Allāh, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-muḳtadiyya fī 'l-manāzil al-khālidiyya*, Istanbul 1257).

There was a truce for over 40 years between Byzantium and Arabs until in 97/715 Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne. A *ḥadīth* was at this time current according to which a caliph who should issue the name of a prophet was to conquer Constantinople. Sulaymān took the prophecy to refer to himself and equipped a great expedition against Constantinople. His brother Maslama led the army which was equipped with siege artillery through Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos and surrounded Constantinople. The Arab armada anchored partly near the walls on the coast of the Sea of Marmara and partly in the Bosporus, the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. The siege began on 25 August 716 and lasted a whole year. Maslama thus found himself forced to retire owing to the attacks of the Bulghars and the scarcity of provisions (Theophanes, 386 99, full details in Ibn Muḳawayh, ed. de Goeje, 24 33, cf. also Ṭabarī, iii, 1314 ff., Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 27 ff.; cf. the vivid account in Geizer, *Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen*, 49-64). There are many references to Maslama's hazardous march among the later Arabs. Even several centuries later they knew of "Maslama's Well" at Abydos, where he had encamped (Mas'ūdī, ii, 317 = § 738, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 104), and the mosque built by him there (Yāḳūt, i, 374). 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭayyib, the first Muslim to lead an attack on the "Gate of Kustanṭīniyya" was one of Maslama's comrades (Ibn Kutayba, 275). Maslama is said to have made the building of a house near the Imperial palace for the Arab prisoners of war one of the conditions of the treaty of peace and to have built the first mosque in Constantinople (Mukaddasī, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 28; Dimashḳī, 227), finally, he is credited with building the Tower of Galata (Dimashḳī, 228) and the 'Arab Djāmi' in Galata (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Takwīm al-tawārīkh*, year 97 A.H.). Ewliyā and his sources have made two sieges out of Maslama's campaign and embellished their narrative with incredible stories. Nerkesī (d. 1044/1634) discusses Maslama's campaigns in the fourth section of his Fenāt, following, as he says, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-'Arabī's *Muḥammadiyya*.

Only on one other occasion did an Arab host appear within sight of Constantinople, namely in 165/782. Hārūn, the son of the caliph al-Mahdī, had marched through Asia Minor unopposed and encamped at Chrysopolis (Scutari). The Empress Irene, who was acting as Regent for her son Constantine, hastened to make peace and agreed to pay tribute (Theophanes, 455 ff. under the year 6274 of the world [781-2]; Balādhurī, 168, Ṭabarī, iii, 504 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 44; year 165/781-2). Ewliyā and his authority (Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Djamālī, died 957/1550 according to Rieu, *Catalogue*, 46 ff.) have made no less than four regular sieges of Constantinople out of the campaigns of the Arabs under al-Mahdī and Hārūn against the Greeks. After the second, Hārūn gained a quarter in the city by a trick similar to that by which Dido gained the site of Carthage (Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, 54; Ewliyā i, 81 = *Travels, etc.*, i/1, 85); the same story is given by Clavijo, 23, of the settlement of the Genoese in Galata, and Ewliyā, *Travels*, i/2, 66, of the building of Rumeli Ḥiṣār by Muḥammad II.

The Arab accounts of Constantinople date from the 3rd/9th century. They considered the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosporus as a single "canal" (*khalīdj*), connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. Iṣṭakhrī and others mention the great chain which prevented the entrance of Arab ships, this is probably the chain which was stretched between Galata and Constantinople in time of war, that is referred to. The high double walls of the city with their towers and gateways, including the Golden Gate, the Aya Sofya, the Hippodrome with its monuments (notably the Egyptian obelisk), the four brazen horses at the entrance to the palace, and the great equestrian statue in bronze of "Constantine" (really of Justinian, the so-called Augusteus) are described by them in greater or less detail. Ibn Ḥawḳal and Mukaddasī devote particular attention to the Praetorium where their countrymen, prisoners of war, were kept under a mild custody and to the mosque attributed to Maslama (Yāḳūt, i, 709, s.v. *Balāṭ*), and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, i, 592, 767). The most detailed account is that of Ibn al-Wardī (8th/14th century), he mentions the bronze Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus, the Pillar of Arcadius and the Aqueduct of Valens and also knew that the Golden Gate was closed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 451-4) described from his own observation the monastic life of his time, the latest notices are given by Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) in his dictionary the *Ḳāmūs*.

Apart from prisoners of war, numerous Muslim merchants and envoys from the caliphs and other Muslim rulers sojourned in Byzantium; the Marwānid Sulṭāns occasionally banished thither troublesome persons with their families, Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns and pretenders (Ḳilīdj Arslān II, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwūs II) repeatedly spent long periods in Constantinople; remarkable details of their life in the capital are given by Byzantine writer and in the Saldjūḳ historians.

No definite traces have as yet been discovered of the two sieges by the Arabs and the residence of Arabs and other Muslims in Constantinople; in particular, the mosque of Maslama has not come to

light; it is first mentioned by Const. Porphyr., *De adm.*, ch. xxii (Bonn *Corpus*, 101, l. 22), it was destroyed in a popular rising in 1200 and pillaged by the Crusaders in 1203 (Nicetas Choniates, 696, 731, ed. Bonn). According to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 381, cf. x 18 (whence Abu 'l-Fidā derives his information), it was restored in 441/1049-50 by Constantine Monomachos at the request of the Saldjūk Toghrul Beg. According to Maḳrīzī (i, 277, ed. Quatremère), Michael VIII Palaeologus built a mosque about 660/1261-2 which the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baybars equipped in splendid style. The accounts of the 'Arab Djāmi' and other buildings by the Arabs in Constantinople belong to the domain of Stambul.

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(J. H. Mordtmann)

2. After the Ottoman Conquest (see ISTANBUL).

KÜSTENDIL, Kōstendil, (in Serbian Ćustendil), a town of some 35,000 inhabitants in Western Bulgaria. It was in the Serbo-Bulgarian Middle Ages a small fortified stronghold on a hill above the wide plain of Küstendil, serving as a princely residence, and was known as Velbuzhd. In Ottoman times it was capital of the *sandjāḳ* of Küstendil, and was an Islamic cultural and administrative centre of some importance. The town is the indirect successor of the Roman Pautalia, of which substantial remains have been unearthed.

The Ottoman chroniclers Sa'd al-Dīn and Muneddjimbashi mention that the ruler of the land of Konstantin (the son of the Serbian nobleman Dejan) accepted Ottoman overlordship in 773/1371-2, after the latter had captured the strategic fortresses of Ikhtiman and Samokov. Neshrī mentions Konstantin among Murād's vassals during the Karaman Campaign. 'Ashīḳpashazāde, Oruč Beg and the Anonymus Giese do not however mention the acquisition of the land of Konstantin. This prince married Helena, the daughter of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (their daughter married Manuel Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium), and died as a loyal Ottoman vassal in the Battle of Rovine in 1395 assisting Bāyezīd I against the Walachians (797/1395). He left no suitable heir behind. The memory of the princely couple is perpetuated by the monastery of Poganovo in the ravine of the Erme north of Küstendil, today just across the Yugoslav border. Konstantin's lands, including the towns and castles of Stip, Radomir, Petrič, Melnik, Vranya and the rich silver mines of Kratovo (places today partly in Yugoslavian, partly in Bulgarian territory), were transformed into an Ottoman *sandjāḳ* known as Kostadin-ili, the land of Kostadin. There are some traditions that the Bulgarian population rose in revolt in the difficult years of the Fetret Devri and around the time of the accession of Murād II. The fortified town had allegedly to be retaken, after which it was dismantled. The unreliable population was transferred to the neighbouring villages. Whether true or not, it is at least certain that in the time of Murād II a new open town was founded below the "Castle Hill", grouped around a mosque, a caravanserai and a school. The new settlement became known as Ilčija or Küstendil, or Ilčhe in Turkish, Konstantinova Banja or Velbučke Banja in Slavic. The Turkish form Kustendil appears to be a corruption of Kostadin-ili.

At the end of the 8th/14th century and the beginning of the 9th/15th century, important groups of Turkish colonists from Asia Minor were settled on the *sandjāḳ* of Küstendil. According to an Ottoman census from the beginning of the 10th/16th century, these groups numbered 6,640 families. The Christian section of the population then comprised 56,988 families. According to the census of 925/1519, the city itself counted a Muslim population of 293 families and 60 bachelors, as well as 47 Christian families, six bachelors and eight widows, perhaps altogether 1,800 civil, non administrative inhabitants. In spite of this relatively small size, Küstendil appeared in 1499 to the widely travelled Rhenish knight Arnold von Harff as "eyn gar grosse schone Stadt". This source also remarks that "Wruskebalna" (Velbučka Banja) had a palace where the sultan kept a number of his wives. At the beginning of the 10th century, Jordan Ivanov still saw a "Seray Kulesi", situated east to a fine basin (*hawḍ*) built and paved with large slabs of marble. Tower and basin were situated in the "Seray Mahallesi".

In the 10th/16th century, Küstendil witnessed a rapid expansion. In 966/1559 an anonymous Italian traveller described it as a town with "about a thousand houses, built in the Turkish manner, many mosques and quite a number of baths. The town is inhabited by Turks and some Jews . . ." We passed the night in a Khan, called Imoret, which in our language is an inn. A Sandjakbeg ordered the construction of this very convenient building for the traveller and stranger, for the salvation of his soul." During this century, a number of military commanders and members of the administration erected a considerable number of mosques and caravanserais, and opened up mineral baths. Mehmed I 'Ashīḳ in his *Menāḳib-i-'awāliyān* (Halet Efendi, No. 636, I, fol. 272a) noted in 997/1589 twelve mineral baths, many with stone-built domes over the disrobing section and over the bathroom proper, others even with separate rooms. The most beautiful was the so-called Beg Ilčijaz. In 894/1489 the *beglerbegs* of Rumeli, Khādim Süleymān Pasha had erected a large domed mosque and a double bath in the city, and had laid out a water supply system which brought good drinking water from the village of Bogoslov, some 15 km. away, to the town. The villagers of Bogoslov received a privileged status as *su poljāri*. The *tahrīr defters* of 925/1519 also attributes as *su 'imareti* and a number of shops to this governor (The mosque, very similar to that built by Khādim Süleymān Pasha on the banks of the Tundja in Edirne, was demolished shortly before the Second World War.) Other important buildings were the Ḳaniret Djāmi', with

caravanserai, *madrasa* and bath, erected in 937/1531 by Mehmed Beg (the building was often confused with the mosque of Murād II; see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, iv, Istanbul 1974 806, which enumerates and continues the old mistakes). The mosque was demolished in 1946. Other 10th/16th century buildings, happily preserved are the Dervish Banya from 973/1566 and the large mosque of Ahmed Beg from 983/1575-6, this last now serving as a local museum.

According to the Ottoman census register of 982/1573, the town then numbered 623 Muslim households, 90 Muslim bachelors, 84 Christian households, 28 Christian bachelors, 14 widows and a Jewish community of four families. The whole population, including the members of the administration and their families, amounted perhaps to 4,000 souls. By then the number of Muslim *mahalles* had risen from six (in 925/1519) to 12, the number of *mesdjids* from seven to seventeen. An Ottoman *Defter* register (*Turkish Issues in Bulgarian History*, iii, Sofia 1972, 129-56) from 981/1573 gives a fair cross-section of the composition of the town's population. A total of 57 Muslim *defters* are registered against six Christians, all given by name, patronymic and profession. Both groups were almost all craftsmen, leatherworkers, smiths, *muhtesibs*, *bekhādjis*, goldsmiths, shoemakers, soapmakers, cartwrights, etc. Out of the number of *defters* in the villages of the *kadā'* of Küstendil, 558 were Christian against 98 Muslim, from which may be concluded that the Bulgarian Christian element continued to be the bulk of the rural population.

In the 11th/17th century, the development of Kustendil apparently stagnated. The city had suffered badly from earthquakes in 993/1585 and 1051/1641. Ewliyā Celebi (*Seyāhat nāme*, vi), who visited it in 1071/1660-1 and left his signature on the front wall of the Ahmed Beg Mosque, counted eleven small *mahalles* with 1,100 houses, and he further made some important notes on the Islamic buildings of the city, among which he mentions a number of mosques, three *madrasas*, five *tekkes*, six schools and twelve mineral baths: "with lofty vaults and many basins".

In March 1690 Küstendil was occupied by an Austrian force under Antonio Valerio Zić, which led to a considerable diminishing of the Muslim population. In about or after that year, the entire settlement was surrounded by a wall with towers and gates, and the Castle Hill was again fortified. A picture of these works, made at the end of the 17th century by the Dutch artist Harrewyn, is preserved in the "Tsentsa Kabiost" of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.

In the early 19th century, Küstendil recovered slowly. St. Denis gives the number of inhabitants in 1807 as 7,000. J. Hütz (*Durchreisung der europäischen Türkei*, Munich 1818, 130-2) gives the same number. Ami Boué (*Recueil d'itinéraires*, i, Paris 1836) counted 9,000 inhabitants, Bulgarians and Muslims. The *Sāl nāme* of the Tūna Wilāyeti of 1285/1868-9 mentions 16 mosques in Küstendil, three *medrasas* and 18 *tekkes*. When in 1878 Küstendil came within the frontiers of the newly-established Bulgarian state, most of the Muslim inhabitants emigrated. In 1890 Jireček (*Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891) counted in 1890 10,589 inhabitants, of which only 581 were Turks. Jireček still saw nine lead-covered mosques. Jordan Ivanov noted in 1908 ten mineral baths. Today (1979) only two mosques and one of the baths remain preserved, and the Muslim element is reduced to a handful of families.

Küstendil produced some Ottoman scholars and men of letters, such as Sanūberzāde Hālet (d. 973/1566); Shems[i] Mehmed Efendi Küstendili, scholar, poet, and calligrapher who was for a long time *muftī* of the town (d. 1272/1855-6); and especially, Küstendili Mollāzāde Süleymān Sheykhī Efendi, for a long time *shaykh* of the Nakshbandī convent of Küstendil, who left behind some 25 works including a *History of Küstendil*. The Nakshī Dergāh, built by Süleymān himself, and in the yard of which he was buried, was demolished shortly after Bulgaria became independent.

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KUSŪF, KHUSŪF, eclipse of the sun or of the moon. As regards linguistic usage, it may be noted that *al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the ocean (*kusūf al-bahr*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-shams*), e.g. in al-Farghānī, Kusta b. Lūkā, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī; but they see often distinguished as *al-khusūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf*, of the sun, e.g. by al-Kazwīnī (on the linguistic usage, it should be noted that according to the *Mafātīh al-ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 222-3 the verb form, as in *inkasafat al-shams*, should not be used, although this is very often done, e.g. by al-Kazwīnī and others).

The eclipse of the sun and of the moon have from the earliest times attracted the liveliest attention. Ptolemy, following Hipparchus, studied the theory of eclipses, and following him the Arabs and Syrians, etc. We shall deal first with the eclipse of the moon. It must be premised that the apparent path of the moon—we must adhere to the geocentric view—cuts the ecliptic in two opposite points, which however in course of time come to move on to the

ecliptic. These points are called *al ḏjawzahar* (Persian *ḏjawz čihr*, nut shape, or less correctly *gāw čihr*, giebe-shape), they are also called *al ṯuʿbān*, 'dragon' (see below). All the planets have of course such *ḏjawzahar*, without an addition the word always refers to the moon. Their positions are given in the Ephemerides. The massive ball into which, according to Ibn al Haytham, the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves, is called *falak al ḏjawzahar*.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i.e. the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, *al raʾs*" and "tail, *al ḏhanab*", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared The sign ☊ for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horoscope. But Severus Sebukht (*ca.* 650) (F. Nau, *Notes d'astronomie syriaque*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, xvi [1910], 25) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the nodes. But we still find in al Bīrūnī's *Taftīm*, etc the assertion that head and tail have separate natures The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates increase (of property etc.) The tail is cold, brings misfortune, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. Eclipses of the sun or of the moon are really caused by the earth coming between the sun and moon or the moon coming between the earth and the sun. Instead of *ḏjawzahar* we often have the word "node" *ʿuḳda* and *ʿuḳda* used, also in combination with *raʾs* and *ḏhanab*

The shadow of the earth arising in the first instance, because the sun is considerably larger than the earth, consists of a cone shaped convergent shadow (the shadow) on one side and a divergent shadow (penumbra) on the other side. Only in the shadow is there absolute darkness. As the diameter of the shadow at the place of the moon's path is considerably greater than that of the moon at the same point, under certain conditions, the moon may remain some time in the shadow and therefore be perfectly eclipsed for the period. Ibn al-Haytham, for example, investigated these conditions very fully (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr* xiii, *Über eine Schrift von Ibn al-Haitham, "Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten"*, in *SBPMS Erl.* [1907], xxxix, 258).

If earth, sun and moon were very small bodies, mere points, eclipses would only take place when the sun and moon were exactly in the nodes. But as they are large, eclipses also occur when these bodies have passed beyond the nodes, i.e. have experienced an alteration in latitude and longitude. A total eclipse occurs when the breadth is smaller than the difference between the diameter of the shadow and that of the moon, a partial eclipse when it is larger than the latter but smaller than the sum of the diameters; if it is however equal to the latter, there is only a contact but no eclipse

Taking into consideration the shadow alone, the *maḵrūṭ* (cone) or *panombar* (pine nose)—its cross section is called *ḳaṭʿat al-ẓill*—we have the following the entrance into the shadow is called *bad*ʾ *al-kusūf*, beginning of the eclipse, the phase from the beginning of the eclipse, to the beginning of totality, is called *zuḳūf* (falling, the ἐμπτωσις of Ptolemy), the middle of the path covered in shadow is called *wasṭ* (middle). The phase which corresponds to complete emergence is called *tamām al-inḳiḍāḍ* ("the completion of disappearance"), *al-makṯ* ("stop, stay") means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed, in a partial eclipse there is no such stop A *kusūf kull al-ḳamar bilā makṯ*, a total eclipse without a stop, is said to occur when the moon's path is such that the darkened moon touches the cone of the shadow at only one point then a total eclipse exists at this point only For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al makṯ* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ākhir al-makṯ*.

A diminution of light but no complete extinction also occurs when the moon moves through the half-shadow. In his classical work on the shadows Ibn al Haytham (see above) discussed the theory of this question and checked it by observation. In very rare cases, however, the whole of the eclipsed moon does not appear quite black but shows different colours, especially a dark red, this was observed by various early astronomers and minutely described by Ibn al-Haytham (his statements agree with modern observation, e.g. Joh. Müller, *Lehrbuch der kosmischen Physik*[3], § 9, p. 196). Al-Bīrūnī further studied these colours (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, *mahāla* VII, *bāb* VII, *faṣl* III); he also examines critically earlier views and particularly Indian ideas on the astrological significance of the colours (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bīrūnī*, in *Ednes Jahrbuch für Photographie, etc*, 1914) This light on the completely eclipsed moon is explained by the fact that the sun's rays are diverted in passing through the earth's atmosphere and thus enter the shadow and illuminate the moon. According to the amount of moisture in the atmosphere these diverted rays are more or less coloured For the possibility of a solar eclipse, the conditions are the same as for a lunar one

Solar Eclipse As the angle at which the moon appears to us is smaller, although only slightly, than that at which the sun appears the moon can never completely cover the sun. Therefore even at a so-called total eclipse of the sun, even if the centres of sun and moon and earth all lie on a straight line, a narrow rim of light still remains Bright formations, the corona and the protuberances radiate from this. They are described by al Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, *maḳāla* VIII, *bāb* XI (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und Sonnenfinsternis* in *Arch. f Gesch. d. Med.*, xv [1923], 43).

The local times at which the same lunar or solar eclipse appears at different places are obtained from the difference of their geographical longitudes The calculations are made difficult by the fact that these bodies show a considerable parallax This partly explains the great differences between the calculated and true values.

It would take us too far to go into the details of the theoretical considerations, for example when each eclipse begins, how long it lasts, its periodicity, etc. In the works of al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b Lūḳā, al-Ḵwārizmī, al Battānī al Khāzinī, and particularly in that of Abū ʾl Faraḏj, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. F Nau, Paris 1899, also in the *Ḳitāb al-Tafhīm* etc. of al-Bīrūnī, we find more or less full general descriptions, while the works on astronomical theory like the *Zīḏj* (tables) of al-Ḵhwārizmī, of al-Battānī, the *Ḳānūn al Masʿūdī* of al-Bīrūnī, the *Zīḏj* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, etc , give information about

mathematical considerations and the particular observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, x [1900]).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called "fingers" (*iṣbaʿ* or *iṣbaʿ al-kusūf*) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of "digits". In the same way, the surface is imagined to be divided into 12 equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battānī, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The diopter of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. The one with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount *a* of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, is measured, and the magnitude *b* of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as $a : b$. The amount *g* in fingers of the eclipse is $g = \frac{a}{b} \cdot 12$.

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, a place in al-ʿIrāḳ (lat 32° 30′ N., long 45° 50′ E.), on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and ʿAmāra, 100 miles south east of Baghdād as the crow flies. *Kūt* is the Hindustānī word *kōṭ* meaning "fortress" [see KŪṬWĀL] found in other place names in al-ʿIrāḳ, like Kūt al-Muʿammar, Kūt al-ʿAmāra is often simply called Kūt. Kūt lies opposite the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-Hayy, also called al-Gharrāf, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e.g. at Nāṣiriyya and Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh. The plains to the north of Kūt are inhabited by the Banū Rabīʿa, a division of the great tribe of Banū Lām [*q.v.*]. Kūt is not an old town. It has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhār mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 275, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 38, and H. H. Schaeder in *Islam*, xiv, 17). In the beginning of the century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Keppel in 1824, according to Ritter-Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, ii, 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdād and Baṣra, Kūt became an important station on the river and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (beginning 1861), Kūt was the capital of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *sanǧaḳ* of Baghdād. About 1890 the population was estimated at 4,215 (Cuinet), almost all Shīʿīs (but including about 100 Sunnīs and 100 Jews). The *ḳaḍāʾ* extends northwards as far as the mounds of Lursān (*q.v.*). The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Ḥallāl and contains several villages, the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* likewise grew after 1851, and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnīs (except the population of Kūt itself).

It was at Kūt al-ʿAmāra during the course of the First World War that several thousand British and Indian troops were cut off by Turkish forces and compelled to surrender on 26 Djumādā II 1334/29 April 1916, after a siege lasting five months.

Kūt was first taken by the Sixth British-Indian division under Major-General Charles Townshend in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1333/late September 1915. Continuing his advance northwards, in an ill-judged attempt to occupy Baghdād, Townshend was repulsed at Ctesiphon in late November by the Turkish Sixth army under Yūsuf Nūr ad-Dīn Bey and forced to retire on Kūt. Here he decided to stand, for the ostensible purpose of blocking a Turkish advance down the Tigris to ʿAmāra, or by way of the Shaṭṭ al-Hayy to Nāṣiriyya. In fact, however, his troops were exhausted, he was burdened with many wounded, and the Turks, under their new commander, Khalīl Bey (later Pasha), were hard on his heels. If he had not halted at Kūt, his division would almost certainly have been caught in the open and destroyed.

Kūt was invested by the Turks on 27 Muḥarram 1334/5 December 1915. Townshend's force consisted of just under 13,000 infantry and artillerymen (he had sent his cavalry south before Kūt was encircled) and over 3,000 Indian non-combatants (cooks, drivers, etc.). A quarter or more of the fighting troops were sick or wounded. The Arab population of the town which Townshend allowed to remain, numbered about 6,000. The besieging force was made up of one and a half divisions (about 7,500 men) of the Turkish Sixth Army, whose total effective strength of something under 30,000 men was mainly disposed between Kūt and Shaykh Saʿd, 30 miles to the east. Its tactical direction lay with Field Marshal von der Goltz, head of the German military mission to ʿIrāḳ.

Desperate endeavours were made by the main body of the British expeditionary force between January and April 1916 to relieve the garrison at Kūt. In a series of severely fought actions, notably at Shaykh Saʿd, Hanna and Dujayla, the British and Indian troops suffered 23,000 casualties, while Turkish losses were estimated at 20,000. The British efforts were in vain, and in the last week of April Townshend asked Khalīl Pasha for terms. When the Turkish commander indicated that he would not be content with anything less than unconditional surrender, Townshend suggested, with the concurrence of the Cabinet in London, that the Kūt garrison be freed on parole in exchange for its guns, stores and one million pounds sterling. On the orders of Enver Pasha [*q.v.*], the Turkish Minister of War, the offer was rejected, and the fact of its having been made was afterwards used to good effect by the Turkish government to discredit Britain's reputation in the Middle East. A last-minute attempt to persuade Khalīl Pasha to change his mind was made by Colonel W. H. Beach, head of military intelligence in ʿIrāḳ, and Captains Aubrey Herbert and T. E. Lawrence of Military Intelligence, Cairo, who were authorised to double the ransom offered. The attempt failed, and twenty-four hours later, after destroying his guns and stores, Townshend surrendered, under a solemn guarantee from Khalīl Pasha, which was afterwards reaffirmed by Enver Pasha, that his troops would be treated as "the honoured guests of the Turkish nation".

During the siege, the garrison at Kūt had suffered

casualties of 1,828 men killed or died of wounds (278 of them Indian non-combatants) and 2,500 wounded. Nearly 250 of the Arab inhabitants had been killed and over 600 wounded, though more were to die after Turkish forces had re-occupied the town. The Turks allowed the worst cases among the British and Indian wounded, 1,475 in all, to be sent down to Basra in exchange for Turkish prisoners of war. Nearly 12,000 British and Indian troops, along with their Indian camp followers, went into captivity in Anatolia and elsewhere. By the end of the war more than 4,000 of them, including 70% of the British rank and file, had died from disease, starvation and inhuman treatment at the hands of their Turkish captors.

Kūt was retaken by the Mesopotamian expeditionary force in Djumādā I 1335/late February 1917, opening the way for the occupation of Baghdād a fortnight later. After the war, in the administrative reorganisation that accompanied the institution of the mandate, Kūt was made the principal town of a new *liwāʾ*.

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(J. H. KRAMERS - [J. R. KELLY])

KUTADGHU BILIG ("Knowledge that brings happiness"), the first long narrative poem in Turkic literature as well as the oldest monument of Turkic Islamic literature. A relatively long (6 645 distichs) didactic work, it is in Karakhānid, the earliest variety of Eastern Middle Turkic and the first literary language of the Muslim Turks. Its author, Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], a Muslim Turk educated in the Arabic and Persian languages and in the classical Islamic sciences, completed his work in 462/1069-70 in Kāshghar and dedicated it to Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Tabghač Bughra Khān (d. 495/1102), ruler of the eastern Karakhānids (see ILEK-KHĀNS).

The *Kutadgu bilig* has come down to us in three manuscripts: the Vienna ms., dated 842/1439, which is in the Uyghur script and was made from an unknown version in the Arabic script, and the Farghāna and Cairo mss., both undated and in the Arabic script.

It is essentially a political essay which, in an Islamic setting, describes an ideal monarchy of the Sāsānid type. The main goal of this monarchy is the public good, which is conceived of as the strength of the king and the happiness of his subjects. This ideal kingdom is based on dedicated service rendered by highly qualified state officials and servants to a wise and noble ruler of royal descent, who properly rewards those who serve him. Justice, of an Avicennan and Fārābian hue, has a vital role in it. Every individual must possess the faith and act in accord with it. He should not renounce this world: services rendered by ascetics in seclusion are of little value, since they produce no public good. Through his services to God and men he should rather aspire to obtain both this world and the hereafter.

The author presents his views in a series of dialogues, in which the chief participants are a king, Kün Toghdī; his ministers, first Ay Toldī and, after his death, his son Ögdülmish; and the ascetic Odghurmish, a relative of Ogdulmush. The author uses these characters symbolically: Kün Toghdī represents the true path, Ay Toldī, happiness (Ögdülmish, reason; and Odghurmish, destiny.

No one source or model for the *Kutadgu bilig* has been discovered. Frequent references in it, however, indicate a broad spectrum of still unidentified sources, poetic works (*shiʿr sāz*), sayings of elders (*īrinç bashlīgh kiʾi, kishīn, atalīgha*), the learned (*bilgīlig, bilgīl bilgīl*), the wise (*akıllıkh*), and notables (*sartlar başī, ʿāʾilā begī*), as well as proverbs (*ïarkïlā mathal*). Some of these references appear to be direct quotations, especially those in the form of quatrains.

The *Kutadgu bilig* follows the rules of Arabic-Persian prosody, but also includes a few elements of the traditional Turkic syllabic versification. It is in the *mathnawī* form and in the *mutaḳārib* metre (⏑ – / ⏑ – / ⏑ – / ⏑ –). The quatrains (*rubāʿīs* or *tuyughs*) embedded in the poem are all in the same metre, and all have the rhyme pattern *aaba*. Alliteration and rhythmico-syntactic parallelism, features of pre-Islamic Turkic prosody, occur quite frequently. The author's style is concise and expressive. He favours such stylistic devices as epithets, apostrophes and rhetorical questions, and he often indulges in word-play and folk etymology.

The language is very closely related to late Uyghur, although the Persian language—colloquial and classical—has left an imprint in the form of loan translations and direct borrowings, both on its grammar and vocabulary.

Philological research on the *Kutadgu bilig* is at a fairly advanced stage. The three extant mss. have been published in facsimile. There is also a good critical edition, translation into Modern Turkish and thorough philological analysis by R. R. Arat (*Kutadgu bilig I. Metin*, Istanbul 1947, *II. Tercüme*, Ankara 1959). Its language has been described, very sketchily, by M. Mansuroğlu (*Das Karakhanidische*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, 87-122). Most of the lexical material of the *Kutadgu bilig*, with illustrations, has been included in the Old Turkic dictionary, prepared by Nadeliaev and his team (*Drevnetiurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969). The best content analysis of the work to date is that given by A. Bombaci in his book on the history of Turkish literature (*La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 83-96).

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(A. J. E. Bodrogligeti)

KUTAHIYA, modern KÜTAHYA, a town of north western Anatolia, lying at an altitude of 3,251 feet/991 m. in lat. 39° 25' north and long. 29° 59' east. It is in the south western corner of the well-cultivated plain of the Porsuk Çay, which eventually runs into the Sakarya river, the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called 'Aḳdjem Dagh, which is crowned by the ruined citadel. In classical times it was Cotyaeium, the city of Cotys, and the largest city of Phrygia Salutaris, an early centre of Christianity and then in Byzantine times the seat of an arch bishopric.

Kutāhiya was taken by the Turkmen Sulaymān b. Kutulmush in ca. 472/1080, in the aftermath of the battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgird [q.v.], and until the battle of Doryleum remained under Saldjūḳ control. It then reverted to the Greeks for a brief while as a frontier fortress subject to Turkmen attacks, and was retaken in 579/1183 by the Saldjūḳs under Kilidj Arslan II [q.v.]. It later passed once again to the Byzantines but was finally regained by the Saldjūḳs in 631/1233-4. In the 8th/14th century it formed the centre of the *beylik* of the Germiyān oghullari [q.v.]. Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (ca. 765-94/1363-92) translated Kutāhiya, with others of his towns, to the Ottoman prince Bāyezid Yildirim when the latter married his daughter Dewlet Khātūn. Suleyman's son Ya'ḳūb Čelebi tried to recover it on the death of Murād I (791/1389), but it was regained by Bāyezid in the following year. After the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (804/1402), Kutāhiya was taken over by Timūr, who installed his son Shāh Rukh as governor whilst he himself went on towards Ephesus. In the subsequent period of succession squabbles in the Ottoman ruling house, Kutāhiya fell briefly into the hands of the Karamānid Mehmed I [see KARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] (814/1411), but was recaptured by Ya'ḳūb Germiyāni with Ottoman help. When Ya'ḳūb died at Kutāhiya in 832/1429, the principality of the Germiyān-oghullari passed, according to his bequest, to the Ottoman Murād II.

Under the Ottomans, Kutāhiya was the capital of a *sandjak* of Anadolu, and then in 1541 a *sandjak* of the province of Khudāwendigār [q.v.]; in 1902 it comprised the *kadā*'s of Kutāhiya, Eski Shehir [q.v.], 'Ushāḳ [q.v.], Kedus or Gediz and Simāw. Kutāhiya was the farthest point reached by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhim Pasha b. Muhammad Pasha [q.v.] in its advance on Istanbul (1833), and his camp at the nearby hot springs of Yenidje was the scene of diplomatic negotiations which followed the intervention of the European powers. In ca. 1890, Cuinet numbered the population of the town at 22,266, including 4,000 Greeks and 3,000 Armenians, there were 24 mosques, 22 *madrasas*, 16 dervish *tekkes*, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths and 10 potteries. Kutāhiya was indeed formerly an important centre for the production of glazed polychrome pottery with floral decorations, the so-called Rhodian ware, and this is still produced today in a somewhat cruder form; carpet weaving has also been an important family craft. A standard gauge railway runs from Balikesir to Kutāhiya and joins the Eski-Shehir-Afyon Karahisar line a few miles further on. Kutāhiya is today the capital of an *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of the same name; in 1975 the town's population was 62,442 and that of the *il* 470,423.

The monuments of Kutāhiya, from the Germiyān and early Ottoman periods, are significant, and include the Kurshunlu Djāmi' (777/1375-6), the Ulu Djāmi' (814/1412), the Ya'ḳūb Čelebi Djāmi' (837/1433-4) and the Karagöz Ahmed Djāmi' (915/1509); notable is the use of tiles for roofing rather than lead. There are also some interesting old houses remaining.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

BUTAI, now a *kabupaten* (regency) in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur (East K.) [see BORNEO in Suppl.] which stretches along the Mahekam river, it covers 40,000 km² and has 250,492 inhabitants, among them 137,229 Muslims (1971). It is rich in oilfields (near Balik Papan), gold, and timber.

The population consists of, Kutaianese, probably originally Malays who immigrated as pagans, and whose Malay language now bears the influence of Javanese, Bugunese and Banjarese, Bugnese, from South Sulawesi, and especially from the old kingdom of Wajo, who appeared as sailors, shipbuilders and traders since the first half of the 17th century; Banjarese, who may have participated already in the colonisation of Kutai by Hindu-Javanese from Banjarmasin, which later on kept close contacts with Kutai, Bajau, who originate from the Sulu islands and who came first as sea-

nomads until they finally settled on the coasts; several Dayak tribes, living mainly in the interior and up-river areas, and some 245 Chinese and 246 Indian traders (1971)

In the hillside area of Muara Kaman, some plates with votive inscriptions in Sanskrit from the 4th century A D, which belong to the oldest known Hindu relics in the archipelago, have been discovered. The Hindu kingdom of that area, which in the course of time moved more to the interior, obviously developed independently from the Hindu and Buddhist empires in Java, and was only conquered and consequently Islamised by Kutai around 1630 A D

Kutai itself appears in history as a dependency of Majapahit at the time when Gajah Mada was *patih* of that kingdom (1331-64), as is stated in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (14, 1).

According to the *Salasilla raja-raja di dalam negeri Kutai Kerta Negara*, or Chronicle of Kutai Islam was first introduced during the reign of Raja Mahkota by Tuan di Bandang (in Buginese sources known as Dato' ri Bandang), who only stayed for a short while, and Tuan Tunggang Parangan, both of whom arrived from Makassar, most probably in the first years of the 17th century. In his efforts to spread Islam, Tuan Tunggang Parangan extensively used magical means, as the *Salasila*, composed under the reign of Raja Makota's grandson Pangeran Adipati Sinum Panji Mendapa ing Martapura before 1635, eloquently narrates.

This *Salasila* reveals a still-existing attachment to the animistic and magical mentality which is stronger here than in other Malay chronicles. It tries to avoid anachronism, such as the mentioning of Islamic terms or customs in its narratives about pre-Islamic events, and although it shows a remarkable familiarity with the moral and legal prescriptions of the *Tāj al-salāṭīn*, or *Hukum segala raja-raja*, and the Javanese *Pasa* narratives as well as the *sayang*, it gives the impression that the *adat* law [see ʿĀDA iv, Indonesia] which remained in use even at the sultan's court at Tenggarong, was to a large extent the old, indigenous one.

An important role in the history of Kutai was played by the Buginese settlers, most of whom originated from Wajo, and who were centred on Samarinda, forming the strongest "foreign" colony and enjoying some kind of internal autonomy under the *Pua Ado* or *Malos* elected from among their own nobility, but reconfirmed by the sultan (until 1860). In 1726-7, prince Aru Singkang from Wajo conquered for a short time Pasir and Kutai, but usually the Buginese supported the sultan, especially in his fights against the pagan Dayaks and the pirates. The relations with the Dutch, who first appeared in 1635, were, generally speaking, smooth, and these preserved to the sultan a considerable degree of internal jurisdiction based on Islamic and *adat* law

Bibliography: C. A. Mees, *De Kroniek van Kutai*, Tekstuitgave met toelichting, Santpoort 1935 (diss.), W. Kern, *Commentaar op de Salasilah van Kutai*, The Hague 1956 (= *VKI*, 19).

(O. SCHRIEKE)

KUTĀMA or **Katama**, one of the great Berber families, when Islam was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the region of the Constantinois, between the Awrās [*q.v.*] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Ikǰān, Setīf, Bāǧāya, Nǧaus (Nikǰāwus), Tignist (Tikist), Mīla, Constantine, Skīkda, Ǧiǧelli, Bellezma, and also Lesser Kabylia. One legend flattering the national pride makes them to have been descended from the Himyarites brought there by Ifrīkus Kaṭīm, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said to be the son of Berres. He had two sons, Ghersen and Iscūda, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Kutāma. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of ʿUkba to the days of the Aghlabids, we do not find them among the Khāridjīs. When ʿUbayd Allāh gave himself out to to the Mahdī, his emissaries met some Kutāma pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. The principal convert was Mīsāchief of the Sakyān a branch of the Djamīla whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (*dāʿī*) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] settled in Ikǰān and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the *Mahdī*, who was a prisoner at Sidjilmāsa.

The empire of the Fāṭimids was thus founded with the help of the Kutāma. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrib after the departure of al-Muʿizz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Kutāma are the Zuwāwa of the Djurdjura and the population around Ǧiǧelli and in Lesser Kabylia. We do not know at what date Ismāʿīlī doctrines disappeared from among them, but long afterwards their attachment to this teaching was regarded as a subject of obloquy, and for this reason the powerful tribe of Sedwikish of Kutāma origin, renounced all connection with this family. At the present day all the Berbers of the region are Sunnīs

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iv, 32 ff., vi, 148-52 (*Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, I, 291 f., in Append., 570 ff.); M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, index; F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fāṭimide au Maghreb* (in the press), H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, index; R. Brunschvig, *Hafṣides*, index

(R. BASSET)

AL KUTĀMĪ ("the falcon"), the name of several poets (including one from Duhay'a b. Rabīʿa and another from Kalb, see *al-Āmidī, Mukhtalif*, 166), the best known of these was ʿUmāra b. Muṭarrif b. ʿAun, who probably came from the Djusham b. Bakr of Taghlib (see Ibn al-Kalbī Caskel, *Register*, 474). On account of one of his verses, he was also given the name of Sarīʿ al-Ghawānī "the one felled by beautiful maidens". Like his fellow tribesman and maternal uncle (?) al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], he was involved in the quarrels of the second half of the 1st/7th century between the Taghlib and Kays ʿAylān in the region of the Khābūr [*q.v.*]

In opposition to late sources which depict him as a convert to Islam, it seems correct to follow the author of the *Aghānī*, who states that he remained a Christian. The verses favourable to Islam figuring to piece No. 20 of the *Dīwān* could have been added later or could have resulted from an attitude dictated by gratitude, the eulogies of the Umayyads, and especially of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (No. 29), prove nothing about his adhesion to Islam. This point has been discussed by Father L. Cheikho, with strong arguments (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 191-203).

Al-Kutāmī's Dīwān was published, with notes, by J. Barth (*Dīwān des ʿUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Qutāmi*, Leiden 1900), together with an anonymous com-

mentary, and has also been the subject of a somewhat enlarged edition by I. Sāmarrāʾī and A. Maṭlūb (Beirut 1960). The first edition contains 35 pieces of varying length (the longest of 120, 72, 66 and 58 verses) and 9 isolated verses, making a total of 764 verses, to which should be added 32 hemistiches of *radjaz*.

Al-Kuṭāmī was a Bedouin poet who defended the townspeople, and who hymned his own military exploits and those of his tribe, together with the virtues of *sayyids* like Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, No 5619), he died in 101/719 or 102/720.

Bibliography In addition to the references given above and the introds. to the editions of the *Dīwān*, see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 452-7 and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 453-6; *Aghānī*, xx, 118-31 (ed. Beirut, xxii, 175-236); Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 128-9; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 392-4 = ed. Cairo, ii, 320-6 (*shāhid* No. 143); Brockelmann, S I, 94-5; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 474-5.

(H. H. Bräu - [Ch. Pellat])

ḲUTAYBA B. MUSLIM, Abū Ḥafṣ Ḳutayba b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī, Arab commander under the Umayyad caliphs. He was born in 49/669 into a family influential at the court and with extensive possessions in Baṣra. His father Muslim was the boon companion of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and during the revolt of al-Mukhtār (q.v.), he was in charge of the prison at Baṣra, but he later sided with Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and was killed in 72/691-2 when Muṣʿab's dominion in ʿIrāḳ was ended, after having failed to secure a pardon from ʿAbd al-Malik. The family nevertheless continued to be important in Baṣra, and a tribal mosque of their branch of Bāhila, the *masdjid Banī Ḳutayba*, is mentioned (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 12, 87, 91-2, v, 341-2).

Ḳutayba himself attracted the attention of the governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, after participating in the warfare against the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ashʿath (see IBN AL ASHʿATH). He was given the governorship of Rayy in 83/702 after he had expelled from there the rebel ʿUmar b. Abī l-Ṣalt (see C. E. Bosworth, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1936, 9). Then at the end of 85/704 or beginning of 86/705 he was appointed by ʿAbd al-Malik to succeed al-Muhallab b. al-Muhallab as governor in Khurāsān under al-Ḥadjdjādj, thus reversing the position in Khurāsān, where the Yamanī Muhallabīs had previously been dominant, for the Bāhila tribe (q.v.) generally allied itself to the Ḳaysī or North Arab interest in the Marwānid period.

There thus begins the ten years' governorship of Ḳutayba, which contributed much to the extension of Islam in what is now Afghānistān and Central Asia, and which forms one aspect of the wave of Arab expansionism which characterised al-Walīd's caliphate. Ḳutayba's administrative talents, backed by the authority of al-Ḥadjdjādj, had full play in the consolidation of Arab rule in Khurāsān, although the momentum was not maintained after his death. An appreciable factor in his success here seems to have been some recognition of the position of the indigenous Iranian population, and some care to use their administrative talents. There were in his time perhaps as many as 7,000 *murtaziḳa* troops registered in the *dīwān* and receiving regular pay, and in addition to these regular forces, Ḳutayba required *ad hoc* levies of soldiers from the towns of Khurāsān for his spring and summer campaigns into Central Asia, in Ṭabarī, ii, 1245, the contingents from Bukhārā and Khwārazm besieging Samarḳand in 93/712 are described as "the slaves" (*al-ʿabīd*). Also, he left the local Persian *dihḳāns* in power on payment of tribute, apart from the planting of Arab garrisons in Bukhārā, Samarḳand and probably Kāth in Khwārazm. With regard to the Arab tribesmen in Khurāsān, Ḳutayba organised these on the Baṣra model, into the five groups of the Azd, Tamīm, Ahl al-ʿĀliya, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays, at least, it is in this time that such a division is first mentioned. (See for general reviews of Ḳutayba's political and social policies, Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-35, and Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 63 ff.)

The military campaigns of Ḳutayba's governorship have been divided by Gibb, *op. cit.*, 35 ff., into four periods: firstly, the recovery of Bādghīs and Tukhāristān in 86/705, secondly, the conquest of Baykand and Bukhārā from the local Soghdians, 87-90/706-9, thirdly, the *consolidation of Arab authority in the* Oxus valley and the securing of Khwārazm and Samarḳand, 91-3/709-12; and fourthly, expeditions into the Jaxartes valley from Shāsh against Isfidjāb and Farghāna, 94-6/713-15. Many of these undoubtedly remarkable successes were achieved through Ḳutayba's own blend of military skill and ruthlessness, combined with a willingness to use treachery, if need arose, and to exploit local divisions, as amongst the princes of Tukhāristān and Sogdia and amongst the rival claimants to the throne of Khwārazm.

In 86/705 Ḳutayba moved against the princes of the upper Oxus valleys of Shūmān, Akhrūn and Čaghāniyān and he also persuaded Farkhān Nīzak, ruler of the northern Hephthalite principality in Bādghīs (see HAYĀṬILA), to submit to the Arabs and accompany Ḳutayba on the ensuing campaign against Bukhārā. The campaigns of 87-90/706-9 against Baykand and Bukhārā were long and arduous. Ḳutayba's savage sacking of Baykand stiffened the resistance of the Soghdians under Wardān Khudāh, but Bukhārā was in the end stormed against fierce local resistance, apparently backed up by Turkish help. A tribute of 200,000 dirhams was imposed on the city and an Arab *garrison* placed in it; in 94/712-13 Ḳutayba built a mosque inside the citadel, but had at the outset to pay the local people to attend the worship. In 91/709-10 Ḳutayba and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim were occupied with suppressing the last rebellion of Nīzak, now in collusion with the *Yabghū* (Arabic form *Dabbūya*) or local ruler of Tukhāristān. On capturing Nīzak, Ḳutayba had him killed, despite his earlier promise of *amān* or quarter, and although in the poetry quoted by Ṭabarī, ii, 1225-8, we find Nahār b. Tawsiʿa praising Ḳutayba's behaviour as salutary for the interests of Islām, like that of the Prophet towards the Jews of Medina, we also find a verse by Thābit Ḳuṭna warning against calling perfidy "resolute action". However, for the first time, Arab rule became reasonably secure in lower Tukhāristān, and Balkh now developed as a centre of Arab power and Islamic culture; a subsequent governor of Khurāsān, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, was to move temporarily the provincial capital from Marw to Balkh (118/736).

In 92/711 Ḳutayba was in Sīstān, which was at that time under the subordinate governorship of his brother ʿAmr. Here, the Arabs in their strongpoints at Zaranǧ and Bust faced the powerful ruler of the southern Hephthalites, the Zunbīl of Zābulistān (see ZUNBĪL). Ḳutayba's presence scared the Zunbīl into temporary submission, but as always happened, once the Arab forces departed, all obedience was

renounced. The conquest of Khwārazm in 93/712 was a spectacular feat of Kutayba's, and it led to the tentative implanting of Islam there, though it was several decades before the people of the province as their Shāhs were fully converted; for details, see KHWĀRAZM. In the last years of his governorship, Kutayba's attention was focussed on Soghdia again. In 93/712, on the way back from Khwārazm, he attacked Samarkand and imposed a fresh peace treaty on its ruler Ghūrak, the breaking thus of an earlier agreement considerably tarnished Kutayba's reputation in Soghdian amongst the Iranian population. It may be that it was at this point that the Western Turks or Türgesh intervened in Transoxania at the request of the Soghdian princes, at all events, Kutayba endeavoured to secure the regions of the Jaxartes adjacent to the steppes of Turkistān, moving into Shāsh and Ushrūsana, and in 94/5/713-14 he led a series of raids into Farghāna. Whether Kutayba had expressly in mind the securing of the trade route through Central Asia towards China is uncertain, and the report in Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, that his troops crossed the Tien Shan Mts. to Kāshghar was rejected by Gibb as a fabrication, see his *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-74.

The fall of Kutayba in 96/715 was ultimately the result of the change of régime in Damascus from al-Walīd to Sulaymān, the death of Kutayba's patron al-Ḥadjdjādj and an expected reversal of the favour previously shown to the Kaysī elements in the empire. Kutayba was campaigning in Farghāna when he heard the news of al-Walīd's death, and though the new caliph confirmed him in his governorship, he feared an imminent change of attitude. He therefore proclaimed rebellion against the caliph's authority, but was supported only by his own family, the inadequate power base of his fellow-Bāhilī tribesmen, and his bodyguard of Iranian archers, the mass of the Arabs mutinied and refused to support him, as also did the Persian *mawālī* troops under Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, formerly his faithful supporters. He and several of his family were therefore killed by their soldiers in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96/August 715, or according to some sources, later in that autumn at the beginning of 716, and Wakī' b. Abī 'l-Sūd al-Tamīmī assumed power in the east in his stead.

Kutayba's death meant a halting for several decades, and indeed, a definite regression, in the momentum of Arab conquest beyond the Oxus. The Soghdians and their Turkish allies were now able to mobilise their forces for counterstrokes. He is undeniably one of the heroic figures at the age of Arab conquests, even if the Bāhilī tribal tradition enshrined in Ṭabarī tends at time to exaggerate his exploits, and the halo placed around his head brought about much confusion in the sources over the events surrounding his death.

The descendants of Kutayba continued to be influential in both the later Umayyad and the early 'Abbāsid periods, with various of his sons and grandsons attaining official posts; his son Muslim (d. 149/766) was twice governor of Basra, and his grandson Abū 'Amr Sa'īd b. Salm (d. 217/832) was governor of Armenia, Mawṣil, al-Djazīra, Sīstān, Sind and Ṭabaristān.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources: Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 330, 348 ff., 354-5; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 419-26, 432; idem, *Ansāb*, ivb, v, indices; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Dīnawarī, Cairo 1960, 317 ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukkāsha, 406-8; Ṭabarī, ii, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 320-3 = §§ 3482-3; *K. al-'Uyūn*, ed. de Goeje, s 3, 17-19; *T. al-Khulafā'*, ed. Geyamewich, ii, 135b, 136b, 150b-153b; Narshakhī, *T. Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 43-54; *Aghānī*, index; *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, index; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 'Abbās, iv, 86-9, tr. de Slane, ii, 514 20; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 311 ff., v, 2 ff.

2. Secondary sources: Muir, *The Caliphate*[4], 349-53; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 267 ff., Eng. tr. 429-44; Févier, *La vie d'al Hadjdjādj ibn Yoûsof*, 232 ff., 337; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 184-7; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-58; Spuler, *Iran*, 29-33; N. A. Shahan, *The 'Abbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 62, 63-75; idem, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 122-4, 128; A. N. Kurat, *Kutayba ibn Muslim'in Horasan ve Semerkand'ı zabtı*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vi (1948), 385-430 (gives text of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī on Kutayba's conquests in Khwārazm and at Samarkand). (C. E. Bosworth)

al-KUTB (A), pole

1. As an astronomical term

In Arabic, *kuṭb* covers nearly the same field of semantic aspects as Greek ὁ πόλος, a pivot around which something revolves (in Arabic, especially the pivot for mill stones), which was extended to the revolution of the sky, designating the axis of the celestial east-west movement and, more specifically, its two "poles" (*LA*, Beirut 1955, i, 681b ff.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *kuṭb*, Liddell and Scott, *Greek English lexicon*, s.v. πόλος). Hence later, in Arabic translations of Greek works, *kuṭb* was often used as a rendering of πόλος, (e.g. Ptolemy, *Almagest* i, 3 (both translations, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar, and Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn), but Aristotle, *De caelo*, has *al-falak* in all instances, of Badawī's edn., Cairo 1961, 232 ff., 280, 294)

The celestial pole was a known feature among the Arabs already in their "pre-scientific" period, i.e. before their contact with the scientific literature of the Greeks. Certain traditions concerning the location and nature of the pole have been transmitted in some philological and astronomical books (Ibn Kutayba, *K. al-Anwā'*, Hyderabad 1956, 122 f., Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *apud* al-Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina*, Hyderabad 1332, ii, 7 f., 371 ff.; Ibn al-Aʿrābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwā'*, Damascus 1964, 65 f.; Ibn Manṣūr, *K. Nuḥūm al-ashʿār*, Istanbul 1298, 146, 173; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī, *K. Suwar al-kawākib*, Hyderabad 1954, 27 f. (repeated by al-Kazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, Göttingen 1849, 29, tr. H. Ethé, *El-Kazwīnī's Kosmographie*, Leipzig 1868, 62); al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, ed. and tr. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 77 [§ 163], idem, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad, iii (1956), 935 f.) Here it is stated that the (north) pole was not a star, but merely a spot (*nuḳṭa*, *baʿḍ*) in the sky. Its place was assumed to be in the middle of the figure of a fish (*samaka*; al-Bīrūnī has instead *ghalṭ ḥalḳūmī*, "an elliptical figure") formed by two curved lines of stars, one consisting of the five stars β, ζ, ε, δ, α Ursae Minoris, and the opposite one of very small and faint stars (nine of them not registered by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*), among which Pl. 5 and 4 Ursae Minoris and 32 H Camelopardalis. In some places, this statement is corrected, with the addition that the true place of the pole is not in the very middle of that figure, but more in the direction of α Ursae Minoris, near one of the small stars in the curved line of faint stars, (al-Marwazī, the al-Aʿrābī, al-Ṣūfī, *loc. cit.*). This difference in location obviously reflects the effect

of precession, due to which the place of the north pole was near the star 32 H Camelopardalis in A.D 1000, and still more southwards in A.D. 500. It was also observed that the opposite point of the sky, the south pole, was invisible in the lands of the Arabs (Ibn Kutaybā, *loc. cit.*, 122; Ibn Manẓūr, *op. cit.*, 173).

After the introduction of scientific astronomy, it was known that this pole belonged to the equatorial system, hence it was occasionally called *kuṭb mu'addal al-nahār*, "pole of the equator", besides its other designations, such as simply *al-kuṭb*, or *al-kuṭb al-shamālī* (and *al-janūbī* respectively), *kuṭb al-dunyā*, *kuṭb samā'ī* or *'ālī kuṭb al-falak*, *kuṭb al-kull*, etc. Al-Bīrūnī seems to be the first to declare α Ursae Minoris (= "Polaris") to be the nearest bright star to the (north) pole, at his time, and hence to serve as a substitute for the pole *wa-yasmūhu 'ams 'l-kuṭbi li-annahū fī muqāraba akraba 'l nayyirāti ilayhi* (*Tafhīm*, 77 [§ 163]). At the same time, the ecliptical system was assigned two poles, as well, which were called *kuṭb(ā) falak al-burūj* and *kuṭb(ā) dā'irat al-burūj*, "pole(s) of the ecliptic" (al-Sūfī, *loc. cit.*, 23 f., al-Bīrūnī *Tafhīm* 55 f. [§ 139], idem *Kānūn*, iii, 995, 995 ff.; al-Kazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 27 *tr.* 59, and 52 f., *tr.* 108).

North and south pole became of actual value for the Islamic navigators of the Indian Ocean (*ca.* A.D. 1500), who used both of them for altitude measurements in order to fix their position and determine their routes. In their terminology the north pole was generally called *al-jadī* (a word of Persian origin, used both for the pole itself and for the Pole Star). Travelling south of the equator, they also acquired a complete knowledge of the south pole, *kuṭb suhayl* ("the pole (in the region) of the star α Carinae"), or simply *al-kuṭb* (as opposed to *al-jadī*), which they observed—no contradistinction to the north pole—not to be marked by a bright star near it, but having the two Magellanic Clouds at some distance (Aḥmad b. Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, in English tr. see G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, the glossaries and indexes, 518 and 547 [s.v. *al-jadī*], 538 [s.v. *kuṭb*], 609 [s.v. Polaris, Pole, North-South]).

The poles also seem to have excited the fantasy of astrologers, for two bits of magic virtues (*khawāṣṣ*) appertaining to both of them are repeated by Ibn Manẓūr (*op. cit.*, 146-55 partially also in al-Kazwīnī, *op. cit.*, i, 30 f. *tr.* 64 f. and 40, *tr.* 83 f.).

In modern terminology, the terrestrial poles are also called *kuṭb* (with adjective *kuṭbī*, "polar").

Apart from this, in the construction of the astrolabe *al-kuṭb* signifies the central pivot, or axis (elsewhere also called *al-miḥwar*), which keeps together its different discs, the spider, and the rule (*Al-Bīrūnī's Book on Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, tr. R. Ramsay Wright, London 1934, 378, 66, 288, 4, 289, 29, 52, 36 N. Bubnov (ed.), *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae opera mathematica*, Berlin 1899, 123, 10; Herimannus, *De mensura astrolabii*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, cxliii, Paris 1882, 387 A, [Ps.] Messahalla (Māshā'allāh), *De compositione astrolabii*, ed. R. T. Gunther, *Chaucer and Messahalla on the astrolabe*, Oxford 1929, 101, 102, etc.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(P. KUNITZSCH)

2. In mysticism

In Islamic mysticism, this term (lit. "pole", "axis") denotes either the most perfect human being, *al-insān al-kāmil* (*q.v.*), who heads the saintly hierarchy (see AL-GHAWS and WALĪ) and is also referred to as *al-kuṭb al-ḥaḳīḳī* (= the [temporal] phenomenal *kuṭb*"), or else *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* (see MUḤAMMAD) which manifests itself in *al-insān al-kāmil* and is sometimes referred to as *al-kuṭb al-wa'l-nawā* ("the [cosmic] noumenal *kuṭb*"). Both meanings of the term are covered by 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī's definition "the place of God's appearance in the world at all times" (Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ghanā'im 'Abd al-Razzāḳ b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshī [al-Kāshānī] al-Samarḳandī, *Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. A. Sprenger, London-Calcutta 1845, 141, cf. Mubyī 'l-Dīn b. al-'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1274/1857, ii, 6).

The conception of the temporal *kuṭb* (A. *kuṭb al-waḳt*, *pīr al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-zamān*, P. *mard-i waḳt*), referred to by some authors as *al-ghawth* ("the helper") (*q.v.* in Suppl.), who exists by virtue of the cosmic *kuṭb* or *kuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, manifest in him, has been traced back to al-Ḥallādj (*q.v.*), whose *hama hama* (i.e. the image of God with all his *asmā'* (*q.v.*) and *ṣifāt* (*q.v.*) in Adam) may be considered as the prototype of the conception of *al-insān al-kāmil* (cf. A. E. Afifi, *The mystical philosophy of Muḥyid Dīn Ibnul Arabī*, Cambridge 1939, 79, 189), and also further back to pre-Islamic ideas, in particular to Iranian, Neo-Platonic and early Christian thought (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 333 ff., and R. H. Schaeder, *Das islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. iv [1925], 192-268).

The notion of the *kuṭb* as head of the saintly hierarchy is found in the teaching of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (*q.v.*) outlined by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Hudjwīrī in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* (see R. A. Nicholson, tr., *The Kashf al-Maḥjúb. The oldest Persian treatise on Ṣúfiism*, Leiden-London 1911, 214, 228). The scriptural justification for the belief in this hierarchy, of which the different forms mentioned by a variety of authors are discussed by E. Blochet, *Études sur l'ésotérisme musulman*, in *JA*, xx (1902), 77 ff. (in addition, see Ḥasan al-'Idwī al-Ḥamzāwī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhiliyya fī Sharḥ al-Burda al-Būṣīriyya*, Cairo n.d., Sayyid Haydar Āmulī, in *La philosophie Shi'ite*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Bibl. iranienne 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 446, and H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris 1971-2, i, 128 ff.), is a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd (cf. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'ī, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn* = *Nuzhat al-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-akhbār*, Cairo 1286/1869, 70, 10; Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabhānī, *Shawāhid al-ḥaḳḳ fī 'l-istighātha bi-sayyid al-khalḳ*, Cairo 1323/1905, 6, 107; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik al-dālī 'alā mughīth al-kull wa 'l-awāʾil wa 'l-mughīth mā 'l-abāʾil*, Cairo 1351/1932, 3, 29). The reliability of the *sanad* of this *ḥadīth* was discarded by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (*al-Manār*, xi [1908], 30 ff.). Other *aḥādīth*, all without *isnād*, mentioning the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *kuṭb*, are listed in al-Yāfi'ī's *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, 10 (see also al-Zamzamī al-Ṣiddīḳī, *al-Abdāl wa 'l-mughīth* and *'l-akhyār fī ḥadīth sayyidinā Rasūl al-Mukhtār*, in *al-Muslim*, ii/6 (Cairo, September 1952), 18 f.), including the most frequently cited one attributed to Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (*q.v.*).

The tentative suggestion by R. A. Nicholson (*The*

idea of personality in Sufism, Cambridge 1923, 44 ff.) that *al-mufṣil*, mentioned in al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*, is identical with the *ḥujja* as *al-hākiba al-muḥammadiyya* as discarded by W. H. T. Gairdner, *Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār* ("The niche for lights") *A translation with introduction*. London 1924, 25 ff., who had earlier questioned L. Massignon's suggestion that *al-mufṣil* is an obscure allusion to the doctrine of the *ḥujja* as the head of the saintly hierarchy (idem, *Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār and the Ghazālī-problem*, in *Isl.*, v [1914], 144).

Each of the various ranks in the saintly hierarchy has also been conceived of as being headed by a *ḥujja*. From these *abdāl* the saints who belong to these different ranks receive their knowledge, which they owe in the last resort to the supreme (temporal) *ḥujja* (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii 7, Aḥmad Diyāʾ al-Dīn al-Gümüshkhānī, *Dīwān*ᶜ *al-usūl fī ʾl-waṣiyā*, Cairo 1328/1910 4, ʿAlī Salīm ʿAmmār, *Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, ʿaṣruhu, taʾrīkhuhu, ʿaḳīdatuhu, taṣawwufuhu*, Cairo 1951, i, 192, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAyyād, *al-Maḳṣad al-ʿaliyya fī ʾl-muʾallifāt al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1964, 20 ff.)

For Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], the universal rational principle, the *rūḥ Muḥammad*, or *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* through which Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, finds its fullest manifestation in and is identical with the *ḥujja*, who is *al-insān al-kāmil*. He is the cause of creation, for in him alone creation is fully realised. He is *al barzaḵh* (*q.v.*), the *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, as in other words he is Muḥammad as the inward aspect of Adam, i.e. the real Adam (Mankūbu) or *al-ʿilmu ʾl-ilāhī* [*q.v.*], which is forever manifesting itself on the plane of *al-mulk* (*q.v.*) in prophets and saints (i.e. in *abdāl*) who come within the category of *al-insān al-kāmil*, since they as perfect manifestations of God and have realised, in mystical experience, essential oneness with Him. This makes *abdāl* infallible, and since there is only one *ḥujja* at a time (*al-ḥujja al-wāḥid*), he is God's real *ḵhalīfa* (*q.v.*), who is the preserver and maintainer of the universe, the mediator between Divine and human, who passes on knowledge of the *maʿārif* (degrees of mystical perfection [see MARIFA]), which cannot be entered by anybody else except by him, through virtue of his being in the *maḳām tawḥīd al-tawḥīd* (absolute transcendence of God); cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 168 ff., 201 ff., 253 ff., ii, 7 ff., 77, and in particular iv, 80 ff.

These ideas were further elaborated by ʿAbd al Karīm al Djīlī (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 86 ff.). They were rephrased and/or simplified by other authors (cf. Blochet, 86 ff.) and have remained part of the mainstream of Islamic mystical thinking ever since.

An identical conception of the *ḥujja* as the active principle (or interior, *bāṭin*, cf. al-Kāshānī, 141) in all inspiration and revelation, comparable to the νοῦς in Neo Platonism and manifesting itself in the form (*ṣūra*) of a prophet, is found earlier with ʿUzair b. al-Fāriḍ (cf Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, *Ibn al Fāriḍ wa ʾl-ḥubb al-ilāhī*, Cairo 1945, 275) This idea as noted by Ḥilmī, ibid., 277, has a striking similarity to the Ismāʿīlī (*q.v.*) belief in the personification of *al-ʿaḳl al-awwal* in (*al-insān*) *al-nāṭiḳ*. Other authors have equally drawn attention to the similarity between the Shīʿī conception of the *Imām* as a manifestation of the Divine Logos and the conception of the cosmic *ḥujja* in Islamic mysticism, or the possible identity of both concepts (see e.g. Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa ʾl-taṣḥīʿ yya*ᶜ, Cairo 1969, 465, and Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 92). Several authors have noted the analogy between the Ismāʿīlī (Fāṭimid) *daʿwa* hierarchy and the mystical hierarchy under the *ḥujja* (see e.g. al-Shaybī, 457 ff. and Y. Marquet, *Des Ḥwān al-Ṣafāʾ à al-Ḥallāj ʿUmar (b. Saʿīd Tall), marabout et conquérant toucouleur*, in *Arabica*, xv (1968), 27) or have regarded the mystical hierarchy as derived from it. The historical possibility of such a derivation was discarded by W. Ivanow, *An Ali Ilahi Fragment*, in *Collectanea*, i, The Ismaili Society, Series A, No. 2, Leiden-Bombay 1948, 166.

Among the Shīʿī scholars, some have stated explicitly that *ḥujja* and *Imām* are terms which have the same meaning and which refer to one and the same person (Amoli, *La philosophie shīʿite*, 223, ʿAllāma Sayyid Muḥammad Musayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shīʿite Islam* [tr., ed., introd. and notes by Seyyed Hossein Nasr], London 1975, 124, Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 76). The notion of the saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḥujja* is considered by H Corbin as basically a Shīʿī idea which has been appropriated by Sunnī mysticism (see e.g. his *En Islam iranien*, i, 229, iii, 279, cf. al-Shaybī, 213). Several of his publications contain phenomenologically inclined analysis of the hermeneutics involving conceptions of *ḥujja* in a perspective of Iranism (see e.g. his *L'homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, *passim*, and his *En Islam iranien*, i, 186 ff.)

Conceptions of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḥujja* and distinct from the hierarchy headed by the *Imām* are found in the works of ʿAzīz al Dīn Nasafī (cf. M. Molé, ed., *L'Aissodin Nasafi, La lutre de l'homme parfait* (*Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil*), Bibl Iranienne xi, Tehran Paris 1961, 20, 26) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (*idem, Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shiysme aux soubisme et sunnisme suivie de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 109 f., cf Corbin, *op. cit.*, ii, 74) Similar conceptions are held in contemporary Shīʿī mysticism (cf. E. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens Zweiter Teil Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1976, 260 ff.) Shīʿī mystics have referred to the twelfth Imām as *ḥujja al-aḥyāʾ* (Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 74-5, iv, 357) or *ḥujja-i ḥaḳīḳat* (Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 158), and to the head of a *farīḳa* [*q.v.*] as *ḥujja*, *ḥujja-i ḥaḳīḳat* and *ḥujja-i zamān* (idem, 159 ff for further references and additional detail)

Belief in the existence of *abdāl* and in the whole saintly hierarchy was denounced by Ibn Khaldūn (cf Ibn Khaldūn, *al. de Slane*, ii, 164, iii, 74, 105-6, Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Sirāʾu ʾr-Raʾī fī iṭṭiḥāṭi ʾl-Mahdī*, ed. M.B.T. al-Tanjī, Istanbul 1958; H S Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 113 f.), and has been under attack by those adhering to a non-mystical conception of Islam up to the present day (see e g ʿAbd al Raḥmān al-Wakīl, *Ḥaḳīḳat kiyān ʾl-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1375/1955, 124 ff.)

The *ḥujja* is regarded as being able to perform distinct *karāmāt*, which reveal his *maḳām* (cf Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al Sakandarī, *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, Tunis 1304/1886 7, 57 f., and ʿAmmār, i, 193), to know the meaning of the letters at the beginning of the *sūras*, which he has received from God directly—this qualities him for *al-khiṭāb* (al-Idwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 58), which is known as *Miṣbāḥ dhī ʾl-ṣifāʾ* (see e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, *Ẓuhūr al-baḥrāʾn fī bayān al-jafr*ᶜ*ān*, Bombay 1322/1894 5, 263, Muṣṭafā Yūsuf Salām al-Shādhilī, *Diyāʾ*ᶜ *al-ḥaḳāʾ*ᶜ*iḳ wa durar al-mabāḥiṯ*ᶜ *ʿalā matn al-Iṣfahān Abī Shujāʿ*, Cairo 1350/1932-2, 170)—and to incorporate the *ṣifāt* of the *anbiyāʾ*, the *mujtahid*, the *abdāl* and of all those who belong to the saintly hierarchy (al-Gümüshkhānī, *Diyāʾ*ᶜ *al-usūl*, 4, ʿAmmār, i, 192),

in consequence of the fact that he is the means by which *al-ḥaḳḳ* sees his own names and *ṣifāt* (cf. ʿAbd al Karīm al-Djīlī, *al Insān al Kāmil fī maʿrifat al awāḫir wa ʾl-awāʾil*, Cairo 1328, ii, 28). All secret beings and every animate and inanimate body have to give him their pledge (*bayʿa*) except for the following three classes of beings *al-afrād*, who belong to the angels and are independent of the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn *al*-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 223), the *djinn* who are under the authority of al-Khaḍir (*q.v.*) (cf. Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn b. *al*-ʿArabī, *Kitāb Mawāḳiʿ al nudjūm wa-maṭāliʿ ahilla*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 4); and those belonging to the sixth stratum of *ṭabaḳāt al-ghayb* (see AL-GHAYB), namely *al-ḥukamāʾ* or *al-mūʾayyidūn* (cf. al-ʿIdwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 102). According to Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī in his *Sharḥ Muḳaddima al tāʾiyya al kubrā* (the relevant section is published in al Tirmiḏī, *Kitāb Khatm al-awliyāʾ*, ed. ʿUthmān Ismāʿīl Yaḥyā, Beirut 1965, 494 *ff.*) only the *wuṣṭā* (*q.v.*) do not come under the authority of the *ḳuṭb* they are equal to him in rank, they owe to God everything they are but they have not been granted the *maḳām al khilāfa* (*ibid.*, 495). In another treatise, *Maṣāʾil ʿulwiyāt al ʿilam*, al Kaysarī states that al-Khaḍir was the *ḳuṭb* in secret at the time of Mūsā before the latter became *ḳuṭb* on the plane of manifest being (see Andrae, 345).

Belief in al-Khaḍir as a mortal being identical with the temporal *ḳuṭb* is reported as being held by contemporary Shīʿī mystics (Gramlich, 146). The possibility of such an identification is implicit in the conception of a mortal Khaḍir, related by Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al Ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 484-5. This scholar, however, expresses himself in a *fatwā* to the effect that the orthodoxy of the belief in the *ḳuṭb* (*al-ghawth*) cannot be established (cf. al-ʿIdwī, ii, 98).

Early belief in the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, 78 f.) seems in the course of time to have been elaborated into a conception of a secret assembly (*dīwān bāṭinī*) where the saints presided over by the *ḳuṭb* directed the affairs of the seen and unseen worlds (see Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Sidjilmāsī, *al-Ibrīz min kalām ʿAbd al ʿAzīz*, Cairo 1292/1875, 6, 1, 2 ff. Al Sidjilmāsī relates the sayings and ideas of his *shaykh*, ʿAbd al ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh. Al-Dabbāgh's description of the composition and functioning of the *dīwān* has found its way into the works of Muḥammad al Makkī b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAzīz, *al Sayf al-rabbānī fī radd al mutarāmī ʿalā al ghawth al Dardīrī*, Tunis 1310/1892-3, 74 and ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣābī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al Raḥmān bi sharḥ waṣāyā al shaykh*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 176). This conception is prominent in certain mystical traditions to the present day (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Mafʿ al-Badawī al-muftarī ʿalayhi*, in *al Muslim*, xv/7 (Cairo, June 1965), 15, and *idem*, *Maʿ ḥadīyyat al ahilla al arbaʿ wa-marāḥib ahl al ghayb*, in *al Muslim*, xx/11 (August 1970), 11 f. and ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sulaymān al Kalyūbī, *Fatḥ al Wahhāb fī bayān ahl al ḥaḳḳ wa-sabab ḥalla ʿan al-sawāb*, Cairo 1964, v, 37 ff.).

Opinions as to the whereabouts of the *ḳuṭb* vary. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī (cf. *Futūḥāt*, i, 168; *Mawāḳiʿ al-nudjūm*, 4), the *ḳuṭb* is corporeally present at Mecca; according to Aḥmad Muḥammad Riḍwān, *al Nafaḥāt al-rabbāniyya*, Cairo 1390, 270, his bodily presence is confined to Upper Egypt. Popular belief in Egypt held him to be miraculously present in a niche behind one of the doors of Bāb al Zuwayla, the southern gate of Cairo (see E. W. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1860, 231 f., and H. H. Harrison, *The Bab el Metawalli*, in *MW* viii (1918), 141 f.), which was a site for veneration and votive offerings (cf. J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 141). In contemporary Islamic mysticism, the dominant view seems to be that only his spirit is seen at Mecca, i.e. at the Kaʿba, which is the *makān* (*q.v.*) of his spirit and the throne of his heart (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Kulaymāt makhtūmāt li-mawāʿiẓ al-ahlāh*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/8 [June 1965], 8).

A few cases are found where a *ṭarīḳa* teaches explicitly that the *ḳuṭb* will always belong to this particular *ṭarīḳa*. Examples are al-ʿAzāʾiyya (see the relevant section in F. de Jong, *The Sufi orders in past Ottoman Egypt*, forthcoming) and al-Shādhiliyya (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 105). The latter *ṭarīḳa* teaches that God gave Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al Shādhilī the *bayʿat al-ḳuṭbiyya* after the death of Abū ʾl Ḥadjdjādj al Uḳṣurī (b. ʿAyyād, *ibid.*, 35). The *silsila* of the *ṭarīḳa* is referred to as the *silsilat al-ahlāh* (Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Banānī, *Maḏāriḳ al sulūk ilā Mālik al Mulūk*, Cairo 1330/1912, 90) going back to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib through his son Ḥasan, who is considered the first *ḳuṭb* (al Sakandarī, 59; Ibn ʿAṭāʾ, 75; al-Fussunṭīnī, 181).

Distinct cosmological systems revolving around a conception of *ḳuṭb* and derived from the ideas outlined above, and presenting or incorporating a modified version, have been developed and have gained some degree of significance at distinct times and places. Notable are, in chronological order, Abu ʾl-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's (*q.v.*) presentation of the Mughal emperor Akbar (*q.v.*) as *insān al kāmil* or temporal *ḳuṭb* around whom the world revolves in his *Akbar-nāma*; Aḥmad Sirhindī's (*q.v.*) conception of the *mudjaddid*—the vicar of God on earth to whom the *ḳuṭb* is a servant under his rule, a rank which he ascribed to himself and which was claimed by four of his descendants (S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965, 256 ff.). this belief seems to have influenced the teaching of Mīr Dard (cf. A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace. A study of two mystical writers of eighteenth-century Muslim India*, Leiden 1976, 81) and Tidjānī doctrine centred upon the belief that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī [*q.v.*] was *khātim al-wilāya* and *ḳuṭb al aḥṭāb* simultaneously (J. M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965, 27 ff.).

Before and after Aḥmad al Tidjānī, Sufīs claimed or were considered to be *aḥṭāb*. Some examples from among the earlier mystics are listed in Gramlich, 168, n. 910). Other notable examples among the later mystics are Abū Saʿīd b. Abi ʾl-Khayr (see Muḥammad Nūr al Dīn Munawwar b. Abī Saʿīd Asʿad, *Asrār al tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1346, 332 f.); ʿAbd al Raḥīm al Ḳinādī (cf. Aḥmad Ḥusayn Ḏahabruh, *Kalima sutawaddiʿu ʿan ḳuṭb Ḳinā sidhī ʿAbd al Raḥīm al Ḳinādī*, n.p. Ḳinā 1388/1968); Abu ʾl-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 33); Abu ʾl ʿAbbās al-Mursī (see al Sakandarī, 68), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (*q.v.*), Aḥmad *al* Rifāʿī, Aḥmad *al*-Badawī (*q.v.*), and Ibrāhīm *al*-Dasūḳī (*q.v.*). The last four of these are frequently referred to as *al-aḥṭāb al-arbaʿa* (see Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣuṭūḥī, *al Tawāwuf wa-aḥṭābuhu*, Cairo 1970, 15, 24, cf. Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ ḥadīyyat al-ahlāh al arbaʿa*, 6 ff.). In some mystical cosmologies they are presented as occupying a position of pre-eminence in the successive stages of pre creation out of *al-nūr al muḥammadī* before their birth, as successors to the four *khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn* during their lifetime, and as continuing forces in the world of the unseen after their death

(see 'Aṭṭī Mazhar, *Kutub-khāna-yi bahr al-Kur'ān, dastūr Ahl-i-Ayngyan*, in *Sandūrī* v (Cairo-Kalā al Shaykh, April 1967), 21, and Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Mafāʿīl al-Badāwī*, 8 ff., cf. idem *Kalāymāt muḥammadīya: h mawḍūʿ al-ʿaḥjāb*, 8 ff.)

In some mystical traditions, those belonging to the saintly hierarchy, including the *kuṭb*, are held to be identical with the serious mystical teachers present at a certain time but whose spiritual rank remains undivulged to those outside this hierarchy (cf 'Imrān Aḥmad 'Imrān, *al-Tarbiya fī ʿuqūd shaykh al-tarbiya*, Asyūṭ 1354/1936, 14). This tenet may imply the belief that potentially everybody can become *kuṭb* by means of following the *ṭarīḳa*, i.e. by means of the method prescribed by a distinct mystical tradition (cf. Sulaymān al Djamal, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya bi-tawḍīḥ Tafsīr al Djalālayn li 'l-Dabbāgh al khafīyya*, Cairo 1913, i, 114).

The statement by J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders on Islam*, Oxford 1971, 163 f., that the conception of the *kuṭb* has gone through a process of vulgarisation would seem to be in need of further substantiation.

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(F. DE JONG)

KUṬB AL-DĪN [see MAWDŪD B. MASʿŪD; AL-RAWANDĪ].

KUṬB AL-DĪN AYBAK, the first ruler of the Indo-Muslim state which arose after the death of the Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn (Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sām in 1206 and was subsequently to be based at Dihlī. Brought as a slave from Turkestān first to Nīshāpūr and then to Ghazna, he was purchased by Muḥammad, then engaged in the reduction of the independent Hindu principalities in northern India, and came to be *amīr-i ākhūr* (master of the horse) and *muḳṭaʿ* of Kōhrām (now Ghurām in Patiāla) and Sāmāna. The sources for this period, composed either under Aybak's hegemony or under his successors, ascribe to him personally the capture of Meerut, Dihlī, Kōl (ʿAligarh), Thankīr (Bayāna), Gwāliyar, Badāʾūn, Kanawdj and Kālindjar, between 587/1191 and 599/1202-3, and the sack of Nahrwāla or Gudjarāt (593/1197).

On his counter's assassination in 602/1206, he moved from Dihlī to Lahore, where he is said to have ascended the throne on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/25 June, and which became his permanent residence. Aybak's precise status is problematical. No coins of his are extant, and the statement of Ḥasan Nizāmī that the *khuṭba* was read and coins struck in his name is not corroborated elsewhere. Dīwāldjānī on the contrary specifies at one point that these prerogatives were retained by Muḥammad's immediate successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who now reigned at Firūzkūh, though elsewhere he says that Maḥmūd conferred on Aybak the title of Sulṭān. In view of Aybak's slave rank, it is most likely that he was simply manumitted by the new Ghūrid overeign, as we read in Ibn al-Athīr, and remained his subordinate, receiving a diploma and canopy of state as *mahk al-Hindūstān*. Aybak's attentions appear to have been absorbed by the situation in the north-west, where the Ghūrid empire was succumbing to pressure from the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish, and it is significant that no efforts to extend the Muslim conquests to India are recorded for his reign. He engaged in hostilities with another Ghūrid slave officer, Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz, who was based at Ghazna and who endeavoured unsuccessfully to take Lahore in 605/1208-9. Aybak's own subsequent occupation of Ghazna, however, was merely temporary, and he was expelled by the citizens in favour of Yildiz. He died at Lahore in 607/1210-1, of wounds sustained in an accident during a game of polo (*čawgān*), and his successor Ārām Shāh, whose relationship to him is uncertain, was soon set aside in favour of the *muḳṭaʿ* of Badāʾūn, Aybak's son in law Iltutmish (*q.v.*, and see also DIHLĪ SULṬANATE).

Aybak, who has achieved renown as the builder of the Kuṭb Mīnār (*q.v.*) at Dihlī, was a patron also of the literary arts (Fakhr-i Mudabbir (*q.v.* in Suppl.), author of a manual of war, the *Ādāb al harb*, dedicated to him his book of genealogies and it was probably under Aybak's régime that Ḥasan Nizāmī (*q.v.* in Suppl.) began writing his florid *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, which was completed under Iltutmish. Both are important sources for the early period of Muslim rule in Hindūstān.

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KUṬB AL-DĪN BAKHTIYĀR KĀKĪ, a Ṣūfī who settled at Dihlī during the reign of Iltutmish (*q.v.*)

Khwādja Kuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (Aḥmad b. Mūsā al Kākī al-Ushī) was a native of Ush, a town in eastern Farghāna. The *tadhkīras* literature depicts him as the disciple of Muʿīn al Dīn Čishtī (d. 634/1236), the founder figure of the Čishtī affiliation to India. The accounts disagree on whether the two contemporaries first met at Ush, or at Iṣfahān, or in the Ṣūfī circle of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), or in the mosque of Abu 'l-Layth at Samarkand; at Baghdād. After years of wandering, Kuṭb al-Dīn came to Multān early in the 7th/13th century during the rule of Nāṣir al Dīn Ḳubāča (d. 625/1228). There Farīd al Dīn Masʿūd (d. 664/1265) sought his company, while Bahāʾ al Dīn Zakariyyāʾ (d. 666/1268) seems to have encouraged his departure for Dihlī. Kuṭb al Dīn settled outside the walls of Dihlī near the tank, *ḥawḍ-i shamsī*, during the reign of Iltutmish (607 33/1211-36), but declined the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* offered to him by the Sulṭān. Kuṭb al Dīn was well known for his Ṣūfī practice of listening to music (*samāʿ*), and is said to have died during a *samāʿ* performance on 14 Rabīʿ I 633/27 November 1235. His tomb is in the vicinity of the Kuṭb Mīnār at Mihrawlī. The Kuṭb Mīnār (*q.v.*), completed by Iltutmish in 609/1229, is believed to derive its name from Kuṭb al Dīn Bakhtiyār (not from Kuṭb al Dīn Aybak).

The Čishtī affiliation venerates Kuṭb al-Dīn as one of the outstanding members of its founder generation in India, and records him in its *silsila* as the link between Muʿīn al-Dīn and Farīd al-Dīn. Kuṭb al Dīn is the alleged compiler of the apocryphal *malfūẓāt* of Muʿīn al-Dīn, entitled *Dalīl al-ʿārifīn* (Lucknow 1868), whereas his own sayings supposedly have been collected by Farīd al Dīn in the spurious *Fawāʾid al-sālikīn*. A more reliable source, however, appears to be the *Mifṭāḥ al-ḥikma*, which was compiled in the immediate circle of Kuṭb al-Dīn's associates at Dihlī.

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Siyar al-awliyāʾ, Dihlī 1302, Muḥammad Akbar Ḥusaynī, *Diwānāt*[1] *al kalām*, Kānpūr 1356, Djamālī, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Dihlī 1311, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al aḵẖyār*, Dihlī 1309, Dārā Shikūh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Nawal Kishore 1872, 94-6, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Murādābādī, *Amdād al-ʿārifīn*, Lucknow 1876, i, 342-8 Ghulām Sarwar Lahawrī, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1872, i, 267 76, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Hindū, *Taʾrīkh-i Ferishta*, Nawal Kishore 1323, ii, 378-83; Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr H G. Raverty, London 1881, i, 622 f.; ʿAbd al Ḳādir Mullāḥ Shāh Badāʾūnī, *Muntaḵẖab al tawārīkh*, tr. Ranking, Lowe, Haig, Calcutta 1925, i, 92, 123, iii, 29, 45; K. A. Niẓāmī, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961, R. N. Murghī, *The history of the Kuṭb Mīnār*, Bombay 1921 (C. Bᴏᴡᴇʀɪɴɢ)

KUṬB AL-DĪN AL-IZNĪḲĪ, Muḥammad al-Rūmī, early Ottoman Ḥanafī scholar and father of Kuṭb al-Dīn Zāde Muḥammad [*q.v.*] He was born at Izniḳ [*q.v.*] and died there on 6 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 821/7 December 1418 Popular story puts him in contact with the conqueror Timūr when the latter occupied Anatolia, and he was the author of commentaries on the work of the great Spanish mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*].

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(Eᴅ.)

KUṬB AL-DĪN MUBĀRAḲ [see MUBĀRAḲ].

KUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD [see ḵẖᵛārazm-SHĀHS].

KUṬB AL-DĪN SHĪRĀZĪ, Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd b. Muṣliḥ, Persian astronomer and physician, was born in Ṣafar 634/October 1236 in Shīrāz and died in Tabrīz on 17 Ramaḍān 710/February 1311

Like many Muslim medical men, Kuṭb al-Dīn belonged to a family of distinguished physicians, at the same time, however, he was not only a prominent medical man, at least as regards his writings, but he distinguished himself also in astronomy philosophy, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ to give him the name *al-mutafannin* "experienced in many fields" His received his medical training with his father Diyāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Kāzarūnī, i.e. of Kāzarūn (to the west of Shīrāz), in the hospital of Shīrāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn Ḵẖayr al-Kāzarūnī and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Rushkānī (Suyūṭī has Rukẖkẖawī) and Shams al-Dīn al-Kurtubī, he then went to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still quite young he conceived the idea of editing the *Kulliyyāt*, the first theoretical part of the *Ḳānūn al* Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in Shīrāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in Khurāsān, the two ʿIrāḳs, Persia, Anatolia, and Syria Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the *Kulliyyāt*, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably after these journeys that he became associated with the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Il-Khāns; in what year and under which ruler this happened, we do not know. In any case in 681/1282 he was *ḳāḍī* of Siwās and of Malatya in Anatolia under Aḥmad Nikudār (680-3/1281-4) There he was still engaged on the *Kulliyyāt*; he must have played a part in politics, as Aḥmad sent him with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al Manṣūr Sayf al Dīn Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90 [*q.v.*]). He was sent to report the former's conversion to Islam, no doubt the result of Kuṭb al-Dīn's influence, and to conclude a peace between the Muslims and the Mongols. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the *Kulliyyāt*. He dedicated the work, probably finished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḥammad Saʿd al Dīn, Aḥmad Khāṣṣ's vizier, and called it *al-Tuḥfa al-Saʿdiyya*, "the present to Saʿd", or *Nuzhat al fuḥamāʾ wa-rawḍat al-aṭibbāʾ*, "the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians".

In his later years Kuṭb al-Dīn retired in Tabrīz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied *ḥadīth* and made critical notes on the subject, e.g. on the *Djamʿ al-uṣūl* ("Encyclopaedia of principles") and to the *Sharḥ al-Sunna* ("Commentary on the *Sunna*"). Ibn Shuhba and al-Subkī give a sketch of the character of Kuṭb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was innocent; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians" It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that, in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects, he lived remote from the court He also led the life of a Ṣūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils among these was Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough; he also induced al-Ṭabṭabāʾī (d. 766/1364; see Brockelmann, II², 272, S II, 293-4) to come to critical decisions (*muḥākamāt*) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and Fakẖr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, No. 743) He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless, al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his *ṣalāt* with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chessplayer and played consciously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small viol (*rabāba*) His commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (No. 1169) emphasises, Kuṭb al Dīn the distinguished himself in theology He annotated the Ḳurʾān very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Fatḥ al-mannān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, in the *Fī mushkilāt al Ḳurʾān* he also dealt with passages in the Ḳurʾān difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tanzīl* of al-Zamakẖsharī Kuṭb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] (d. ca. 720/1320) to the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*], with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Kuṭb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haytham's suppositions that tin based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and *al-Tuḥfa al shāhiyya fī hayʾa*, which are very similar to each other, Kuṭb al-Dīn has given what is conceivably the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the al-*Taḏkira* al *nāṣiriyya*, the memoranda al Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, his teacher But Kuṭb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The

Nihāya discusses, for example, details of the cosmography of al-Khirakī or Ibn al-Haytham, which are again found in Roger Bacon. Passages from these works are discussed by E. Wiedemann in *Zu den optischen Kenntnissen von Kuṭb al Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissensch. etc.*, iii (1912), 287-93. *Über die Gestalt, Lage und Bewegung der Erde, sowie philosophisch-astronomische Betrachtungen von Kuṭb al Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *ibid.*, 395-422. *Beiträge*, xxvii, *Auszüge aus al-Schīrāzīs Werk über Astronomie*, in *SBFMS Erl* xliv (1912), 27-35, reprinted in *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgesch.*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 802-10, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xv (1923), 47 8; *Inhalt eines Gefässes zu verschiedenen Abständen vom Erdmittelpunkt*, in *Zeitschr. für Physik.*, xiii (1923), 59 60.

One work is entitled *Sharḥ al-tadhkira al-naṣīriyya*. As an appendix to the *Nihāya*, Kuṭb al-Dīn wrote the *Fī ḥarakāt al-dabbāda wa 'l-miḥa ḥayn al-mustawī wa-'l-munḥanī*, "On the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are *al-Tabṣira fī 'l-hay'a* and a work with a very peculiar title, *Kitāb fa'altu fa lā talum fī 'l-hay'a*, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not".

Besides the works by Kuṭb al-Dīn already mentioned, there are also recorded a treatise on diseases of the eye and a commentary on the *Urdjūza* of Ibn Sīnā, a work on medical ethics, the *K. Bayān al-ḥidja ilā 'l-ḥibb wa 'l-dāʾ al-aʿyā* on *waṣaykhum*, commentaries on the *Shamsiyya*, mainly grammatical of al-Sakkākī and on a work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, and an encyclopaedia of philosophy, the *Durrat al-tādj*, written for one of the Īlkhānwand umrā of Gīlān (see PŪYAN), which includes an important section on music.

After his death, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī wrote verses on Kuṭb al-Dīn, in which he expresses surprise that the mill (*raḥā*) of knowledge still turns after it has lost its axis (*kuṭb*).

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KUṬB AL-DĪN-ZĀDE, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. KUṬB AL-DĪN IZNIḲĪ, Ottoman scholar and toyistic. He was born in the early 9th/15th century, the son of Kuṭb al-Dīn Iznīḳī (d. 821/1418 [q.v.]), himself a scholar and the author of works on *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* (see *ʿOṯmānlī muʾellifleri*, i, 144, romanised version, i, 124-5). He was in his early years the pupil of the famous *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Mollā Fanārī (d 854/1432) [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE], and later became interested in Shīʿism He wrote several works, many of them commentaries, e g on the mystical works of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his pupil Ṣadr al Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḳūnawī, and others on the interpretation of dreams (*taʿbīr al ruʾyā*). He died in 885/1480 and was buried in the Tatār Khān cemetery at Edirne.

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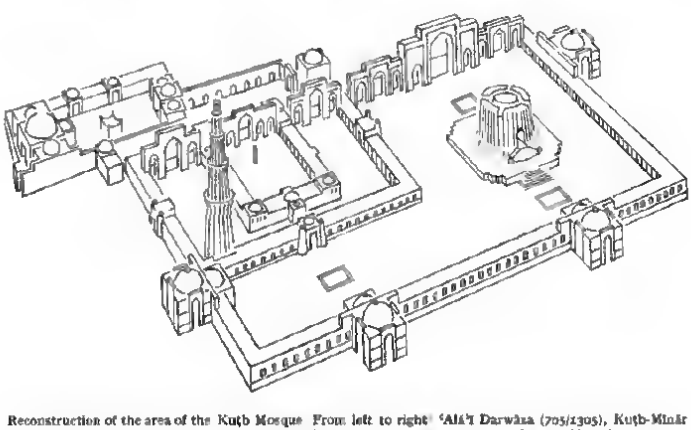
KUṬB KHĀN LŪDĪ [see LŪDĪS].

KUṬB MĪNĀR, a lofty tower of red sandstone, said by Fergusson (ii, 206) and Diez (165) to be one



Reconstruction of the area of the Kuṭb Mosque From left to right: ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305), Kuṭb-Mīnār (591/1198) and unfinished tower ʿAlāʾī Mīnār (after A Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien*, Munich 1969, 40)

of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world.

It is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of Dihlī [q.v.], in the ruins of the first city of that name, and about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by Kuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.] in 589/1193 just after the capture of the city from the Hindu king, Pṛithvīrāj. Like the Mīnār at Ghazna [q.v.] and the Mīnār at Koyl [q.v.] (no longer in existence) it is an isolated structure, from which the *mu'adhdhin* gave the call to prayer, and is 238 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the southeastern corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 602/1205 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmish [q.v.]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Mu'izz al-Dīn Ghūrī (i.e. before 602/1205) the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish but during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk [q.v.] the building was struck by lightning and this king in 760/1368 had it repaired and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories both of which in their present form are probably the work of Fīrūz Shāh have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the tower is entirely of red sandstone, and is not round but made up of flutings, which in the basement story are alternately round and angular, in the second rounded only, and in the third angular only. The line of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each story. The inscriptions are partly historical in character and partly made up of quotations from the Kur'ān, they have been reproduced and translated in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12).

Recently, the prototype of this Mīnār was discovered in the ruins of the tower at Khwādja Sīyāh Pōsh in Afghān Sīstān, in the ground plan of the regularly alternating 8 rounded and angular flanges, as can recognise the transition between the Eastern Iranian stellate plan, continued for example at Ghazna (see GHAZNAWIDS. Art and monuments) and the round plan of Djam (see GHŪRIDS) in Central Afghānistān (K. Fischer, ed., *Nimrus*, pls. 252 4).

The tower derives its name from the saint Khwādja Kuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī (d. 633/1235 [q.v.]), who was held in high honour by Iltutmish

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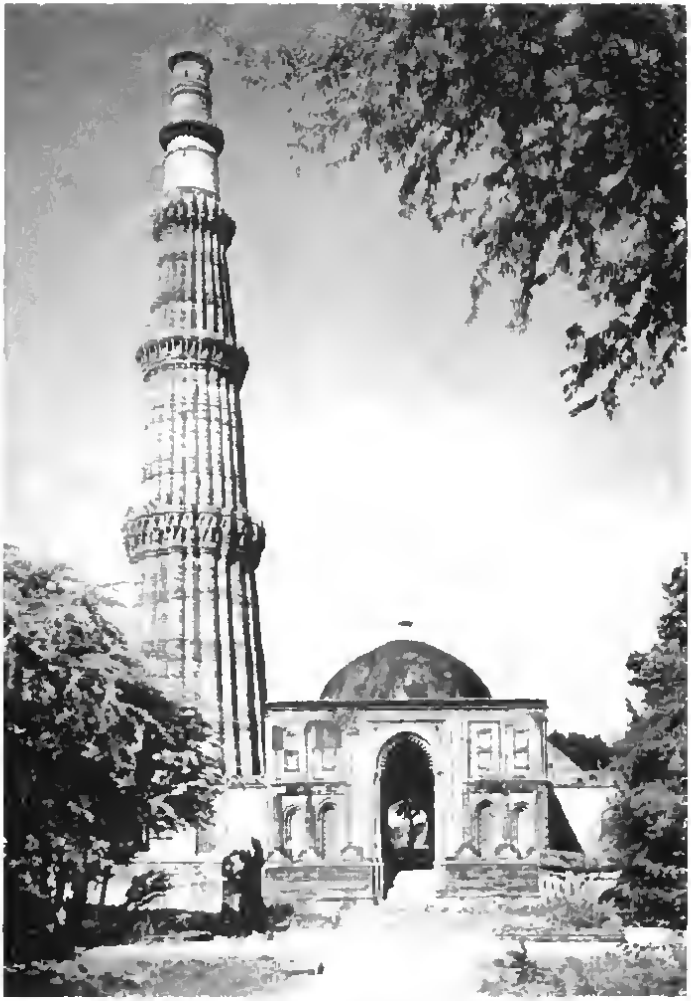
KUṬB SHĀHĪ the name of an Indo-Muslim dynasty that dominated the eastern Deccan plateau as one of the five successor states to the Bahmanī kingdom. Basing their power on the city and hill fort of Golkondā [q.v.] the Kuṭb Shāhī kings achieved *de facto* independence with the decline of the parent Bahmanī kingdom in the early 10th/16th century, maintaining effective rule until Mughal armies under Awrangzīb conquered and annexed the kingdom in 1098/1687.

The founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān Kulī Kuṭb al-Mulk was a Turkoman adventurer of the Karā Koyunlu clan [q.v.] who, having migrated from Persia to India as a youth, rose in Bahmanī service until in 902/1496 he was appointed governor over the outermost Bahmanī dominions. Although he never claimed legal sovereignty during his long rule, Sulṭān Kulī managed to carve out for himself and his descendants the broad territorial outlines of a kingdom over which they held effective sway for nearly two hundred years. He also gave the dynasty ideological definition by declaring Shī'ism the official creed, following the precedent set by Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia in 907/1501. This orientation, continued by all of Sulṭān Kulī's successors, caused the dynasty to identify ideologically with Persia as its link with *Dār al-Islām*, rather than with the Ottoman or Mughal empires, which were Sunnī. The sequence at Kuṭb Shāhī kings is as follows:

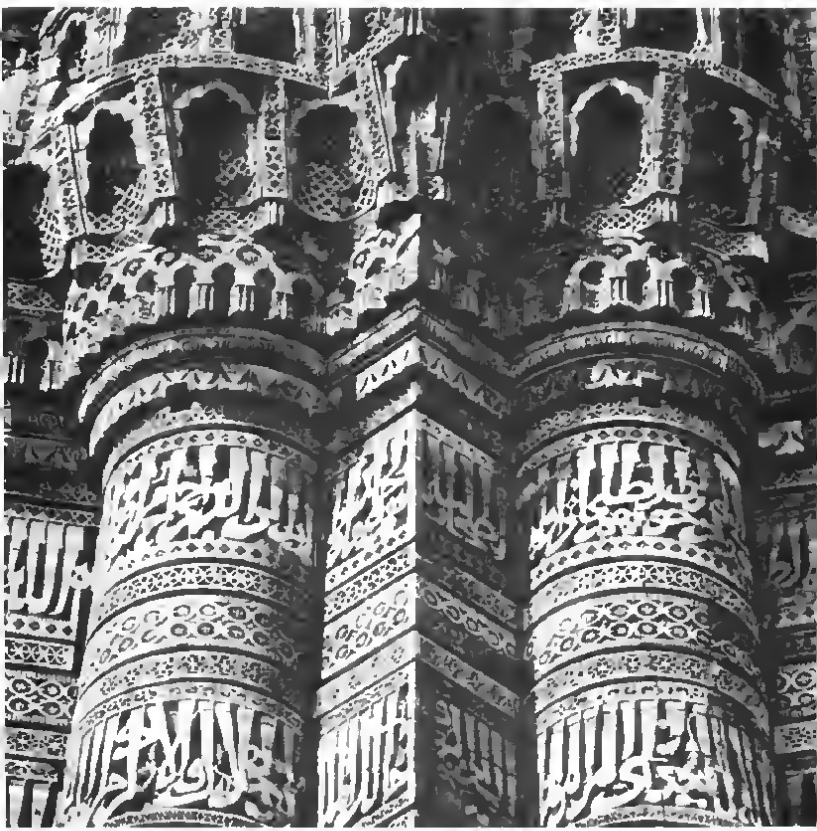
Kulī Kuṭb al-Mulk	902-50/1496-1543
Djamshīd b. Kulī	950-7/1543-50
Subḥān b. Djamshīd	957/1550
Ibrāhīm b. Kulī	957-88/1550-80
Muḥammad Kulī b. Ibrāhīm	988-1020/1580-1612
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Kulī	1020-35/1612-26
'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad	1035-83/1626-72
Abū 'l-Ḥasan, son-in-law of 'Abd Allāh	1083-98/1672-87

Throughout most of the 10th/16th century and the early 11th/17th century, the Kingdom of Golkondā was engulfed in constant warfare either with the most powerful two of its sister successor states to the west, Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, or with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar to the immediate south These conflicts were sustained by mutual jealousies and petty intrigues, resulting in constantly shifting military alliances among them four principal states of the Deccan. Thus, although Golkondā, Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar were able to band together in 972/1565 to crush Vijayanagar and sack its wealthy capital in the battle of Talikota, immediately after this battle the three Muslim states resumed their mutual hostilities. This situation prompted increasing intervention in Deccan affairs by the Mughal empire, which was expanding its imperial interests in the 11th/17th century Finally, in 1045/1636 Shāh Djahān forced 'Abd Allāh Kuṭb Shāh to recognise the Mughal government's ultimate sovereignty over Golkondā in a 'Deed of Submission'. By clarifying Golkondā's relationship to Dihlī, however, this arrangement relieved 'Abd Allāh of further anxieties about Mughal aggression so long as tribute was paid, and freed him to expand Kuṭb Shāhī arms southward as far as the Palar river (near Madras), absorbing a number of petty Hindu principalities formerly dependent upon Vijayanagar.

But the reign of 'Abd Allāh's successor, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Kuṭb Shāh, witnessed a dramatic transformation in the internal ruling structure of the kingdom as a number of Brahmins, especially the brothers Madanna and Akkanna, acquired the reins of central authority. This development, combined with the



1 Dihlī, Kutb Minār (594/1198) and ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305). (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1972, 17)



2 Quṭb Minār, decoration and inscriptions. (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 19)

state's official Shīʿī ideology, arrears of unpaid tribute to the Mughals, the general chaos in the Deccan prompted by the rise of the Marāṭhās, and renewed expansionist sentiment in the Mughal government now under Awrangzīb, led to a determined Mughal effort to end Golkonḍā's subordinate but semi-independent status and annex it to the Empire. In 1098/1687, after a protracted siege of Golkonḍā fort, the Mughal conquest and annexation of the kingdom was accomplished.

In its two centuries of rule, the Kuṭb Shāhī monarchy sank roots deep into Indian society and culture by successfully integrating multiple groups into its political fabric, by founding an efficient economic basis for the kingdom, and by forming a distinctive Indo-Muslim culture that accommodated itself in important ways with the pre-existing Hindu culture. On the political level the dynasty, faced with the choice of dislodging or absorbing the indigenous class of Hindu warrior chiefs (*nāyaks*) already dominant in Telugu society, adopted the latter alternative, employing *nāyaks* in garrisons throughout the kingdom and even in the royal guard at the capital. The other indigenous élite group, the Brahmins, were likewise absorbed into the dynasty's political structure, especially in the central revenue administration as clerks, accountants, and even chief administrators. On the local level too, virtually the entire revenue system was entrusted to Brahmins who functioned as agents, brokers or accountants. In fact the more important members of this rural gentry received royal orders guaranteeing their tenure, frequently hereditary, and assuring them of royal support against rivals.

By far the greatest share of the kingdom's revenue was derived from the land tax, collected in cash through a highly-organised and ruthlessly efficient revenue bureaucracy. Further contributing to the kingdom's economic stability, and also its notorious wealth, was the successful exploitation of a number of diamond mines discovered on the Kṛishṇa river valley during the early years of the dynasty's history. The diamond enterprise became a vast state monopoly that involved several hundred thousand labourers, officials, and merchants, and made Golkonḍā the world's most important diamond market in the 11th/17th century.

A distinctive aspect of the dynasty was its composite culture that combined Islamic and Indian styles, as reflected in the nature of its rule, in the flourishing of Telegu, Persian, and Dakhnī literature, and in painting and architecture. Having lived seven years in exile in Vijayanagar, where he learned Telugu and acquired a Hindu wife Ibrāhīm Kuṭb Shāh set the tone of this syncretic culture. He adopted not only the usual symbols of Muslim sovereignty (*sikka*, *khuṭba*, etc.), but also the style of a traditional Hindu rajah, reserving tax-free lands for the support of Brahmins and temples, erecting pillars on which the sworn loyalty of *nāyaks* was inscribed, patronising Telugu poets, and reviving the ancient Telugu monarchical tradition of building large irrigation works. Moreover, extensive contact between Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan gave rise to a new language, Dakhnī, which achieved its first literary expression in Golkonḍā in the 10th/16th century, with Sulṭān Muḥammad-Kulī himself being one of the foremost writers in the language. A blending of Hindu and Muslim styles is similarly reflected in contemporary painting and architecture, especially the architecture of Ḥaydarābād. Planned in 999/1590-1 by Muḥammad-Kulī Kuṭb Shāh as a suburb of Golkonḍā fort, the city of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], with its gardens, bazaars, palaces, and such architectural masterpieces as the Čārminār, has indeed remained the dynasty's most lasting legacy.

Bibliography: Original authorities include *Burhān-i maʾāṯir*, completed in 1004/1596 by Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, Dihlī 1936; Firishta, abridged tr., J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, Calcutta 1908, *Taʾrīḫ-i Sulṭān Muḥammad Kuṭb Shāh*, compiled anonymously in 1026/1617, mss. in India Office Library, etc., see Storey, i, 767, *Ḥadīḳat al-salāṭīn*, completed in 1054/1644 by Nuṣīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, ed S. ʿAlī Balgrāmī, Ḥaydarābād 1932, Mackenzie Collection, London, India Office Library, J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd. edn., London 1925; W. H. Moreland, ed., *The relations of Golconda in the early 17th century*, London 1931, S. N. Sen, ed., *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1949. Secondary authorities include Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-20, P. M. Joshi, *Coins current in the Kingdom of Golconda*, in *J. Num. Soc. of India*, v (June 1943), 85-95, Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta 1951; Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, Hyderabad 1956, Percy Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay 1956; Tapan Raychaudhuri *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-1690*, The Hague 1962, J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, London 1975, H. K. Sherwani, *Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, London 1967; idem, *History of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty*, New Delhi 1974 (the most comprehensive study). (R. M. EATON)

KŪTHĀ, a very old town of ʿIrāḳ, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris and one stage from Baghdād on the Kūfa road. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Maumer, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920-5, Indices, s.v. Kutû and the map by Schwenzner in vol. i). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in 2 Kings, xvii, 24 from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincided with that of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm, on modern maps, this last ends in the Shaṭṭ al-Nīl, the Arab geographers make no reference to this, but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map II facing p. 25).

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kuṯā Rabbā and Kūṯā al-Tarīḳ, but only give further information about the former. (The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, II.) The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūṯā, which gave it the further name of Dīr Kūṯā, and the Abraham legends, which are associated with the town; al-Mukaddasī (*BGA*, iii², 122) actually calls the town Madīnat Ibrāhīm, and to this day the ruins of the town are erroneously located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūṯā. Abraham is said to have been born at Kūṯā, and the name of the town comes from that of his maternal great grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yālḳūṭ writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūṯā, the Talmud, *Bābā baṯrā*, 91ª אמלתאיבת כרנבו, for other names, see Eisenberg, *EI*¹ art. IBRAHIM and *The life of the prophets according to Arabic legend* in *The life of Abraham* [in Hebrew, 1912] 9 n.) was about to give

him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later, Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace, therefore, in the time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūthā is also the name of the *tassūdj* around the town, which comes within the district of Ardaghīr Pāpakān and is in turn divided into 10 *rustāks*. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh, BGA*, viii, 79), Ur Kasdīm (the Biblical Ur Kasdim) from which Abraham migrated is a place *min bilād Kūthā*. The *nisba* from *Kūthā* is *Kūthī* or *Kūthānī*.

Besides Kūthā in Mesopotamia, Yāḳūt and al-Bakrī also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article) Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 75; Ibn Hawḳal, 268 (ed. Kramers, 245, tr Kramers-Wiet, 237); al-Mukaddasī, 28, 122-3; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, 9, 225, 285, 236; Ibn Rusta, 174, 180 (tr. Wiet, 200, 220); Yāḳūt, iv, 317-18; idem, *Mushtarik* ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 377; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, 485; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Ar text, 80, tr 183; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i, li, 26, 24, Le Strange, 68-9. On the question of the canals of also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 772. (M. Plessner)

KUTHAM b. AL-ʿABBĀS b. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB AL-HASHIMI, Companion of the Prophet, son of the Prophet's uncle and of Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba al-Hilāliyya, herself Muhammad's sister-in-law. Although the *Sīra* brings him into contact with Muhammad by making him one of the inner circle of the Hāshimī family who washed the Prophet's corpse and descended into his grave, and although his physical resemblance to the Prophet is also stressed, he was obviously a late convert to Islam, doubtless following his father al-ʿAbbās [q.v.] in this after the conquest of Mecca.

Nothing is heard of him during the reigns of the first three Orthodox Caliphs, but then ʿAlī on his accession made Kutham governor of Medina (36/656), and in the next year, when menaced by his rivals for the caliphate, Ṭalha, al-Zubayr and Ṣāʾisha, he made him governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. He seems to have retained this office all through his cousin's caliphate, leading the Pilgrimage in 38/659 (cf. Ibn Hishām, iii, 1018-1020, tr. Guillaume, 826; Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 70, iv/1, 2, 22, viii/2, 220, Balādhurī, *Ansāb* i, ed. Hamidullah 447, 569, 577-8, Ṭabarī, i, 2830, 2833, 3092-3106, 3399, 3343 Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 87, 96, Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vi, 352, etc.).

After this comparatively undistinguished career, Kutham achieved fame through the manner of his ostensible death. He was with the army of Khurāsān under Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān when the latter invaded Transoxania in 56/676 (cf. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 129 sq.), and was allegedly killed (thus in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 107, and Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, 47) or died a natural death (thus in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 412) at the siege of Samarkand in 57/677. Ṭabarī makes no mention of Kutham's death in his account of this campaign, and Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 298, tr. Wiet, 219, and Narshakhī *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 40, state that he in fact died at Marw.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the supposed tomb of Kutham at Samarkand subsequently became a shrine and pilgrimage place, Barthold plausibly surmised that this cult was probably built up by his family, the ʿAbbāsids, when they came to power. It is, however, equally possible that some existing pre-Islamic cult of Soghdia was islamicised and transformed into the cult of Kutham. In the inscriptions of the later buildings making up the shrine complex of Afrāsiyāb, the citadel area of Samarkand and the heart of the pre-Mongol invasion city (see SAMARKAND), Kutham is generally referred to as the *Shāh-i zinda* "living prince" or *Shāh-i djawānān* "prince of the youths", and I. I. Rempel has suggested that Kutham is a syncretistic figure incorporating elements of the Islamic prophet Khiḍr (see AL-KHAḌIR) and of Sīyāwush and other ancient Iranian heroes (in G. A. Pugačenkova, ed., *Iz istorii vilikogo goroda*, Tashkent 1972, 36-58).

The shrine flourished greatly and was added to in Karakhānid and Saldjūḳ times, so that a whole complex was formed there, and during Sandjar's sultanate, probably in the 520s/1130s, a *Madrasa Kuthamiyya* was founded. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Samarkand two centuries later, in the reign of the Čaghatayid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tarmashīrīn (726-34/1326-34), he found the shrine opulently appointed and much visited by the local people of Samarkand plus the Tatars of the region. It had a *zāwiya* [q.v.] or hospice attached to it for pilgrims and travellers and a scion of the ʿAbbasids, the *sayyid* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, great great-grandson of the penultimate Baghdād caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (623-40/1226-42), who had migrated from ʿIrāḳ to Transoxania, acted as *nāẓir* or superintendant of the shrine (*Riḥla*, iii, 52-4, tr Gibb, iii, 568-9). The shrine continued to attract royal patronage, including from the Timūrids; a mausoleum, possibly to be ascribed to Kutlugh Āḳā, one of Timūr's wives, was built in 762/1361, and in the next century, Ulugh Beg [q.v.] added to it. Alterations were, indeed, made to it up to the early 20th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article) Zirikli, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 29. For the development of the cult of Kutham in Samarkand, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 92-3, and N. P. Nemtseva, *Istoka kompozitsii i etapi formirovaniya ansamblya Shakhi Zinda*, in *Sov. Arkheologiya* (1976), No. 1, 94-106, Eng. tr with commentary by J. M. Rogers and Ḥādī Wāṣlu, in *Iran, Journ. of the Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, xv (1977), 125-47. (C. E. Bosworth)

KUTHAYYIR b. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (better known as **KUTHAYYIR ʿAZZA** and often called al-Mulaḥī after Mulayḥ, a sub-tribe of Khuzāʿa, or Ibn Abī Djumʿa, after his maternal grandfather), a poet of the ʿUdhrī school of the Umayyad period. Like other poets of the same school, his life was a favourite field for the imagination of story-tellers who wrote entertaining *sawāʾir* literature. In such cases, legend plays such havoc with history that it becomes almost impossible for later critical studies to separate one from the other. Legends were introduced to suggest pseudo-historical occasions for some poems, and some poetry was made to suit stereotypes of the ideal lover. Other factors, both political and sectarian, made it easy for the *rāwīs* to shroud Kuthayyir's character with ever thicker layers of legendary material. Nowhere else does authentic poetry stand in sharp contrast to the alleged character of its writer as it does in the case of Kuthayyir. When stripped of such accretions, the biography of such a poet becomes a mere skeleton.

Kuthayyir's parents were both from Khuzāʿa, and lived in Medina or in the adjacent hills to the east. If we believe al-Marzubānī, who states that the poet lived 80 or 81 years (*Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1960, 242), then he must have been born *ca.* 23 or 24/643 or 644 (since

there is no doubt that he died in 105/723). This date of birth seems very early if we consider that there are no traces of his poetical activities before 60/679, a fact which makes one think that he could not have been born earlier than 40/660. Although Kuthayyir's father died when he was still in need of a guardian, he is nevertheless accused of being an undutiful son (this is more likely a reflection of much later sectarian prejudice). When his father was afflicted with a sore in one of his fingers, Kuthayyir considered that as a heavenly punishment for the latter, who used to raise that same finger whenever he swore falsely. The pious interpretation here is ignored, and the sharp comment is taken as indicating an unfilial attitude. Kuthayyir's uncle became a watchful guardian who, to keep the boy away from the vices of urban life, sent him to tend a herd of camels in the outskirts. At that stage so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring *ǧinnī* disclosed himself to him at an early age. Yet it was not this *ǧinnī*, but the author of the legend, who reduced the camels to cheap and took Kuthayyir to al-Ḥiǧāz on the Red Sea coast where, as his way, he met a group of women, from among whom a young girl approached him in order to buy a sheep. The lad, who in his manhood became known for his proverbial stinginess (Ḏjāḥiẓ, *al-Buḫalāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 165), gave her a sheep and refused to accept payment. This girl was hospitably ʿAzza, the daughter of Ḥumayd from the Ḏhamra tribe, who entangled Kuthayyir with her beauty. According to later evidence from a woman who knew ʿAzza, ʿAzza is described as a "sweet", pretty, clean and pale-skinned woman, whom conversation was most enchanting. ʿAzza's family must have previously given her as a wife to a first suitor because, shortly after that heady meeting, Kuthayyir's poetry became very embarrassing to them. That same husband is referred to in his poetry as a jealous, impotent old man (*šaykh*), who used his authority over his wife to make her scold her lover and abuse him. It is also probable that the migration of ʿAzza and her husband to Egypt (ca. 67/686) was not only due to a drought that broke out in the Ḥiǧāz, but also represented the husband's wish to avoid embarrassment. Nevertheless, Kuthayyir, who cared but little about the feelings of his rival, found in travelling to Egypt a good opportunity to see both ʿAzza and his friend ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governor of Egypt. Through the latter, the poet's attachment to the Umayyad caliphs and *amīrs* was strongly established, an attachment which endured until his death.

That at a date previous to these travels, Kuthayyir is said to have met a man called Khandak who attracted him to the Kaysānī beliefs. In its early stage, the Kaysāniyya sect [*q.v.*] must have been acceptable with the belief in the right of ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, to the imāmate, as successor to his half-brother, Ḥusayn. The poet's relation with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is a historical fact, to which Kuthayyir's own poetry attests. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was imprisoned by the rebel and anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and that imprisonment was strongly resented by the poet (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1971, 224). As for the other Kaysānī beliefs, such as those of the occultation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the mountain of Raḍwā, near Medina and his final return (*raǧʿa*), or the transmigration of souls, nothing is explicitly or implicitly expressed about them in Kuthayyir's poetry. Even his two surviving elegies for his friend Khandak are completely silent about any doctrines or beliefs. Yet the poet was later identified with the extremist Kaysānī poet, al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789), and some of the latter's poems were ascribed to him. The *riwāyas* about his Kaysānī beliefs hardly conform with the accepted Kaysānī doctrines. Ludicrously enough, instead of believing in the return of his *imām*, Kuthayyir, according to these *riwāyas*, believed in his own *raǧʿa*. In examining similar traditions, one can discover not only contradictions but also a humorous strain which was intended to mock Kuthayyir's own character. Kuthayyir's attachment to the Kaysāniyya must have been a short, emotional interlude, to which he was driven by his friendship with Khandak and his pity for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment. When the latter acknowledged the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik in 69/688, the poet felt no ambivalence in his allegiance and became an Umayyad partisan till the end.

Some traits in Kuthayyir's character made it easy to ascribe rather ridiculous beliefs or modes of behaviour to him. He was a very short, ugly, red-faced, long necked, huge-headed and very slender man, who adopted a haughty and conceited manner to mask his limitations. His naiveté and lack of urban sophistication are easily detected in his poetry. In one of his poems he bridles at ʿAzza's humorous comment that he has become pale and rough in manner of late, and accuses her of ridiculing him only to please her husband (*Dīwān*, 579). Yet he explicitly acknowledges, in the same poem, that he had really become a shadow of a man, "like the remnants of a rope", totally bony but, in spite of all that, naturally hand some, without adornment, "like a Byzantine *dīnār*". Madness, which must be taken to mean no more than eccentricity, becomes an easy accusation. But no mad person, in reality, could have enjoyed the durable favour and esteem which the poet gained from his Umayyad patrons, or could have become as well loved that nearly all the men and women of Medina would throng his funeral in order to bid him a final farewell. Kuthayyir was also accused of being insincere in his love. Considered as a ʿUḏrī lover, this accusation might be true; at a certain time, he was temporarily attracted to another woman called Zalīmā, whose "magical tie" was easily broken by ʿAzza. Other tales about his unfaithfulness in love are mere elaborations on the same theme by *sawāʾir* writers. His poetry, in a way, gives credence to such an accusation because it shows a sober restraint which falls short of a passionate abandonment to love. Love, in Kuthayyir's poems, is conceived in the terms of friendship. Let it be also remembered that he, unlike other ʿUḏrī-love poets, like al-Maǧnūn or even his tutor Ḏjamīl, did not restrict himself to love-poetry. Not only his eulogies, but also his harsh satirical poems against his beloved's tribe testify that love, in his heart, was rivalled by other strong emotions. His elegies on his friends, Khandak and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, are not less in warmth than his love poems. His eulogies, though not so warm, are lengthy and symmetrical. In them, the poet's hard Bedouin life or the pangs of his forlorn love, are sharply contrasted with the luxurious life of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), and this latter is also drawn in contrast to the hardships which the patron faced in an inevitable war. Although the Umayyad *amīr* is an Arab chief who has, sometimes, the eyes of a snake and who seized sovereignty by force, it seems as if the poet resorts to a special set of distinguishing Umayyad attributes in his eulogies. Friendship, rather than financial benefit, is the stronger incentive for such poems. This feeling of social equality helped

the poet to preserve much of his dignity. But when such a feeling is exploited in love poetry, it reduces the sense of sacrifice to a minimum. The lover even in moments of self-esteem, acquires the awe of the sovereign when he describes how admiring women feel towards him and how he enjoys the sight of entreating "subjects". It is true that this is not always the case, but, being there for once, it can outweigh all his other expressions of total absorption in love.

Kuṯḥayyir was a prolific poet. During his long life, he appears never to have stopped writing poetry except for a certain period, after the death of ʿAzza and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (86-99/705-17), the poet's use of a simple and direct style of composition heaped that profuseness. When writing on love or praise, or combining both themes in one poem, his vivid descriptions of the scenes from the Ḥiḏjāz or those on the route to Egypt or Syria add much to the length of his poem. It is said that, of *Umayyads*, he wrote 30 of considerable length. However, all that has survived of that poetry, scattered through the available sources, does not exceed 2,000 lines.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Flügel, 120, 221, 306; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 457; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-Shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1964, 420. Abu ʾl-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Beirut 1957-64, ix, 4, xii, 170, xv, 224, al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1965, 243, al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī*, ed. M. Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1954, ii, 387, al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, Cairo 1936, 62, al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, Beirut 1958, i, 136, Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1972, iv, 106, al-Arṭāḳī, *Taʾrīkh al-uzarāʾ*, Cairo 1309/1884, i, 43, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, Cairo 1926, ii, 116-26, Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Adab fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1963, 329-23, Aḥmad Rabīʿ, *Kuṯḥayyir ʿAzza*, Cairo 1967, Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Ḳaṣīdatayn fī ʾl-taʾrīkh wa ʾl-adab*, Beirut 1974, 312-22, Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 669-18 and index, Brockelmann, P, 44, SI, 79, Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 408-9. Editions of the *Dīwān*: H. Pérès, *Kaṣīdat-ʿAzza, Dīwān, accompagné d'un commentaire arabe*, Algiers 1928-30, I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1391/1972. (IḤSĀN ʿABBĀS)

KUTLUGH-KHĀNIDS. I. a dynasty in Kirmān (*q.v.*) in the 7th/13th century, descended from the Kara-Khitay (*q.v.*) of Transoxania. The dynasty, successively vassals of the Khwārazm-Shāh, the Mongol Great Khāns and the dynasty of Hülegü Khān (Ilkhāns), lasted from 629/1222 or 630/1223 to 706/1303-6, but never had more than local importance. It entertained close relations with the neighbouring dynasties of the Atābegs of Yazd, the Salghurids of Fārs and the Muẓaffarids (*q.v.*) and came into occasional contact with the caliph and with India. The founder of the dynasty (from 619 or 620) was Naṣr al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fawāris Kutlugh Sulṭān Burāḳ-Ḥādjib (*q.v.*), son of Kuldūz (?), d. 632/1235. His title Kutlugh Sulṭān was given him by the caliph, although his conversion to Islam was of a very recent date. He had a son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Khāḍjaghūḳ (or Muḥārak Khwādja) and four daughters, of whom Sawindj Türkān was married to Chaghatay Khān, Khān Türkān to her cousin Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and the two others to members of the family of the Atābegs of Yazd.

Burāḳ appointed as his successor his nephew and son-in-law Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad Khān, whose father Khamīṯān Tāyangū b. Kuldūz (variants: Khamīthūr, Khactumūr, Tānikū) is perhaps identical with the Kara-Khitay chief captured by the Khwārazmians in 607/1210, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 364. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn at the end of a year had to retire into Mongolia on the approach of Ruḳn al-Dīn son of Burāḳ and Ukā-Khātūn, who after spending some time at the Mongol court received from Ögedey investiture for the fiefs of Kirmān and Narmashīr. He ruled for 16 years. He was not well disposed to the Tādjiks and men of letters, according to the *Siyar al-ʿulamāʾ*.

In 650/1252 he had in turn to make way for Ḳuṭb al-Dīr, who had in the interval been serving in China under Maḥmūd Yalawāč and upon whom Möngke after his accession conferred the *yasāḳ* over Kirmān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was authorised by the Kā'ān to put Ruḳn al-Dīn to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. He severely punished the Kāḍī and Ṣāḥiḥ (see BALŌČISTĀN and KURS). His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife, Kutlugh Türkān Khātūn, whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin, according to the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* she had been the concubine (*surriyya*) of Burāḳ (according to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, brother of the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn) and would thus be a different person from Khān Türkān, daughter of Burāḳ, thus fact might explain her feud with the sons of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died in 655/1257. His son Ḥādjidjādj being a minor, the notables asked the Kā'ān to entrust the government to the widow of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn ʿIṣmat al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn Kutlugh Türkān who ruled 655-81/1257-82 (in 662/1264 her powers were confirmed by Hülegü, cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 403).

Ḥādjidjādj when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ögedey and acted with little regard for Kutlugh Türkān, but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pādshāh-Khātūn, married to Abaka Khān, forced Ḥādjidjādj to retire to Dihlī in 666/1267-8. Then the other son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Suyurghatmish, successfully disputed Türkān's power and she went to Tabrīz, where she died in 683/1282-3. Her daughter Bībī Khātūn, who had married the *amīr* Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Hādjidjī, removed her remains to Kirmān. Marco Polo went through Kirmān (ca. 1272) in the reign of Kutlugh Türkān.

Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Suyurghatmish (682-93/1283-94) received his investiture from the Il Khān Aḥmad, but could not agree with his sister Pādshāh-Khātūn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Ḥasan Shāh (cf. Mazg"ANOV) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became, however, the wife first of Abaka and after his death, of his son Gaykhātū. The latter on coming to the throne in 690/1291 gave Kirmān to Pādshāh-Khātūn. The princess, who was a poetess of talent, was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first, Suyurghatmish governed the province in the name of the Pādshāh, but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife Khudāwand-zāda Karduǧān, daughter of Mengu Timūr b. Hülegü and the Salghurid (*q.v.*) princess Abish, ruler of Fārs, and by his daughter Shāh ʿĀlam. Gaykhātū, however, handed him over to Pādshāh-Khātūn, who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier, who was captured by stratagem. In 694/1295 Baydū,

husband of ʿĀlam Khātūn, became king, and Pādshāh was handed over the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghatmish. In the reign of Pādshāh Marco Polo (ed Yule-Cordier, 23, 92) passed through Kirmān on his return journey (ca. 1293)

In 695/1296 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū ʾl-Ḥārith Muḥammad Shāh Sulṭān b. Ḥadīdī succeeded his aunt by command of Ghāzān Khān, but his brother slew his vizier and rebelled th Kirmān. The troops of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ besieged Kirmān for 18 months. Muẓaffar al-Dīn came from Tabrīz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ringleaders His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who loved wine, died in 703/1303-4 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sulṭān Kuṭb al-Dīn II Shāh Ḍiahān b Suyurghatmish succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (until 706/1306 7). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Öldjeytü deposed him and appointed a simple governor to Kirmān, Nāṣir al Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān Kuṭb al-Dīn II retired to Shīrāz to Kardudjīn, wife of his father. His daughter Kutlugh Khān (*sāḥibat al-salāṭīn*) in 709/1328 9 became the wife of Muḥārik al-Dīn Muḥammad the real founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, who later took possession of Kirmān (in 741/1340-1)

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kirmān the *Kubba-yi sabz* (remains of the *madrasa* of Tarkānābād) bearing the date 690/1291-2 (i.e. contemporary with Ruḳn al-Dīn) This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 60-2, 194, 264) Turkān Khātūn founded the little towns of Sar ābyāb and Ṭabrūd, to which she brought a water supply Suyurghatmish built the *madrasa* of Darb-i Maw, where he was buried.

Bibliography. The special history of the Kutlugh Khānids is the *Sirat al-Sulṭān li ʾl Ḥaḍrat al-Sulṭāniyya*, written in 726/1326 17, cf Storey, i, 356, 1297 The author Nāṣir al-Dīn was the son of Khwādja Muntadjab al-Dīn Yazdī, the trusted ed viser of Kuṭb al-Dīn (cf. the Paris mss., B. M Persian No 1377, f., 125) On Burāḳ, Ruḳn al-Dīn and Kuṭb al-Dīn, cf Djuwaynī, ed Kazwīnī, ii 222-28, tr Boyle, ii, 476 82 On the whole dynasty *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed Browne 327-35, 825 Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1286 iv, 128-31 cf E. A. Strandman, *Chuandsmue i oftandling om Qarachitarerne i Kirman* Helsingfors 1869 Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, ii/3, 10-12, Münedjdjim bashī, Turkish tr., Istanbul 1285, iii, 587, Rieu also quotes Waṣṣāf, iii (to the year 694) and the *Geography* of Ḥāfiẓ i Abrū, part ii, which seems to contain full references. Cf also d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 5, 29, 32, 232-3, 396, iv, 90-3, 269, 485, Zenebeur, *Manuel*, 257, Boyle, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 323

2 The title Kutlugh Khān was conferred in 629/1232 by Ögedey on Abū Bakr b Saʿd, the Salghurid (q v.), cf d'Ohsson, iii, 398

(V MINORSKY)

KUTLUGH-SHĀH NOYAN, a notable Mongol *amīr* in Il-khānid Persia, especially during the reign of Ghāzān Khān and Öldjeytü (694-716/1295-1316) He was a member of the Manḳut tribe, and a descendant of Čingiz Khān's general Dedey Noyan.

After the accession of Ghāzān Kutlugh Shāh led the pursuit of the *amīr* Nawrūz, besieged Merāt, where Nawrūz had taken refuge, and captured and executed him in 696/1297 He was also charged with the execution of the fallen *wazīr* Ṣadr al-Dīn. In 698/1299 he was sent by Ghāzān to Rum to suppress the revolt of prince Sulāmish. In 699/1299 he accompanied Ghāzān's invasion of Syria, and was subsequently appointed by him *shaḥna* of Damascus. He commanded the right wing of the Il-khānid army when the Mamlūk forces were defeated at Ḥimṣ During the Syrian campaign of 702/1303, Kutlugh Shāh was less successful, he was defeated by the Mamlūks at Marḍj al-Ṣuffar He among others was held responsible by Ghāzān, and together with his fellow-general Čūbān he was sentenced to be beaten with rods at the judicial enquiry (*yārghū*) which followed his precipitate return to Persia. Any eclipse that Kutlugh Shāh may have suffered as a result of this defeat was only temporary, however. On his accession in 704/1304, the Il-khān Öldjeytü appointed him commander in-chief. But in 707/1307 Öldjeytü's armies invaded Gīlān, and during the campaign Kutlugh Shāh was defeated and killed His death cleared the way for the later ascendancy of Čūbān in the Il-khānid state.

Kutlugh Shāh's eminence among the *amīrs* of his time is amply attested in anecdotes concerning him. Khāfī records that during a dispute at court between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs during the reign of Öldjeytü, Kutlugh Shāh urged in his exasperation that the Mongols should abandon Islam—of whose tenets he is represented as having a very curious conception—and return to the *yasak* and *yusun* of Čingiz Khān (*Taʾrīkh-i Öldjeytü*, ed M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 98 = Aya Sofya MS 3019, f 178a) On the other hand, in Ibn Bazzāz's *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, a near-contemporary life of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl, he is shown as a devotee of Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, and there is an entertaining account of how to a contest of piety and abstinence, Kutlugh Shāh's favoured *shaykh* was beaten by Ghāzān Khān's candidate, Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī (ed. Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, Ilth Bombay 1911, 38 9 = Aya Sofya MS 3099, f. 28b)

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(D. O. MORGAN)

KUṬN, KUTON (A.), cotton.

1 In the mediaeval Arab and Persian lands

In the period of the Arab conquests cotton had already been propagated from India to eastern Persia and the neighbouring lands. It was cultivated everywhere and a flourishing industry produced cotton goods there The Arab geographers, in describing the economy of these lands in the ʿAbbāsid period, speak especially of the production of cotton goods, but there is good reason to suppose that these factories used the cotton planted in their own regions.

In modern Afghānistān, Kābul and Herāt had cotton factories which were known for the excellent quality of their products Kābul exported cotton goods as far as China. Marw and Nīshāpur were the most important centres of the cotton industry in Khurāsān. The province of Marw also exported large quantities of raw cotton much appreciated for its softness. The cotton materials produced at Marw, especially *mulham*, a cotton and silk fabric, were so renowned that, according to al Thaʿālibī, in all countries fine materials originating from Khurāsān were called *shāhigānī* (after the name of Marw)

The industry of Nīshāpūr was known for ḥal material called *ḥaffī*. The cotton goods of these two towns passed in the caliphal empire, according to an observation of al Djāḥiẓ cited by al Ṭhaʿālibī, as the best in the world. Transoxania also produced large quantities of cotton. From the province of Shāsh it was exported into the Turkish lands. Samarḳand, the small town of Wadhār not far from it, Bukhārā and Ṭawāwīs were the most important centres of the cotton industry there, whilst Bukhārā was renowned for its heavy cotton goods, whose firm fabric was praised. The cotton plantations had even been introduced into cold lands such as Khwārazm. Factories for cotton goods were also developed there, whose products, such as those called *asmāʿī* and *asmārī*, enjoyed a great reputation.

Djībāl itself produced cotton and had factories which worked it, although on a smaller scale than those of Khurāsān. The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century relate that the cotton of the province of Rayy was exported as far as ʿIrāḳ and Āḏharbāydjān. Speaking of irrigation by means of subterranean canals in the province of Iṣfahān, Ibn Ḥawḳal remarks that it served for the cultivation of cotton. In Kirmān, there was a flourishing cotton industry at Bamm which doubtless used the raw material produced in the province. As for the province of Fārs, there is no room for doubt about its presence there, for Ibn Ḥawḳal points out to us the rate of tax levied on the cotton plantations in the district of Shīrāz. Yazd and Abarḳūya themselves had factories which certainly worked the cotton cultivated in their provinces. However, in this part of Persia, the cultivation of flax and its manufacture prevailed over that of cotton.

At the end of the 3rd/9th century and beginning of the 4th/10th century, there were already cotton plantations in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, but in these lands they constituted a new sector of agriculture. Al-Iṣṭaḵhrī, writing in the first half of the 4th/10th century, relates that in most of the lands of Rās al ʿAyn, in Upper Mesopotamia, cotton was cultivated, and Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the cotton plantations and cotton goods production in the town of ʿArabīsūs, in the same province. Al-Muḳaddasī, for his part, mentions cotton plantations in the district of Ḥarrān. Later on Yāḳūt mentions cotton goods' production at Ḥazza, a small town near Rās al ʿAyn. In the 4th/10th century much cotton was also planted in the province of Aleppo and in Palestine, in the region of the Ḥūla and in the Djawlān, near Bāniyās. To judge by the description of Palestine by al-Muḳaddasī, it was also cultivated near Jerusalem. A passage in the description of Upper Mesopotamia by Ibn Ḥawḳal reveals that the cotton plantations increased considerably in the 4th/10th century in this land, when the new lords, who had replaced the caliphal régime, established large estates and introduced the cultivation of industrial plants such as cotton. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Ḥamdānids, but there is reason to suppose that other dynasties were also involved. Whatever may be the case, the cultivation of cotton as yet only played a modest rôle in this period within the total agricultural production of these lands. Indeed, Ibn Ḥawḳal specifies that cotton goods were imported from Upper Mesopotamia into Syria.

In Egypt, the cultivation of cotton constituted, in this period and also later, under the domination of the Fāṭimids, a still more limited agricultural sector. Several papyri, it is true, testify to the cultivation of cotton in Egypt in the 2nd-4th/8-10th centuries, and other documents refer to cotton plantations in Egypt under the Fāṭimids. According to al-Idrīsī it was even exported in this period from Egypt to Libya. On the other hand, numerous Judaeo-Arabic documents preserved in the Cairo Geniza from the second half of the 5th/11th and first half of the 6th/12th century show that cotton and cotton goods were imported from Sicily and especially from Syria and Palestine.

The same observation will be made so to the cultivation of cotton in the Maghrib in this period, it was planted almost everywhere but on a relatively small scale. Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the cotton plantations in the districts of Tunis and M'sila in Algeria. Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī mentions too the cotton plantations in the province of M'sila and speaks of there further in his description of Mostaganem in western Algeria. In Morocco, cotton was planted, according to the reports of the Arab geographers, in the districts of Fas, Tādlā, Baṣra and Kurt. In Islamic Spain it was cultivated, in the 4th/10th century, in the province of Seville and also in the district of Guadix, to the east of Granada.

In the period of the Crusades, the cultivation of cotton developed to a great extent in Syria, especially in its northern provinces. Several treaties concluded between Venice and the Ayyubid princes of Aleppo and Ṣaḥyūn report the export of cotton from their states. However, the great rise of cotton cultivation in Syria was to begin later, after the fall of the Crusader states. When the farmers lost the great markets provided by the Crusaders' towns, there was a glut of cereals and they went over apparently to the cultivation of cotton. Already in 1304, some Venetian emissaries went to visit the Mamluk governor of Safad, doubtless to negotiate with him concerning the trade in cotton; the plantations of which had increased considerably in his province. The depopulation following the Black Death and the still further diminished demand for cereals accelerated this development, so that the export of Syrian cotton became an important sector of the Levant trade.

The connection between the reduced demand for cereals and the increase in cotton production emerges clearly from the development of agriculture in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Marco Polo relates, at the end of the 13th century, that the provinces of Mush and Mārdīn produce enormous quantities of cotton which was worked there. Ḥamd Allāh Mostawfī, writing in the first half of the 8th/14th century, also speaks of the cotton plantations in the district of Mārdīn and still others in the districts of Bāzabdā, Bartaʿlā and Irbil in Upper Mesopotamia and in the environs of Walāsdjird in Armenia. The Venetian ambassador Giosafa Barbaro, who travelled across these lands in 1474, also mentions the cultivation of cotton and the cotton goods' factories at Mārdīn as well as plantations in the district of Hīṣn Kayfā. The fiscal regulations of Uzun Ḥasan, then lord of this country, refer to the cotton industries of Urfa, ʿArabgīr and Erzindjān, towns today forming part of Turkey. In ʿIrāḳ cotton was cultivated then in the districts of Baghdād, Kūfa and Ḥilla. The accounts of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī of the agricultural production of several provinces of Persia are particularly significant in this regard, in so far as they mention cotton plantations in some districts which do not figure as producers of cotton in earlier sources. He speaks of large harvests of cotton in several districts of Āḏharbāydjān, Djībāl, Kūhistān and Kirmān. There is no doubt that the diminution of the population and consequently of the demand for

cereals after the Mongol conquests led also the farmers of these regions to go over to the cultivation of cotton. Al Mawṣil and several other towns then became centres of the cotton goods industry and their products were exported to other lands, such as Egypt.

In this latter country, the production of cotton also increased from the middle of the 7th/13th century, although it was still imported from the Sudan. The Irish pilgrim Simeon Simeonis, who in 1323 passed by Fuwwa in the western delta, describes the plantations of cotton which he had seen there and later, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Emmanuel Piloti relates that cotton is the most important product of the province of al-Gharbiyya. Arnold von Harff, a German traveller of the end of the 9th/15th century, saw cotton plantations on his way from Katya to Ghazza. In the late Middle Ages, Egypt was also able to export cotton to Europe.

Nevertheless, in no other country of the Near East was the role of cotton, in the late Middle Ages, as important as in Syria, nor was the volume of its production an considerable in relation to other crops. Syria exported large quantities of cotton to Europe, where it served as the raw material for the flourishing fustian industries in Lombardy and southern Germany. The great centres of the plantations were the region of Aleppo, the province of Ḥamā and the northern districts of Palestine. In northern Syria cotton was cultivated especially in the districts of Ḏjabala, ʿAzāz and Sermīn (called Sarmo by the Italians, by confusion with al-Sīs̱ān), and in Palestine in the environs of Acre and in the valley of Jizreel. But cotton was also planted in the province of Tripoli and on the coasts of Lebanon, near Beyrūt, Sayda and Tyre. To the travel books which pilgrims to the Holy Land have left for us, there is mention of cotton plantations near Jaffa and Ramla. In Transjordania cotton was planted in the district of ʿAdjlūn. According to the Merchants' Guide of Pegolotti, the cotton of Ḥamā was considered the best, and this statement is corroborated by numerous price lists of the Venice market. But all varieties of Syrian cotton were more appreciated in Europe than the cotton originating from other countries, such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt or Malta. It was appreciated for its longer fibres and for being more flexible. Part of the Syrian cotton fed the cotton goods' industry (especially "bocasin" from the Turkish *bughdāsī*) which flourished at Baʿlabakk, in the villages of the Lebanon, to the east of Tripoli and in the villages near Aleppo. It appears however that this industry only worked up a small part of the cotton produced in the country and that the greatest part of it was in fact destined for export. From the end of the 13th century, the Venetians made the largest purchases, while the Genoese traded especially in the cotton originating from the Balkans or Turkey, where there existed important plantations in the provinces of Konya and Sīwās. The Catalans, who, at the end of the 14th century, still bought on a large scale in Syria, were supplied in the 15th century especially in Sicily. Venice sent each year two convoys of cogs to Syria, one in February and the other in August. Numerous documents which have been preserved in the archives of Italy allow us to evaluate the volume of the export of Syrian cotton by the Venetians. It will be concluded that in some periods of good (political and economic) conjunctures, the Venetians exported each year from Syria 8,000 sacks of raw cotton (apart from relatively small quantities of cotton thread) and in others, 5,000. Since a sack contained, on average, 250 kg., the volume of these exports may be evaluated at 90-140,000 ducats a year. But when the price of cotton rose, at the beginning of the 15th century, from 24-5 ducats a *bahar* (of northern Syria) to 30-5 ducats the Venetian investment rose to 200-250,000 ducats and more. Also, there were some years in which the Venetians bought Syrian cotton for 300 000 ducats.

The registers of fiscal returns made in Palestine in 1525-6 and 1555-6 indicate the large volume of cotton production in Galilee and also in the district of Jaffa after the conquest of the land by the Ottomans. Indeed, Syria still exported cotton to Egypt and other countries until the end of the 18th century. In Egypt cotton was cultivated, at the beginning of the 19th century, near Damanhūr on the western branch of the Nile and in the provinces of Sammanūd and Mansūra on its eastern branch. But these plantations were not of great extent. Then, in 1818 or 1819, the French engineer Louis Alexis Jumel discovered in Cairo a species of cotton which was distinguished by its long, strong fibres and began to cultivate it with the help of Muḥammad ʿAlī. As the new species fetched a much higher price in Europe than the others, it was cultivated from 1822 on a large scale, principally on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Nile Alwaya under the sponsorship of Muḥammad ʿAlī, experts on cotton cultivation were invited to Egypt and in 1830 a type of agricultural code (*ḳānūn zirāʿat al-falla*ḥ) containing detailed instructions for the cultivation of cotton was published. However, the great rise of its cultivation in Egypt only began in the 1860s, when the Civil War in America made the price of Egyptian cotton rise and the plantations were greatly enlarged. It is from this time that cotton has come to occupy a place of the first rank in the agriculture of Egypt.

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xv-xvi (1951), E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy 1820-1914*, Oxford 1969 (E. Ashtor)

2. In the Ottoman Empire

In western Turkish dialects, *pam(u)buk*, *pamuḳ*, *bamuk* or *ovomuḳ* (see G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre thirteenth century Turkish*) "cotton" is derived from Middle Persian *pambak* while in eastern dialects cotton is *paḫta*, *baḫta*, or *bahta* (Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turkdialecte*, iv) and cotton cloth *bohtāy* (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt-al-Turk*, tarc. ed. B. Atalay, 550, in Chinese *po-te*, ten J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours*, Paris 1955, 37 ff.). In Uyghur, *bōz* designated cotton. The word *bōz* (*boz*) is a common word for coarse cotton cloth in various dialects (also in the forms *al-bōz*, *bez*, or *bōs*, with a theory of its derivation from the Greek βόστρυς, Assyrian *buru*, W. Benz, *Vier Kōkārkszchen zum Osmanwachen*, Berlin 1922, 14 n. 2, now challenged, see G. Doerfer and S. Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch*, Budapest 1980, 91 f.). Ecsedy, *Bōz, an exotic cloth in the Chinese imperial court*, in *Ali-orientalische Forschungen*, iii, 145 ff.).

Continuing a long tradition of cotton growing and industry in Central Asia, the Uyghur Turks produced cotton and exported cotton textiles to China, as recorded in the Chinese sources of the 9th century (Hamilton *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. *po-tie*). Under the Saldjūks [*q.v.*], cotton production and manufacture had apparently a considerable development in Asia Minor, in which principal towns had cotton bazaars (for instance, *pambak ḳayṣārīsi* in Konya, Aflāḳī, *Manāḳib*, 918) and caravanserais of cotton textiles (for al-Khān al-Bazzāzī in the *Sīrat al-Ramaḍān* in Kirshehir, see A. Temir, *Caca oğlu Nūr el Dın*, 83). "Cotton fabrics edged with gold embroidery" of Lādhiḳ (Laodicaea-on-Lykos, today Denizli) noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 733/1322 (tr. Gibb, ii, 425) were famous all over Anatolia and referred to as late as the 9th/15th century (see ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde ed. Giese, 52).

Although European markets preferred better-quality northern Syrian types (Ḥamā, Aleppo) and those of Cilicia and Cyprus (in the 1330s, Pegolotti *cotone*, Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 463), a substantial part of the cotton imported into Europe in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries came from western and southern Anatolian ports—Ayasoluk (Ephesos), Balat (Palatia), Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya, Candelore), Antalya (Satalia), and Ayas (Lajazzo) (Heyd, ii, 463, H. Wescher, 2355; M. Mazzaoui, ch. 2). Cotton was grown in the immediate hinterlands of these ports. The island of Chios became the main entrepôt of the Anatolian cotton exported by the Genoese in this period. In the mid 15th century, the value of the annual export of cotton via Chios was estimated at 600 000 ducats. Turkish cotton was re-exported by the Genoese to other European countries and even to the Maghrib (J. Heers, 393).

Over the course of time, Venice tried to monopolise the import and distribution of imported cotton in the West. Venetian annual cotton trade with Lombardy alone was estimated to be worth 250,000 gold ducats in the 9th/15th century (Wascher, 2337; M. Mazzaoui, *ibid.*). By the end of the 10th/16th century, Venice imported an average 4,000 tons annually from the Levant (8,000 sacks from Cyprus and 8,000 from Izmir). The expanding Swiss and German fustian industries were dependent on the cotton imported from the Levant.

Although first known in Germany in ca. 978/1570, cotton from Brazil and the West Indies became a serious competitor only after the mid 18th century. At that time, the cotton industries in France and England began to experience rapid growth. Favoured by special trade privileges [see IMTIYĀZĀT] granted by the Ottomans, France, England, and the Netherlands were then directly importing cottons from the Levant, and superseded Italy in cotton industries in the 11th/17th century. The war of Cyprus (1570-1) can be taken as a turning point for the Venetian decline.

Cotton-producing areas in the Ottoman Empire before 1215/1800. Ottoman survey books, customs registers, guilds and price regulations, as well as *sharīʿa* court records, attest to a very active cotton manufacturing industry with export capacity in Anatolia, both in the small towns and many cotton producing areas as well as in the large cities with extensive dye-houses in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Apart from a growing demand by the Europeans and from internal trade, the state's need of cotton products for the navy and army too appears to have become one of the factors contributing to the extension of cotton production and that of certain kinds of cotton fabrics. According to the tax regulations of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Index, s.v. *pambuk*, *pambe*), tithes on cotton produce were collected in the provinces of western Anatolia (Khudāwendigār, Karasi, Kütahya, Aydın), of the Aegean Sea and Greece (Trikala, Morea, Euboea, Chios), of southwestern Anatolia (Karamān, Ḥamīd-ili, Iç-il, Adana, Sīs, Öser) and south-eastern Anatolia (Malatya, Behisnī, ʿArabgīr, Ḳomāḫ, Ergani, Mārdīn, Urfa, Dayār bakir, and Mawṣil). Northern limits of cotton cultivation on the southern Mediterranean coast reached as far as north as Egirdir lake (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne*, fig. 7). Today, the cotton cultivation is concentrated in the valleys of Gediz and the two Menderes rivers, and in the Çukurova (Cilicia), and to a lesser degree in the Antalya, Hatay, Mar'ash, and Diyārbakr areas (*Atlas of Turkey*, map no. 75).

The Ottoman survey of the Aydın province dated 859/1455 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, No. 1/1M), which included the Küçük-Menderes and Büyük-Menderes valleys with the Izmir (Smyrna) area, attest to extensive cotton cultivation in the region. In many villages (Adakïtlï, Yūsufu, Bozdeghan, Haydara, Orta Seyid, Cahïjlu, Kalu beghi, Kutlïjï, etc.) cotton production was near or sometimes exceeded wheat production. Ḳala begïs, for example, where two Türkmen nomad groups had settled, produced about 8,44 tons of cotton against 5,83 tons of wheat in 858 9/1454-5. These were flooded lands and mostly settled by Türkmen nomads by the mid 15th century. Obviously, cotton production in this area was oriented to supplying distant markets as well as to supplying towns and cities exporting cotton goods in the region. In the interior, the Beypazarï Mïhallïjïḳlï area in the Sakarya Kïrmïr valley, a number of villages (Ceṭṭïk, Karaköy, Surmeli, Kayalar, Sobran, Kïzïljïa virān, Bash virān, Yarïmdja Avshar, Çay, etc.) showed a different structure with a much more limited production of cotton compared to other crops—wheat, barley, and rice (see the *taḥrīr* and *waḳf* registers of Khudāwendigār province, ed. Ö. L. Barkan). Apparently, this area supplied cotton to the nearby towns as well as to Ankara, the important centre of loom industries in this region. The area of Tokāt, another important centre of cotton industry, displays a similar situation. Here, Venk, Karahïsār, Niksar, Felis,

Kütahya and Karakuş in particular cotton cultivation constituted only a small percentage of the overall agricultural production (H. İnalcık, *Dynamics of agricultural production*, ch. 2). The general trend, however, showed an increase in cotton production, over ten times in some areas. In no case is there a shift to monoculture in the period before the 13th/19th century.

According to the Ottoman surveys of the 10th/16th century (Soysal, 32), 6,506 hectares or 25% of the cultivated land in the *sandjak* of Adana was devoted to cotton, while barley and wheat cultivation took an area four times larger. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, the cotton production of the Çukurova appears to have been quite important. O Heguerty (200) tells us that in the good harvest years, "cotton of Adana" was exported from Izmir.

Varieties of Indian *gossypium herbaceum*, the so-called *yerli* ("native") cotton, were well suited to the climate and soil conditions, and were known as the only varieties cultivated in Asia Minor until the 13th/19th century. Yielding a coarse fibre, thick, short, and of unequal length and curl this variety was not considered suitable for fine cotton fabrics. However, in the Kirkağaç area in the Bakırçay valley, in the Hamid-ili, Gelibolu (Gallipoli) and the Çukurova (Adana, Cilicia), and Tokat areas superior varieties were produced for making fine *boghasi* fabrics. It was in the second half of the 13th/19th century that American and Egyptian varieties were introduced and cultivated in Asia Minor and the Balkans. In 1333/1914, however, 90-95% of the cotton production in western Anatolia and the Adana region still came from the *yerli* varieties (W. F. Brack, *Türkische Baumwollwirtschaft*, tr. C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey*, Chicago 1980, 242-6; *Türk ziraat tarihi*, 129-35).

At the exhibition of Istanbul of 1279/1863, many qualities of cottons from various parts of the Empire were displayed: 24 varieties from western Anatolia, 4 from Içel (Ič-il), 3 from Adana, 1 from Mar'aş, 1 from Mardin, 1 from Diyârbakır, 7 from Amasya, 6 from Seres, 4 from Filibe, 3 from Edirne, 3 from Drama, 1 from Trikkala, 1 from Rhodes, 9 from Syria, and 4 from Egypt. Egyptians cottons were considered the best quality, while those of Aydın, though of short fibre, were preferred for their colour and strength (*Türk ziraat tarihi*, 166). Of the varieties of western Anatolia, that of Suhûca and Kirkağaç were rated first, with those of Akhisâr, Kasaba, Klaik, and Baylındır coming next. Kirkağaç and Akhisâr, as well as Gelibolu, were the chief suppliers of the Istanbul cotton industries in the 12th/17th century (*Esrâf nişânları*, in the *Müfîdülk Arşivi*, Istanbul).

Cotton producing lands were listed among the best quality lands, and a higher land tax was imposed (Uluçay, doc. 41). Tithe on cotton was, as a rule, one tenth, while in grain it was one-eighth.

Irrigation works for cotton growing were carried out only on large farms organised and created by the élite (see *Vakıflar dergisi*, ii, 364-5). On big farms, *ortakçıs*, sharecroppers, were usually employed, and one third of the crop went to the landowner (at Turgutlu in Şarukhân, see Uluçay, doc. no. 33). Such farms of the élite were almost always converted into *mukâṭa'*. On lands under the *timâr* [*q.v.*] system, cotton was grown by individual peasants using primitive means, and often with no irrigation. Disputes arose when cotton prices were low and the *timâr*-holder tried to leave the tithe to the peasant and ask instead for cash (examples in Uluçay, docs. 33, 41).

In Ottoman Egypt, cotton was grown on irrigated land in parts of Middle Egypt and the Delta. Egypt however, had to import cotton from Syria to meet the needs of its cotton industries. By the end of the 12th/18th century, the imports of Syrian cotton reached 2,000-3,000 bales (Raymond, i, 19e, 250 273, 317-18). A special *mukâṭa'a* [*q.v.*] was established on the cotton trade in the ports of Rosetta and Bülâk in 1132/1720-1 and 1761/1740 respectively, which provided evidence of the growing importance of cotton in the Egyptian economy. During the same period, the cotton markets at Bülâk, Damietta, Rosetta, Mahallat al-Kubrâ, Manşûra and Semonûd, united under one *mukâṭa'a*, brought 1,195,000 *paras* per year in tax revenues collected on cotton grown in Egypt or imported from Syria. The total amount of this cotton was approximately 24,000 bales (1 bale = 325 *rațl* or 143,9 kg). The *mukâṭa'a* figures show an eight-fold increase in the period 1165-82/1755-68, falling to half that amount in the following period 1183-1213/1769-98 (see S. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt*, index s.v. *cotton*, for the following period, see E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy*, Oxford 1969).

Already in the 9th/15th century, the coastal plains between Drama and Karaferye (Verroia) and Vodena formed an important cotton producing area in Rumili. In 1163/1751, the Venetian consul Chiodas estimated the total amount of raw cotton exported from this area to be 23,000 bales (7,000 for France, 4,000 for Venice, 10 Salonica, 1 bale was equal to 110, sometimes 120 *okkas*, see Svoronos, 249), while in 1212/1797, Felix de Beaujour's estimate was 60,000 bales of both raw cotton and cotton yarn exported (40,000 to Germany, 10,000 to France). In 1211/1796, de Beaujour gives a record 98 500 bales for the total export of raw cotton (50,000 to London and Amsterdam, 30,000 to Germany and 12,000 to France). De Beaujour that only 10,000 bales were consumed in the area itself.

The cotton boom in the second half of the 12th/18th century was apparently responsible for the structural changes in the area, sc. the shift from rice cultivation to cotton, the reclamation of new land for cotton agriculture, the extension of big *čiftliks* and commercialisation of agriculture, and the growing prosperity of the big *a'yân* with increasing control of the land and peasant labour.

The organisation of cotton trade and industries. The *kâdî* court records and market regulations provide us with quite detailed information on the processes of cotton trade and manufacture in the Ottoman towns (see *Ihtisâb* regulations in *Tarih vesikaları*, nos. 5, 7, 9, for court records see Uluçay).

In cotton producing areas, *kozak*, i.e. cotton balls, and cotton cleaned from its seeds, was brought to nearby town markets, usually by camels (Uluçay, doc. 22). In towns, special markets, *penbe pazarı*, were reserved for cotton sale. Most of the crop was purchased in small quantities by local *čiftlikas* or *čiftčis*, spinners who were poor townsfolk, mostly women. Usually, foreign merchants from the port cities tried to reach producers or local markets through their agents. In order to get the best grade cottons, the merchants, in keen competition among themselves, used a system of advanced payment for a crop directly to the producers through their "factors". The system of a future contract was bitterly denounced by the French, since they said it caused scandalous competition, resulting in higher prices (Masson, ii, 435). Also, native middle-men or speculators in the cotton trade, mostly consisting of members

of the Ottoman élite along with Jews and Armenians in the Izmir area, bought the next season's produce in advance. Such contracts, called *salam*, widely practised in Islamic countries, were strictly regulated in Islamic law because of the uncertainty about the subject of contract (see al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, ed. J. A. Wakin, New York 1972).

The customs registers provide definitive evidence that there was a group of Anatolian merchants who specialised in the cotton trade and who took their cotton goods as far as the northern Black Sea ports (Inalcık, *The Black Sea*, 9x 107). The cottons in barracks or bales were taken in caravans into centres such as Kayseri, Ankara, Bursa, Kastamonu, Tokat and other parts of the Empire or by sea to Europe. Public regulations provided that all cotton imported for sale in the large cities had to be brought into a special building, called the *penbe bahānè*. Cotton was to be weighed, taxed, and distributed there. For accomodating caravan merchants with their cotton goods, special caravanserais (*penbe khānè*, *wakālat al-kuṭn* in Egypt) were built (Raymond, II, 640).

In the *penbe kaṭṭānè*, each member of the guild of *ḥallāǧs* purchased his share of cotton at the officially fixed price (*narkh* ı *dārī*) under the supervision of the *kadkhudā* and *yiǧit-bashī* of the guild. The *ḥallāǧān*, or carders, separated the fibre from the seed by beating (*atma* or *calma*) the cotton with a *kemān* or *yay*, a bow like instrument, to make the cotton clean and fluffy. The *ḥallāǧān* were also cotton dealers in the cities. According to a regulation dated 1238/1727 (Istanbul *eṣnāf nizāmları*), there were 104 *ḥallāǧs* in Istanbul, 15 in Galata (Pera), 9 in Üsküdar and 4 in Eyüp.

Each group of artisans was responsible for a stage in manufacturing. They were organised in *ḥurūfs*, guilds, and their shops occupied the same street or *khān*.

For example, in Magnisa, a relatively small town but an important centre of production of cottons, we find *pamukǧılar* (cotton dealers), *dimiṭkhāne* or *kendīler* (weavers of coarse cottons), *bezzāzlar* (weavers of fine cottons) and *bezzāz* (dealers of cotton stuffs) directly involved in cotton trade and industry, while *boyadılar* (dyers), *takyeǧīler* (cap-makers), *yorgancılar* (quilt makers), and *terziler* (tailors) were considered as related crafts. In 980/1572, there were 520 *ḥallāǧs*, 120 dyers, and 150 *bezzāz*s in Magnisa (Ulucay, doc. 64). Each craft guild elected its governing body, a *ghāyiḳ*, a *kedkhudā*, a *yiǧit-bashī*, and a committee of experts (*ehl-i khibre*) responsible for the supervision of the guild regulations, called *nizām* or *ḳānūn* (q.v.). *Dyedikhs* in Magnisa had an *aḳçe baha* (see AKÇE) as the head of the guild (Ulucay, doc. 38, dated 1054/1634). In important cities, these men obtained through local *kādīs* the Sultan's diploma empowering them to exercise authority over their guild members and to get the support of the local law-enforcing bodies.

In Istanbul, the guilds using cotton goods were *khayyaṭan* (tailors), *ḳawuḳǧuyān* (makers of wadded headgear for men), *takyeǧiyān* (makers of headdress for women), *yorgancıyān* (quilt makers), *gömleḳǧiyān* (shirt makers), *ḳulbendǧiyān* (dealers of muslin turbans), *yaghlıḳǧiyan* (dealers of napkins and handkerchiefs), and *ḫoǧrıǧiyān* (tent makers); for Cairo, Evliyā Celebi (x, 370 f.) gives a similar list of crafts and dealers. In both cities, guilds dealing with cottons were included in the group of 24 crafts connected with clothing or home furnishings, headed by the chief tailor.

*Bazzāz*s (in Turkish *bezzāz*), textile dealers, can be classified into two groups: big merchants of international or interregional connections, and local traders (see *Edirne askeri kassāmı*, ed. Barkan, 243, 261, 303, 306, 308, 325, 344, 352, 406, 422). The former dealt with costly goods, cottons, silks, and woollens, products of Anatolia, Aleppo, Damascus, Yemen, Egypt, Baghdād and India. Their stocks and credits amounted to big sums, sometimes over one million *aḳçes* or about 16,000 Venetian ducats in the 10th/16th century. They supplied the local guilds of drawmakers, cap makers, etc. with imported materials or re-exported them to distant areas usually on credit. These big merchants usually had their shops in the *bazzāzyya* or *bazzāzistān* (in Turkish, *bedestan* or *bedesten*) in the cities (see Inalcık, *The hub of the city the Bedestan of Istanbul*, in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 1, 1 27), and were the wealthiest and most respectable members of the society. As far as their social background was concerned, many of them came from the ruling élite (*ibid.*).

The second group included those dealers of modest capital, dealing only in local trade in the city. Their stocks usually consisted of cheap cottons, and a large variety of textiles in small amounts. In Edirne, we find former Janissaries among their ranks (Barkan *op. cit.*, 306, 308), but also a big merchant of Janissary origin (270).

Some of the big *bazzāz*s specialised in importing or selling particular kinds of cotton goods.

Market dynamics Artisans and dealers in cottons had a variety of difficulties as a result of shortages of raw materials, competition from other centres of production, and intrusions by related guilds in procurement of raw materials and marketing. It was in large cities or export-oriented production centres with a dynamic economy that strains and conflicts were particularly acute and recurrent. There was a kind of delicate balance established by custom and regulation among the guilds which performed successive stages of manufacturing. If one guild in cotton crafts or some members of it diverged from the standards or marketing rules laid down in the regulations, the other guilds were disturbed and the whole system affected. Consequently, the government was usually scrupulously conservative in keeping the old standards and regulations and often intervened authoritatively to restore the established norms. However, should the public interest require modifications, the innovations were accepted and introduced into the regulations. It was usually through the local *kādī* (q.v.) that the government changed the regulations; he consulted with the guild officers and elders in making these changes.

In the regulations, the quality and measures of each product were laid down. Prices were fixed periodically, every three or six months, by the *kādī* in consultation with the representatives of each guild. *Dyedikhs*, for example, were required to make coarse cotton fabrics called *baladī*, these *arshīn* or 2.04 metres long, and *bulluk or rub*ʿ or 49.5 cm wide, with 1,600 threads at warp (*Bursa sidjill*, II 7, 33, 908/1502).

It was the duty of the officers of the guild, *yiǧit-bashī* and *ehl-i khibre*, in particular, to supervise the standards during the process of manufacturing. The goods were also inspected by the *muḥtasib* (see HISBA) when marketed. Periodically, the government conducted inspections using special inspectors (*müfettish*) sent from the capital (see *Bursa sidjill*, *loc. cit.*). In larger cities, growing demand and the

import of cheaper grades of *cottons* caused difficulties for the town handicrafts under regulations with strict standards. Despite the periodic inspections, the regulations and standards for town handicrafts were often ignored in order to produce cheap products so as to compete with imports (*see ibid.*)

Not being organised as a guild, spinners of cotton yarn in cities came from among the poorest segments of the population, mostly poor women and children. They purchased cotton at the cotton market directly from the peasants or from the *hallādj*. This group of spinners, the real proletariat in the Ottoman cities, was particularly vulnerable to the speculation which caused unfair competition and unemployment among them. They often claimed that the merchants caused shortages and high prices by purchasing and re-exporting the imported cotton. Also, since too many spinning wheels depleted quickly the cotton supply at the market, the government restricted the number of the wheels in a town so that hand spinners could find enough raw *cotton* for their use (Uluçay, doc 25). Sensitive to the complaints of the poor masses in the towns, the government repeatedly ruled that no merchants could purchase raw cotton until after the town spinners and weavers had completed their purchases at the cotton market

Cotton manufacturers in large cities distant from the cotton producing areas were usually supplied with imported cotton yarn (*Barkan ekrem*, II-7, 33) as opposed to bulky raw cotton with high transportation costs. Under regulations, imported yarn was to be available to the weavers directly from the importers. The regulations forbade the dealers of cotton yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants—a measure taken to prevent the prices of cotton goods from going up and disrupting the price system set up by the regulations. Actually, better prices offered by the Europeans tempted local merchants to engage in smuggling with the foreigners. The government acted energetically to prevent this (Ḥaroqhi, *Sohrlesme*, ch 2, 73-4).

The important issue for *bezzāz*, sellers of cotton textiles, was to protect their monopoly of sale in the city Both weavers in the city or merchants from outside (in Magnisa native Armenians or those of Persia) sometimes sold their wares in the bazars of *khāns* (caravanserais) or as peddlers in the back streets. All finished goods, however, either locally made or imported, had to be sold under regulation to the dealers of cotton in the city (Uluçay docs 16, 44, 43, 48, all belonging to the 11th/17th century). In Magnisa the *bezzāz*s obtained the Sultan's order, which protected their monopoly and banned Armenians of Persia from having shops and competing with the town dealers (Uluçay, doc 61, cf. A Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 40-1)

*Bezzāz*s were also concerned with keeping up the standard to the size of the cottons and the quality of cotton and dyes used in the fabric The finished goods were to be inspected and stamped by the government agents at a specified place in the cotton textile market (*boghasi pazari*). Those products found short of standards were fined one *akče* for each two *parcemi*s (a *parcemi* = 2.83 cm.) of coarse *boghasi* and for one *parmak* of fine quality (Uluçay, doc. 5). The *resm i tamgha* or stamp tax was 2 *akče*s for each two *ghrrā*'s (1 *ghrrā'* of the bazaar = 68 cm) of fine cotton fabrics such as *elmās*, *aladja* and white *boghasi* and for each ten *ghrrā*'s of *catarilli*, a kind of coarse cotton fabric (this rate was valid in the provinces of Ṣarukhān, Aydin, Mentesche, and Sughla in Ramaḍān 1070/1659, Uluçay, doc. 46).

Concentration in cotton loom industries. In the 12th/18th century, the makers of towels of all kinds (*peshtemāl*, *fauṭa*, and *miscīch*), kerchiefs (*mahrama or mahrama*), white "raw" *aladja*, and bundle wrappers (*boghča*) were permitted to work only in the workshops in the three *khāns* in the district of Kiz-tashi in Istanbul (Sidjill, *Gedikler*, Istanbul 1323/1907, 17)

Again in Istanbul, the makers of printed cottons (*basmadjī*), all located at Wezir-khāni, were organised in 27 *gedik*s or workshops with patent. In 1138/1725, there were 192 *basmadjī*s in the *gedik*s, each *gedik* consisting of one master, one associate (*cherīk*) and several journeymen (*khalīfa* or *halfa*). Thirty three of them were Muslim and the rest were Armenian The *bashkhudā*, or head of the guild, was Muslim, while his associate was an Armenian. Considered as "workers" (*camele*), they worked for merchants or individual citizens in return for a fee (*Esnāf nizāmnāmesi*). Such centres of manufacturing activities were created, as a rule, as part of the *waḳf* [q v.] establishments and were rented to the members of the guilds (see A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 58). Thus the state or the members of the ruling élite became instrumental in constructing "factories" (*khāns*) or workshops which brought together the artisans of the same manufactures in one place. The confessed purpose for it was to serve the public by making goods abundant and cheap (*rāyegān ve rakhīṣ*). The leases for the shops included the provision that the leasers acquired the monopoly of the manufacture of a specific product. In 1202/1690 the *basmadjī*s obtained such a monopoly in an area from the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus down to the mouth of the Dardanelles on the Aegean Also, the Ottoman government sent orders to the main production centres for large quantities of saïcloth for the navy (Uzunçarşili, *Bahriye* 315) and coarse cottons for lining and underwear for the soldiery in Istanbul (Uzunçarşili, i, 282 4).

Government orders involving the output of large quantities of cotton goods in a limited period of time appear to have generated changes in the volume, prices, and even in the organisation of manufacturing in the centres of cotton production The areas most affected by this situation were those closest to the Ottoman capital or those connected with it by sea—Gelibolu, Bergama, Cyprus, Lavadia Athens, Euboea, Stila and Aleppo (Uzunçarşili, *Bahriye*, 525, Faroqhi, *Sohrlesme*, 63 73).

Export centres. It can safely be said that, next to leather manufactures, the cotton industry with a large export capacity was the most important of all the industries in the Ottoman dominions, particularly in western Anatolia, Syria, upper Mesopotamia and southern Macedonia. It constituted the foundation of economic prosperity and urban development in the empire until the 13th/19th century. The high cost of transport of the bulky raw cotton accounted for the concentration of cotton industries in districts near cotton production areas, whereas finished goods, costly cotton textiles, *boghasi* and *dülbend*, as well as sheeper cottons, *kirbas* and *astar*, and cotton yarn were sent by sea or land to all part of the Empire and to Europe

First among the main areas of cotton industries with large export capacity was western Anatolia during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. The most active towns in this region at this period were Bergama, Magnisa, Menemen, Tire, Uşak, Gordes and Denizli. Tire specialised in making pillow and matress cases, *aladja*, as well as cotton thread, called

Cottons imported in the northern Black Sea lands in ca. 1164/1750.
(1 grouch = 40 para = 120 akča; 1 arshin = 68 cm; 1 okka = 1,1828 gr.)

	Thousand in grouch	Price	Origin
Tokât basmasî (prints of Tokât)	600	6 to 10 para per arshin	Tokât
Boghasî (fine cotton fabric)	400	2½ grouch per piece of 10 arshin	Tokât, Kastamonu, Amasya
Astar or bez (coarse, cotton fabric)	250	—	from various Anatolian towns (*Çorum bezi, dag bezi, etc.*)
Dulkend (Muslin)	10-12	17 to 20 grouch per piece	—
Çember (handkerchief and headdress)	250	6½ grouch per piece	Anatolian as well as European and Indian kinds
Cotton shirts	4	1½ grouch per piece	—
Cotton yarn	7.5	2½ grouch per okka	—
Towels of Serres	8-10	—	Serres
Peshtemâl	10	15 para to 10 grouch per piece	Sinope, Istanbul
Threads	16-18	30 to 35 para per okka	—
Gedis bezi	600 bales	50 to 65 para per piece of 20 arshin	Gedis in western Anatolia

Source: M. de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le Mer Noire*, Paris 1757

rishm yi *Tire* or simply *Tire* Bergama specialized in sailcloth for the navy. The Hamîd ili was known in the 9th/15th century for its large exports of *bez ghassî* from such centres as Ulu Borlu (Borlu), Egir dir, Burdur and Isparta. Products from this area were sent to the great transit centre of Bursa, where they were dyed and re exported (on the dependence of the area on Bursa market, see *Tarih wathalari*, II-7, 32). The Hamîd-ili appears to have dramatically increased its production of cotton fabrics by the mid 10th/16th century (Farochi *Sehrleşme*, 55).

During the 10th/16th century, the Antalya and the Silifke-Mut areas on the Mediterranean coast appear to have been among the most important areas of cotton growing and processing (Farochi, *Şehirleşme*, 96-7). The Karaman-Konya area, with centres at Konya and Laranda, exported fine cottons, *dülbends*, *boghasis* and ordinary *bez* to Istanbul and the Black Sea region. The *boghasî* of Karaman was found among the imports of Buda (Hungary) in 980/1572 (L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda*, Budapest 1962, 227).

Aleppo, along with Antakya (*Antâkî* cottons), Kilis, 'Ayntâb (Gaziantep) and Mar'ash made up another major area of cotton industries with large capacity for export to the other parts of the Ottoman lands, Egypt and Europe. *Halebî* cottons were among the imports to Kaffa as early as 892/1487 (Kaffa Customs Register). The *bathâa-i pambe*, cotton scales tax in Aleppo, amounted to 13,000 *akčes* and dues at dyehouses to 50,000 *akčes* in 926/1520 (*Tapu defteri*, 95). Half-a-century later (*Tapu defteri*, 544), the increase to 38,380 and 71,274 respectively can be taken as a proof of the development in cotton trade and industries in Aleppo. In the 1091/1680s and 1102/1690s, the costly cotton fabrics of the area, white and blue "daman" (of Hamâ), handkerchiefs and cotton yarn were among the imports to France (Masson, i, table VIII). Hamâ is described as "a city where the population made cotton yarn, cloaks for women, and towels" (Evliyâ, ii, 66). Aleppo was also a transit centre for Indian cloths coming via Basra-Baghdâd in the 11th/17th century (Sahillioğlu, *Belgelerle türk tarihi*, ix, 67). In Aleppo, imitations of the Indian cottons were made, while *halebî* fabrics were imitated in Bursa and Istanbul.

Further east, Mardîn (Göyünç *Mardin*, 139, 167) and Diyârbakir were important centres of cotton loom industries. Coarse cottons and red cotton yarn of Diyârbakir were exported to Istanbul and Europe.

In northern Anatolia, the Kastamonu-Amasya-Tokât area developed as an important centre with large outlets in the northern Black Sea countries. According to the customs registers of Kaffa and Akkerman about 1100/1500 (Inalcik, *The Black Sea*, 95, 105), these lands imported large quantities of cotton textiles as well as cotton yarn and raw cotton. The imports included varieties of cotton cloths, such as *kirbâs*, *boghazî*, *alaca*, and *halebî*, as well as quilts, handkerchiefs, aprons, bath wraps, covers, thread, belts, and tents. Judging from the merchants taking these goods to Kaffa, one can conclude that western and southern Anatolian centres of cotton industries too took part in this trade also. Moreover, merchants came from large centres of the cotton trade and industries: Istanbul, Kastamonu, Sinope, Amasya, Merzifon, Tokât, and Bursa in northern Anatolia, and Bergama, Uşak, Gördes, Menemen, Tire, and Denizli in western Anatolia (*ibid*, 101). Merchants from Bursa imported cotton manufactures of Hamîd-ili; those from Istanbul cottons of western Anatolia, and those from Kastamonu and Sinope cottons of the Amasya-Tokât area.

Altogether, cottons exported from Anatolia to northern Black Sea countries amounted to over one million grouch in the mid 18th century. It appears that foreign cotton imports were negligible in this period.

The pattern of cotton trade between Anatolia and the north did not change much, as demonstrated by a comparison of this table with the data from the customs registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kili of the 1500s.

Indian competition and the Ottoman cotton loom industries. Apparently it was the Levant market that originally contributed to the expansion of Indian cotton industries. India began to manufacture the

Ottoman types of cotton or cotton and silk fabrics much in demand in Turkey—*alaca* and *bafta*—in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (*alleppa* and *cutanees* in the English East India Company documents, see Chaudhuri, 502, 504) *Alaca* and *bafta* were varieties already popular in Turkey before 906/1500 (Customs Registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kili)

Indian textile imports to Turkey go back to the 9th/15th century. In 875/1470, Mahmūd Gāwān [q.v.] sent his agents from India to Bursa "with *alacha* (cloths)" to trade there and in the Balkans (*Belleten*, xxiv, 69, 75, 95). The list of the Indian textiles, as found in the court records of Edirne, includes Indian dark-blue *bafta* (*Kutni-i Hindī lāgward*) (960/1553), Indian napkins (*peshkir i Hindī*) (977/1569), Indian kerchiefs (*makrama i Hindī*) (979/1572 and 1016/1608), kerchiefs of *Ser hindī* and *Bihārī* and Indian *boghasi*, turbans, quilts, and girdles (*Edirne askeri kassāmı*, ed. Barkan, 220-3, 138, 147, 224, 335-8, 452). Home made *fūta* and *bafta* were used in Turkey to much earlier times than in Europe (*fustaes* and *baftas* in English, see Chaudhuri, *ibid.*)

It is possible that while the Indian industries, alert to the demands of the Levant market, made necessary adjustments in fashion and varieties (Chaudhuri, 239-40, 247), the original Indian luxury fabrics became popular in the Ottoman lands, as in Europe, particularly from the mid-17th century onwards. The fashion and use of Indian textiles became so widespread in the Ottoman lands that an Ottoman historian, Na'īmā (iv, 293) claimed in the 1122/1700s that bullion sent to India to pay for Indian luxury textiles, had reached an alarming point for the whole economy of the Empire. He recommended the use of home-made products instead. At any rate, it was before European cottons dominated the Ottoman market in the 13th/19th century that Indian cottons, fine muslins, prints, *alaca* and *bafta* types, as well as Indian cotton yarn, invaded and apparently threatened the Ottoman native cotton industries. It was during the period 1071-1164/1660-1750 when India became the chief producer and exporter of cotton textiles in the world that Indian cotton fabrics began to be imported in great quantities into the Ottoman markets.

By 1102/1690, the Indian exports to this area were estimated at five times as many calicoes as to the British and Dutch markets (Chaudhuri, 245 n6) although no figure is available. Indian textiles reached the transit centres of the Empire, Baghdād and Aleppo via Hormuz and Basra on the Persian Gulf and Jiddah and Mecca via the Red Sea. In the spring of 1015/1616, in a caravan from Baghdād to Aleppo with 120 merchants, there were ten Indian merchants, all Muslims. Most of the merchants in the caravan were carrying indigo, drugs, silk, and Indian textiles. Although Arab and Persian merchants made up the majority of the merchants in the caravan, there were also Turks, Armenians, Christian Arabs and Italians (five persons) Two Persian merchants from Hamadān had Indian wares, including indigo, drugs, and three bales of cloth of Lahore, all estimated to be worth 12,000 grouch (H. Sahillioğlu, *Bir tüccar kervanı*, 62-3.

In the Persian Gulf, Basra and Bandar 'Abbās (Gombroon) were two outlets through which Indian textiles entered the Ottoman and Safavid territories (R. W Ferrier, *The trade between India and the Persian Gulf and the East India Company in the 17th century*, in *Bengal, past and present*, lxxxix/2, No. 168 (Calcutta, July-Dec. 1970), 189-98). An East India Company memorandum dated 1107/1695 tells us that 'the Moors drive a great trade from hence (se from Surat) to Persia, Bussora, Aden, Mocha, and Judda, where they dispose of those goods which from hence are carried throughout the Grand Signor's Dominions" (Chaudhuri, 195) Gujjarāt was the main emporium of Indian textiles to Basra Turkey also received luxury fabrics from the Panjāb by the land route via Lahore and Kandahār or Sind (Chaudhuri, 242-45)

Also, an important part of the cotton fabrics imported by the Dutch and British from India was re-exported to America, West Africa, and the Levant (K Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade*, Copenhagen 1958, 133-4, 143). In the last three decades of the 11th/17th century, however, the European market showed a great demand for Eastern textiles when the use of Indian cotton textiles became fashionable, beginning with the women of the upper class (Glamann, 133; Chaudhuri, 280-3; Masson, ii, 195). The fashion spread to lower classes, and initiated a dramatic increase in demand for cotton fabrics, despite the government prohibitions of the use of imported cottons which were brought about under pressure from the domestic industries of woollens and linen (prohibitions in France in 1098/1686, 1112/1700, and 1121/1709; in England in 1112/1700 and 1133/1720, cottons banned by the Church as "the manufactures of the Infidels', see Chaudhuri *ibid.* and Masson, ii, 277-8) The French imports of coarse cotton cloths from the Ottoman lands rose to about 3 million French livres in 1125/1703. The imported cotton fabrics were dyed and "printed" in Marseilles and an important part of them re-exported to Spain and Italy (Masson, 198-9) Thus the Levant shared with India the boom in the production and export of cotton textiles to Europe. This boom reached its maximum in the period 1122-64/1700-50. With their superior quality, the Indian textiles, however, dominated western markets through the East India Companies of Holland and England, while Levantine products, cotton yarn and coarse fabrics, were chiefly imported into France. Peysonnel (*Traité*, i, 31), the French consul in Izmir and the Crimea in the mid-12th/18th century, found that the export of French textiles to the Levant was limited mainly by the successful competition of the native cotton manufactures. The French export of cottons to the Levant in 1204/1789 was only 42,000 livres' worth (Masson, ii, 495, then 3 French livres = £). Red cotton yarn from western Anatolia and Diyārbakir exported from Izmir always found a ready market in the West, due to its high quality in dyeing and its low price. It was exported in great quantities to the Netherlands (O'Heguerty, 204) and to France

Cotton yarn exported to France
(value in French livres)

	1700-02	1750-4	1786-9
Southern Syria	735,000	1,305,000	422,000
Aleppo	46,000	42,000	268,000
Cyprus	——	——	97,000
Egypt	213,000	267,000	256,000
Izmir	195,000	238,000	1,951,000
Istanbul	3,200	73,000	15,000
Total	1,292,200	1,924,000	2,908,000

Source. R. Paris, *Le Levant*, 524.

By the end of the 12th/18th century, the annual cotton yarn production of Thessaly and Macedonia reached 20,000 bales, or about 2.5 million kg., half of it dyed (F. de Beaujour, cited by Svoronos, 148). The Austrian firm of Starrhemberg, established in Salonica in 1190/1776, became a spectacular success. By 1204/1789, it had opened several factories which produced cotton yarn in Serres and Larissa (Svoronos, 182-3). Importing cotton and cotton yarn mostly through Marseilles, Switzerland too developed a cotton textiles industry, and in 1174/1760 a Swiss consulate was established in Salonica with the main purpose of promoting the cotton trade (Svoronos, 185, 232).

Cotton yarn and textiles from Egypt to Europe, i.e., France, Leghorn and Venice, consisted of only a small part of Egypt's total exports (Raymond, ii, 180). However, cotton textiles from Cairo (Mahallat al-Kubrā and Rosetta, called *dimāṣ* (*Dimyāṭī*?), *ogony* (*ʿAǧūza*), and *mellaoui* (*Maḥallawī*), which were mostly exported to France, increased rapidly from 1133/1720. These exports reached their peak *in the period 1143-52/1730-9 with an average of* 606,362 livres, or 30.5% of total export. They then experienced a decline, to 291,708 livres in 1786-9 (the figures include exports of fabrics of flax, which made up one-third of the total in 1798). The decline was explained by the deterioration in quality, possibly a result of competition with western cottons (Raymond, i, 230).

England's share in the import of Egyptian tissues was less than 20% during the same period (Raymond, i, 174, 280-2). On the other hand, Egypt itself imported cotton fabrics from Syria, Izmir, Bursa and Istanbul. Syrian cottons or silk and cotton fabrics, such as *Aʿrāḍī*, *Nābulsī*, *ḥuǧmī*, *alaǧa*, and *Ṣāḥilī*, were an important part (about 45 million *paras* by the end of the 12th/18th century) of the Egyptian imports from that country (Raymond, i, 190). Before the English cottons invaded the area, Cairo was the main emporium of Indian textiles exported via the Read Sea. The total value of the Indian, European and Syrian cloths imported was estimated at 500 million *paras*. The growing imports had a disruptive effect on the domestic textile form crafts in Egypt as early as the turn of the 12th/18th century (Raymond, i, 191, 193, 195).

European competition. It is generally accepted that the reversal of the roles in cotton manufacturing and export between East and West occurred in the period 1164-84/1750-70. After 1184/1770, England, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland began to export their cotton textiles to the Levant markets in growing quantities. Already by the mid 18th century, Western governments, changing their policies of prohibition, permitted the expansion and protection of their domestic cotton manufactures.

Cotton textiles exported to Istanbul in 1191/1777 (value in French livres)

	Muslins	Woollen Cloths
Britain	693,000	656,000
Netherlands (1778)	298,000	583,000
Venice (1782)	87,000	117,000
Trieste (1782)	108,000 ("bours" and muslins)	220,000 (Austrian and German products)
French	42,000	7,448,000

Sources: Masson, ii, 495, 615, and R. Paris, 552.

Note the first place ranking of the British in the export of cotton goods already at this time, and the dominance of the French woollens as the Levant market.

It is said that while the British cotton industries developed under the impact of Indian trade, the French developed under the Levantine one (Masson, ii, 434, n. 9). From 1133/1720 onwards, in order to protect national industries and those of its colonies in the Antilles, the French government imposed a heavy duty (20 livres per quintal) on the cotton yarn imported from the Levant (Masson, ii, 202). Already by 1142/1729, the French noted with pride that French imitations of Indian cotton prints found an outlet in Istanbul and were expecting even to manufacture the white cotton cloths themselves, thereby reducing their import from the Levant and Holland (Masson, ii, 436, 456).

In the second half of the 18th century, of the great variety of imports from Germany (Leipzig) and Austria to the Ottoman Empire, *cotton textiles*, muslins, and the so-called *indiennes*, were at the top of the list. German cotton goods had quite a large market at Izmir (35-60,000 pieces annually) and Bursa (30,000 pieces) (C. Aubin's report, ed. A. Cunningham); English cotton products exported to Germany also reached the Balkans through the Leipzig fair. Along with Leipzig, Vienna was another important centre for the Ottoman trade. Here we find 268 Ottoman resident merchants in 1181/1767, including a number of Muslim Turks (a certain Mollā Huseyn owned six storehouses and Mollā Hasan four). During the period 1164-1237/1750-1822, when Austrian Ottoman trade showed great development, raw cotton and cotton yarn became the principal exports from the Serres area to Austria and Germany (V. Paskaleva, 49-56).

However, the Eastern cotton yarn still had the advantage of lower prices due to the cheaper food and lower wages in the Levant (Masson, ii, 436-7). The cotton yarn imports from the Levant continued. By the 1205/1780s, while French cotton industries found markets, first in Spain and then Italy for their products, whose designs appealed to the taste of the populations there, the Muslim population of the Levant did not favour the imitations of the West. Western cotton industries would definitively conquer the Eastern markets only when they succeeded in solving the problem of price differential (by using machines) and when they imitated or created designs and colours which attracted an eastern clientèle.

The introduction of dyeing methods from the Levant was a crucial factor contributing to the success of western cotton industries and exports. The Dutch and the French finally succeeded in learning the special technique known as Edirne dyeing. Consequently, Turkey's export of red cotton yarn was reduced (O'Heguerty, 204; Masson, ii, 439-40). This reversal of the situation was apparent in the rapid growth in raw cotton imports and the diminishing proportions of cotton textiles and yarn from the Levant. Between 1212/1798 and 1263/1788, the French imports of raw cotton increased ten times, representing 39% of the total imports from the Levant, while cotton yarn did not make the same progress.

As has been seen above, change was a rather long process and one achieved in stages. For some time the Levant continued to export its cotton cloths, now in a raw state, undyed, then mainly its cotton

yarn, especially those dyed red with *alizari*, and finally only its raw cotton. On the other hand, invasion of the Levantine markets by western products was realised only after the industrial revolution in England with its mass production of cheap and finer quality cotton yarns (the so-called twist and mule) and prints. The dramatic change occurred in *the period 1194-1231/1780-1815, and led to a* situation in which the Levant became totally dependent on the western cotton industries for the supply of cotton yarn and textiles and for the sale of its raw cotton.

British supremacy and impact of the industrial Revolution It was to the cotton imported from the Levant that the first cotton industry in England owed its foundation. First, fustians made with a cotton weft and a linen warp, were produced in Lancashire under Elizabeth I at some time before 994/1586. By the middle of the 11th/17th century, the cotton industry was considered to be a well-established industry in England, although it depended upon a regular import of raw cotton from the Levant, Izmir, Cyprus, Acre and Sidon (A. C. Wood, 74-5).

During the period 1092-1184/1680-1770, the Levant suffered a decline in its exports of cotton and cotton goods to Britain. This was mainly due to the overall decline of the English trade in the Levant, as well as to *the English* domestic policies against the use and manufacture of cotton goods (R. Davies, *Devonshire Square*, 29-32). Another factor, a more enduring one, was the competition of colonial supplies to England from the West Indies and India. After the mid-18th century, when British cotton industries were encouraged, the cotton trade experienced a revival from which western Anatolia emerged as one of the main sources of supply.

Cotton imported from the Levant was approximately 300 tons in the years 1111-13/1699-1701, 150 tons in the 1133/1720s and 1143/1730s, and over 500 tons in the 1164/1750s (Davies, *op. cit.*, 273). Also some Levant cotton was imported to England through the Netherlands (Wood, 160). In the 1184/1770s, large cargoes in British ships from the Levant consisted of cotton and fruits. The "cotton boom" was responsible for the revival of the British trade in the Levant in the period after 1210/1780, when the English industry made its tremendous advance (*R. Davies, op. cit.*, 187, 241-2).

British cotton manufactures had to compete in the Levant not only with the Indian fine cotton textiles—muslins and calicos in particular—but also with Indian cotton yarn. The Ottoman consumer did not at first favour the British imitations of Indian cottons, but price became a key factor, and by 1215/1800, he came to prefer the cheaper British manufactures (Auban's report). For the manufacture of fine cottons, Indian yarn was imported into the Levant until 1800, when it was replaced by British "twist", a strong thread used mostly for the warp (Auban). "Twist" invaded Ottoman markets as far as the cotton production centre of Diyārbakir via Trebizond, and Central European markets via Salonica (Aubin). The demand of the Istanbul weavers alone was estimated at 10,000 *okkas* and that of Izmir and its hinterland at 400-500,000 lbs. Also, British imitations of Indian muslins, widely used in turbans, veils, and headgear for women, superseded the Indian imports in the Levant. By 1227/1812, other more popular English cotton textiles, all of them imitations of Indian cottons, were printed calicoes (with a consumption estimate of 35-40,000 a year in Izmir), chintz (Hindī *chint*, Persian and Turkish *ālā*), shawls and "shirtlings", etc. (Aubin gives a long list in his report).

Cheap, durable, bright in colour, the English cotton goods thus enjoyed a "prodigious demand" over the Levant from Cairo to Istanbul. This was considered to be a mark of the "highest importance" for England (Isaac Mercmer's report dated 1614, cited by Wood, 192-3). Although raw cotton imports from the Levant showed a great increase during the same period, their value was not significant when compared to that of the manufactured cotton goods exported to the Levant. Turkish cotton was only one-twelfth of the total imported by Britain.

British imports of raw cotton from the Levant (in Sterling Pounds, declared value)

1233/1817	1234/1818	1236/1820	1240/1824	1241/1825
799	24,122	7,863	249,771	611,547

Source: A. C. Wood, *op. cit.*, 193.

After India, Germany too experienced losses at the Levant market for cottons in favour of British manufactures. During the Napoleonic Wars, the British took advantage of the rising prices in Germany and the closure of Trieste and Fiume, principal transit ports for Austrian German exports. Great Britain's interest in the Levant as an important market for British manufactured cotton goods grew particularly from 1241/1825, when the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt at home. Taking advantage of its role as a protector during the Egyptian crisis, Great Britain had the Ottoman government sign the commercial treaty of 1254/1838 which awarded Britain favourable conditions and turned the empire into an open market for its cotton industry (V. J. Puryear, *International economics and diplomacy in the Near East*, repr. Archon Books, 1969, 207-30; F. E. Bailey, *British policy and the Turkish reform movement*, Cambridge 1942, 39-178; Mubahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz ticaret münasebetleri, 1838-1850*, Istanbul 1976). The principle of free trade was virtually introduced into Turkey before it was accepted in Great Britain (Puryear, 117). From 1254/1838 to 1269/1852, British imports of cotton textiles tripled and those of cotton yarn doubled, 63.9 to 183.8 million yards and 5.6 to 11.9 million lbs. respectively (Kütükoğlu, 82, 86). The value of the British cottons imported to Turkey rose approximately from one thirty-eighth to (1241/1825 to one-ninth of the total production in 1272/1855 (Bailey, 86).

Ottoman British Trade in 1269/1852 (official value in £)

Total imports to Great Britain	Total imports to the Ottoman Emp
2,252,283	8,489,100 (of this, textiles were over 3 million in 1850)

Sources: Bailey, 74; O. Kurmuş, *Emperyalizm*, 49.

The Ottoman trade occupied third place in Great Britain's foreign trade in 1267/1850 (*Bailey*, 82-3).

In the Ottoman Empire, the break-down occurred first in the cotton yarn production, which directly affected spinners, the poorest section of the population in rural and urban areas. In 1249/

1833 D. Urquhart tells us (*Turkey and its resources*, 148) that 'their own yarn being unequal, heavy in weaving and liable to break, the weavers prefer much the English yarn' Also, the first serious crisis in cotton loom industries appears to have occurred in the period 1243-6/1825-30 (Urquhart, 47-54, Ö. C. Sarç, in Ch. Issawi, *Econ. history of the Middle East*, 438-9) At a later date, in 1279/1862, another Englishman, Lewis Farley (*The resources of Turkey*, 59-60) observed that "Turkey is no longer a manufacturing country The numerous and varied manufactures which formerly sufficed, not only for the consumption of the empire but also stocked the markets of the Levant, as well as those of several countries in Europe, have, in some instances, rapidly declined, and in others became altogether extinct .. The printed calicoes of Tokat . . . the muslin looms of Scutari and Tirnova (in Thessaly) which in 1812 numbered 1,400 were reduced in 1841 to 200 . . Baghdad was once the centre of very flourishing trades, especially those of calico printing Aleppo was still more famous, for its manufactures of gold thread of cotton tissues, . . and pure cotton called nankeens gave occupations to more than 40,000 looms, of which, in the year 1856, there remained only 3 560 now taste has changed Cloth and every variety of cottons have supplanted silk English muslins are preferred to those of India, and cashmere shawls were replaced by the Zebras of Glasgow and Manchester " He adds (67) that Great Britain "will continue to find Turkey an increasing and profitable market for our merchandize."

An American observer (C. Hamilton, *Among the Turks*, New York 1877) tells us how, following the free trade granted by the treaties of 1254/1838, "five thousand weavers in Scutari were without employ, and reduced to the most deplorable beggary The fast colors and firm material of Diarbekr disappeared, . . and Bursa towels came from Lyons and Manchester Thus, all the industries of Turkey have perished."

Apparently, all these figures given are simply rough estimates, sometimes grossly exaggerated. In Aleppo, for example, on the period before 1273/1856, only 1,000 looms with an annual output of half a million pieces are mentioned in John MacGregor, *Commercial statistics*, 240, cf. Issawi, *Econ. history of the Middle East*, 221, also Viquesnel's more modest figures, *ibid.*, 52. In a French report cited by Chevalier (*Les Issims Ibadis*, 300), the total number of looms manufacturing cotton-silk textiles in Damascus and Aleppo was estimated at 25,000 for the year 1241/1825. The report dated 1267/1845 considered the ruin of native cotton loom industries in Syria to be the result of the growing imports of low-priced cottons from Europe. English cotton yarn and prints headed the imports. However impressionistic, these Western reports demonstrate the dramatic disruption in Ottoman cotton industries by the mid-19th century In the 1277/1860s, the first Turkish journalist (see Ihsan Sungu, *Yeni Osmanlılar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 787) became the mouthpiece of the population in their distress, and blamed the government's westernisation and free market policies as well as the shift in fasin and fashion to Western products, for the depression.

In a survey of the Ottoman economy made in 1332-5/1913-5 (*Osmanlı sanayii*, ed. G. Oluçun, Ankara 1970, 534, V. Eldem, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun iktisadi şartları hakkında bir tetkik*, Ankara 1970, 76), it was observed that 80 % of all cotton production (20,000 tons in 1335/1915) was exported abroad, while imported cotton manufactures constituted the major part of the overall imports. By 1335/1915 modern cotton factories in the Ottoman lands numbered only nine (altogether 92 000 looms and 68,500 spindles employing 3,024 workers), all of them making only cotton yarn and coarse cotton textiles (*ibid.*, 133, Eldem, 130-1). However, by the end of the 13th/19th century, Konya Karamân, Antalya, Niğde, Afşin, Tokât, Merzifon, Marʿash, and Antep (ʿAyntâb) were still mentioned as the important centres of cotton loom industries (Oppel, 525). At the turn of the 13th/19th century, as a result of the disorders, a number of cotton weavers left Aleppo for Egypt ʿAyntâb and Marʿash ʿAyntâb made great progress in cotton manufactures, especially in red dyed yarn in the 1900s (Oppel, 528).

Some branches of the Middle Eastern loom industries, though adhering to the traditional techniques and types, resisted and survived the invasion of western machine-made cottons, thanks to the rural population's conservatism which favoured old fashioned fabrics of the urban centres as luxuries. In Turkey, *alaca* and *bafta* are still popular with the peasants who use them in clothing and furnishings. As in the past, in these fabrics the wool is cotton and the warp is silk (or rather artificial silk)

Glazed and stiff, these fabrics still preserve traditional colourful designs and stripes (cf. Syrian *alaca* and *bafta* manufactured today in Aleppo, see Chevallier, 308).

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(H İNALCIK)

KUṬR means in Arab geometry (1) the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; (2) the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; (3) in trigonometry, the hypotenuse of the so-called umbra triangle; as such it is either the secant or the cosecant of an angle, according as the side opposite it is the tangent or cotangent of this angle, in the first case it is called *kuṭr al-ẓill al-awwal* ("hypotenuse of the first umbra"), in the second case *kuṭr al-ẓill al-thānī* ("hypotenuse of the second umbra")

Bibliography M Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, 283–5 (H SUTRA)

KUṬRABBUL, a place name of ʿIrāḳ. Also given as Katrabbul, the name is regarded as Persian in origin. (1) Yāḳūt lists a village (*ḳarya*) of that name which was situated between Baghdād and ʿUkbarā This Kuṭrabbul was reportedly frequented by pleasure seekers, who recognised the quality of the local wine. As a result, the village is often mentioned by such poets as Abū Nuwās (*q.v.*) and le teles comparing the virtues of different wine bearing locations. (2) Kuṭrabbul also refers to one of the four major administrative subdistricts (*tassūdj*, and in Yāḳūt, also *kūra*) of the greater urban area of Baghdād The sub districts, which also included Bādūrayā, Nahr Būḳ and Kalwādhā, were in existence before the Islamic occupation of the area and may have continued to serve some administrative function after the construction of the Islamic city. Kuṭrabbul and Bādūrayā occupied the lands west of the Tigris River with the Ṣarāt Canal serving as a boundary between them The geographers speak of Bādūrayā being east of the Canal and Kuṭrabbal to the west, though it would perhaps be more correct to speak in terms of south and north Kuṭrabbul that came to represent the area which comprised the Round City of al-Manṣūr (*q.v.*) and the northwestern suburbs, including the military cantonments of al-Ḥarbiyya.

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(J LASSNER)

KUṬRUB, the werewolf The Arabic word goes back to Syriac *kautrobo* (or *kautrobā*), which was subsequently transformed into the Arabic *kuṭrub* in the same way as other names of animals, like *qunfud* "locust" or *kunfuḏa* "hedgehog" *Kautrobo* itself is the Syriac transcription of Greek Λυκάνθρωπος

The saga of the werewolf is by itself indigenous to Arcadia in the central Peloponnesus (see Pausanias viii, 2), but has many parallels amongst the Romans Celts, Teutons and Slavs. Originally it was unknown to the Orient, and the Arabs came to know the figure of the werewolf in the 2nd/8th century at the earliest. According to an oft repeated anecdote, Sībawayh once described his pupil Muḥammad b al-Mustanīr as *kuṭrub laylī*, so that the latter was subsequently known by the nickname of Kuṭrub (see following

article]. The poet Abū Dulāma called his mother *khayāl al-kuṭrub* (*Aghānī*², ix, 133, 1. 249), but alleged earlier evidence for the word in ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (d 32/652 at Zarnukheheri, *Fihrist*, ii, 277/360 Bidjaad) and Ḥarīz al-Kays (ed. Muḥammad Abu ʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, no. 76, 3*b*) is forged. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not seem to refer to the *kuṭrub*, but al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 319 = § 2203) mentions it amongst several fabulous beings. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zafar (d. as 564/1169) apparently confuses it with the *ʿankā* (see al Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index, and al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*). Although the werewolf was integrated into the demonological world of the Arabs, it never attained the popularity which was always enjoyed by the *ʿafrīt*, the *ghūl*, the *ʿifrīt* and the *ghaylān*.

The Greeks, however, saw in the werewolf not only a fabulous creature, but also the manifestation of a mental disorder. Following Marcellus of Side, Oribasius (*Synopsis ad Eustathium*, viii, 9), Aëtius of Amida (vi, 22), Paul of Aegina (iii, 16) and later Byzantine physicians described lycanthropy as a kind of melancholia with caused the diseased person to shun the company of mankind, to seek out solitude and frequent cemeteries, and to roam about aimlessly with hollow eyes and lost in gloom. Through the translations of the works of Paul of Aegina in the 3rd/9th century and of Aëtius of Amida in the following one the Arabs likewise came to know about this allegedly illness. Paul of Aegina's information is quoted by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, *i*, Ḥaydarābād 1955, 205 *ff*., 212), and Aëtius's chapter was the model for the descriptions of ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (*Kunnāsh al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, i, 333), of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Zahrāwī (*Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, Ms Chester Beatty 4009, fols. 110-11), and of Ibn Sīnā (*Kānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 325/Būlāḳ 1294, ii, 71).

Finally, the term *kuṭrub* is also a component of the plant name *sirāḏj al-kuṭrub* (a translation borrowed from the Syriac *sirāḏjā dh-tamṭrōpos*), mostly used to indicate the mandrake root (*yabrūḥ*).

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(M. ULLMANN)

KUṬRUB, the cognomen of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr, grammarian and lexicographer of Baṣra in the 2nd/8th century, the freed man of Sālim b. Ziyād. He was born in Baṣra, where he studied not only grammar with the founders of that science, ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and Sībawayh (who is said to have given him his nick name), but also theology with the famous Muʿtazilī authority al-Naẓẓām. He became the tutor to the son of the military commander and minister Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī [see AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ, ABŪ DULAF], and died at Baghdād in 206/821. According to Ibn al-Sikkīt, his pupil he was not to be regarded as a reliable authority for lexicography.

Kuṭrub holds a very important place in the history of Arabic grammar, as the first grammarian known to have written a work on the three following topics: (1) words with two opposing meanings (*addād* [*q.v.*]), (2) words with the same consonant skeleton capable of having three different meanings (*muthallath*) according to whether they have one or other of the three vowels, and (3) the explanation of the causes and occasions (*ʿilal*) of grammatical phenomena.

Furthermore, Kuṭrub seems to have held original ideas about syntax. Al-Zadjdjādjī in his *K. al-Idāḥ* (ed. M. al-Mubārak, 70, 77) states that Kuṭrub, as opposed to all the other Baṣran grammarians, did not believe that the *iʿrāb* affected nouns in order to show their different functions and to distinguish them from each other; he averred that there are nouns with the same *iʿrāb* whose functions differ, and nouns with differing *iʿrāb* but with the same function, and accordingly held that *iʿrāb* only affects a noun in order to distinguish two grammatical states, sc. at the end of a speech unit, without a final vowel, to mark pause (*waḳf*), and within a speech unit, with a final vowel, to mark liaison (*waṣl*) with the succeeding word.

Of the 28 works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* and which dealt with exegesis and theology or such as grammar and lexicography only four have survived: the *K. al-Mathalladj*, ed. E. Wilmar, Marburg 1857, and R. Sousa, Tunis 1398/1978; the *K. mā khālafa fīhi ʾl-insān al-bahīma*, ed. R. Geyer, in *SBAK Wien*, cv (1883), 381-91; the *K. al-Aḍdād*, ed. H. Koßler, in *Islamica*, v (1932), 444-84, 585-621, 493-544, and the *K. al-Azmina*, still unedited.

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(G. TROUPEAU)

KUTTĀB (A., plural *katātīb*), itself probably plural of *kātib* ("scribe"), a type of beginners or primary school. The term is frequently synonymous with *maktab* in Arabic and Persian and *mektep* in Turkish. In Ottoman it was also called *mektebḥāne* or *mekteb-i ṣibyān* or *ṣibyān mektebi*, ("children's school"), later, in the *Tanẓīmāt* era, it was more generally referred to as *ibtidāʾī mektebi* ("beginner's school") and then as *ilk mektebi* ("primary school"). European writers have often called it "Kur'ānic school".

The *kuttāb* was formerly widespread in Islamic lands. Although the appellation was almost universally applied to Muslim beginners' schools, *kuttāb* has also been known to designate Jewish *ḥeder* type schools in Arabic speaking countries. While there are no precise indications as to when they were first established, they spread during the Umayyad era in the wake of the conquering armies, and the *kuttāb* system was already wide spread in early ʿAbbāsid times. There is some evidence that the structure and teaching methods of the *kuttāb* were modelled on the Byzantinic primary school (Lecomte, in *Arabica*, i [1954], 324 *ff*.), but its curriculum was purely Islamic and Arabic. The early *kuttāb* was an important agent for socialising different ethnic groups into the Islamic faith and its way of life. Later, in the Ottoman Empire, it served as vehicle for transmitting the values of the Ottoman Islamic society from generation to generation. The *kuttāb* provided a common educational basis for all who attended it. It was homogeneous in its aims and methods, and thus differed from the indigenous traditions of education, which displayed remarkable diversity. Until the penetration of Western models of education in modern time, the *kuttāb* was the only vehicle of public instruction for young Muslim children. Even up to the present, it has displayed remarkable staying-power by continuing to compete tenaciously with other educational institutions in many Islamic countries.

Since basic education (see TARBIYA) was usually imbued with a religious spirit, and its professed goal was to produce a true believer, much of it was closely connected with the mosque [see MASDJID]. Consequently, the *kuttāb* was frequently attached to a mosque, whose officials also provided further instruction.

The *kuttāb* itself was located in any sort of room available, a tent in the desert or even (as in Uganda) in the open. If specially constructed, a *kuttāb* consisted (in the Ottoman Empire, at least), of a large domed, unadorned hall in which all the pupils sat crosslegged on mattresses in a rough semi-circle, usually next to low desks. Such buildings were generally erected by philanthropists (through a *waḳf* or otherwise) or by the pupil's parents, who also provided the teacher's fees (in money and food). In the Middle Ages, wealthier families sometimes set up a private *kuttāb* for their children. The state hardly intervened until well into the 19th century, so that fees, physical arrangements and the curriculum were agreed upon between teachers and parents alone. There are even recorded instances of teachers volunteering their services without pay, though in many other cases they were underpaid, and some had to eke out their pupils' to collect alms for them (as in Nigeria, in the late Middle Ages). In other instances (mostly in Africa and possibly in Iran), school children performed all sorts of tasks for their teacher in lieu of school fees.

Boys formed the overwhelming majority of pupils in the *kuttāb*, while girls studied, if at all separately (although there are recorded cases of coeducation, chiefly in Iran and India). Attendance was voluntary, and there was no precise age-limit: pupils enrolled at age four or above and, in general, studied for between two and five years. All the pupils studied in the same room—there was seldom, if ever, a division into groups by age—and each pupil progressed at his own rate. Instruction was usually carried out from sunrise to sunset (or earlier) daily; Fridays (and Thursdays in the Maghrib) as well as some festivals, like Ramaḍān, were free days. The *kuttāb* was open throughout the year, except when economic needs (such as harvesting) or natural calamities (like floods) prevented attendance. Due to the character of the *kuttāb*, its student body was almost exclusively Muslim. There were, however, infrequent cases of others attending, as in Iran even during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (who forbade the attendance of non-Muslim children) and in Egypt, where a few Copts attended in the late 19th century.

The teacher was called *mudarris* or *muʿallim* and later *muʾaddib* in the Arab lands (in some cases, the *muʾaddib* was a higher rank, namely the more learned or the private tutor), *ḥāfiẓ* in Turkey, *maktabdār* in Iran, *mallish* in some parts of Central Asia, *lebbe* in Ceylon, and *mallam* (*from muʿallim*) in Nigeria and some other areas in Africa. He was popularly referred to as *fakī*, or *fḳih*, probably the vernacular for *faḳīh*. In the larger *kuttāb* he was sometimes aided by an assistant (*muʿīd*, literally "repeater"), or, in other cases by a senior pupil (*ʿarīf*, literally "monitor"). All these persons frequently adopted the carrot-and-stick approach: beatings (see FALAKA) were administered to the lazy or unruly, while the meritorious, who had mastered a large section of the Kurʾān by heart (*ḥāfiẓ* [*q.v.*]), were offered prizes, usually sweets or even the honour (in Morocco and Ḥaḍramawt) of being led around on a camel.

At first, when books were very difficult to acquire, the teacher used to dictate the material, which his pupils wrote down with a pen or reed (*ḳalam*) on a tablet (*lawḥ*). Afterwards, the pupils read the material aloud, with the teacher correcting their errors and elaborating on some points. Emphasis was generally laid on memorising. Since independent thinking was frowned upon, as liable to lead to the weakening of belief and disobedience, learning by rote was customary. This method was, to a large extent, self defeating, as it meant studying difficult subject-matter in a barely understood language. Literary Arabic was hardly known even by Arab children, not to speak of non Arab Muslims. Even among the latter, however, the Kurʾān was initially taught in Arabic, although it was clear that the pupils could not understand the language. Only later were difficult passages sporadically explained in the local language, such as Turkish, Persian or Urdu. The teaching of Arabic *per se* in these schools was instituted in the Ottoman Empire only in 1781, by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (Persian was added then, also, but not Turkish!). However, this revolutionary innovation was in effect introduced in only a few schools; it became more widely accepted, along with other reforms, in the *Tanẓīmāt* era (beginning in 1846, the study of Turkish was also added, selectively).

While the general aims of the *kuttāb* were universally identical—to impart the rudiments of instruction required for the formation of a good Muslim—there were obvious qualitative differences between the towns and countryside, as well as substantive variations in emphasis in the curriculum. The Kurʾān was studied in all the *kuttāb*, with stress laid on memorising and absolute accuracy. The teacher began with the *Fātiḥa*, then proceeded to the shortest, the 114th, *sūra* (*al-Nās*) and continued back until the class reached the longest, the 2nd, *sūra* (*al Baḳara*). When a pupil had mastered all this, he began to practise his recitation in the correct order.

As a general rule, the early-morning hours, considered the best time of the day, were earmarked for studying the Kurʾān. At other times, prayer and religious rituals were imparted regularly. In the eastern Arab lands (Egypt, Palestine, Syria and ʿIrāḳ), Arabic grammar and poetry were usually studied as well. This was likewise the case in Muslim Spain, where composition was also added to the curriculum. While in Algeria, Morocco and among the Muslims of Africa south of the Sahara, little was learned besides the Kurʾān, in Tunisia *ḥadīth* was generally included as well. Some calligraphy and a smattering of arithmetic were added in some *kuttāb* in Turkey as well as in Iran, where Islamic history and fragments of Persian poetry (e.g. from Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ) were occasionally included, from the 7th/13th century onwards. A little Persian poetry was also taught in the *kuttāb* of Afghanistān and the parts of Central Asia ruled by Imperial Russia. In some *kuttāb* in Ceylon, Arabic grammar, elementary arithmetic and the writing of Tamil in Arabic characters was practised in addition to the Kurʾān. All considered, one may surmise that although the *kuttāb*'s curriculum laid a basic foundation for further study, many of the pupils who ended their education at this level were hard to put to use it profitably, except for prayer.

Since the mid-19th century, the *kuttāb* has exhibited signs of change. Some reform has been promoted from above, as in the Muslim parts of the French possessions south of the Sahara, where the authorities initiated a campaign to supervise these schools and improve their quality (their success has not always been evident). Elsewhere the *kuttāb* stood in competition to the newly imported Western-type primary schools, which also imparted a Muslim education but in more efficient ways. The *kuttāb* has held its own in Egypt, partly because this was the first Arab country that attempted to adapt it to modern requirements and integrate it into the state system.

An inspector of these schools (*Mufattish al-maktātib*) was first appointed to 1835, since 1867, the Ministry of Education has been officially empowered to inspect these schools regularly (in the Ottoman Empire, a Ministry of Education to supervise the *kuttāb* and other schools was established by an *irāde* in 1846). By 1890, official supervision of *kuttāb* was fairly widespread in Egypt and its effectiveness was increased by governmental grants in aid. Later, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] was instrumental in expanding their curriculum (which today includes object lessons). Indeed, there are recorded cases of 20th century Egyptian children attending an elementary school in the morning and the *kuttāb* in the afternoon, or going to the *kuttāb* in the early morning before school.

The fortunes of the *kuttāb* in the 20th century have accordingly varied. In the Sudan, it has coexisted with the more general schools introduced by the British soon after they had defeated the Mahdist [*q.v.*] forces. In Zanzibar, in 1907 the British director of education decided to make the Kurʾān a basic component of the general curriculum and to integrate the *kuttāb* into the school network. In India (e.g. in Bengal) the British rulers tried to increase the number of *kuttāb* and raise their standards by introducing secular studies (The Reform Scheme, 1914). The same trend was evidenced in the British administration of Arab education in Palestine after the First World War. In Syria, in the 1943-4 school year, there were still 1,229 *kuttāb*, with an enrolment of 34,440 children; more recently, however, the bulk of Islamic education is carried out in secular government schools. Although in Iran western influences began to affect the *kuttāb* adversely in the 1890s, and a Ministry of Education was set up in 1920 to foster modernism, as late as 1939 there were still 2,356 *kuttāb*, compared to 2,218 state primary schools.

In recent times, the fortunes of the *kuttāb* have as a rule suffered wherever Muslims are in a minority, e.g. in the Soviet Union, where all those schools were closed by the authorities in 1928. Much the same occurred in Yugoslavia in 1940. In India, however, they made a comeback after Partition, sponsored by active Muslim organisations. The *kuttāb* is on the decline (although no detailed statistics are available) in countries undergoing modernisation especially in urban areas. The extreme instance is Republican Turkey, which disestablished these schools in 1924 and closed them down in 1926—although some have continued to function surreptitiously in remote villages. The opposite case is to be found in theocracies like the former monarchical Libya or in Saudi Arabia, where the *kuttāb* (sometimes under other names) has long provided the only type of basic instruction in both the desert and rural areas; modernised primary schools have gradually been introduced there only recently.

In some other Islamic countries, the *kuttāb* has survived thanks to efforts towards raising its level and enriching its curriculum and to the generosity of various philanthropists. In yet others, the *kuttāb* flourished for a while due to the importance ascribed to it by anticolonialist movements. In Morocco during the 1930s, the prestige of the *kuttāb* (called *msīd* from *masǧid*) increased because it served as a focus for nationalist propaganda against the French Protectorate. In Algeria during the 1950s, an Association of *ʿulamāʾ* set out to revive the *kuttāb* and increase their number as a means of protecting the younger generation against the orderminising influences of the French. Later, in January 1964—less than two years after independence—a decree reorganised basic Muslim education to suit the new situation. Elsewhere, too, *kuttāb* instruction still continues to have current relevance, for example, an Upper Volta politician in search of Muslim votes claimed that he had studied in such a school.

Practically all newly independent Arab states, as well as Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia, have attempted to incorporate the *kuttāb* into the national school system, to supervise them and to provide them with a better organised curriculum, including regular class hours, examinations and grades. While the integration of the *kuttāb* into the state systems of education may well ensure their continued existence, particularly in rural areas, state supervision is gradually altering their original character. This is especially so since as all Islamic lands the study of the Kurʾān and of Islam has become a standard part of the core curriculum of basic instruction.

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AL-KUTUBĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Dārānī al-Dimashqī (680[?]-764/1281-1363), Syrian historian. The date of his birth is uncertain, since only one ms. of Ibn Ḥajjar's *Durar* fills the blank that was to contain it. It is plausible, however, and neither confirmed nor contradicted by the fact that a highly personal obituary notice in the *ʿUyūn* (its Cambridge 699, fols 78-80, *anno* 735) speaks of a young scholar born in 706/1306 as "our friend" (*shaykhunā*). Born apparently in Dārayyā in the Ghūṭa, he spent all his later life in Damascus. He possibly went there to study with famous *ḥadīth* scholars such as Ibn al-Shīḥa (apparently), Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār, *ca.* 684[?] 736) and al-Mizzī (654 742), but, being very poor, he went into the book trade and acquired a sizeable fortune. He had personal contact with the great al-Dhahabī, who quoted verses to him (*ʿUyūn*, *anno* 748). A fellow historian, Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*], took part in the funeral service for him on Saturday afternoon, 12 Ramaḍān 764/24 June 1363.

If there is practically nothing known about his life, this is due to the fact he did not occupy any major official position in the scholarly-political establishment His two surviving works were however, highly esteemed and much used His large history *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, is represented in many libraries but usually only by individual volumes (presumed autograph in Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2922, al- Cat Karatay, *ii*, nos. 5833 65; O Spies, *Beiträge*, in *Abh f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xix/3 [1932], 76). It has been little studied and not yet been edited, possibly on the a *priori* assumption that most of its contents is known from other sources. It does contain valuable information; see, e g , F. Sayyid's introd to *Fadl al-ʿArab*, Tunis 1393/1974 43 5, for the bibliography of Abū ʾl-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī. That al Kutubī considered new information not to be found else-

where so the hallmark of a successful history is shown by his statement in this effect in connection with al-Djazarī (*ʿIbar*, anno 739), even if this statement should turn out not to be original with him (cf. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 224). The value of the *ʿIbar*'s contemporary section, preserved in Cambridge 599 (Add. 2923) and Ahmet III 2922, vols. 22, 24, has been stressed by E. Ashtor. It contains al-Kutubī's own observations, principally on Syrian intellectual and religious life. The close relationship of the *ʿIbar*, for its last two decades (years 741-750/40), to Ibn Kathīr's *Bidāya* (cf. also Hadjdjī Khalīfa, 1285 f.), has been tentatively explained by Ashtor as being the result of al-Kutubī having used Ibn Kathīr's original notes; however, despite first-person references in Ibn Kathīr, it could well have been the other way round, especially if al-Kutubī was so much older than Ibn Kathīr.

Al-Kutubī's other work *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, has been edited repeatedly (Būlāk 1283, 1299, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Hamīd, Cairo 1951, ed. Ihsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, utilising autograph volumes written in 753/2352, Ahmet III 2921, cf. Cat. Karatay, iii, nos. 6403-7). Following Ibn Khallikān and using al-Safadī's *Wāfī*, it contains a wealth of biographical and literary information, mainly on Syrian littérateurs, which is noteworthy for its uniqueness and for the intimate glimpses it offers of Syrian cultural life.

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AL-KUTUBIYYA [see MARRĀKUSHĪ].

KŪTŪPHANE [see MAKTABA].

KUTUZ, AL-MALIK AL-MUẓAFFAR SAYF AL-DĪN AL-MUʿIZZĪ, third Mamlūk sultan of the *Dawlat al-Turk* or Bahrī dynasty. A nephew of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Kutuz (whose original Muslim name was Mahmūd b. Mamdūd) was taken prisoner by the Mongols and sold to a Damascus merchant who, in turn, sold him to the Mamlūk *amīr* Aybak in Cairo. Aybak, as the husband of Shadjar al-Durr, became in 648/1250 al-Malik al-Muʿizz, from which title Kutuz derived his name, al-Muʿizzī.

While still a youth, Kutuz claimed on the basis of various prophecies that he would rule Egypt and avenge his uncle by defeating the Mongols. A major step toward fulfilling that prediction was taken in 650/1252 when Aybak deposed his Ayyūbid co-sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā and appointed Kutuz viceroy of Egypt (*nāʾib al-salṭana*). In the following year Kutuz was one of those *mamlūks* who assassinated Aybak's rival to the throne, Aktāy, a leader of the Bahrī regiment. When Aybak was himself murdered in 655/1257 at the instigation of Shadjar al-Durr and was succeeded by his young son al-Manṣūr ʿAlī, Kutuz retained the viceroyship and managed the affairs of state. In 655-6/1257-8 he led expeditions against Bahriyya *amīrs* and their Syrian Ayyūbid allies. In the following year (657/1259), however, Kutuz and the Bahriyya were reconciled and joined forces to combat a Mongol invasion of Syria. In addition, claiming that al-Manṣūr ʿAlī was too immature to defend Muslim territory, Kutuz deposed him and had himself proclaimed sultan. Thus Kutuz was the first of many *mamlūks* to depose the son of his *ustādh* in order to make himself sultan, thereby setting according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo, vii, 56) "an evil precedent which led to the decline of affairs in Egypt."

Kutuz promised those *amīrs* who protested against this act of usurpation that he would step down from the sultanate once the Mongols had been defeated. To secure the co-operation of the Ayyūbids of Syria, Kutuz professed his allegiance to al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Damascus and Aleppo and volunteered to defend him against the Mongols. To Hulegü himself, however, Kutuz offered only defiance and in 658/1260 put to death the envoys whom Hülegü had sent to demand his submission. Proclaiming a *djihād*, Kutuz led an army from Egypt into Palestine. Although the Mamlūk *amīrs* were reluctant to join battle against the Mongols, Kutuz succeeded in persuading them to march with him and sent Baybars al-Bundukdārī, the future sultan, at the head of an advance force. Kutuz first secured the neutrality of the Franks at Acre and then met and defeated the Mongol army at ʿAyn Djālūt. After the battle Kutuz marched to Damascus, which he used as a base from which to clear Syria of Mongol troops and to establish Mamlūk rule in the province, appointing his own *amīrs* to some key posts and retaining Ayyūbids in others. During the march back to Egypt, Kutuz was murdered at al-Ḳuṣayr near al-Ṣālihiyya. Though the court historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir claims that Baybars was the sole assailant, it is clear from other sources that this historian was attempting to establish Baybars' unique claim to the sultanate according to "the law of the Turks" which states that *man ḳatala malikan kāna huwa al-malik*. (Shāfiʿī b. ʿAlī, quoted in *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. al-Khowaiter, 31).

There is also disagreement over the motivation for the assassination. Several historians claim that Kutuz resigned on his promise to award Baybars the viceroyship of Aleppo after ʿAyn Djālūt, but Ibn al-Dawādārī says that Kutuz had already aroused Baybars' enmity by rebuking his brother *amīrs* for cowardice during the battle. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir claims that Kutuz offended Baybars by refusing to share the glory of the *djihād* with him. In any event, it is clear, as Baybars al-Manṣūrī points out, that the enmity between Kutuz and the Bahriyya was of long standing, and Bahriyya ambitions for the sultanate were undoubtedly a factor. The disposition of the body of Kutuz is also a point of dispute, with Ibn Taghrībirdī claiming that Baybars transferred it from the original grave when it became a site of pilgrimage, while others merely say that it was buried in Cairo. Be that as it may, the sources are virtually unanimous in hailing Kutuz as a hero of Islam for the victory at ʿAyn Djālūt.

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KUʿŪD (A.), the verbal noun *Ḳaʿada* "to sit", which *developed into a technical term. (i) In the ṣalāt* (*q.v.*) it indicates the sitting position which is the penultimate component of a *rakʿa* (*q.v.*). For descriptions and illustrations, see Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 3rd edn., London 1842, i, 207, postures 7 and 13, and T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 467 (2) In early Islamic history it is the designation of the political attitude of a faction of the Khāridjīs, the *Ḳaʿada* (also called *Ḳaʿdīya*, *Ḳaʿdān* and simply *Ḳaʿada* after the analogy of *ḥāris*, pl *ḥaras*) This designation is sometimes taken to refer to "self-declared non-rebels" (M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 151), although the generally accepted notion is "quietism". This notion may have been derived from the pre-Islamic custom with the Arab tribes to "abstain from" warfare, raiding, etc. (in Arabic *Ḳaʿada ʿan*) during Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, one of the four sacred months

The quietist is extolled in a probably spurious tradition dating possibly from the end of the first century A.H.: "There will be a *fitna* [*q.v.*], he who does not take an active part in it (*Ḳāʿid*) is better than he who does (*Ḳāʾim*)", cf. *Concordance*, v, 439, left column, first trad., where Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 269 and 285, may be added to the list of references.

(G. H. A. Juynboll)

al-KUWAYT (conventionally spelled Kuwait), the capital city, situated on lat. 29°20′ N and long 47°59′ E, of an amirate of the same name situated on the Arabian shore at the head of the Persian Gulf. The mainland state is bounded by ʿIrāḳ to the north and west and by Saudi Arabia to the south. Kuwayt also owns a number of islands and islets, the largest and most important of which are Būbiyān, Warba and Fayṭaka. The total area of the state is approximately 5,900 sq. miles.

1. Geography and economy

At least two explanations have been suggested for the origins of the name, one is that it is a diminutive form of *kūt* ("fort"), and this in turn is said to refer to the existence of a small Portuguese defensive settlement there in the late 16th century. The other less general derivation suggests that in local usage Kuwayt means "a number of small wells", and that there exist near the low sandstone ridge called Raʾs Adjūza, which is where the modern town was founded in the early 18th century. European sources usually refer to this settlement as Grane or Graine, which is probably a corruption of al-Kurayn, an islet in the bay about four miles west of the centre of the town, near to which there was a good anchorage

The bay is the largest in the Persian Gulf, with a maximum length of 20 miles (east-west) and a maximum breadth of 10 miles (north-south) It is the only good natural harbour near the head of the Gulf. The terrain is mainly flat and arid with occasional low hills, the highest point of the country, less than 1,000 ft. in elevation, is in the south-west. The coastlands are low and sometimes marshy. Natural vegetation is very sparse and consists of scrub and stunted bushes. Spring rains sometimes produce a short-lived cover of grass. Oases are few, the largest is al-Dhahra, some 28 miles west of the capital city. Permanent surface water does not exist, neither do springs. In the past drinking waters was drawn from wells which were often brackish, and it was also brought by boat from Baṣra. Some drinking water now comes by pipeline from the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, but a large sea water distillation plant is the most important source of supply. The underground water table near al-Rawḍatayn in the north is also tapped for additional supplies.

The climate is hot, but often less humid than at other places in the Gulf. Summer daytime shade temperatures usually reach 105° F to 110° F, but temperatures of over 120° F have been recorded The coldest month is January, when the daily maximum shade temperature is usually about 60 F to 65° F but temperatures as low as 24° have been recorded inland. Frosts sometimes occur in the desert but are almost unknown at the coast Rainfall occurs chiefly between October and March and is slight the average is under 5 ″ per year Winds in winter are generally from the north-west and are relatively cool Southerly winds in the spring and early summer are mainly hot and dry, those from the south-west later in the year are also hot but are often damp Sandstorms more often occur during the winter than during the summer

Before the discovery and exploitation of oil, the chief coastal occupations were trading, pearl and other fishing, and boat building. In the interior, nomads herded sheep, goats and camels and there was a little settled cultivation. The port served much of north-eastern Arabia, as well as acting as an entrepôt for trade with the south of ʿIrāḳ and southern Persia. Horses, animal products, fish and pearls formed the major traditional export items. Imports were chiefly foodstuffs and piece goods. In 1904, some 480 pearling boats worked out of Kuwayt and their crews numbered about 9,200 men. In the winter, about a third of these went to Ceylon for the pearling season there. The world wide economic depression which began in 1929, and the introduction of cultured pearls from Japan, greatly reduced the demand for Gulf pearls. Boat-building using wood and fibre from India employed about 300 men in 1904, but this number obviously increased, for in 1922-23 as many as 220 pearling boats were reported to have been built. In 1904 the population of the town was estimated to be about 35,000. Of that number, about 1,000 were Persians, up to 200 were Jews and the Negro population was said to be about 4,000. By 1952 the population of the state had risen to about 252,000. Since that date it has grown very rapidly, because of changes which spring from the development of the oil industry. According to the census of April 1975, the population of the state was over 990 000 This very sharp rise was due chiefly to immigration, but the native birth rate is also very high. The same census reported that non-native-born residents made up 58.8% of the population, many of these were Palestinians or other Arabs, but immigrant workers have also entered Kuwayt in large numbers from Iran and the Indian subcontinent. There is a significant European and American community

The first oil exploration concession was granted in December 1934, and oil was discovered in 1938 at al-Burkān, but the Second World War halted the development of these fields. The Kuwait Oil Company, which held the concession, was owned jointly and equally by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later the British Petroleum Company) and the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States of America. Production began in 1946, and in that year approximately six million tons of oil were exported. The Abādān crisis of 1951 and the resulting embargo on oil supplies from Iran gave much impetus to the development of the oil industry in Kuwayt. In 1956 production exceeded 54 million tons, and Kuwayt was at that time the largest oil producer in the Middle East. By 1972 production had reached 148 million tons, but Kuwayt was no longer the leading regional producer, having given way to Sa'ūdī Arabia and Iran. In January 1973 the Kuwait Oil Company and the Government of Kuwayt reached an agreement under which the state was to acquire immediately a 25% share in the Company, and by 1982 this would have risen to a 51% controlling interest. The Kuwayti National Assembly, however, expressed strong disagreement with these terms, and there were demands for the immediate nationalisation of the Company. Further negotations were held and in December 1975 a new agreement was signed which transferred full ownership of the Company to the Government with retrospective effect from March of that year. During the War of October 1973, Kuwayt joined other Arab countries in restricting production, and for the first time since oil had been produced output showed a decline. The sharp increase in oil prices in 1973 encouraged the authorities to give increased attention to the question of conservation in order to extend the life of the oil reserves, the country's only known natural asset. A limit on production has been established of two million barrels per day, equivalent to about one hundred million tons per year; at this rate, it has been estimated that the state's known reserves should last at least until the middle of the next century. Kuwayt was a founder member of both the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1960) and of the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1968). The latter institution has its headquarters in Kuwayt and the Kuwayti authorities have taken an important and active part in the work of both bodies.

The recent development of the oil industry has had some striking economic and social effects. From being a relatively poor society of traders, *fishermen*, boat-builders and herdsmen, the country now (1978) has one of the highest levels of income per capita in the world, and the state provides an impressive array of social services. Kuwayt has become, despite its harsh environment, one of the most highly-urbanised states in the world. The dependence on oil is overwhelming, with over 90% of government income currently being derived from oil production. The pearling and boat building industries are no longer of economic importance. Fishing has been modernised and catches of shrimp are sold in Japan, Western Europe and the United States of America rather than locally. Agriculture is of little significance, less than 3% of the land is regarded as cultivable and only about 1% is actually in use. Imports now consist of construction materials, consumer goods and industrial equipment as well as foodstuffs and textiles. Exports, apart from oil and related products such as petrochemicals and fertilisers, are negligible. Ships of all the major maritime nations now use the port, the airport is served by many daily international flights, and the most modern means of international telecommunication are widely available. Oil revenues have enabled the government to offer significant amounts of financial aid to poorer states, both Arab and non-Arab. By 1977 loans worth over US $ 1,500 million had been provided.

2. History

Archaeological excavations on Faylaka island have revealed traces of settlements dating back to 4500 B.C., but relatively little is yet known of the history of Kuwayt prior to the 18th century and the assumption of power by the first members of the present ruling dynasty of Āl Ṣabāḥ in about 1170/1756.

The Sāsānid King Shāpur I is said to have had a great ditch dug from Hīt on the river Euphrates to the northern shore of Kuwayt bay to protect the Sawād [*q.v.*] from Arab raids, and it was in the neighbourhood of Kuwayt that Khālid b. al-Walīd is reported to have defeated a force of Persians in 12/633. The foundations of the modern state date from about the end of the 17th century when a group of ʿUtūb Arabs, who claimed to be a branch of the ʿAnaza confederation [*q.v.*], migrated into the area. According to local tradition the three clans—the Āl Ṣabāḥ, the Āl Khalīfa, and the Āl Djalāhima—were expelled from their previous settlements near Umm Kaṣr by the Ottomans because of their acts of brigandage and piracy. By the middle of the 18th century, the Āl Ṣabāḥ had achieved a position of local dominance. The Āl Khalīfa [*q.v.*] left Kuwayt in 1179/1766 and migrated to Zubāra in Kaṭar before taking control of Baḥrayn in 1197/1783. The Āl Djalāhima left Kuwayt later and they too went to Kaṭar.

The first mention of Kuwayt by a European is that of K. Ives, who refers to it as Grane, but he does not give the name of the ruling *shaykh* at the time of his visit in 1758. Niebuhr refers to the town as having a population of 10 000, but he noted that during the hot months the number declined to about 3,000. He reported that the harbour contained five ships and that the inhabitants were employed in fishing and pearling, but like Ives, he does not give the name of the ruler.

Kuwayt grew in prosperity after Karīm Khān Zand had seized Baṣra in 1179/1776, for during the three-year Persian occupation, the East India Company used Kuwayt instead of Baṣra as the terminal point for its caravan route from Ḥalab (Aleppo) to the Gulf. According to Capper, who did not visit the town, the ruler of Graine was very friendly towards local British officials in 1193/1779, and in 1207/1793, after a quarrel with the Ottoman authorities in Baṣra, the East India Company's Agency was moved from there to Kuwayt. The Agency returned to Baṣra in 1210/1795. It was at this period that Kuwayt was often threatened by Wahhābī raiding parties.

The next century-and-a-quarter of Kuwayt's history was to be shaped by three sets of circumstances and by the relations between them. Those circumstances were threats from Northern and Central Arabia, the uncertain and varying nature of the relations between Kuwayt and the Ottoman Empire, and the emerging interest of first Great Britain, and later of other European powers, in this large natural harbour at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The temporary eclipse of Wahhābī power in Nadjd and al-Ḥasā after their conquest by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1232-4/1817-19 reduced the threat to Kuwayt for a

time. When a British officer visited Kuwayt in 1252/1836, he found that Egyptian envoys were present in the town, and the re-entry of Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces into Eastern Arabia shortly afterwards increased British suspicions about the extent of Egyptian ambitions. An officer of the Indian Navy surveyed the island of Faylaka in 1255/1839 as a possible base for British military forces, but it was concluded that the island was unsuitable. The harbour at Kuwayt was also surveyed at this time. The withdrawal of Egyptian forces in 1256/1840 meant that British interest began to wane. The fact that Kuwayt had not been heavily involved in piracy meant that the trucial system of relations, which had been established by Britain from 1820 with Baḥrayn and the other shaykhdoms of the lower Gulf, was not extended to Kuwayt. Although Kuwayt was involved in the slave trade, the anomalous nature of her relations with the Sublime Porte meant that the British government was reluctant to seek engagements for the suppression of that trade from Kuwayt similar to those which had been secured from the Arab rulers of the lower Gulf.

The economic fortunes of Kuwayt fluctuated throughout the 19th century. Stocqueler, who visited the town 1246-7/1831, estimated that its population was only about 4,000. Some revival appears to have occurred, for Palgrave, who was in Arabia in 1278 g/1862-3 but who did not visit Kuwayt, reported that the town was well governed and that trade was flourishing. The same author described Kuwayt as the natural maritime outlet for the trade of the Djabal Shammar area, and Guarmani, who visited that region in 1280/1864, reported that many horses were exported from there to India via Kuwayt. The possibility of building a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Euphrates and onwards to the head of the Persian Gulf had been suggested as early as 1836, but the construction and opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 put a temporary end to such plans.

The relationship between the rulers of Kuwayt and the Sublime Porte had varied ever since the Āl Sabāḥ had established themselves in Kuwayt, but it was rarely anything other than vague and nebulous. Occasionally, as in 1871, the Ottoman authorities in ʿIrāk were able to exercise some sort of sovereignty over the Shaykh of Kuwayt, and the town was then used briefly as a staging post for the Ottoman annexation of al-Ḥasā, Kuwaytī boats being employed to transport some of the troops. In May 1896 the ruler of Kuwayt, Muḥammad b. Ṣabāḥ, was murdered and he was succeeded by his half brother Mubārak. There was much suspicion that Mubārak was implicated in the death, and intense family rivalries threatened the position of the new Shaykh. In order to consolidate his authority, Mubārak tried to secure the recognition and support of both the Ottoman and the British governments. The former showed some signs of seeking to extend its influence over Kuwayt. The latter initially declined Mubārak's invitations, but when it became known that a Russian entrepreneur, Count Kapnist, was seeking a concession from the Ottoman government to build a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, with Kuwayt as the suggested railhead, British interest quickly revived. The concern of the British government was also increased by the belief that the Russian government might be seeking permission to construct a coaling station on Kuwayt Bay, and in Ramaḍān 1316/January 1899 an agreement was reached under which Shaykh Mubārak gained British support in return for a promise not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage or otherwise dispose of territory to a foreign government or national without specific permission from the British government. Increased international interest in Kuwayt became even more apparent in 1900 when a party of German railway engineers visited the area to seek a suitable site for the terminus of a possible extension to the Persian Gulf of the projected Berlin—Baghdād railway. Shaykh Mubārak opposed these plans, believing in part that they would tend to lead to an increase in Turkish control over Kuwayt. After a prolonged period of diplomatic negotiations, the British and Ottoman authorities completed in 1913 a draft convention concerning their interests in the Persian Gulf. Under article 1 of this convention, Kuwayt was recognised as an autonomous *kaḍā'* within the Ottoman Empire. That document also laid down the land frontiers of Kuwayt but the outbreak of the First World War prevented the draft convention from being ratified. In 1914 the British government sought the support of Shaykh Mubārak against Turkish forces in Southern ʿIrāk, and among other reassurances the ruler was informed that the British government recognised Kuwayt as an independent government under British protection.

The Ottoman authorities were not the only threat to the independence of Kuwayt at the end of the 19th century. The value of that port as an outlet for the trade of Djabal Shammar attracted the attention of the rulers of the Āl Rashīd (*q.v.*) and that clan was engaged in open rivalry with the Āl Saʿūd (*q.v.*). Much turbulence was caused in Northern Arabia in the late 19th and early 20th century by that contest for power. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Faysal Āl Saʿūd and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took refuge for a time with Shaykh Mubārak, and a raiding force from Kuwayt was defeated by the forces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd near Ḥāʾil in March 1901. The recapture of al-Riyāḍ by the Āl Saʿūd and the curbing of the power of the Āl Rashīd reduced the immediate threat to Kuwayt, but as the power of the Āl Saʿūd increased it looked as if they rather than the Āl Rashīd would now pose a danger to Shaykh Mubārak.

In 1923 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd succeeded in expelling the Turks from al-Ḥasā and in gaining an outlet to the Persian Gulf. This meant that Kuwayt was now encircled to the west and the south by the territory of the Āl Saʿūd. In December 1915 the British authorities signed a treaty at al-ʿUkayr with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd, among the provisions of which was a promise by the latter not to attack Kuwayt. Shortly before the signature of this document, Shaykh Mubārak had died and there was renewed family rivalry over the succession. Mubārak's eldest son Djābir became the *shaykh*, but he died in February 1917, and was succeeded by Mubārak's second son Sālim. Sālim was by no means as prudent as his father had been in his relations with either the British or with the Āl Saʿūd. He allowed the harbour of Kuwayt to be used for the transport of supplies to the Turkish army and from February 1918 the port was blockaded by ships of the British navy. This blockade was lifted in the autumn after the cessation of hostilities between the Allied Powers and the Ottoman Empire.

The lack of a defined frontier meant that relations between the Āl Ṣabāḥ and the Āl Saʿūd were unlikely to be easy or harmonious, but the activities of the *Ikhwān* (*q.v.*), and particularly their building of a *hidjra* at Karya al-ʿUlyā, made matters worse. In 1920 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd

imposed an embargo on trade with Kuwayt and this ban lasted until 1937 doing much harm to the prosperity of Kuwayt. Fear of an *Ikhwān* attack prompted the building of a defensive wall around the city and in October 1920 a force of *Ikhwān* led by Faysal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh, the leader of the Mutayr tribe, attacked the nearby oasis of al-Djahra. This attack did not succeed, but *Ikhwān* raids continued to pose a threat to the security of this part of north-eastern Arabia until the movement was finally suppressed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd in 1930 after it had rebelled against his authority.

Shaykh Sālim died in February 1921 and he was succeeded by Aḥmad b. Djābir, the eldest son of the previous ruler. Shaykh Aḥmad endeavoured to improve relations with the Āl Saʿūd, and in December 1922 a Convention was signed at al-ʿUḳayr in which a fixed frontier between the two states was established. The new territory of Kuwayt was very much smaller than that which had been allotted to it in the draft Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1913, and Shaykh Aḥmad believed that the British authorities had not supported his claims against those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Saʿūd as strongly as they should have done. This belief was an important factor in Shaykh Aḥmad's reluctance to grant an exclusive oil concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and it strengthened his later determination to secure the involvement of an American company in the development of Kuwayt's oil resources. (The growth of the oil industry has been treated in section 2 above.)

In 1920 Great Britain had been awarded the Mandate over ʿIrāḳ by the League of Nations, and in April 1923 the British High Commissioner for ʿIrāḳ recognised the frontier between Kuwayt and ʿIrāḳ as being that which had been laid down in the Anglo-Ottoman draft convention of 1913. There have, however, been disputes about this boundary. The most serious occurred in June 1961, when the 1899 agreement between Great Britain and Kuwayt was terminated and Kuwayt became a fully independent state. The Government of ʿIrāḳ immediately claimed that Kuwayt was rightfully an integral part of ʿIrāḳ. The ruler of Kuwayt, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim (who had succeeded Shaykh Aḥmad in 1950) appealed to Britain for military assistance. This request was granted and the dispute was debated by the Security Council of the United Nations. On 20 July Kuwayt was admitted to the League of Arab States and that body resolved to preserve the independence of its new member. In 1963 Kuwayt became a member of the United Nations.

In November 1962 a new constitution was promulgated and elections for a 50-member legislative assembly were first held in January 1963. The Constitution was suspended in August 1977 as a result of internal political difficulties.

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(R. M. BURRELL)

KUWWA (pl. *Kuwā*), Arabic term denoting "strength, power"

1. Lexicographical study. Ibn Sīda defined the word *kuwwa* as the opposite of weakness (*nakīd al-ḍa'f*), cf. Kur'ān XXX, 54 "It is God who has created you from weakness (*min ḍa'f*) and who then, after weakness has given you strength (*kuwwa*)". It is thus the concept of strength and of vigour which is paramount. A man is described as *kawī* when he is strong in himself, and as *munḍawī* when he owns a robust mount. On the other hand, like the word *ḥabl* (which also has the sense of "ability to act"), *kuwwa* denotes a thread which is part of a rope. As may be read in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Dayfamī "Islam is unravelled link by link, as a rope is unravelled thread by thread (*kuwwatun kuwwatun*)". Abū 'Ubayda observes that when such threads become loose (*sukkirū*), the rope is liable to be broken. This may be seen as a further example of the idea of strength and solidity. Thus it is primarily a physical force that the term *kuwwa* evokes in the language.

Numerous words in Arabic have similar meanings. Attention has been drawn above to *ḥīla*, defined in *LA* as power over something (*al-kudra 'alā shay'*). The term *kudra* is itself given as a synonym of *kuwwa* (*ibid.*); it is employed, as *maṣdar* of the verb *kadara*, in the expression *kadara 'alā 'l-shay' kudratan*, with the sense of possessing (*malaka*) something. Possession is the exercise of a power, either physical or judicial. Furthermore, just as the idea of power-to-act implies possibility and aptitude, so *kuwwa* has been likened on the one hand to *imkān* (possibility) and to *isti'dād* (disposition). *Kuwwa* in the sense of possibility is, according to al-Tahānawī, the power or the faculty which is a preparation (*tahayyu'*) to produce a thing or its opposite whereas *isti'dād* is limited to preparation for production of a single effect.

2. *Kuwwa* in the Kur'ān. A quite frequent use is that which gives this word the meaning of power in the sense of capacity to act, to fight, to win, and which applies it either to communities or to individuals. Thus in IX, 69, there is reference to "those who before you were stronger than you in power (*ashadda minkum kuwwatan*) and were richer in goods and offspring". Speaking of man at the Day of Judgment, God says (LXXXVI, 10) "He will then have for himself neither strength nor succour". A second use of a more moral nature is to be found in verses where there is the injunction to "take" the Revelation "with strength" (*bi-kuwwa*)" (cf. among other verses, II, 63 and 93; VIII, 245). Al-Zamakhsharī explains the word with the expression: "with effort and firmness (*bi-jidd wa-'azīma*)". Finally and most importantly, *kuwwa* is attributed to God with the sense of *kudra*, for example in LI, 58, where it is said "God is the Provider of all good things, He is the unshakable Master of power (*dhu 'l-kuwwati 'l-matīn*)" and in XLI, 15 "God, who has created them is stronger than them in power (*ashaddu minhum kuwwatan*)", elsewhere we find "There is no power but through God (*lā kuwwata illā bi 'llāh*)" (XVIII, 39).

3. *Kuwwa* in theology. In the discussion by the Mu'tazila concerning the attributes, and with regard to the doctrine of *ta'ṭīl* which stripped the divine essence of all its attributes, by reducing them either to this very essence, or to simple names, it was necessary to stress that the revealed Book speaks of the power (*kuwwa* of above), as well as of the knowledge (*'ilm*) of God. In the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Ash'arī notes that one group of Mu'tazila, on the basis of XLI, 15, 'claim that in saying that God has power, we are led to say that He is powerful (*ḳādir*). They take *kuwwa* purely and simply as a synonym of *ḳudra*. But they maintain this point of view only in regard to *kuwwa* and *'ilm*, being two substantives which occur definitively in the Book of God, and not in regard to the other attributes of the essence such as life (*ḥayāt*), sight (*baṣar*) and hearing (*sam'*)". This is, according to al-Ash'arī, the doctrine of al-Naẓẓām and the majority of the Mu'tazila of Baṣra and Baghdād. A second group understands "knowledge" in the sense of the object of knowledge (*ma'lūm*), and "power" in the sense of the object of power (*maḳdūr*). To say that God has a power (*ḳudra*=*kuwwa*), therefore signifies, not that there exists in Him such an attribute, but that created beings depend on Him in such a fashion that they could be called *mukhtara'a*. This is why, when Muslims see rain, they say "That is the power of God", meaning that it is a *maḳdūr*. These theologians reserve this explanation, among the attributes of the essence, for knowledge and power, for a purely scriptural reason, as has been seen in the case of the preceding group. A third group assert that God has a power which is identical to Himself (*ḳudra hiya huwa*), and the same applies to His knowledge, but they extend this interpretation to all the other attributes of the essence: this is the thesis of Abū 'l-Hudhayl and his disciples. A third group comprises the disciples of 'Abbād b. Sulaymān, who is known to have sacrificed the texts to the requirements of reason: it can neither be said that God has knowledge and power, nor that He does not have them. This contradicts the formal declaration of the Kur'ān.

Ibn Ḥazm, in addition to the verse XLI, 15, quotes a *ḥadīth*. When instructing his Companions how to formulate a prayer to obtain a favour (*istikhāra*), the Prophet says: "O my God! I ask You for this favour through Your knowledge, I ask You for it through Your power" (*ḳudra*=*kuwwa*). Then Ibn Ḥazm puts power on the same level as knowledge: *kuwwa* and *ḳudra*, like *'ilm*, belong to God really and not metaphorically: they are nothing other than He, although it cannot be said that they are God, because if power were God, God would be power, which is false. The same applies to knowledge. These terms play the same role as the word *nafs* (soul) in the verse VI, 17 "It is He Himself (his soul) that ordains mercy". The expression "soul of God" is a "description of Him (*takhbīr 'anhu*)", but indicates nothing at all other than Him.

4. *Kuwwa* in philosophy. In his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-'ulūm al-islāmiyya* al-Tahānawī gives a panorama

survey of the question. *Kuwwa* is the origin of the act (*mabda' al fi'l*), whether or not it is differentiated, and whether or not it is accompanied by awareness (*ka'l-'ilm*) and by will (*irāda*). In this general sense, *kuwwa* is dependent at the same time on nature (*tabī'a*), the principle of involuntary movement, and on the soul, the principle of voluntary movement. There is thus a distinction between the power of the spheres (*al-kuwwa al-falakiyya*) which produces a unique act, and the power of the elements (*al-kuwwa al-'unsuriyya*) which produces acts that are differentiated as terms of the various combinations of elements, and which has also been called *al-kuwwa al-sukhriyya*, executive power of imposed labour, as a way of recalling that all power to act comes from God, taking inspiration from among others, the verse XXII 65 "Have you not seen that God has pressed into your service (*sakhkhara lakum*) all that is on the earth?" Nevertheless, in the Kur'ān, this term is also applied to the stars, as in XIII, 2, since the Book makes an ontological distinction between the firmament and the sublunary world. After elemental power come vegetative power, the faculty of the vegetal soul, and animal power, the faculty of the soul of animals. Finally the term *kuwwa* is also applied to the origin of the change that is produced in one thing transforming it into something else (*mabda' al taghayyur fi ghayr <u>dh</u>āt<u>h</u> mā <u>h</u>aythu <u>h</u>uwa ākhar*).

By origin is understood the cause (*sabab*), whether it is efficient (*fā'il*) or not. In effect, the power can be active or passive, engendering qualities or receiving them (*kabūl*). As the origin of the change, it can be applied solely to its receptacle (*mahall*), as is the case with the form (*ūra*) of the air which demands the production of humidity in the matter which it pervades. It can also be the origin of change in its receptacle first, then in another thing: this is the case with the form of fire which produces heat and dryness in its matter and transmits these features to neighbouring objects. But the power of change can act from the start in something other than a receptacle: this is the case with the rational soul which acts immediately on a thing other than itself in producing a change in the body.

According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, some powers have substantial forms (*suwar <u>dj</u>awhariyya*), such as the power of fire; others have a basis in accidents which happen to the substance. Consequently, there is no generic notion of *kuwwa*, as it is impossible to unite substance and accidents in a single genre.

5. *Kuwwa* in medicine. As an extension of its philosophical usage, this term is frequently employed in medicine. Al-Tahānawī indicates that the physicians introduced three divisions: natural power, animal power, and psychical power. The natural and animal powers include powers served by others (*makhdūma*) and powers which serve them (*khādima*). The first are, in the realm of the living, those which operate with a view to the preservation of the individual: the faculty of nutrition and the faculty of growth, or with a view to the preservation of the species, generative power (*munsalita*) and plasmatic power (*musawwira*). The second are four in number: the power of attraction (*<u>dj</u>ādhiba*), the power of retention (*māsika*), the power of digestion (*hādima*) and the power of repulsion or of evacuation (*dāfi'a*). These four faculties are served in their turn by heat and cold, dryness and humidity. As for psychical powers, they are divided into two types: the power of perception (*mudrika*) and the power of motion (*muharrika*). Perceptions are external (*<u>z</u>āhira*), in the case of the five senses, or external (*bāṭina*), in the case of the sensesthetic sensations. The power of movement comprises on the one hand the power that incites movement (*bā'itha alā 'l-ḥaraka*) with the faculty of desiring (*shawkiyya*) which may be positive or negative, and the power of inclination (*nazū'iyya*) which guides the former towards the act, and on the other hand, the power responsible for the setting in motion (*muḥarrika li 'l-ḥaraka*).

6. *Kuwwa* in human psychology. This is the faculty of deliberate voluntary action. It operates in accordance with a certain order, first there is a representation of the movement to be executed, then a desire, then a will to achieve the end envisaged, and finally the realisation of the movement and the act. Certain philosophers introduce an intermediary between the faculty of desire and the active power: they call it *i<u>dj</u>timā'*, a term which seems to correspond to the συγκατάθεσις (consent) of the Stoics. It is the decision (*<u>h</u>ukm*) which follows after a hesitation (*taraddud*) between action (*fi'l*) and non-action (*tark*) as a result of which one of the two parties prevails (*yataradjdjaḥ*). According to others, there is no intermediary, but a desire which may continue to grow until the decision and the act are put into effect. *I<u>dj</u>timā'* is nothing more than this desire at its maximum intensity. As for the followers of Ibn Sīnā, they reckon that *i<u>dj</u>timā'* depends on will and that there is a great difference between desire and will.

A position of eminence is given to the power of the intellect (*al kuwwa al-'ākila*). All theories concerning the intellect, from the end of Antiquity, throughout the Hellenistic period and until the time of the *falāsifa*, depend on interpretations of the third book of Aristotle's *Treatise on the soul*.

7. The notion of *kuwwa* and Greek influences on *falsafa*. The numerous meanings applied to the term *kuwwa* in philosophy may be examined, with a view to comparison with Greek thought, from two points of view. The concept δύναμις has two opposites in the writings of Aristotle: 1. ἀδυναμία (*lā-kuwwa* or *<u>dj</u>a'f*, inability or weakness); 2. ἐνέργεια (*fi'l*, activity, reality). *Kuwwa* in the former sense is dealt with in the *Categories* and *Metaphysics* (v. τὰ), in the latter mainly in the *Metaphysics*, viii 1x. It may be here observed that inability is to be distinguished from impossibility (ἀδύνατον = *muntani'* or *mu<u>sh</u>ā'il*).

A *Kuwwa*, to be more accurate *kuwwa fā'i<u>dj</u>a* (productive ability), being the second species of the category of quality (ποιόν [cf. MAGHĀLIṬ]) is defined, with Aristotle as that arrangement by which some one or some thing comes into action quickly and easily while *lā-kuwwa* predisposes to undergo something easily and quickly. Activity and passiveness are here to be conceived as opposites, which exclude one another. They cannot be present at the same time in one and the same subject. *Kuwwa* in this sense is the positive capability for a definite activity or as the Stoics expressed it: the qualities of things are action forces, agencies. The orthodox *kalām* referred this doctrine only to the activity of God. Muslim theologians said for example—cf. Christian dogmatics—that God's qualities (*ṣifāt*) are the sources (*maṣādir*) of his actions. The philosophers, however, referred it in the first place to the workings of nature. Nature is endowed with many forces and abilities and each ability has a corresponding inability. Inability, however, is nothing positive but a deprivation (στέρησις, *'adam*) or a decay (φθορά, *fasād*). *Lā-kuwwa* is not an absolute nothing but a non-existing of what according to Aristotle

belongs to a thing from its nature. It is especially emphasised that the transition from *kawn* to *la-kawn* (or from active to passive) takes place not continuously but without intermediary, i.e. suddenly, timelessly. The Muslim philosophers are, for the rest usually content to explain these sometimes very questionable assertions with the examples given by Aristotle. In the *Logic* (*Categoriae*) these are with reference to living beings health (ability) and sickness (inability), and in the organic world, hardness and softness. In addition, in other branches of knowledge, rest is sometimes defined as deprivation of motion, blindness as a want of ability to see, wickedness as the non-existence of good, and so on. All these deprivations (στερήσεις) are regarded with Aristotle as accidents of matter. Hence the practice (at least since Ibn Sīnā [cf. *Tis' rasā'il*, 64] who probably follows a Greek exposition) of distinguishing *'adam* as accidental principle from the essential principles, matter and form.

Al-Fārābī (*Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 87 ff. 11) first discussed the question whether suffering (πάσχειν), as the term is used under the category of quality, meant the same as suffering as the last (10th) of the categories. Perhaps he was led to this by a passage in Aristotle (*De anima*, 417b) in which "suffering" is said to have two meanings: 1. it is a kind of decline (φθορά) through the opposite (see above); and 2. the preservation (σωτηρία) of the possible through what is active, and in this way that thereby a natural basis is evolved for its own being. Instead of a decline we here have a question not only of a mere survival but also of a higher development, a suffering in *bonam partem*, an endurance (passive, receptive, contemplative) of higher influences (see ATHAR).

B. More important than the contrast between *kawn* and *la-kawn* for the history of philosophical terminology became the distinction between *kuwwa* and *fi'l*, or, to use the language of the schools, power and action, commonly found in the formulae *bi 'l-kuwwa* (δυνάμει) and *bi 'l-fi'l* (ἐνέργεια). Both expressions are closely connected with the two fundamental conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy, matter and form. Power is peculiar to matter, action to form. Power and action are called ἐντελέχειαι (Arab. *tawābi'*, attributes) of matter and form. Aristotle sought in this way to reconcile a static with a dynamic consideration of the world. Matter and form (see HAYŪLĀ) are names for the constituents of the existing, power and action for the stages of development of the becoming. These fundamental conceptions cannot be defined more exactly. Like Aristotle, the Muslim philosophers endeavour to illustrate them by examples.

The development from power to action presupposes a continuous world of becoming, time and change. According to one principle of Aristotle, which was taken over by the Muslim thinkers, at least with reference to the world, the infinite cannot be real. But in time, especially if it is conceived without beginning and without end, lies the unending possibility of all that possesses its limited reality in any particular moment. Under definite conditions, if there is no obstacle in the way, the possible advances to full realisation by stages. Possibility and realisation are to be regarded as terminal of a development taking place within time. This process, the development from power to action, is called by Aristotle motion (κίνησις, *ḥaraka*) which is defined as the realisation (ἐνέργεια) of the possible as such. The end (to be *bi 'l-fi'l*) is called in Arabic also *kamāl* (perfection) just as Aristotle uses ἐνέργεια and ἐντέλεχεια synonymously.

The concept of an originally pure (i.e. without quality) possibility which can in course of time become everything, is according to Aristotle a conceivable abstraction. Everything becoming is already more or less formed, realised, deprivation is no accident of matter, not as the neo-Platonists asserted, matter itself. Aristotle himself did not succeed in carrying through logically his distinction between the principle of deprivation (*'adam*) and matter as pure possibility. The Muslim thinkers who were under neo-Platonic influences were naturally still less able to do so. They often identified *'adam* and *kuwwa*. Usually however, they endeavoured to represent our world of becoming as a hierarchy of positive forces or powers. The process of becoming is then to be conceived as a co-operation, a working into one another of active and passive. With Aristotle, the Stoics, etc., they talk of active and passive, moving and moved, ruling and serving forces, which by no means rule one another out. Two aspects of one and the same process are thus described. One and the same power may therefore be active, moving, ruling with respect to what is below it in the order of stages of being but passive, receptive, contemplative with respect to those above it. In other words *kuwwa* and *fi'l* are used in the correlative sense exactly like matter and form. A material more or less formed, e.g. clay, is matter for bricks and the formed brick is material for a building. Similarly, in the sperm there is the potentiality to become a boy, in a boy a potentiality to become a man. In other words, the sperm possesses the immediate potentiality for a boy, a remote potentiality for a man.

Amongst the Ismā'īlī thinkers, the problem of power is equally put forward in another form, in the shape of the idea of receptiveness (*istiʿdād*). Whilst the Primal Intellect receives at a single stroke (*daf'atan wāḥida*) everything which rightfully makes up its being, the "creatures" inferior to it are incapable of this. Hence they receive successively in the course of time the characters and qualities which belong rightfully to their essence and which make up their secondary perfection. This explains why these latter gradually become transformed according to the different kinds of movement. It is through this that the power of generation (*kawn*) is explicable. But when they have reached their perfection, certain beings tied down to matter are unable to keep it and decline into final corruption (*fasād*); in this way, the force of destruction may be explained.

The whole theory is closely connected with the dynamic view of the existence of the world. Thus as in Aristotle, in the Muslim philosophers physics, including psychology, are developed into a hierarchical system of natural forces and faculties of the soul. In place of faculty as sometimes find parts of the soul (*quwā, aʿḍāʾ*); Platonic terminology, also used by Aristotle). Galenic influences may be traced, in the doctrine of the faculties of the soul especially and their localisation (in al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī). Al-Fārābī deals with this in his *Fuṣūl* (i.e. *Abhandlungen*, ed. Dieterici, 72 ff., wrongly ascribed to Ibn Sīnā in *Tis' rasā'il*, 42 ff.); cf. his "Model State" (ed. Dieterici, 34 ff.). Ibn Sīnā (*Kitāb al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1913, 256 ff.; cf. *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, 123 ff.) enumerates some 25 *kuwā* from the highest faculty of the reasoning soul to the powers of the simplest bodies. Al-Ghazālī (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, index) is acquainted with over 30 *kuwā*; but some are synonyms

As briefly explained above, in the world of becoming *kawn* is earlier in time than *fiʿl*, but *fiʿl* —so his Muslim successors teach following Aristotle— is always the earlier in the sense of the higher. What is potential cannot of itself devolve into actuality. God who is the perfectly real, according to the Muslim philosophers, brought the world from non-existence (*ʿadam*) to existence (*wudjūd*) or from *kawn* to *fiʿl* (*ikhrādj*). The spirits (*ʿukūl*) which set as intermediaries between God and the world are usually called real. It is the activity of the last heavenly spirit, the *ʿaḳl faʿʿāl*, which as Ibn Sīnā, following al-Fārābī, expresses it, gives everything earthly its form (*wāhib al-suwar*, cf. for this expression *Ennead*s, v 9, 3), or, as Ibn Rushd prefers to say, brings everything potential here into actuality. This is however not a distinction in principle between the two philosophers: with Aristotle they regard matter and form as substances, potentiality and activity as their attributes (*kuwwa*).

C. In the *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, 94) is the following remarkable passage: "In this (sensual) world, action is preferable to potentiality, in the higher (intelligible) world, however, potentiality is preferable to action." This pregnant sentence is not found in the *Ennead*s but corresponds completely to the utterances of Plotinus (*Enn.*, v 1, 6 f.; 3, 15 f., 4, 1 f.; 5, 13 f.) According to a general principle of Plotinus—not however always logically carried through—the categories and main conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy are only to be referred to the sensual world, they have another but higher meaning. The higher *kawn* is an intensification of the productive faculty discussed under A. In addition, there is an exchange of value in the factors potentiality and actuality.

According to Plotinus, the first and only principle of all things (in the *Theology of Aristotle* = God) is raised above the logos of the Stoics (*kalima*, active force) and above the exegesis of the Peripatetics (*fiʿl*). It is true that one can say of the νοῦς (*ʿaḳl*), the first created thing, it is λόγος καὶ ἐνέργεια of the First, but the First himself is from his nature δύναμις, i.e. power, all-power. With the uniqueness of the First (also called, as e.g. by Plato, the absolute good) only one quality, that of omnipotence, is compatible. All activity however, whether it is thinking or acting, presupposes multiplicity and effort, which cannot be ascribed to the absolutely simple Being. On this definition of the First as Dynamis, cf. Plato's utterance (*Sophist.* 247 E): "I define the being of the existing in this way, that it is nothing but a Dynamis"

Excluding the Muʿtazila, it may be said that this emphasis on the omnipotence in the being of the Unique (God) must have been much more natural to the Muslim theologians—although traditionally they deal with God's knowledge before his power—than the Aristotelian view that God is pure Energeia, which manifests itself only in thinking.

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KUZAH [see kawr kuzaa].

KWANADI (self-designation—Kwandi hekna se Bagulal; Russian designation—Bagulali, but Kvanadinskiy yasik for language), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Kwanadi forms, with Andi, Akhwakh, Botlikh, Cannalal, Godoberi, Karata and Tindi, the Andi division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages. Their population was 3,054 according to the 1926 Soviet census.

The Kwanadi inhabit the auls of Khushtada, Kwanada (Tsumoda region), Cimerso, Tisi, Tlibsho (Akhwakh region) south of the land of the Andi Koysu in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Living in isolated mountain valleys, the Kwanadi have maintained many patriarchal customs. The Kwanadi are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī school. Their traditional economy was based on sheep and goat herding and related activities, and on agriculture.

There are two dialects of Kwanadi, sc. Bagulal and Tlisi, both of which are purely vernacular. Avar and Russian serve as literary languages. The Kwanadi are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars, and they appear as Avar-speaking Avars in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses (see also AVAR, AVAR, DĀGHESTĀN, 2a. JĀDIS).

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(K. Wixman)

KWAṬṬA, Quetta, a town and district of northern Balūčistān, now in Pakistan. In both the former British India and now in Pakistan, Quetta and Pishīn, some 20 miles to its north, have formed an administrative district. The region is geologically complex and is very mountainous, with peaks rising up to nearly 12,000 feet/3,850 metres, and it is centred upon the basin of the Pishīn Lora river and its tributaries. The climate is temperate, with cold winters. Crops—wheat being the chief *rabīʿ* or spring crop and sorghum the chief *kharīf* or autumn one—can only be grown in the alluvial river bottoms, and then by irrigation, at present, there are about 300 *kārīz*s or *kanāts* [*q.v.*], plus a reservoir and a canal for this. The surrounding mountains furnish chromite and also coal (in the Sor range near Quetta and at Mačh in the Bolān Pass area), whose exploitation now employs several thousand men, including Sunnī migrant labour and Pathan and Baluč nomads in the off-herding seasons.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the history of the Quetta-Pishīn region was closely connected with that of Kandahār [*q.v.*], some 130 miles/210 km. to the north west with which it is connected by an ancient route through Cowsa, just on the Pakistan side of the modern border with Afghānistān. The town of Quetta (whose name may stem from Pashto *kwata* "heap, hill", or from *kwa* "room, fortress", ultimately from Hindī *kothā*) was more commonly known till the 19th century, and is still known by the local people, as Shāl or Shālkot. Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1809 calls it "Shawl" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*, London 1839, ii, 225). In 884/1479 Husayn Mīrzā Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], the Timūrid ruler of Harāt awarded Shāl, Mustang and Sibi to Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghun of Kandahār [see ARGHUN]. These places passed after Dhu 'l-Nūn's death in 913/1507 to his progeny, and in 930/1524 Shāh Husayn Beg b. Dhi 'l-Nūn acknowledged the Mughal Bābur's suzerainty. After a brief Safawid occupation of 963-6/1556-9,

they were incorporated in the Mughal empire. The *Ā'īn-e Akbarī*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii, Calcutta 1949, states that the Quetta-Pishīn region supplied the Emperor Akbar with 2,500 cavalry and 4,500 infantry, plus grain, sheep and 38 *tūmāns* in money. After 1031/1622 it came under Ṣafawid control again, and Shāh ʿAbbās I (*q.v.*) conferred Shāl, Mastung and Sibī on the Pathan chief Shīr Khān Tarīn. In the 18th century, the Quetta-Pishīn region was disputed by Ghilzay Pathans and the Brahuis of Kalāt, but after 1122/1758-9, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (*q.v.*) left Nasīr Khān of Kalāt as ruler in Quetta in return for a contingent of troops, at a time when the Afghān ruler's position in India was being threatened by the Marāṭṭās. Henceforth, Quetta was controlled by the rulers of Kalāt, whose seat was the town of that same name 103 miles/182 km to the south (*see* KALĀT); Pishīn and Shorarūd, however, remained in Afghān hands till 1879 (*see* below).

The importance of Quetta in recent times has arisen from its commercial rule as an emporium for trade between southern Afghānistān and the lower Indus valley, but above all, from its strategic position. It lies at a point where a north-south route runs from Kandahār and the southern Afghānistān frontier via Quetta and the Bolān Pass to Jacobabad and the Indus at Shikarpur in Sind, and where a transverse route comes from the middle Indus at Dēra Ghāzī Khān (*see* DERAJĀT) and runs westwards through Quetta to the Persian border. These factors became especially operative in the 19th century after the annexation by Britain of Sind (1843) and the Panjāb (1849). During the First Afghān War (1839-42), when Shāh Shujāʿ al-Mulk was placed on the throne in Kābul (*see* AFGHĀNISTĀN, v. History), Quetta was occupied by British forces during these years; the town was used as a forward base for operations in the Kandahār region, and a political agent, Capt. Bean, installed there. It was, nevertheless, still only a small place, with a mud wall pierced by two gates and the governor's fort on *mīrī* on artificial mound. C. Masson in the late 1830s said that "Shāl" possessed "about 300 houses and a fair bazaar" (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, i 327-30), and W. Hough described it in 1839 as "a most miserable mud town, with a small castle on a mound, on which there was a small gun on a rickety carriage" (*A narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus in the expedition into Afghanistan*, London 1840). Three decades later, A. W. Hughes still estimated its population at only *ca* 4,000 (*The country of Balochistan, its geography, topography, ethnology and history*, London 1877, 67, 73-4).

After 1842, when Quetta reverted to the Khān of Kalāt's control, voices in the Government of India, such as that of General Sir John Jacob in 1856, urged its permanent occupation as a vital strategic point and also its being linked with Sind and Karāchī by railway (*The views and opinions of General John Jacob*, ed. L. Pelly, Bombay 1858, 349). It was, however, feared that such a distant place, as it then was, in the heart of the tribal area of northern Balūčistān, would be difficult to hold in times of crisis, and the proponents of "masterly inactivity" carried the day until the 1870s. Fears arising from the Russian advance against the Central Asian khanates and possible pressure on Afghānistān led, however, to the adoption now of a "Forward policy", and in 1876 a decision was made to occupy Quetta. The Treaty of Jacobabad between the Viceroy Lord Lytton and the Khān of Kalāt renewed the right of Britain, already secured in 1854, to send troops into Kalāt territory in times of stress and made Kalāt into a protected native state. Quetta was occupied, and Major (later Sir) Robert Sandeman became the first Agent there in the Governor General.

Quetta's military value was soon proved in the Second Afghān War (1878-80), when troops were moved through the Bolān Pass and via Quetta into the Kandahār region. By the Treaty of Gandamak of 1879 with the Afghān Amīr Yaʿḳūb b. Shīr ʿAlī, Sibī and Pishīn, with the land up to the Khwādja ʿAmrān Mts., the so-called "assigned districts", were ceded to Britain to form with Quetta in 1887 the nucleus of British Balūčistān. In 1883 Quetta was formally leased to the Government of India by the Khān of Kalāt in return for an annual payment of 35,000 rupees. It was at this time that the administrative District of Quetta and Pishīn was formed. After 1879 a broad gauge railway was built from a point near Sukkur to Pishīn via the Harnai Pass, and Quetta now became linked with the North West Railway system of India. Later, during the First World War, a lengthy branch (441 miles/830 km) was constructed through British Balūčistān westwards to a railhead in Persian territory at Zāhidān.

Quetta town is situated in lat. 30°16' N. and long. 67°1' E. and lies at an altitude of 5,508 feet/1,770 metres at the northern end of the Shāl valley. Under British rule, it became a very important military centre, the headquarters of the 4th Division of the Western Command, and the seat of the Staff College. In 1896 it became a municipality. Quetta lies in an earthquake zone, and was severely hit by the earthquake of 1935, when tens of thousands of people died; buildings subsequently erected there have had to be earthquake-proof (see R. Jackson, *Thirty seconds at Quetta, the story of an earthquake*, London 1960). It now possesses a good amount of local industry, and in 1972 had an estimated population of 139,800 (swollen in summer time by temporary residents), comprising the cantonment and the civil area. The population of Quetta itself is now somewhat mixed, though still largely Pathan. The surrounding areas are, to the north, overwhelmingly Pathan and Pashto-speaking (Kākaṛs, Tarīns and Ačakzays), this Pashto is close to that of Kandahār, i.e. of the southwestern group (for specimens of the Pashto of Kandahār and Pishīn, *see Linguistic survey of India*, x, 105-12). To the south of the town, the Brahui area begins. Quetta accordingly straddles the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Pathans and Brahuis-Balūč.

In the present administrative organisation of Pakistan, Quetta is the centre of Quetta-Pishīn District, combining the former British arrangement here (area 5,314·93 miles/13,763 km.²), and also, since the re-organisation of 1955, when Balūčistān was merged into the single western unit of Pakistan, the centre of the Quetta Division, comprising the Districts of Quetta-Pishīn plus those of Zhob, Loralai and Sibī to the east, and Chagai to the west (area 53,215 sq. miles/137,567 km.²).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

L

LA'AḲAT AL DAM "lickers of blood", the name given to a group of clans of Kuraysh. According to tradition, Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] had allocated to the different subdivisions of Kuraysh the quarters which they were to occupy in Mecca and had entrusted to the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār various local offices of administration of the *dār al-nadwa* and bearing the standard (*liwāʾ*), the furnishing of provisions (*rifāda*) and drink (*siḳāya*) to the pilgrims, and custodianship of the Kaʿba (*ḥiǧāba* [see KAʿBA]). However, the Banū ʿAbd Manāf thought themselves more worthy of these privileges, and Kuraysh (with the exception of the B. ʿAmr b. Luʾayy and Muḥārib b. Fihr, who stayed neutral) split into two hostile factions.

The B. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the Zuhra b. Kilāb the Taym b. Murra and the al-Ḥārith b. Fihr joined the side of the B. ʿAbd Manāf, and the five clans swore to and each other and not to abandon each other's cause *mā ballā baḥrun ṣāfa*, i.e. till the end of time. In order to make binding the oath, a vessel full of perfume was brought into the Kaʿba, and the participants dipped their hands in it and then dried them on the walls of the shrine. Thus they became known as the Muṭayyabūn "perfumed ones".

In the opposing group, the B. ʿAbd al-Dār had the support of the B. Maḫzūm, the Sahm, the Ḏjumaḥ and the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, and these five clans took the same oath and became known as the Aḥlāf "allies". The two sides were ready to come to blows when an appeal for reconciliation was made, and peace was kept by the ʿAbd al-Dār's conceding to the ʿAbd Manāf the *siḳāya* and the *rifāda*.

The composition of the respective two groups is given identically in the old sources, but the Aḥlāf are not always given, and Ibn Ḳutayba, for instance, speaks only of the Muṭayyabūn (*Maʿārif*, 604). Nevertheless, in his recension of the *Munammaḳ* of Ḥasīn b. Ṯābit (ed. W. Arafat, London 1971, ii, 260), Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb cites a passage of al-Kalbī which attributes also the name *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the Aḥlāf, and in his *Muḥabbar*, 166, the same author states that this group slaughtered a camel and plunged their hands into its blood, since one member of the B. ʿAdī licked this blood, the rest of the Kuraysh present imitated him and were therefore called *laʿaḳat al-dam*. A parallel version is given by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Beirut 1380/1960, i, 77), with the difference that we only have mention of a vessel containing blood and no reference to the sacrifice of a camel. The author of the *Ḳāmūs* (s.v. ʾ ṭ ḥ) echoes this tradition and gives the name of *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the five clans mentioned above, giving the detail that in order to seal the oath they killed a camel and either licked its blood or dipped their hands into it, he does not however say anything about the circumstances surrounding this ceremony.

Now, for its part, the *Sīra* indeed sets forth the difference between the Muṭayyabūn and the Aḥlāf over the public duties in Mecca (i, 132-4), but does not mention here the name *laʿaḳat al-dam*, which it reserves (i, 196-7) for one of the two groups formed at the time of the dispute among Kuraysh about the positioning of the Black Stone during the rebuilding of the Kaʿba. It relates that the B. ʿAbd al-Dār brought in a vessel filled with blood and dipped their hands in it, swearing, together with the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, to fight to the death, it was at this time that they became called *laʿaḳat al-dam*, but the *Sīra* does not say whether other clans joined with the ʿAbd al-Dār and the ʿAdī nor anything about the licking of fingers. In any case, it was a member of Maḫzūm who advised the two opposing sides to submit to the arbitration of the first person who entered the Kaʿba by the door of the Banū Shayba, and as is well-known, this was the Prophet. We find exactly the same version as the *Sīra*'s one in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1138.

A little later, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūḏ*, iii, 119-21 = §§ 968-70) enumerates the factions making up the Aḥlāf and Muṭayyabūn, but gives the name of *laʿaḳat al-dam* to the ten clans belonging, in his view, to the Kuraysh al-Biṭāḥ and made up, apart from two exceptions, of the united body of the two factions involved.

It appears clearly from all the pieces of evidence mentioned here and agreeing about the Muṭayyabūn and Aḥlāf of Mecca, but disagreeing about the episode of the *laʿaḳat al-dam*, that we have with a vague tradition that one wonders whether the story of the hands dipped in blood and licked has not been invented in the interests of symmetry by traditionists anxious to find a parallel with the perfume of the Muṭayyabūn. It is furthermore the only attestation of a practice involving the taking in of a few drops of blood [see DAM in Suppl.] which we possess, and the *Lisān* makes no allusion to it when it cites, in regard to the oath called *ġumūs* (s.v. *ġ. m. s*), the ashes, perfume and blood in which the oath-takers steeped their hands.

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(Ch. Pellat)

LAʿB [see LAʿIB].

LABĀB (from Pers. *lab-i āb* "riverside"), the irrigated region along the banks of Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] in its middle course. The name, though of Persian origin, became known apparently only in modern times, when this region became one of the main centres of the settlement of the Turkmens. The exact limits of the region have never been defined, it seems that it extended as far as Darghān (the southernmost town of Khwārazm [*q.v.*]) in the north and as far as Kālif [*q.v.*] in the south. In pre-Mongol times a narrow tract of cultivated land stretched along both the left and the right banks of the river, though on the left bank conditions for artificial irrigation were better, the uniformly cultivated tract began to the north of Amul [*q.v.*].

In the post-Mongol period, the irrigation system fell into decay, and both banks of Amū Daryā were inhabited by nomads, except for several townships with their surroundings. After the middle of the 17th century, a number of Turkmen tribal groups began to migrate to Labāb from Western Turkmenia through Khwārazm, and in the 18th century the region was inhabited mainly by Turkmens who became sedentarized and built a network of irrigation canals. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Labāb belonged to the Khānate of Bukhārā and was administratively divided between two *wilāyats*, Čardjūy (former Āmul) and Kerkī. In the 19th century, Labāb was the most densely populated region among all those inhabited by the Turkmens, and lack of irrigated lands brought about considerable emigration to Afghānistān and Eastern Bukhārā. The most numerous among various Turkmen groups of Labāb have been the tribes Salur [*q.v.*] to the north-west of Čardjūy, Sakar to the south-east of Čardjūy, and especially Ersarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] further to the south, up to Kālif. Besides them, there have been in Labāb almost 30 other tribal groups of Turkmens interspersed with each other and, in the vicinity of Čardjūy, with Uzbeks. Now Labāb belongs to the Turkmen Soviet Republic of the USSR, forming the core of the *oblast* (province) of Čardjūy.

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LABBAI (Tamil *lappai*, thought by Tamil *'ulamā'* to derive from *labbayka*, the pilgrims' cry [see TALBIYA]), a community of Tamil-speaking Muslims residing in or originating from Tamilnadu State, South India. Labbai is a generic term incorporating four subdivisions, the Marakkayar, Kayalar, Rawther and Labbar. All four groups are Sunnīs, the first two predominantly of the Shāfi'ī school, while the latter two are Hanafīs. The Marakkayars and Kayalars predominate in the southern coastal regions of Tamilnadu, while Rawthers and Labbais reside in greater numbers in the state's north and its interior. Urbanisation has led to the geographic mixing of these communities, but in the countryside usually only one group lives in a particular location.

Each subdivision is associated with a distinctive tradition. The Marakkayars claim to be the descendents of Arab sea traders and have a reputation as dealers in gems and pearls and as smugglers. Kayalars are said to originate from Kayalpetinam, once an important port on the southern Coromandel coast. These two groups once published books and newspapers written in the Tamil language and using the Arabic script. The Rawthers claim a heritage as cavalrymen and horse traders, while the subdivision of Labbais are said to be the descendants of Kur'ānic scholars. In Madurai District, Rawthers refer to the employees of their mosques as Labbais.

The four Labbai subdivisions are effectively endogamous, although they accept no ideology that would dictate this. On the contrary, they are adamantly egalitarian and do not accept any caste ranking of their groups, despite being surrounded by caste Hindus. The small amount of intergroup marriage that does occur in the cities substantiates this egalitarianism, since these marriages are considered socially acceptable.

The Labbais are more urban than rural, and consider mercantilism to be their occupational forte. In 1961 approximately 33% of the Muslim population of Tamilnadu was urban, compared to 16.7% of the total state population. This latter figure is commensurate with a society based on an agricultural economy. The 33% figure is high and reflects the non-agricultural basis of the Muslims' livelihood. Throughout the state they are recognised as astute businessmen and traders. A few families have achieved wealth but most operate petty businesses.

In search of a livelihood, Labbais have travelled over much of the Asian world, especially over South-east Asia. For centuries they were an important economic and political force in Malacca, and they are found in numbers in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. Prior to World War II, some had business in Japan. Wherever they go, they are primarily merchants.

Despite the Labbais' far flung wanderings, India remains a homeland for them and ties are maintained with kinsmen in India. Often, overseas Labbais maintain households and families in India to which they periodically remit money and return home. It is clear that, despite their wanderings and attachment to Islam, they identify themselves as Tamilians.

The Labbais identify strongly with Tamil culture and society. For most of them, Tamil is the language both within and without the mosque. The Tamil-speaking Muslims are proud of their contributions to Tamil literature, the *sine qua non* of Tamil culture. The Labbais of the countryside dress in a fashion which is more similar to the Hindu mode than do most of their urban fellows. Their celebration of the 'Abd al-Kādir Djīlānī *'Urs* commemorating the death of "Mohaiyadeen Abdul Kadar Andakai Jilani" is in many features similar to the Hindu cart festivals. Saint worship centred around this *'Urs* forms an important popular undercurrent to the strict orthodoxy of urban religious leaders. Many Labbais do not eat beef because they have been socialised to Hindu custom, but not to Hindu religious ideology.

In the northern part of Tamilnadu and in Madras City, the Labbais have undergone a process of Islamisation with a stress on Sunnī orthodoxy. Saint worship is frowned upon as *shirk* by religious leaders, and when it occurs is much less flamboyant than the gala events of the countryside and is accompanied by conscious attempts to avoid *shirk*. Labbai dress is distinctively Muslim, and many have acquired Urdu as a second language because they consider it the language of Indian Muslims and akin to Arabic, if only in script. Some mosques in this northern part of the state recognise the importance of the *Dār al-'Ulūm* at Deoband as a centre of religious learning, and hire *huffāz* from there during Ramadān. The impulse towards Islamisation is part of a process of de-parochialisation. As Muslims have become urbanised, their desire to become

recognised as good Muslims as well as good Tamilians has increased.

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LABBAYKA [see TALBIYA].

LABĪBĪ, the pen name of a Persian poet who lived at the end of the 4th/11th and the beginning of the 5th/12th century. His personal name as well as almost any other particulars of his life are unknown. The *Tarǧumān al-balāgha* has preserved an elegy by Labībī on the death of Farrukhī (*q.v.*), which means that the former was probably still alive in 429/1037-8. A *kaṣīda* attributed to him by ʿAwfī is addressed to a *mamdūḥ* by the name of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, who in that source is identified with a younger brother of the Ghaznavid Sultan Muḥammad. But it is more likely that he was a member of the Āl-i Muḥtādj, the rulers of Čaghāniyān, who was also a patron of Farrukhī's poetry (see C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghaniyan in early Islamic times*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, xix [1981], 21-12). In the *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (i, 445) the poem is in fact presented as a work of the latter, but it also occurs in manuscripts of the *Dīwān* of Manūčihrī and in the works of other poets. The attribution to Labībī was rejected by Rypka and Borecký, but is defended by most modern Iranian scholars. Apart from this poem, the remaining poetry of Labībī consists of fragments only, mostly single lines quoted in evidence by lexicographers. Some of these lines belonged to *muḥmmal* poems, the subject of which can no longer be ascertained.

Though his work fell into oblivion quite soon, Labībī must have been a poet of some distinction in his own age. Bayhaḳī, writing about 450/1058, appreciated him as an *ustād-i sukhan*; and so did Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, who also styled him *sayyid al-šuʿarāʾ* and imitated one of his *ḳaṣīdas* (*Dīwān*, ed. R. Yāsimī, Tehran 1339/1960, 572). The many quotations contained in the *Luġat-i Furs* of Asadī prove that his poems were still circulating in the later part of the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography. The remnants of Labībī's poetry were collected and studied most comprehensively by J. Rypka and M. Borecký, in *4rO*, xiv (1943), 261-307, other collections were published by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī, in *Mihr*, viii (1331/1952), 310-2, 367-71, 630-3, *Labībī mis aṣḥāb-i ū*, Tehran 1332/1953, and *Ganǧ-i bād-āwarda*, i, Tehran 1334/1955, 2-34. See further Rādūyānī, *Tarǧumān al-balāġa*, ed. Ahmed Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 32 and *passim*; 121 f., Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1319/1940, i, 78; Kay Kāwūs *Kābūs-nāma*, ed. Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1345/1966, 128, 365 f., ʿAwfī *Lubāb* ii 401 f., ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 276 f., 671 f. Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295/1878, i, 494. M. T. Bahār, in *Āyanda*, iii (1306/1927), 151-9, idem, in *Armaġān*, iii (1324/1945), 518-22, Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, i, Tehran 1342/1963, 547-50. (J. T. P. de Bruijn)

LAHĪB b. RABĪʿA, Abū ʿAḳīl, Arab poet of the *mukhaḍram*. He belonged to the family of Banū Djaʿfar, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 93 and Register, ii, 374-5).

According to Ibn Saʿd, vi, 21, he died in 40/660-1 in the night on which Muʿāwiya arrived in al-Nukhayla to conclude peace with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Others like Ibn Ḥadjar, iii, 657, whom Nöldeke (*Fünf Mo'allaqât*, ii, 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 41 A.H., others again 42. He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Sidjistānī, *A. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, § 62). In fact, he makes several allusions to this in his poems. The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed. Even before 600 A.D. he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language. As quite a young man, he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abū Rābiṭa Nuʿmān of al-Ḥīra (*ca.* 580-602), and when the latter was incited against the Banū ʿĀmir by his friend Abū Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-ʿAbsī (of the tribe to which Labīd's mother belonged), Labīd succeeded with a satirical *raǧaz* poem (*Dīwān*, no. 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banū ʿĀmir. A verse from Nuʿmān's answer to his courtier, who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him in this *raǧaz* poem, became proverbial (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal, *al-Fākhir*, i, 41-2, al-ʿAskarī, *Amṯāl*, on the margin of al-Maydānī, ii, 117, 7-118; al-Maydānī, ii, 33; *K. al-Aġānī*,[1] xv, 94 f.; ʿIqd, 22 f., ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Ḵizānat al-adab*, ii, 79 ff., iv, 172 ff.). In his later poems Labīd also often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence. He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet, and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al-ʿAshā. But the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad threw him out of the usual groove. We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islam. As early as Djumādā II of the year 8 Sept.-Oct. 629, the chiefs of the tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, sc. ʿĀmir b. Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Ḳays, a stepbrother of Labīd, seem to have negotiated in Medina about the acceptance of their tribe to the new community, but without reaching any result (see Caetani, *Annali*, b, 90 ff.). Both men are said to have soon afterwards come to an

untimely end, ʿĀmir from plague and Arbad from a lightning stroke; the latter story seems to find confirmation in Labīd's lament for him (*Dīwān*, no. 5). The accusation on the other hand that Arbad attempted to kill the Prophet is quite incredible. In the year 9/630-1, the tribe again sent a deputation to Medina which included the poet, and an agreement was reached. Labīd is said on this occasion to have become a Muslim. He later migrated to Kūfa, where he died. Of his family, only a daughter is mentioned who is said to have inherited his talent (see al-Maydānī, ii, 49, 13 ff., al-Ghurūrī, *Maṭlīʿ al-budūr*, i, 32, 7 ff.).

Labīd's poems were very highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābigha is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the Hawāzin, on account of his *Muʿallaka*. He himself is said to have claimed third place after Imruʾ al-Kays and Ṭarafa. Al-Djumaḥī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed Hell, 29-30) places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī, Abū Dhuʾayb and al-Shammākh. Labīd showed himself equally master of the *hidjāʾ*, the *marthiya* and the *ḥamāsa*. One of his *ḥamāsas* was adopted into the collection of *Muʿallaḳāt* and is thought by Nöldeke (*Fünf Muʿallaḳāt*, ii, 51) to be one of the best specimens of Bedouin poetry. Labīd uses the traditional pictures from the animal world—wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs—as charmingly as the usual complacencies about drinking bouts. He seems, on the other hand, to have cultivated the *nasīb* only because it was traditional. He deals far less with the subject of woman's love than with the description of the *aṭlāl*, which he likes to compare with artistic calligraphy. He is also fond of recalling memories of places of his native district, the palmgroves and irrigation channels which continually move him to charming descriptions, indeed, in one such connection he gives the whole itinerary (*Dīwān*, no. 29, vv. 4 ff.) of a journey from central Arabia to the coast of the Persian Gulf (see von Kremer, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.* below, 22). As his almost contemporary Abū Dhuʾayb is fond of doing, in the *Muʿallaḳa*, v. 55 ff., he turns however once more to his beloved, and thus combines the *nasīb* with the main part of the *ḥamāsa* into an organic whole, but for him this is simply a mode of transition to a new descriptive passage. His poetry is, however, distinguished from that of other poets of the pagan period by a certain religious feeling which seems to have been not exactly rare among his contemporaries, even before Muḥammad's mission. While Zuhayr, for example, still expresses his practical wisdom derived from the experience of a long life, in plain though impressive language, Labīd on such occasions always strikes a religious note. He certainly did not profess Christianity, nor can we see in him a representative of the so-called *ḥanīfs* of the *Sīra*, as von Kremer wished to do. In him, rather, we find the belief in Allāh as the guardian of morality finding particular expression, a belief already widely disseminated in Arabia. Such passages naturally invited the Muslim traditionists to increase them. Indeed, a later author went so far as to ascribe to him a verse by Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (fragment 18). But many passages of his *Dīwān* seem to owe their inspiration to the Kur'ān. The statement that he wrote no more poetry after his conversion to Islam is obviously no invention (see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 21, 4, repeated later, e.g. by al-Ghurūrī, *Maṭlīʿ*, i, 32, below); it is contradicted by the simple fact that poems 21 and 53 of the *Dīwān* were only composed shortly before his death (*Aghānī*, xvi, 102). The description of Paradise (*Dīwān*, nos. 3, 4) is certainly inspired by the information in the Kur'ān, like the idea that precedes it, that a record is kept of the doings of men. Under the influence of Islam in nos. 59 and 41 (vv. 12 of which, as Ibn Kutayba (*K. al-Shiʿr*, 153, 5) already points out, certainly must be written after his conversion, if it is not to be considered an interpolation), he replaces the *nasīb* by pious admonitions. Thus he creates a new artistic form, that of poetical paraenesis on the transitoriness of human life, besides the Kur'ān, he may of course have been influenced by the Christian preaching in the works of ʿAdī b. Zayd. He only follows older models in this connection when he combines admonition with the averting of blame from a woman in no. 14, as in Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaḳa* vv. 36 ff., 63-5 (cf. Caskel, *Das Schicksal*, 9), where this is, however, only an episode in the *ḥamāsa*.

Labīd's *Dīwān* was edited, according to the *Fihrist*, 158, by several of the greatest Arabic philologists, al-Sukkarī, Abū ʿĀmir al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Sikkīt. Of these recensions, only half of that of al-Ṭūsī, together with a commentary, has survived to the manuscript of al-Khālidī (see below) from the year 589/1193. All other manuscripts are much later, e.g. those in Leiden and Strasbourg, and that in Cairo not yet utilised, which also contains the *Dīwān* of Abū Dhuʾayb, ed by J. Hell.

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LABĪN or **LABN** (coll., singular *labīna*, *labna*) designates in Arabic the unfired brick whose use in building dates back to the earliest antiquity, to speak only of the present domain of Islam, some traces have survived above-ground on the Iranian plateau, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, where this material was used in the Pharaonic period to build palaces and royal tombs as well as poor hovels; it is certain that it was also in use in the Arabian peninsula and North Africa. The hog-backed bricks of Mesopotamia appear to be no longer used, and the *labīna* generally has a geometric, fairly regular shape, that of a parallel-sided rectangle, whose variable dimensions are at the largest those of a hand-stone and often have the ratio $4 \times 3 \times 1$ (e.g. length 56 cm., width 28, thickness 14, or $42 \times 21 \times 10.5$,

36 × 18 × 9, 32 × 16 × 8; but 45 × 35 × 3 in South Arabia). Thus unfired, rough and fairly economical brick is composed essentially of dampened, shaped clay, which is then turned into a wooden mould (*malbas*) without a bottom or cover packed tight and finally dried in the sun, the clay is lined down, depending on the region, with sand, gravel, chopped straw, and potsherds in fixed proportions to prevent its crumbling and cracking. Once taken out of the mould, the bricks are left for a while longer in the sun and sometimes stockpiled before being used in the construction of buildings which can reach a considerable height, this was notably the case of the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, and it is still that of the houses, several storeys high, which are built in South Arabia (the technique of manufacture and construction is explained by M Bâlaqîh and J Chelhod, *Notes préliminaires sur l'architecture de Shibâm*, in *St Isl*, ii [1960], 295-6). At Shibâm, the foundations to a depth of 3 m are of stone, however, the trench intended for them, usually wider than the wall, may only be filled up with beaten earth and ballast. In low houses and enclosures the walls are sometimes supported by wooden posts driven into the ground with regular spaces between them. The building can be strengthened, at least in its lower part, by means of two thicknesses of bricks placed alternately longwise and crosswise, the walls erected are generally thicker at the bottom than at the top, which, on the outside, gives the impression that they are leaning dangerously. Houses of unfired brick have the advantage of being warm in winter and cool in summer, and there are countries, such as Egypt, where *labin* is preferred to fired brick. But the large buildings form great masses of thick walls (as much as 10 m in antiquity), pierced with a few narrow apertures.

This material is in current use, either because of its low cost, or because, in the region, clay is readily exploitable, and stone is rare, hard to extract or too heavy, but rainfall must not be very plentiful, for heavy rains cause severe deterioration of the walls to the point of making them disintegrate, even if they are lined with a coating of earth mixed with lime or plaster. The ancients took some supplementary precautions against erosion, by providing gutters, drains, reed beds, etc.

Unfired bricks are pointed with a mortar made of earth with an admixture of lime or ash (the use of bitumen, as in ziggurats, does not seem to be current). This mortar, like the coating mentioned above, is called *madar* (see *LA*, s.v.) in Classical Arabic, but this term (which one hesitates to connect with *matara*) seems clearly to be applied also to construction of earth and *labin*, to judge at least by the expression *ahl al-madar* which designates the sedentaries as opposed to *ahl al-wabar* "the people of the camel skin" = tents, i.e. the nomads, even allowing for the Arab taste for paronomasia, a fairly strong indication is supplied by the meaning of *madara* "a village built of *labin*". However, the ambiguity of the vocabulary does not always enable us to distinguish clay or mud from unfired brick. For Arabic texts give the impression that the same term was used for the different techniques, but it is probable that the Prophet's house in Medina was actually of unfired brick and that the *ahl al-madar* lived in dwellings of the same kind, while the expression is also applied, by extension, to some citizens living in stone houses.

Another difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the terminology. Although Ibn Manẓûr (*LA*, s.v.) classifies *ṭûb* as a synonym of *ʾâǧurr* "fired brick" (see below) and this word still has this meaning in Egypt for example, it designates in the Muslim West a lump of earth or an unfired brick, and it is furthermore in this latter sense that it has been adopted and preserved in Spanish in the form *adobe*. But Ibn Khaldûn (*Muḳaddima*, Bk i, Ch. v, 25) states that the *fennâ*ʾ is the reason who builds a wall in clay. At first sight, this craft name appears to be derived directly from *ṭûb* with the meaning of "clay", but it is quite possible that a telescoping may have taken place with *ṭîb(a)ya* "clay, mud" which, on the other hand, comes from the Spanish *tapia* (see Dozy, *Suppl*, s.v.). This borrowing leads us to think that the clay technique, well known in antiquity notably in Mesopotamia, was imported into the Maghrib from Spain. *Tâbya*, which is still in use today in Algeria and Morocco, is used by Ibn Khaldûn, when he speaks (*loc cit*) of *bnâʾ bi l-tarâb*) and describes in detail the way a clay wall is built, according to a process which has not changed since then (cf. a description in Berber in E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 24). The masons, generally specialists belonging to particular tribes, use a frame made of two boards (*lawḥ*) of variable dimensions, but on average 150 or 180 cm. long by 80 wide, which they place face-to-face at a distance equal to the width of the wall under construction, the frame is held in place by cross pieces and ropes and closed at both ends. The earth, prepared as for unfired brick, is mixed with lime, gravel etc. and carried in baskets, as soon as it is ready to be turned into the frame, it is beaten with a kind of rammer (*mirḥaz*, pl *marâḥiz*). The workmen generally arrange several frames so as to be able to carry out their work horizontally, then vertically with superimposed coats until the work is completed. Clay, which can form a really solid concrete, is used for the construction of all kinds of buildings, which can reach a great height and be very long lasting. Thus is the case particularly with ramparts and military works, near Fâs a bridge was built of very hard clay reinforced with fired bricks on top of the arches.

The kiln-fired brick is designated in Arabic by the collective *ʾâǧurr*, but to judge by the multiplicity of forms which this term assumes (*ʾâǧur aḏ̲ûr*, *yâǧur ʾaǧurûn*, *uǧurr*, etc. noun of unity *ʾâǧurra uǧurra* etc.) all at any rate in the *LA*, it is clear that the Arabs did not possess either the term signifying or the object signified, nor is it known in what period there took place the borrowing from Persian *agûr* which Arab lexicographers freely recognise. It is a fact that fired brick, whose use is widespread throughout the Islamic world, was used particularly in Persia and the lands which fell directly under its influence. It will be recalled, for example, that the Muslims who founded Baṣra first demarcated the mosque by means of a reed enclosure, then built it in *labin* and rebuilt it in fired brick a few years later. All the same, in Roman and Byzantine influence was felt to an equal extent in the regions situated further west. The word which is used today with the meaning "tile", *ṭarmîd*, is a sing. made from *ṭarâmîd*, of which the *LA* asserts (*s.v. rmd.*) that it designates in Syria the fired bricks (*ʾâǧurr*) of the baths and comes from the *rumi* word *ṭermiddâ* (sic, κεραμίς, -ίδος "brick, tile", rather than κέραμος)

The kiln (*atûn*) is similar to that of the potters, and consists of a furnace with a firing room on top of it. Of smaller dimensions than the *labin*, the fired brick is not nearly as thick (3 to 6 cm.). Buildings

in which it is exclusively used are rare (a characteristic example is the Mausoleum of the Sāmānids at Bukhārā, where the arrangement of the bricks is particularly stylistic); in fact, it is generally combined with other materials (e.g. the Kasr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*] consists of a wall of limestone, fired brick and unfired brick at the top), it is used for certain parts of the building (arches, vaults, staircases, etc.) and put to good use by architects to vary the decoration of their works. From the 6th/12th century, the glazed block has offered the possibility of obtaining similar effects to those of mosaic.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources cited are the various works on Islamic architecture the bibliography of the sections related to the monuments of the towns, countries and dynasties, and the articles ARCHITECTURE and BINĀ'.

(Cl. PELLAT)

LABLA, the name given by Arabic authors to Niebla, ancient Ilipla, which was the seat of a bishop in the Visigothic period and which is situated about 40 miles to the west of Seville in the right bank of the Rio Tinto (in the modern province of Huelva). Certain authors, notably Yāḳūt, also call it al-Ḥamrā' because of the reddish colour of its walls and of its environs. It was the main town of one of the *ḥiṣn*s of the Gharb al-Andalus [*q.v.*], it must have been integrated within the great division of Ishbīliya [*q.v.*], and separated from it in the course of the administrative reorganisation. The *ḥiṣn* was bounded, at 40 miles to the west by the plain of Ukshunūba; at 20 miles to the east, by the Aljarafe of Seville; at 50 miles to the north, by the *ḥiṣn* of Bādja [*q.v.*] (Beja), and at 6 miles to the south, by the Atlantic. According to al-'Udhrī, it contained eight districts (*aḳālīm*), including that of the town itself, and the total tax revenue in the time of al-Ḥakam I went as high as 25,687 *dīnārs*. The town's population included a certain number of Arab families, amongst whom the Yaḥṣubīs were dominant, some Berbers and the descendants of the Hispano-Romans and of the Hispano-Visigoths, both Christian and Islamicised.

The soil of Labla favoured all sorts of agricultural exploitation, thanks to its fertility and to the waters which the three river sources of the Sierra d'Aracena brought down: one of these gave sweet drinking water, another contained alum and the third copper sulphate. The district produced cereals and a wide variety of fruits, with fig trees, numerous olive trees and vineyards which yielded high-quality raisins. Excellent safflower (*ʿuṣfur*, *carthamus tinctorius*) was grown which, together with other dyestuffs like cochineal (*ḳirmiz*), was used for dying leather and skins. Bovines and horses were reared, and these plus hunting and fishing, were sources of wealth. It was also a lively commercial centre.

Niebla still retains ancient remains and solid walls from its original foundation. There were dependent on the *madīna* towns and a fortress, notably for a certain period, Huelva (Awṣāba), Ōnaba or Wānaba), Tejada (Talyāṭa) and Gibraleón (Ḳalʿat al-ʿUyūn) on the Odiel.

According to Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, it was conquered in 93/712 by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr or, more plausibly, by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the next year. Niebla was the seat of a part of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ in 249/766 there was the rising of Saʿīd al-Maṭarī al-Yaḥṣubī. In 240/844, after having occupied Ishbīliya for some days, the Northmen or Madjūs [*q.v.*] went on to Labla, sacked it and carried off the inhabitants. In 284/897 occurred another rising, whose suppression the *amīr* of Cordova entrusted to his son Abān. Between this date and 304/916 it must have risen yet again, for on 20 Ramaḍān 304/17 March 917 the *ḥādjib* Badr b. Aḥmad occupied it when it was in the power of a certain ʿUthmān b. Nasr. At the fall of the caliphate, it became a *ṭāʾifa* principality, actually set up in 414/1023-4 when Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, Tādj al-Dawla, rose up and was proclaimed ruler, this being recognised by the people of Gibraleón. His brother and successor (in 433/1041-2) had difficulties with al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville. For some time, al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz provided the ruler of Labla with help, but in the end the latter had to shelter under the protection of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar [see DJAHWARIDS], with whom he sought refuge in 433/1052-3. Labla remained under the rule of his nephew, Fatḥ b. Khalaf b. Yaḥyā, Nāṣir al-Dawla, who made a treaty with al-Muʿtaḍid; but the latter ravaged his territories and in 445/1053-4 Fatḥ b. Khalaf had to flee to Cordova, where he died.

In the middle of the year 484/1091, Labla passed into the hands of the Almoravids. In ca. 538/1144, the doctrines of Ibn Ḳāsī [*q.v.*] of Mértola caused a certain amount of anxiety. Being hostile to Almoravid power, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Bitrūdjī defended the town against Ibn Ghāniya until the time when it submitted, in 540/1146, to the Almohad Barrāz al-Masūfī. Eight or nine years later, the latter rebelled, and Labla had to be taken in 549/1154 by Yaḥyā b. Yaghmūr, who conducted a great massacre of the populace. The Infante Don Sancho of Portugal and Portuguese troops passed by Labla in 574/1178 and 578/1182. Under Ibn Mahfūẓ, it came to form, in the 7th/13th century, an independent principality comprising Huelva, Saltés and part of the Algarve, and recognised the suzerainty of Ferdinand II of Castile. It was besieged for several months by Alfonso X, and capitulated in 660/1262.

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(J. Bosch Vilá)

LACCADIVES, a group of coral islands in the south-eastern Arabian Sea lying off the Malabar Coast of India between lat. 8° and 12°30 N., and between long. 71° and 74° E. Under British Indian rule these were formerly the Laccadive Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, but in 1956 the group was brought under a single administration to form the Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep (Sanskrit *Lakṣadīpa* "the hundred thousand islands"). There are in all 27 islands and islets of which ten—Maliku, Kalpeni, Kavratti, Androth, Agathi, Amini, Kadmat, Kiltan, Bitra and Chetlat—are inhabited. Malikū, which is separated from the rest of the group by the 114 mile-wide Nine Degree Channel and from the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] by the 72 mile-wide Eight Degree Channel, is attached to Lakshadweep politically, but belongs ethnically and culturally to the Maldives. In this article it is considered separately from the "Laccadives Proper."

The Laccadives were originally settled (possibly as early as the 2nd century A.D., but certainly by the 1st/7th century) by Hindu groups (Nambudiri, Nayar and Tiyyar) from North Malabar. Little is known of the early history of the islands. They were conquered by the Chola Rājās of South India in the 4th/10th century. By *ca.* 1500 they had passed under the rule of the Kōlatirī Rājās of Kōlattunāḍ (North Malabar), by whom they were given in *dīgīr* [*q.v.*] to the Āl Rājās of Kannanūr [*q.v.*] in the mid-10th/16th century. The Āl Rājās were the leading family of the Malabar Muslim community as Māppilas [*q.v.*], and under their rule the Laccadive Islands coir trade became the monopoly of the Kannanūr Māppilas.

In 1786 the inhabitants of the northern (Amindivi) islands of Amini, Chetlat and Kiltan rose in protest against the coir monopoly and the harshness of Kannanūr rule. They appealed for protection to Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore [*q.v.*], and as a result were transferred to his rule in 1787; they passed to the East India Company after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. The Southern (Laccadives) group remained under Kannanūr until they were finally sequestrated by the British in 1875 (though the Bībī of Kannanūr retained a nominal sovereignty until 1908). Both groups of islands remained under British rule until India attained independence in 1947. Today the capital of the Union Territory of Lakshadweep is Kavratti Island, and the population (including Malikū) is 31,810 (*Census of India, 1971*, Series 29 (*Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands*, part ii[A, 5]).

The people of the Laccadives are linked ethnically and culturally with the Malayalam speaking Dravidian people of Kerala, especially with the Māppilas of North Malabar. There has also been a sustained Arab—particularly Yemeni—influence on the islands which lie in the path of the direct sea route between Arabia, South India and the Far East; certainly the mediaeval Arab navigators were familiar with the Laccadives, which they knew as the *Dīwane al-ǧāl*, *Dīwane al-ǧāliāt* or (collectively with the Maldives) as the *Dībaǧāt* (G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 458-60). As a result of this Arab influence, the islanders speak Malayalam with an admixture of Arabic, and write in the Arabic script.

The Laccadives were converted to Islam in *ca.* the 7th/13th century, according to legend by one ʿUbayd Allāh, an Arab castaway whose tomb on Androth island is particularly venerated. The islanders are overwhelmingly Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, but there are also followers of the Rifāʿī and Kādirī (*arīkas*, and of the Wahhābī-oriented Mujāhid movement (which is active in Kerala). The women do not observe *purdah* and may (as in the neighbouring Maldives) have their own mosques with a female *imām* (Fibs, *A short account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy*, Madras 1924, 66).

Unusually for an Islamic society, the Laccadives are predominantly matrilineal. The people follow the Malabar system of matrilineal descent (Malayalam *Marumakkaṭṭāyam*). The community is organised in exogamous matrilineal groups known as *tarwāds*. There is a duolocal residence pattern (i.e. after marriage the wife remains in her maternal home and is "visited" by her husband). Descent is traced through the mother, and family (*tarwād*) property is passed on through the mother's line. The self-acquired property of the father is passed on according to the Islamic family law. Monogamy is usual but divorce is common.

The Laccadive Islanders are divided into three caste-like endogamous groups, in hierarchical order the *Koyas* (the land-owners); the *Malmas* (from the Arabic *muʿallim* traditionally the sailing class); and the *Melachcheris* (the coconut workers—originally the agricultural serfs of the Koyas). Today both the traditional caste structure and the *marumakkaṭṭāyam* system are breaking down under the impact of modernization.

Malikū (corrupted by Europeans to Minicoy, perhaps from the Arabic *Mulkiat*), is an isolated island within the Maldivian cultural sphere which by the mid 10th/16th century had fallen under the control of the Āl Rājās of Kannanūr. Maldivian political control has never been re-established. The inhabitants are Indo European, speak the Maldivian language *Dhivehi* (though it is known on Malikū as Māhl), and use the Maldivian script *Tāna*. Originally Theravada Buddhist, the islanders are today Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. They were probably converted in the mid 6th/12th century. Descent is patrilineal, but women occupy a respected and powerful position in society. They do not observe *purdah*, but sometimes wear a head veil called the *burāga*. As in traditional Maldivian society the people are divided into four hierarchical, caste like groups, see MALDIVES.

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(Census Reports) The Government of India issues decennial census reports, the most recent being 1971. See *Census of India, 1971, Series 19*, "Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands) (3 vols.). (A. D. W. FORBES)

LADĀḴH, a region of the extreme north of India. It lies between lat. 32° and 36° N and long. 75° and 80° E, and is bounded on the north and east by the Chinese territories of Sin-kiang and Tibet, on the south by the Indian province of Himačal Pradesh, on the north-west by Baltistān, and on the west by Kashmīr, of which it now constitutes a province, covering an area of 30,220 sq. miles. Its capital is Leh.

Ladākh is known to the Tibetans as Mangyūl or Māryul. The population may be divided into four racial groups, Campās, Ladākhīs, Baltīs and Dārds, of whom the first three are of Tibetan stock and the last Aryan. There is a small Muslim community, but the majority are Buddhist, whence the name Bhottas traditionally given to the inhabitants of Ladākh by their neighbours.

The indigenous chronicles furnish little more than a list of rulers with the merest sketch for each reign (see K. Marx, *Three documents relating to the history of Ladakh*, in *JASB*, lx [1891], 97-135; lxiii [1894], 94-107, lxxi [1902], 21-34), but from time to time references in external sources provide a valuable landmark. In the 8th century A.D., through the medium of Kashmīr, then vassal to the T'ang, Ladākh was briefly drawn into the Chinese sphere of influence, after which there is a long gap until around 1400, when Lak received an embassy from the great Tibetan reformer Tsong-kapa. At this time there were two main principalities in Ladākh but in the mid-16th/10th century we find the country reaching its greatest extent and united under one ruler. Its size was temporarily reduced through subsequent wars with its neighbour 'Alī Mīr (see BALTISTĀN) and late in the 17th/17th century it was invaded from Tibet by the Dżungarian Mongols (see KALMUḴ). This threat Ladākh withstood by calling in the aid of the Mughal Emperor, who made it a condition that the ruler should become a Muslim. His successors were again Buddhists, but from this time dates the penetration of the country by Islam.

In 1834 it was invaded by Zorāwar Singh, the general of Mahārāǰā Gulāb Singh of J̌ammū, and was obliged to pay tribute. There ensued a series of risings and intrigues until 1842, when Ladākh seized its opportunity to revolt following the defeat of the Dōgrās in Tibet, but was soon crushed by a fresh army from J̌ammū. It was now definitively annexed to J̌ammū [*q.v.*], thus becoming in 1846 part of Kashmīr. For its subsequent history, see KASHMĪR.

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(P. JACKSON)

LĀḌHIḴ, the name of several Anatolian towns, and the Turkish form, phonetically identical, of the name of Laodicea (Λαοδίκεια), which, since the Imperial period often appears in inscriptions with the form Λαοδίκεια, accented on the second syllable (cf. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*[2], Paris 1962, 283); Modern Turkish orthography Lâdik.

1. Lādhiḳ near Denizli, Laodicea of Lycos, or Laodicea of Phrygia. The ruins are located at a place called Eski Hisar, 9 km. to the north of the centre of Denizli, the acropolis standing on a hill which dominates the valley of the Lycos (Çürük Su), a left-bank affluent of the Great Meander. Captured for the first time by the Turks before 1119 (Cinnamus, Bonn ed., 5), the date saw the restoration of the town's defences by John Comnenus (Nicetas, *John Comnenus*, Bonn ed., iv, 17), but the town was abandoned before 1136, at which period its population was dispersed into the surrounding countryside (idem, *Manuel Comnenus*, ii, 163). It survived, however, for some time, following a shift in location, transferring to a more remote and more defensible site close to the foothills of the Baba Dağ (*in pede altissimi montis*, Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* (*Scriptores*, v), Vienna 1863, 58), where the fortified stronghold perhaps survived until the end of the 13th century. But a parallel development was the growth in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish urban settlement of Denizli, where the first epigraphical datings go back to the second third of the 13th century. The latter had no direct connection with Laodicea, but nevertheless bore the name of Lādhiḳ concurrently with

its own. It is also found separately (for example in the work of Ibn Bībī who, writing in 679/1280-1, speaks exclusively of Ladhīḳ) until the 8th/14th century (in Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, ed Browne, 444, 483, and on the coinage of the Īrānī Oghullārī and the Germiyān Oghullārī until the year 760/1360), then as the equivalent of the new name until the 12th/18th century, at least in the work of Western writers (Kātib Čelebi, *Diḥān-nümā*, tr. Armain, 620, in I. Vivien de Saint Martin, *Histoire des découvertes* ..., iii, Paris 1849 "Degnizli ou Lasnakieh"), but this was nothing more than a scholastic tradition the original text does not give the name of Lādhik.

Bibliography. X. de Planhol, *La cadre géographique de la paix de Laodicée Domini* in *De Laodicée à Domizi*, 403-25, in Jean des Gagniers (ed.), *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée, campagnes 1961-1963*, Quebec-Paris 1969, which presents a detailed discussion of the problem and the solutions previously offered (Ramsay, Philippson, Akça) regarding the relationship between the two towns, together with a full bibliography.

2. Lādhik near Konya, Laodicea Katakekaumene. Currently a large village, 35 km. to the north of Konya, in the *kaza* of Kadınhanı, *nahiye* of Sarayönü, on the road leading towards Afyon Karahisar and Eskişehir. The ancient name (Λαοδίκεια ἡ κατακεκαυμένη Laodicea Combusta, which passed into the Islamic sources with the form Lādhik Sōkhte, "the burnt L."), no doubt referred not, as is the opinion of J. A. Cramer (*A geographical and historical description of Asia Minor*, Oxford 1832, ii, 33), to the volcanic nature of the terrain (as in the case of Phrygia Katakekaumene), which here is primarily calcareous, but definitely to the existence of ancient mining or metallurgical workings. There is no need to retain the form "Yorgan Ladik" (from *yorgan*, quilted covering fixed to the upper bed-sheet), recorded by the Western travel literature of the 19th century (and the works which derive from it, *EI*[1], art. s.v.), starting with W. M. Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor*, London 1824, 45, and explained by the textile industry (coverings, carpets) which was active in the locality. What has happened, as has been shown by Besim Darkot (art *Ladik* in *IA*), is a mis-reading of the form يورگان لادیق given in the *Diḥān-nümā*, which should be interpreted as Yürükān Lādik ("Lādik of the Yürük or nomads", with Persian suffix). The form "Ladik-el-Tchaus", also given by Leake (*loc. cit.*) appears incomprehensible. The village, which Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ed. Zuhuri Danışman, iv, Istanbul 1970, 87) describes as having suffered ravages on the part of the Djelālīs (see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.), is cited by Kātib Čelebi as a small town which is nevertheless the administrative centre of a subsidiary district of Konya (tr. M. Norberg, Lund 1818, ii, 584-5), with numerous shops, and Leake (*loc. cit.*) calls it "a large place". Decline must have set in in the 19th century (cf., for a comparison of the population in the 19th and 19th-20th centuries, the figures of W. D. Hütteroth, *Ländliche Siedlungen im südlichen Innenanatolien in den letzten vierhundert Jahren*, Göttingen 1968). It had no more than 1,785 inhabitants in 1942 and had no administrative role of any kind.

3. Lādhik near Amasya, a large village 40 km. north of Amasya, currently centre of a *kaza* (*liḳa*) subsidiary to the *wilāyet* of Samsun. At an altitude of 950 metres, it stands on the edge of a plain, at the extremity of the Phazimonitis of antiquity, the base of which is occupied by a lake (formerly Lake Stiphanus, currently "Lake of Lādik") 9 km. to the east of the town reduced to a shallow swamp in summer but considerably augmented to the point of overflowing in spring, its waters, at this time, spreading, via the Terdekan Çay, into the Yeşil Irmak. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who has left us a detailed description of the place (iv, 87-91), the urban area comprised, in the 11th/17th century, 3,020 houses and 400 shops. Its prosperity was owed in particular to the fact that Bāyezīd II, when he was governor of Amasya (known to be residence of hereditary Ottoman princes in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, cf. P. Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976), chose it as a summer resort, spending six months of the year there, and embellishing it with numerous monuments and gardens. Important *waḳf*s were constituted there and the village, in the 17th century, still lived practically independently of provincial authority. Being off the main route, it declined when it lost its status as a princely residence. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842, saw only "a small and miserable place, but called a town because it possesses a royal mosque with two minarets". It had no more than about 1,500 inhabitants at the end of the 19th century, rising to a population of 3,054 in 1950.

4-5. Two other localities, in the same region, currently small villages of a few hundred inhabitants, also bear this name. Lādhik near Çekerek, in the *nahiye* of Kadı-Şehri, *kaza* of Çekerek 28 km. to the south of Zile, on the southern flank of the Deveci Dağ, and Lādhik near Niksar, 20 km. to the west of this town, to the south of the valley of the Kelkit, on the northern slope of the Kemer Dağ.

All these three localities must correspond to ancient "Laodiceas". Only one is attested in the region Pontic Laodicea (Λαοδίκεια Ποντική), whose existence is in addition, known only from the coinages of Mithridates Eupator. Although E. Honigmann, in *EI*[1], wanted to locate it at Lādhik near Çekerek, it should almost certainly be sought at Lādhik near Amasya, in accordance with the opinion of Ruge, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* on the basis of the text of Strabo (xii, 560) which identifies near the lake a ruined fortress (Ikstari) and a royal place (cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *A journey of exploration in Pontus*, Brussels 1903 (*Studia Pontica*, i) 79-80).

6. Finally, "The Blind Lādhik" (Kör Lādhik) is known exclusively from the works of Ewliyā Čelebi (*loc. cit.*, 87), who mentions it as a *sandjaḳ* of the province of Van. This locality is cited in no other source, and it may be an error on the part of Ewliyā.

Bibliography on the overall subject, see the article *Lādhik* by Besim Darkot, in *IA*, vii. [X. DE PLANHOL]

AL-LĀDHIKIYYA (European transcriptions Lattaquié, Latakia), a major Syrian port, was known by the Greek name of Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐπὶ Θαλάσσῃ, and later by the Latin name of Laodicea ad Mare whilst the Crusaders called it La Liche. In the second millennium, the settlement bore the name of Ramitha of the Phoenicians and was dependent, before taking its place, no Ugarit, a powerful metropolis lying 8 miles/12 km. to the north. It was in 327 B.C., or six years after the death of Alexander that Seleucus Nicator (301-281 B.C.) founded on this site

a city to which he gave the name of Laodicea in honour of his mother Laodice. At the end of the period of Seleucid domination it belonged to the Tetrapolis, a union linking the four most important cities of Syria: Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea and Seleucia, πόλεις ὁσὲλφαί—the "sister cities". It was for a long time to remain one of the major centres of Greek-Roman Syria.

Conquered by Pompey in 64 B.C., it suffered in the Roman civil wars. Sacked by Pescennius Niger at the end of the 2nd century, it was restored by Septimus Severus. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the city was dependent on Antioch.

The city is situated in lat. 35° 32′ N and long. 35° 46′ E and is built below a massive rocky promontory pointing towards the south, the Rās Ziyāra, which is surrounded by the sea on three sides with cliffs. It is principally linked to the dry land towards the east, two hills 25 to 30 m. in height constituting the eastern limit of the ancient town. On the northern hill are two twin castles. The modern city has grown to the west of the mediaeval town. The urban area has been the victim of a number of severe earthquakes, of which the most recent took place in 1822.

The city plan. When Laodicea was founded, Seleucus laid down housing blocks of 112 m. by 57 m., following an orthogonal schema, as in other Seleucid foundations. To the original settlement the Romans added identical blocks. It is the remains of four avenues with lateral colonnades which have enabled Jean Sauvaget to reconstruct the ancient plan of the city and to discover in the present-day layout of Lādhikiyya some elements of the Seleucid square design. The limits of the ancient city are defined by two large extramural cemeteries to the east and the north. Together with the port, the city covered an area of 250 ha. "The city of Laodicea has retained its straight streets. It is curious that this apparently quite modern design existed in the Middle Ages. It possibly dates back to antiquity, like some straight streets of Damascus and Jerusalem", observed Max van Berchem (*Voyage en Syrie*, 1, 289).

Around Lādhikiyya stretches a small fertile coastal plain (*sāḥil*). It is bounded to the north by the Djabal al-Lukkām [*q.v.*], to the east by the Djabal Ansāriyya, and enjoys a Mediterranean climate with strong prevailing winds from the west and south-west in January and March rainfall varies from 750 to 1000 mm. annually, while temperatures reach their average minimum in January at 11° C. and their average maximum in July at 26°. To the north of the city, olive trees flourish, while in the hinterland citrous fruits grow in abundance. In the Middle Ages, white and green marble were mined in the vicinity of the town and this material was exported to ʿIrāḳ.

Mediaeval history. After the revolt of Antioch in 387 A.D., Laodicea returned to imperial favour and enjoyed prosperity in the Byzantine period. Justinian made it the capital of the province of Theodorias, recently founded (528). At the time of the Muslim expansion, the town was captured, after a siege, by troops under the command of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī. The citadel was stormed. Those of the Christian inhabitants who had taken refuge at el Buseyr were permitted to return on payment of the *kharādj*; they retained their church while ʿUbāda built a mosque which was later enlarged.

In 100/719, supported by their fleet, the Byzantines attacked the coast of Lādhikiyya, burnt the city and led the inhabitants away into captivity. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz organised the restoration of the buildings and the fortifications and ransomed the prisoners. After the death of the Umayyad caliph, his successor and cousin Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik completed the reconstruction of the city, improved its fortifications and reinforced the garrison.

In the golden age of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, Lādhikiyya does not seem to have played a particularly distinctive role. In 357/968, Nicephorus Phocas appeared in northern Syria, two years later the city, which was the port of Apamea, was taken over from the Ḥamdānids and became Byzantine. According to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 458/1066), the emperor Basil II appointed as governor of Lādhikiyya in 980 a certain Karmarūk, who distinguished himself in an expedition against the Fāṭimid province of Ṭarābulus [*q.v.*]. When the city was attacked by Nuʿmān, governor of Ṭarābulus, Karmarūk was taken prisoner in the course of a sortie and later beheaded in Cairo in 374/985. Lādhikiyya belonged in the *djund* of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*]. Ibn Buṭlān gave a description of the Byzantine city in 440/1049.

In 479/1086 it belonged to the Banū Munḳidh [*q.v.*] of Shayzar, who then ceded it to the Seldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh. On 8 Ramaḍān 490/13 August 1097 a fleet of twenty-two ships from Cyprus penetrated the harbour and sacked the town. In 491/1098, Raymond de Saint-Gilles in the course of his journey to Jerusalem left a garrison at Lādhikiyya and returned to establish his base there following the success of the First Crusade. In spring 1100, Raymond set out on the Anatolian crusade, returning in the coast in 1101, Raymond was obliged to renounce his claims to the city, then occupied by the Byzantines. Tancred took control of the city in 1103, after a siege lasting eighteen months, with the aid of a Genoese fleet of forty ships. Lādhikiyya was integrated into the principality of Antioch and at that time was one of the most active ports of the eastern Mediterranean. This port, called by the Crusaders La Liche, used to export the commodities brought by the caravans from the Far East. For a number of years the city was the object of rivalry between the Franks and the Byzantines. In 1104, a fleet commanded by the admiral Cantacuzenus succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded four years later, after Bohemond had promised it to Alexis Comnenus, in recapturing Lādhikiyya with the aid of the Pisans, the latter, like the Genoese before them, were granted as enclave in the city, as well as freedom of trade in the ports and markets of the Principality.

In 1134, the princess Alix donated a house to the Knights of the Order of the Hospital [see ḤOSPITALLERS and ISPITĀRIYYA, in Suppl.], who made it their headquarters in Lādhikiyya. In Radjab 530/April 1136, the *amīr* Sawār who governed Aleppo on the authority of Zankī mounted a raid against Lādhikiyya and devastated it. In 559/1164, Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], in his turn, invaded the region and attacked the port.

On 25 Djumādā I 584/22 July 1188, after a rigorous siege, Saladin captured Lādhikiyya the most beautiful city of the coast, according to ʿImād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, was pillaged, and the marble façades of the houses were ripped off and carried away. The Ayyūbid prince appointed the *amīr* Sunḳur al Khilātī as governor of the city, which was given a strong Muslim garrison. Thus was the end of the Frankish occupation. In 1190, at the approach of Frederick Barbarossa, Saladin had the ports of the

Syrian coast dismantled. In October 1191 Bohemond III tried in vain to recapture Lādhiḳiyya. He renewed the attempt in 1197, but al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī had given the order to make the port unusable, seeing the damage, the pence of Antioch withdrew and shortly after, al-Malik al Ẓāhir of Aleppo restored the citadel.

Under the Ayyūbids, the district of Lādhiḳiyya was part of the province of Aleppo. In 601/1204-5, the Franks of Tripoli and the Hospitallers attacked the town, which was also an embarkation base for expeditions against Cyprus. In 2207 the Venetians, the rivals of the Genoese, received from al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī a concession with a *funduḳ* a *ḥammām* and a church. At the end of 620/December 1223, an army sent from Aleppo fearing it would be unable to resist the forces of the Fifth Crusade, destroyed the defences of Lādhiḳiyya and dismantled the citadel. In 1261, taking advantage of the defeat of the Muslims at the hands of the Mongols of Hülegü, Bohemond VI took possession of the town with the support of the Hospitallers, to whom he awarded half of the city and of the surrounding area. The Genoese re-established themselves there at the expense of the Venetians. In 673/1275 there was an exchange of correspondence between Baybars (*q.v.*) and King Hugo III of Antioch-Lusignan on the subject of Lādhiḳiyya. On 4 July 1275 the Franks obtained from the Mamlūk sultan the freedom of the city in return for an annual tribute of 20,000 *dīnars*, and continued to exercise authority, but the town was in a state of constant decline to the benefit of Tripoli, Alexandretta and Payas, whither commerce was diverted following the fall of the Principality of Antioch. In 1287, a severe earthquake caused damage to the fortifications and a number of towers, including the Pigeon Tower, the Pier and the lighthouse collapsed, without delay, the sultan Ḳalāwūn (*q.v.*) sent the *amīr* Turuntay, one of his lieutenants, to attack Lādhiḳiyya. The siege machinery completed the destruction of the fortifications, to capture a massive tower built by Bohemond III in order to guard the entry to the harbour, Turuntay was obliged to enlarge the embankment linking it to dry land. On 5 Rabīʿ I 686/20 April 1287, the city fell, putting an end to the presence of the Franks in northern Syria. Lādhiḳiyya soon become the centre of one of the *niyābas* of the new province of Ṭarābulus, its *nāʾib* being an *amīr* of ten with military responsibilities. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the city in 1355 he was impressed by its size and by the number of its inhabitants, as well as by its fine anchorage. But the city was not slow to decline. In 1366, arriving from Cyprus, Pierre de Lusignan attacked Lādhiḳiyya, pillaged and razed it. In 1426, the sultan Barsbay (*q.v.*) expelled the Venetian merchants from the town, and in the middle of the 15th century it was less populated than Beirut and Tripoli, and much of it was in ruins. It exported cotton and luxury fabrics (*mawṣilī*) as well as Arabian manna to Europe, and in 1494 was importing its sugar from Cyprus. Until 1516, Lādhiḳiyya was apparently subject to the viceroys of Ḥamāt.

Ancient and mediaeval monuments. Arab historians and geographers mention a large number of ancient buildings in Lādhiḳiyya. Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāmā praise the "high and beautiful houses and the perfectly straight streets paved with slabs of marble". The baths, the amphitheatre, the hippodrome and the sanctuaries built by Septimus Severus existed at the start of the 5th/11th century only in the memory of the inhabitants. However, thirteen monolithic columns still mark the location of commercial streets covered in by porticos of the Roman period. A number of cisterns in use at the beginning of this century and the remains of an aqueduct to the east of the city bear witness to the ancient hydraulic system. The city's ramparts have finally disappeared as a result of earthquakes, innumerable sieges and successive demolitions. The anchorage was designed according to the relief plan which is unconnected with the external shape of the built surface. The gates of the city were situated at the ends of the main arteries, each one flanked by two crenellated towers, if we are to judge by the mural crown worn on Roman coinage by Tyche, the tutelary goddess of the city. There were two gates, that in the east which was the starting point of the road to Afāmiya (*q.v.*) and which proceeded by way of the pass between the hills dominating the town, and the north gate which stood at the end of the colonnaded avenue which passed by the foot of the citadel and continued beyond the walls as the road towards Antākiya (*q.v.*). Among the best-known towers are the Tower of the Pigeons that provided the postal service, and the Pier which, in the Middle Ages, protected the narrows of the harbour on the site of an ancient lighthouse, probably the new tower constructed by Bohemond in 566/1268. On the northern causeway, at the site of the modern lighthouse, the Fārūs marked the entry to the port. This was, judging by the evidence of numismatic iconography, a round or polygonal tower built on a base of two levels with a second smaller tower bearing a tall, draped statue at its summit. This monument existed in the reign of Domitian (1st century A.D.). The Fārūs gave its name to a famous convent, the Dayr Fārūs, which was held to be the most beautiful in Syria, situated outside the town according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, it was much visited by Christians and also attracted large numbers of Muslims.

At the perimeter of the ancient town there stands an important monumental arch, the Tetrapylē, with its four fully rounded arches banded between four strong pillars. The east-west thoroughfare came to an end at this monument. At a distance of 500 m. from the Tetrapylē there remain four Corinthian columns of a peristyle—doubtless the remains of a temple dedicated to Bacchus which was converted into a church (*Kanīsat al-muʿallaḳa*).

All the authors speak of two twin castles linked together and built on a hill overlooking the town to the north-east. Röhricht (in *ZDPV* x, 310) has prepared a list of the buildings that are known to us from the Frankish sources.

The Ottoman period. In the middle of the 16th century, the port of Lādhiḳiyya was part of the *sanḏ* of Ḏabala: cotton and olives were cultivated in the region, walnuts and mulberry trees were of high quality, while vine-growing retained its ancient reputation. In the first half of the 18th century, Lādhiḳiyya was subject to Ṭarābulus and was governed by Yāsīn Bey, son of Ibrāhīm Pasha al-ʿAẓm. In Rabīʿ I 1143/September 1730, there was a major uprising, the rebels were joined by the troops sent to rescue Yāsīn Bey, and when a few months later fresh troubles broke out, the ʿAẓms were removed from all their positions of authority in Syria.

The modern period. In 1914, Lādhiḳiyya, with a population of 7,000, was nothing more than a small town belonging to the *wilāyat* of Beirut and administered, according to the Ottoman law of

1294/1877, by a municipality of which the president was chosen by the government in Istanbul from among the elected councillors.

In 1919 with the arrival of foreign troops, the opposition rallied behind the Shaykh Sālih and incited insurrections against the French. On 32 August 1920, with the establishment of the French Mandate—confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922 and put into effect in 1923—Lādhikiyya became the capital of the autonomous territory of the Alaouites, with a governor under the authority of the mandatory administration. In June 1922 this territory became the State of the Alaouites, composed of two *sandjaks* : that of Lādhikiyya and that of Tartūs. It received a French governor and was integrated into the federation of mandated states. In 1923, Sulaymān Murshid headed an anti-French movement with a religious flavour in December 1924, General Weygand announced the secession of the State of the Alaouites, proclaiming its independence on 1 January 1925. In 1930, a fundamental law, published on 14 May by the High Commissioner, created a government of Lādhikiyya. In 1936 this government was integrated into Syria, but benefited from a special administration under the authority of the Syrian government, France was authorised to station troops there for five years. In July 1939, Lādhikiyya became the capital of the autonomous territory of the Alaouites, separate from Syria. On 20 June 1942, this territory was once more integrated into Syria. This integration was confirmed in 1946 with the proclamation of independence.

The port At the present day, the port of Lādhikiyya is the most important port of Syria. Originally, it was a bay open to the south-west, with no protection from the prevailing *winds*. The sea-bed is of inferior consistency, but the inlet is well protected from the south winds. Immediately behind rises a range of hills with fertile soil, "it is not the prosperity of the port that has created that of the town, but the reverse" observes Weulersse.

The ancient port was "perceptibly more low lying on the ground than the present day port". In 1934, Sauvaget noted a depression, which corresponded to the ancient docks gradually covered over by shifting soil, whose outline marked those of the ancient port. The conquering Arabs found a port which had already lost its prominence. Its economic value remained the battles fought by Byzantines, Muslims and Crusaders for possession of the town are proof of this. The Arab geographer al-Dimashkī (*d. 727/1327*) describes it as "a very beautiful port, one of the most spacious, always full of great ships".

The expulsion of the Franks led to a decline which lasted until the Capitulations. The port silted up. In the 18th century it could contain no more than four to six small boats. In the 19th century the haven was used only by small sailing boats. European ships anchored out at sea. Nevertheless, the port was very active, and around 1835 more than a hundred ships were visiting it annually. At the end of the 19th century, the volume of traffic using Lādhikiyya placed this port behind Beirut and Tripoli, but well ahead of Sidon and ʿAkkā [*q.vv.*]. The annual traffic was 160 steamships (55 of them French) and 370 sail boats.

With the establishment of the Mandate, Lādhikiyya was roused from its lethargy. A restoration of the harbour was undertaken, the north and south moles were rebuilt, the depth of the inner harbour was increased from two to six metres, but these enlargements were still not sufficient for large ships, and merchandise and passengers continued to be disembarked at sea and brought ashore in lighters. In 1932, the scale of Syrian importing and exporting was such as to give rise to speculations that Lādhikiyya might be able to regain its original prosperity, and a plan was formulated to double the size of the dock by building an outer harbour and to construct a solid embankment further to the west proceeding towards the north, thus creating a deep-water port and an easily-dredged inner harbour.

Lādhikiyya lived "a life without glory and without future" until the day when, after the loss of the *sandjak* of Alexandretta in 1938, Syria had no other solution to the problem of its commerce than to provide the means of restoration to its sole remaining harbour on the Mediterranean coast. The first plan was prepared in 1944 and then a more extensive project was envisaged in 1948. Lādhikiyya was at that time only a fishing port, with an annual turnover of 300 to 400 tons of fish. The construction of the modern port began in 1950, the following year, 24.6% of overseas trade passed through Lādhikiyya. In 1953, the construction of a large jetty was begun and also a silo of 35,000 tons capacity. In 1955, it was realised that the original project no longer responded to the needs of a major port. In 1957 the first stage of the modernisation was completed. If the activity of the port was modest until 1958, it was already handling no less than 52% of overseas trade. The ten-year plan of 1958-68 foresaw important works of infrastructure; thus it was that by 1968 there was a breakwater 1423 m in length, assuring the protection in all seasons of a dock of 44 ha, a principal quay 600 m long by 9.50 m high capable of accommodating five ships at once, a quay 250 m long beside the old dock, the total length of the quays amounting to 1160 m, and with modern equipment permitting the rapid handling of merchandise. The construction of a railway and of the highway No. 3 leading to Aleppo and the valley of the Euphrates have given a strong impetus to the economic activity of the Lādhikiyya, which has become the commercial outlet for Aleppo, northern Syria and the Djazīra. In 1967, 1,526 ships visited the port; they imported 1 294,000 tons and exported 331,000 tons of such Syrian products as tobacco, cotton, silk, fruit and eggs. The activity of the port is supplemented by industry represented by asphalt factories, soap factories, cotton processing works, flour-mills. The population of Lādhikiyya has expanded remarkably in 1914, 7,000 in 1937, 20,000 in 1940, 30,000, in 1960, 68,000, and in 1970, 126,000.

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LADJĀ' (literally "refuge") is the largest, geologically recent lava field in the south of Syria, comprising a plain of *ca.* 500 square km. It has roughly the form of a triangle the base of which is formed in the south by the line Izraʿ-Shahba (*ca.* 45 km.) and the apex of which lies *ca* 48 km to the north near Burrāḳ (*ca.* 50 km. south-east of Damascus). In the north, the area is bounded by the *Wādī* al-ʿAdjam, in the east by the Arḍ al-Baṭhaniyya [see AL-BAṬHANIYYA], in the south-east by the Djabal al-Durūz, in the south by the Nukra of Hawrān (*q.v.*), in the south west by Djawlān (*q.v.*) and in the north west by Djaydūr.

Volcanic cones, some more than 1,000 m. high (the highest, 1,359 m., lies west of Shahba), tower up from the volcanic fields, which lie at an average of 600-700 metres above sea level. The fringes of the area are inhabited, as are also a few favoured places in the interior where agriculture is made possible by depressions which are free of stones and which have a diameter of several hundreds of metres. These depressions, called *hāʾ*, probably originated from volcanic eruptions of gas. Since springs and underground water are now failing, water is supplied by cisterns (R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 372-82; E. Wirth, *Syrien*, Darmstadt 1972, 419 ff.).

The area has borne its contemporary name since the Middle Ages (Yāḳūt, iv, 350). In antiquity, it was known under the name of Trachonitis (indicating also the *Tilāl al-Ṣafā* which lie further eastward) (Josephus, *Ant.* xv, 10,1; Ptolemy, v, 15, 26; Strabo, xvi, 2,16 and 20). During the second and first millennia B.C., Trachonitis, itself without any political and economic significance, was under the influence of the Hebrews in the south and the Arameans of Damascus in the north. In the second century B.C., Trachonitis was annexed to the empire of the Seleucids and formed the frontier between the spheres of influence of the two Arab peoples, the Nabataeans in the south and the Ituraeans in the north-west. When in 24 B.C. the region was put by the Romans under the command of Herod, it was inhabited by a capacious nomadic people without agriculture, who infested both the trade route to Damascus and the Jewish pilgrimage route from Babylonia to Jerusalem. In order to check the Trachonites, who were living with their cattle in the volcanic caves and depressions of the region (Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 10,1), the town of Bathyra was founded during Herod's reign (its site is disputed, but was probably in the neighbourhood of Sanamayn, see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 332). Trachonites and the neighbouring regions obtained freedom from taxation and were soon sedentarised.

Between the 1st century B.C. and the 4th century A.D., numerous settlements and towns with theatres, colonnades and several temples were founded, like Philippopolis (Shahba) and Shāʿara (the classical name of which is unknown). A road, traversing the Ladjā' from north-west to south-east, was connected with the Roman road system in Syria. Inscriptions and ruins from the Roman period are found in nearly 20 sites (for the antiquities, see H. C. Butler *et alii*, *Syria Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Expedition to Syria in 1904-5* Division I, Leiden 1930, 95 ff.; Division II, Section A, Part 7: *The Ledja*, Leiden 1907-19).

The post-Roman pattern of settlement in the Ladjā' resembles that of other regions in Syria which are equally disfavoured by nature. Under the Byzantines (4th-7th century A.D.), the density of settlement reached a height that can only be compared with that of most recent times. In nearly 30 sites, Byzantine remains have been preserved, among which is the famous bilingual inscription in Greek and Arabic at Harrān in the south of the Ladjā' (*RCE* 4, i, no. 3). Not far from Harrān, in Busr al-Ḥarīrī (Bostra in ancient times) and Izraʿ (Andrew Zorava, with the still undamaged St. George's church from 515), lie the most impressive Byzantine ruins of the region. Both sites are also mentioned by the Arab geographers of the 7th/13th century. According to Yāḳūt (ii, 922), Izraʿ (= Zurrāʿ or Zurʿ) belonged to Hawrān (also in the later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 254). Busr (= Busr al-Ḥarīrī), where the tomb of al-Yasaʿ or Ilyasaʿ was revered (Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, 26, Yāḳūt, i, 621), seems to have been the more important site at the time. The fact that the Ladjā' is mentioned only by the later Arab geographers points to a re-settlement in the area at that period. As in other volcanic regions of Syria, repopulation was caused by the pressure produced by the Mongols on the population to the east of Syria. There is no doubt that the greater part of the Islamic ruins, proved to exist in 23 sites of the area, date from the 13th century.

We do not have accurate information on the period when settlement started to decline after the Middle Ages. With the exception of a few Christian settlements on the borders, the region seems to have been depopulated by the 17th century at the latest. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Druzes immigrated from Lebanon into the eastern and southern parts of the Ladjā', and in the 19th century Bedouins settled in the north and the west. As in pre-Roman times, the Ladjā' was considered to be a hiding place for rebels and marauders during extensive periods of Ottoman rule. Notwithstanding the garrisons established on the border of the Ladjā', the Ottomans were not able to bring it under control. Only the French mandatory power succeeded in doing this by sending over low-flying aircraft. At present, the Ladjā' is inhabited by peasants who are Muslim, Druzes and Christians (the latter mostly Greek Catholics).

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(H. Gaube)

LADJDJŪN, a small town in the Esdraelon plain in the vicinity of ancient Megiddo, in the north of Palestine, at lat. 32° 34′ N. and long. 35° 21′ E. It was the seat of the sixth Roman legion, on account of which it came to be known as Legio, and Ladjdjūn is the Arabic adaptation of the Roman name. The town, which is 175 m. above sea level, is referred to by early Arab geographers as part of Djund al-Urdunn bordering on the Djund of Palestine. The Islamic geographers emphasise its location on the highway between Damascus and Egypt, and it was also well-connected by roads to other parts of northern Palestine.

When the Mamlūks, after the expulsion of the Frankish Crusaders from Bilād al-Shām (Greater Syria), reorganised the country into a number of *mamlakas* or provinces, the old Djund al-Urdunn was incorporated into the new province of Safad. Al-Ladjdjūn and Djinīn constituted the seventh ʿ*amal* or district in this province. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, better known as al-ʿUthmānī (*d.* 780/1379), owns that Ladjdjūn's inhabitants and those of the Esdraelon plain belonged to the Yamanī faction (see KAYS ʿAYLAN Kays and Yaman in the Ottoman period) and are most likely the descendants of the B. Djudhām [*q.v.*] mentioned in earlier sources as living in that neighbourhood. During the late Mamlūk period and during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, an indigenous Bedouin clan by the name of the Āl Tarabay, some times called Āl Ḥārtha, emerged in that area. The Mamlūks, as well as the Ottomans, entrusted this family with administrative and fiscal duties.

Ladjdjūn owed its prominence to its excellent location in a fertile plain with abundant water supply, to the influence of the Āl Tarabay and to the sanctity of a shrine, attributed to Abraham, which attracted pious people and on the site of which a domed building was constructed. It was also important because the Mamlūk sultans and senior officials travelling through the region used to rest there, since the sultan had his own *maṣṭaba* (an elevated piece of land for pitching his pavilion) there. Furthermore, it had its own *khān* [*q.v.*] or caravansaray to accomodate travellers and merchants, referred to by Ewliyā Celebi.

In 945/1538 the town of Ladjdjūn, mentioned as a *karya* or village in a *tapu defter*, had a population of 25 Muslim households. One-fourth of its revenue amounted to 4,670 *akčes* and formed part of the *zi'āmet* of Tarabay. From the list of revenues, it appears that wheat, barley and sesame were grown there, and it had its own two-stone water mill paying a tax of 1,000 *akčes*. The protection money tax (*ḥaraj ghuṭūra*) yielded 30,000 *akčes*, collected annually at the above-mentioned *khān*. As late as 1696 when the English traveller Henry Maundrell was passing on his way from Aleppo to Jerusalem, he paid a local Bedouin chieftain "two caphars, one of Legume, one of Jenin"

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, a new *sandjak* consisting of four *nāḥiyas*, that of Ladjdjūn, was set up in northern Palestine, where the village of Ladjdjūn formed part of the *Khāṣṣ* of *Pādishāh*. The number of its inhabitants had now risen to 41 Muslim households and one-fourth of its revenue amounted to 15,500 *akčes* yearly. The extant imperial *firmāns* addressed to the various officials in both the *sandjak* itself or in the Province of Damascus, exhibit the sultan's interest in maintaining law and order and in restoring fortifications in the area.

The decline of Ladjdjūn is associated with the eclipse of the Āl Tarabay in 1677, and the rising importance of the Syrian coastlands, following the creation of the new province of Sidon in 1660 and the benefits arising there from the growing trade with Europe. This fact was recognised by the Bedouin clan of the Āl Zaydanī, who replaced the Āl Tarabay and made Acre their principal town. Ladjdjūn remained a centre of the *sandjak* and had its own *mutaṣarrif* (provincial governor), but nevertheless it continued to lose importance to the coastal villages of Hayfā and Acre. In 1940, the village had 1,103 souls; nine years later, after the establishment of the state of Israel, a Jewish settlement was established in its environs reviving the old name of Megiddo.

Ladjdjūn as further the name of a place to the east of modern al-Karak [*q.v.*] in Trans-Jordan, described by several geographers as a halting-place on the route to Mecca.

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(M. A. BAKHIT)

LĀDJĪN (LĀDIN), AL-MALIK AL MANṢŪR ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN, alias SHUDJĀYR or AL-ASHRAFĪ, Turkish Mamlūk sultan. Originally a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aybak, Lādjīn was purchased after his master's deposition in 658/1259 by the future sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], on whose accession he was raised to the amirate, and sent to Damascus as governor of the citadel (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 678/April 1280). His appointment alarmed the provincial governor, Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, who proclaimed himself sultan. The revolt was suppressed by an expeditionary force from Egypt, and in Rabīʿ I 679/July 1280 Lādjīn was appointed governor of the province. His successful tenure of this office throughout the

remainder of Kalāwūn's reign made him one of the most powerful exegetes in the realm at the accession of al Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl in 689/1290, and the two regarded each other with mistrust. Lādjīn headed the Damascus contingent at the siege of Acre, during which he was arrested and sent to Safad (Djumādā I 690/May 1291). He was restored to favour, but in Shawwāl 691/September 1292 he fled, fearing arrest, was captured by Arabs, and sent a prisoner to Cairo. Again released, he conspired with the vicegerent (*nā'ib al saltana*) Baydarā al Mansūrī and other malcontent *amīrs* against the sultan, who was murdered during a hunting expedition (Muharram 693/December 1293). The conspirators failed, however, in their further aim of placing Baydarā on the throne; he was killed, and Lādjīn absconded Khalīl's infant brother, al-Malik al Nāsir Muhammad, was installed as sultan with the vicegerent Kitbughā *al Mansūrī* as *de facto* ruler in Ramadān/August. Lādjīn emerged from hiding. Under his inspiration, Kutbughā usurped the sultanate (Muharram 694/ December 1294), and Lādjīn himself was invested as vicegerent. Kutbughā's short reign was marked by dearth and famine in Egypt, and by the settlement in Palestine of numerous Oirat warriors with their families, fugitives from the Il-khān Ghāzān after his overthrow of Baydū [*q.v.*] Some Kitbughā was himself a Mongol, the Turkish and Circassian *amīrs* may have seen this immigration as a threat to their ascendancy. A faction headed by Lādjīn deposed Kitbughā and installed Lādjīn as sultan in Muharram 696/November 1296.

Recurrent crises of the Mamlūk sultanate arose from the inveterate hostility between the *mamlūks* of the reigning sultan and those of his predecessor, whom the new ruler invariably sought to displace in order to reward his own household and to secure his own position. In an attempt to safeguard themselves, Lādjīn's fellow-conspirators made an accession compact with him by which he undertook to renounce the absolute discretion, the essence of the royal autocracy, and not to give his own *mamlūks* power over them. The absence of institutional sanctions for this compact soon rendered it null. In Dhu 'l-Ka'da 696/September 1297, the sultan removed his fellow-conspirator, Karā Sunkur al-Mansūrī, from the vicegerency, which he bestowed on his own *mamlūk*, Mankutamur. The tactless exercise of plenary powers by the new vicegerent antagonised the *amīrs*, who had still more reason to be alarmed by the sultan's fiscal reforms. A cadastral survey and redistribution of *iktā's* in Egypt (*al-rawk al Hasāmī*) was carried out in Djumādā I-Radjab 697/March-April 1298, the first measure of this kind since Saladin's time (572/1176). The sultan retained the previous categories of beneficiaries, i.e. the privy purse (*al-khāss*), the *amīrs* and the *halka* [*q.v.*], but whereas the allocation to the privy purse was unchanged, the other two categories were mutilated and given a smaller total assignment. The sultan was thus left with a surplus, free of the charges on the privy purse, on which he could maintain a new military force—an obvious threat to the power of the *amīrs*. In the following months their resentment led to a conspiracy, and on the night of 21 Rabī' II 698/eve of 16 January 1299 Lādjīn was murdered and Mankutamur put to death. After some days of uncertainty, al-Malik al-Nāsir Muhammad was restored as titular sultan.

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(P. M. Holt)

LAGHOUAT (AL-AGHWĀT), Algerian town and oasis, administrative centre of a *wilāya* (district), 420 km to the south of Algiers (long 2° 30' E [Paris], lat 33° 48' N. Altitude 787 m.). It was formerly the administrative centre of one of the four "Territories of the South" forming the region of Algeria administered under martial law, until the reform instituted by the law of 20 September 1947 (*Statut de l'Algérie*). On account of its geographical position, dominating the defence of the Sahara, as well as memories connected with the dramatic story of its conquest by the French (1844-52), not to mention its attractions as a centre of tourism, Laghouat has been the subject of numerous studies (see *Bibl.*). On the other hand, the town occupies a position of eminence in the cultural and religious history of contemporary Algeria, especially as one of the very first focal points of orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]

Population. Because of its isolated location, on the fringes of the desert, far removed from the main areas of economic activity in the north, Laghouat has for a long time lived the uneventful life of a self-contained oasis. Its small scale economy was limited to the cultivation of palm-trees, supplemented by local craftsmanship (weaving of wool) and sheep-rearing, according to long standing practices of association between Laghouatis and Bedouin of neighbouring tribes (Larbā' and Mkhādī). In this phase of economic stagnation, the population only grew at a very slow rate from 7,000 in 1928, to 11,999 in 1954, a rate of increase lower than that of the remainder of the Muslim population of Algeria. With independence (1962), and in spite of the departure of the Europeans (who numbered about a thousand) and of the Jewish community (about 600), the population of the town underwent a spectacular increase, this being due to the economic influx engendered by the hydrocarbon industry (particularly prospecting and exploitation of natural gas deposits in the area of Hmn Rmel, and heavy road traffic towards the oil-fields of the far south).

Location. The town and the oasis are situated on the right bank of the Wādī Mzī, which descends from the Djabal 'Amūr and is absorbed into the Shatt Melghīr, in the Constantinian south. The oldest sectors are set out on the two slopes of two rocky outcrops, foothills of the Djabal Tkzrādn. The new town has developed to the north-west of these hills, and is steadily encroaching on the area of palm-plantations. The oasis itself extends in a semi circle to the north-west and south-east of the town. The palms (about forty thousand trees) produce several excellent varieties of *dates* (but not the famous *deglat nūr*) and constitute one of the main pillars of the local economy. Through its position on the central north-south (Algiers-Sahara) axis, which has become a vital artery for independent Algeria, and its location between the Oranian south and the Constantinian south, at the point of divergence of routes leading, to the west towards the territory of the Awlād Sīdī 'l-Shīkh, to the east towards the

Zibān and the Biskra, to the south towards the Mzāb (Ibāḍī territory), then towards the oilfields (Ḥāsī Mas'ūd) on the one hand, and towards the main highway for penetration of the African continent, the "Trans-Sahara", on the other, Laghouat is at the centre of a considerable network of communications.

History. In the 4th/10th century, there already existed on the banks of the Wādī Mzi a locality whose inhabitants, after acknowledging the authority of the Fāṭimids, took part in the revolt of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*]. The neighbouring region was overrun by Berber tribes belonging to the family of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Algiers 1852, i, 64, Beirut 1956-9, vii, 96, Baron Mc G. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères* . . , iii, 273). The Hilālian invasion brought into the region other tribes of the same race, notably the Ḥaṣī, fugitives from the Zāb, who founded a village called Ben Būṭa (the *nisba* "al-Būṭī" is still in use in Laghouat). Several other *ksour* (Bu Mendaīl, Naṣīla, Sidi Mimūn, Badīla, Ḳaṣbat Fṭūḥ) were built by other emigrés, some of Arab origin (Dwāwda, Awlād Bū Zayyān), others from the Mzāb. This collection of urban centres was known by the name *Laghwāṭ/ Laḥwāṭ*, the latter orthography being the only one which corresponds in reality to the current pronunciation in the Laghouati dialect. The modern form al-Aghwāṭ indicates a concern for conformity with the paradigms of Classical Arabic (cf. the model *aʿlāṭ*). Now the classical form *ghawṭ/ghaṭ*, plur. *aghwāṭ*, is totally foreign to the linguistic usage of Laghouat and its surrounding neighbourhood. In spite of the feeling of Arabism which is a feature of the collective consciousness, there is still evidence of an ancient Berber stock, in various forms: personal names, numerous patronyms cited by Ibn Khaldūn (cf. above) are still borne in Laghouat and its surroundings; toponymy, place-names of Berber consonance in the Laghouat region are too numerous to be mentioned (see the detailed maps); agricultural sphere: the technical vocabulary of palm cultivation includes terms of Berber pedigree, particularly to denote fine varieties of dates (*tamjhurt, tazaouit, taddalet*, etc.); social sphere: the *twiza* (Berber *tiwsi*) has for a long time been a form of ritualised collective mutual aid (domestic tasks, weaving of wool, seasonal work in the oasis or the fields), and folklore: the old antagonism between sedentary Berbers and Arab tribesmen is still expressed in the form of a satirical folklore which perpetuates a more or less caricature image of "Arabs" (meaning Bedouin).

Little is known of the social and political history of Laghouat until the 12th century. At the end of the 16th century, it paid tribute to the king of Morocco. In 1666, the *ksour* of Badīla and Ḳaṣbat Fṭūḥ were abandoned, in 1698, a holy man, a native of Tlemcen, Sīdī 'l-Ḥādjdj, took up residence in Ben Būṭa and sought to reconcile the rival factions. His moral authority extended to the people of three other *ksour* as well as to the neighbouring tribe of the Larbāʿ. Under his leadership, the people of Laghouat defeated the inhabitants of the *ksar* al-ʿAssafiyyo, but found themselves obliged to pay tribute to the sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1672-1727 [*q.v.*]), who came and camped under the walls of the town in 1708. After the death of al-Ḥādjdj, the patron of the town (1751/1752), the history of Laghouat was reduced to that of confrontations between two parties who competed for political and religious superiority: the Awlād Serḳīn, inhabitants of the south-west quarter, allied to the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] and the Abīāt, the majority of them affiliated to the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. In the course of these internecine struggles which periodically brought bloodshed to the oasis, the Turks succeeded in having their supremacy recognised. From 1727, the Bey of Titri had, in effect, imposed an annual rent on the people of the *ksour*. On the other hand, the Mzābis, expelled from the oasis where they had acquired a share of the plantations, formed a confederation with the nomads of the south, over which the Laghouatis triumphed thanks to the support of the Larbāʿ (1752). This memorable episode seems to have put an end to a prolonged religious war, through the definitive elimination of Ibāḍiyya from an oasis whole-heartedly attached to Mālikī orthodoxy, over and above its ancestral discords. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Turks made an effort to reassert their supremacy, from which the Laghouatis had been gradually freeing themselves. Military expeditions were undertaken for the annual collection of taxes, with varying degrees of success, by the Bey of Medea, then by the Bey of Oran (1784 to 1802). In turns, the Abīāt and the Awlād Serḳīn were the object of favours or reprisals on the part of the Beys.

The two parties were not slow to re-align themselves with their respective allies, and the confrontations resumed with even greater severity, until the day when the chieftain of the Abīāt, Aḥmad b. Sālim, having allied himself through marriage with one of the leading Serḳīn families, became master of Laghouat and of the neighbouring *ksour* (1828). After a period of tranquillity, Laghouat became involved in the struggle of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir against the French. The chieftain of the Awlād Serḳīn, al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī (descendant of the patron saint of the town) was appointed *khalīfa* by the *amīr*. But he was unable to maintain his position and was obliged to flee to the Mzāb. His successor, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, was no more fortunate, although he had a force of 700 regular soldiers and a piece of artillery. His policies met opposition from the civic leaders and caused a riot; he was forced to leave Laghouat (1839). Al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī was appointed *khalīfa* for the second time. The same year, when the *amīr* was forced to raise the siege of ʿAyn Mādī (after eight months) to regain control of the Tell, Aḥmad b. Sālim and his partisans took the opportunity to rally their troops. The *khalīfa* al-Ḥādjdj al-ʿArbī was overthrown and then captured, at Ksar al-Ḳīrān, where he was killed (1839). Thus restored to power in Laghouat, Aḥmad b. Sālim entered into negotiations with the French (Col. Marey Monge) to ask for recognition of his authority over southern Algeria (March 1844). This protectorate constitutes the first stage in the process of annexation of Laghouat, a process too long to be summarised (cf. R. Le Tourneau, *Occupation de Laghouat par les Français (1844-1852)*, in *Études Maghrébines. Mélanges Ch. A. Julien*, Paris 1964, 111-36). Following several expeditions (1844, 1847, 1852), the town was taken by storm on 4 December 1852, at the cost of heavy losses on both sides (more than 1,500 dead). The taking of Laghouat (on the orders of General Pélissier) was one of the bloodiest episodes in the conquest of Algeria. On the Algerian side, the memory of the martyrs never ceased to be honoured, in the guise of a semi-folkloristic, semi-religious ritual, until the time of independence. After its conquest and fortifications, Laghouat received a permanent garrison and became the operational base of the French in the south

In its various phases, from the beginnings (4th/10th century) to the eve of the contemporary period, the dramatic history of Laghouat has been a microcosm of the general history (a) of the Central Maghrib, as depicted by the historian Ibn Khaldūn, chronic anarchy, with no respite for the populations, exhausted by a perpetual struggle for survival independent of any aspiration for economic and cultural order, and any effort towards civilization, (b) of modern Algeria under Turkish domination. Like all urban centres or tribes escaping direct control on the part of the central authority (Algiers) and of its beylīks (Oran, Medea, Constantine), Laghouat had only the most distant connections with the Turkish administration, which was interested only in the collection of taxes (the regularity of which was determined by the relative strength of the sovereign power and its vassals) and (c) of French Algeria. After a rigorous conquest and a long period of pacification, the oasis of Laghouat was, for almost a century, to be oriented towards the Sahara, as administrative centre of one of the four "Territories of the South" under military control. The population of Laghouat and its environs thus lived on the fringe of northern Algeria, without becoming permeated by French influence. In the absence of a political will and sufficient means, the "mental conquest" by means of education and the exercise of republican freedoms would seem to be a myth incompatible with colonial realities. Until the inter-war period (cf. the celebration of the "Centenary of Algeria" in 1930), the diffusion of French language and culture attained only insignificant proportions, even within the native Jewish community. For this reason, the traditional aspect of the Muslim society of Laghouat was preserved almost intact. With its natural connections with neighbouring Bedouin peoples (on account of pressing economic requirements), with the permanence of specific symbols of religious culture (a dozen mosques, some twenty Kur'ānic schools), and the preponderance of shrines and institutions of religious mystics (Tidjānīyya, Kādiriyya, Shādhiliyya, etc.), Laghouat found itself well-equipped in its cultural resistance to the West. These socio-cultural features were to be reinforced, in the nineteen-twenties, by the reformist preachings of the Salafiyya. In fact, thanks to the prestige and the strong personality of the *shaykh* Mubārak al-Mīlī (1897-1945), Laghouat became (from 1927 onward) one of the strongest centres of the reformist movement in Algeria, under the stimulus of the Association of Algerian Muslim *'Ulamā'* and of its leader, the *shaykh* 'Abd al-Hamīd b. Bādīs (*q.v.*) (cf. A. Merad, *Le réformisme musulman en Algérie...*, Paris 1967, 199-200).

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LAHAD [see KABU].

LĀHAWR (LAHORE), the principal city of the Pandjāb (*q.v.*), situated on the left bank of the Rāwi about 700 feet above sea level, at lat. 31° 35' N. and long. 74° 20' E. Its strategic location in the fertile alluvial region of the upper Indus plain has guaranteed it an important rôle in Indian history, very often as a frontier stronghold and more recently as the capital of the Sikh (*q.v.*) empire. Since 1947 it has been included in the republic of Pākistān, of which it is the second largest city.

i. History. Popular etymology connects the foundation of Lāhawr with the mythical Lava (Lōh), son of Rāma, and the forms Lāhāwar (cf. Peshāwar) and Lavapura have both been hypothesized by scholars, Cunningham (*Ancient geog. of India*, i, 197-8) identifying it with the place Labokla (< Lavalaka) mentioned by Ptolemy. Yet another possibility, Lahanagar, may have been preserved in the spelling Lāhanūr which appears in the 7th/13th century *Kirān al-sa'dayn* of Amīr Khusraw. It has also been identified with the anonymous flourishing city which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Ts'ang came upon around A.D. 630 on his way to Djālandhar.

At one time confused with Lohara in Kashmīr (see Sir M. Aurel Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangiṇī*, Westminster 1900, ii, 293, 298, 383-4), Lāhawr is actually first mentioned in 372/982 in the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*[3], 89-90, where we read that it was subject, although a city populated exclusively by Hindus, to the Kurayshite ruler of Multān (*q.v.*). Possibly this is what underlies a later tradition that at the time of the first Ghaznawid invasion the capital of the Hindū-Shāhī rulers of the western Panḏjāb had been moved from Lāhawr to Siyālkot (*q.v.*), and certainly Bīrūnī, writing shortly afterwards, locates the capital of the Lāhawr region at a place called Mandhūkūr (ed. Sachau, 201, cf. the discussion in S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939-57, i, 53). Lāhawr was captured at an uncertain date by Maḥmūd of Ghazna (*q.v.*), who constructed a fortress there and allegedly renamed the city Maḥmūdpūr, though this is doubtful. Under his successors it effectively became, as the administrative centre of the Indian provinces, the second capital of the Ghaznawid empire. The governor Aḥmad Yīnaltigīn rebelled in 424/1033, and in 433/1042-4 Lāhawr was subjected to a long and unsuccessful siege by a confederacy of Hindu princes. But it remained firmly in Ghaznawid hands, serving, after the loss of Ghazna itself in 558/1163, as the capital until its capture by the Ghūrids (*q.v.*) in 583/1187 put an end to the dynasty.

On the murder of the Ghūrid Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 602/1206, Lāhawr became temporarily the capital of the Indian domain ruled by his slave Kuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (*q.v.*), but after his death it was disputed for some time among the other former Ghūrid officers. Kubācha, Yildiz, and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (*q.v.*). Ḥasan Nizāmī in his *Tādj al-ma'āthir* (Brit. Lib. ms. Add. 7,623, fols. 124b-129a) describes at great length its capture by Iltutmish's forces in 613/1217, although Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh (*q.v.*), who invaded the Panḏjāb a few years later, found a son of Kubācha in revolt against his father at Lāhawr (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, text 90), and it probably fell definitively to Iltutmish shortly before Kubācha's overthrow in 625/1228. Under Iltutmish's weak successors [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE], the governors of Lāhawr were frequently in rebellion, and Kabīr Khān Ayāz was virtually independent there in 639/1241, when Lāhawr was taken and sacked by the Mongols. They did not follow up their victory, abandoning the city immediately, but around 651/1253, in the course of another inroad, they installed at Lāhawr the renegade prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. Iltutmish. Sub-

sequently, however, it appears again as part of the Dihlī Sultanate under its governor Shīr Khān, who is credited by the historian Barānī (*Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, ed. S. A. Khān, Calcutta 1860-2, Bibl. Indica, 63) with numerous military successes against the Mongols. The city was restored by the Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.] soon after his accession in 664/1266, but Lāhawr was to remain in some decades a frontier region subject to regular Mongol attacks and seems to have been replaced as an administrative centre by Dīpālpūr. It attained to a temporary prominence once more early in the 8th/14th century under the governorship of Ghāzī Malik, who himself ascended the throne of Dihlī in 720/1320 as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk [*q.v.*]. In the reign of his son Muḥammad [*q.v.*], however, the district was ravaged by the Čaghatay khān Tarmashīrīn around 729/1329, and a few years later Lāhawr was occupied by a Mongol chief named Hūlečū (see HULAGU) in alliance with the Khokars [*q.v.*] the brutal reprisals against the populace by Muḥammad's forces are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 333). After this, its history is again obscure until the turn of the century, when Shaykhā Khokar, who had been appointed governor of Lāhawr by Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluk, made a timely submission to Tīmūr (803/1398), but on showing signs of disaffection was suppressed by an army under the conqueror's grandson Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr.

Lāhawr was included in the territory conferred by Tīmūr upon Khiḍr Khān, who in 817/1414 seized power in Dihlī and established the Sayyid dynasty. Under his successor Mubārak Shāh, the city was twice attacked by the Khokars, now led by Shaykhā's son Djasrat, while at the same time the Afghān Lodīs [*q.v.*] were beginning to encroach upon the Pandjāb. In 845/1441 Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid, in an effort to curb the power of the Khokars, granted Lāhawr to Bahlūl Lodī, who repaid the Sayyids by supplanting them at Dihlī ten years later. During the Lodī era the province continued to enjoy a quasi-independence. It was the sulṭān's kinsman Dawlat Khān Lodī, governor of the Panḏjāb, who encouraged the designs of Bābur [*q.v.*] on Hindūstān, leading to the occupation of Lāhawr by the Mughals in 930/1524. On the outbreak of the rebellion of Shīr Shāh Sūr, Bābur's son and successor Humāyūn fled to Lāhawr, which he had been compelled at an earlier date to cede to his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā. The two Mughal princes were unable to hold the Panḏjāb, and abandoned it to Shīr Shāh (947/1540), with the result that Lāhawr once again enjoyed a period of Afghān rule. Shīr Shāh is said to have regretted on his death bed that he had not razed the city, in view of its strategic value to an invader from the north-west, a sentiment doubtless echoed by his ephemeral successors when Humāyūn reoccupied Lāhawr in Rabī' II 962/February 1555.

With the restoration of Mughal rule, Lāhawr entered on the era of its greatest prosperity, to which belong also its principal monuments (see below). Abu 'l-Faḍl in his *Ā'īn-i-akbarī* testifies to its flourishing condition under Akbar, who used it as his headquarters for his expeditions against Kashmīr, Sind and Kandahār in the period 992-1006/1584-98. It was here that he received in 1595 the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries who were later, under his son Djahāngīr, to build the church and school which were destroyed by Shāh Djahān. Djahāngīr actually made Lāhawr his capital from 1032/1623, and it continued as such for most of the reign of Shāh Djahān, who was particularly attached to it as his birthplace, establishing a carpet manufactory and renovating the *dawlat khāna*. During the period of its apogee, Lāhawr continued to serve at intervals as a centre of disaffection. Akbar had to march to its relief when besieged by his half-brother Muḥammad Ḥākim Mīrzā in 974/1566-7, and under his successors it was several times used as a base by aspirants to the imperial dignity, by Khusraw at the outset of Djahāngīr's reign (1014/1606), by Shāhriyār on the accession of Shāh Djahān (1037/1628), and by Dārā Shukōh on that of Awrangzīb (1068/1658).

Lāhawr's importance declined under Awrangzīb, who resided there less than his predecessors, though it continued to be styled *Dār al-salṭana* and the emperor was responsible for the construction of its *Djamī' Masdjid*, with which the city's architectural history is usually assumed to have terminated. Bernier, however, visiting Lāhawr in 1665, gives the impression that it was already decaying and that large areas were in ruins. And with Awrangzīb's death, the region swiftly became a prey to the rising power of the Sikhs.

In 1123/1711 the Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh I arrived at Lāhawr in the course of a campaign designed to crush the first Sikh insurrection under Banda, which was threatening the city, but died before he could achieve his object. The struggle for the succession between Djahāndār Shāh and 'Aẓīm al-Shā'n in 1124/1712 was actually fought out in the vicinity of Lāhawr and it was not until the reign of Farrukh-siyar (1124-31/1713-19) that further action could be taken against the Sikhs. They were ruthlessly suppressed in a series of expeditions mounted by the governors of the Panḏjāb, 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān and his son and successor Zakariyyā Khān, the activities of the latter winning Lāhawr the nickname of *Shahīdgandj*. Zakariyyā submitted to Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 1150/January-February 1738, but recovered his independence once the Persian monarch had withdrawn from India. After the governor's death in 1158/1745, however, his sons engaged in a struggle for power, as a result of which the Afghān Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] was able to launch his first invasion of the Panḏjāb and occupy the city in Muḥarram 1161/January 1748. On his departure, the court of Dihlī entrusted Lāhawr to Mu'īn al-Mulk, surnamed Mīr Mannū, son of the *wazīr* Kamar al-Dīn, but he was shortly obliged to submit to the Afghāns; and following a further invasion by Aḥmad Shāh in the winter of 1165/1751-2, the Mughal emperor signed a treaty whereby Lāhawr passed into the Afghān sphere of influence. This did not prevent the Dihlī *wazīr* Ghāzī al-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk from invading the Panḏjāb in 1169/1756, seizing Lāhawr from *Mīr Mannū's widow, who had endeavoured to* secure recognition from both Dihlī and Kābul, and installing as governor Adīna Beg. Aḥmad Shāh was thereby provoked into reoccupying the city in the following winter and establishing there his son Tīmūr Shāh. During this time, the Sikhs are found assisting Adīna Beg and his allies the Marāṭhas against the Afghāns. Together they expelled Tīmūr in 1171/1758 and repulsed another Afghān attempt on the city in 1172/1759. When Aḥmad Shāh decisively crushed the Marāṭhas at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 1174/1761 and again took Lāhawr, it was the Sikhs who were the ultimate beneficiaries of the victory. On his withdrawal, they simply reoccupied the city, and did so again after each of two further Afghān invasions, finally securing it in 1181/1767. For the next thirty years Lāhawr was governed by a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains, whose rule was disturbed

only by two temporary Afghān occupations under Aḥmad's grandson Zamān Shāh in 1221/1796 and 1213/1798-9. During the second of these invasions, the Sikh chief Ranjīt Singh negotiated with the Afghāns for the office of *ṣūbadār* of Lāhawr, but it was not until Safar 1214/July 1799 that he was able to wrest it from its three Sikh lords, who had meanwhile retaken it in the wake of Zamān Shāh's retreat.

Under the rule of Ranjīt Singh, proclaimed *mahārāja* of the Panjāb in 1802, Lāhawr, as his capital, recovered something of its lost prestige. He repaired its walls, and embarked upon a programme of construction works which did much to rehabilitate the city. On his death in 1839, it passed among various members of his family until the accession of *Dalīp Singh in 1843, but the Sikh* government soon became embroiled in its first war with the British, and by the terms of the two treaties of Lāhawr, in March and December 1846, Dalīp Singh had to accept a temporary British garrison into his capital and a permanent British Resident in the person of Colonel Henry Lawrence. In March 1849, as a result of the second war with the British and Dalīp Singh's deposition, Lāhawr was formally incorporated in the British empire. The city remained comparatively quiet at the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, though it was the scene of numerous disturbances during the twenties and thirties of the present century, with the rise of the *Congress Movement* and the conflicting claims of the Muslim League. In the partition of 1947, despite Sikh hopes of separate statehood for the Panjāb, the city and most of its district were allotted to Pākistān. From 1955 it was the capital of West Pākistān, and since 1970 it has been the capital of the new province of the Panjāb.

During this century Lāhawr has undergone a considerable expansion. In 1901 its population stood at less than a quarter of a million, but at the 1961 census it had reached 1,296,477 and in 1971 was estimated at 1,985,800 (all these figures include the cantonment). *It consists essentially of the old city*, the Anglicised quarters and the cantonment (formerly called Miyān Mīr) added during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the industrial areas which have grown up over the last few decades. First linked by rail to Amritsar in 1861, Lāhawr is now well integrated into Pākistān's railway network, being situated on the main line from Karāčī to Peshāwar, and is also accessible by air. It is an important educational centre, possessing two universities.

Bibliography Historical surveys are to be found in the standard descriptive accounts of Lāhawr: see *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1907-9, xvi, 95-115; *Imp. gaz. of India. Provincial series. Panjab*, Calcutta 1908, i; S. M. Latīf, *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, Lāhawr 1892, 1-83, contains many chronological inaccuracies, and is in any case mostly derived from the earlier account of T. H. Thornton, dating from 1860 and reproduced in H. R. Goulding, *"Old Lahore" reminiscences of a resident*, Lāhawr 1924, 56-80, see now also M. Bāqir Malik, *Lahore past and present*, Lāhawr 1952 (Panjab University Oriental Publications, 34).

In addition to the works cited in the text, see for individual periods of the city's history: C. E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, A. B. M. Habibullah, *The foundations of Muslim rule in India*[4], Allāhābād 1961; U. N. Day, *The northwest frontier of the Sultanate*, in *Sasa aspects of medieval Indian history*, New Delhi 1971, 29-57; K. Jahn, *Zum Problem der mongolischen Eroberungen in Indien (13.-14. Jahrhundert)*, in *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München*, 1957, Wiesbaden 1959, 617-9; K. S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, London 1963; Canḍ, *hist of India*, iv, index; J. D. Cunningham, *A history of the Sikhs*, new ed. H. L. O. Garrett, Oxford 1918; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, Princeton 1963-6.

(P. JACKSON)

2. Monuments. The architectural history of Lāhawr can be traced substantially from the Mughal administration. Tombs remaining from earlier periods have undergone such extensive alteration that their interest lies mainly in their inscriptions. Among *these are the graves of Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Hujwīrī* (d. 485/1072 [*q.v.*]), called Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak (d. 607/1210 [*q.v.*]) near the Lawāhūrī (*sic*) Gate, Pīr Bulkhī (d. 637/1239?), of which the small domed *budjra* may be original, and Sayyid Ṣūfī (d. 786/1384), the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Khurāsānī, or Miyān Pādishāh (d. 788/1386) is preserved in the *ṣaḥn* of the *Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān*. Of the eighty four tombs in the city listed by Ṣiddīḳī, few in fact survive. No trace has been found, either, of the victory tower at the Fort and the mud-brick mosque known as Khishtī Masdjid said by Fakhr-i Mudabbir to have been built by *Maḥmūd of Ghazna [q.v.], or the Kaṣr-i Humāyūnī* of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. There is, however, an impressive *miḥrāb* from the Sultanate period which appears to have been the focus of an *ʿīdgāh* near Čāh Mīrān. The *pīshṭāḳ* [*q.v.*], 7·4 m high, is surrounded by a band of geometric interlace; the semidome within the arch is reticulated to match, as is its central arched recess, and the squinches on either side have fluted nests of grotos, with hoods in floral relief. This decoration, which shares some features with Tīmūrid work, is carried out in plaster on a brick core. Fluent brick is in fact typical of Lāhawr, as of the Panjāb as a whole, for want of *local stone, it is usually covered with a revetment of* cut plaster or tilework which conceals the structure, while stressing its main lines.

The Fort (*Ḳal'a*) which still dominates the city centre has been shown by excavations (1959 ff.) to rest on strata dating back in the *Ghaznavid* occupation, the fort of *Ghūrid* times, and those rebuilt by Balban and Muḥārak Shāh in 666/1267 and 725/1422 were presumably on the same site near the northwest corner of the former city wall. The present structure was begun by Akbar (ca. 974/1568) while work at Āgrā Fort was still in hand. He extended the site to the bank of the Rāwī in *the north, maintaining the level by an elaborate* undercroft, and enclosing a rectangle of about 340 by 427 m with walls that still exist to the north, east, and south. The twin polygonal towers of the Masdjidī Darwāza (Panjābī: Masīt Darwāza) are panelled in blind arches like the Dihlī Gate at Āgrā, here offset vertically, and their rhythm continues throughout the north wall. Of Akbar's palace we know only that its Dawlat khāna yi 'Āmm had a courtyard enclosed by 114 bays (*ṭoḳs* [*q.v.*] or *aywāns*). The Diwān-i Khāṣ balcony which still overlooks the site may be of this date. Akbar also built the city wall with its thirteen gates, now largely demolished or replaced. The early phase of building at the Fort was completed by Djahāngīr in 1027/1618 with a courtyard of private apartments in the same trabeated style, with faceted pillars and intricately

carved surfaces of Mathurā stone, the *chaj-jās* brackets with their profusion of elephants, lions and peacocks owe much to Hindu timber-work. The architect responsible for this complex, ʿAbd al-Karīm Maʾmūr Khān, appears also to have carried out the remarkable and unorthodox cladding of panels in mosaics of cut glazed tiles, on the north, and later the west walls, with the semi-octagonal Shāh Burj, between 1034/1624-5 and 1041/1631-2. Their brilliant colours, which extend the range previously used in the Panjāb from dark blue, azure and white to include yellows, brown and green, depict courtiers, scenes of hunting, elephant fights, battle and myth. The Dīwān-i ʿĀmm of forty columns ordered by Shāhjahān in 1037/1628 follows the pattern of its contemporary at Āgrā; its present form was reconstructed by the British in 1846, but fragments of two ceremonial railings survive. Shāhjahān, dissatisfied with the existing scheme, raised the level of the earlier work, and built a new group of private apartments inside the Shāh Burj, including the Shīsh Mahall of white marble set off with *pietra dura* inlay of floral motifs, opening onto the court through five bays with paired columns supporting engrailed arches in the fully-developed marble style: it rises to double height, with a ceiling of convex glass set in gypsum plaster (*āyna-kārī*) the walls now being Sikh work. To its west is a marble pavilion, the Bangla (Nawlakha) that reproduces a Bengali but with its gridwork walls and arching roof, again inset with semi-precious stones (*parīn-kārī*). In 1043/1633 he had the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ and Khwābgāh replaced, the former with a marble hall five bays by five, anticipating that at Dihlī [q.v.] in layout, with open arcades surrounding an inner hall, and a parapet inlaid to emulate merlons. The Motī Masjid (ca. 1645) makes finely restrained use of marble as the first of the three Pearl Mosques (cf. Āgrā 1648-54, Dihlī ca. 1660), its *pishtāk* frames a four-centred arch that contrasts with the cusped ones on either side, and the three domes rise from strong cavetto mouldings in a rounded profile recalling Humāyūn's tomb, though crowned with a small pointed lotus. The round towers of Awrangzība ʿĀlamgīrī Gate (1084/1673-4) rise vigorously from a swelling lotus-petal base in broad gadrooons to leaf tips merlons, and each is capped with a light *chatrī* to counter the upthrust.

The Mosque of Maryam Zamānī, built for Djahāngīr's mother in 1023/1614, follows the established scheme of a five arched prayer hall, with a tall semi-domed *pishtāk*, and five domes supported on massive brickwork piers. Square towers at the angles carry domed lanterns. The stilted central dome, less overpowering than that at Fatḥpur Sīkrī, has an inner shell of stucco, extensive use is made of squinch nets and honeycomb squinches, and the interior has the finest floral painting in Pākistān, on incised plaster. The prayer hall of the Masdjid-i Wazīr Khān (1044/1634) is of the same type, with four centred arches, double-shelled Lōdī domes—albeit of an improved shape—and deep piers separating the façade from the domes. The court yard is much longer and arcaded with stout octagonal minarets, capped with *chatrīs* and set on squared bases, the first use of such towers, it seems, for a Mughal mosque. The main gate is enlarged to house the domed, octagonal central chamber of a bazaar street. The brickwork is extensively panelled, and its grids house flat panels of cut mosaic tile [see KĀSHĪ] on the surfaces of the gates, prayer-hall and minarets, with flowers, trees, tendrils and inscriptions to an inventive but strongly Iranian display. The building achieves great distinction in contrasting this vivacious decoration with the robust composition of the structure. Inside, the mosaic is replaced by paint. A *hammām* of the same date, and Iranian in type, still exists near the Dihlī Gate. These elements are readjusted in the much smaller mosque of Dāʾī Anga (1045/1635), where the three frontal arches are engrailed, the domes articulated with cavetto mouldings well above the parapet, and the hall is limited at either end by the massive square bases for minarets with lanterns that have been rebuilt this century, exceptionally, tile mosaic is used inside as well as out. Its form is close to that of the mosque and its counter image flanking the Tāj Mahall (ca 1632-47). The mosque of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [q.v.] the historian and calligrapher (1070/1659) is also tiled, and remarkable for its inscriptions. The Bādshāhī Masdjid (1084/1673), Awrangzīb's finest building, combines local tradition with experience from the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī (1058/1649) [see DJAMĀʿAT KHĀNA]. From the former comes the octagonal minarets at the courtyard corners, the smaller ones at the angles of the prayer hall, and the recessed panelling, from the latter are drawn the plan, the raised plinth with steps and gateway, the bulbous domes, and the handling of the façade. The brick structure is faced throughout in red sandstone, and white marble for the domes; the interior is decorated with floral reliefs in lime plaster (*munabbat-kārī*), and painted, with almost Rococo delicacy.

Tombs. The tomb of Shaykh Mūsā Āhangar (*ob.* 1580?) whose squat dome on a cylindrical drum rests on a square, panelled cell, provides unique evidence of earlier tilework in the city: the dome is tiled in green horizontal courses, and the upper part of the walls in square tiles set diagonally, with floral motifs in blue and white. The square tomb of Djahāngīr's fomb at Shāhdara (completed in 1046/1637) is derived from the base of Akbar's tomb [see AGRA], with the same number of arches and projecting bays at the centre of each side. Its red stone façades are inlaid with white and black marble in magpie elegance within the usual grid, and the tall octagonal corner towers are patterned in chevrons of white and yellow between four balconies. The absence of a central pavilion on the roof destroys the composition: the original arrangement is uncertain. A finely inscribed cenotaph lies in an octagonal central chamber with floor and walls all in superb *pietra dura*. The single-storey form is repeated at half size in the tomb of his empress Nūrdjahān (d. 1055/1645) nearby, built by herself, as vestige of its original surface remains on the brickwork core. Dāʾī Anga's Tomb (1082/1671-2) in the Gulābī Bāgh is also square, with gridwork walls and a square *chatrī* on each corner, the plan however incorporates a cross-shaped tomb chamber, with calligraphy by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in the coving, and an ambulatory with octagonal corner cells. A central dome shaped like those of Wazīr Khān's Mosque is patterned in chevrons of white and dark blue tiles, and its tall drum with floral motifs.

A series of octagonal tombs begins with that of Anārkalī (1024/1615), built by Djahāngīr for a former love. It has octagonal, panelled corner towers with *chatrīs* at roof level, arched walls rising through two stories, and a dome of this same profile. It suffered various alterations when adapted for a church in 1851. Entrances formerly alternated with octagonal corner cells around a central octagon,

with the cenotaph, carved in bold relief, at the middle. The tomb of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641 [*q.v.*]) at Shāhdara has a single octagonal chamber, and a sam domed arched recess an each external face around it. The reveals once had dados of square painted tiles, unique in this reign, and the squinch arch were enhanced with mosaic tile, the tall bulbous dome, now stripped of its white marble, was contemporary with that of the Tādj Maḥall. The cenotaph is modelled on that of Diahāngīr, below a *mumbbidhārī* vault. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's tomb (*ca.* 1650), built for his mother, is similar in plan, but is crowned with a dome of the earlier type on a tall drum, balanced, Sūrī-style, by a *chatrī* set above every angle of the octagon. Once more the veneers have been stripped by the Sikhs, but there are traces of a floral marble inlay on the dome The Mausoleum of Sharaf al-Nisāʾ Begam (d. 1158/1745), called Sarwwālā Maḳbara, is a low tower, square in plan, whose walls are relieved by a frieze of cypress trees (*sarw*) 2 2 m high in glazed tilework around a tomb chamber at the upper level, surmounted by a *Shadrāwa* and a hipped square dome That of Sir Muḥammad Iḳbāl, designed by Nawwāb Zayn Yārdjang Bahādur in 1951, is a severe orthogonal cell with buttered walls, set off by mouldings around a strong plinth and *Shadrāwa*, and deep openings, reminiscent of Tughluḳ building set somewhat Germanic, the white marble interior is carved in ornamental relief and lines from his *Zabūr i ʿAdjam*

The gardens associated with these buildings, all but obliterated and requiring extensive restoration on Lord Curzon's initiative have lost their original planting, but still display the *Bārādārī* layout, with causeways patterned in local brickwork set between regularly spaced cypresses. The first, planted by Mirzā Kāmrān on the bank of the Rāwī (*ca* 1530-40) has disappeared, but its summerhouse, a *bārādarī*, survives in midstream. Nūrdjahān's Bāgh-i Dilkushā, adapted for her husband's tomb at the centre, has each of the four quarters subdivided into four square plots, with canals and tanks at the intersections, within a huge walled enclosure The Bāgh i Shālīmār [see BUSTĀN, ii], completed in 1052/1642, and like its namesake at Dihlī inspired by the eponym in Kashmīr [*q.v.*] was originally entered at the lowest terrace, allowing movement, on in the palace, through successively more private areas, past cascades backed by lamp-niches, a *takht-gāh* set in a tank, and 450 fountains. The Ḥadīkat Bāgh, formerly a *sarāy* built by Awrangzīb, is apparently Sikh work.

Three *gate*ways clad in mosaic tile have survived the gardens to which they once led The Čawbardjī (1036/1626), with four corner towers like those of Wazīr Khān's mosque, but more attenuated and lacking their *Chatrīs*, has cleanly-cut archways set in a gridded surface The Gulābī Bāgh Gate (1066/1655) follows a similar scheme, but with angle-shafts in place of the towers, and with cusping of the upper arches. The undated gate at Nawlakōt (*ca* 1650) has the panelled corners left unbroken as support for its twelve-pillared *Chatrī*, remarkable for their gadrooned, green-tiled domes.

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LAHDJ, colloquially called Laḥdj, a town and area of south-western Arabia, now situated in the second governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The town, also known as

Fig. 1 - Plan of the Fort. (Archaeological Survey of India)

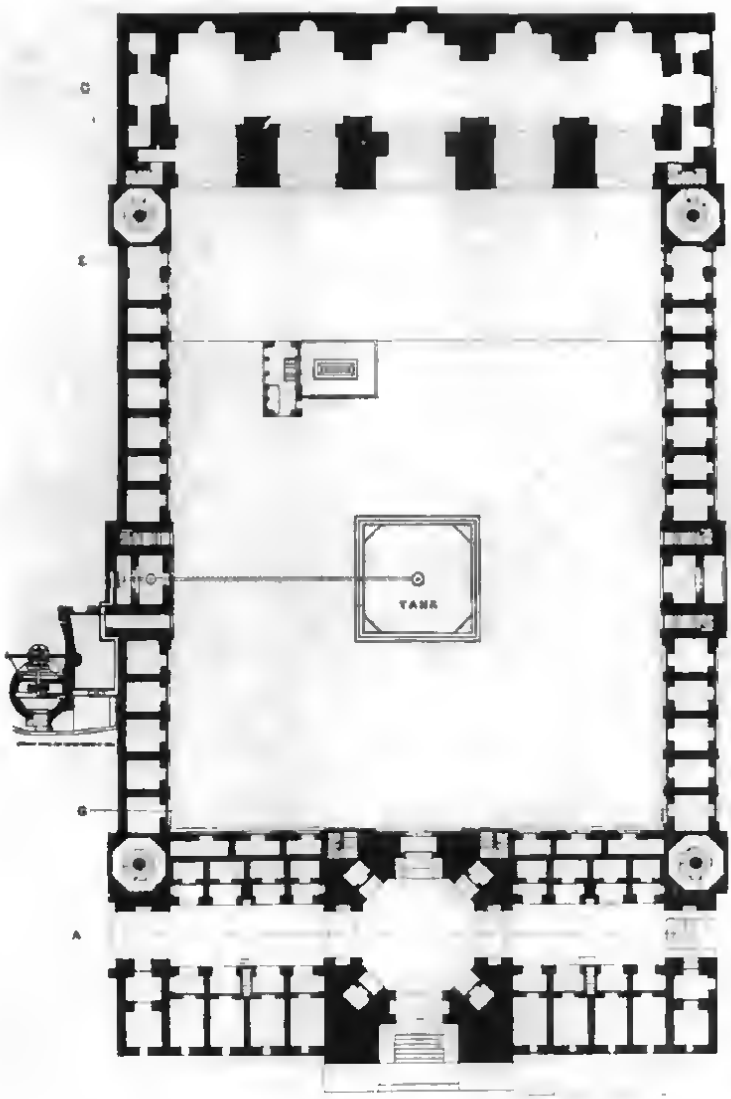

Fig. 2. Plan of the Masjid i Wazir Khan. (From M.A. Chaghatai, *The Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore*)

al-Ḥawṭa, lies between the two tributaries of the Wādī Tuban, al Wādī al-Kabīr and al-Wādī al-Ṣaghīr, about 25 miles north west of Aden. The town is surrounded by a fertile area which is cultivated by means of an elaborate system of irrigation using the water of the wadis and also of wells. Date-palms abound, as well as cereal crops and vegetables. In fairly recent years too, cotton has become an important addition to the local agricultural economy.

Definition. In early Islamic, mediaeval and later times, Laḥdj comprised a whole area to the north and north-west of Aden and formed a joint fief with Abyan which at that time must have extended much further westwards to the north and north-east of Aden than the present-day area of the same name. Perhaps Laḥdj and Abyan in those times might have been divided by a line drawn due north from Aden, with the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern. It seems that the area of Laḥdj remained as described above until the late 19th century, when the then sultan of Laḥdj occupied the territories of the Subayḥa, the tribal group inhabiting the territory between Laḥdj proper and Bāb al-Mandab. Thus the Laḥdj sultanate was composed of historic Laḥdj and Subayḥī territory.

History. The genealogists connect the geographical name with the Himyar, Laḥdj b. Wā'il b al-Ghuth b. Katan b. ʿArib b. Zuhayr b. Abyan b. al-Humaysaʿ.

After the Yemen had been won for Islam, Laḥdj shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire. Laḥdj thus passed with the Yemen to the Umayyads and then to the ʿAbbāsids, though in early times governors in Ṣanʿāʾ and Ḥaḍramawt could have had little control in the area. In 203/818-19 the caliph al Maʾmūn appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād as governor of the Yemen. He was the founder of the Ziyādid dynasty and built the Tihāma town of Zabīd, which was to be their capital until 412/1021-22. Laḥdj, with Aden, Abyan, Madramawt and al-Shiḥr, passed into the hands of the Banū Maʿn in the time of the Abyssinian slaves who ruled Ziyādid territory when the dynasty came to an end. In 454/1062-3 Aden came under the control of the Ismāʿīlī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, though the Maʿnids were left in effective control until his death in 473/1080-1, when his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, reclaimed the area. Aḥmad installed as rulers of Aden and the neighbouring area al-ʿAbbās and al-Mas'ūd, the two Zuray'ids, in return for their past services to the Ismāʿīlī cause in the Yemen on behalf of the Ṣulayḥids. The Zuray'ids remained in power until the entry of the Ayyūbids from Egypt into the Yemen in 569/1173. Laḥdj, with Aden and indeed the rest of the Yemen, then came under the control of the Ayyūbids (569-626/1173-1228) and their successors, the Rasūlids (626-858/1228-1454), who were followed by the Ṭāhirids (858-ca 954/1454-ca 1547).

The expeditionary force led by Husayn al-Mushrif which the Mamlūk Sultan Kansawh al-Ghawrī sent at the request of the Ṭāhirid Sultan ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea, and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks. In 945/1538 the Turkish governor of Kuisum, Sulaymān Pasha, set out with a fleet and took Aden, which thus belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1045/1635 the Turks had to leave the Yemen to the Zaydī Imāms.

In 1141/1728, however, the ʿAbdalī tribal leader, Faḍl b. ʿAlī b. Faḍl b. Shīḥ b. Shīm, made himself independent of the Zaydīs and made Laḥdj the capital of his territory. Thus the area remained under the ʿAbdalī house down to the evacuation of south-western Arabia by the British in 1967. With the arrival of the British under Captain S. B. Haines in 1839, when the Laḥdj sultan also controlled Aden, the latter was ceded to the Government of Bombay. As already mentioned, the vast area of the Subayḥa fell under their sway in the late 19th century. By the time of the formal signing of the agreement with the British Government to inaugurate the Federation of the Amirates of the South in 1959, the Laḥdj sultan Faḍl b. ʿAlī, as ruler of the senior state in the Western Aden Protectorate, held the key portfolio of Federal Minister of Defence and continued in that post until the collapse of the Federation and declaration of the new Republic in 1967.

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LĀHĪDJĀN 1. A town in the Caspian coastal province of Gīlān [q.v.] in north western Persia, in long. 50° 0′ 20″ E. and lat. 37° 12′ 30″ N. It is situated on the plain to the east of the lower reaches of the Safīd-Rūd and to the north of the Dulfek mountain, and on the small river Ḳom-khāna or Purdesar, but at some 14 miles/20 km from the Caspian Sea shore.

Lāhīdjān does not seem to have been known as such to the earliest Arabic geographers, though legend was to attribute its foundation to Lāhīdj b. Sām b. Nūḥ. It does, however, appear in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) as Lāfidjān, one of seven "large districts" (i.e. it was not yet a town) of the south-eastern part of Gīlān, that known locally as Biya-pīsh ("this side of the water", *biya* cognate with Avestan *vaiδi* "water-course") as opposed to Biya pas ("beyond the water") on the north-western side of the Safīd-Rūd, which had Fūman [q.v.] and Rasht [q.v.] as its centres (tr. Minorsky, 157, § 30. 25, comm. 388-90, on this passage of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, see Barthold, in *Encyclopaedia Islamica Academi, Institute*, vi [1927], 63-6). In ancient times, the Safīd-Rūd or Amardan River (see GIZIL ÖZEN) had formed the frontier between the Amardi or Mardi to the east and the Geli or Kadusioi to the west; see F. C. Andreas, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii/2, 1729-53, s.v. *Amardos*.

During the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, Lāhīdjān district formed part of the dominions, straddling Gīlān and the mountainous hinterland of Daylam [q.v.], of the Djustānid or Djustānid Wahsūdān b. Djustān (still alive in 259/873, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880, see also Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām*, Tehran 1335/1956, i, 25), the rulers of Biya-pīsh were generally able to extend

their power up from the plain into the mountains, and even at times over them to the south of the Elburz (as was to be the case with the Kar-Kiyā'ī Sayyids, see below).

There then arose in Biya-pīsh a family ruling from Kūtum or Hūtum in the Rān-i Kūh district, whose centre is Langarūd to the east of Lāhidjān. This line was founded by the ʿĀlid Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) (*q.v.*), who introduced Zaydī Shīʿism into the Caspian region of the eastern part of Gīlān, sc. Biya-pīsh, thus became strongly affected by Shīʿism, whereas Sunnī doctrines including Ḥanbalism, remained dominant in Biya-pas. The wider political authority of al-Uṭrūsh's family shrank during the middle decades of the 4th/10th century, and became concentrated more on Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān to the east, but the Nāṣirid Sayyids remained influential in the Caspian region because of their religious prestige. The history of Lāhidjān in the succeeding period is obscure, but it is probable that the Dābūyid dynasthies re-asserted their authority there after the highland region of Daylam had passed into the hands of the Musāfirids or Sallārids or Langarids (the latter form better than 'Kangarids') of Ṭārum (see MUSĀFIRIDS and ṬĀRUM), and it was the Djastānid "king of Daylam" who submitted at Kazwīn to the incoming Saldjūk Toghril Beg in 434/1042-3 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 348).

Subsequently, we find a family of local origin called the Nāṣirwands ruling Biya-pīsh from Lāhidjān. The story of their origin from Maḥmūd of Ghazna's brother Nāṣir al-Dawla b. Sebüktigin retailed by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Öldjeytü* is wholly fanciful, and the name Nāṣirwand obviously relates to a connection real or supposed, with Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Uṭrūsh's tenure of power there. In the time of the Mongol Il-Khān Hülegü, the Nāṣirwand Diyamāl al-Dīn Saʿīd b. Saʿīd was ruler in Lāhidjān, some decades later, in Öldjeytü's reign, the family was divided into two branches that of Saʿīd b. Sālār in Kūtum, and that of Naw-Pādishāh or Shāh-i Naw in Lāhidjān. The latter submitted to the Il-Khānid when he appeared in Gīlān and at Lāhidjān specifically in 706/1306-7, receiving in marriage the daughter of a Mongol commander and being granted suzerainty over the other local princes of Gīlān; Rashīd al-Dīn also testifies to Naw-Pādishāh's riches and prestige at this time. Lāhidjān itself flourished and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes Lāhidjān and Fūman as the two chief towns of Gīlān in the vicinity of Lāhidjān silk cultivation and weaving were actively pursued, and corn rice, oranges and other sub-tropical fruits were grown (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 180-3, tr. 258-9; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 72).

Biya-pīsh was racked by warfare between the various local chiefs during the course of the 8th/14th century, and by 792/1390 the rule of the Nāṣirwands, already once interrupted in Lāhidjān, foundered completely, and Sayyid Hādī Kiyā became master of Biya-pīsh. The Kar-Kiyāʾī Sayyids ruled there from 769/1367-8 (with a brief revanche shortly after this by the last Nāṣirwands) till 1000/1592, the first of the family to make himself completely independent being Sayyid Amīr Kiyā (for a genealogical table of the family, see H. L. Rabino in *JA*, ccxxxvii [1949], 317pp. 322-3) His son Sayyid ʿAlī Kiyā, with the help of the Marʿashī Sayyids of Māzandarān, made himself master of all Biya-pīsh, and extended as far as Kazwīn, Ṭārum and Shamīrān, and Sayyid Raḍī Kiyā (d. 849/1446) chased out of the mountains south of Lāhidjān the local family of Hazārdjarībs and the Ismāʿīlīs. Likewise, Mīrzā ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Kiyā (883-911/1478-1508) at the zenith of his power controlled Kazwīn, Ṭārum, Sulṭāniyya, Sāwa, Zandjān, Fīrūzkūh, Tehran, Rayy and Warāmīn.

From the end of the 9th/15th century, the information of the local Caspian chroniclers like Zahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī may be supplemented by that of the Ṣafawid chronicles, the interest of the latter being focussed on the region because of the crucial role played by Mīrzā ʿAlī Kiyā in sheltering the young Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl b. Ḥaydar (see ISMĀʿĪL I). The future ruling family of Persia already had close links with the Lāhidjān district, for to the village of Shaykhānbar on the Lāhidjān-Langarūd road lay the tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid (d. 754/1354) the *pīr* and *murshid* of Shaykh Ṣafī 'l-Dīn Ṣafawī (cf. Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 71). When Ismāʿīl was a fugitive from the Ak Koyunlu in 899/1494, he fled eventually from Ardabīl to Lāhidjān. Mīrzā ʿAlī welcomed him there, refused in 902/1497 to extradite him to the Ak Koyunlu leader Rustam Mīrzā (allegedly after receiving a vision of the caliph ʿAlī enjoining him to protect the young prince), and assigned for his education a tutor the Lāhidjān scholar Shams al-Dīn. Then early in 905/later 1499, when he was still not quite 12 years old, Ismāʿīl left Lāhidjān for the bid for power which was to end in the defeat of the Ak Koyunlu and Ismāʿīl's conquest of Āḏerbāydjān (see E. D. Ross, *The early years of Shah Ismāʿīl*, in *JRAS* [1896], 249-340; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin Leipzig 1936, 98 ff.; Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk, a manual of Safavid administration* (circa 1137/1725), London 1943, Appx. II, 131 ff.).

During the 10th/15th century, Biya-pīsh and the Kar-Kiyāʾīs became vassals of the Ṣafawīds from 909/1503-4 till the region's final incorporation in the Ṣafawid empire in 1000/1592. At first, a Ḳizilbāsh (*q.v.*) governor was appointed to oversee the Kar-Kiyāʾīs, and then in the middle years of the century, royal princes acted as governors including a brother and two sons of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (in 943/1536-7 and 985/1577-92). The Kar-Kiyāʾī Sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (943-76/1536-67 and 985-1000/1577-92) introduced at Shāh Ṭahmāsp's behest the official Ṣafawid Twelver or Djaʿfarī form of Shīʿism in place of the Zaydī one, but he fell from favour when he started intriguing with the Ottomans, inviting them to send troops into Shirwān and to Lāhidjān for an attack on Kazwīn, so that in 975/1567 Ṭahmāsp invaded Gīlān and deposed Aḥmad. He was restored nine years later, and was formally adopted as brotherhood (*akhawī*) by Shāhs Ismāʿīl II and Muḥammad Khudābanda. But he continued to have relations with the Ottomans and in 1000/1592 Shāh ʿAbbās came to Lāhidjān, whilst Aḥmad fled to Shirwān and then Istanbul, where he ended his days (cf. Von Hammer, *GOR* ix, 362, 576) All Gīlān was now placed under a centrally-appointed *wazīr*, and after the death of the grantee of the province Farhād Khān in 1008/1600, it became till the end of the Ṣafawid period one of the crown domains (*maḥālli khāṣṣa*), see K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16 und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 23, 44, 85, 87, 93, 105, 122).

Since then, Lāhidjān's history has been only sporadically eventful. Under Shāh Sulaymān I there took place in South Russia the Cossack revolt of

Stepan Razin (1668-71), with raids expected against Persian territory along the Caspian coasts, hence troops were mustered in Riya-pīsh, the *Ghāzīyān-i Sāfī* During the Russian occupation of Gīlān 1136-46/1724 34, the Russians built two forts at Lāhīdjān, and the town was once more under Russian domination during the local Soviet Republic of Gīlān in 1920-1 According to the traveller Gmelin, who was in Gīlān in 1772, Lāhīdjān had seven years previously submitted to Hidāyat Khān of Fūman. Kādjār control was subsequently established there, but the last hereditary governor of Lāhīdjān, Mīrzā Ahmad Khān, Sālār-i Mu'ayyad, was dismissed by the constitutionalist government in 1907.

In recent times, Lāhīdjān has lost most of its administrative importance to Rasht, but still has considerable commercial importance as a centre for the local Gīlān silk and cotton industries and as a centre for citrus fruit growing tea was first introduced into the Caspian region in 1914, and later, Rida Shāh Pahlavī employed Chinese experts to start new plantations near Lāhīdjān in the lower foothills adjoining the coastal plain (see *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, 148, 464)

The antiquities of the town include various graves of the Kar-Kiyā'ī Sayyids Administratively Lāhīdjān is now the centre of a *shahristān* or district of the same name, in the first province of Iran, according to the 1966 census, it had a population of 25,725 and in 5,573 houses (see Razmārā, ed., *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ii, 270-1, and L. W. Adamec, ed., *Historical gazetteer of Iran. i Tehran and Northwestern Iran*, Graz 1976, 410)

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2 Several districts in Persia have however derived from the stems *Lāh* and *Lār* [*q.v.*]: Lāhīdjī, an important little town in Transcaucasia west of Shamākha [see SHIRWĀN], Lāhīdjī, a village in the canton of Kurbāl in the province of Flrs; Lāhīdjān, a canton of Mukrī Kurdistān [see SAWDJBULĀK], which the *Sharaf nāma* of Sharaf al Dīn Bidlīsī, ed Vasīlevīnat -Zernof, St Petersburg 1860-2, i, 220, calls Lārdjān. There is a village of Lāhīdjān near Hīdjī, south of Tabrīz, and a village of Lārdjān south of the Araxes about 12 miles above the mouth of the river of Ardabīl (Kara Su) The forms *Lāh* and *Lar* may both come from **Lazh* (cf. the Old Persian *Māda*, which gave *Māh* in Persian and *Mar kh* in Armenian). According to the dictionaries (e.g. Vullers) the old name of the town of Lār [*q.v.*] was Lād/Lādh the silk called *ladjn* is also known as *lāz* (*lāz* however may equally well be explained by *lāz*). The change of *d* (*dh*) to *r* is attested in the Caspian dialects (it is regular in Tātī Meigunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 221) The fact that we have districts of Lāhīdjān and Lārīdjān in the adjoining provinces of Gīlān and Mazandarān is remarkable, but still more significant is the fact that Lāhīdjī of Shirwān represents an island of Iranian Tāt surrounded by Turks (the Tāt are now found scattered throughout Dāghistān, the country round Tehran, Ādharbāydjān, etc) Their present name has a rather general and vague character, viz tāt. The colony of Lāhīdjī may have retained the original dialect formerly spoken in the metropolis. The name of the silk *lādjīdjī* suggests the former existence of a place called Lād, which produced silk (cf Yākūt, s.v. Lāhīdj), he says that Lāhīdjī produces the silk called "Lāhīdjī" which is not of high quality). With the suffix *-īdj*, the word *Lāh-īdj* would mean the people of Lād". It remains to be seen if the region of Lāhīdjān is not the ancestral home of numerous *Lāhīdjī* colonies At the present day there is spoken in Lāhīdjān—although with certain local peculiarities—the Gīlakī dialect, but this parent dialect has here exercised a levelling influence, of which the foreign Turkish was incapable in the case of the people of Lāhīdjī of Shīrwān As to Lāhīdjān of Kurdistān we may recall the hypothesis of Andreas that the name "Dimla" by which the Zāza call themselves (north of Dyārbakr) is a metathesis of Dīlam (Daylam) The emigrations from Gīlān, still very obscure, certainly penetrated far to the west. Finally, to the names mentioned one might add perhaps that of Kal'a-yi Lāhūdjī in Khūzistān (?), cf. Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, GMS facs , 240 (V. Minorsky)

LĀHIDJĪ, the *nisba* of several eminent persons connected with Lāhīdjān [*q.v.*] in the Caspian region of Persia, among whom the following may be mentioned

1 SHAMS AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. YAHYĀ GĪLĀNĪ, theologian, mystic, and poet of the Timūrid-Safawid period and a renowned *shaykh* of the Nūrbakhshiyya Sūfī order in Shīrāz. He joined his master Sayyid Muhammad Nūrbakhsh in 849/1445, and during a period of 16 years, under Nūrbakhsh's spiritual direction, accomplished considerable progress along the Sūfī path. After the death of Nūrbakhsh (869/1464), or even slightly before then, Lāhīdjī retired to Shīrāz, where he founded a Nūrī (= Nūrbakhshī) *khānakāh* [*q.v.*], and spent much of his time in mystical exercises and teaching Sūfī doctrines During this period of retirement, he was held in great respect not only by scholars such as Dawānī [*q.v.*] and Djāmī [*q.v.*] but also by the Safawid Shāh Ismā'īl I, who paid him a visit at his *khānakāh* in 909/1503 in Shīrāz Nevertheless, the biographical data which we can glean from his own writings are minimal, a six-months' stay in Tabrīz

prior to his master's death, a pilgrimage to Mecca in 884/1477; and a short sojourn in Yemen, where in the course of his way back home from Mecca, he made an investiture of Nūrbakhshī khirḳas to a couple of disciples—a father and son—in Zabīd, for whose he also wrote a concise risāla in Arabic, with traditional Ṣūfī instructions. His death, according to an oft-cited chronogram (= *Mādda ta'rīkh*), occurred in 912/1506. Other dates, including 980/1572 (cited by Pertsch, *Persische Handschriften*, 830) and 869/1464 (H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran Paris 1961, index) are definitely incorrect.

Lāhīdjī's literary output, including his *Dīwān*, with *Asrār* as his pen-name, and a didactic *mathnawī* called *sonde al ghuḥād*, contains a theosophical prose work called *Mafātīḥ al-iʿdjāz* (an extensive commentary on the well-known *Gulshan-i rāz* of Maḥmūd Shabustarī [*q.v.*]), together with a number of shorter tracts with comments on the difficult verses of some old poets. His own poetry, although of considerable theosophical value, is of rather mediocre literary quality. His son Fidāʾī ʿAlī Lāhīdjī (d. 927/1521), better known as Shaykhzāda, was also a poet and reportedly a Nūrbakhshī *shaykh* as well.

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2. ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. ʿALĪ B. HUSAYN GĪLĀNĪ, theologian, philosopher and poet of the late Ṣafawid period and a leading master of the so-called philosophical school of Iṣfahān. Although a favourite pupil and a son-in-law of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, he did not share his master's philosophical teachings over several topics. Among these one may mention Mullā Ṣadrā's belief in the movement of substances (= *al-ḥarakat al-ǧawhariyya*) and his opinion on the basicality of being (= *aṣālat al-wudjūd*). Lāhīdjī spent the latter part of his life in Kumm, where he died in 1072/1661, leaving behind him a considerable literary output. His own philosophy was of a rather eclectic character, owing much to Ibn Sīnā's and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's thought. His works include the *Ḥashiya-yi Kitāb-i Ishārāt*, being glosses upon Ṭūsī's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, and the *Sharḥ-i Risāla al-ilhām*, a concise but original commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳāʾid*. He wrote also a commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-nūr*, along with other theological works. Among these are two Persian books dealing with the elements of Shīʿī theology: the *Gawhar-i murād*, which he dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās II ca. 1052/1642, and *Sarmāyē-yi īmān* which he composed in 1058/1648 at the request of a friend. Lāhīdjī's poetical pen name was Fayyāḍ, under which he composed a *dīwān* of no less than 5,000 verses. He is said to have had personal connections with contemporary poets, such as Ṣaʾib-i Tabrīzī and others. His own poetry contains gnostic ideas, though Lāhīdjī had no sympathy for the Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of his time. Although equally criticised by some fanatical *ʿulamāʾ* of his epoch, Lāhīdjī has been considered to in general more acceptable to orthodox Shīʿism than his teacher Mullā Ṣadrā was. Lāhīdjī's sons Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and Mīrzā Ḥasan were also theologians of some repute. The latter, who died in 1121/1709, left behind on less than twelve books on theological problems.

Bibliography. later authors have sometimes confused Shams al-Dīn Lāhīdjī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī, so that they have called the commentator of the *Gulshan-i rāz* ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (see e.g. E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 146), or Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, which is but a forged name (see Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 56) Concerning the philosophical school of Iṣfahān, see Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iv, Paris-Teheran 1972, 5 ff., A. Bausani, *La Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 386 ff., S. H. Nasr, in M. Sharīf's *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 1966, ii, 904 ff. For an analysis of the philosophical teachings of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ-i Lāhīdjī, see S. Dj. Ashtiyānī's *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens, textes persanes et arabes*, Introduction analytique par H. Corbin, Teheran-Paris 1972, i, index. For his life and works, see Brockelmann, II, 590; C. Rieu, *Cat. of Persian manuscripts, Suppl.*, 205-6, Browne, *LHP*, iv, 408-9, 435, Mudarris-i Khiyābānī, *op. cit.*, iv, 361-3.

(A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

LAḤN AL-ʿĀMMA, 'errors of language made by the common people', is an expression which characterises a branch of lexicography designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists. The treatises which could be classed under this heading, correspond, broadly speaking, to our 'do not say ... but say ...', the incorrect form generally being introduced by "you say" or "they say — one says" (*taḳūl, yaḳūlūn*) and the correct form by an *'l-ṣawāb, ..'* whereas the norm is ...", they are most often intitled *Kitāb Laḥn al-ʿāmma* or *Kitāb mā yaḥtamiluhum fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* but may also be *Kitāb mā taghlaṭ fīhi 'l-ʿāmma*, *Kitāb ghalaṭāt al-muḥdathīn*, *Kitāb Taḥḥīf al-ʿawāmm*, etc., although this range of titles does not necessarily imply a significant difference in the manner of presentation of linguistic facts on a particular method of choosing the material to be considered These works give evidence of the development of current usage and can to a certain extent, serve as a means of tracing the history of the language, especially from the time that a standardisation of the *ʿarabiyya* [*q.v.*] came into operation through the efforts of the philologists.

Under the heading AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-ʿĀMMA, reference has been made to the *ʿumma* of the grammarians, without any attempt to define it and determine its limits. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, who has considered this point (in *RIMA*, Ilīt (1376/1956), 133 ff.), relies quite rightly on a passage of al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 137) who writes "When you hear me speak of the *ʿawāmm*, I do not refer to the peasants, the lower orders, the artisans and the tradesmen, nor the Kurds of the mountains or those who dwell on the islands in the sea... the *ʿawāmm* who belong to our nation and our religious community and possess our culture and morals constitute a class endowed with intelligence and qualities superior to those categories cited above, without however attaining the level of our *khāṣṣa*. It should be noted, in addition that the *khāṣṣa* is also divided into hierarchical strata'. It will be seen from this passage that al-Djāḥiẓ without making a decisive contribu-

tion to the problem posed by the definition of the *khāṣṣa* and of the *ʿāmma*, excludes from the latter, from a linguistic point of view at least, the lower orders of society and the foreign elements whose language was not regarded as belonging to the *ʿarabiyya*, as strictly defined, and he includes among the *muḥdathūn* a medium social class who, at a time when literary Arabic and dialectal Arabic, as we call them, had not been irretrievably divorced, were expressing themselves in a language which was already less formal, but still fairly close to that of the *khāṣṣa*, of the intellectual élite, or the upper echelons of the latter, theoretically guardians of the norm of the past, of the innate and spontaneously expected *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*].

Al-Zubaydī provides a number of definitions in this context when he writes in the introduction to his *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* (cf. of Ahwānī, *art cit*, 133, G. Krotkoff, *The "Laḥn al-ʿawāmm" of Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī*, in *Bull of the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad*, ii [1957], 6-7). "I have examined the language employed in our time and in our land (Muslim Spain) and here I have found phrases which are cited neither by Abū Ḥātim (al-Sidjistānī see below) nor by other lexicographers, it is a question of alterations, owed to one *ʿāmma*, which has modified the pronunciation (of certain words) so adapted the meaning, and has been followed in this practice by a great many people, to the point where these incorrect usages have infiltrated into the works of poets, and the most eminent scribes and functionaries include them in their correspondence and make use of depraved expressions in their conversations. I have therefore decided it appropriate to draw attention, in my turn, to these faults, to indicate the correct form which corresponds and to devote a book to the inaccuracies which I have observed .. while leaving aside those that are committed by the mass of the people. and concentrating on those which one may expect to find in the language of the *khāṣṣa*." His treatise is however intitled *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, and one gains the distinct impression that this last term, or its singular *ʿāmm*, in the titles considered in this connection, is pure euphemism designed to disguise the truth and spare the feelings of the *khāṣṣa*, while laying the responsibility for linguistic deviations upon the latter. In fact, if he was referring to the uneducated people of whom al-Djāḥiẓ speaks, the works which belong to this genre would be descriptions of dialects, of the type which are known today as *ʿāmmī* or *ʿāmmiyya*, now this is far from being the case, even if dialectal forms did infiltrate the usage of the scholars who constituted a faction of the *khāṣṣa*. Furthermore authors are well aware that their works will not be read by "the man in the street" and it is not a part of their objective to induce illiterates totally separated from their roots, or, which is more to the point, arabophones of foreign origin, to express themselves like the Arabs of the Djāhiḥyya who merit the qualifying adjective of *faṣīḥ*. In reality, all the treatises of which we shall attempt a fully inventory in due course address themselves to a fairly closely-defined *khāṣṣa* whose practices are in need of correction, and al-Ḥarīrī is one of the few authors who has the courage to break with tradition and tell the truth, when he intitles his book *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ* (*s*).

In this case, *awhām*, elsewhere *khaṭaʾ*, *ghalaṭ*, *ghalaṭāt* or *zallāt*—"errors, faults, lapses"—are often substituted, in the titles of treatises, for *laḥn*, which is the time-honoured term. This technical expression has been the object of a vigorous semantic study on the part of J. Fück, in an appendix to his history of the Arabic language, *ʿArabiyya* (Berlin 1950, 128 35; Fr tr. Cl Denizeau, Paris 1955, 195-205). Apart from its ancient connotations such as "word with double meaning, obscure allusion", "intelligense" etc., between which a subtle line of association may be traced, *laḥn* also appears to have signified, originally, "manner of speaking", "use of a word or pronunciation of a phonem peculiar to an individual or an ethnic group", in such a way that it could be considered an equivalent of the word *lugha*, adopted by the grammarians to take on the technical meaning of "dialectical or regional variation". These peculiarities were not, in themselves, reprehensible, but they were observed and sometimes derided by Arabs who, rightly or wrongly, stimulated by a spirit of purism and regarding themselves as defenders of the *faṣāḥa*, judged them contrary to their instinctive conception of the norm. *Laḥn* was not blow, however, with the establishment of normative grammar, to be applied to any deviation with regard to the rule and, in the first instance, to the abandonment of the *iʿrāb* [*q.v.*], of which an illustration or a relic may be perceived in the use of the word *mulḥin* [*q.v.*] to designate a form of popular poetry. It is thus that *laḥn* taken on the sense of "deed of committing faults of language", then of "perverted use (solecism, barbarism, malapropism, etc.)" to opposed to idiomatic usage and simple regionalism. Having become a synonym of *khaṭaʾ*, it is with this meaning that it figures twice to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (i, 262, 349, see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayh*, Paris 1976, 188) In the following century the use of the term in this precise sense had become so widespread that al-Djāḥiẓ himself, commenting on a verse to which *laḥn* signified "word with double meaning, obscure allusion", spontaneously, but erroneously, gave it the meaning of "fault" (see Fück, *op laud*, 131-2; Fr tr, 200-1; Pellat in *Arabica*, xxi/2 [1974], 183-4)

The norm to which reference has been made above is nothing more than an ideal to which the various grammatical schools are at pains to pay attention in their application of criteria which sometimes lead to contradictory results. In addition to differences in viewpoint there is no shortage of regional peculiarities, as is to be expected in a region as vast as the Arabic-speaking world, which serve to explain both the relative abundance of works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* and the divergent tendencies of which they are sometimes the expression.

In the course of the last hundred years, more or less detailed inventories of these works have been compiled, completed, and corrected by both Eastern and Western scholars who have taken a particular interest in this branch of philological study. The earliest is that of H Thorbecke who, in his introduction to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al Ḥarīrī (Leipzig 1871, 7 12) supplied a preliminary list which was soon to be enlarged by I Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, xxvii [1873], 153 6), a few years later, the latter devoted an article to the question, *Zur Literaturgeschichte des Chaṣṣ al-ʿāmm* (in *ZDMG*, xxxv [1881], 147-52). In publishing his catalogue of the Arabic mss. of Berlin (vi, 1894, 319), Ahlwardt was to put a considerable store of useful information at the disposal of Arabist scholars. Although two books on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* were written during the subsequent period, a gap of some forty years elapsed before the appearance of a new inventory, this time

in Arabic, compiled by ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf (*al-Lahaǧāt al-ʿarabiyya*, in the *Maǧalla* of the Academy of Cairo, i [1935], 350-68 and iii, 349-71). The following year, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūḫī was to put forward, in the introduction to his edition of the *Takmila* of al-Ṣaġānī (in *MMIA*, xiv [1936], 169-226) a brief list, later to be completed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al Munaǧǧid (in *MMIA*, xvi [1941] 287), Kurkīs ʿAwwād (*ibid*, xvii [1942], 282) and ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Maghribī (*ibid*, xxv [1950], 472-7). In 1953, the IFAO of Cairo published the anonymous *Ḏamīma*, preceded by an introduction by the editor, H. H ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and containing a list of Maghribī treatises. The most complete inventory is that with which U. Rizzitano prefaced his analysis of the *Taṯqīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī (*Studia et documenta orientalia*, 5, Centro di studi orientali della Custodia Francescana di Terra Santa, Cairo 1956); this work, which has lost none of its value, will be extensively utilised in the present article. In the same year, there appeared in Cairo a thesis presented in 1953 by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿǧam al-ʿarabī*, which also contains (96-115) a rather muddled list. The history of research on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* up to the year 1957 has been traced by G. Krotkoff (*op. laud.*), who also corrects and supplements Rizzitano on points of detail. Apart from the editions to which attention will be drawn in due course, the most recent works on this subject are those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Aḥwānī (in *RIMA*, iii/1 2 [1376-7/1957], 133-7, 285-321), of Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (*Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1961 and *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa ʾl-taṭawwur al-luġawī*, Cairo 1967) and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (*Laḥn al-ʿāmma fī ḍawʾ al-dirāsāt al-luġawiyya al-ḥadīṯa*, Cairo 1967), the studies of these three last-mentioned authors are based on the partial or complete editions which they had procured.

The earliest treatise dealing with the genre studied here could well be the *Kitāb mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿawāmm* (or *Risāla fī laḥn al-ʿāmma*) attributed to al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805 [*q.v.*]) and published by C. Brockelmann (in *ZA*, xiii, 31-46, cf. Nöldeke, *ibid*, 111 *n.*5), later by al-Maymunī (in *Ṯalaṯ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1344/1908); this work comprises 102 entries in which the correct form is introduced by *taḳūl*—' you shall say . ' and the incorrect form by *lā taḳūl* 'you shall not say . . . ' (see also Brockelmann, I, 115, S I, 178; Rizzitano, no. 18); the two editors, faced with the question of the legitimacy of the attribution of the text to al-Kisāʾī, finally decided in favour of its authenticity, but Fück (*ʿArabiya* 50-1, Fr. tr. 77) has cast serious doubt on the issue; since Rizzitano indicates (no. 41) that *al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiya li ʾl-Kisāʾī wa ʾl-ʿāmma* by a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAlāʾī al-Ḥanafī is a presentation in alphabetical order of the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* of al-Kisāʾī, this fact would seem to be an argument in favour of authenticity (cf. Krotkoff, 18, n. 13).

In the list of the writings of al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]), there figures a *Kitāb* (al-*Bāhiʾ fī*)*-mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma*, now apparently lost (see Ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo ed., 100; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 278 = *Udabāʾ*, xx, 13; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357; al-Suyūṭī, *Buġya*, 412, Rizzitano, no. 4), Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 229) compares it with the *Faṣīḥ* of Thaʿlab (see below). In keeping with the chronological order of the authors, by dates of death, it is appropriate to mention next Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/825) [*q.v.*]), who is also credited with a *K. mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 80; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 169 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 181, *Buġya*, 395; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357, Rizzitano, no. 1) which has not been preserved. The same applies to an article by his compatriot al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]) bearing the same title and mentioned notably by Ibn Yaʿīsh (*Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Leipzig 1882-6 i, 8), Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (*Fahrasa*, 375), Ibn al-Ḏjawzī (*Taḥḏīr al-khāṣṣ*, 97, (75) and Rizzitano (no. 2) but omitted, perhaps inadvertently, from the lists of works of this prolific philologist. Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838 [*q.v.*]) is said to be the author, according to the *LA* (root *ḫ r n*), of a *K. mā khālafat fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma lughāt al-ʿArab* (cf. Rizzitano, no. 3). The *K. mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* of al-Bāhilī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]) has not yet been recovered (see Ibn ʾl-Nadīm, 83, al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 36, *Buġya*, 130, Rizzitano, no. 10).

A different title, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (ed. Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo 1949, 1956; cf. *Orients*, iii [1950], 325 ff., Krotkoff, 13), was chosen by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858 [*q.v.*]) to deal with the same subject. Al-Māzinī (d. 249/863 [*q.v.*]) reverted to the traditional title (Ibn al-Nadīm, 85; al-Anbārī *Nuzha*, ed. ʿAmir, 142, *Inbāh* i, 246, *Irshād*, ii, 388 = *Udabāʾ*, vii, 122, Ibn Makkī, *Taṯḳīf*, 265, *Buġya*, 202-3, Rizzitano, no. 6) but his treatise is lost. The same fate has befallen that of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), also intitled *Mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* (al-Ṣūlī, *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, introd., Ibn al-Nadīm, 87; *Inbāh*, ii, 62, Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 348, *Buġya*, 265, Brockelmann, S I, 167, Yāḳūt *Irshād*, iii, 87 = *Udabāʾ*, vi, 265, Rizzitano, no. 7).

It was no doubt a particular category of the intellectual *khāṣṣa* which came under attack from ʿUmar b. Shabba (d. 262/877 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-Nahy wa-man kāna yaḥḥan min al-naḥwiyyīn* (*Irshād*, vi, 49 = *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 61, *Buġya*, 361, Rizzitano, no. 7A), to judge by the title adopted, this work must certainly have covered a less extensive span than those mentioned so far, since the author was apparently obliged to draw attention to individual faults committed, in conversations and lectures, by certain grammarians identified by name in order to chastise them for the bad example that they were setting, not with the object of illustrating the evolution of the language and certainly not to justify a certain degree of informality and abandonment of the *ʿarabī*, as was done by his contemporary al-Ǧāḥiẓ. In imitation of the latter, even an individual as conservative as Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889 [*q.v.*]) went on record as arguing "in favour of the introduction of the spoken, or more exactly, vulgarising style into the written language, when the context requires that the expression be enlivened or embellished" (G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 435), it is nevertheless true that this author, in the chapter intitled *Taḳwīm al-lisān* of his *Adab al-kātib*, also takes his place among the ranks of the defenders of the purity of the *ʿarabiyya*. His contemporary Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. ca. 281/893, see AL DĪNAWARĪ) follows the now well established tradition in writing a *K. Laḥn al-ʿāmma* or *mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 116, *Inbāh*, i, 42, *Irshād*, i, 227 = *Udabāʾ*, ii, 32, *Buġya*, 132, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 358; Rizzitano, no. 8) as well as, according to al-Suyūṭī, an *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (which is perhaps none other than the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*).

To Thaʿlab (d. 291/904 [*q.v.*]) there is attributed a *K. mā yaltaḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* (*Inbāh*, i, 150, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 357, Rizzitano, no. 9), but this title must apply, as is suggested by Krotkoff (*op. laud.*, 12 n. 13, n. 15), to the well-known *Faṣīḥ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, Cairo 1949), which is

concerned with the genre being studied here; this work, with its object of establishing the norm, has given rise to a series of commentaries and supplements such as the *Fāʾit al Faṣīḥ* of Ghulām Thaʿlab [d. 345/957 [q.v.]], the *Tamdīm Faṣīḥ al-Aalāmī* of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [q.v.]) edited by A. J. Arberry, London 1951, the *Dhayl Faṣīḥ al-Aalāmī* of al-Ghaznawī (d. 442/1050), the *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1182 [q.v. in Suppl.]), the *Dhayl Faṣīḥ Thaʿlab* of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231 [q.v.]) edited with the *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ* of al-Harawī, etc. (see Brockelmann, S I, 181).

Abū ʾl-Maydhānī (d. after 300/913) is likewise credited with a *K. mā talḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 122; *Irshād*, vi, 209 = *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 91; *Bughya*, 382, Ḥājjī Khalīfa, v, 357, Rizzitano, no. 3) Ibn Durayd (d. 321/934 [q.v.]) wrote a *Taḥwīn al-laḥn*, composed in imitation of Ibn Kutayba and left incomplete (*Irshād*, vi, 89 = *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 136), but his *K. al Maidhan* (Brockelmann, I, 111, S I, 173; Rizzitano, no. 19) is not to be taken into account in this context, since it deals with words of double meaning and not with errors (cf. Krotkoff, 13, n. 15).

As Krotkoff (14) quite correctly points out, reference to mistakes is made in a vast number of works, so that it is difficult to select those which belong to the category of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* without bearing this specific title or one of the equivalents so far encountered. As far as it is possible to judge, the preceding treatises are concerned essentially with oral usage and its more or less accidental repercussions as they affect the written language, but it is legitimate to include in the present taxonomy works which draw attention to faults of orthography and errors of transmission or reading which threaten to be repeated on a lasting basis and to damage the integrity of the *ʿarabiyya*; after all, authors whose object is undoubtedly to correct what they call the *laḥn al ʿāmma* do not neglect to devote a chapter to *taṣḥīf* and to *taḥrīf* [q.v.], and it will be noted that even Ibn Makkī puts the *bāb al taṣḥīf* at the head of his book. It will therefore be appropriate to mention here *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al taṣḥīf* (ed A. Talas, Damascus 1968) of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 350/961 [q.v.]), which deals largely with erroneously transmitted verses (cf. Brockelmann, I, 143, S I, 221; Rizzitano, no. 20) and *al Tanbīhāt ʿalā aghlāṭ/aghlāt al ruwāt* of Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Baṣrī (d. 375/985), which deals with errors and inaccuracies of one stratum of the intellectual *khāṣṣa* (on the mss., see Brockelmann, S I, 176-7). Also belonging to the same category are the *K. al-Taṣḥīf/al-Taṣḥīf wa ʾl-taḥrīf* of al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385/995 [q.v.]), mentioned by Krotkoff (14), and the *Sharḥ mā yaḥa fīhi ʾl-taṣḥīf wa ʾl-taḥrīf* (ed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Aḥmad, Cairo 1963) of Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī (d. 382/993, see AL-ʿASKARĪ), where there see studies of words whose similar *dasms* leads to errors of reading and pronunciation among the *khāṣṣa* as well as among the *ʿāmma*. Also deserving mention perhaps is the *Istidrāk al-ghalaṭ* of al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989 [q.v.]) which corrects the errors of the *K. al ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl (ed. Guidi, in *Mem Acc Lincei*, vi [1890], 414-57).

We return to the subject as such with the *K. Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* or *K. mā yalḥan fīhi ʿawāmm al-Andalus* of the same Zubaydī, this work has been analysed by G Krotkoff (*op. laud.*) before being published successively by K. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (Cairo 1963) and ʿAbd al ʿAzīz Maṭar (Cairo 1966, with the *Taḥwīn al laḥn* of Ibn al Djawālīḳī and the *Taṯḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī; see below); for the first time, we encounter an Andalusian author who observes curiously that Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (see above) has found in the Orient faults which are not committed by his compatriots, but he adds that the latter are not immune to inaccuracies, it will be noted that another Andalusian, Ibn Hishām, does not hesitate to criticise his predecessor.

Abū Hilāl al ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005, see AL-ʿASKARĪ) is credited, for his part, with a *Laḥn al-khāṣṣa* (*Bughya*, 221) which is mentioned several times by Ibn al Djawzī, but which has not survived. We do however have the *K. Taṯḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-djanān* of Ibn Makkī (d. 501/1108 [q.v.]) first analysed by U Rizzitano (*op. laud.*), then edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar (Cairo 1966 see above) This Sicilian author, who was *faḳīh* of Tunis, makes statements analogous to those of al-Zubaydī with reference to the Orient and the Maghrib, and he takes up arms against the degradation of the *ʿarabiyya* which has become so accentuated that people *who express themselves correctly are subjected to* ridicule; in his opinion, even the few individuals who respect the norm when they read and write cannot resist using the informal language of the common people, that is, dialectal Arabic, in their speech.

The *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ* of al Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [q.v.]) may be considered the most eminent work of this category (ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1871 and several *oriental* editions; numerous commentaries, see Brockelmann, I, 277, S I 488)

Salāma b. Ghassāḍ al-Ḥalabī/ḳī (d. 533/1138) is the author of a *K. mā talḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* which is now lost (*Irshād*, iv, 246 = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 234, *Bughya* 259, Rizzitano, no. 11). Besides the celebrated *Muʿarrab*, al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1144 [q.v.]) wrote a *K. al-Takmila fī-mā yalḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma* published by H. Derenbourg (in *Beitschrift Hirschfeld*, Leipzig 1875, 107-66, under the title *K. Khaṭaʾ al-ʿawāmm*), then by ʿIzz al Dīn al-Tanūkhī (in *MMIA*, xiv [1936], 163-226 under the title *Takmilat mā istadrakahu al taghlabī fīhi ʿalā ʿāmmat*), this is a supplement to the *Durrat al ghawwāṣ* of al Ḥarīrī (see introd. of Tanūkhī, 167-8) which al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 401, cf. Rizzitano, nos. 24) entitles in fact *Takmmat Durrat al ghawwāṣ*, also citing a *Mā talḥan fīhi ʾl-ʿāmma*, which must be the same work. Besides the commentaries and supplements to which reference has been made above, the treatise of al Ḥarīrī gave rise to several refutations, among which that of Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567/1171), the *Radd ʿalā Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* (*Bughya*, 276-7), is preserved in the Dār al-Kutub (*Madjāmīʿ*, 198). Al-Djawālīḳī (*Takmila*, ed. Tanūkhī, 167) mentions *al-Laḥn al khafī* of Hishām b Aḥmad al-Halabī (d. 577/1182) also noted by al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 405 cf Rizzitano, no 13).

Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 577/1182 [q.v. in Suppl.]) revises the *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* of al-Zubaydī and the *Taṯḳīf al-lisān* of Ibn Makkī in searching out the ancient attestations of terms rejected by these authors and also corrects faults current in Spain in a work in two parts intitled *al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-Zubaydī fī laḥn al-ʿawāmm* and *al Mudkhal ilā taḳwīm al lisān*, ʿAbd al ʿAzīz al Ahwānī has extracted from it and published in the *Mélanges Taha Hussayn* (Cairo 1962, 273-94) the chapter on popular proverbs drawn from more or less corrupt classical verses, and he has also devoted to this author two articles inserted in *RIMA*, iii/1-2 (1376-7/1957) On the problems posed by the revision of this

treatise and the successive summaries which have been made of it, see below and Ibn Hishām in the Suppl., in addition, al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 20) cites a *Sharḥ al Faṣīḥ* (of Thaʿlabī by the same author, considered to be of high quality.

Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187 [*q.v.*]) takes issue, in his turn, with the *fukahā*', but not without taking precautions since he entitles his article *K. Ghalaṭ Aghlāṭ al-fuṣaḥāʾ mina ʾl-fukahāʾ* (ed. C. C. Torrey, in *Oriental Studies ... Th. Nöldeke*, Giessen 1906, 211-24). The *K. Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm* of Ibn al-Djawālīqī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), published by Muṭahhar (*Taʿwīm al-lisān*; see above) is mentioned under a variety of titles.

Nothing is known of *al-Tashrīf wa ʾl-taḥrīf* (Krotkoff, 14) of al-Balāṭī (d. 599/1202 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), nor do we have any information on the refutation of Ibn Makkī by Ibn al-Aḥḍābī (7th/13th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *al-Radd ʿalā Taṣḥīf al-lisān*, mentioned in the introduction by H. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to his edition of the *Durrāma* and in that by Ḥasan Ḥasan to that of the *al-Azmina wa ʾl-amkina* (Damascus 1964, 22) by the Tripolitanian philologist (see also Rizzitano, no. 14).

Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Sakūnī al-Ishbīlī (8th/14th century) is the author of a *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm fīmā yaḍiluʿalayhi lisānuhum al-laḥn* (*Durrāma*, p. 56[9], n. 9, Brockelmann, II, 259, Rizzitano no. 30), but this work deals with Ashʿarism and not with errors of language properly speaking (see J. D. Latham, *The content of the* Laḥn al-ʿawāmm *of Abū ʿAlī* ..., in *Actas del primer Cong. de Estudios Árabes e Islamicos*, Madrid 1964, 293-307, it has been published by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zamāma in *Revue des manuscrits arabes*, xvii/2 (1971), 239-76 and by S. Ghrāb, in *Hawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xii, (1975), 111-235). The father in the editor of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim Ibn Djuzayy (d. 741/1340), left a *K. al-Fawāʾid al-ʿāmma fī laḥn al-ʿāmma* (see *Durrāma*, p. 4, n. 6; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, viii, 29; Rizzitano, no. 13). By another Andalusian, Ibn Hānīʾ al-Lakhmī (d. 733/1332), the *Irshād al dawābiṭ wa ʾl-qawāʿid al samāwī* is a revision of the work of Ibn Hishām al Lakhmī (see above).

Ṣafī al-Dīn al Ḥillī (d. 749/1348 [*q.v.*]) is the author of an article intitled *Aghlāṭ*, of which one ms. has survived (Derenbourg, *Mss arabes de l'Escurial*, 76, no. 225, cf. Brockelmann, II, 296), but it is unclear whether it fits into the category which concerns us (cf. Rizzitano, no. 31).

The *Tanbīh al-tashīf wa-taḥrīr al-taṣḥīf* of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) is a criticism and a resumé of nine previous works (of al-Ḥarīrī, al-Djawālīḳī, Ibn Makkī, al-Zubaydī, Ibn al-Djawzī, in particular; see Rizzitano, no. 32), a ms. of it exists in the Dār al-Kutub (37 *lugha*) and it has been the object of an analysis by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (*K. Tanbīh al-tashīf li l-Ṣafadī al-Ṣafadī*, in *MMI* 4, xxv [1950], 471-7, see also al-Ahwānī, in *RIM* 4, 1957/1, 233, *n.* 2).

Ibn Khātima (d. 770/1369 [*q.v.*]) restricts himself to a summary, in the *Īrād al-laʾālī fī tanḳīḥ al-dawābiṭ* of the work done by Ibn Hānīʾ al-Lakhmī on the *Taʿwīm al-lisān* of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī, and his, already much less further edited, anonymously, into the form of a brief article published by G. S. Colin (in *Hesperis*, xii [1931], 1-32). Another unknown western scholar of the 9th-10th/15th-16th century has left a treatise with the revealing title *al-Durrāma fī izālat al-rutuma* which has been edited by H. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*PIFAO*, Cairo, in, 1953).

The prolific Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) was not a man likely to omit a contribution to the genre, and there remains in Istanbul (see Rizzitano, no. 34) a ms. of his *Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*. The same title was given to the Turkish translation [*Tardjama-i Ghalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*] of *al-Taṣḥīf ʿalā ghalaṭ al-khāṣṣ* (or *al-djahl*) see *ʾl-nabāt* by Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1533, see KEMAL PAŠA ZĀDE), which concerned Arabic words distorted or badly pronounced mainly by the Turks (see also GHALAṬĀT-I MESHHŪRE), the Arabic text of the *Tanbīh* has been published by K. ʿA. al-ʿUbaydī, in *al-Mawrid*, ix/4 (1401/1981), 552-98.

Radī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563) seems to a certain extent to take the opposite view from that of previous authors in his *ʿIlal al-khalāṣ fī nabḏ laḥn al-khawāṣṣ*(s) of which one manuscript exists in Istanbul (Rizzitano, no. 3) and his *Bahr al ʿawāṣim fī mā aṣāba fīhi ʾl-ʿāmm*(*m*) (ed. Tanūkhī, in *Al-MIA*, xv, 83-139, 165-215). Khurraw-ʿalī (d. 998/1590) summarises al-Farāʾ, al-Ajnaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Sidjistānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn Kutayba, Thaʿlab, al-ʿAskarī, etc., in his *Ghalaṭāt al ʿawāmm* (ms. in Istanbul; see Rizzitano, no. 38) and corrects some linguistic errors in his *Tanbīh al-anām fī tanḳīḥ al-kalām* (ms. in Berlin, see Brockelmann, II, 423, Rizzitano, no. 39).

Whereas al-Djawālīḳī confines himself, in his *Muʿarrab*, to considering words borrowed from Arabic, al Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) gives, in his *Shifāʾ al ghalīl fī mā fī kalām al ʿArab mina ʾl-dakhīl*, numerous examples of commonly-committed errors.

Rizzitano further mentions (nos. 43-5) some anonymous *Saḳaṭāt al-ʿawāmm*, equally anonymous *Aghlāṭ al-ʿawāmm wa ʾl-khawāṣṣ* (ms. in Istanbul) and *al Tanbīh ʿalā ʾl laḥn al-djalī wa ʾl khafī* by Abū ʾl Ḥasan al-Rīāḥ (various mss.; on the difference between *laḥn djalī* and *laḥn khafī*, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, iv, 1308).

The attitude of the authors cited above is by no means homogeneous. Some of them show an excessive purism and lay down the law without reservation, whereas others take a more liberal line, accept variations and are content to define the form which they consider the most correct in terms of the *faṣīḥa*, the latter applies, in particular, to the work of Thaʿlab, in his *Faṣīḥ*. The study of those treatises that have survived enables us to make a few general remarks.

In the first place, as has been stressed above, the philologists are not concerned with purely dialectal usage, which they regard as an adaptation of the *ʿarabiyya*, or the perfect form of Arabic, and not at all as a survival and evolution of ancient speech patterns influenced by the mixture of ethnic elements as well as by the language formerly spoken in that territory and the language of neighbouring areas. It is therefore quite interesting to see for example an Ibn Hishām going in search, *to justify* usages considered erroneous, of attestations of terms rejected by his predecessors with regard to the criterion of the *faṣīḥa* but alive and well in the ancient Arabic dialects. The faults to which attention is drawn in the works in question do not however apply exclusively to elements of vocabulary, and usages which transgress the norm can be classified in five main categories: 1. The most common applies to phonetics (incorrect vocalisation; lengthening of a vowel; alteration of a consonant by lengthening; emphasis, disemphasis, sonorisation, deadening, etc.; metathesis, reduction of a diphthong, etc.). 2. Morphology gives rise to remarks on, for example,

the first person singular of the imperfective in *n-*, but does not figure significantly. 3. The same applies to syntax. 4. Orthography, especially of the *hamza*, is the object of a few observations. 5. But it is most of all vocabulary which interests these authors (shifts of meaning, neologisms and borrowings which are regarded as superfluous because a proper Arabic term exists, excessive use of dialectal forms, etc.).

The mediaeval authors of treatises of *laḥn al-ʿāmma* have in the present day some worthy successors, of whom there will be found in the introduction by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn S. al-Za'balawī to his work entitled *Aḥādīth fī 'l-luġa wa 'l-dawārīn* (Damascus 1358/1939, 3 6-9) a critical list, which may be enlarged by a study of the reviews of the various Arab Academies and of publications concerned with the language. Using criteria similar to those of their mediaeval predecessors, these authors are at pains to correct errors current in the press, in administration and in literature, we shall confine ourselves to mentioning Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906), *Lughat al-djarā'id* (Cairo 1319/1901, As'ad Khalīl Dāghir, *Tadhkirat al-kuttāb* (Cairo 1933), al-Za'balawī (see above), and Muṣṭafā al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945) who, in his *Daf' al-hidjna fī 'l-radd ʿalā laḥna*, draws attention to deviations from Arabic caused by the Turkish domination.

To judge by the way that the language has been degraded, works of *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, whether ancient or modern, do not seem to have born fruit, and the efforts of the purists continue to be vain in confrontation with the development of the written and oral usage of so-called "literary" Arabic, which hardly allows interested parties the time to polish their language, even assuming that they are capable of doing so. In addition, it may be asserted that there is a tendency to put into practice the old adage *li kull makām makāl* and to consider that the *fuṣḥā* to which one refers is not intangible and that it has the right to evolve it (on this subject see R. Ḥamzāwī, *al-Faṣīḥa yaṣṭāḥ*, in *al-ʿarabiyya murūnatu-hā al-faṣīḥa* (*sic*), in *Hawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnusiyya*, xvi [1978], 45-63).

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(Ch. Pellat)

LAHNDĀ, meaning "west" in Pandjābī, was first given wide currency as a linguistic term by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India*. Following this authority, the name is often applied to the Indo-Aryan dialects of the western Panḏjāb (Pākistān), as opposed to the Panmjālī [q.v.] of the central and eastern districts. The more natural feminine "Lahndī" is now general in South Asian scholarly usage, but neither form has ever achieved popular local currency.

1. Status and dialects. Grierson distinguished the dialects of the western Panḏjāb as belonging to a "Lahndā language" (L.), regarded by him as a pure example of his conservative "Outer Circle" group, from the immediately neighbouring dialects he assigned to Panḏjābī proper (P.) described as a member of his innovating "Central Group", which had come to overlay territory formerly occupied by L., although still retaining several L. features. Both the failure of Grierson's division of Indo-Aryan into "Outer" and "Central" groups to find much later support and the absence of any cohesive local consciousness of linguistic unity suggest that L. is to be regarded less as a language than as a convenient linguistic label for a group of dialects. In the latter sense, L. may be quite properly be distinguished from P. on the basis of such features as the conservative retention of many irregular past participles, the extensive use of pronominal suffixes with verbs (suggesting a parallel with the immediately neighbouring Iranian languages), the presence of a distinctive form of the past substantive verb (L. *āhā, hā* "was", P. *sī*), the non-peripheratic formation of the passive (L *suṇī-* "be heard", P *suṇīdā fa*), or the sigmatic formation of the future (L. *suṇsā* "he will hear", P *suṇīgā*), many basic lexical items may also be collectively distinguished as in the common verbal stems L. *ghinn-* 'take', *thī-* "become", *wanj-* 'go' (< Sanskrit *gṛhṇāti, sthāyate, *vrajyate*), for P. *lai-, ho-, ja-* (< *labhaī, bhavati, yāti*). The recognition of such differences should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that the many similarities between L. and P. make them closer to one another than either are to their immediate neighbours, respectively Sindhī and western Hindī.

Grierson's internal division of L. into dialect-groups, based as it was on data of very uneven quality, has been rightly criticised (see bibliography). While much detailed work still needs to be done, at least four such groups probably need to be distinguished.

The main group is that which covers the south-western Panḏjāb on either bank of the Indus below the Salt Range, including Multān and Bahāwalpūr, also the districts of Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān and Dēra Ghāzī Khān. Apparently as the result of earlier Baloč migrations from the latter areas, it is also widely spoken in eastern Balōčistān and upper Sind. In Sind it is called Sirāikī (< Sindhī *siro* "up-river, north"), and this term has recently come to be generally current in the Panḏjāb also, replacing such local terms as "Multānī", etc. The absence of separate enumeration of the censuses and the settlement of large numbers of P.-speaking Muslim refugees from India since 1947 in the area makes the number of Sirāikī speakers impossible to estimate accurately, though a figure of 15 to 20 million is often suggested. Both the number of speakers and the fact that Sirāikī (Sir.) is the only variety of L. to have been seriously cultivated as a vehicle for literature (see § 3. below) go some way to support its claim to be considered a separate language. Linguistically, Sir. is the variety of L. most distinct from P., as may be most clearly illustrated from typical phonological features. Middle Indo-Aryan initial and medial geminate voiced unaspirates are retained as such in P. and other varieties of L., but become implosive in Sir., as in Sindhī, and are in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives (often as a result of Perso-Arabic loans, which are very extensive). Historical aspiration, whether as *h* or in the voiced aspirate series, is retained as such in Sir., where it has been reduced to tonal realisation of the adjacent syllables in P., and, while L. is collectively distinguished from P. by the retention of *r-* as an initial cluster (L. *truḍ-, tṛiṭ-* "break", P *ṭuṭ-, ṭoṭ-*), Sir is further distinguished by retention finally also, without anaptyxis, so Sir. *puṯr* "son" (< *putra-*), but northern L. *puttar*, Pi. *puttar*. Three main dialects of Sir may be distinguished, although the differences are not particularly marked: these are the earthnut Thalī, the central Multānī, and the southern Bahāwalpūrī.

To the north of Sir., in and above the Salt Range, a number of related dialects are spoken, of which only Awānkārī has been properly described. This group of dialects is distinguished phonetically by the retention of historical aspiration, or its realisa-

tion as a high-falling tone, but normally without the low-rising tone of P., and morphologically by the use of extension in -ā to mark the singular oblique of unextended masculine nouns. Immediately to the east of this "northern L." group (of which the Hindkō of Peshāwar may be regarded as a member having many innovating features) is found Pōṭhōhārī, the speech of the Rāwalpindī area which appears to be an intermediate dialect between it and P. Finally, to the south of this, in the Shāhpūr area, a complex group, containing features of P., northern L., and Sir. is encountered. This is clearly a linguistic frontier area, and it is unfortunate that Grierson should have chosen it as his standard for the description of L. The number of all speakers of varieties of L. other than Sir. is impossible to estimate accurately, but easy amount to about 7 million.

2. Muslim literature. While the L.-speaking region was one of the first in the sub-continent to fall under Muslim political dominance, and the area has long had a large majority of Muslims in its population (now almost total, since 1947), the predominant literary language was naturally always Persian until its replacement by Urdū in the last century Sir. has, however, also been cultivated for some types of writing, leading to the creation of an interesting local literature

The earliest record of Muslim poetry in the Panjāb is in the *ghalōk* and hymns attributed to Farīd in the Sikh *Ādi Granth* (1604). While their traditional ascription to Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar (571-664/1173-1265 [*q.v.*]) is exceedingly doubtful, their language does suggest that a composite Idiom, based on the Sir of Multān long important as the mat of influential Ṣūfī dynasties, and the P of the political capital of Lahore was already well established as a local Muslim literary language by the 16th century This is confirmed by the more reliably transmitted works of such slightly later writers as Mawlawī ʿAbd Allāh "ʿAbdī" (*d.* 1075/1664), author of many versified treatises on Islamic law and dogma

Only in the 18th century, with the collapse of centralised Mughal authority, does a linguistically distinctive tradition of Sir., as opposed to P., Muslim literature properly emerge. This literature is nearly all in verse, and most of its genres and themes are naturally very similar to the contemporary local literatures being cultivated both in P. and in Sindhī The largest single category of writing was probably the versified teaching material produced in the form of short treatises on the tenets of Islam, or rhyming Persian-Sir. vocabularies of little intrinsic literary interest. Adaptations of popular Persian *mathnawī*-themes were also made, the best-known of these poems (locally termed *kissa*) being the *Sayf al-Mulūk* by Lutf ʿAlī of Bahāwalpūr (1191/1781) and the *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* by ʿAbd al-Hakīm of Uc (1218/1803). Local legends were also treated in this form, the best early example being from Sind, in the *Sassī Punnūn* by Nabī Bakhsh Laghārī (1234/1838)

The chief glory of the literature is, however, its Ṣūfī lyrical poetry, whether in the form of the short *dōhṛā*, cultivated by ʿAlī Haydar of Multan (*d.* 1201/1787), or the longer *bayt*, a sung lyric with a refrain repeated after each verse, first brought to perfection by Saḥṭal Sarmast (1158-1242/1739-1827) of Khayrpūr in Upper Sind, who wrote with equal fluency and immediacy in Sindhī also. The finest example of the Sir *bayt* are to be found in the *dīwān* of Khʷādja Ghulām Farīd (1845-1901), the head of an important Čishtī dynasty, who lived at Čāčrān in Bahāwalpūr State With their subtle blend of a sensitive handling of local desert scenery, and the most profound Islamic learning, these poems mark both the end and the culmination of Muslim writing in the local languages of the Indus valley

Mention should be made of the Shīʿī elegies (*marāṯiya* [*q.v.*]) produced in great numbers from Multān since the mid-19th century. These represent interesting local adaptations of the vast store of Shīʿī legendary material found in the popular Persian sources, and are notable stylistically as being typically written in alternating sections of verse and prose (*tahṛīr*), thus directly reflecting the usual style of performance of the professional *ḏākirs* at the local *madjālis-i ʿazā*

Traditional genres continue to be cultivated, while in recent years a modern prose literature has begun to be created. The problem of a uniform adaptation of the Perso-Urdū *nasta*ʿ*līḳ* script [see KHAṬṬ 4. India] to record the many additional phonemes of Sir. has yet to be fully resolved. In Sind, no longer important as a centre for the production of original Sir. literature, older Sir. texts are published in the Sindhī *nasḵhī* script, with its many additional letters.

There is a much smaller Muslim literature in the northern L. Hindkō. Writings produced in the areas of Pōṭhōhārī and Shāhpūrī are hardly to be distinguished from the main stream of Muslim Panjābī literature [*q.v.*].

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2. Literature. The best surveys of the literature (in Urdū) are Kayū Dīnpūrī, *Siraiki shāʿirī*, *Multān* 1969, Fārigh Bukhārī, *Hindkō adab*, and Hassān al-Haydarī, *Siraiki adab*, in *Tārīḵ-i adabiyyāt-i musulmānān-i Pākistān wa Hind*, ed. Fayyāḍ Maḥmūd, xiv, part II, Lahore 1971, 210-56, 257-343; there is a general survey of Sir. literature in C. Shackle, *Siraiki and Siraiki literature, c. 1750-1900*, in *Upper Sind and South-West Panjab*, University of London Ph. D. thesis 1972 (unpublished), while detailed aspects are considered in idem, *The south-western style in the Guru Granth Sahib*, in *Journal of Sikh Studies*, v/1 (1978), 69-87 *Styles and themes in the Siraiki mystical poetry of Sind* Multan 1976, *The Pilgrimage and the extension of sacred geography in the poetry of Khwāja Ghulām Farīd*, in Attar Singh, ed., *Socio-cultural impact of Islam in India*, Chandigarh 1976, 259-70, *The Multani marsiya*, in *Iol*, iv (1978), 100-28, and (Muḥammad Djamīl Multānī), *Nūr-e-Djamāl*, ed. Mahar Abdul Haq, tr. C. Shackle, Multan 1977. (C. SHACKLE)

LAHORE [see LAHAWR].

LĀHŪT and NĀSŪT (a.), two terms meaning divinity (or deity) and humanity, and forming a pair which plays an important role in the theology of certain Muslim mystics and in the theosophical conceptions of the extremist Imāmate

1 **Philological considerations.** The termination *-ūt* of these two words may be traced to an Aramaic origin. It is also present in the words *malakūt* (which is Kur'ānic, XXXVI, 83), and *jabarūt* which appears in the *ḥadīth* "Glory to the One to whom belongs Ruling Power (*jabarūt*) and Kingship (*malakūt*)." So *malakūt* was already Arabised in the time of the Prophet. It is a direct borrowing from Syriac (*malkūṯō*), or Ethiopic (*malakūt*), where this word means divinity, the Semitic root *'l* (God) being lost and replaced by the composite noun *'ĕgzi'-ābḥēr?* Is it a difficult question to settle. Muḥammad's known relations with Abyssinia would lead one to suppose a Ge'ez influence. Whatever may be the case, Ibn Manẓūr, in *LA*, states, without posing the problem, that "*al-malakūt* comes from *mulk* (kingdom), just as *rahabūt* (terrifying nature) comes from *rahba* (terror)." As for *jabarūt*, he says that it is the *fa'alūt* form of *jabr*. Consequently, he seems to give these words in *-ūt* a right to be cited as Arabic. He is more precise with regard to *lāhūt*. "Sībawayhi thinks that *lāh*" is the original form (*aṣl*) in the name of God (*Allāh*)", and he cites a verse of al-A'shā in which *lāh* is understood in the sense of *ilāh* ("god"). Then he adds: "As for *lāhūt*, if it is correct that it is a word drawn from the language of the Arabs, it is derived from *lāha, lāha 'llāh al-khalq, yalīhuhum = khalaqahum* 'He created them'. The form of this word (*mabna*) is *fa'alūt* like *raghabūt* (e.g. *raǧul raghabūt* a man of desires, naturally carried away by desire) and *raḥamūt* ('compassionate nature')." Thus there are several examples in Arabic of words in *-ūt*. The question as to whether they are, as such, of Arabic origin, remains unsettled by the lexicographers. In any case, a Syriac text of Aphraates (4th century) has *ḳem alohūṯō*, followed by *ḳem malkūṯō*, the noun of the Divinity and the noun of the Kingship, and further on *raḥmonāṯe* (*Patrologie Syriaque*, i, 794). *Alōhut* may be the equivalent of *lāhūt*, although Syriac preserved the *alif* which is in the name of God, *alōhō* = *allāh*, and which forms part of the root (cf. the discussions of the grammarians on the formation of the name *Allāh*). Finally, one should note that in Syriac *alohut* designates the essence or nature of God (*ousiā*).

On the origin of *nāsūt*, by contrast, there is an information available. Al-Tahānawī in his *Dictionary of technical terms* has not devoted any article to it. Ibn Manẓūr does not cite this word under the root *nūn* or under the root *hmz* from which comes *nās* and its pl. *unās*, as well as *nāsān* Hare, it is well established, according to Abu 'l-Haytham, that the *alif* is radical (*aṣliyya*), this grammarian is also ingenious in shewing how *nās* ('men') could have come from *unās*, by adding the article *al* : *al-unās* > *alunās* > *annās* (*al-nās*), and, after the dropping of the article, *nās*. This laborious explanation shows that if the form *nās* raises difficulties, a *fortiori* the form *nāsūt*. But Syriac has a word ܢܘܫܝܬܐ (*)noḵrīṯō* with an occulting strobe (*ṣe'ḵālīnō*) under the *alif*, indicating that his letter must not be pronounced. There is the form *nāšō* without *alif*, which means "man". This can be compared, in Sermon xv of the *Liber graduum* (*P.S.*, iii, 379), with *per humiliatem hypostasseos ejus humanae* (*da-ḥnūnaḥ d-ḥaw nāšō* 'from the hypostasis of the son of man"). So the Syriac origin of the word *nāsūt* does not seem to be in doubt; it designates human nature. Doubtless it was also chosen because of its assonance with *lāhūt*.

2. *Lāhūt* and *nāsūt* in Christian literature. Al-Bāḳillānī in the *Tamhīd* (Cairo 1366/1947) speaks of the Christians who claim that the union of the Word with the *nāsūt* is a mixture and mingling (*khiṭṭāṭ wa-'mtizāǧ*) like that of water with wine (the Jacobites) or with milk (the Nestorians). Some claim that the significance of the union of the Word with humanity (*nāsūt*) which is the body, consists in its taking it as a temple (*haykal*) and dwelling place (*maḥall*) (86). Further on, al-Bāḳillānī reports that for the Christians, the name Messiah has two meanings: *lāhūt*, God (*ilāh*) and *nāsūt*, created man (*insān maḥdūth*) the prayers of Christ come from the man, his miracles come from God and not from the man. But, demands the Muslim theologian, could the same not be said of Moses? The production of his miracles comes from the divinity, to the exclusion of his humanity (*wa-in al-ilāhīya, dūn al-nāsūt*) (94). For his part, al-Djuwaynī, in his *Kitāb al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* (ed. al-Nashshār, Alexandria 1969, 582), writes with regard to the Christian doctrines concerning the union (*ittiḥād*), that the Christians mean by it the manifestation of divinity in humanity (*ẓuhūr al-ilāhīya 'alā 'l-nāsūt*). But in the way in which they conceive of this manifestation, they are divided into three groups. Some say that an object placed in front of a polished body appears there and can be seen without being transferred there and without dwelling there (*wa-law yatadjalā*); it is in this sense that divinity appears to humanity, thus without *ḥulūl*. Others take the example of the impression of a seal in wax; it is the seal itself with it appears there, although there is no part of it which comes to dwell there. The last group say that the manifestation of divinity in Christ means the same thing as, for Muslims, God's sitting on the throne, all of them agreeing that contact is impossible. Furthermore, they express union with the image of an act of clothing oneself (*tadarruc*), as if they believe that it is possible and true that the divinity had taken the body of Christ as clothing (*dir'*). Reference may be made to what H. Corbin wrote (*En Islam iranien*, iii, 285, n. 108), on al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336). So it may be reasonable to suppose that the terms *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* were borrowed from the Christians who wrote in Arabic using Syriac sources and originals, particularly the Nestorians who had had, as we learn from al-Tawḥīdī, numerous relations with Muslim thinkers, especially in Baghdad. It is conceivable that the problem of the union of the divinity and humanity in Christ had been able to interest the mystics of Islam, who were faced with an analogous problem, *mulāsa mulāmasa*. On this subject, the ideas of assuming a garment, indwelling and temple are present in the writings of St. John and St. Paul, and these images were applied not only to Christ, but also to the saints in whom God, Christ and the Spirit are said to reside. An echo is to be found in Syriac literature. Thus one can read in the *Liber graduum* (Sermon iii, *P.S.*, iii, 71): "And Christ dwells in them" (*w-Mšiḥo b-hūn Mašḵno*): they are "filled with God" (*mitmalyn men Alohō*). One should note the translation of the passage of St. Paul: "You are the temple of God" (1 Cor., iii, 16): *Haykleh d-(n)tūn d-Alōhō*. The Arabic language has the word *haykal* whose significance, according to the lexicographers, is that of an adjective which has the meaning of "corpulent", "large", "long or high". This qualification is applied to animals and plants, especially the horse when it is "high on its hooves" (*ṭawīl*). A building is called *haykal*, when it is raised like a horse on its hooves (*LA*). Ibn Manẓūr (*ibid.*) informs us that the *haykal*

"is stated as being, among the Christians, a temple (*bayt*) in which there is an idol in the likeness of Mary (*fīhi ṣanam ʿalā khalqat Maryam*) or even "in which there is the effigy of Jesus and Mary" He adds that this name is sometimes given to Christian convents. Only lastly does he mention the meaning of an idol temple. So it seems indisputable that the use of the term *haykal* to designate the place where the *lāhūt*, i.e. the *nāsūt*, resides is of Christian origin. As for the image of clothing, in Christian literature, it has the two senses: the divine nature wears (*lbesh*) the form (*ṣūrā*) of the earthly man and we wear (*nelbesh*) the form of the celestial man (Aphraates, *Demonstration* vi, 28, P.S., i). As for the Word, it wore (*lbesh*) a body of dust, and it drew it to its own [divine] nature (*la-knuṭṭā*) (*Dem.* xxiii, 49, P.S. ii). But what is involved here is the Melkite doctrine of God made body (in Arabic: *ilāh mutajassid*), meaning by body human nature, or even *Allāh al-mutaʾannis* (cf St Athanasius, *P.G.* 28 col. 804, where the incarnation σάρκωσις is identified with "humanisation" ἐνανθρώπησις. According to the Nestorians, the divine nature of the Word wears an integral human nature and subsists as such in the union this union being that of two concurrent wills (συνέργεια) in a *prosopon* of union. In the *Book of Heraclides of Damascus* (French tr. F. Nau), Nestorius explains his conception clearly (358, 212-13), and he expands in several ways on the image of the clothing which has its own nature, but which nevertheless is always and everywhere present with that which bears it, for example 'on account of the One which is worn, I adore the clothing' (*ibid*, 159). The image of the temple is also developed: "The temple is passive (παυητὸς ὁ ναός), but not God who gives it life" (*ibid*, 207). In the same sense, Ibn al-Ḍawāʾ writes in *Tathlīth Ilāh*: "the Christians maintain that Christ is two substances, the one eternal, the other created, that he had need of nourishment that he was crucified, and that this was on account of his humanity" (*fa-lā naḥtāj la-hā-l-nāsūt*) But, as a good Muslim, Ibn al-Ḍawāʾ asks "why did not the divine element in him (*lāhūt*) oust that from the *nāsūt*?"

The word *lāhūt* is used by Arabic-speaking Christians. Thus in the *History of the Twelve Patriarchs of the Church at Alexandria*, Severus, bishop of al-Ashmūnayn (towards the end of the 10th century), citing a letter from St. Cyril to Nestorius (*Patrologie orientale*, I, 434), reports that Christ "died on the cross in his body, while he is living by the force of his divinity" (*bi-ḥayy bi-ḥawwat lāhūtih*). He confesses the Trinity by saying that there are three persons (*aḥnūm*), one unique nature (*tabīʿa waḥida*) and one unique divinity (*lāhūt waḥid*).

3. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in the thought of al-Ḥallāj. The preceding discussion may clarify many difficult aspects of Ḥallājian mysticism. According to L. Massignon (*Passion*², ii, 52), al-Ḥallāj borrowed from the heretical or extremist Imāmī theologians the words *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*, "however, profoundly modifying their significance" In a note he states that it is unlikely that he had made this borrowing from the Christians, as was formerly believed "for him, as for the Ghulāt, *nāsūt*, *nūr shaʿshaʿānī* ('resplendent light') and *amr* ('command') are synonyms, which is in no way Christian". But the argument does not stand up, for the question is that of the origin of the words and not of the origin of their significance, if, even by the confession of Massignon, al-Ḥallāj modified the significance of expressions which he took from the Imāmīs, why would he not have accommodated to his own thought same terms which he had taken from the Christians? ʿAffīf, in his book *al-Taṣawwuf al-thawra al-rūḥiyya fī ʾl-Islām* (Alexandria 1963, 82-3), followed by Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shībī in his *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥallāj* has upheld the thesis of the Christian origin But which Christians are concerned? If it is the Nestorians, it seems that, even going beyond words similarities in ideas may be detected, allowing for the fact that in al-Ḥallāj there is no Christian christology In fact, the Ḥallājian *nāsūt* could be considered the equivalent of the *prosōpon* of union in which the will of God and the will of man are united, which justifies L. Massignon's important remark (*ibid.*, iii, 52), "The only aspect through which divine action takes part in transforming man is not *lāhūt*, the creative omnipotence , but this essential, intelligible word which is at the basis of every command of the Divine ..." *Nāsūt*, like *amr*, is actually the place where the wills of the One who commands and the one who obeys are united As in Nestorianism, there is never any confusion between the divine essence, *lāhūt*, or as L. Gardet says (*Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, 491), "the sealed world of the divine essence" and the human substance. To mark this irreducible distinction of the two natures, al-Ḥallāj uses the terms *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūtiyya*: "My observance of what is properly Yours differs from Your observance of what is properly mine; in fact, Your observance of what is properly mine is divinity (*lāhūtiyya*) and my observance of what is properly Yours is humanity (*nāsūtiyya*), and even while my humanity (*nāsūtiyya*) is lost in Your divinity (*fī lāhūtiyyatika*) without being confused with it, at the same time Your divinity takes possession of my humanity without having any contact with it" (*Akhbār al-Ḥallāj* no. 1, Arabic text, 8). "He who supposes that *lāhūtiyya* mingles with humanity (*bashariyya*), or the *bashariyya* mingles with divinity (*ulūhiyya*) is an infidel" (*ibid.*, no. 25) The synonymous *ulūhiyya lāhūtiyya* and *bashariyya-nāsūtiyya* allow us an accurate understanding of the meaning of the two terms constructed from *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* Let us note that Ibn al-Fāriḍ (*Tāʾiyya*, 455) uses *lāhūt* in the sense of *lāhūtiyya* and *nāsūt* in the sense of *nāsūtiyya* "I am not diverted by *lāhūt* from the condition of the place of my appearance, and I do not forget, through *nāsūt*, the place of my wisdom's appearance" If, as for the Nestorians, there is no mingling of the two natures, by contrast, when al-Ḥallāj uses the image of clothing, it is to say "my inseparability is beneath the clothing of Your eternity" (*badalī taḥt malābis ḥadamika*), (*Akhbār*, no. 1) 'O All of my all The all of Your All is a clothing worn by my inner significance" (*Dīwān*, 7, v. 5 *wa-kulluka kulliyya malābis bi-maʿnāʾī*). The act of wearing this All (*lubs*), that Massignon explains by "the deiformity of the sanctified man" (*Passion*, iii, 350, n. 7), results in the all of the man containing the all of God with which he is clothed "I contain in my all the All of Your All, O You, my sanctity You are revealed to me to the point where it is as though You were within me" (*Dīwān*, 44, v 2). Indeed, in the order of the stations of mystical ascension, *lubs* comes immediately after *kashf*. Finally, there is also to be found in al-Ḥallāj the image of the *haykal* which is the corporeal form. "The *haykal* remains on earth, putrefied" (*Dīwān*, 63, v 2). So it is not simply a question of the divine dwelling within him; he must also be transfigured. Al-Ḥallāj asked for "the destruction of the Kaʿba,

then its rebuilding with wisdom" The Kaʿba to be destroyed is the "temple of the human body", the *haykal* "whose transfigurations is to be hastened" (*Passion*, 1, 689). As for myself, He does not veil Himself from me for a single moment, until my *nāsūtiyya* is lost in His *lāhūtiyya* and my body disappears in the lights of His essence' (*Akhbār*, 10 cf. *Passion*, II, 52-3). *Nasūtiyya* must then in so far as it is purely human be assumed by the *nāsūt*, the aspect of God in which union is realised "Glory be to Him whose *nāsūt* manifested the secret of His dazzling *lāhūt*'s sublimity, in the form of a man who eats and drinks" (*Dīwān*, 9, v 2)

The origin of the idea of *nāsūt* conceived by al-Ḥallādj must be looked for in the word that, in eternity before all creation, God addresses to man, the Word which is contained in the uncreated Kurʾān. To this idea of a pre eternal conversation between God and man is linked all the Ḥallādjian dialectic of Me, You and Him, which underlies the relations between *lāhūt* and *nāsūt*, *lahūtiyya* and *nasūtiyya* as in the following example, 'The Yourself which is a Him has borne witness to Me" (*anʿanta alladhī yahūtu lahūtu*) i.e. that the dialogue between the divine You and the human me, on the level of the *nāsūt*, manifests the essence of God (*lāhūt*) in his ipseity (*huwiyya*).

4. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. For Ibn ʿArabī, the *lāhūt* is the divine aspect in the prophet and saint, as supposed to the *nāsūt* which is the human aspect. In a poem concerning knowledge of Jesus (*Futūḥāt*, ed. ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, III, 41, 88-9), one can read. "His *lāhūt*, which was in the world of the Invisible, was his union (with God: *sirr*), was a spirit in whose image (*rūḥ mumaththal*) God made the secret appear." The term *sirr* (relationship through women) indicates, according to ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, that no natural parenthood is concerned, but the result of a divine choice The spirit is a liegiver, it is through it that Jesus brought the dead to life Also, generally speaking, the *lahut* is the life infused in things, and the recipient that the spirit brings to life is called *nasut* (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ch. x, where it is Christ, tr. Burckhardt, 210). The same definition is to be found in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, al-Kāshī (or al-Kāshānī [q.v.]) "The *lāhūt* among the Ṣūfīs is life which flows into things, and *nāsūt* in its place (*makalī*) it is the spirit' (cited by al-Tahānawī, art *Lahut*) Ibn ʿArabī does not make systematic use of these two terms There are equivalents in his theory of the relation between the two domains of the Kingdom (*Mulk*) and the Kingship (*Malakūt*), in that of the Light of Muḥammad (*Nūr Muḥammad*) and the Muḥammadan Tree, which is "the totalising, universal human Tree" (R Deladrière, *Ibn ʿArabī la profession de foi*, 62) The *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (*ibid.*, 62, 135) also says "The letters of the Muḥammadan Tree are the human nature of its intelligible truth and the veils of its significance ."

5. The pair *lāhūt-nāsūt* in Shīʿī thought According to the Imāmī conception, different planes of the universe exist (cf H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, I, 35). *lāhūt*, *jabarūt malakūt*, *nāsūt*, [see ʿALAM]. *Lāhūt* is the world of secrets (*ʿālam al-asrār*) and the Unrevealed (*ibid.*, 103). The mystical relations between *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* express the different aspects of the theophanic conception of the Imām Al Tahānawī, who discusses *lāhūt* in his article *Jabarut*, refers essentially to Persian texts It is thus finally in Iranian thought that the two terms *lāhūt* and *nāsūt* received the widest reception, following what al-Ḥallādj and Ibn ʿArabī had written on this subject. If comparisons can be made with the Christological doctrines of Christianity, particularly with regard to the image of clothing (cf H Corbin, *op laud.*, III, 274-5), it must be stated that these two terms were henceforth perfectly integrated in Shīʿī imamology

We shall mention in conclusion a curious etymology given by al-Tahānawī; *lāhūt* originally derives from the formula *la huwa illā huwa* it is the custom of the Arabs when they use a complex formula in speaking to add something to it (*lā hiyāda huwaā*, i.e. the final letter *tāʾ*, and to cut something off it (*kadhā ʿanand* here *illā huwa*). The result is that *lāhūt* is the radiance of the essence (*tadjallī l-dhāt*).

Bibliography given in the article.

(R ARNALDEZ)

LĀHŪTĪ, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, Persian poet and revolutionary, was born in Kirmānshāh on 4 December 1887, the son of a petty shoemaker As a youth he joined the struggle for constitutionalism in Persia, and in 1908 took part in the fight against the royalist troops in Rasht, following Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's attempt to reimpose autocracy After the restoration of the Constitution in 1909 he entered the gendarmerie and was eventually promoted to the rank of major There, charged with subversion, he was condemned to death, but he managed to escape taking refuge in the Turkish (now in ʿIrāḳ) border town of Sulaymāniyya. In 1915 he returned to his home town, and was drawn in the movement against Allied intervention in Persia. Around this time he also started the periodical *Bisutūn* from Kirmānshāh, and founded a workers' party In the period that followed, he again came into conflict with the authorities and migrated to Istanbul While he was there he taught in a Persian school and issued the Persian-French periodical *Pārs* Towards the end of 1921 he was allowed to return to Persia and was reinstated in the gendarmerie Not long afterwards he headed an abortive revolt in Tabrīz and, after its failure, fled to the Soviet Union (February 1923)

In the Soviet Union, Lahutī's activities were connected mainly with the political and cultural life of Tādjīkistān, where he took up residence after 1925. He served as deputy commissar of education and was honorary president of the Tādjīk Writers' Union The Soviet government awarded him several honours including the *Order* of Lenin. He died in Moscow on 16 March 1947

Lāhūtī was the most outstanding Communist poet in Persian, and has been rightly acclaimed as one of the founders of Soviet Tādjīk poetry His early political verse appeared in the periodicals of the Constitutional Period, such as *Habl al matin*, *Īrān-i now* and *Sharḳ* In his poems written before 1922 he often displayed sentiments favouring workers and peasants Thereafter, his permanent domicile in the Soviet Union strengthened his trend towards Communism, and his art became progressively identified with the literary and political assumptions of the Soviet government. The poem *Kremlʾ* ("Kremlin"), composed in 1923, was the first notable indication of this development It recalled Tsarist atrocities and condemned imperialism and capitalist exploitation, welcoming the triumph of the Communist Revolution in Russia. Lāhūtī's subsequent poems concerned themselves largely with his immediate environment, but themes dealing with Persia were not lacking. The poet employed both conventional and new forms,

and used non-traditional metres, which were apparently inspired by Russian literary models. He also composed songs, and wrote the libretto of *Kāwa-i āhangar* ("Kāwa the Blacksmith"), which was the first original opera to be performed in Tādjikistān. His literary endeavours extended to the field of translations, which he rendered from the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Pushkin, Gorky and Mayakovsky. His diction was simple and uncomplicated, and he used a language which almost verged on ordinary speech.

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(MUSHIRUL RAHMAN)

LA'IB (L.a'b), LA'a), the Arabic word for "play" (also used variously in Persian, against Turkish *oyun*), in the Muslim world as fundamental a concept of vast sociological and psychological implications as in other civilisations. Only a few of its aspects can be briefly discussed here. The "play" character of many important human activities (dance, theatre, music etc.) does not come under our purview, nor do ritual games as survivals of pre-Islamic religiously-motivated customs. We find them occasionally mentioned, *e.g.*, for instance in references to New Year practices, *cf.* al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 216, who also mentions the enactment of a Persian religious ceremonial played on seesaws, for a modern example from southern Morocco, see M.-R. Rabaté, in *Objets et Mondes*, x (1970), 239-62. The stress here is on children's games, but, in Islam as elsewhere, no clear dividing line separates the games of children from those of adults, there is no typological distinction, the only difference sometimes encountered being certain material factors. Al-Dīnāwarī, *Hayawān*, Cairo 1323-5, iii, 79, may have been aware of this circumstance when he singled out playing with pigeons as best representing the easy potential transition in games from playfulness to seriousness. The various expressions of the human play instinct and the various types of games were all cultivated in the Muslim world. The constant use in literature of metaphors built upon combinations with the root 'to play' attest to the concept's living strength.

The large role of "play" in Muslim life is all the more remarkable as it ran counter to firm religious objections. These objections have indeed greatly coloured the expressed Muslim attitude toward play. They were no doubt effective in curtailing the factual information on games available to us. The Kur'ān refers to play (and *lahw* "amusement") as a particularly insidious expression of human unconcern with man's true task in this world, which is working toward salvation in the other world. Much ingenuity was spent by Muslim intellectuals on condemning it, as attested in innumerable statements such as, for instance, many verses in the *zuhdiyyāt* of Abū 'l-'Atāhiya or 'Alī's indignant rejection of being called *o tī'dha timatha* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, ed. M. B. al-Mahmūdī, Beirut 1394/1974, 151). Not dissimilar to the thought expressed by Anacharsis (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1176 b 33) that playing should be tolerated only when it enhances a man's ability for serious occupations, is the idea that all work and no play dulls the sensitivity of even the greatest and most dedicated minds, and light relaxation, therefore, is to be tolerated (e.g. F. Rosenthal, *Humor in early Islam*, Leiden 1956, 3, and see AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL), but the authors who quote statements to this effect would hardly have gone so far as to include simple games in what they meant by relaxation. Worldly wisdom required that rulers be warned against excess in playful activity. As a matter of fact, "play" to Islam came to be considered the exclusive prerogative of children, bracketed at times with women also in this respect. In the Greek tradition as represented by Bryson (ed. W. Piessner, Heidelberg 1928, 202 *ff.*; also al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, *riyāḍat al-nafs*, Cairo 1352/1934, iii, 63) and used by such influential thinkers as Miskawayh, even children should be permitted moderate playing as relaxation only to be better able to tolerate the hardships of education, or (according to *al-Sa'āda wa 'l-isʿād*, ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8, 380) to acquire serious skills. Sometimes, we find statements to the effect that future greatness is foreshadowed in childhood by a disdain shown for playing. References to children are often routinely associated with play. It was quite natural to have the youth killed in the story in Kur'ān, XVIII, 74/73, described as having been found playing with others (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *cf.* Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1378-83, i, 230, vi, 25, 33; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad loc.*), as to worry that Yūsuf's playing in XII, 12 (the only morally neutral reference to "playing" in the Kur'ān) might implicate his adult brothers (I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 28 f.), or to explain *ḥadīth* applied in the *ḥadīth* to Muslim infants in Paradise from their being similar to water bugs (?) because of their playing in the rivers of Paradise (al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Madjāzāt*, Cairo 1387/1967, 406). The Prophet as a child is said to have engaged in a game called *ʿaṣwa* (*ʿuṣwum*) *waddāḥ*, described as searching (in the dark) for a very white bone tossed far away, with the finder being allowed to ride upon his playmates (Lane, 2087b, 2947b, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iv, 476, Ibn Ẓafar, *Anbāʾ nudjabāʾ al-abnāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 24), the Prophet's alleged participation in such a game could easily have struck strict interpreters of the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* as objectionable and is, in fact, mentioned only very rarely. The Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās is described as having played *ḥāʾir* as a boy, a game mentioned in ancient poetry (ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, Labīd, *cf.* T. Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaqāt* i, Vienna 1899, 47, *Sharḥ Dīwān Labīd*, Kuwait 1962, 82) and described as played with two small wooden boards, one twice as long as the other and the one being hit with the other (or with a *mikhaṣṣ*), thus being in an anecdote intended to show al-ʿAbbās's innate decency (Ibn Ẓafar *Anbāʾ*, 52).

The most influential reference to child's play goes back to the biography of ʿĀʾisha, reported in

many traditions with only slight variations (for instance, *Concordance*, *s.v. l-ʿ-b*, Ibn Saʿd, 40 5, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 430-12). It happened when the Prophet saw ʿĀʾisha playing on a seesaw (*urǧūḥa*, *marǧūḥa*) that she first caught his attention, and he once, or on different occasions, came upon her playing with dolls. "Dolls" (*banāt* "girls", or *laʿba*, pl. *laʿab*, the typical "plaything") came thus to be discussed intensively in the legal literature. The gist of the Sunnī jurists' discussion and the problems of detail they chose to face can best be captured from Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Fatḥ*, xiii, 143 f. In sum, dolls were usually given very reluctant approval as having educational value for training little girls to become good mothers. The obvious conflict between the prohibition of figurative representations (see EI[1] art. SŪRA) and the permissibility of dolls, although often they were not realistic representations of living beings, proved impossible to solve to everybody's satisfaction. The connection with idol worship was only hesitantly mentioned. The *ḥadīth* also informs us that dolls were made of wool (*ʿAbd*, *Concordance*, iv, 409a, 76 f.) to be given to children who were made to fast, in order to divert them (to other toys, such as polo sticks, might be promised to children as incentives for studying, see Ibn ʿAknīn, *Ṭibb al-nufūs*, ms. Bodl. or Hunt 318, 70b). Some of ʿĀʾisha's toys had, or were seen by the child's imagination to have, the shape of (winged) horses, with the wings made of rags. In this connection, al-Ǧāsūsī, *Ibdāʿ*, *Kitāb al-asmāʾ*, ii, 245) speaks of the "imperfect forms" (of toys) fashioned by children from clay and rags as something tolerated by Shāfiʿīs, as he also mentions elsewhere (*Ibdāʿ*, *Kitāb al-ḥaṣb*, ii, 60) animal toys made of clay given to children on festivals.

Numerous names of games were mentioned as being of philological interest and listed because of their strange forms or because of literary connections (e.g. al-ʿAskarī, *al-Talḫīṣ fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-aškyāʾ*, Damascus 1389-90, 728-24, see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 65). We also find references to such things as *dihnidā*, *dirḥala*, *daʿdaʿa* (a running, and ? catching, game, al-Kālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1373, ii, 315, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iii, 97), or the putting of *fuǧrūm* into *sawāt* (al-Kālī, ii, 4 f.). Games are given as three names in the form of mere contributions or sentences, such as *al-muʿallim wa-l-taǧīr* 'master and hired hand" (T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, ii, Oxford 1694, 234-6), *ḫiḏ-tukum khudhtanī* 'I have come to you, seize me' (Hyde, ii, 240 f.), *khaṭṭ wa-taḫṭ* for even-and-odd, (Turkish) *tut Leyla* "catch Layla" (H. Ritter, *Knabenspiele aus ʿAmāra*, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 49-57), etc. Characteristically, the names of games change greatly in the course of time so that those found in Hyde from the 17th century and even more so those from modern times (e.g. K. L. Taliqvist, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Spiele*, Helsingfors 1897, or Ritter) are nearly all different from those known from the mediaeval literature, quite apart from local differences.

The philologians no doubt had often no personal experience of the games they sought to describe. Descriptions are often non-existent, or they are so brief as to indicate hardly more than the general type of a given game and to be practically useless, this is nothing peculiar to Muslim philologians but something worldwide, since the play instinct required to be satisfied by intricate and volatile rules hard to describe fully. Ambiguities of interpretation are always present. Similarities between modern and mediaeval names, in the rare cases in which they exist, do not necessarily indicate that the games are the same. Thus, the *laʿb al-ḫumays* as mentioned by Ibn Ruzmān (E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmán*, Madrid 1972, i, 32/35, 38 n. 6) is hardly the *ḫamsa* described by A. Robert from Algeria, in *Revue Africaine*, lxii (1921), 69. The ring (*ḫātam*) game of prestidigitators is no doubt the guessing game described by Robert, but hardly represents all the games thus designated (cf. Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 62, al-Shinawī, *ʿUyūn al-ḥaḍāʾiq*, ch. 11). The modern game called *bilbil* may be related to ancient *ḥuḳḳa* as suggested by Ritter, but we have no way of knowing how far this relationship, if it in fact exists, extends in details.

Of the more important types of games, we may mention here (1) guessing games such as *khaṭṭ* (2) board games of the chess [see SHAṬRANDJ] and backgammon [see NARD] types and of the *muqābala* type which were usually, but not always, played on boards, involving the placing of chips into holes, as, for instance, the game of "fourteen" (*arbaʿa ʿašara*), the throwing of dice and, of greater antiquity in Arabia, of knucklebones (*kaʿb*, pl. *kiʿāb*), also on a way the walnut (*ǧawz*) game, see also KHARAZA; (3) skill and sports games, such as ball playing, the great favourite of children, often mentioned as done in the streets, also played with balls and (polo) sticks, see al-Ghazālī, *Ihyāʾ*, *riyāḍat al-nafs*, iii, 53, further jumping games, catching games, the seesaw, imitation fighting games, the egg game, also tops (*duwwāma*, *khuḏrūf*); dancing with a hobby-horse (*kurrāǧ*) was apparently not practiced as a children's game, cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Mél. W. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 155 ff., and (4) "playing" with animals such as small birds, pigeons, dogs (add al-Dīnawarī, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 28, to Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 58 n. 242a), or reptiles, either as an innocent pastime or as a gambling, racing, and fighting sport.

Most children's games contain an element of gambling, inasmuch as they entail rewards for the winners and penalties for the losers [see QUMĀR]. This added to the scruples raised by the play concept in general and the *ṣūfī* problem of dolls, and cast doubt in the eyes of jurists upon the legality of commercial transactions involving toys. In conjunction with prevailing economic conditions, it probably contributed to keeping toys used by children mostly simple and makeshift.

Bibliography given in the article, in particular, Hyde, *De ludis*, and Rosenthal, *Gambling*. For board games, cf. H. J. R. Murray, *Board games*, Oxford 1952. (F. ROSENTHAL)

LAK : The most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia. According to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, their name (Lāk, often Lākk) is explained by the Persian word *lāk* (100,000), which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak. The group is of importance in that the Zand dynasty arose from it. The Lak now living in northern Luristān [*q.v.*] are sometimes confused with the Lur (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), whom they resemble from the somatic and ethnic point of view. The facts of history, however, show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north. The Lākkī language, according to O. Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Lurī dialects [cf. LUR]. Ćirikov, *Putevoi zhurnal*, St. Petersburg 1875, 227, says that "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects, and hate one another".

The Lak appear in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 323, along-

side the Zand, among the secondary Kurd tribes, and as subjects of Persia. According to Rabino, the Lak were settled in Luristān by order of Shāh ʿAbbās, who wished in this way to create some support for the new wālī of Luristān, Husayn Khān, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shāhwardī Atābeg (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 369). Of these tribes, the Silsila had formerly lived at Māhīdasht (to the south-west of Kirmānshāh), the Dilfān take their name from Abū Dulaf [see AL-KĀSIM B. ʿĪSĀ], whose fiefs in the 3rd/9th century lay in the north of Luristān [see SULṬĀNĀBĀD], the Badjlān of Zohāb as well as Luristān say they come from al-Mawsil and are evidently one tribe. The Luristān branch seem to have exchanged its Kurmandjī dialect for Lākkī during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. Even after Shāh ʿAbbās there were several Lak tribes outside of Luristān. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (opening of the 19th century) mentions among the Lak: the Zand, the Māfī, the Badjlān and the Zandiyān kāla (?). To the last tribe (according to Houtum Schindler Begelē) belonged Karīm Khān Zand (born in Pāriyā, the modern Pārī, about 20 miles from Dawlatābād on the Sultānābād road). When at Shīrāz, Karīm Khān sent for the Lak tribe of Barānwand. In 1212/1797 the Bayrānwand and the Badjlān actively supported Muḥammad Khān Zand in his attempt to seize power from the Kādjārs [Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *A history of Persia*, London 1833, 46, 58; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 116]. Under the Kadjārs, several Lak tribes were broken up. The Zand have almost completely disappeared, la 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Badjlān of Khānikīn (Khurshīd-Efendī, *Seyāḥat-nāme-yi Ḥudūd* Rūm iv 212, 221), there are still a few Zand families in the Dorūd-Karāmān district to the south-east of Kirmānshāh (*RMM*, xxxvii, 39), a section of the ʿAmala of Pushtī-Kūh claims to be descended from the Karīm Khān tribe. At the present day, there are Māfī at Waramīn, Tehran and Kazwīn.

According to a good list compiled by Rousseau at Kirmānshāh in 1807 (cf. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 2813, iii, 85-98), there were considered as Lak the following tribes: Kalhōr, Māfī, Nāwakī, Djalīlwand, Fāyrawand, Kolyāʾī, Ṣōfīwand, Bakrānwand, Karkūkī, Tawalī, Zūyrwand, Kākūwand, Nīnīwand, Ahmadwand Bohtōʾī, Zōliya, Harsīnī and Shaykhwand.

According to O. Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Luristān are as follows: Silsila (9,000 families), Dilfān (7,470). Tirhān-Amīrʾī (1,582 families), the Bayrānwand (6,000 families) and Dālwand (1,000 families) forming part of the Bāla girīwa group, a total of about 15 000 tents. The Bayrānwand and Djālīwand live to the east of Khurramābād around the sources of the river which flows through this town, the Silsila and the Dilfān occupy the beautiful plains of Ali-Ḥtar and Khāwa respectively, while the Tirhān (perhaps = Tarkhān, i.e. "exempt from taxes") live between the left bank of the Saymara and the lower course of its left bank tributary from Khurramābād. The territory occupied by the Lak, and including northern and north-western Luristān is sometimes called Lakistān.

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1924 the Silsila, Dilfān and Tirhān were united under the authority of Nazar ʿAlī Khān of the Amīrʾī clan. In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion, for all the Dilfān and many of the ʿAmala of Tirhān belong to the extremist Shīʿa and of the Ahl-i Ḥakk [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: E. Boss, *Das Turkh i Zendiye*, Leiden 1888, pp. xviii, xxvi, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1315, 588; O. Mann, *Skizze d. Lurdialekte*, in *SBAk. Wien* (1904), 1173-93. O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, pp. xxii-xiv, to the number of tribes speaking "Lākkī", the author adds the Kalhur of Kirmānshāh and the Mākī of the Pushtī-i Kūh; Rabino, *Les tribus du Luristan*, in *RMM* (1916). Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahlé-Ḥaqq*, in *RMM*, xl (1920), 56.

2. The name given to themselves by the Ghazi-Kumuḳ, a people living on the eastern Koy-su in central Daghistān (see the next article and KUMUḲ, also Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seiner Völker*, Leipzig 1887, 248-57, and Dirr, *Die heutigen Namen der kaukasischen Völker*, in *Petermanns Mitteil* (1908), 204-12).

On the other hand, the term Lēk in Armenian and Lak-i (plural Lak-ebi) in Georgian means the Lezgī-Legs of Daghistān (where the *a* may certainly designate the value of *ä*/*e*. Lāgzi). This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kūrā, living in and around the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Daghistān, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezgi/Legzi. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), has attempted to explain the Arabic al-Lakz by the addition of the Persian suffix *-z* to the name Lak (or Lak), cf. Sag-ēl, "inhabitant of Sistān". (V. Minorsky)

LAK (self-designation Lak, Lakuri, Russian variants: Lak(tsi), Kazikumukh(tsi) Avar Tumaw, pl Tumal, Lezg. Yakhoishu Dargin Vuluguni, Vuleltun, other Kazikumukh (from Arabic Ghāzī, warrior for the faith, and Kumukh, the political and cultural centre of the Lak territory, see KUMUḲ]), a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Lak language belongs with Dargin, Kaytak and Kubachī [*q.vv.*] to the Dargina Lak (Lak Dargwa) group of the Northeast Caucasian language family. There are five dialects of the Lak language, Aghīl Kuli, Balkhar, Vitsikh, Vikhrī and Kumukh. The Kumukh dialect forms the base of the Lak literary language as Kumukh was, and is, the cultural and economic centre of the Lak territory. Lak was originally (since the late 19th century) written in the Arabic script, this was changed to the Latin script in 1928, since 1938 it has been written in the Cyrillic. Prior to the establishment of Lak as a written language, Arabic served as the literary language of the Lak people. Lak is at present one of the nine official literary languages of the Daghistān ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools (Lak served as a language of education among the Laks until the fifth year, between the late 1920s and the late 1960s, virtually all education since then has been conducted only in Russian).

The Laks are inhabitants of the mountainous central region of the Daghistān ASSR. They live primarily in the basins of the upper Kazikumukh, Teusenkh, and Khatar Koysu rivers located in Lak and Kuli districts, and in separate settlements in the districts of Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev. In 1844 many Laks were resettled in the steppes and foothills north of the Andi Ridge in what is now "Novo Lakskoy" ("New Lak") district of the Daghistān ASSR. According

to the 1970 Soviet census, there were 85,822 Laks in the USSR, of whom 72,140, or 84.2% lived in Dāghistān (1926 population, 40,380, 1959 population, 63,529). Although the Laks are reported to be the most Russianised of all Dāghistānīs, according to the 1970 census only 3.7% of the Lak population considered Russian their native language with 95.8% considering Lak their native language.

According to legend, the Laks were conquered by Abū Muslim in 777 [*sic*] and converted to Islam, making them the first Dāghistānī people to be islamicized. However, it is more likely that the final conversion did not occur until the 13th century, with some Christian and Jewish traditions surviving up until the 15th century. The Laks are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī school.

Legend has it that the Shah Raala was the first Muslim ruler of all Dāghistān and founder of the Shamkhal dynasty, which reigned in Kumukh until the 17th century. At this time Kumukh, which had been established by Abū Muslim as the seat of the ruler of Dāghistān, was renamed Kazikumukh. In the 14th century, the rulers of Kazikumukh adopted the title "Shamkhal" (supposed etymology from Shām = Syria, suggesting descent from the former Arab governors). During the 15th and 16th centuries, at the time when the Shamkhals ruled a large part of central and coastal Dāghistān, a second capital, which also served as a winter residence, was established at Tarku in the Kumuk territory. In 1640 the Laks broke away from the rule of the Shamkhalate, replacing it with appointed *khakhlavas* (from Arabic *khalīfa* "people", and Lak *lavas* "supreme"). Although appointed administrators, their chief function was that of military leaders, and as such they received land and tribute as payment.

With the death of the last Kazikumukh khān, Aguler, the Lak territory was incorporated in the Dāghistān *oblast'*, and became an integral part of the Russian empire. By 1842 both the Lak territory and Avaristān had come under the control of Shamil [*q.v.*] and his Murīds, and in 1877, during the Russo-Turkish War, the Lak beks, together with other Dāghistānī feudal lords, staged a revolt against Tsarist rule. This revolt was, however, put down, resulting in a greater integration of Dāghistān into the Russian empire.

The Laks are reported to have been the first mountaineer Dāghistānī people to establish a feudal system. Their feudal society was composed of the khāns the *ẖaṭal* (beks), i.e. the khān's family and the nobility the *cankri*, i.e. children of marriages between beks and women of lower social orders; the *uṭental* (*uṭen*), i.e. free peasants (the numerically largest class); the *ruyal* or *serik*, and the *lag ar* or slaves. This feudal system coexisted with a system of free societies based on the patriarchal clan (*tukkum*), which was made up of one or more extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village *ʿadat*. Within the *tukkum*, there was mutual help in work and family affairs, as well as group responsibility in vendettas, which were under the jurisdiction of the *ʿadat*. Although exogamy was not forbidden an endogamic marriage system prevailed.

The traditional economy of the Laks was based upon transhumance, with sheep and goat raising, and home industries (leather working, pottery, weaving, gold and metal smithing, etc.). These activities still play a large role in the village economies. Due to the lack of fertile land in the mountainous regions of the Lak territory, agriculture played only a minor role in the Lak economy, and migrant working was common (with the highest rate of migrant labour among any Dāghistānī people). In the steppe and foothills of the new Lak territory of northern Dāghistān, horticulture, vineyards, agriculture and silk production are important activities. In the larger towns in the Lak territory, there is a rising level of industrialisation (flour milling, printing, etc.).

The first written documents of the Lak people appear in the 15th century. A rich religious and *didactic literature* appears in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ṣ-ʿmar of Balkar, Ghāzī Sāʿīd Ḥusayn, Ḥādidī Mūsā Ḥādidī, etc.), lyrical literature in the late 19th century (Yūsuf Kāḍī Murtḍalmskī), as well as historical (Shāfiʿī Nitsovkrinskī). Lak literature of the Soviet period was established by Hārūn Saʿīdov, who was both the first Dāghistānī dramatic author and the author of the first Bolshevik Dāghistānī journal, *Ilīch* ("The Messenger"). Other Lak authors include Saʿīd Gablev, Abutalib Caturov, Abdurahman Onarov, and Efendī Kapiev (who wrote in Russian only).

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *L'ne république musulmane. Le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *RFI*, XXV (1955), 1-55; *Narodī Dagestana*, Akademiya Nauk, Moscow 1955; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya narodov SSSR*, Moscow 1958, Gelger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; *Mladopis'mennie yazīki narodov SSSR*, Akademiya Nauk, Moscow 1959; *Narodī Kavkaza*, I, Akademiya Nauk, Moscow 1960; Bennigsen, *The problem of bilingualism and assimilation in the North Caucasus*, in *Central Asian Review*, XV/3 (1967), 205-21. See also DAGHISTĀN and AL-KABK. (R. WIXMAN)

LAKAB (A.) nickname, and at a later date under Islam and with a more specific use, honorific title (pl. *alḳāb*). For suggestions about its etymology, see L. Caetani and G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum* i. *Fonte introduzione*, Rome 1915, 144-5; and for its place in the general schema of the composition of Islamic names, see ISM.

The *lakab* seems in origin to have been a nickname or sobriquet of any tone, one which could express admiration, be purely descriptive and neutral in tenor or be insulting and derogatory. In the latter case, it was often termed *naḳab*, pl. *anḳāb*, by-form *laḳab*, cf. al-Bayḍāwī on sūra XLIX, 11, "In common usage, *naḳab* is particularised for an unpleasant *laḳab*." The grammarians, in their love for schematisation, divided *alḳāb* into simple (*mufrad*) ones, comprising only one word, and compound (*murakkab*) ones, comprising two or more words, but this division has neither historical nor semantic significance, beyond the obvious point that as Islamic society developed and became more complex, honorific titles tended to become lengthy and grandiloquent.

1. The pre-Islamic and the earliest Islamic periods. Already in these times, we have many examples of Bedouin leaders, poets, orators, etc. with nicknames, e.g. Akīl al-Murār, al-Aḥraṣ, al-Mutalaṣṣamis, ʿĀʾid al-Kalb, Mukaḥḥil al-Rih, etc., and from the ʿAbbāsid period we have Dīk al-Djinn, Ṣarṭ al-Ghawānī, etc. These names might relate to physical characteristic or defects, to striking lines in a poet's verses, to incidents in the holder's life, but often to events whose significance is now lost in the mists of time. Explanation of the more unusual and bizarre names drew the authors of literary biographical works into much fanciful

theorising, cf. *Aghlāṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, xvm, 209, ed. Beirut, xvm, 480-1, on the origins of the name Ta'abbata Sharran, and for a useful list of such names, together with explanations drawn from the sources, A.-C Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *JA*, Sér 10 ix (Jan.-June 1907), 373-244, 365-428, x (July-Dec. 1907), 55-118, 193-273

The giving of nicknames was clearly widespread in early Arab society, where the number of personal names was limited and where there was, as in the Arab world today, keen observation of personal foibles, physical peculiarities, etc.; and from the Arabs the practice spread to the Persian, Turkish and wider Islamic world. The personal connection of such nicknames is presumably behind the oft quoted anonymous line of poetry, 'It is rare that you see a man whose character is not revealed, if you consider the matter, in his *laḳab*" Al-Ṭha'ālibī, who devotes two out of the ten chapters of his *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* to the *alḳāb* of prominent literary and political figures, quotes this verse in reference to the philologist al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*], and makes the curious observation that the people of Baghdād and Nīshāpūr were celebrated for their facility in coining appropriate nicknames, he gives numerous examples from each town, some quite grotesque, but unfortunately omitting to explain—if he even knew—the origins of the names (ed I Abyārī and H. K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960, 46, 53-4, tr. C. E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 63 66-7).

Some nicknames were clearly given as *nomina boni augurii*, aimed either at attracting a favourable future for the recipient or else at averting harm. Thus arose the practice of giving antiphrastic and apparently unpleasant names and nicknames in order to avoid attracting the evil eye [see ʿAYN] which might otherwise fix itself on something wholesome and perfect, whilst slaves and other persons of little importance might be given euphemistic and euphuistic names, such as those of flowers, jewels, perfumes etc Thus the caliph al-Mutawakkil called one of his slave concubines, the mother of al-Mu'tazz, Kabīḥa 'the hideous one' because she was named for her beauty Euphuism is seen in such names as Yāḳūt (lit "jacynth, ruby") and Dīdāḥ (< Turkish *čičāk* "flower", the slave mother of the caliph al Muktafī), and a good example of antiphrasis in the name of Kāfūr al Ikhshīdī [*q.v.*] (*kāfūr* "camphor" being white and fragrant, whereas Kāfūr was a black eunuch, proverbially noisome and malodorous (see MAṢṢ. I. In the Central Islamic lands]). In these connections, there is an interesting passage in Ibn Durayd's *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 2-5, in which he quotes al ʿUtbī as having once been asked, "How is it that the Arabs give their sons names which are considered unpleasant (*mustaḳbaḥa*), yet give their slaves names considered pleasant (*mustaḥsana*)?" Al-ʿUtbī replied that the Arabs gave their sons names with their enemies in mind, whereas they gave their slaves any names they wanted (i.e. without any ulterior motive). Ibn Durayd then goes on to give examples of names given to sons which would augur well against their enemies (*tafā'ulan ʿalā a'dā'ihim*), expressing violence, harshness, bellicosity and endurance, e.g. Ghālib, Ẓālim, Mukātil, Thābit, etc. (see further, M. J. Kister, *Call yourself by graceful names.*, in *Lectures in memory of Professor Martin B. Plessner* Jerusalem 1971). We are here perhaps straying into the realm of the *ism* proper rather than the *laḳab*, although the names given to slaves and slavegirls may be considered as *alḳāb* replacing those persons' first given names

The fondness of the Arabs, and of Kuraysh in particular, for giving satirical and opprobrious nicknames is condemned in Kur'ān, XLIX, 11, where there is a warning against the practice of groups of both men and women mocking at each other, "Do not scoff at each other or give each other derisory nicknames (*wa-lā talmizū anfusakum wa-lā tanābazū bi 'l-alḳāb*)" This sūra is accounted late Medinan, from a year or two before Muḥammad's death, by Nöldeke (*Gesch des Qorāns*, i, 221) and Montgomery Watt (*Companion to the Qur'ān*, London 1962, 237), it may be that the Prophet was feeling particularly aggrieved by nicknames given to him in the past by his opponents and by the Hypocrites, like that of al Abtar "the childless one', even though the *sabab al-tanzīl* was, according to the commentators, the women's insults to Muḥammad's wife Ṣafiyya bint Ḥuyayy because of her origin from the Jewish tribe in Medina of al-Naḍīr (cf. Sale-Wherry *A compendious commentary to the Qurān*, London 1896, iv, 70-1)

Yet whilst retaining for some time to come its derogatory and insulting aspects, the *laḳab* tended to be transmogrified into higher roles within Islamic society in one direction, it evolved into the nom-de-plume of authors and artists, the *makhlaṣ* or *takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*], above all in the Persian, Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds, such as we find in the name of the Persian poet Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] or the pseudonym adopted by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I for his Azeri Turkish verses [see Ismāʿīl I. 2. His poetry]. Most significantly for the development of Islamic culture, the *laḳab* developed from being a nickname of praise or admiration (as in such examples as Muḥ'ib al-Asinna 'he who played with lances" for the pre-Islamic poet ʿĀmir b. Mālik, famed for his prowess in battle) into becoming an honorific title, conferring status and prestige on its owner, since it frequently implied a specially close relationship to the sovereign or the divinity or else a reward for personal bravery or services to the state. As such, the *laḳab* was to have an extended life-span in the Islamic world—more particularly, in those parts of lying between Egypt and India, though these honorifics were also to be found to a more limited extent in Muslim Spain and North Africa, see below, 3—right up to the 19th and early 20th centuries, when floridity and hyperbole went out of Islamic titulature just as they did from literature and other aspects of culture.

It is not difficult to discern why such titles became eagerly sought after the desire to stand out above the rest of mankind is a universal one. Indeed, al-Ḳalḳashandī, in his *Ṣubḥ al a'shā*, v, 440, following the line of traditional Islamic *anwā'* literature writers, traces what he calls the *alḳāb al-madḥ wa-'l-ʿiz* back to such figures as Abraham al Khalīl 'the friend of God' Moses al-Kalīm 'the one who spoke with God", Jonah Dhu 'l-Nūn "the man in the fish", etc. Within a formalised, hierarchial society such as the Islamic one became in the ʿAbbāsid period, modes of address, insignia or rank and office, dress, etc. all contributed to the fixing of a man's status in society and the state, and as such were prized as the visible and audible symbols of success in the temporal world. In the process of the spread of honorifics, there were—as for other aspects of early Islamic culture—the precedents of

the earlier Near Eastern civilisations, the Romano-Byzantine and the Persian ones, to provide an element of continuity with the past.

The early Arabs knew from their contacts with the Byzantines on the Syro-Palestinian borders that a complicated system of honorific titles and modes of address existed for Byzantine civil and military dignitaries. Allies of the Greeks, such as chiefs of the Ghassānids (see GHASSĀN) like al-Ḥārith b. Djabala and his son al-Mundhir, were honoured by having the honorary title of *patricius* bestowed on them, this term found its way into general Arabic usage as *biṭrīḳ/biṭrīḳ* (see BIṬRĪḲ) In Achaemenid Persia, the characteristic expression of pomp and magnificence (μεγαλοπρεπεία) through grandiloquent titles was familiar to Herodotus (I, 136), who further mentions (viii, 85) that meritorious servants of the state were enrolled in the list of "the king's benefactors" (προσαγγής). Under the Sāsānids, the great men of state were likewise honoured by the award of a wide range of honorifics, e.g. the title *buzurg framādār* "chief executive" for the emperor's chief counsellor and minister, Mahāfrīd "the greatest [of the ruler's servants]"; Hazārmard "[with the strength of] 1,000 men" for military commanders, and various compounds including the sovereign's name, e.g. Zāhvēghān Khusraw "eternal Kh.", Hormuzd Varāz "wild boar of H.", and many with *kāhm* 'strong" like Tahm Shāpūr or Tahm Yazdigird. These honours were usually completed by the grant of robes of honour the later Islamic *khiʿla* (q.v.) (see Nöldeke-Tabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 8-9, 443 and n. 1; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 328; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 113-24, 326, 409-11).

2. The period of the caliphate. The wide dissemination of honorific titles in the Islamic world began at the top, with the adoption of regnal titles by the caliphs. Later historians, projecting backwards what had become common practice in their own time, attributed the use of such titles to the Umayyads and even to the Orthodox caliphs. Al-Masʿūdī, in his, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 335, tr. 431-3, cites pro-Umayyad traditions to the effect that the Umayyads had honorifics of the theocratic type which had by two centuries later become familiar from ʿAbbāsid practices, e.g. al-Nāṣir li-dīnillāh Allāh for Muʿāwiya, al-Kāhir bi-ʾllāh Allāh for Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malīk and al-Murtaḍā billāh for Ibrāhīm b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malīk, but he rightly rejects these traditions as weak and uncorroborated by the historians and biographers (cf. E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i. *Le califat*, Paris 1954, 486-7). Similarly, the epithets attributed to the Orthodox caliphs, such as al-Ṣiddīḳ "he who testifies to the veracity of the Prophet's mission" for Abū Bakr, al-Fārūḳ "the just" for ʿUmar and Dhū 'l-Nūrayn "possessor of the two lights" for ʿUthmān, are probably of early growth (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Mutafiḳ wa-ʾl-mufṭariḳ*, ed. Sabīnā Wurūr, Damascus 1971, 1, 105), but must nevertheless have been applied only after the deaths of their owners.

Honorifics of a theocratic nature, expressing dependence on God, reliance on Him, or participation with Him in the work of ruling, are really an innovation of the early ʿAbbāsid period. B. Lewis has stressed the importance of the atmosphere of messianic expectation around the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, when the worldly *Realpolitik* of the Umayyads and their animus against the Prophet's kinsfolk, the ʿAlīds, was replaced by what it was hoped would be the reign of divinely guided justice; and these feelings favoured the adoption of religious based titles by al-Manṣūr and his successors. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, had no formal regnal title, though his partisans may well have attributed to him various names with messianic implications. His successor Abū Djaʿfar formally adopted the *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr bi-ʾllāh "he who is helped by God to victory", and the eulogistic tone of early ʿAbbāsid titulature is especially clearly seen in the *alḳāb* of his successor al-Mahdī bi-ʾllāh "the divinely-guided one" and then of al-Hādī ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ "the one who directs towards the divine truth" (cf. Lewis, *The regnal titles of the first Abbasid caliphs*, in *Dr. Zakir Husain presentation volume*, New Delhi 1968, 23-92; F. Omar, *A note on the laqabs (i.e. epithet) of the early ʿAbbasid caliphs*, in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt, studies in the history of the early ʿAbbasids*, Baghdād 1976, 243-7). In subsequent ʿAbbāsid usage, the apocalyptic element is less prominent, but the honorifics still express reliance upon and submission to the deity, or confidence in His guiding power, e.g. al-Wāthiḳ bi-ʾllāh "he who puts his trust in God" and al-Muṭīʿ bi-ʾllāh "he who shows himself obedient to God" (cf. Tyan, *op. cit.*, 483 *ff.*).

It is notable that the ʿAbbāsid honorifics up to the later 4th/10th century and the period of Buyid control in Baghdād are formed essentially with participles or adjectives of a passive or reflexive character, thereby emphasising the supremacy of God's controlling power and the vital securing of His favour for the business of ruling in conformity with the *Sharīʿa*, the ideal, if not always the practice, of the ʿAbbāsids. A. Abel has noted that the ʿAbbāsids great rivals in North Africa and Egypt, the Fāṭimids, had in order to press their superior claim, as they saw it, to the caliphate and imāmate, to adopt a more aggressive and active form of titulature (*Le khalife, présence sacrée*, in *Stud. Isl.*, vii [1957], 38 *ff.*) This new type of titulature reflected the role assigned in Ismāʿīlī cosmogony to the *Imām* in the hierarchy of intelligences emanating from the godhead, and it actively associated the holders of these titles with God's direct working in the world. Thus we have al-Kāʾim bi-ʾamr Allāh "he who takes charge of the execution of God's command" for the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh's successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, and from the time of al-Muʿizz's accession onwards (341/953), the honorifics of the Fāṭimids are all active participles or adjectives emphasising the ruler's decisive part in the implementation of God's will in this world, e.g. al-Ḥākim, al-Āmir, al-Ẓāfir, etc., usually with a complement like *bi-dīn Allāh* or *bi-amr Allāh*.

Not surprisingly, the ʿAbbāsids strove from the latter years of the 4th/10th century onwards to emulate these activist forms of titulature, in order to emphasise their own position as upholders of the Sunna, whence titles like al-Kāʾim bi-ʿamr Allāh appear in the middle years of the 5th/11th century and ones like al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh and al-Ẓāhir bi-amr Allāh in the early 7th/13th one. In all these cases the *laḳab* might be adopted as a new regnal title on the caliph's accession, but increasingly, the *walī ʿahd* or heir to the throne was given a *laḳab* as soon as he was invested formally as heir to the reigning monarch, with his own *kunya* and/or honorifics thereafter appearing on the coinage side by side with those of the actual caliph. This *laḳab* usually remained with the heir once he acceded to the caliphate proper; but occasionally, the *laḳab* adopted by such an heir-apparent was exchanged

for a different, often more grandiloquent one on his obtaining the throne. Thus al-Mutawakkil's original *laḳab*, during the period when he was his brother's heir, was al-Muʿtazz, but this was changed on the second day of his succession to the caliphate (232/847) by the chief *ḳāḍī* Abū Duʾād to al-Mutawakkil (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, vii, 289 = ed. Pellat, § 2872, cf. Tyan *op. cit.*, 280, 486).

If the caliphs could assume splendid and sonorous honorifics themselves, it lay also within their power to confer titles on their servants and supporters, in the first instance to their viziers and secretaries and to their military commanders. The process dates from the early 3rd/9th century, and at least until the following century it was practised comparatively sparingly by the ʿAbbāsids. The Persian secretary al-Faḍl b. Sahl (*q.v.*), former protégé of the Barmakids and eventually vizier to the caliph al-Maʾmūn, exercised the functions both of *wazīr* and *amīr*, and by 196/811-12 he is found with the honorific Dhu ʾl-Riyāsatayn "possessor of the two executive functions", sc. of civil administration and military leadership. Around the same time, the Persian general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (*q.v.*), founder of the line of Ṭāhirid governors in Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ, received the *laḳab* of Dhu ʾl-Yamīnayn "possessor of two right hands, the ambidextrous" (various explanations for this phrase are to in fact given in the sources, it had already been used in the earliest Islamic times as a synonym for "liberal, open-handed", e.g. by the great poetess al-Khansāʾ (*q.v.*) when eleguing her brother Ṣakhr). al-Faḍl b. Sahl's cousin ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd received that of Dhu ʾl-Ḳalamayn "possessor of the two pens" (either alluding to the two principal government departments of finance and the army, or else to "the two modes of writing", sc. Arabic and Persian); whilst later in the century, in 269/883, the vizier Saʿīd b. Mukhallad was granted by al-Muwaffaḳ the title Dhu ʾl-Wizāratayn "possessor of the two vizierates" (referring either to the two spheres of power civil and military, or recognizing Saʿīd's role as servant both of al-Muwaffaḳ and the titular caliph al-Muʿtaḍid) (see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 201-9, 315-20, ii, 678, 682).

This type of *laḳab* containing a dual expression was, however, one known before this time, as is attested by the name Dhu ʾl-Nūrayn for the caliph ʿUthmān and Dhu ʾl-Shahādatayn, applied to the Companion and partisan of ʿAlī, Khuzaymа b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (because the Prophet had promised him double the normal martyr's rewards: see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 425, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 124). The type was, indeed, to enjoy a long life in Islamic titulature, just as dual forms of the simple *ism* (Muḥammadayn, al-Ḥasanayn) have been current in the Islamic world until the present day. The ʿAbbāsids' successors in eastern Persia and ʿIrāḳ, the Būyids, continued the usage of the caliphs for their own ministers and secretaries, thus we find Rukn al-Dawla's great vizier Abu ʾl-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd with the *laḳab* of Dhu ʾl-Kifāyatayn "possessor of the two capabilities" (i.e. of the sword and pen), though this title was in fact awarded directly by the caliph (see ibn al-ʿamīd). In the following period of the Saldjūḳs, titles in *al-Ḥaḍratayn*, referring to the separate courts of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūḳ sultans, occur, e.g. Thiḳat al-Ḥaḍratayn "confidant of the two courts", and Niẓām al-Ḥaḍratayn "support of the two courts", the title held by the *Nāḳib al-Nuḳabā*ʾ ʿAlī b. Ṭarrād al-Zaynabī in Baghdād during the latter decades of the 5th/11th century (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, iv, 454, tr. de Slane, iii, 151). See for all these types of dual titles, I. Goldziher, *Ueber Dualtitel*, in *WZKM*, xiii (1899), 321-9 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hildesheim 1967-73, iv, 195-203, and Canard and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*, i, 267-9.

An interesting fact of usage has recently been highlighted by P. Balog. Pious invocations after names are familiar from the early use of the *taḳiya* after the name of the Prophet, the *taslīm* after those of earlier prophets, the *raḍiya* after the names of the early caliphs, etc. From the latter Umayyad period (from the time of Yazīd II b. ʿAbd al-Malik [101-5/720-4] onwards, in regard to the evidence of inscriptions on glass weights and inwasure stamps from Egypt) onwards, pious invocations like *aṭāhahu Allāh* "may God set him in the way of righteousness", *aṭāla Allāh* "may God grant him long life" and *akramahu Allāh* "may God honour him" are consistently appended to the names of caliphs and of high officials and governors. It seems that a particular formula like those just mentioned remained with an official or governor throughout his career, unless he were awarded a fresh invocation of higher prestige. Such *adʿiya* (sing. *duʿāʾ*) may accordingly be approximated to *alḳāb* as expressions of particular honour awarded by the ruler to a faithful servant, and in the manuals of secretaryship from the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods (see below, section IV), the two types of honorific are often treated together. See Balog, *Pious invocations probably used as titles of office or as honorific titles in Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 61-8.

Characteristic of the 4th/10th century was the appearance and then the growing popularity of compound honorifics including as their second elements the terms *dīn* "faith" and *dawla* or *mulk* "secular power", or less commonly, compounded with *umma* "religious community" and *milla* "religion". These titles have been studied in detail by H. van Berchem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande mit historischen Erläuterungen*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 84-105; Canard and Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, i, 199 ff.; J. H. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, in *AO*, v (1927), 53-67, and A. Dietrich, *Zu den mit addīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Personennamen*, in *ZDMG*, ca. (1960), 43-54. The last three of these studies contain extended lists of these types of *laḳab*, for they were to enjoy a popularity which ran for almost a millennium, and Dietrich puts the total of *dīn* titles enumerated by Kramers and himself at 126. The *dawla* titles were the earliest to appear, but in the first place, were titles of great honour granted only exceptionally by the caliphs. Thus when al-Muktafī honoured his vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh of the Banū Wahb (vizier 289-91/902-4) by giving to him one of his daughters in marriage, he also awarded him the title Walī ʾl-Dawla "friend of the state" as a special mark of intimacy (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 336). In 330/941-2 the Ḥamdānid of Mawṣil Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan received from al-Muttaḳī, as a reward for his services against the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Muḥammad b. Raʾīḳ, the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, whilst his brother Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī of Aleppo obtained that of Sayf al-Dawla. Shortly afterwards, in 334/945, the Daylamī Būyids entered Baghdād and took over the office there of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and the three Būyid brothers Aḥmad ʿAlī and Ḥasan b. Būya received the honorifics of Muʿizz

al-Dawla, ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al Dawla respectively All the subsequent Būyid *amīrs* ob tained from the caliphs titles of this type, sometimes with a greater degree of elaboration, e g the ʿAḍud al-Dawla wa-Tādj al-Milla of Fanā-Khusraw, the Sharaf al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla conferred on Abu l Fawāris Shīrzīl by the caliph in 376/986 and the Bahāʾ al-Dawla wa-Ḍiyāʾ al-Milla wa-Ghiyāth al-Umma of Abū Naṣr Firūz b. ʿAḍud al Dawla (see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 133, Eng tr 135 I. Richter-Bernburg, *Amīr-malik-shāhanshāh ʿAḍud ad-Dawla's titulature re-examined*, in *Iran, Journ. of the BIPS*, xvii [1980],, and BAḤĀʾ AL-DAWLA in Suppl)

It may be noted, in connection with the mention of Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ [see IBN RāʾIḲ], that it is in the first half of this century that we have the formal constitution of the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] as the concomitant of caliphal decadence, In fact, this title, or a similar form like *kabīr al-umarāʾ*, appears in the later years of the 3rd/9th century in reference to the commander-in-chief of the caliphal armies; but only with the caliphate of al-Rāḍī (322-9/934-40) did the holder of the *imārat al-umarāʾ* achieve a commanding grip on affairs, so that it seemed natural for the Būyids to step into the office a few years later (see Tyan, *op cit*, 531 41)

Especially interesting, in the light of the significance of the Būyids and the *dawlat al-Daylam* or "reign of the Daylamīs" for an attempted reconstruction, in Islamic form, of the ancient kingship of Iran, is their assumption of the ancient imperial title *Shāhanshāh* "emperor of emperors". ʿAḍud al-Dawla used it widely and with great pride in his titulature and protocol, and indeed the title became so characteristic of the Būyids that the Ghaznavid historian Bayhaḳī actually refers to them as the Shāhanshāhiyān (*Taʾrīḫ-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], 41, 400, 438), but it seems possible that use of the title goes back to the very beginnings of the Būyids' seizure of power in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, and was begun by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's father Rukn al-Dawla or even before that by his uncle ʿImād al-Dawla. Its assumption without caliphal permission clearly indicates a claim to temporal power by the Būyids independent of any caliphal act of delegation but after ʿAḍud al Dawla's death, his weaker and squabbling successors were compelled to seek caliphal support and hence pay more respect to the "caliphal fiction" by seeking validation for the title *Shāhanshāh* directly from the ʿAbbāsids As is well-known, al-Ḳāʾim complied over this when asked by Djalāl al-Dawla, but when in 429/1038 the title was introduced publicly into the Baghdād *khuṭba* for the first time, a near riot ensued, and the approval of the *fukahāʾ* of the three law schools of the East, the Ḥanafīs the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfiʿīs, had to be sought before this ostensibly blasphemous (at least in the eyes of the pious) title could safely be re-introduced from the pulpits (see H. F. Amedroz, *The assumption of the title Shāhanshāh by Buwayhid rulers*, in *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 4, vol. v [1905], 398-9, and the detailed and important study of W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title Shāhanshāh by the Būyids and "The reign of the Daylam"* (Dawlat al-Daylam)", in *JNES*, xxvi [1969], 84-108, 168-83). Until approximately the time of the Mongol invasions, *Shāhanshāh* remained an exalted regnal title e.g the Ismāʿīlī Grand Master of Alamūt ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618-53/1221-55) is called al-Mawlā al-Aʿẓam Shāhanshāh al-Muʿaẓẓam in one inscription (van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie*, in *JA*, Ser 9 vol ix [1897], 453-502). Subsequently, however, it declined from being a *laḳab* into an ordinary *ism* amongst Persian princes and those Turkish ones who at times adopted ancient Iranian nomenclature. As we have seen above in regard to dual titles, the Būyids likewise secured imposing honorifics for the great viziers and secretaries who served them. Notable here is the use of the element *kāfī* "capable one", and al Bīrūnī singles out such *alḳāb* of Būyid officials as Kafī l Kufāt, al-Kāfī al-Awḥad and Awḥad al Kufāt as "nothing but one great lie" (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 234, tr. Sachau, *The chronology of ancient nations*, 232).

The Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in distant Transoxania and then Khurāsān were abstemious in the use of honorifics, and al-Bīrūnī, *op cit*, praises them for this, comparing them favourably with the Būyids The epithets of al-Saʿīd, al-Sadīd, al-Ḥamīd, al-Rashīd, etc., seem to have been applied to them retrospectively after their deaths, and the only clear instance of a *laḳab* used by one of the Sāmānids in his own lifetime is that of the last of the line Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ (d. 395/1005), who styled himself al-Muntaṣir "the one rendered victorious [by God]", perhaps as a hopeful omen—vainly, as events turned out—for the restoration of his dynasty's fortunes Yet although the Sāmānids, in practice independent, were usually punctilious in their deference to the ʿAbbāsids, they did in the second half of the 4th/10th century confer *alḳāb* unilaterally on their great commanders, thus Nūḥ b. Manṣūr (365-87/976-97) gave the title of Nāṣir al-Dawla to the commander of the Bukhārā *ghilmān*, and the Sāmānids' Turkish commanders in Khurāsān received similar titles, e.g Husām al-Dawla for Tāsh Ḥādjib and ʿAmīd al-Dawla for Fāʾik Khāṣṣa (see Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv [1962], 214-15).

The successors of the Sāmānids in eastern Persia and Afghānistān, the Ghaznavids [*q.v.*], departed, on the other hand, from the path of Sāmānid simplicity, and from the time of the line's founder, Sebüktigīn, onwards, regularly sought from the caliphs numerous honorifics Those of Sebüktigīn were Muʿīn al-Dawla and Nāṣir al-Dawla or Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla, perhaps commonly abbreviated to Nāṣir al-Dīn (cf. S M Stern, in *Paintings from Islamic lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oxford 1969, 14 ff. the question of the exact form of the *laḳab* is of some importance for the first appearance of the compound *dīn* type honorifics, see below). By the time of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (451-92/1059-99), the sultans bore a dazzling array of honorifics, in this case Ẓahīr al-Dawla and some twelve others, as well as the ceremonial designation (e.g. for the coinage) of al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam/al-Aʿẓam "highly-exalted sultan", a designation probably adopted under Saldjūḳ influence (details in Bosworth, *op cit.*, 215 ff., and idem, *The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay, the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 55-6)

Compound honorifics in *dīn* appear at a slightly earlier date than the *dawla* ones, and the award of Nāṣir al Dīn wa 'l Dawla to Sebuktigin would appear to be the earliest instance of a *dīn* title, it is certainly the only *laḳab* of this type listed by al Bīrūnī in his *Āthār* 133-4, tr. 130-1, under the heading "the holders of *alḳāb* granted by the caliphal court", the remainder being mainly compounded of *dawla*, *milla* and *umma* (Kramers thought that the linking of *dīn* and *dawla* in titles—see further on this coupling, below—stemmed from a long Islamic tradition

in which these two strands of human existence were regarded as interdependent in this temporal life and their fortunes inextricably interwoven—he also thought that the combination of ideas came "incontestablement" from Persia, see *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, 61.]

In the 5th/11th century, usage of the two types of *laḳab* in *dawla* and in *dīn*, fluctuates, but the coming of the Saldjūḳs gave a great impetus to the spread of those of the second type. According to the Saldjuḳ historical sources, when Toghrïl appeared in Baghdād in 449/1058 for the second time the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim bestowed on him the honorifics of Ruḳn al-Dawla "pillar of the states" and Malik al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib "king of the east and west" (see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 47), but in practice, Toghrïl was generally referred to, in the short period of life remaining to him and also retrospectively, as Ruḳn al-Dīn. *Dawla* titles seem to have fallen into disfavour under the Saldjuḳs, for the subsequent sultans of the 6th/12th century favoured titles with *dīn* or, instead of the frequent alliterative coupling of *dīn* and *dawla* in a title, a further alliteration of *dīn* and *dunyā*, Malik Shāh had the honorifics Djalāl al-Dawla (whence the name of the Djalālī era [*q.v.*]) and Muʿizz al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā, whereas his son Muḥammad had that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā. Whether the overshadowing of the *dawla* titles had any theological significance, as Kramers suggested—a preference for those in *dīn* stemming from the strongly orthodox religious atmosphere of the Sunnī reaction against political Shiʿïsm, and an avoidance of the non-Kurʾānic term *dawla*, with its connotations of the changes and vicissitudes of blind fate—is unproven, but seems unlikely. But if *dawla* titles became less popular, the Saldjūḳs had no hesitation in the use of compound titles with *milk* for their viziers and high military commanders (e.g. ʿAnūd al-Mulk for Abū Naṣr Kunduri [*q.v.*] and Nizām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] for Abū ʿAlī Ṭūsī) and the ʿAbbāsids themselves came to imitate the Saldjūḳs in the bestowal of titles expressing the idea of secular power, e.g. al-Muḳtafī's award of the title Sulṭān al-ʿIrāḳ, Malik al-Djuyūsh to his vizier ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] in 549/1154 as a reward for expelling the Türkmens from Wāsiṭ. Saldjūḳ practice was also the model for the Khwārazm Shāhs of the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries: see L. Richter-Bernburg, *Zur Titulatur der Ḫwārazm Šāhe aus der Dynastie Anūštegīn*, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F. IX (1976), 179-205.

The Sh[i]ʿī Fāṭimids, the Saldjuḳs' great opponents in the struggle for influence in the Syrian Desert region and its fringes of Syria and al-Djazīra, did not have this reluctance to use *dawla* titles, at least for their viziers and officials. A standard formula for their viziers was al-Wazīr al-Adjall 'most exalted vizier', awarded for instance to Yaʿḳūb b. Killis by the caliph al-ʿAzīz in 368/979, but at this same time, compound *dawla* and other titles appear for the Fāṭimids' viziers, e.g. Amīn al-Milla for Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, and for their commanders, governors and vassal princes e.g. Sayf al-Dawla for the Zīrid Yūsuf Buluggīn in 361/972, and similar titles for Yūsuf's successors Bādīs and al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (see H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides Xe-XIIe siècles*, Paris 1959, ii, 509) when al-Muʿizz in 433/1042 transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir awarded the *laḳab* of his former vassal, Sharaf al-Dawla, to al-Muʿizz's kinsman, the Hammādid al-Naʿïd, who returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance); and Murtaḍā l-Dawla for the Ḥamdānid commander Lu'lu'ʾs son Manṣūr in Aleppo in 399/1008 (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, 710). An individual feature of Fāṭimid titulature for their viziers was the use of compound titles in *amīr al-muʾminīn*, e.g. Sayf Amīr al-Muʾminīn wa-Khalīlahtuhu for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ahmad al-Djardjarāʾī, and Muṣṭafā Amīr al-Muʾminīn for Abū Manṣūr Ṣadaḳa b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī. Very soon the titulature of these Fāṭimid officials became remarkably luxuriant and pompous, heralding the later verbosity of Mamlūḳ titulature in Egypt, thus in 447/1050-1 the vizier Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yāzūrī enjoyed the titles of al-Wazīr al-Adjall al-Awḥad al-Malik, Sayyid al-Wuzarāʾ wa-Tādj al-Asāṭīʿ wa-Ḳādī 'l-Ḳuḍāt wa-Dāʿī 'l-Duʿāt, ʿAlam al-Muḥḳḳ, Khāliṣat Amīr al-Muʾminīn, to which were later added al-Nāṣir li 'l-Dīn, Ghiyāth al-Muslimīn, the ensemble denoting the whole extent of his powers, not merely as a vizier but also as chief *ḳāḍī* and chief *dāʿī*.

But in general, Fāṭimid procedure over the grant of honorifics was on similar lines to that of the ʿAbbāsids as is attested by the texts of such awards (called technically *ḳuṭūb al-tawḳīʿ* "documents conferring [royal] authority") quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī from the *Masʾūdī al-bayān* of the Fāṭimid author ʿAlī b. Khalaf (a work which was long believed lost, but which has recently turned up in Istanbul, see A. H. Saïsh in *Arabica*, xv [1973], 190 *sqq.*, and THALAB in Suppl.). Here a stereotyped formula is set forth, in which the grant of titles is accompanied by other favours such as the gift of a standard, a sword and a fine mount (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 341). As in the Sunnī world, the awarding of honorifics was often proclaimed *urbi et orbi* by the Fāṭimids in Cairo either before the caliphal palace or from the mosque pulpit, thus al-Ḥusayn b. Djawhar was in 390/1000 honoured by al-Ḥākim, receiving a robe of honour and having his newly acquired title of Kāfīd al-Kuwwād "supreme commander" read out from the *minbar* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 153, see further on Fāṭimid titulature in general, Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya fī 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-wathāʾiḳ wa 'l-āthār*, Cairo 1958, 65 ff., 92 ff.).

After the Saldjuḳ period, sc. after the 6th/12th century, the dominance of *dīn* titles was firmly established, not only for rulers and their servants, but also, by what must have been unilateral adoption or else by the general consensus among religious groups, for outstanding spiritual leaders, Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, etc. e.g. Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.v.*]. In any case, by this time all pretence at the caliph's being the sole dispenser of these honours had been abandoned. A consequence of this was that honorifics began to be adopted according to a method of rough conformity with a person's original *ism*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī has a passage on this custom in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* v, 488 *sq.*, under the heading of *Fī 'l-alḳāb al-mufrada ʿalā 'l-asmāʾ*, and the practise clearly dates back to early Mamlūk times, if not before. Thus among the Turkish mamlūks, ʿAlam al-Dīn went with the name Sandjar, Djamāl al-Dīn with Aḳ Kush, Husām al-Dīn with Hasan or Husayn, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn with ʿAlī, Tadj al-Dīn with Ibrahīm, etc. Even eunuchs had their characteristic combinations of *laḳab* and *ism*, e.g. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn with ʿAnbar, as had the Coptic officials of the administration in Egypt, e.g. Tāḳī 'l-Dīn with Wahba (cf. a similar list in al-Suyūṭī's

Risāla fī ma'rifat al-kuld am 'l-khuld wa 'l-asmā' wa 'l-alkāb, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Une importante Risāla de Suyūṭī*, in *MFOB*, xiv/ii (1573 4), 332 4, and also Ḥasan al-Bāghū, *op cit*, 103 5). This type of usage was carried over into the Ottoman empire, especially amongst the *'ulamā'* and *fukahā'*, e.g. Badr al-Dīn with Maḥmūd, and the already-mentioned couplings with Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, *'Alī* and *Ibrāhīm*; the alliterative effect often achieved was obviously a factor favouring the adoption of several of these (cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi [1923], 29 n. 3)

Whilst the *'Abbāsid* caliphate was still a living organism (i.e. till the Mongol sack of Baghdād in 656/1258), the granting of honorific titles remained, at least in theory, a jealously guarded privilege of the caliphs, Local rulers or provincial governors who maintained the "caliphal fiction" of Sunnī constitutional theory, that all executive authority derived ultimately from the caliph, tediously sought a grant of honorifics at the outset of their reigns of governorships, and titles expressing personal closeness or a special relationship to the caliph, such as Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Wafī Amīr al Mu'minīn and Kasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn, were especially sought after (early examples of the designation *mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn*, 99 before the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, probably simply expressed a relationship of subordination and dependence, clientship or *walā'*, between the caliph and its bearer, rather than being the grant of an official title, O Grabar thinks that the attribution of this phrase to the governor of Egypt Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn (*q.v.*) in 265/878-9 still expressed dependence rather than a title of honour; cf. his *The coinage of the Ṭūlūnids*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs no 139, New York 1957, 39-40).

Recognition by the caliph, involving an investiture charter (*'ahd manshūr*) plus the other insignia of power such as honorifics, a richly-caparisoned charger and banners, might give a contender for power in a disputed succession the edge over his opponent. In 421/1030 the Ghaznawid prince Mas'ūd b Maḥmūd hurried eastwards from western Persia to Afghānistān in order to confront his brother Muḥammad, who had been proclaimed sultan by the army in Ghazna. At Nishāpūr he received from the caliph al-Kādir an investiture diploma for the Ghaznawid empire plus a strong of honorifics, *mu'izz li sultānī* as Bayhaḳī calls them, Nāṣir Dīn Allāh, Ḥāfiẓ *'Ibād* (or *'Ubbād*) Allāh, al Muntakim min A'dā' Allāh and Ẓahīr Khalīfat Allāh Amīr al Mu'minīn. Mas'ūd ordered that details of the award should be proclaimed and publicised in the towns of Khurāsān, and it proved to be a valuable propaganda weapon in his successful wresting of the sultanate from Muḥammad later that year (Bayhaḳī, cited in Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, 224-5, and idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 54).

Not surprisingly, the *'Abbāsids* held on their privilege of granting these titles in the Sunnī world for as long as possible. The caliph personally was the fount of honours, and the precise form in which they were granted had to be rigorously observed, the Mamlūk author Ibn Faḍl Allāh al *'Umarī* [see FADL ALLĀH] states, concerning the correct form of address used by kings for governors and lesser rulers, that there was an inflexible rule in ancient times "that an king was ever addressed except by the precise honorific granted to him from the caliphal *dīwān*, with an addition or omissions", *bi 'l-nass min ghayr ziyāda walā nakṣ* (*al Ta'rīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 86-7). Conversely, the unilateral and unauthorised assumption of *alkāb* by a person was an act of *lèse-majesté*, a virtual declaration of rebellion against the caliph or sovereign, as happened in Khurāsān during the late 4th/10th century; the ambitious military commander al the Sāmānids, Abū *'Alī* Simdjūrī, in 381/991 rose against his master Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, appropriated all the revenues of Khurāsān and styled himself (*laḳabāha*) Amīr al Umarā', *al-Mu'ayyad min al Samā'* "the heavenly guided supreme commander" (*'Uthmānī Maʾlīf*, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286/1869, 4, 155)

Since the granting of such titles and honours meated status and prestige for the recipients, it was natural that the *'Abbāsids*, in the period of penury into which they had fallen by the early 4th/10th century, should expect a return for this services, during the Būyid period in particular, when the caliphs were reduced to subsisting in straitened circumstances as pensioners of the Būyids, this sale of honours, normally in return for presents, became all the more vital for them The grants seem to have become in time regulated by something like a fixed tariff In Bayhaḳī's *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, 193, there is an account of the detailed discussion at Mas'ūd of Ghazna's court in 422/1031 about the presents to be sent to the new caliph al-Kā'im, from whom the sultan expected confirmation of his territories plus a grant of fresh *alkāb* and other insigna of royalty, much of this discussion revolved round what was the usual *rasm* or practice here, with the adducing of precendents from the Saffārid period.

Inevitably, voices were raised against the over-lavish granting of honours and titles, with a consequent cheapening in their value Already the poet and litterateur Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. *al-'Abbās* al-Khwārazmī (d. 383/993 or 393/1003 (*q.v.*)) had complained in a satire.

> What do I care that the *'Abbāsids* have thrown open the gates of *kunā* and *alkāb*?
>
> They have conferred honorifics on a man whom their ancestors would not have made doorkeeper of their privy
>
> This caliph of ours has few *dirhams* in his hands, so he lavishes honorifics on people.

(al Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 230; cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 76-9 Eng tr 86-8). Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d 448/1056) has a long passage in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. *'Abd al-Sattār Farādj*, Cairo 1958, 106 ff., lamenting the changes between the time of the viziers Ibn al-Furāt and *'Alī* b *'Īsā* (the latter of whom had refused to increase the designation of a certain governor above the simple wish 'May God assist him'! although threatened for his obduracy), and even between the time of the viziers of *'Aḍud al Dawla* and Samṣām al-Dawla, and the position at the end of his own lifetime His main gravamen is that social and functional differentiation becomes impossible when titles lose their real meaning, and his conclusion is that "Inevitably, official positions have declined in status where they have been reduced to one level (*in* titulatures), and have become cheapened when they have all been made equal. They no longer possess any glory which one can admire, nor any splendour to be prized. Indeed, I have heard our master the caliph *al Kā'im* bi amr Allāh—may God prolong his reign!—says that there is no designation

left for a deserving person". Hilāl's contemporary al-Ṣūlī likewise mockingly observes that when the ʿAbbāsids started rewarding their adherents with vain *dawla* titles, extending even to triple ones, their empire foundered "In this way, the matter became utterly opposed to common sense and clumsy to the highest degree, so that he who mentions them gets tired before he has hardly begun, he who writes them loses his time and writing, and he who addresses [people] with them runs the risk of missing the time for prayer" (*al-Awrāḳ al-bāḳiya*, 132, tr. 129). By the end of the 5th/11th century, the process of debasement had gone even further in the Muslim East, and the Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk complains volubly, in the section of his *Siyāsat nāma* on titles (ch. vi, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 189 ff., tr. idem, *The book of government or rules for kings*, London 1960, 152 ff.) that "There has arisen an abundance of titles, and whatever becomes abundant loses value and dignity", and that "In these days, the meanest official gets angry and indignant if he is given less than seven or ten titles". In particular, Niẓām al-Mulk denounces the confounding of *dawla* titles, formerly reserved for military commanders and the Turks, with the *mulk* and other titles used by viziers, governors and other civilian and religious officials and dignitaries, so that there results the absurdity of a Turkish general, illiterate, tyrannical and totally ignorant of the *Sharīʿa*, being given titles like Tādj al-Dīn "crown of the faith" or Muʿīn al-Dīn "succourer of the faith". He places the time when the floodgates were opened in the Saldjūḳ empire to the indiscriminate and incongruous granting of honorifics as being the years after Alp Arslan's death (sc. after 465/1072 and the accession of Malik Shāh, these strictures on the trends of the latter sultan's reign must be regarded as from a later hand than Niẓām al-Mulk's, perhaps from that of his copyist Muḥammad Maghribī).

3. The Muslim West. Most of what has been said so far relates primarily to the central and eastern lands of Islam, sc. Egypt and the lands further east. The vogue for honorifics followed a rather different course in the Muslim West in general, their use was less developed in the more puritanical West, where there was a tendency to regard elaborate and fancy names and titles as effete and Persianising phenomena. Hence the term *alḳāb maghribiyya* is not infrequently used by Maghribī writers in disparaging references to them, e.g. by al-Makkarī and by the Maghribī traveller to Egypt and Syria just before the Ottoman conquest, ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Idrīsī. This last shows himself, in his apuscule *Bayān ghurbat al-Islām bi-nuḳṣān tuṣfāy al-mutafaḳḳiha min ʿl-muṣṭafḳura min ahl Miṣr wa ʿl-Shām wa-mā yalīhā min bilād al-ʿAdjam* (written in 916/1510, see Brockelmann, II, 251, S II, 153), as particularly severe against the habit of the religious scholars (the first of the two classes mentioned in the title of his work) of taking honorifics like Shams al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn, which he stigmatises as *bidʿī* "heretical" and *shayṭānī* "devilish", in preference to the plain good old *sunnī* names Muḥammad and ʿUmar, and of insisting on the use of these honorifics in addressing them (see Goldziher, *ʿAlī b. Meymūn el-Maġribī und sein Sittenspiegel des östlichen Islam*, in *ZDMG*, xxvth [1874], 306-10 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vi, 14-18).

Already the Idrīsid *sharīfs* of Morocco, with their claims to ʿAlid descent, had styled themselves *imāms*, and the Khāridjī Rustamids of Tāhart outdid not only this last designation but those of "caliph" and *amīr al muʾminīn* also, these powers, of course, rejected the legitimacy of ʿAbbāsid rule, whereas the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya, faithful in theory at least to the Baghdād connection, never took such liberties in matters of titulature. The rise of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in North Africa during the early years of the 4th/10th century nevertheless introduced fully to the Maghrib a titulature with messianic implications and one wholly opposed to the ʿAbbāsid moral and constitutional position (see above, Section II), and the new trend inevitably had repercussions in Muslim Spain. A dynasty like the Spanish Umayyads, which had to defend itself on the cultural and ideological planes against both the distant ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād and, more pressingly, against the aggressively Shīʿī Fāṭimids (on the propaganda offensive of the Fāṭimids directed against the Spanish Umayyads and its effects, see M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 162-9), could not but be influenced by the political and religious propaganda value of honorific titles. When the greatest sovereign of the family, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, adopted after his victory at Bobastro over Ibn Ḥafṣūn in 315/927 the *laḳab* of al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, together with the designations of "caliph" and "commander of the faithful", he thus placed himself firmly within what had now become the mainstream ʿAbbāsid tradition of theologically-oriented caliphal titulature. His lesser successors studiously followed his example till the end of the dynasty in 422/1031, so that we find e.g. Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, etc., as did the Hammūdids who alternated with the last Umayyads, e.g. al-Ḳāsim al-Maʾmūn (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 132-3, ii, 21, 115-16). The *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* who followed them during the period of the disorder and fragmentation in the middle decades of the 5th/11th century followed suit, with a disparity between the actual extent of their authority and the grandiloquence of their titles which attracted the satirical or ironic comment of contemporaries. Thus Ibn Khāḳān in two places in his *Prolegomena* quotes verses of the panegyrist of the Zīrids, Ibn Rashīḳ (q.v.),

> What makes me feel humble in Andalus is the use of the names "Muʿtaṣim" and "Muʿtaḍid" there.
> Royal epithets (*alḳāb mamlaka*) not in their proper place, like a cat that by puffing itself up imitates the lion.

(*Muḥaḍḍama*, ed. Quatremère, i, 281, 412, tr. Rosenthal, i, 316, 470, attributing the verses to Ibn Sharaf (q.v.), al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Muʿtaḍid were honorifics adopted by princes of the Hammūdids of Malaga and the ʿAbbādids of Seville respectively). In matters of titulature, the Naṣrids of Granada "demeurèrent fidèles à la tradition orientale adoptée par les Umayyades de Cordoue, fondés sur l'autorité absolue du souverain et au caractère semi religieux" (R. Arié). Like their contemporaries amongst the rulers of the Muslim West, they used the title of Amīr al-Muʾminīn, known from Almoravid times (see below), although the Mamlūk chancery in Egypt simply addressed them in official documents as *Ṣāḥib Ḥamāt Gharnāṭa*, according to Ibn Naẓir al-Djaysh, cited by al-Ḳalḳashandī in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vii, 413. Certain Naṣrid rulers assumed, as Arié implies, *alḳāb* of the usual theocratic pattern, such as the dynasty's founder, Muḥammad I, called al-Ghālib bi'llāh, and on returning from a successful expedition against Castile, Muḥammad V assumed that of al-Ghanī

in'llāh (Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973, 185-7).

Yet although the trends of the least filtered through to the Iberian peninsula in considerable measure, the effect of these trends tended to operate at the highest level only, that of the monarchs themselves. The Spanish Muslim sovereigns were much more careful over the bestowal of honorifics to their servants, ministers and generals than were the eastern dynasts. Ibn Abī 'Āmir of course assumed the title of *al-Manṣūr* [*q.v.*], for which his rôle in the state at the end of the 4th/10th century befitted him, on his return from the expedition against Leon in 372/982, and he was followed by his son 'Abd al-Malik, styled al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]. Other isolated instances occured, such as the award by al-Ḥakam II of the title Dhu 'l-Sayfayn in 363/974 to the general Ghālib on his victorious return from a campaign in the Maghrib and the bestowal of the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn in 367/978 to both Ghālib and Ibn Abī 'Āmir, one borne previously only by the general charged with defence of the Spanish frontier against the Christians, and over three centuries later, the great vizier of the Naṣrids, Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], was to enjoy the *alḳāb* of Lisān al-Dīn and Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musc.*, ii, 194, 213, 215 n. 2, 228-9).

North Africa remained faithful for a longer period to the puritanical ideals of an equalitarian, earlier form of Islam, in its disapproval of pompous titles, once the interlude of the rise of the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimids was over and the domination of Mālikī orthodoxy was re-established under the Almoravids. The Almoravids originally recognised 'Abbāsid authority, but to mark the reality of their own power in North-West Africa adopted—whether of their own accord or with the approval of Baghdād is unclear—the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn. Thus there was created, from the constitutional point of view, what van Berchem conveniently called a "sub-caliphate", whose rulers recognised an authority higher than their own and did not therefore adopt a titulature proclaiming their total independence and non-recognition of any superior power. The Almohads, however, came to power in the middle years of the 6th/12th century on a wave of messianic enthusiasm and under a charismatic leader, the Mahdī Muḥammad b. Tūmart (see IBN TŪMART), and took up again in some measure the pattern of titulature instituted in the Maghrib two centuries before by the Fāṭimids. During Ibn Tūmart's lifetime, his lieutenant 'Abd al-Mu'min was styled the Mahdī's *khalīfa* and Amīr al-Mu'minīn, sc. of the Almohad faithful, and on Ibn Tūmart's death, he became the *imām* of the community, with the title of al-Khalīfa bi-amr Allāh; from the reign of Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) onwards the Almohad sultans are found with honorifics of the familiar theocratic pattern (see van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'occident, à propos de quelques monnaies Mérinides et Zeyanides*, in *J.A.*, Ser. 10, vol. ix [1907], 263-79, and the important section on the title Amīr al-Mu'minīn in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 408-14, tr. i, 483-72).

The pattern of titulature was in this way established for the sovereigns of the three successor-states in the Maghrib and Spain to the Almohads, sc. the Naṣrids (for whom see above), the Marīnids of Morocco and the Ḥafṣids of Ifrīḳiya. The Ḥafṣids' eponymous ancestor was the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's celebrated companion and partisan, Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, and the Ḥafṣids continued to use in reference to themselves the term al-Muwaḥḥidūn "those who proclaim God's unity" (an assumption admitted by the secretaries of the Mamlūk chancery in Cairo, who used the titles Za'īm al-Muwaḥḥidīn "chief of those proclaiming God's unity" and Kudwat al-Muwaḥḥidīn "exemplar of those..." in addressing them, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, vi, 31, 65). The most significant factor in the pattern of Ḥafṣid titulature, as it evolved in the 7th/13th century, was their claim to the caliphate, put forward by the second ruler of the dynasty, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (647-75/1249-77) in 650/1253. This was buttressed *firstly* by the attempts of the family's apologists to impute to them a Kuraysh descent from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (whose *kunya* had been Abū Ḥafṣ), so that the sultans proudly termed themselves *ibn al-khulafā' al-umarī* or *al-rāshidīn* and *secondly* by the recognition of the Sharīf of Mecca and, briefly, of the Mamlūks of Egypt even, after the extinction of the 'Abbāsid caliphate in Baghdād by the Mongols and before its revival in Cairo. Whence also the Ḥafṣids adoption of the characteristically caliphal designation of Amīr al-Mu'minīn (although their rivals, the Mamlūks, would only allow them the "sub-caliphal" one of Amīr al-Muslimīn), and of theocratic *alḳāb* on the exact 'Abbāsid pattern (al-Mustanṣir and al-Mutawakkil being especially favoured by various members of the dynasty), in order to demonstrate the genuine nature of their caliphal claims and the continuity of their titulature with the older 'Abbāsid practice.

Looking forward to what will be said below about the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk usage of such titles, we may also note that the Ḥafṣids, deeply involved in struggles with Christian powers such as Spain and France, seeking a foothold in North Africa, assumed titles reflecting their rôle as leaders in the holy war, such as *al-Mujāhid fī sabīl Allāh* "he who fights in God's way", and allowed themselves to be addressed impersonally by titles of respect like *al-Majlis al-'ālī/al-'alī* and *al-Ḥaḍra al-'aliyya* (the latter expression being used by the Bey of Tunis until the proclamation of the republic there as the equivalent of the European diplomatic forms "His Majesty", "Son Altesse", etc.). See on all these questions of Ḥafṣid usage, van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'occident*, 283-93; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle*, Paris 1940-7, i, 40, ii, 7 n. 27.

The Marīnids for long accepted the supremacy of the already-established Ḥafṣids, hence they (and also their neighbours of Tlemcen, the 'Abd al-Wādids or Zayyānids) normally used the lesser title of Amīr al-Muslimīn rather than the fully caliphal one of Amīr al-Mu'minīn; many of the Marīnid sultans also bore theocratic-type *alḳāb* like the Ḥafṣids. But there were episodes when certain sultans did assume the higher title. For a short period of 9 month in 708/1308-9, Abū 'l-Rabī' Sulaymān adopted it on the coins which he issued conjointly with his Naṣrid ally Muḥammad III, apparently as an act of defiance to the Ḥafṣids. Furthermore, Abū 'Inān Fāris al-Mutawakkil (749-59/1348-58) seems to have employed the title as a lever to secure the deposition of his father 'Alī, who had already styled himself in his official documents Amīr al-Mu'minīn and Ṣā'id al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Almohad titles par excellence (and also Bakiyyat al-Salaf al-karīm in allusion to the Berber Marīnid's pretensions to an Arab genealogy). The mention in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 414, tr. i, 472, of the "Zanāta rulers", sc. the Marīnids, using the title Amīr al-Mu'minīn must be a reference to this episode, though subsequent

sultans reverted to the lesser title Amīr al-Muslimīn. The whole question of this alternation of titles was examined in great detail by van Berchem in his *Titres califiens à occident*, 245-335

With the decline of the Marīnids and their successors the Waṭṭāsids, the Saʿdī Sharīfs from southern Morocco rose to power in the early decades of the 10th/16th century on a wave of Moroccan enthusiasm for the expulsion of Turkish Algerian influence and of renewed Islamic murābiṭūn fervour for *jihād* against the Portuguese encroachers on the Moroccan coastlands. In an atmosphere which was thus fed on religious enthusiasm and popular messianic expectations of a new defender of the Muslims, it is not surprising that the first of these Sharīfs of the Sūs, Muḥammad (d 924/1517-13) assumed the chiliastic titles of al-Mahdī and al-Kāʾim bi-amr Allāh reminiscent of Fāṭimid and then Almohad usage. Similarly religiously-motivated honorifics were adopted by several of his successors, e.g Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, etc One should also note the very characteristic forms of address used by both the Saʿdī sultans and their ʿAlawī successors, those of Mawlāy/Mūlāy "my master' and Sayyidī/Sīdī "my lord", as also by other high dignitaries, princely and religious, in the Maghrib The form *Mawlānā* "our *master*" had been used by the Nasrids during the 8th/14th century, and the Christians of Spain in the 9th/15th century often referred to the ruler of Granada as Muley (Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, 187), whilst both Mawlānā and Sayyidunā had been early used by the Mālikīs in their official documents The form with the first person singular pronoun affix, *mawlāyā* > *mūlāy* apparently appeared amongst the Ḥafṣids in the course of the 8th/14th century, but is only at first attested in Christian sources, e.g. the "Muley Bulabes' = Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad II al Mustanṣir of a Latin document of 1391 (of Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 13-16)

4. The post-caliphal period. With the strengthening of the grip of Turkish and Kurdish dynasties over the central and eastern lands of Islam from the 5th/11th century onwards, regal, military and ministerial titulature increased in complexity and grandiloquence After the extinction of the Baghdād caliphats and the establishment by the Mamlūks of a puppet line only of ʿAbbāsids in Cairo, the granting of titles became in practice the responsibility of the Mamlūk chancery or *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*, so that this office became the concentration point of a great deal of expertise in these questions In any case, the correct ordering and recounting of all the various components of the titles of rulers and dignitaries had always been vital in epistolary and other official usages The various manuals for secretaries and officials, stretching back to Fāṭimid times but reaching their full florescence in a great document-producing civilisation like that of the Mamlūks, devote much space to forms of address and titulature. In the most monumental of these manuals, al-Kalkashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, the first *bāb* of the third *maḳāla* (v, 423-506, vi, 1-188, cf W Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 110-13) is devoted to the topic of names of all kinds, but with special reference to *alḳāb*, which are traced from the origins of Islam to the author's own time, the 9th/15th century Al-Kalkashandī has several lists al titles, e.g. of these which he calls "honorifics of more recent times", *alḳāb muḥdatha*, such as *nāʾib*, *sāḥib*, *mushrif*, *awḥadī*, *ustād al-dār*, *bunduḳdār*, *dawādār*, *amīr al-ākhur*, etc.—this last class of titles being descriptive of offices rather than *alḳāb* in the true sense of honorifics as we have been discussing them

Of greater interest for our present purpose are al-Kalkashandī's numerous pages on the protocol of correct address, when addressing the caliph or sultans downwards. Many delicate and subtle distinctions are stressed here: thus *al-maḳāṭir al-samāʾiyya-samāwiyya* (with *yāʾ muḳḥaddada*) is a higher designation than *al maḳāṭir al sāmi* (with single *yāʾ*); *al-maḳāṭir al ḥaḍrāʾ* is higher than *al-maḳāṭir al-ḥāḍir*, and *al-maḳāṭir al-ḥāḍarī* higher still (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 141 ff cf M Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, Introd. LXXXII ff) Even heathen rulers and notables were not to be denied their honorifics, though these were naturally on a lower level than those accorded to Muslim equivalents, the Mamluk chancery had of course, a sphere of diplomatic contacts embracing many non-Muslim powers, from the Christian empire of Byzantium and the Latins of the Western Mediterranean to the still-pagan Turkish and Mongol rulers of inner Asia As an example, we might cite the titles used in addressing the Doge of Venice (Dūk al-Bunduḳiyya) "al-Dūk al-Djalīl, al-Mukarram, al Mubajjidal, al-Muwaḳḳar, al-Bajal, al-Ḥamām, al Dirghām, al-Ghaḍanfar, al-Khaṭīr, Maḥd al-Milla al-Naṣrāniyya, Fakhr al-ʿInawiyya, ʿImād Banī ʾl Maʿmūdiyya, Muʿizz Pāpā Rūmiyya Ṣādik al-Mulūk wa ʾl-Salāṭīn N" If such titulature was used for infidels, the luxuriance of contemporary practice for Islamic addressees may be judged!

Only some of the salient features al Ayyūbid and Mamlūk honorific titulature can be mentioned here, the existing documentation is so rich that a whole monograph could easily be written on the topic, and indeed, much of the material used by Ḥasan al-Bāshā for his book derives from these two periods and from the Syrian and Egyptian milieux; such material from the Mamlūk period has further been used to good effect by Muḥammad Bākir al Ḥusaynī in his study, based in the first place on coin legends, *al Kunā wa ʾl-alḳāb ʿalā muḥīd al-Mamālik al-Baḥriyya wa ʾl Burdjiyya fī Miṣr wa ʾl Shām*, in *al Maʿrid*, iv/1 (1975), 55-104.

All the Ayyūbid sultans, and following them the Mamlūk ones, bore honorifics of the *al Dunyā wa ʾl Dīn* pattern—continuing here Saldjūk practice —and these appear in inscriptions and official documents, although for less formal usage a shorter form in *al-Dīn* only seems to have been current. Especially characteristic of the Ayyūbids was the use of an honorific composed of *al-Malik* plus a laudatory epithet (e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) beginning with Ṣalāḥ al Dīn's title of al-Malik al-Nāṣir bestowed on him by the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid when he appointed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his vizier in succession to Shīrkūh in 564/1169. Titles like these had been known in the Fāṭimid caliphate for some time, and al-Ḥāfiẓ's vizier Riḍwān b. Walakhshī had already in 531/1137 borne the titles of al-Sayyid al-Aḍall al-Malik al-Afḍal The inscription on the khān al-ʿAḳaba to the south-east of Lake Tiberias by its founder, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, describes him as al-Malikī al-Muʿaẓẓamī "connected with al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ', se with Sharaf al-Dīn ʿIsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, at that time (610/1213-14) governor of Damascus for his father and not yet an autonomous Ayyūbid prince; these titles were not therefore confined under the Ayyūbids to reigning princes only (van Berchem, *Eme ara-*

bucks Inschrift aus dem Osijerdanlande, 89) From the Ayyūbids, titles of this type spread to the Mamlūks, and were used by the sultans, e.g. al Malik al-Muʿizz for Aybak and al Malik al-Ẓāhir for Baybars. Such titles were also adopted unilaterally by governors, e.g. that of al Malik al Mudjāhid assumed by ʿAlam al Dīn Sandjar al-Ḥalabī after the murder of Kuṭuz in 658/1260, and the fashion spread to powers dependent upon or culturally influenced by the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, such as the Rasūlids of Yemen, whose rulers, from al-Malik al Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar onwards in 626/1229, all had honorifics of this type (see al Bāshā, 498 ff.)

The titulature of the Mamlūk rulers and of their *amīrs* was particularly complex. The title Sulṭān [*q.v.*], though certainly known in the Ayyūbid period, had not been widely used by the Ayyūbid monarchs, but was now extensively adopted by the Mamlūk ones. Each of the sultans bore honorifics of the characteristic Ayyūbid type compounded with *al-Malik*, as discussed above, and also titles in *al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn* (*see* also above). But because of their military slave origin, the Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* usually further bore special *nisbas* relating to their ethnic or local origins, their early professional training or their affiliation to the household of their masters. Thus sultan Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] had the *nisba* of al Yalbughāwī because he had been the *mamlūk* of the general Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, and Baybars [*q.v.*] that of al-Ṣāliḥī from his original master, the Ayyūbid al Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al Dīn Ayyūb, the general Ḥusām al Dīn Özdemur was called al Mudjīrī from the slave dealer who had sold him, and both the sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Shams al Dīn Sonḳor were called al-Alfī because they had been bought for 1,000 (*alf*) *dīnārs*. Although these names are in form technically *nisbas*, they were not regarded as in any way derogatory, but were, rather a source of pride to the holders and may as this wise be regarded as honorific titles.

One class of *laḳab* borne by some early Mamlūk sultans may be characterised as "quasi-territorial" or "quasi-ethnic", as these titles in which the ruler claims lordship over particular regions and/or peoples. Already al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb had grandiloquently styled himself Shahriyar al-Shaʿm Sulṭān al-ʿArab wa ʾl-ʿAdjam Ṣāḥib al-Ḥaramayn al Sharīfayn Malik al Barreyn wa ʾl-Baḥreyn Malik al Hind wa ʾl-Sind wa ʾl Yaman Malik Ṣanʿāʾ wa Zabīd wa ʿAdan Sayyid Mulūk al ʿArab wa ʾl ʿAdjam Sulṭān al-Maghārik wa ʾl Maghāribī (*RCEA*, *xi*, no. 4308), and in certain inscriptions of the Mamlūks Baybars and Ḳalāwūn we find headship over al ʿArab wa ʾl-ʿAdjam extending to al-Turk and even al-Daylam (= the Mongols here?) (*ibid.* xiii, no. 4817, etc.)

A notable feature of the Mamlūk age was the strongly orthodox Sunnī atmosphere, now that the very seat of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had been transferred to Cairo and the Mamlūk rulers had become the principal defenders of Islam. This stress on orthodoxy appears naturally in the Mamlūks' external policy, against such assailants of the *Dār al Islām* as the Mongols and the Christian Franks and Armenians, and in their internal policy as repressors of Muslim sectaries like the Nuṣayrīs and Ismāʿīlīs. Under the stimulus of an increased religiosity, both in official theological circles and in the sphere of popular religion and mysticism, the duty of *ijtihād* was exalted. Whence the frequency in Mamlūk titulature of designations like al-Mudjtahid, al-Muḥāḳḳiḳ, al-Murābiṭ, al-Ghāzī, al-Muǧāhid, etc., though these had already appeared under the Saldjūḳs, the Atabegs and the later Fāṭimids as a reaction to the landings of the Frankish Crusaders (*cf.* al-Mudjāhid as a title of the Börid Atabeg Tughtigin in a Damascus inscription of 524/1130, *RCEA*, viii, no. 3034, and also as a title of ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak in the Khān al ʿAḳaba inscription, van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 121 a). The proximity now of the seat of the caliphate and this atmosphere of religious exaltation and bellicosity probably gave an impetus also to the increased popularity of a type of *laḳab* already well known, that compounded with one of the titles of the caliph or sultan, and expressing close dependence on the supreme ruler, the enjoyment of his favour or support for him and the furtherance of the faith. Thus Ṣalāḥ al Dīn, at the time of his recognition as ruler by the ʿAbbāsid caliph adopted the title of Khāṣṣ Amīr al-Muʾminīn, and others of this type include Thiḳat Amīr al Muʾminīn, ʿUmdat al-Mulūk wa ʾl-Salāṭīn Nuṣrat al-Islām wa ʾl-Muslimīn, etc. Those titles which included as one of their elements the caliphal title *par excellence*, Amīr al-Muʾminīn, were naturally the highest-regarded and al-Ḳalḳashandī arranges the different forms which this class of title took in a hierarchy of status: Ḵāṣṣ Amīr al-Muʾminīn is the highest, and may only be borne by the sultan's sons or used in correspondence with certain neighbouring Muslim princes, ʿAḍud Amīr al Muʾminīn is the highest title which can be used for the sultan's provincial governors, Wālī Amīr al Muʾminīn can be used by high civil officials and by religious scholars, and ranks above Ṣafī Ṣafwat Amīr al Muʾminīn, and so forth (*Ṣubḥ al aʿshā*, vi, 208-9).

The type of honorifics classified by al-Bāshā, *op. cit.*, 83 ff., as "those indicating place and status", *alḳāb makāniyya*, were used as indications of reverence and humility in addressing or referring to the great. They had already been used in the heyday of the ʿAbbāsids, for in the vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt there had arisen the practice of addressing the caliph indirectly as *al-khidma*, in effect, "the one to whom service is due", and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ states that what had originally been just a formula of *ḥurma*, ingratiation, soon became a *sunna*, compulsory practice (*cf.* Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, *Le califat*, 488). By the time of the later ʿAbbāsids, we find the caliphs regularly referred to in epistolary style (e.g. in such sources as Abū Shāma and the Ḳāḍī al Fāḍil) by such circumlocutions as al Dīwān al Sharīf, al Mawḳif, al Sharīf, Maḳām al Raḥma, etc. The Būyid and Saldjūḳ usage of al Ḥaḍra (*see* above) is clearly a precursor of these expressions, although by the Mamlūk period, al-Ḥaḍra had declined from being a form of address suitable for caliphs, as in al Ḥaḍra al-Sāmiya, into being used in addressing civil officials, infidel foreign rulers and the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 498. These "honorifics indicating place or status" enjoyed a great expansion in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. That of al-Maḍjlis spread under the former dynasty downwards from the sovereign to the great men of state, so that by al-Ḳalḳashandī's time it was regarded as essentially a title for the "man of the sword and the pen", but somewhat below al Dīwān. Hence towards the end of the Ayyūbid period, the ruler tended to adopt instead the forms al-Maḳām al-ʿĀlī or al-Maḳām al Ashraf. This usage was followed by the Mamlūks, so that Ibn Shaḥḥ, for instance, says of

his *Ma'thir al-khilāfa* that al-Makām and al-Makarr are the highest *alkāb* and are exclusively royal (*ibid.*, vi, 495-6, where it is also stated that the reference in such titles is to the seat of the ruler's power or his capital)

Von Berchem's opinion was that the study of mediaeval Islamic honorifics was only of value for the study of administrative institutions, and that these titles only had historical significance in so far as they were linked with specific offices—" lose Ehrentitel haben so gut wie keinen Werth" (*op. cit.*, 105) As already noted above, Kramers combatted this negative view, suggesting that the nature of these honorifics reflected the religious and cultural atmosphere of their time, e.g. that the later predominance of *dīn* titles over *dawla* ones coincided with the Sunnī reaction against political Shī'ism and against external Christian pressure. Whether certain *dīn* honorifics did owe their popularity in the Iranian world to the fact that they resembled traditional names, e.g. Farīd al-Dīn and Farīdūn/Afrīdūn Bahā' al-Dīn and Behādīn, and Kiyām al-Dīn and Kāmdīn (*Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, 63-5), seems impossible to prove or disprove

5. The period of the great empires. The use of honorifics continued in the great empires of later mediaeval Islam, se those of the Indo-Muslim sultans, the Safawids and the Ottomans, almost down to modern times.

The titulature of the first Muslim dynasties to be permanently established in the northern Indian plain, the Slave kings of Dihlī and their successors, inevitably followed *grosso modo* the pattern set by their original master, the Afghān Ghūrids [*q.v.*], who had in their turn continued in the ways established by the power which they had overthrown in the later 6th/12th century, the Ghaznawids (for Ghaznawid titulature, see above, 5, and for that of the Ghūrids, the information given in the *Tabakāt-i Nāsirī* of Minhādj-i Sirādj Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*], who is always careful to detail the titles of his Ghūrid forebears, as also those of the Dihlī sultans contemporary with him).

The Slave Kings, essentially the Turkish military commanders of the Ghurid sultan Shihāb al-Dīn or Mu'izz al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 602/1206 [see GHŪRIDS]) followed their old masters in favouring on the whole *alkāb* in *dīn*, whence Kutb al-Dīn Aybak, Shams al-Dīn Iltutmush [*q.v.*], etc. However, as both Djūzdjānī's information and the contemporary inscriptions show, there were many variants and elaborations. Thus Aybak appears in an inscription of the Kuwwat al-Islām mosque in Dihlī as Kutb al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn, Amīr al-Umarā', whilst Djūzdjānī gives Iltutmush a *inhāb* in full as Shams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, flashing to the glory of their extensive military conquests, various sovereigns of this period conceived of themselves as following in the footsteps of Alexander the Great Already the Ghūrid Mu'izz al-Dīn Muhammad is described on the Kutb Minār [*q.v.*] as Iskandar al-Thānī, a title imitated e.g. by 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh Khaldjī of Dihlī (695-715/1296-1316) on his coins, with such variants as Iskandar al-Zamān "the Alexander of the age". The geographical and ethnic extent of the empire ruled by these Turkish commanders is indicated by Iltutmush's adopting later in his reign (in an inscription of the Hānsī mosque) the title Mawlā Mulūk al-Turk wa 'l-'Adjam, whereas previously he had styled himself (on the Kutb Minār) by the conventional, but by then obsolete title for an eastern Islamic potentate of Mawlā Mulūk al-'Arab wa 'l-'Adjam. Like other Turkish ruling dynasties of the East being newcomers into the Islamic society and polity and as yet uncertain of their place within these last, the Indo-Muslim rulers sought to validate their rule by expressing their loyalty to the 'Abbāsid caliphs (who were of course after 659/1261 puppets under the control of the Egyptian Mamlūks) Iltutmush, in the last decades of the independent 'Abbāsids of Baghdād, usually styled himself Nāsir or Nāsir Amīr al-Mu'minīn, but in one instance at least, Kāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn, the title favoured by the Ghurids to demonstrate their fidelity to Baghdād. Later in the century, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-85/1266-87 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) followed the same tradition when he styled himself Yamīn Khalīfat Allāh as well as Nāsir Amīr al-Mu'minīn. See J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sām, Qutbuddīn Aibeg and Iltutmish*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, 12-34; G. Yazdanī, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sultāns of Delhi-Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Mas'ūd, Nasīru-d-dīn Mahmūd Ghiyāthu-d-dīn Balban and Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād*, in *ibid.*, 1913-14, 13-46; Z. A. Desai, *The inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultans of Delhi*, in *Epigraphica Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1966, 4-18

The Turco-Mongol successors of these first Turkish and Afghān Indo-Muslim rulers, the Mughals, brought to India Timūrid traditions in using the great of titles and other marks of honour as strengthen the loyalty of their own Turkish commanders and to win over other groups, such as the great Afghān chiefs. Bābur mentions that, in India, permanent designations (*muharrar khitābāt*) were given to highly-favoured *umarā*, such as A'zam Humāyūn, Khān-i Djahān and Khān-i Khānān (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 537) Bābur's son Humāyūn followed a careful policy in the award of titles appropriate to services rendered as expected; thus the supreme distinction of Amīr al-Umarā' was bestowed on Amīr Hindū Beg, an old commander of Bābur's who had fought at Pānipat [*q.v.*] in 932/1526 and who was, moreover, allowed the signal honour of sitting with the emperor in formal court sessions. Under Bābur's immediate predecessors in India, the Lōdīs, the titles of nobility had been (in ascending order) Malik, Amīr and Khān. In the course of the 10th/16th century, the title of Malik fell out of fashion and that of Beg, one of prestige under the first two Mughal rulers, subsequently declined in favour of Khān, so that under Akbar, Beglar Begī was a lower title than that of Khān-i Khānān. This last was the highest title of all, held e.g. by the young Akbar's *atālik* or guardian Bayram Khān (d. 963/1561 [*q.v.*]), together with that of Amīr al-Umarā'[1] Other titles tended of be associated with specific affairs or functions, thus that of Āsaf Khān was mostly conferred on civil officials acting as *wazīr* or as *nāzir* of the royal household, hence mainly on Parsians, whilst Akbar conferred the Hindu title of *rādjā* not only on the hereditary successors to princely power but also on faithful Indian servants like the master-gunner Sabbahan. See Radhey Shyam, *Honours, marks and titles under the Great Mughals (Babur and Humayun)*, in *IC*, xlvi (1972), 101-17, and idem, *Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals (Akbar)*, in *ibid.*, xlvii (1973), 335-53.

As the political and military power of the Mughals shrank in the post-Awrangzīb period, the conferring of titles became more and more widespread by the

emperors and by provincial Muslim dynasties, so that their social value declined; hence today, old titles like Mīrzā, Khān and Beg have in the modern subcontinent become nothing more than the equivalents of western surnames.

In Safawid Persia, one notes first of all, in connection with the strongly Shīʿī basis of the state and the theocratic nature of the early Shāh's authority, a fondness for names and titles expressing devotion to or dependence upon either some venerated figure of Shīʿism, such as ʿAlī or his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, or upon the sovereign himself, considered as the vicar on earth of God or the *Imāms*. In pre-Safawid times there had occasionally been used by rulers in Persia names compounded with the Persian word *banda* "slave, devotee", e.g. the Mongol Il Khānid Muḥammad Khudābanda Öldjeytü (the *lakab* being assumed when Öldjeytü became a Muslim; his pro-Shīʿī sympathies should perhaps be noted here). Under the Turkmen Safawids, the equivalent Turkish word *kul* was commonly used, as in ʿAlī-Kulī, Imām Kulī, Tahmāsp-Kulī, Ṣafī-Kulī, etc., especially as regard to military commanders and governors, although the Shāhs themselves retained simple regnal names. The usage of these titles in *kul* was imitated in Muslim India by certain of the South Indian sultans who were Shīʿī in faith and strongly under Safawid cultural influence, e.g. the ruler of the Kuṭb-Shāhīs (q.v.) in Golkonda, Muḥammad-Kulī b. Ibrāhīm (988-1020/1580-1612).

Whilst the Shāhs themselves remained modest over the use of personal *alḳāb*, their subordinates enjoyed a rich titulature. It is under the early Safawids, apparently towards the end of Shāh Tahmāsp I's reign *ca.* 976/1568-9, that the characteristic Safawid title for the *wazīr*, that of Iʿtimād al-Dawla [q.v.] "trusty support of the state" appears; this title is much distorted in the travel accounts of contemporary western visitors to Persia, e.g. the "Athemadeulat" of Du Mans and the "Etmadowlett or prime minister" of John Bell. The late Safawid administrative manual *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (ms. 1137/1725) gives detailed information on this latter official and on the other important figure of the Kurčī Bashī (see GÜRCÜ) (who was, in early Safawid times, before the establishment of a regular, standing army, virtually the commander-in-chief, with the title of Amīr al-Umarāʾ) here called the Ruka al-Sulṭāna al-Kāmira, and on a host of lesser officials. The top fourteen officials of the administration had the title of *Ahl-i-ḥāl* "exalted in rank", and there were groups of officials with the title of *muḳarrab al-ḥaḍra* "confidant of the supreme ruler" because of their special closeness to the throne, and with that of *muḳarrab al-ḥaḍra* "confidant of the royal presence". The first group included the head of the palace eunuchs, the royal physician (*ḥakīm bashī*), the court astrologer (*munadjdjim-bashī*), the controller of assay (*sāḥib-ʿayyār al-ṣamādīḳ*), the state secretary, who drew the royal *yarlighs* (*q.v.*) (*munshī ʾl-mamālik*), the keeper of the seal (*muhr-dār*) and the keeper of the ink-holder (*dawāt-dār*). The second group, somewhat lower in status, included senior harem attendants, aides-de-camp (*yasāwulān*), the heads of various departments of the royal household and workshops (*buyūtāt*), including the master of the oust (*darrāḳ-bashī*), etc. (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, fl. 8b, 12b, 30a-35a, tr. Minorsky, 44, 46, 55-69).

Under the Kādjārs, the title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla for the *wazīr* declined in currency, being replaced by that familiar in Ottoman usage also (see below), Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam. There was also a great expansion of honorifics in *dawla*, *mamlaka*, *salṭana*, etc. for the numerous princes of the Kādjār family and for other great officials, a process which the Amīr Kabīr [q.v. in Suppl.] endeavoured in the mid-19th century years to check, but one which continued with little abatement till the end of the Kadjārs in 1925. This rich array of titulature, with by now elaborate forms of address extending down the social scale to low as mere village headmen, inevitably came under fire from the reforming Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Muḥammad Riḍā had indeed already in the Fifth Madjlis, as *Sardār Sipāh* and before he had overthrown the Kādjārs, abolished the honorific titles which had been sold for the personal enrichment of the Shāh and court officials, even though this act had been an infringement of the monarch's prerogative. On 2 August 1935 there was issued a decree on the abolition of titles and on the terminology of social intercourse. The royal family was to receive new titles, with the Shāh himself to be Aʿlā-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Humāyūn Shāhanshāhī, *high* officials were to be addressed just as *Djanāb*, and the old titles of *amīr*, *beg*, *khān*, *mīrzā*, etc. were to be abolished. In fact, although these reforms were honoured in the press and in public announcements, the old titles continued very much in common and spoken usage (see P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1963, 267-273, D. N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: the resurrection and reconstruction of Iran*, Hicksville 1975, 167, 171). When western-type surnames were introduced, some people turned the old *alḳāb* which went back to Kādjār days into family names, e.g. in the cases of Dr Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ, Prime Minister 1951-3, formerly Muṣaddiḳ al-Salṭana, and his contemporary the statesman and former Prime Minister in 1921 Aḥmad Ḳawām, formerly Ḳawām al-Salṭana.

A centralised and bureaucratic institution like the Ottoman empire, with from the late 8th/14th century onwards extensive diplomatic contacts, firstly with the Muslim beyliks of Anatolia and the Turkmen powers of the East, and then with the Christian states of the West, increasingly affected by Ottoman expansionism, evolved a complex and elaborate chancery procedure in which the careful recounting of honorific titles played a vital role. The immense bulk of surviving Ottoman diplomatic and administrative documents would make feasible a highly detailed study of this titulature, a task which remains however to be done. For the moment, it may be noted that Feridun Beg devotes the opening pages of his great collection of correspondence to an exposition of the *alḳāb* of the various classes of addressee, from the sultan at the top down to civil and military officials and members of the religious institution within the empire, and also of the *alḳāb* to be used in communicating with dependent rulers such as those of the Trans Danubian principalities and with foreign potentates like the Doges of Venice (*Münshʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 2-13). Also, L. Fekete devoted a section of his *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik der Türkischen Botendsprache in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, pp. XXXII-XXXVI, to an exposition of honorifics as found in administrative and diplomatic documents of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries concerning relations between the Porte and local officials in Hungary or between the sultans and the Christian monarchs in adjoining lands. The luxuriance of the titulature of, for instance, Süleymān the Magnificent is seen in a letter of this sultan from 972/1565, where he the *intitulatio* of the document

Süleymān describes himself as Sulṭān-i Salāṭīn-i Sharḳ wa Gharb Sāḥib-Ḳirān-i Mamālik-i Rūm wa ʿAdjam wa ʿArab, Ḵahramān-i Kawn wa Makān, Nartmān-i Mavdān-i Zamīn wa Zamān, Aḳ Deñizīñ wa Ḳara Deñizīñ wa Ḵa'ba yi Muʿaẓẓama wa Madīna-yi Munawwarānīñ wa Ḳuds-i Sharīfīñ wa Taḫt-i Miṣr Ḳāhira yi ʿAsrīñ wa Wilāyet-i Yaman wa ʿAdan wa San'ā'nīñ wa Dār al-Sadād Baghdād wa Baṣr wa Laḥsānīñ wa Madā'in Anūshīn-Rawānīñ wa Diyār-i Diyārbeḳr wa Ḵulḫarbāydjānīñ wa Dashṭ-i Ḳıpčaḳ wa Diyār-i Tātārīñ wa Kürdistān wa Lūristānīñ wa Ḳulhāyṣār Rūm Ilī wa Anṭāḳīñ wa Ḳaramān wa Aflāḳ wa Boghdān wa Angarūs memleketlerinīñ wa bunlardan ghayrī niče mamālīk wa diyār ʿaẓīm al-Ḥiṣārlīñ Pādishāhī wa Sulṭānī Soltān Süleymān Ḵhān b Sultān Selīm Ḵhān (*ibid.*, p. XXVII)

The honorifics of the sultan's subordinates were naturally less florid, but considerable care was taken to differentiate niceties of rank, as that a *beḳī* with a stipend of less than 150 *akčes* was addressed as Ḵudwat al-Ḳudāt al-Islām [sic], ʿUmdat Wulāt al-Anām whereas a *beḳī* of 150 *akčes* or more could add to the above titles that of Mumawwiz al-Ḥalāl ʿan al-Ḥarām (*ibid.*, p. XXXIV). The grand vizier was from the time of Süleymān onwards awarded the designation of Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam "most illustrious of the high dignitaries", and this title remained in use all through the Ottoman sultanate's existence, surviving the reforms in the bureaucracy of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], the last Ṣadr-i Aʿẓams being Dāmād Ferīd Pasha [*q.v.*] (till October 1920) and his successor Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha (till November 1922) who served Mehemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn. The vizier had several other epithets of distinction, such as *sāḥib Ḫaṭṭ* and *Ḥāl*, and he was entitled to the same form of address as the Khedives of Egypt in the 19th century, *dewletlī fekhāmetlī* (see further SAOUT-AʿẒAM).

It was during the *Tanẓīmāt* period of the mid-19th century that some attempt was first made at rationalising and restricting the unchecked growth of titulature, as part of the institutionalisation on western lines of the old Ottoman bureaucracy. It seems that the traditional titles were now bureaucratised. Thus Redhouse in his *Turkish and English lexicon* s.v. *bey* (375a), has "5 The title given [to] the sons of Pashas, and of a few of the highest civil functionaries, to military and naval officers of the rank of colonel or lieutenant colonel, and popularly, to any persons of wealth, or supposed distinction", s.v. *pasha* (434a) he has an explanation of the modern military and naval positions, of general officer and flag rank, entitled to use this designation; and s.v. *vezīr* (2136a) he has the definition "a civil state functionary of the highest rank, with the title of pasha". Hence in the biography of Fu'ād Pasha [*q.v.*] given in Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inan's *Osmanlı devirlerde son sadrıazamlar*[1], *Istanbul* 1969, i, 159, he is referred to merely as Efendi to all official documents until he achieved the rank of vizier in Shaʿbān 1271/May 1955 and thereby acquired the title of Pasha. See for this period, S. Kekule, *Über Titel Ämter Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache*, Halle 1892, and the entries in *M.T.* Pal'aha's *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. *alkāb ve unvān, rütbe, mülāzım, vezīr*, etc.

It seems that these bureaucratic gradations in titulature introduced under the *Tanẓīmāt* continued under the Young Turk régime in the early 20th century, but as in the parallel case of Persia under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, Kemal Atatürk's secularising and reforming policies did not allow these titles to continue in official and public usage. According to the Law no 2590 of 26 November 1934 "Concerning the abolition of appellations (*Alkāb*) and titles (*unvān*) such as Efendi, Bey and Pasha", these modes of address were swept away, and religious titles such as Ḥadjdjī Ḥāfiẓ and Mollā were also banned (Kazım Öztürk, *Son değişiklikleriyle yürürlükteki kanunlar*[2], Ankara 1975, 306; Bülent Daver, *Türkiye cumhuriyetinde siyâsî hayât*, Ankara 1955, 375). Instead of Bey and Hanım, Bay and Bayan were introduced for "Mr" and "Mrs". But as in Persia, old conventions and speech habits die hard, and in popular speech, the old title survives: Paşa for generals, whether active or retired; Efendi for artisans and non Muslims; Üstad for craftsmen, artists, etc; Hoca for teachers, secular and religious, and so forth (*cf. G. Lewis, Turkey*[3], *London 1965, 120-21*).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LAKANT, the name of two places in al Andalus. The first, which has now disappeared, was situated some 80 km to the south of Mérida [*q.v.*] in the district where in Twente de Cantos is at present to be found, on or near to the road connecting Mérida with Seville and followed by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, and on the left bank of the Guadiana (see F. Hernandez Jiménez, *Rapidā y el itinerario de Musā de Algeciras a Mérida*, in *al-Andal.*, xxvi [1961], 106-13, and *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *ibid.*, xxv [1960], 320, 361, 368). Yāḳūt (iv, 363) speaks of two fortresses dependent on Mérida, Lakant al Kubrā and Lakant al-Ṣughrā, but this seems highly improbable, for one might more feasibly conclude that *al kubrā* refers to the place mentioned above or the alternative, and that *al-ṣughrā* corresponds to Alicante (or the alternative) on the Mediterranean coast to the south of Dānīya [*q.v.*] or Denia.

Alicante, classical Lucentum, formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*]. It was one of the six towns included in the pact with Theodomir, on the journey from Orihuela to Elche, six miles from the latter according to al-Udhrī Al-Idrīsī (*Maghrib*, text 193, tr. 235), copied by al-Himyarī (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 190, tr. 205), says that there was here a little town (*madīna ṣaghīra*) which was fairly prosperous, with a market, a great mosque and a *sūḳ*. The earth produced in abundance fruits and vegetables, figs and grapes, and the town was a port for shipping esparto to the Mediterranean lands, and a centre for the construction of shipping for commercial purposes and for fishing. It had a *ḳaṣba* well garrisoned with troops, on the summit of a mountain, Benacantil, which was difficult of access. At the time of Muḥammad I, it seems to have become an anchorage used by the seafarers of Pechina. In 316/928, the bord of Callosa de Ensarriá (Kalyusha) and of Alicante and its strongholds, Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shayḫ al-Aslamī, was subdued In the 5th/11th century, Alicante became part of the *ṭāʾifa* of Denia whose fortunes it followed. After the Almoravids had passed by there, it came within the possessions of al-Aḥmad b. Hūd Sayf al-Dawla and was governed by Ibn ʿIyāḍ Subsequently, it fell under the domination of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and of the Almohads. After having recognised for some period of time Ibn Hūd's authority, and having known several confused years, whose history deserves to be studied more thoroughly, it passed under the control of James I of Aragon, on condition that the local Muslims might retain their lands.

Bibliography : In addition to sources mentioned in the text, see *Cronica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Diego Catalan and Mª Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 35-6, 293; 'Udhrī *Fragm geogr-hist de al-Masalik ila ğāmi' al-mamalik*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, index; E Fagnan, *Extraits*, 64, 210-22; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, 803 (writing *Alkant*), 566; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Antuña, Paris 1937, 118, 130; *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī* (tr. of the *Muḳtabis* by E García Gómez, Madrid 1967), 128, Ibn 'Idhārī, *ii*, 51, 52, Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, 499, E. Llobregat Conesa, *Teodomiro de Orihuela. Su vida y su obra*, Alicante 1973, 30-3; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana* (*II*) *La cora de "Tudmīr"* (*Murcia*), in *al-And*, xxxvii (1972), 147, 150, 158, E Molina López, *La cora de Tudmīr según al-'Udhrī* (s. *XI*), in *CHI*, iv (Granada 1974), index, M Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, F Figueras Pacheco, *Compendio histórico de Alicante*, Alicante 1957, R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane aux temps des Nasrides* (*1232-1492*), Paris 1973, 65 and index J B Vilar, *Orihuela musulmana*, Murcia 1976, index; see also the *Bibl* to IBN MARDANĪSH

(J Hoscht Vitā)

LAḴHM, an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period With the exception of the Laḳhmid family [see LAḴHMIDS] in 'Irāḳ, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre Islamic history of this family is not well known and is full of legend According to the traditional genealogy, Laḳhm was of Yemenī origin and was the brother of Djudhām and 'Āmila [*q.vv.*]. Yemenīs and Ma'addīs claimed descent from the powerful Laḳhmid dynasty of 'Irāḳ

Of the three sister-tribes, Laḳhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Laḳhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him But by the eve of the *hidjra*, the vigour of the Laḳhm had been sapped, while the 'Āmila and notably the Djudhām, who under the Umayyads played a leading part, had increased in importance Two centuries before the *hidjra*, the surplus Laḳhmī population had spread over the lands in the north of the peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in 'Irāḳ where they established the Laḳhmid phylarchate of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], and also MANḎHIRA, continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Laḳhm settled in the same districts as the Djudhām. Like the latter, they adopted Christianity, which also became latterly the official religion of the Laḳhmids of al-Ḥīra.

However, the *al-Namāra* inscription, dated A D. 328, has thrown much light on the history of Laḳhm It fully explains the presence of Laḳhm or part of it in Syria after it emigrated from 'Irāḳ with its king, Imru' al-Ḳays, who went over to the Romans It was after its emigration to Roman Syria that Laḳhm became associated with the "sister-tribes", Djudhām and 'Āmila, and so the genealogy that related the three tribes to one another as descended from one ancestor is fictitious, and is merely the reflection of geographical and political conditions that obtained after the emigration of Laḳhm to Roman territory and its settlement in the southern part of Syria, not far from where these two tribes had settled. The separation of Laḳhm *from* the two "sister-tribes" genealogically tips the scales against Laḳhm's being a non-Yemenī or South Arabian tribe and suggests a Mesopotamian origin. The re-appearance of the tribe in 'Irāḳ, and what is more, in al Ḥīra, after a long interregnum may be explained by the possible return of part of it to 'Irāḳ after its disappointments with the Romans, *as* by the fact that part of Laḳhm had not accompanied its king Imru' al Ḳays when *he* went over to the Romans but had stayed on in al-Ḥīra.

When Islam appeared the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Laḳhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement In the 1st century A H the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Laḳhm", we can hardly be wrong in thinking that he also ruled the Djudhām The *nisba* "Laḳhmī" becomes rare in comparison with "Djudhāmī." In the wars of Islam, during the conquest of Syria, at the Yarmūḳ at Ṣiffīn and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I against the sacred cities of the Ḥiḏjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner "Laḳhmī" became practically reduced to little more than a title of honour Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of 'Irāḳ was socially impressive, but the tribe of Laḳhm no longer had a separate existence from the Djudhām When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām, and it is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind

Only a last echo of the aristocratic connotation of the name "Laḳhmī" is seen in the claim of the 'Abbādids [*q.v.*], *muḥāk al-sunna*[2]*if* in al Andalus during the 5th/11th century, to be of Laḳhmid stock,

Bibliography : For the *al* Namāra inscription and bibl. on it, see *RCEA*, i, 1-2, and I. Shahid, *Philological notes on the al-Namāra inscription*, in *JSS*, xxiv (1979), 33-42 For the history of the tribe in general, see Ibn Durayd, *Iṯtiḳāḳ*, 225-7, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al farīd*, ii, 85 Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, ed. D H Müller, 129, 9, etc., 130, 131, 205, 206, Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae*, i. 229, 264, idem, *Buldān*, 329, 242, 244; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 59, 136, Mas'ūdī, iv, 353 v, 192, al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R Guest, 45, 151, 162; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira*, Berlin 1899, 42, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 326, 349, ii, 232, 61, 282, 352, 422; H Lammens, *Le calyfat de Yazid Ier*, 272-4 = *MSOB*, v (1911-2), 592 ff ; O Blau, in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 577, F Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, Berlin 1964-8, ii, 312-24, iii, 106-7, iv, 260-3, 280, Ibn al Kalbī Caskel, *Gamhara*, Leiden 1966, ii, 53 ff., C. E Bosworth, *Iran and the Arabs before Islam*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iii, Cambridge 1983,

(H LAMMENS-[IRFAN SHAHID])

LAḴHMIDS, a pre Islamic Arab dynasty of 'Irāḳ that made al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] its capital and ruled it for some three centuries from *ca.* 300 A.D. to *ca.* 600 A D Strictly speaking, the dynasty should be called the Naṣrids after their eponym, Naṣr, Laḳhmī [*q.v.*] being the tribe to which they belonged As semi-independent kings and as clients of the Sāsānids, the Laḳhmids were the dominant force in the political, military, and cultural history of the Arabs during these three centuries before the rise of Islam

1. History. The founder of the dynasty, whose *floruit* may be assigned to the last quarter of the

3rd century, was ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, the nephew of the Tanūkhid king Djadhīma [q.v.]. It was he who made al-Ḥīra the Lakhmid capital, whence he conquered far and wide in the Arabian Peninsula and, according to the Arabic tradition, warred successfully against Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. He appears as the protector of Manichaeism after it was outlawed in Persia. He was succeeded by his son, Imruʾ al-Kays, described in the famous el Namāra inscription as "king of all the Arabs". He, too, was a warrior king who after conquests in Arabia went over to the Romans, died in A.D. 328, and was buried at al-Namāra in the province of Arabia. The defection of Imruʾ al-Kays to the Romans resulted in the first interregnum in the history of the Lakhmids. The sources speak of a certain Aus b. Kallām in the sixties of the 4th century, and he is given various tribal affiliations, but it is almost certain that the interregnum began long before the sixties and that the Ghassānids played an important role in the affairs of al-Ḥīra, now that more light has been shed on their early history. Certainty cannot be predicated of the names and reigns of the Lakhmid kings assigned by the Arabic tradition to this obscure period in their history, sc. the 4th century.

The 5th century is much better documented in the Greek and Syriac sources as well as the Arabic ones, which yield important data on three Lakhmid kings. The first is al-Nuʿmān, nicknamed al-Aʿwar ("the one-eyed"), and also al-Shāʾib ("the wanderer"), according to the Arabic tradition he earned the latter for his having renounced the world. This is not improbable, since he is known to have visited the Syrian saint Simeon, between 413 and 420. His name is associated with the building of the famous palace, al-Khawarnaḳ [q.v.], and with the two divisions in the Lakhmid army known as al-Shahbāʾ and al-Dawsar. He was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir, who is said to have reigned forty-four years, possibly 418-58. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of 422-2 and played an even more important role in the internal affairs of Persia by his support of Bahrām Gūr for the throne. Little is known about the Lakhmid kings that followed him, al-Aswad and al-Mundhir II, but much is known about the warrior king al-Nuʿmān II. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of the period. In 498 he was beaten by the Byzantine commander Eugenius at Batnāpsos, in 502 he advanced against Ḥarrān where he was first beaten by the Romans and then triumphed over them, but shortly after died of a battle-wound in the vicinity of Circesium. A second short interregnum takes place at this period, ca. 500, associated with a certain Abū Yaʿfur.

Of the three centuries of Lakhmid rule in al-Ḥīra, the last is the best documented and the most important. It is dominated by al-Mundhir III, who reigned for a half century, 503-54. Firstly, during his reign the Arabian Peninsula witnessed a reassertion of Persian power and al-Mundhir made his presence felt in it, both as an Arab king and as the vassal of Khusraw Anūshirvān, who entrusted him with the entire Persian sphere of influence in Arabia. He warred continually with the South Arabian kings; ca. 520 he received an embassy from the South Arabian king, Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās [q.v.] and ca. 540 he sent one to the new ruler of South Arabia, the Ethiopian Abraha [q.v.]. During his reign, probably in the twenties, took place a third interregnum, that of al-Ḥārith of Kinda [q.v.]. Secondly, throughout the Byzantine-Persian conflict he was the spearhead of raids and expeditions against the border provinces, especially in the twenties, ca. 529 he attained international fame when he received an embassy from the Byzantine emperor Justin, in 532 he conceived and in part executed the Persian campaign which ended in a great victory against Byzantium at Callinicum on the Euphrates, in 539 he engaged in a dispute with the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith, which was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Byzantine-Persian war of 539-44. In the forties he continued to war with the Ghassānids, but in 554 he was killed in an engagement with al-Ḥārith near Kinnasrīn, probably the Yawm al-Ḥiyār of the Arabic tradition.

He was succeeded by his son ʿAmr (554-69) whose mother was Hind, the Kindī princess and daughter of the same al-Ḥārith who ruled al-Ḥīra during the Kinda interregnum in the twenties, and it is by his matronymic, son of Kind, that ʿAmr, the son of the most famous of all the Lakhmid kings, is known to the Arabic sources. The Lakhmids and their adversaries, the Ghassānids, are mentioned in the treaty of 561 between Persia and Byzantium, according to one of its clauses, both were expressly forbidden from waging wars against each other which would involve the two world powers, and yet ʿAmr continued to make raids against the Byzantine frontier in the sixties as did his brother Kābūs, who appears associated with him as his general. In 569 ʿAmr died a violent death, killed by the poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [q.v.] and was succeeded by his brother Kābūs, who reigned for some four years (569-73). It was during his reign that the Ghassānid al-Mundhir scored, ca. 570, a victory in Lakhmid territory not far from al-Ḥīra itself, probably the battle of ʿAyn Ubāgh, but it was also in the same reign that the Persian occupation of South Arabia took place in 572; this turned the tide against Byzantium, and resolved in favour of Persia what might be termed the struggle for Arabia.

The short period that intervened between the death of Kābūs in 573 and the accession of the last Lakhmid king in 580 was punctuated by two interregna, that of the Persian Suhrāb may be assigned to 573-4, while the other, during which most probably ruled Kabīsa, an Arab from the tribe of Tayyiʾ, lasted for a few months in 580, before the accession of al-Nuʿmān. Between the two interregna there ruled the unpopular al-Mundhir IV, during whose reign his namesake, the Ghassānid al-Mundhir scored a decisive victory over the Lakhmid, this time capturing al-Ḥīra itself, ca. 578, and setting it afire.

The last Lakhmid king was al-Nuʿmān, the son of al-Mundhir IV, who ruled for some twenty years (580-602). He is the Lakhmid best known to the Islamic Arabs and the post-Islamic Arabic sources through the panegyrics of al Nābigha al Dhubyānī [q.v.] and through his relations with ʿAdī b. Zayd [q.v.]. Unlike the reign of al-Mundhir III, his is not memorable for its international relations but for those with the Arabs of the Peninsula and with his Sāsānid overlords. In his Peninsular wars he was unfortunate in a battle (the Yawm Tikhāf or Takhāf) with Djarbāʾ, a subdivision of Tamīm. His relations with the Sasānids varied. Hormuzd gave him a splendid crown, while Khusraw Parwīz fell out with him, possibly because he was intolerant of Lakhmid pretensions to independence. After wandering among the Arab tribes seeking refuge, he surrendered himself to Parwīz, who had him killed in 602, and with his death the Lakhmid rule over

al-Hīra came to an end. In so doing, Parvīz destroyed the shield that protected Persia's flank against the Arabs of the peninsula. Some two years after the death of al-Nuʿmān, the battle of Dhū Kār [*q.v.*] was fought, in which the Arab tribe of Bakr scored a victory over the Persians, a foretaste of more dramatic victories in the thirties by the Muslim Arabs. Dhū Kār foreshadowed al-Kādisiyya [*q.v.*], both of which were splendid justification of Lakhmid al-Hīra as a bulwark for Persia against the Arabs of the Peninsula.

After the death of Nuʿmān, al-Hīra was ruled by an Arab from Tayyiʾ, Iyās b. Kabīṣa, assisted by a Persian, al-Nahīragān, for some nine years, 602-11. After this it became a Persian possession directly ruled by the Persians until it fell to Khālid b. al-Walīd in 633. The last Lakhmid prince known to the sources in this period is al-Nuʿmān, nicknamed al-Ghurūr ("the deluder") who took part in the *ridda* war in Bahrayn and was defeated by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī in 633.

c. Culture. The geographical location of their capital al-Hīra and their special relationship to Sāsānid Persia determined for the Lakhmids the direction that their history took. In spite of a certain independence which they enjoyed, they were vassals of the Sāsānids, for whom they performed the following important functions: (a) they were their shield against the inroads of the nomads from the Arabian Peninsula; (b) they watched over their sphere of influence in Arabia, especially the Arabian littoral of the Persian Gulf, including Bahrayn and ʿUmān, which they ruled for them; (c) they were their spear against Byzantium and the latter's client kings, the Ghassānids; and (d) they protected their trade interests in the Peninsula, especially the caravan-route that connected al-Hīra with South Arabia.

Their fruitful association with Persia is reflected in the various forms of their military, political, and social life, and in their material culture: (a) the sources speak of five units in their army—al-Shahbāʾ, al-Dawsar, al-Wadāʾiʿ, al-Sanāʾiʿ, and al-Rahāʾin, the first of which are said to have consisted of Persian troops, besides, there was the Khandaḳ Shābūr, "Shāpūr's Ditch", rebuilt by Khusraw Anūshirvān, a *limes* of some sort protecting al-Hīra and extending down to where al-Baṣra was to be in Islamic times; (b) the crowns of the Lakhmids were apparently bestowed on them by the Persian kings and with the crown came the word itself for crown, *tādj* as a loanword into Arabic from Persian and (c) the various aspects of their material culture must also have been dominated by the Persians in such areas as architecture, dress, food, drink, and music.

Zoroastrian Persia was also the determining factor in the attitude of the Lakhmids towards Christianity. The Sāsānids understandably frowned on their adoption of a missionary religion with universalist claims, especially after the conversion of their secular enemy, Rome, to that religion. The second Lakhmid ruler, Imruʾ al-Kays, adopted Christianity, which fact must at least partly explain his defection to the Romans. Only the last Lakhmid king, al-Nuʿmān, adopted it openly, but since it was the Nestorian form of it, in opposition to the Chalcedonian one adopted by Byzantium, it was acceptable to the Sāsānids. And yet their capital, al-Hīra, became the great centre of Arab Christianity and of its transmission to the Arabs of the Peninsula. The city was adorned with churches and monasteries, was the seat of a bishopric, and the refuge for many a persecuted ecclesiastic.

Important as their role was in the political and military history of the Arabs and of the Near East, it was their development of al-Hīra itself as the great Arab urban centre in pre-Islamic times that must be considered the major and enduring contribution of the Lakhmids. In the 3rd century A.D., the Arab cities of Hatra, Edessa and Palmyra fell in rapid succession, and the rise of al-Hīra as the capital of the Lakhmids, almost immediately after the fall of Palmyra, ensured a certain continuity in Arab urban life in the Fertile Crescent.

For almost three centuries, al-Hīra stood almost alone as a metropolis radiating higher forms of culture to the Arabs of the Peninsula and of all the elements of culture that mattered the most important was undoubtedly the development of the Arabic script and of written Arabic, called for by the demands of an organised and stable urban life in al-Hīra (see ʿARABIYYA. A. The Arabic language (ii) (I)).

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(IRFAN SHAHĪD)

LAKHNAW, conventional English spelling Lucknow, the capital city of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (the United Provinces of British India). It is situated on the south bank of the winding Gumti river at lat. 26° 52′ N. and long. 80° 52′ E. It is the eleventh largest city in the country (population, 1971 census: 750, 521) and the second largest town of the State. Besides being the seat of the State government, the city also serves as the administrative headquarters of Lakhnaw district and division.

1. History. Though legend connects the origin of Lakhnaw to a mythical local mound called Lakṣhman Tīlā, a pre-historic stronghold built by Lakṣhmaṇa, brother of Rāma, king of Ayodhya, the known history of the city can be traced to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when it was colonised by the Shaykhs, one of whose descendants Shaykh Muḥammad, better known as Shāh Mīnā, attained

great saintly renown, and his shrine, located with the confines of the historic Machhī Bhawan, is a place of pilgrimage for devotees all the year round, apart from being the oldest epigraphic monument of the city. During the Dihlī Sultanate [q.v.] period, Lakhnaw figured prominently in connexion with the revolt of Ālīm al-Mulk, son of Māhrū governor of Awadh, against Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlu. Between 1394 and 1478, Lakhnaw became part of the Sharkī kingdom of Djawanpur [q.v.]. After changing hands several times between different occupants of the Dihlī throne, Lakhnaw finally passed into the Mughal dominion under Humāyūn, after suffering from frequent Afghān incursions. The Emperor Akbar, under whom the district of Lakhnaw formed part of the *sarkār* of that name in the *subā* of Awadh, had a special fascination for Lakhnaw, whose delightful surroundings, pleasant climate, flowers and fruits and different varieties of rice are highly spoken of by his court chronicler, Abu 'l-Fadl. During Djahāngīr's reign, Lakhnaw blossomed into a *magnum emporium*. Awrangzīb's visit to the place is commemorated by a mosque which he built on the top of the said Lakghman Tīla, the oldest site of the city.

As the fortunes of the Great Mughals dwindled, those of Lakhnaw rose, until a new and independent kingdom sprang up as an offshoot from the decayed tree of the Empire. The governors heretofore paid only nominal allegiance to the titular Dihlī king. Sa'ādat Khān, who was appointed *subadār* by the Emperor Muhammad Shāh in 1134/1722, became the founder of the dynasty of the Nawwābs of Awadh, with whose régime most of Lakhnaw's glorious past is intimately connected. The period of the fourth ruler, Nawwāb Asaf al-Dawla, marks the greatest height of Lakhnaw's prosperity. The extravagance and munificence of his court passed into a byword, and could be rivalled only by the Imperial court of Dihlī. Along with the Rumī Darwāza and the adjacent mosque, the great Imāmbārā, whose central hall is one of the largest vaulted rooms in the world, forms the apotheosis of his building achievements. Lakhnaw was raised to the rank of a royal city in 1819 when Lord Hastings transformed the seventh and the last Nawwāb Wasīr, Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar, into the first king of Awadh. The puppet monarchy came to an end in 1856 when the territory was annexed to the East India Company territories and Wādjid 'Alī Shāh, the last king, was exiled to Calcutta, where he lived a pensioner's life under British supervision till his death in 1887.

To the Englishmen, however, Lakhnaw is best known as the city where a regiment of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence, joined by the local English inhabitants, put up a gallant defence of the Lakhnaw Residency for twelve weeks against heavy odds during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when the city witnessed some of the fiercest fighting. The history of the Lakhnaw district after its annexation by the British is a history of a long chain of administrative changes caused by the exigencies of situations obtaining at different times. Later on, Lakhnaw had a conspicuous role to play in the political movements of British India, for the famous Lakhnaw Pact resulting from meetings held there in December 1916 between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League led to the Hindu-Muslim co-operation in the *khilāfat* movement and the Non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

With gilded domes and graceful minarets rising above its many mosques, *imāmbārās*, palaces and tombs, Lakhnaw gives the impression of fantastic splendour, characteristic of the capital of an eastern potentate. The fine Djāmi' Masdjid, the handsome Chattar Manzil and the glittering Shāh Nadjaf mausoleum are, apart from Asaf al-Dawla's buildings, some of the finest specimens of the architectural glory of the prodigal Nawwābs. La Martinière, an impressive Christian landmark of Lakhnaw, symbolises the zeal and influence of General Claude Martin (1735-1800), a French soldier of fortune who amassed great wealth and position during the days of Nawwāb Asaf al-Dawla. The building is an exquisite memento of the synthesis of European and Indo-Saracenic architecture. 'As regards learning" says Abdul Halim Sharar, the noted contemporary Urdu writer, "Lakhnaw was the Baghdad and Cordova of India and Nishapur and Bokhara of the East.' The world famous *chikan* embroidery, the hallmark of Lakhnaw's craftsmanship since the days of the fastidious Nawwābs, has developed as the most flourishing industry. Another legacy of the Nawwābī era is the manufacture of good-quality *khamīra* tobacco used for smoking and the *zarda* for chewing, which have acquired a reputation of their own.

With Lakhnaw's name is indissolubly associated a particular school of Urdū poetry which developed there under the benign patronage of the Nawwābs. Cultivation of delicacy and refinement, which characterised the city's social life, left an indelible mark on the Urdu poetry produced there. The Urdū language was purified almost to the point of perfection. The intensive interest of the Lakhnawī Muslims in Shī'ism brought about the sophistication of the poetical genre known as *marthiya* [q.v.] (martyrological epic mourning the tragedy of Karbalā), of which Anīs and Dabīr were the two great exponents.

Modern developments have made Lakhnaw a leading city of northern India. It occupies a central place in a rich farming region, producing and marketing wheat, barley, gram, tamtard, mangoes and sugar cane. Paper and carpet, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, cigarettes and shoes, gold and silver wares, wood carving and leather goods, embroidery and perfumery are among the chief commercial and industrial products of Lakhnaw. It is a very important centre of the country's railway system. For its numerous parks and avenues, Lakhnaw is called a 'garden city'. There is a residential University, founded in 1921, with a large number of boys' and girls' colleges, several private and technical schools and the provincial museum. A University of Indian music and two national research institutes, *sc.* the Central Drug Institute and the National Botanic Garden, are housed there. Nadwat al-'Ulamā', popularly known as Nadwa College, is universally regarded as the leading centre of Islamic studies in India.

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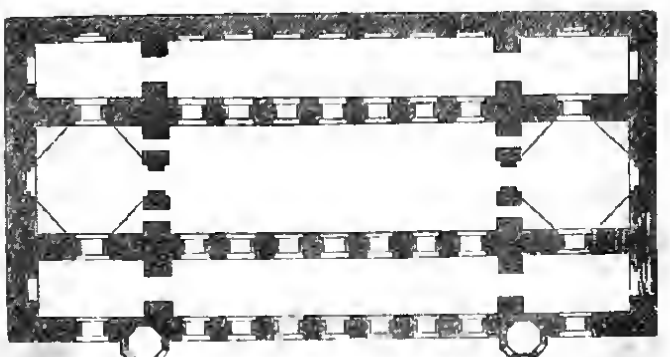
2. Monuments. The most noteworthy of the older sites is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad, known as Shāh Mīnā, dated 884/1479 (though biographies of saints give 870/1465-6). The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Čishtī, near the ʿAysh bāgh, dated 962/1555-4 is a square limestone cell surmounted by blind merlons and a hemispherical dome set on a octagonal drum; the plain doorway arch, flanked by two small superimposed niches on each side, resembles Sultanate work at Dihlī. Two Mughal mausolea in the same area are close to work at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [q.v.] in character, but undated. One, the Nadāa Mahall, apparently the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, was built as a twelve-pillared open pavilion, but this was converted to a square cell with *jālī* lattices, and surrounded with a verandah of twenty pillars whose elaborate brackets, including elephant and birds, support a *chaǧǧa* pent. The parapets of this verandah, the cell, and the base of the dome carry brilliant tile mosaic ornament on dark blue, turquoise and yellow set in red plaster: a confirmation of detail to be seen on some contemporary book paintings (*e.g. Akbar nāma*, V & A, IS 2-1896 113). The *mahāpadma* finial base is extended by a petal like network of tilework lines. The red sandstone Sola Khambā preserves the open form, here rectangular, with sixteen columns surrounding a line of five cenotaphs, and supporting a floralls carved ceiling above a finely panelled plinth. The details indicate the transition from the Akbarī to the Djahāngīrī style. The Mosque of Awrangzīb with three frontal arches to its prayer hall, and three domes, is flanked by massive octagonal minarets engaged to the front corners like the larger Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī, and lanterns at the rear. Its *pishtak* however incorporates new Baroque curvatures in the upper storey, with an arching *ḥaǧǧa* and flanking *ḥairs* following his transfer of the administration of Awadh from Faydābād [q.v.] in 1158/1775. Āṣaf al Dawla built a complex including the Āṣafī Masdjid within the Machī Bhawan or Old Fort (Kil*a), to relieve the famine in 1198/1784. This mosque follows the lines of the earlier one, but with a prayer hall of eleven bays, still with three domes, here bulbous, gadrooned, and reeded. The façade of plain arches set within engrailed arches on tapering engaged pillars is crowned with a deep foliated frieze, and a continuous register of delicate arches surmounted by tiny bulbous domes, a device already used in the mausoleum of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar Djang (d. 1168/1754) at Dihlī. The prayer court, flanked by arcaded ranges with octagonal pavilions, is approached by a long surge of steps. The same tradition is resumed in the Dīwānī Masdjid founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837-42) there the *pishtāk* is no longer rectangular, but rises into a pointed arch, and within its *īwān*, where squinch nets are reduced to waving lines, there are three arched entrances. Secondary *pishtāks* are introduced at the centre of each wing, rising in taller arcades. Luxuriant leaves spring round the dome bases and the same foliation pervades the interior, where the *miḥrāb*, matching the entry, is triple. *Guldastas* of differing length are clustered at the skyline.

The *taʿziya* ceremonies [*q.v.*] required large halls, of which the greatest, the Bāṛā Imāmbāṛā is in Āṣaf al-Dawla's complex of 1784 (see Fig 1). The long range of the façade is handled like that of his mosque, but with niched piers, and triads of arches at each end marked off by domed octagonal pavilions in two storeys. The arches and domes of the parapet are reiterated in a second range above, set back with two more pavilions on the flat roof. The hall within, 52 m by 16 m by 15 m high has a solid concrete vault carried on successive covings of converging groins, and the founder's tomb lies in the middle. The architect was Kifāyat Allāh. The third building of the complex, the Rumī Darwāza, possibly so-named after its triple gateway, shares the rapid change of rhythm and the recession in levels, but the river elevation unexpectedly reveals a giant *īwān* framed within an arch with radiating *guldastas*, and capped by a *ḥairī*. The Husayn-ābād (Imāmbāṛā of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh again contrasts arches of different sizes with parapet arcades and *guldastas*, though in a light, lacy manner culminating in a gilded dome. The Ḥaḍratganǧ Imāmbāṛā of Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh (1842-47) is comparatively plain, but its interior, like the other two, was once



[Plan of the Bāṛā Imāmbāṛā, Lakhnaw (after J. Fergusson)]

splendid with crystal chandeliers and precious shrines.

Besides the *imāmbāṛā* burials, the tradition of mausolea continued with those of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798–1814) and his wife Khurshīd-zāda, built by his successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814–27). Both follow the organisation of Safdar Jang's monument with corner turrets capped by *chatrīs* around the main dome, but the *pishtāq* and *īwān* are absent, replaced in the former by a tetrastyle portico on each face (K. Smith, *Journal* 1832 V & A. Dir. 1958–1915, pp. 581–3). Both have domes of a strongly European profile, with prominent finials and salient angles around a tall drum suggesting a derivation from Les Invalides (1693–1706), the accumulation of lesser domes and *bangla* vaults around the Queen's tomb also recalls Hindu massing. Ghāzī al-Dīn built his own tomb, the Shāh Najaf (Najaf Ashraf) dominated by a white, stone-like dome and lined within an arcaded precinct. The garden at Ḥusaynā bād contains two supposed replicas of the Tāj Mahall for a daughter of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh and her husband, which however demonstrate complete lack of its classical balance.

The origin of European influences is apparent in domestic buildings. Initially Saʿādat Khān had taken over the Panc Mahall built by the Shaykhzādas in the Fort, the buildings were improved on a grand scale by Shudjāʿ al-Dawla (1754–75), but by 1775 they still lacked unity (Modave *op. cit.* 183). Both palace and fortifications were destroyed in 1857 and after Āṣaf al-Dawla transferred the court to a new Dawlat Khāna including the Āṣafī Kothī, probably commissioned from Claude Martin, in 1782–3. Martin, who had arrived in Lakhnaw in 1776, rose to become advisor to the Nawwābs, whose taste he influenced, creating fine buildings for them and obtaining furniture from Europe. These included Mūsā Bāgh (Barowen) (1780–1804), a classical house with a bow front to the river, and a landward court sunk for coolness, and Bībiyapur Kothī, a much plainer building. His own town house, Farḥat-bakhsh (1781) shows the same combination of climatic ingenuity, strong defences and wit it was bought in 1800 by Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, who used it as his residence at the centre of a new palace complex. Constantia (La Martinière (1795–1800) though influential was, as Martin's tomb, unsuitable for adoption, and continues in his endowment as a school. Dil-kushā (*ca.* 1805), built by Sir Gore Ouseley as a reinterpretation of Sentan Delaval back home in Northumberland (1720) became a favourite hunting lodge of Saʿādat ʿAlī, and provided the portico model for his tomb. By 1813 the Nawwāb had bought all the English houses but three, and himself constructed a fine new street of such houses, radically different from the Indian model, in Hadrat ganj. The building of palaces continued with his domed Motī Mahall and Lāl Bāradarī (Kaṣr al-Sulṭān), a throne room with *ghilāfs* as fine as the Nadān Mahall. Ghāzī al-Dīn built the Chaṭṭar Manzil, incorporating the Farḥat-bakhsh, for his harem blending Martin's classicism with the local tendency to culminative recession and domes with *chaṭṭrīs* eaves, carrying gilded parasols. That these allusions were deliberate is confirmed in the Darshan Billa, of whose four façades two are taken from Barowen, one from Farḥat-bakhsh, and one from Dil-kushā, much as the images in Urdū poetry (Jones, *op. cit.*, 224). The borrowing of Western motifs remained superficial, and even the use of such houses was not fully grasped. Such stylistic variety could be realised with ease in the local medium of stucco on brickwork. This was fully exploited in the vast palace of Kaysar Bāgh built for Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh by Chōṭā Miyān in 1848–50, the final, Rococo phase of Mughal architecture is combined with the gamut of Western elements with a splendid and theatrical disregard for rule, but little now remains.

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LAKHNAWṬĪ (shortened form of Lakhanawatī, "home of Lakhan", which is a derivation from *Lakṣmaṇa*, son of Daśaratha and half-brother of Rāma Candra, and *vatī*, meaning "home" or "habitation", the name of an ancient city which served as the principal seat of government in Bengal under Muslim rule for nearly four centuries. Its ruins are still found spread over a narrow and deserted channel of the River Ganges in lat. 25° 52' N. and long. 88° 10' E., 10 miles/16 km. south-west of the modern Mālda town (administrative headquarters of Mālda district in the State of West Bengal, India), from which it is reached by a macadamised road.

Though the date of the foundation of the city is shrouded in obscurity, tradition has it that it was built by one Sangaldīb of the Cooch Bahar area of north Bengal, who had become unchallenged master of Bengal and Bihār after defeating Rāja Kedar Brahmin of the same region. But the recorded

history of Lakhnawtī does not begin until the Muslim conquest of western and northern Bengal in 594/1198 by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī, the military general of Kutb al-Dīn Aybak of Dihlī, who surprised and defeated Lakhan Sen, the ruling Hindu king, at Nadia (represented by the present Nabadwip town). After the fugitive king escaped into eastern Bengal, Bakhtiyār Khaljī established his capital at Lakhnawtī, which thenceforth became the centre of Muslim power till the end of the 10th/16th century. The most ancient name of the city was Gawr, afterwards changed to Lakhnawtī, and subsequently called Gewr again. The city was also known by various names at different times, such as Fatḥābād, Ḥusaynābād, Nusratābād and Jannatābād, the last name, meaning "paradise", being given to it by the Emperor Humāyūn when he stayed there for three months in 1538. The earliest numismatic mention of Lakhnawtī as a mint town occurs in a coin of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya dated 634/1236. The nearest contemporary account of this early period is the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, whose author Minhādj-i Sirādj visited Lakhnawtī in 641/1245 within fifty years of its conquest by the Muslims. Under the Emperor Akbar, Lakhnawtī was one of the nineteen *sarkārs* in which Bengal was divided for administrative purposes. Abu 'l-Faḍl states in his *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* that the city was known in his time both as Lakhnawtī and Gawr.

After the lapse of three decades of the Khaljī oligarchical rule, the Lakhnawtī kingdom passed under slave governors, during which it acquired so much influence and status that its governors used to be called *Malik al-Sharḳ*. But soon the palace intrigues and political squabbles of the Dihlī Sulṭānate emboldened the viceroys of Lakhnawtī to revolt against the central imperial authority, the distance from Dihlī being a greatly-contributing factor here. The greatest of these revolts took place during the reign of the strong-willed Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [*q.v. in Suppl.*], who personally led a large army to Bengal to crush the rebel governor Sulṭān Mughīth al-Dīn Tughril, who was mercilessly put to death. Bughrā Khān, Balban's youngest son, became governor of Lakhnawtī in 681/1282. Barani, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, gave Lakhnawtī the name of "Bulghākpur", meaning "place of sedition", in view of the insurrections which frequently occurred there ever since the inception of the Muslim rule.

With the passage of a century, the small principality of Lakhnawtī expanded into a redoutable Muslim kingdom, embracing in its fold Sunargaun (the present Dacca area), Satgaun (present Hooghly area), the Brahmaputra valley and the marshy lands of southern Bengal. The founder of the Ilyās-Shāhī dynasty, Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh, used to be called "Shāh-i-Bangāla". The process of the cultural identification with the Bengali people which had begun during 140 years of Ilyās Shāhī rule culminated during the next half century's reign of the Ḥusayn Shāhī Sultans, who were particularly noted for their active patronage of arts and literature. The fame of the Lakhnawtī kingdom spread far and wide, and its sultans exchanged ambassadors with the potentates of China and Khurāsān. Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'ẓam Shāh (795-813/1392-1419) established *madrasas* to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and invited the famed Persian poet, Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, to visit his court and elicited from him a celebrated panegyrical ode. The writ of the Sulṭān of Lakhnawtī was respected even beyond the frontiers of Bengal, within Orissa, Kamrup, Tippera and Arakan.

The prosperous condition of Lakhnawtī in the mediaeval times attracted the attention of foreign travellers. The Portuguese traveller, de Barros, writing before 1540 speaks of broad and crowded streets with trees planted in rows along the walls to give shade to the passers-by. Faria y Souza, visiting the city around 1640, describes the capital city lying on the banks of the Ganges as being three leagues in length, and well-fortified, and containing 1,200,000 inmates. Rennell, the cartographer, who visited Lakhnawtī in the third quarter of the 18th century, portrays the city as "not less than fifteen miles in length and from two to three in breadth".

On account of changes in the course of the Ganges, the capital was removed from Lakhnawtī to other nearby places several times in its long history. Twenty-six rulers from Bakhtiyār Khaljī (1198) to Nadir Khān (1325) ruled from Lakhnawtī, while six kings of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty had their capital at Pandua, 20 miles/32 km away to the north-easterly direction, till 1414, when it was transferred back to Lakhnawtī in the reign of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (818-36/1415-32). In 1564, Sulaymān Karrānī subsequently removed the capital from Lakhnawtī to Tānda, lying still further to the south-west near the present village of Mahdipur. The capital was again shifted back to Lakhnawtī in 1575 by Man'um Khān Khān i Khānā, the first viceroy of Akbar, but excessive rains in that year caused a pestilence in which thousands of inhabitants perished, the viceroy himself falling a victim to the contagion. The few people that survived the epidemic left the deserted city, which never regained its old glory. The capital was hurriedly shifted to Tānda, from where it was later changed to Rādjmahal in 1589 by Rādjā Mān Singh, and then to Dacca in 1608 by Islām Khān, and finally to Murshidābād in 1704 by Murshid Kulī Khān.

Though Lakhnawtī was finally deserted towards the end of the 10th/16th century, its magnificent buildings withstood the ravages of time for another century, for as late as 1683 when William Hedges, governor of the East India Company, visited the place, the architectural remains of the historic city were fairly intact. But systematic human spoliation caused irreparable damage to the monuments, whose bricks and stones were carried away to adorn the palaces and houses of distant Rādjmahal and Murshidābād. According to Grant (*Fifth report*), the *nāzimat daftar* of Murshidābād received Rs. 8000/- annually from the local *zamīndārs* of Lakhnawtī as fees for the privilege of demolishing the ruins and stripping from them their highly-prized enamelled bricks and basalt stones. Early in the 19th century, many carved stones, found in the ruined city, are said to have become prey of the Calcutta undertakers and others for ornamenting graves in Calcutta. Some of the important relics which are still extant are as follows:

The Sona Masdjid or Great Golden mosque, a massive rectangular mosque, built by Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh in 932/1526, is the largest as well as the finest of all the monuments of Lakhnawtī. It is called golden because its domes were actually gilded, and *Bārdārī* (meaning "audience hall") because it has a spacious court-yard resembling an audience hall. The Chota Sona Masdjid, built during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh (899-925/1494-1519) is situated to that portion of Lakhnawtī which now forms part of the Rādjshāhī district of Bangladesh. Of the historic Fort of Lakhnawtī, which lay on the

banks of the Ganges and extended for about a mile from north to south, only the Main Gate, called the *Dilkūsā Darwāza*, and the Royal Entrance, commonly called *Lukā Čūrī*, are in existence today. The Firūz or Firūz Shāh Minār is a sort of a victory tower, 84 ft. high and 62 ft in circumference, popularly supposed to have been built by Sayf al-Dīn Firūz Shāh (1388-90). The Kadam Rasūl is a single-domed square building, constructed by Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh in 937/1531 and situated within the enclosure of the Fort. The actual relic, which comprises a small carved pedestal of black marble containing a stone representation of the footprint of the Prophet, is said to be preserved in a private residence nearby for reasons of security. Of the remaining important mosques, there are the Tāntīpārā Masdjid, erected around 1480, the Lattan Masdjid, built in 1475, and the Camkatti Masdjid constructed by Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh in 880/1475. In a spot known as Bangālkot there existed the tomb of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Shāh (d. 925/1519), but it was destroyed in about 1846. The tomb of *Shaykh* Akhī Sirādj al-Dīn ʿUthmān, the famous saint who visited Lakhnawtī in the early 8th/14th century, is located in the north-west corner of the Sāgardighī, the enormous cistern, nearly 7 miles/10 km. south-west of Mālda town.

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LAḲĪṬ (*a*) "foundling", according to the definition of Mālikī law, a human child whose parentage and whose status (free or slave) is unknown.

It is a collective duty (*wādjib*) to pick up an abandoned or exposed child. A person finding such a child may not, having taken it up, replace it in the place where found. If two persons wish to take up the child, preference is given to the one finding it first; if they have both found the child together, it should go to the one best fitted to rear it, but if both are equally qualified, then lots may be drawn for it. The child's finder must swear in the presence of witnesses that he has found it, so that he may not subsequently claim that it is his own son or slave. The child's paternity must be established by regular means. A slave, even if liberated through *mukātaba*, and a married woman, may not pick up a child unless with the master's or husband's consent. A person who has picked up a child must be free, a Muslim, *mu'tamin* (*rāshid*) and of good character.

The foundling is presumed to be of free status until proved otherwise and is presumed to be a Muslim if found by a Muslim in a place populated by Muslims. If the local people are, however, all infidels, the child is presumed to be non-Muslim.

Looking after the foundling is the responsibility of the finder; the collective obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) is converted for him into a personal obligation (*farḍ ʿayn*). Nevertheless, certain authorities ask the child's upbringing as a charge to the public treasury (the revenue derived from the *fayʾ*) or to special endowed foundations (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 171). The finder administers the child's possessions, represents him in civil law and is responsible for the expenses of his upbringing, but he may have a remedy against the child's father for the cost of these expenses if it can be proved that the father voluntarily exposed the child and not through necessity. The child's upkeep is due until the end of puberty if it is a boy and until marriage if a girl. If the child dies, its inheritance belongs to the public treasury as representative of the Muslim community, but the *imām* may nevertheless make over the inheritance to the child's finder.

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(A. M. DELCAMBRE)

LAḲĪṬ AL IYĀDĪ, pre-Islamic Arab poet. The name Laḳīṭ does not necessarily mean that the person bearing it was a foundling, but in the present instance, whilst the genealogists know all the poet's ancestors (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 377), the *ductus* of his father's name has given rise to divergent readings, MAʿNAR (Ibn al-Kalbī, *loc. cit.*, al-Dībādj, *Bayān*, i, 42, 43, 52, Ibn Durayd, *Iṣṭiḳāḳ*, 104 al-Ḥāzimī, *Muʾtalif*, 173), MAʿMAR (Ibn Ḥabība, *Shiʿr*, 158-4, *LA*, s.v. *b-ḥ-ḍ*) and YAʿMAR/YAʿMUR (al-Shammākh, *apud* al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 829, Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Muḳtaṭirāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*, 2-7, al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, 71-5; *Aghānī* xx, 23-5, ed. Beirut, xxii, 394-8, Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 398, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 225). This last reading seems to be the most correct, it even appears in the mss. of the *Dīwān* whose recension is attributed to Ibn al-Kalbī, for whom, in his *Djamhara*, the poet was Maʿbad's *son* (see above). Such variation is easily explicable, but one nevertheless wonders whether two distinct persons have not been confused (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Register, ii, 377, amongst Kināna, there was moreover a Laḳīṭ b. Yaʿmar, cited by Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 36).

Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*, says that the Iyād [*q.v.*] established in ʿIrāḳ had to flee for refuge in al-Djazīra under pressure from the troops of Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.), who wanted to put a stop to their depredations. These last continued, and Laḳīṭ, who happened to be in al-Ḥīra (or, according to Ibn al-Shadjarī and al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, was allegedly secretary for Arab affairs in the Sāsānid king's chancery), placed his fellow tribesmen on guard against an expedition which the Persians were preparing, in a poem in *radjaz*. But the Iyād remained deaf to this warning, persisted in their ways, and were scattered; it was then that Laḳīṭ wrote a long poem in *ṭawīl* exhorting them to take seriously the new threats against them and to choose a valiant chief to oppose their enemies.

The *Aghānī* (*loc. cit.*) places these events in the same sovereign's reign, after the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, during which the Iyādīs repelled the Persian cavalry sent against them (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim, naturally, this was not the famous battle of 83/702 [*q.v.*]), and makes the poem in *radjaz* the prelude of the poem in *ṭawīl*. Al-Bakrī (*loc. cit.*) also speaks of Dayr al-Djamādjim, whilst Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, the incidents in question were contemporaneous with Dhū Kār [*q.v.*], hence later, which seems very unlikely.

Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 176-7 = §§ 601-4) tells palpably the same story but places it much further

back in time, since, for him, the poet was serving in the army (var. in *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 175 was languishing in jail) of Sābūr II (310-79 A.D.); this last exterminated the Iyād, and it was the fate wrought on the prisoners which according to this tradition, gave Sābur the sobriquet of Dhu 'l-Aktāf.

From all these pieces of information, the personality of Laḳīṭ remains highly confused, and it is hardly possibly exactly to fix the period when he was living, though it was probably during the second half of the 6th century A.D. Thanks to his two poems, the poet passed into posterity, in the 6th/12th century indeed, Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148) thought highly enough of the poem in *-š* to place it at the beginning of his *Mukhtārāt*, where it has 53 verses. It was set to music, and the passage in which the ideal war commander is sketched was especially famous (see al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 497, 1166; Ibn Nahāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, 203). Laḳīṭ is placed on the same level as Kuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*] in some verses of Zayd b. Djundab al-Iyādī in praise of his tribe (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 42), and as a result, considered as the glory of Iyād. One editor of the *Dīwān*, Muʿīd Khān (see below), makes him 'the first nationalist poet of pre-Islamic Arabia'. The *Dīwān*, which contains on more than these two poems, is preserved in several mss. of a few leaves: Aya Sofya 3933; Fatih 2665, Chester Beatty 5474 and Berlin 2123, 2176, 2130. It was made the subject of an edition and German tr. by Th. Nöldeke (in *Orient und Occident*, i [1862], 689-718), an edition by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya (Baghdād 1390/1970) and an edition and English tr. by M. A. Muʿīd Khān (Beirut 1391/1971).

Bibliography In addition to references given above, see the introd. to the various editions. O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxvii, 382; *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, i (1954), 48; Brockelmann, i, 27, S i, 55; Blachère *HLA*, ii, 254-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 175-6. (Ch. Pellat)

LAḲĪṬ b. ZURĀRA b. ʿUdus b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim, Abū Nahshal, poet and *sayyid* of the second half of the 6th century A.D.

His name apparently appears for the first time in a tradition concerning the assassination by his brother in-law Suwayd b. Rāfiʿa b. Zayd (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 80, and Register, ii, 521) of a son (or of a young brother) Mālik, of al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, who had entrusted him to Zurāra, and the vengeance of ʿAmr b. Hind (*q.v.*), as the first place on the seven sons of the murdered man and then on the Banū Hanzala b. Mālik (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 59), from whom he is said to have had about a hundred tribesmen burned in a piece of verse. Laḳīṭ reproaches these last for having remained in the service of the king of al-Hīra (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 1084-7 *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut xxii, 190). In his article devoted to a mountain in the Ḥiḏjāz infested with lions and called Tardā, Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, i, 835-6) alludes to a "famous" *yawm Tardā* (cf. al-Maydānī, i, 409, E. Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aṣṭān al-ʿArab*, Wiesbaden 1970, does not mention this), in the course of which Laḳīṭ is said to have been captured by a certain Kunayr b. Hanzala. Nevertheless, it is in the traditions about the "days" of Rahraḥān (see Meyer, *op. cit.*, 47-50) and of Shiʿb Djabala (see DJABALA and Meyer, 65-71) that he is most often mentioned in the course of the first battle, which took place after the death of Zurāra, the latter's son, Maʿbad chief of Dārim, was captured by a section of the ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa commanded by al-Aḥwaṣ b. Djaʿfar (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 93). Laḳīṭ, now chief of Dārim, then offered his enemies one camels as the purchase price for his brother, alleging that Zurāra had forbidden his sons to go beyond that number as so not to incite their enemies to obtain large ransoms. Despite the prisoner's supplications, in which he offered 2,000 camels from his own herds, Laḳīṭ remained immovable and left Maʿbad to die of hunger and thirst in captivity (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 227, al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 424, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. 1346/1928, iii, 306, etc.).

As *sayyid* of Dārim, Laḳīṭ decided to avenge the death of his brother, and assembled a force of warriors from Tamīm (with the exception of the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt, according to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 247, who accounts him one of the war leaders worthy of the title *dharrāḥ*), from Dhubyān and Asad, as well as a contingent said to have been sent by al-Nuʿmān b. Mundhir, against the coalition of the ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and the ʿAbs. Exactly a year after the "day" of Rahraḥān, *ca.* 580 according to Meyer, *loc. cit.*, the "day" of Shiʿb Djabala took place, during the clash, accompanied by the usual exchange of verses, Laḳīṭ, who was mounted, for the first time among the Arabs, on a horse caparisoned with brocade provided for him by the king of Persia, was felled by the blows of an opponent variously named in the sources (see e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 194, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 24) but who must have been Shurayḥ b. al-Aḥwaṣ (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 663-5, *Aghānī*, xi 133-7). He died the next day, not without having uttered once more some verses, and the leadership passed to his brother Ḥāḍib [*q.v.*]. Since his enemies had yet again struck him after his death, this gratuitous action inspired some verses of his daughter (or his sister, according to *ʿIḳd*, iii, 309) Dukhtanūs, wife of his cousin ʿAmr b. ʿAmr b. ʿUdud (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, 865, *Aghānī*, xi 137-9, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 24).

Although al-Djāḥiẓ in a rather obscure passage (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 93), seems to consider Laḳīṭ as a tyrant, the sources cite an anecdote in which one has his widow (a daughter of Hānīʾ b. Ḳabīṣa according to al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 493, and al-Marzūḳī, *Amthāl*, ii, 232 *q.*, or else a certain Mukaddhafa bint Kays b. Khālid according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 372-3), who had remarried, eulogising Laḳīṭ and telling her new husband that he was certainly as (sweet as) water, though not however as sweet as that of the famous spring of Ṣaddāʾ—*mā ʾadhā ʾl-ḥa-Ṣaddaʾ*, an expression which became proverbial.

Al-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, iv, 382) considers that all the sons of Zurāra (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 80, cites ten of them) were poets, but their output hardly appears profuse, and only a small number of verses attributed to Laḳīṭ survive, these are brought together by Aḥḳarīyūs in *Kawāṭi al-adab*, 258-9.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 170, iii, 220; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 662 (dem., *ʿUyūn*, iv, 17; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 175 Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, index, Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 257 and index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 194. See also DJABALA and Ḥāritha b. Zurāra.

(Ch. Pellat)

LĀLĀ [Owing to circumstances beyond their control the editors are unable to supply the article planned under this entry. They intend to publish it in the Supplement.]

LALA MEHMED PASHA, grand vizier under Aḥmad I. He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Mehmed Sokollu Pasha. The year of this birth is not given. After having had higher education

in the palace, he was *mir-shikār*, and became in 1003/1595 *agha* of the Janissaries. In the next year he took part in the Austrian wars as *beglerbegi* of Rūmīli and was commander of Esztergom (Gran, Turkish. Usturghon) when this town capitulated to the Austrian army in Muharram 1004/September 1595. During the following years, Lāla Mehmed was several times *ser-'asker* in Hungary and when, in Safar 1013/July 1604 the grand vizier Yawuz 'Alī had died in Belgrade on his way to the Hungarian theatre of war, the sultan sent the imperial seal of office to Lāla Mehmed. Although peace negotiations were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year Watzen (Turk. Wāc) but besieged in vain Esztergom. During next year's campaign, Esztergom was taken by Lāla Mehmed (20 September 1605) and in November he crowned the Hungarian Bocskay as king of Hungary (excepting the regions occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania. In that same year, the Turkish eastern army under Čighāle Pasha was beaten by the Persians while the troops sent to subdue the revolt in Anatolia were routed at Bolwadin. After his return, it was decided that the grand vizier should remain next year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long-drawn peace negotiations with Austria. The young sultan, however, changed his mind in keeping with the wishes of the Kapudan Pasha Derwīsh who was intriguing against Lāla Mehmed. Accordingly the latter was ordered to take command of the army against Persia. He had already put up his tent in Uskudār, when overcome by sorrow because of the frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apoplexy and died three days afterwards (23 May 1606). He was buried near the *türbe* of Sokollu Pasha.

Bibliography: The *ta'rīkhs* of Peçewī who, as scribe, had served Lāla Mehmed on several occasions (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 392), Na'īmā and Hasan Beyzāde; 'Othmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-wuzarā'*, 52 ff.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv, 540, von Hammer, *GOR*, iv. (J. H. Kramers)

LÂLE DEVRI, "The Tulip Period", the name given to one of the most colourful periods of the Ottoman Empire, corresponding to the second half of the reign of Ahmed III (1703-30 [*q.v.*]) and more precisely to the thirteen years of the vizierate of Nevshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. The tulip which gave its name to this era had been exported from Turkey to Austria by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, the ambassador of Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503-64) at the court of the Sultan, but it was in Holland that its cultivation was developed, through the efforts of the botanist Charles de l'Ecluse (C. Clusius) (Arras 1526-Leiden 1609), who occupied the Chair of Botany at the University of Leiden. The predilection for tulips spread rapidly throughout Europe, but the mania for this plant adopted its most extravagant forms in Turkey. In fact, imported back to Turkey from Holland in the 17th century by the Austrian ambassador Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn during the reign of Ahmed III, this flower became the object of extraordinary enthusiasm. The tulip fashion gave birth to no architecture, of which the elegant Lāle Djāmi' mosque, in Istanbul, is an example, to an art form, Ottoman baroque, inspired by French 'rococo'; and to a literary genre, the poet Nedīm [*q.v.*] being the prototype here.

The promoter of this fashion was the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha of Nevshehir, son-in-law of the Sultan. Coming to power at the beginning of 1718, he showed great diplomatic skill in the negotiations over the Treaty of Passarovitz (21 July 1718), putting an end to a state of continual war which had disrupted the economic structure of the Empire and devasted its rural areas. After Passarovitz, the Grand Vizier applied himself to pursuing the objective of peace, and his vizierate was to be marked by an initial period of absolute peace, followed by a period of euphoria induced by victorious campaigns in Iran, which was then in a state of anarchy as a result of the Afghān invasion. Agreeable and peace-loving by temperament, Ahmed III had a strong hedonistic streak. He was a cultured man, a poet and calligrapher, but also a man of exceptional greed. Ibrāhīm Pasha was himself refined and cultured, an extrovert personality and a lover of peace and pleasure. Having similar tastes, the two men were well-suited to each other. Ibrāhīm Pasha was at pains to satisfy both the hedonistic nature and the avidity of the Sultan. By anticipating the latter's desires, he simultaneously reinforced his own status and ensured the relaxation and well-being of his master. The Sultan took no interest in any aspect of government and left all the responsibility of state to his vizier, who surrounded himself with close relatives and rid the court of all hostile elements. Until 1730, the entire administration of the state was under his control and all important posts were held by his appointees; this nepotism caused much resentment and earned him numerous enemies.

Overtures to the West. The Grand Vizier was a man of enlightened sympathies, and the years of his vizierate were marked by a series of approaches to the West. For the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, attempts were made to benefit from the political, economic and cultural structures of Europe. Diplomatic relations were fostered, especially with France: an ambassador, Yirmisekiz Čelebizāde Mehmed Efendi, was accredited to the court of Louis XV, and was instructed to study those French institutions which might be adapted to the requirements of Ottoman lands (1721). Commercial relations with France were developed: each year, five hundred trading ships operated between France and Turkey.

Policies of progress, construction and innovation. In 1724, the first printing-press was installed in Istanbul, through the good offices of Ibrāhīm Müteferrika [*q.v.*], a Hungarian converted to Islam, aided by the son of the Sultan's ambassador to the court of Louis XV, who had accompanied his father to Paris. A French officer of engineers, de Rochefort, was invited to prepare plans for reforming the army on the Western model, while another French convert to Islam, Khumbaradjī Ahmed Pasha [see AHMED PASHA BONNEVAL], organised a corps of artillery. Yet another French convert to Islam, Gerčük Dāwūd Agha, was responsible for the foundation of the first team of fire-fighters. A lover of arts and literature, the Grand Vizier surrounded himself with poets, musicians and artists. He prohibited the export of rare manuscripts and founded a society for the translation of Arabic and Persian texts. He established five libraries, in addition to that of the Sultan, of which the poet Nedīm was curator. He gave a fresh impetus to the manufacture of porcelain and earthenware, restoring the workshops of Izmid and Kütahya and founding a new one in Istanbul, that of Tekfūr Sarāyī. He founded a textile-mill. In the context of municipal engineering, the projects that he instituted include the construction of a dam to bring water from the Forest of Belgrad to the capital and the building of roads and

of harbour installations; he supervised the markets personally, regulating the sale of bread and the importation of coffee. He encouraged progress in medicine. Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, the wife of the British ambassador to the court of the Sultan, states in her *Letters* that certain maladies were better treated in Turkey than elsewhere and, in particular, she mentions the existence of a vaccine against small-pox. The Sultan was an enthusiastic promoter of construction projects: fountains, mosques and mausoleums sprang up in every corner of Istanbul, palaces, pavilions (*köshk* [q.v.]) gardens and places of recreation adorned the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Architects were brought in from Europe, and on his return from France in 1721, Yirmisekiz Çelebizāde Meḥmed Efendi brought with him the plans of palaces and gardens. The most famous of these palaces, that of Sa'dābād, was built at the base of the Golden Horn, at Kāghıtāne. Given this above an account of an ancient paper mill dating from the Byzantine era, it was to become a favourite place of promenade; the palace was erected in two months, according to the plans brought from France, the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, presented the Sultan with the forty orange-trees which adorned the façade, and the first feast was held there on 31 July 1722, of which Nedīm has left us an account. The Tulip Period was an era of progress and increased interest in art and culture, poetry and music being pre-dominant. In poetry, Nedīm was an innovator, introducing music into verse and popularising ballads (*khārḳī*)

Entertainment. When wearied with affairs of state, Aḥmed III sought rest and recreation. Over a period of almost thirteen years Ibrāhīm Pasha procured for him an ambience of continuous festivity, symbolised by the tulip. Gardens and window-frames were decorated with tulips, different varieties pre-liberated, 839 were enumerated in 1726. Competitions were organised. Bulbs became so expensive that the government was obliged to control prices in order to prevent speculation (*farmān* of Muḥarram 1240/ September 1722). A bulb in the possession of an ambassador went missing; town criers appealed in vain for its return and houses were searched. At times when the flowers were in bloom, Aḥmed III used to change his place of residence, proceeding majestically in his *yalıs* (palaces built on the edge of the water). The people resorted *en masse* to the tulip promenades, and barges sailed to Sa'dābād and other places of recreation. Festivities were also held at night, and these were renowned for the spectacle, in the gardens of the Palace of Çırāghān, "Palace of Candles", at the mouth of the Bosphorus, of bearing night lights or candles under every tulip, hence the name given to this palace, in the illuminated gardens, tortoises were to be seen meandering over the beds of tulips, bearing night-lights on their shells. Nedīm has left us a reminiscence of these festivities in the lines "Let us laugh, be glad, make merry/ .. Come, slender cypress, let us set our course for Sa'dābād." When the tulip season was at an end and the rigours of the winter arrived, the round of entertainments continued unabated. The cold and the inclement weather were forgotten at the "feasts of *ḥalwā*", poets, men of letters, musicians and singers were invited to these occasions, and the most intemperate nights of the winter were passed in convivial company, enlivened by a profusion of choice viands and confections. The banquet came to its climax with the arrival of the *ḥalwā*, brought in on copper plates and prepared in the presence of the guests, to the accompaniment of music and song. Besides the tulip feasts and the *ḥalwā* banquets, the ceremonies associated with the circumcision and marriage of the thirty-one princes and princesses, the children of Aḥmed III, were the occasion for interminable festivities. Such feasts sometimes lasted for as long as a week or ten days (for example, in April 1719, April 1720, May 1722). In 1727, there were *ḥalwā* banquets which lasted for a whole month, that same year, the month of Ramaḍān fell in May, giving rise to further festivities, between 1726 and 1730, the month of Ramaḍān fell in the spring, and was celebrated accordingly each year.

With the passage of time, the festivities became ever more extravagant: the Sultan's palace was crammed with tulips and pinks at the height of winter and also with odoriferous shrubs; thousands of birds sang in gilded cages, pleasure was the sole purpose of living, the Sultan and the Vizier, both of them poets and calligraphers, wrote love-poems addressed to each other. Under the influence of the court, a change in public morals was discernible, and a love of luxury and the pursuit of pleasure became more marked. In her *Letters*, Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu declares that Turkish women are more liberated than their English counterparts. Lines by Nedīm are an indication of the moral freedom of the time. "Ask permission of your mother, say that you are going to the Friday Prayer/ .. Come, slender cypress, let us set our course for Sa'dābād." Wishing to rival the people of the court, the middle class also embarked on schemes of reckless expenditure, thus causing the ruin of numerous households. As a means of restraining such expenditure, the Grand Vizier was obliged to pass a law regulating clothing according to social class, especially in regard to decorative dress worn by women. But this moral laxity scandalised the public; the Sultan had swings built for the people's amusement, and the sight of swinging women pushed by young men was an affront to public opinion; in addition, members of the nobility, including the Grand Vizier himself, were accused of amusing themselves, during barge-trips on the water, by tossing gold coins into the corsages of the ladies; there was even an accusation levelled against the Grand Vizier that he had made continual advances to the attractive wife of the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, Zēlā Ḥasan Efendi.

The end of the festivities. The unbridled expenditure by the court, the relaxation of morals, the taxes levied by the Grand Vizier to pay for ever-more costly entertainments, caused discontent among the people, in particular the fanatical and reactionary class of the *'ulemā'*. The people felt that they had been let down. Although the Grand Vizier had made great efforts in the interests of cultural growth, had had done nothing to combat the fanaticism of the *'ulemā'* and the ignorance of the masses. The Janissaries, ignorant and fanatical, whose income depended on pillage in time of war, felt themselves threatened by the military reforms advocated by the Grand Vizier. The latter had imposed new taxes on commerce, taxes which caused discontent both among the artisans and among the Janissaries, who engaged in small-scale trading during their leisure time. The *'ulemā'* took it upon themselves to fan these grievances. However, the revolt was caused by political factors.

The foreign policy of Ibrāhīm Pasha consisted in the avoidance of war; however, the Tulip Period saw a temporary extension of Ottoman sovereignty, on account of the Afghān invasion of Iran. In the

anarchic conditions which prevailed, a new rivalry brought the Turks and the Russians into confrontation in the Caucasian provinces. Thanks to the mediation of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, this tension was resolved in an amicable fashion and a Russo-Turkish treaty, signed 23 June 1724, divided the Iranian spoils between the two powers: the Turks occupied Tiflis, Erevan, Tabrīz and the territories to the west of a line from Ardabīl to Hamadān, while the Russians took possession of Derbend, Bakū and Dāghistān. This treaty was the occasion for fresh festivities, with exchanges of gifts between Turks, Russians and French, then control of affairs was delegated into the hands of the *wālis* of the frontier regions, and the festivities continued. However, in Iran, the situation was soon reversed. Nādir Shāh succeeded in seizing power having overturned the Afghān dynasty and, in 1730, he compelled the Turks to restore the Iranian territory that they had occupied. There was news of the capture of Hamadān and the massacre of its Turkish garrison. The Grand Vizier tried to keep the defeat a secret and to settle matters peaceably through diplomacy, but Nādir Shāh refused to negociate. In order to stifle public unrest, it was necessary to prepare a campaign. On 17 July, the Ottoman army paraded at Üsküdār, where until 3 August it awaited the arrival of the uncommunicative Sultan. The latter finally joined his troops to conduct a grandiose procession which was nothing more than a show-off, all the soldiers returning to their homes at the end of the parade. But on 12 August, it was heard that the Iranians had taken Tabrīz and brutally massacred the Turks who had been stationed there. Again, Ibrāhīm Pasha tried to suppress the news, but Janissaries returning from the frontier regions spread the news of Iranian atrocities through the *bazaars*. Discontent mounted, and the Grand Vizier was held responsible for the setbacks. Janissaries and *'ulemā'* fanned the fanaticism of the artisans. In his report dated 17 September 1730, the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, speaks of hesitation to act on the part of the Sultan's court. This indecision was to prove crucial to the success of the revolt, which broke out on the morning of 28 September. The leading officials of the State were on holiday at the time, the Sultan and the Grand Vizier at Üsküdār, the governor of Istanbul, Ḳaymaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha, son-in-law of Ibrāhīm Pasha, was busy tending his garden beside the Bosphorus, as was the Kapudan Pasha, another son-in-law of the Grand Vizier. The insurgents were able to act with total freedom. Their leader was Patrona Khalīl, an Albanian, formerly a *levend* [*q.v.*] on the Sultan's flag-ship *Patrona*, of whom we have a portrait painted by the artist of the Tulip Period, the Dutchman Vanmour (1656-1738): he was a man between thirty five and forty years old already an active veteran of numerous rebellions, a skilled demagogue and inciter of crowds, who made a precarious living, sometimes as an itinerant trader, sometimes as a town-crier or *bekṣūmān* masseur. The crowd which assembled at the Hippodrome Square (At meydānı) consisted of some thirty artisans, mostly Albanians, who were joined by the trades people from the bazaar and about three hundred Janissaries whose *Agha* had made his escape with great difficulty and had reached Üsküdār in disguise. Towards evening, the number of rebels had risen to 2,000 persons. The revolt was the work of a handful of ignorant artisans. Patrona Khalīl Musla the vegetable merchant and ʿAlī the coffee stall owner, but in fact it was skilfully directed by two individuals belonging to the *'ulemā'* class: the preacher of Aya Sofya, Ispirizāde Aḥmed Efendi, and the *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, the Albanian Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi, who had personal reasons for hating the Grand Vizier. According to the report of the Marquis de Villeneuve, dated 7 October, the tragic outcome was caused by the indecision of the Sultan. The court did not return to Istanbul until the night of 29 September, two days after the outbreak of the revolt. On the morning of the 30th, Aḥmed III sought to negotiate with the rebels, feeling themselves in a position of strength, the latter demanded that the Grand Vizier and his two sons in-law, the Ḳetkhudā Ḳaymaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha and the Kapudan Pasha, be handed over to them. The Sultan tried in vain to rescue his favourite; in the night of 30 September, fearing for his own life, he ordered the strangling of Ibrāhīm Pasha and his two sons-in-law, and at dawn their bodies were surrendered to the rebels, on three ox-drawn hearses. But the insurgents, who had pillaged and sacked the palaces of the viziers, now insisted on the abdication of the Sultan. Zülālī Ḥasan Efendi and Ispirizāde, acting in the name of the rebels, communicated the decision to Aḥmed III. In the night of 2 October, having received the guarantee that his own life and those of his sons would be spared, he abdicated in favour of his nephew Maḥmūd who was immediately enthroned. Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd I had the ringleaders of the revolt assassinated.

The age of festivity had come to an end, the tulip gardens, the palaces and the places of recreation had been destroyed. The tulips had gone, they left behind a sumptuous but tragic memory.

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LÂLEZÂRÎ, Shaykh Mehmed, Ottoman author of a work on tulips, the *Mīzān al-aṣḥār* "Balance of flowers". This treatise on the cultivation of tulips was composed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III (1115-43/1703-30), who had given the author the title of *Shukufe-perverān* 'cultivator of blossoms' on the suggestion of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha between 1718 and 1730.

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LÂLEZÂRÎ, Shaykh Mehmed Tâhir, Ottoman *ḥāḍī* and author of several theological works, often known as Kâḍî Mehmed.

The date of his birth is unknown but he was born in Istanbul and was presumably connected with the Lâlezâr quarter near the Fâtih Mosque. He became a *molla* and a *müderris* in 1098/1786-7 he was *ḥāḍī* at Eyyūb, and then on 30 Muḥarram 1204/20 October 1789 he died at his house in Rumeli Hisâr. None of his extant works has been printed, but these all exist in manuscript in Istanbul libraries. They include a series of theological commentaries, such as the *Mīzān al-maḥmūd fī maʿrifat al-ḥudūd al-mustakīm*, the *Daf ʿ al-tarīḳ Rāgib Pasha fī ḥakk al-fusūḳ*, and one on the *Ḳaṣīde-yi nūniyye*, and various others on works of leading Sunnī scholars like al-Māturīdī, al-Ghazālī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and al-Bursawī.

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(Ed.)

LÂLEŞ, a valley some 30 miles/50 km north-north-east of Mawṣil in ʿIrāḳ, in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Shaykhān and in a largely Kurdish mountain area, famed as the principal pilgrimage centre of the Yazīdī sect [see YAZĪDĪS]. The *dhamāʾiyya* of the Yazīdīs is held from the 23th to the 30th September O.S. (9th to the 13th October N.S.) each year and revolves round the shrine of the founder, Shaykh ʿAdī b. Musāfir [q.v.] and the tombs of other early saints of the sect. The first European to attend and describe the festival seems to have been Sir Henry Layard in 1846 and 1849, a valuable description of the ceremonies as they were held in the 1940s is given by C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

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LALITPUR, the name of a town in the Bundelkhand region of Central India, administratively in the southwards protruding tongue of the former United Provinces, Uttar Pradesh of the Indian Union. It is situated in lat. 24° 42' N. and long. 78° 28' E. on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and on the Kānpūr (Cawnpore)—Saugor road. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Lalitā, wife of a Deccani Rādjā, and till the early 16th century it was held by the Gonds. In the 17th century it fell within the Bundelā state of Čanderī. In the first half of the 19th century, it passed from Marāṯhā control to that of the British, and in 1844 the District of Čanderī was formed, with its name changed in 1861 to that of Lalitpūr; in 1891 it was absorbed into Jhānsī District. The Čanderī and Lalitpūr Districts were centres of fighting, under the leadership of Rādjā Mardān Singh of Banpūr during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, and Lalitpūr town was temporarily abandoned by British troops. The antiquities of Lalitpūr include several Hindu and Jain temples, and there is an inscription of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaḳ dated 759/1358.

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LALLŪDJĪ LĀL, the most important translator of Sanskrit works into Bradj-bhāshā prose at the Fort William College, Calcutta. Born at Āgra in 1763 of a family of Brahmin priests, in 1786 he sought employment with Nawwāb Mubārak al-Dawla of Murshidābād and then settled in Calcutta, where he died in 1835.

In 1802 John Gilchrist, the Professor of Hindustānī (later known as Hindī and Urdū) at the Fort William College, appointed Lallūdjī as an assistant in Bradj-bhāshā. His primary duties were to help the Professor in his publications of a Hindustānī grammar and dictionary. Lallūdjī also collaborated with the senior Muslim translators of Hindustānī in their works. Based on Lallūdjī's interpretation, Kāẓim ʿAlī Diawān translated *Shakuntala*, the celebrated Sanskrit drama of Kālidāsa (*ca.* 375-455 A.D.). Lallūdjī also translated a book on Hindū polity and wrote an elementary manual of Bradj-bhāshā, but became infinitely more famous for his *Premsāgar*. This is a translation of the tenth book of the *Bhagawata Purāna* or *Srimad Bhāgawatam*, containing the life story of Krishna, especially of his boyhood. The original Sanskrit was first translated into Bradj-bhāshā poetry by Čaturbhudjdās in 1510, and Lallūdjī translated it into lucid Bradj prose, which even the Muslims of that century praised highly, both for its content and its language.

Bibliography In addition to references in the article Hindī, see T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William*, Calcutta 1819; *Proceedings of the College of Fort William 1801-1803*, National Archives, New Delhi (S. A. A. Rizvi)

LÂM, the 23rd letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed as *l*, numerical value 30 [see ABDJAD].

Definition. *frontive, lateral, voiced.* It is called a *liquid* (H. Fleisch, *Traité*, I, § 3 b) because of the fluidity of its emission. This act of emission comes

normally from the two corners of the mouth, ? bilateral; it can be made from one side only, with unchanged acoustic results, ? unilateral (M. Grammont, 72 penult. This last was probably the case with the *dād* (a lateralised consonant [see DĀD]), called *al-ḍa'ḍa'a*, which was *mā'ila* from the right or left side of the mouth (Sībawayh, ed. Paris, ii, 452 ll. 17 18) J. Cantineau has placed *l* amongst those "consonants mitoïde the classification scheme" (*Esquisse* 183, and *Consonantisme*, 288), see A. Martinet's observations in *BSL*, xlix/1 (1953), 77. According to Arabic tradition, it is *bayniyya*, *dhawlaḳiyya*, *madjhūra*, and also called *munḥarifa* "incurvated" (see Fleisch, *op. cit.*, § 47 a, d, § 43, e, f, § 49, i, and Cantineau, *Cours*, 50)

The articulation described above is for the phoneme; for the phonological oppositions which define the phoneme *l*, see Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 172, and for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 200.

Lām is emphatic *ḷ* in the word *Allāh* when it is preceded by the vowels *u* or *a*, so that one says *'inda llāh*, but *li-llāh* (see references in Cantineau, *Cours*, 52 n. 1; for a study of its articulation, references in Fleisch, *op. cit.*, 224 n. 2). The treatises on *tadjwīd* set forth the rules according to which *l* may be found in other words (Cantineau, *Cours*, 51)

Lām seems to continue an articulation which was similar to it in common Semitic (Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 172 n. 2); indeed, one may go further and add that "La liquide latérale *l* se trouve en correspondance régulière en sémitique, berbère et couchitique" (M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 182).

Alterations: (a) Exchange of phonemes. *l* > *n* in a fairly numerous groups of doublets. In several of these, the phenomenon does not seem to be conditioned, e.g. *ḥulūl* and *ḥunnat* "mountain peak", and *l* > *n* in *'ūd mutakallil* and *mutakallir* "a piece of split wood" (Fleisch, *op. cit.*, § 91 g).

(b) Assimilation. The *l-* of the definite article is assimilated when in contact with the "sun" consonants, sc. the dentals to the prepalatals (except for *dj*). For *-l* when it is final in a word, assimilation of the initial following consonant is especially notable in the case of the interrogative particle *hal* and of *bal* "nay, on the contrary" (*ibid.*, § 12 k) for the variations of the Kur'ān readers, see *loc. cit.* For the position in the dialects, see Cantineau, *Cours*, 33-4, to be completed for Egypt by the material in N. Tsereteli, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 27 and for Mauretania by that of D. Cohen, *Le dialecte arabe Hassaniya*, Paris 1963, 23-4. In regard to Lebanon one might add *milḥ* > *meḥḥ* "salt", *šār-lna* > *šār-rna* "has been to us", and *-lna* > *-nna* "for us" (Fleisch, *Études*, 398), and to Aleppo (A. Barthélemy, *Dict. ar.-fr.*, Paris 1935-54 and 1969), assimilation at a distance, as in *lakk?r* (750) and *rakk?r*, *rakkr* and also *rṯlṯāṯa* and *rṯāṯṯa* (273) "other" or "another"

(c) Dissimilation. For this see Cantineau, *Cours*, 91, and for the dialects, *ibid.*, 33. To the nouns cited there one might add for Lebanon *karabal* > *karabān* and *barakān* "police station" (Fleisch, *Études*, 362 and 188 *l.* 3, and the examples of J. Grand'Henry in his *Le parler arabe de Cherchell, Algérie*, Louvain 1972, 42; see also W. Fischer, *Die Sprache der arabischen Sprachinsel in Uzbekistan*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1961), 238.

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(H. Fleisch)

LĀM Bano, a numerous and formerly powerful Arab tribe living on the borders of Iran and 'Irāḳ, principally on the plain between the foothills of the Pusht-i Kūh mountains and the river Tigris. The easterly limit of the main tribal territory follows the course of the Rūd-i Karkha southwards from Pul-yi Pul to the area north of Hawīza where the river peters out into salt flats. The course of the Tigris between Shaykh Sa'd and 'Amāra forms the westerly limit of that territory. Small and isolated groups of Banū Lām have been observed outside the main area—as far afield as Mandalī to the north-west and in the Rām Hurmuz district to the south-east.

The tribe is divided into numerous sub-groups which have varied over time in their size and relative importance (A. H. Layard, *A description of the provinces of Khuzistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xvi [1846], 43; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, ii, 1081-4; Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, with Werner Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, Wiesbaden 1952, iii, 471-3, and H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*, Chicago 1939, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, xxix/1, 195 ff.) According to Lorimer (ii, 1083), all members of the tribe spoke Arabic, but a minority also knew and used Persian. The great majority of the tribe was, and remains Shī'ī. In the past, different groups have followed sedentary, semi-nomadic and nomadic ways of life, but in the 20th century, particularly since the Second World War, the former has come to predominate. The Banū Lām have long had a reputation for being very good pastoralists. In former times they raised a wide range of animals—sheeps, goats, cattle, horses, donkeys and camels. Demand for some of the latter animals has declined sharply in recent decades, and most attention is now devoted to sheep. The Banū Lām also grow crops, chiefly for their own consumption; these include wheat, barley, oats and maize, but little attention is apparently given to rice.

It is impossible to give accurate figures for the population of the tribe either now, or in the past. One estimate made in 1840-2 put the total number of families at about 30,000 (Layard, *op. cit.*, 46). Some seventy years later Lorimer (ii, 1084) estimated the total population to be about 45,000. After field-work in 1934, the number of Banū Lām living in Persia was estimated to be about 5,700 families (H. Field, *op. cit.*, 196). Another source put the number of families in Persia at 10,659 in 1945 (Admiralty [Great Britain] Naval Intelligence Division, *Persia*, Geographical Handbook Series, London 1945, 379). A similar source for 'Irāḳ noted that the Banū Lām were the most powerful tribe in the Tigris, but no figures were quoted (Admiralty [Great Britain] Naval Intelligence Division, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, Geographical Handbook Series, London 1944, 371).

The origins of the tribe remain obscure (see von Oppenheim, iii, 459-69, for a summary history of the tribe). Tradition relates that the name of the tribe derives from a certain Lām b. Hārūba, a leader of the Kaḥṭān tribe in the Ḥiḏjāz, and that one of his grandsons, Barak, led a migration to the Hawīza area of 'Irāḳ. Later, Ḥāfiẓ al-Lām, a son of Barak, is reported to have quarrelled either with his father,

or with the *wālī* of Hawīza, who was also a leader of the Banū Rabī'a. Hāfiz is then said to have taken control of the land between Shaykh Sa'd and 'Amāra which had previously belonged to the Banū Rabī'a and to have become the founder of the Banū Lām (S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 8, and H. Field, *The anthropology of Iraq. The Lower Euphrates-Tigris region*, Chicago 1949, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, xxx/1 no. 2, 329-30). A putative date for these events would be about the end of the 10th/16th century (von Oppenheim, iii, 460 states that the Banū Lām were already living on the east bank of the Tigris in 1575).

The Banū Lām were reluctant to accept Ottoman control, and the Pasha of Baghdād, 'Umar (who was in office 1088-92/1677-81) ordered the first of many Turkish campaigns which tried to compel their submission. 'Alī Pasha (in office 1107/1695-6) personally led a punitive raid against them, and Hasan Pasha (*q.v.*) (in office 1116-36/1704-23) also mounted a series of expeditions against them beginning in 1116/1704 (Longrigg, *op. cit.*, 93-4, 124, 126). The Banū Lām sometimes acted in concert with other tribal groups in rebelling against Ottoman rule for example, in 1138/1726 they joined with various groups of Lurs to attack Baghdād.

The rise to power of Tahmāsp Kulī Khān (later Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]) provided further opportunities for insurgency on the part of the Banū Lām. In 1145/1733 Tahmāsp Kulī Khān laid siege to Baghdād and the leader of the Banū Lām, 'Abd al-'Alī, joined forces with the Persians. He apparently agreed to cooperate with the Arab *wālī* of Hawīza in launching an attack on Basra, but the decision was not implemented (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 68). After the defeat of the Persian army by Ottoman forces under Topal 'Othmān Pasha (*q.v.*) in Safar 1146/July 1733, the Banū Lām helped many of the survivors to return to their native country for this, a Turkish force led by Ahmad Pasha later inflicted punishment on the tribe.

The destruction and chaos brought about by the Persian invasion and retreat provided conditions in which tribal rebellion could flourish, and the Banū Lām were not slow to take advantage of them; "Les Muntefiks et les Beni Lames avoient donné plus de peine que les autres aux Paschas" (M. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1748, quoted in Longrigg, *Four centuries*, 156). In 1136/1743 Nādir Shāh's forces again invaded Turkish territory and they were joined by the Banū Lām, who this time did take part in the siege of Basra (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 646-7). During the next century and a half, the pattern of rebellion followed by punitive Ottoman military expeditions was often repeated. Important Turkish campaigns were mounted against the Banū Lām in 1763, 1800, 1806, 1849, 1879 and 1911. In 1841 the Persian ruler Muhammad Shāh sent an expedition to collect arrears of taxation from Muhammad Taki Khān, the *Ilkhānī* of the Bakhtiyārī. During this campaign, which was led by the governor of Isfahān, Mu'tamid al-Dawla, the Banū Lām were plundered by the Persian troops (Layard, *loc. cit.*). But in later years the tribe had relatively little to fear from Tehran, it seldom paid taxes to the Shāh (Lorimer, ii, 1085), and it retained a position of autonomy between the Ottoman empire and Persia.

The Banū Lām were often in conflict with their neighbours, particularly with the Lurs, the Āl Bū Muhammad and the Muntafik (*q.v.*). De Bode, who visited the area in 1841, reported that it was only the existence of strife between the Banū Lām and the Muntafik which prevented Diizfūl from being attacked (C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii, 198-9). At other times, the tribe was riven by internal feuds and these too led to bloodshed and the intervention of Turkish forces.

Raids by the tribe not infrequently interrupted traffic on the Tigris, and this was seen as a serious menace to British lines of military communication during the First World War. The Banū Lām attacked both boats on the river and military outposts at this time, and British forces were involved in minor actions against them (A. T. Wilson, *Loyalties: Mesopotamia 1914-1917*, London 1930, 46, 79, 145; idem, *Mesopotamia 1917-1920: a clash of loyalties*, London 1931, 96). In the years immediately following the First World War, disputes between the Banū Lām and the *wālī* of Pusht-i Kūh were again frequent —particularly during the summer months when members of the tribe moved into Persia for better grazing (S. H. Longrigg, *Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 107, 158). The rise to power of Rida Shāh Pahlavī and the establishment of effective central government in Iran reduced both the degree of migration and the incidence of such skirmishes.

Bibliography substantially given in the article. Von Oppenheim provides many useful references to Arabic, Persian and Turkish works, as well as to the accounts of European travellers. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, also has a useful survey of both types of sources. There are references to the tribe in Ahmad Kasrawī, *Ta'rīkh-i pīrāmūn sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehran 1312/1934-5 (V. Minorsky-[N. M. Burrell])

LAMAK, the Biblical personage Lamech. In Gen. iv, 22, the invention of music is attributed to Jubal, son of Lamech, but various Arabic sources give primacy here to Lamech/Lamak, of Cain's posterity. Bringing together the origin of the *'ūd* with the invention of music, the story goes that Lamech had an only son in his old age, who died at the age of five, leaving his father full of grief. Not wishing to be separated from him, Lamech hung the corpse up until it decomposed. There then came to him the idea of making from his foot on *'ūd*, on which he could accompany himself in his lamentations. The most detailed, and perhaps the oldest, version of this story occurs in the *K. al-Lahw wa 'l-malāhī* of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī, who in fact cites a lost source going back to the historian Hishām b. al-Kalbī. With variants, the story comes up again in several authors, notably in Ibn Khurradādhbih (*K. al-Lahw*), al-Bayhakī (*Mahāsin*), al-Djāhiz (*Tarbī'*), al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*), Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī (*'Ikd*) and al-Adfūwī (*al-Imtā' bi-ahkām al-samā'*). Elements of Hebrew legends and of the universal myths concerning the origins of music can be found in these stories.

On the other hand, al-Tha'labī retails in his *Kisas al-anbiyā'* (*q.v.*) the Hebrew legend about Lamech, how the latter, when blind, inadvertently killed his father Cain and then his own dear son who was accompanying him out of hunting, after these events, he recited the first Biblical lament (Gen. iv, 23). This source, together with others, emphasises the connection of music, invented in the bosoms of the posterity of Cain, with the excesses and trickery of Satan.

Bibliography See A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings* (*RISM*, B/X), Munich 1979, index, s.v. Lamek. (A. Shiloah)

LAMAS-ṢŪ, a small river of Southern Anatolia, descending from the Eastern Taurus and flowing into the Mediterranean, about 60 km. in length, whose canyon, carved deep in Miocene limestone, constituted in antiquity the border-line between lowland Cilicia and Trachaean Cilicia. Muslim and Byzantines often assembled on its banks for exchanges of prisoners, in the 3rd 4th/9th reth centuries (see below). The flanks of the upper river, above Kızıl Geçit, are totally unhabitated, along the lower reaches a series of ancient ruins marks the edge of the plateau. At the mouth, the small township of Lamas retains the name of the ancient settlement of Lamos (a simple village according to Strabo, xiv, 6, not to be confused with the town of the same name situated much further to the west, between Gazi Paşa and Anamur, cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 382, 435-6). Nearby are the important ruins of an aqueduct which carried the waters of the *nymphaeum* as far as Ayaş (Eleoûssa-Sebaste) at a distance of 14 km., and of a mediaeval fortress, held for a long period by the Armenians (Lamas Kalesi)

Bibliography. Among the numerous descriptions by travellers, see in particular F. X. Schaffer, *Cilicia*, Gotha 1903 (*Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 141), 64-5, J. Th. Bent, *Explorations in Cilicia Trachea*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (1890); L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie*, Venice 1899, 418-14. (X. DE PLANHOL)

On the banks of the Lamas-Sū there took place, on numerous occasions, payment of ransoms and exchange of prisoners of war with the Byzantines.

The first of these arrangements, to the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and that of the emperor Nicephorus I, was effected in 189 90/805, in the name of al-Ḳāsim b. al-Rashīd, by a eunuch of the caliph named Abū Sulaymān, the exchange lasted 14 days, and 3,700 Muslims were freed. The second (*fidāʾ Thābit b. Nasr*) took place under the same sovereigns in 192/808, it lasted 7 days, and 2,500 Muslims of both sexes were exchanged. The third (*fidāʾ Khāṣṣa*), in the reigns of al-Wāthiḳ and of Michael III, in Muḥarram 231/September 845 lasted 10 days and involved some 4,000 prisoners; the chief *ḥāǧī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] sent an emissary to interrogate them on the question of the creation of Kurʾān, with instructions to leave in the hands of the Byzantines those who refused to comply with official doctrine. The fourth (*fidāʾ Shumayf*) was effected in the reigns of al-Mutawakkil and of the same emperor, in Shawwāl 241/February-March 856, it lasted 7 days and allowed the liberation of 2,000 men and 200 women. The fifth (*fidāʾ Nasr b. al-Azhar wa-ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā*) took place in the reigns of the same sovereigns, at the beginning of Ṣafar 246/April-May 860; it lasted 7 days and involved 2,367 Muslims of both sexes. The sixth (*fidāʾ Ibn Tughān*) was effected on Shaʿbān 282/September October 896, in the reigns of al-Muʿtaḍid and of Leo VI; it lasted 10 days and allowed the liberation of 2,500 or 3,000 Muslims of both sexes. The seventh took place in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 292/September 905, in the reigns of al Muktafī and of the same emperor, it lasted 4 days and 1,153 Muslims of both sexes were freed; Rustam conducted the negotiations, but this exchange is usually known by the name *fidāʾ al-ghadr* "the ransom of treachery"), because the Byzantines reneged on their guarantees and took several thousand prisoners. The eighth, also effected by Rustam, took place in Shawwāl 295/July 906, and 2,842 prisoners of both sexes were released; it bears the name *fidāʾ al-tamām* ("the ransom of completion") because it supplemented the preceding. The ninth (*fidāʾ Muʾnis*) was negotiated in Rabīʿ II 305/September October 917 in the reigns of al-Muḳtadir and of Constantine II, it lasted 8 days, and 3,338 Muslims of both sexes were the beneficiaries of it. The tenth (*fidāʾ Munḏir*) was effected under the same sovereigns, in Raǧab 313/September October 925; it lasted 29 days, and nearly 4,000 Muslims of both sexes were freed. The eleventh, on Dhu ʾl-Ḥiǧǧa 326/October 938, in the reigns of al-Rāḍī and the same emperor, was negotiated by Ibn Warḳāʾ, it lasted 28 days and 6,300 Muslims of both sexes regained their freedom, but 800 prisoners remained in the hands of the Byzantines and were subsequently freed in small groups. The twelfth was effected as Rabīʿ I/October 946, under al-Muṭīʿ and the same emperor, by Naṣr al-Thamālī, but in the name of Sayf al-Dawla (it also bears the name of *fidāʾ Ibn Ḥamdān*), 2,482 Muslims of both sexes were exchanged, and 230 remained in the hands of the Byzantines. Subsequent exchanges do not figure in the lists, since they cannot have taken place on the Lamas-Sū, henceforward situated in Byzantine territory, we may note in particular that of which Abū Firās [*q.v.*] was the beneficiary, in 355/966, at Samosata.

Bibliography Ṭabarī, iii, 706, 707, 1339, 1353, 1420, 1449, 2153, 2253-4, 2280; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 3313, 3369; idem, *Tanbīh*, 189-96 (ed Ṣāwī, 161-6; tr. Carra de Vaux, 241, 255 ff); Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 191 ff., A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i-ii, index; M Canard, *Hʾamdanides*, 759-60, 823-4. (Cl. HUART*)

LAMASAR [see LANBASAR]

AL-LAMAṬĪ, an ethnic designation stemming from Lamaṭa, a quarter of the Moroccan town of Sidjilmāssa, borne on particular by two mystics:

1. AḤMAD AL-ḤARĪṬ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-GHUMĀRĪ B. ṢĀLIḤ AL-ṢIDDĪḳĪ (since he traced his genealogy back to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr) AL-SIDJILMĀSSĪ, who belonged to the Shādhiliyya order (*q.v.*); he had numerous pupils, including Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Ḥilālī [see AL-HILĀLĪ in Suppl.] and his cousin through his female ascendants, Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak (see below) He died in the odour of sanctity at Sidjilmāssa on 4 Muḥarram 1155/23 November 1752.

Bibliography. Ḳādirī, *Nathr al-mathānī*, Fās 1320/1892, ii, 253; Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, *al-Durr al-muntaḳā fī asānīd al-Shaykh Mawlāy al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī*, Fās 1327/1909, 10; Muḥammad al-Ḥadjwī al-Fāsī, *al-Fikr al-sāmī fī tārīkh al-fiḳh al-Islāmī*, Fās 1345-8/1927-30, ii, 187-9, M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 200-1.

2. ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MUBĀRAK B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-SIDJILMĀSSĪ, born at Sidjilmāssa ca. 1090/1679, settled at Fās in 1220/1698-9 and died there on 12 Djumādā I 1156/4 July 1743 after having acquired the title of *shaykh al-djamāʿa* given to the doyen of the professors. He was buried in the mausoleum of the Fāsī saint ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (1095-1154/1684-1739, see Lévi Provençal, *Chorfa*, 309), with whom he had been connected and whose fame he had helped spread by devoting a work called *al Dhahab al-ibrīz fī manāḳib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (lith. Cairo 1278/1861-2, printed Būlāḳ 1292/1875, Cairo 1304/1886) to his *manāḳib*. He was furthermore the author of several treatises, commentaries and glosses of a religious, grammatical, etc. nature (see mss detailed in Lakhdar), of an *iǧāza* containing some of his epistles and of a short work called *Djawāb ʿamman salla bi-khiṭābihim lā-ʿinhā yaḥiḍ lahum al-khurūdj minhu fawran am lā?* (ms Rabat D 1348)

Bibliography Ḳādirī, *Nathr al-mathānī*, ii,

247, Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1307/1898, ii, 203. Ḥajjwī, *al-Fikr al-sāmī*, Fās 1345/1926-7 iv, no. 787; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*² Beirut 1961, i, 278; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 309-10. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, i, 109-10, ii, 317; Brockelmann, II¹, 464, S II, 704, M Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 285-7 and bibl cited. (Ed.)

LAMBADIS, a name of unknown origin designating in general a group of tribal peoples, ancient nomads, who were active in western and southern India as salt carriers, cattle herders and porters of general merchandise. They were known by different names in different parts of southern India, Lambani, Brinjari, Deopari, Sugali and Sukali, as well as Lambadi

The origins of the Lambadis are obscure, but appear to be similar to those of groups like the Koravar and Yerukala. All are ancient nomadic tribal groups, who maintained their freedom of movement by securing a place in the economic structure of pre-modern India as carriers, herdsmen and porters in an age when modern modes of transport and adequate roads were non-existent. Apart from their occupation as carriers, members of such groups were often found on the fringes of villages as hunters and distillers of toddy

Edgar Thurston (see *Bibl.*) indicates that the Lambadis were mainly Hindus, and clung to their tribal rituals and mixed Hindu-animistic religious practices However, some Lambadis, in the Telugu coastlands and the Mysore highlands, claimed to be Muslims and aspired to the title of *Shaykh*. Their numbers were very small, but nevertheless they represented a very basic level of Hindu-Muslim interaction within the Indian subcontinent. At one end of the spectrum were the orthodox Urdu-speaking Muslims of northern India, at the other end odd tribal groups caught in the transition from tribal identity to something more distinctly Muslim Some groups of Lambadis fall into this category, as did the Ahir cowherds of the Andhra highlands and the Dudekula and Panjuvetti cotton cleaners of coastal Andhra and Tamil Nadu.

Such groups were generally despised by the main body of Muslims, and possessed few overt signs of being followers of Islam. The Muslim Lambadis spoke a dialect of Telugu strongly interlaced with Tamil and Kanarese words, followed no Muslim marriage rites and practiced circumcision. In dress, daily life-style, names and casual worship, however, they retained many tribal and Hindu rituals. Like the more numerous Dudekula, who were also of Telugu origin, the Lambadis were endogamous and rarely mixed with other Muslim groups, who regarded them with scorn.

The only settled groups of Muslim Lambadis found in southern India were located in the Anantapur district of the old Madras Presidency and in the region of Mysore. There are three recorded groups, all Telugu-speaking, with bards or priests known as Tamburian (or Thamburi), who appear to be the equivalent of the Hindu Lambadi priests or *bhat*. Most of these Lambadi Muslims claimed to have been forcibly converted by the Mysore Muslim prince Tīpū Sulṭān [q.v.] in the late 18th century, who found the nomadic Lambadis ideal espionage agents in his wars against the British in Madras. However, some in Anantapur also claimed descent from carriers who had accompanied Mughal generals in their invasions of southern India

Until the 19th century, nomadic tribal groups like the Lambadis had a distinct function in the economic life of India; but with the evolution of modern modes of transport their status and fortunes declined The Hindu Lambadis (and Karavare and Yerukala) probably suffered more than their Muslim counterparts, as the *jati* system made the changeover to alternative occupations very difficult. Many in fact took to brigandage and petty crime, and were officially classified as problem groups and habitual criminals. The Muslim Lambadis were far fewer in number, and appear to have made the transition to sedentary occupations, though generally they were ones of low social and economic status.

The Dudekulas, a similar Muslim marginal group, were more fortunate in that their traditional occupation—cotton cleaning—facilitated their absorption into the economy of modern India. By the early 20th century, they were merging into the mainstream of Islam in the subcontinent, with overtly Muslim practices and names replacing those of their pre-Islamic past.

By the middle of the 20th century, the Muslim Lambadis appeared to have all but vanished. They were no doubt absorbed into the surrounding body of Muslims, and probably can still be traced amongst the more impoverished and illiterate Muslims in remote areas of Andhra Pradesh in India

Bibliography The most detailed description of the Lambadi group can be found in E Thurston's *Ethnographic notes on Southern India*, Madras 1906, and vol iv of his *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909. Thurston, however, concentrated on Hindu Lambadis, with only an occasional reference to the Muslim ones The same is true of the District Gazetteers especially G. A. Grierson, *North Arcot*, Madras n.d., and W. Francis, *Bellary*, Madras 1904, W Francis, *Anantapur*, Madras 1905, does mention the Tamburian priests. J. Dupuis, *Madras et le Nord du Coromandel* Paris 1960, puts the Lambadis in their tribal and occupational perspective, whilst L. Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud*, Paris 1957, further explains the painful transition from pastorage to crime for the nomadic tribal peoples in an excellent case study. G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India*, London 1832, makes a brief reference, perhaps the earliest, to Muslim Lambadis In addition, there are a few isolated references scattered through the records of the British administration of the Madras Presidency

In official publications and in Thurston's *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, the Dudekulas and Panjuvettis are far more prominent than the Muslim Lambadis, and references to them can be found in the following District Gazeteers: W Francis, *Anantapur*, Madras 1905; idem, *South Arcot*, Madras 1906, F. R Hemingway, *Godavari*, Madras 1907; C. F Brackenbury, *Cuddapah*, Madras 1914; *Guntur* (statistical appendix), Madras 1915; A. F Cox and H. A. Stuart, *North Arcot*, Madras 1895; W. Francis, *Bellary*, Madras 1904, F. R. Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, Madras 1907, W. Francis, *Vizagapatam*, Madrid 1907. See also references to *Census of India*, 1901, xv, 1911, xii, 1921, xiii. Brief references occur in T W Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, repr. Lahore 1961; I M. Qureshi, *The Muslim community in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, and *Murray's handbook of the Madras Presidency*, London 1879. (K McPHERSON)

LAMENTATION (see NIYĀMA).

LAMGHĀNĀT, a district of eastern Af-

ghānistān, thus designated in the Islamic sources of the later mediaeval period, deriving its name from its urban centre Lamghān (later form, Laghmān). It comprises the fertile plain of the middle course of the Kābul River, much of it lying to the north and east of Kābul city [q.v.] itself. It is bounded on the north by the mountains of Kāfiristān [q.v.], modern Nūristān, and includes the lower reaches of the Alingār and Alishang Rivers; on the south and east, it adjoins, and was sometimes considered (e.g. by Bābur) to include the region of Nangrahār and the comparatively recent town of Djalālābād [q.v. in Suppl.]. Ethnically, the region includes Pushtūns and Tādjīks, and also a considerable proportion of Dardic-speaking Pasha'īs [see DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES], who are probably descended from the ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of pre-Islamic Kapiśā and Nangrahār, the ancient Iranian Parāčī language also lingers on in a few villages of the region [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, II. Ethnography, and iii. Languages].

The town of Lamghān was already a flourishing one in the 4th/10th century. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) describes it as being situated on the middle stretch of the Kābul River (which the anonymous author in fact calls "the river of Lamkān" [sic], regarding this, plus "the river of Dunpūr", Bābur's Adīnapūr, as constituting the modern Kābul River), and as a residence of merchants and an emporium for the products of India (tr. Minorsky 72 92 = §§ 6, 10 comm. 109, 352). Until the advent of the Turkish adventurer Sebüktigīn and the Ghaznawids [q.v.] towards the end of that century, Lamghān was still part of the Indian cultural and religious world, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* specifically mentions the presence of idol temples there. It lay on the western marches of the extensive kingdom of the Hindushāhs [q.v.] of Waybind, which spanned the middle Indus and lower Kābul River basins; ʿUtbī's *Yamīnī* describes how Sebüktigīn twice defeated the Rādjā Djaypāl in the Lamghān region, annexed it to his dominions and implanted Islam there (M. Nāzim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 30, 38, 86, 194). Islam was still however precarious there for some time to come, and the Muslim settlements were vulnerable to attacks by the pagan Pasha'īs and Kāfirs to the north of the Kābul River. An anecdote in Nizāmī ʿArūḍī Samarkandī's *Čahār maḳāla* describes how the infidels raided and despoiled Lamghān during the reign of Sebüktigīn's son Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388-421/998-1030), so that the vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī had to remit that year's taxes (ed. Ḳazwīnī, 18 ff., revised tr. Browne, 20 f.). Yet a century or so later Lamghān was producing Muslim scholars, for Yāḳūt mentions a family of Lamghānī Ḥanafī *faḳīh*s and *ḥadīth*s who had settled in Baghdād during the 5th/12th century (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374/1955-7, v. 81, s.v. *Lamghān*. Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 503).

During the early years of the 10th/16th century the Mughal prince Bābur [q.v.] spent much time in this region, and in the *Bābur-nāma* he expatiates on the beauty of the forested hillsides (cypress, holm oak, etc.) and on the fertility of the valley bottoms (corn, rice, oranges, citrons, mulberries, and in one favoured spot, even date palms). It is in this source that we find the name given as Lamghānat, and the area described as containing administratively five *tūmān*s and two *ḥuḳūḳ* of cultivated land; a "greater Lamghānāt" included the Muslim-settled parts of the lower Kāfiristān valleys including the easterly one of the Kunār River (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, 296 ff., 322, 424, 494, 510-12; cf. also G. Scarcia, *Śiyāḥat-nāma-yi Dārā Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ūdāsī, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān nell' anno 1582*, Rome 1963, introd. pp. CXXXVIII-CXLI). Lamghān was doubtless the base for many expeditions of *ġihād* against the Kāfirs, and as such is frequently mentioned in the Kābulī Persian account of the crusade led by the Mughal Emperor Akbar's younger brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm, governor of Kābul, in 990/1582, cf. Scarcia, *op. cit.*, index to text, s.v.

The district of Lamghān is today an important food producing area, supplying Kābul, Djalālābād and other centres with rice, cereals, fruit, etc., and it further produces textiles (J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 272-3, 327-8). Since the administrative reorganisation of 1964, a province specifically called Lamghān has come into being, and thus comprises essentially the central part of Nūristān, with its centre at Meh Tarlam.

Bibliography Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LĀMIʿĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL, Persian court poet, born about 402/1012, died some time after 460/1067 who left a *dīwān* of *ḳaṣīda*s, only some 1,100 lines of which have survived.

Although Lāmiʿī was a contemporary of, and panegyrist to such major historical figures as Ṭughril Beg, Alp Arslan and Niẓām al-Mulk, very little reliable information about his life and work has come to light. From his *Dīwān* we learn only that he was a native of Gurgān and that he went to Baghdād in the train of Ṭughril Beg in 447/1055. The *tadhkira*s of Dawlat-Shāh, Ādharbīkdilī and Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyet state that he was a student of Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī and a disciple of the poet Sūzanī, but Nafīsī has shown that these statements are fabrications (cf. *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, s.v.)

Stylistically, Lāmiʿī was an enthusiastic but exceptional imitator of the great Ghaznawid court poets, ʿUnṣurī, Farruḫī and Manūčihrī, particularly the latter. His poems reflect some of the stylistic innovations that may be seen in the works of his contemporaries Asadī and Abu 'l-Faraj Rūnī [q.v. in Suppl.].

Bibliography: Lāmiʿī's *Dīwān* has been published twice, by Saʿīd Nafīsī in 1319/1941 and by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī in 1353/1974, both times in Tehran. The only studies of his life and work are to be found in the introductions to these editions, the substance of which is repeated in the article on Lāmiʿī in the *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā* already cited. There is a brief chapter on Lāmiʿī's use of metaphor and simile in Muḥammad Riḍā Shafīʿī-Kadkanī's *Ṣuwar-i ḫayāl dar shiʿr-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1350/1971.

(J. W. CLINTON)

LĀMIʿĪ, SHAYḪ MAḤMŪD B. ʿOTHMĀN B. ʿALĪ AL-NAḲḲĀSH AL-ILYĀS, a celebrated Ottoman Ṣūfī writer and poet of the first half of the 10th/16th century. He was born in 877/1472-3 at Bursa, where he spent all his life. His grandfather, Naḳḳāsh ʿAlī Pasha, teacher of Fawrī [q.v.] and one of the great painter-carvers (*naḳḳāsh*) of his time, had in his youth been taken by Timūr to Samarḳand, where he perfected his art; after his return, he contributed masterly decorations to the Yeshil Djāmiʿ and the Yeshil Türbe in Bursa.

As the son of ʿOthmān Čelebi, the *defterdār* of Sultān Bāyazīd II's treasury, Lāmiʿī learnt Arabic and Persian, and received an excellent *madrasa*

education from the *mollās* Aḥḥawoyn and Muḥammad fi. Ḥāǰǰī Ḥasan-zāde. He aspired to the career of a jurist and theologian, but his father's death created difficulties (preface to *Farhād-nāma*, see A. S Levend, *Lamiʿī'nin Ferhad ü Şirin'i*, in *TDAY Belleten 1964*, Ankara 1965, 87). He seems to have written worldly poetry and prose until he became aware of his preference for the mystic path, *ṭarīḳa*, and took as his spiritual guide the Naḳshbandī Shaykh Amīr Aḥmad al-Buḵhārī, who exerted a decisive influence on his life

Lāmiʿī's success as a writer began when two of his works attracted the attention of Sultan Selīm I, who awarded him a pension of 35 *akčes* a day and bestowed on him the revenues from a village Sultan Süleymān, whose accession he celebrated in a chronogram, kept up this patronage to his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who showed him the greatest favour, Lāmiʿī dedicated several of his *maṯnawīs* as a mark of gratitude Already in 918/1512 Lāmiʿī was able to found a *waḳf* of 4,000 *akčes*.

Occasional complaints over lack of money did not go unanswered: Ibrāhīm Pasha awarded him a stipend of 20 *akčes* daily which Lāmiʿī needed for the education of his children. He had married early and had three sons and one daughter, among his descendants, his son Derwīsh Meḥmed Čelebi, known as Lemʿī, a *muḥarrir* and author of a work on prosody, and a grandson known as Lāmiʿī zāde, are mentioned In his private life, Lāmiʿī was described as outspoken, persistent in his opinions, witty and fond of literary jests. He died in 938/1531-2 and was buried in the graveyard of the (no longer extant) mosque built by his grandfather on the Citadel of Bursa.

The fact that Lāmiʿī, who never went to court, owed his livelihood to Ottoman sultans and one Grand Vizier, allows us to surmise that he conformed to the expectations of his patrons. Their declared aim was to blend the refinement of Persian poetry with the vigour of the Turkish style cultivated in Anatolia, while welcoming the best of Eastern Turkish poetry

Significantly, Lāmiʿī took on his models two great near-contemporary poets of Timūrid Herat, the Persian J̌āmī [*q.v.*] and his Turkish friend, the minister Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], both Naḳshbandīs like himself

In a literary age which restricted any poet, Turkish or Persian, to conventional forms (allegory being the prevailing fashion), Lāmiʿī was encouraged by his Ottoman patrons to turn his efforts at originality in the direction of the themes. Passing by such well-worn stories as Layla and Maǰnūn [*q.v.*] or Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, Lāmiʿī concentrated his talent in introducing into Turkish literature fresh themes such as *Shamʿ u parwāna*, *Salāmān u Absāl* and *Haft paykar*, incidentally preserving two themes that had virtually sunk into oblivion in Persian literature: *Wīs u Rāmīn*, for which one of the rare Gurgānī [*q.v.*] manuscripts could only be found after a long search, and *Wāmiḳ u ʿAḏrāʾ*, of which the Persian original by ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*] is now lost.

Lāmiʿī developed the *mathnawī* genre and experimented as had become customary for poets, with Čaghatay Turkish It was Lāmiʿī's diversity and originality, and not only his renderings of works by J̌āmī, which earned him the honorific epithet "the J̌āmī of Rūm"

Lāmiʿī's "reasons for writing", *sabab-i taʾlīf*, and additions to his translations, are worth a special study (cf. Babinger, 264), this would reveal the independent and lively intellect of this writer, whose originality was achieved not by breaking out along new lines but by fusing new themes with the traditional conventions. About thirty of his works are known. He wrote eight *maṯnawīs* and a great deal of other poetry, but is better known for his prose works Viewed chronologically, his major works are as follows (1) The *Laṭāʾif-nāma*, a collection of facetious and partly scandalous stories in prose, probably written from the time of his youth and continued over the years; the unfinished book, which contains valuable information such as that on the old poet Sheyyād Ḥamza (see S Buluç in *IA*, s.v.), was completed in 988/1580-1 by his son Lemʿī (P. N. Boratav in *Pr. T. Fundamenta*, ii, 53); — (2) *Sharḥ-i dībāǰa-yi Gulistān* (according to the *Farhād-nāma*, Lāmiʿī commented on the whole *Gulistān*, A. S. Levend, *op. cit.*), a commentary on the preface to Saʿdī's [*q.v.*] 'Rose garden" completed in 910/1504; — (3) *Ḥusn u dil*, ('Beauty and the heart"), a translation in prose of Fattāḥī's [*q.v.*] allegorical work, dedicated to Sultan Selīm I, studied by R. Dvořák, *Husn a dil, persische Allegorie von Fattāḥi aus Nīkšahr*, Vienna 1889; — (4) *Shamāʾil al-muḥammadiyya* ("Distinctive signs of prophecy"), an expanded and commented prose translation of the treatise of J̌āmī, completed in 915/1509 20, printed 1293/1876 Istanbul, ed. 1958 Muẓaffer Özak; — (5) *Gūy u čawgān*, ("Ball and bat"), Lāmiʿī's first *maṯnawī*, for which, inspired by a religious dream, he made use of ʿĀrifī's (d. 855/1449) allegorical poem, studied by N. Tezcan, *Lāmiʿī'nin Gūy u Çevgān mesnevisi*, in *Ömer Asım Aksoy armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 201-25; — (6) *Farhād-nāma* or *Farhād u Shīrīn*: interestingly enough, Lāmiʿī used for his second *maṯnawī*, written in honour of Selīm I, the Eastern Turkish version by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, who had introduced radical changes in the old theme, especially by replacing Khusraw as hero by Farhād (see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN) Lāmiʿī, who undertook the work on the request of Fenārī [*q.v.*] Ḥamīd al-Dīn Meḥmed Shāh, who had just acquired a *Khamsa* by Nawāʾī, claimed only to have altered the style (*uslūb*), but he made also alterations in the story (A. S. Levend, *op. cit.*, 88, 210 f.), tr. von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812; — (7) *Absāl u Salāmān*, his third *maṯnawī*, dedicated to Selīm I, is the first Turkish treatment of J̌āmī's allegorical work with considerable additions; — (8) *Futūḥ al-muǰāhidīn li-tarwīḥ ḳulūb al-muǰāhidīn* ("Conquests of the champions of Islam giving rest to the hearts of the spectators"), latter known as *Tarǰama-yi Nafaḥāt al-uns* ("Translation of the Breath of divine intimacy"), a translation of J̌āmī's Ṣūfī biographies with important additions on more than thirty Anatolian Ṣūfīs, in prose, begun in 917/1512 and finished in Raǰab 927/April 1521, on the eve of Süleymān's Belgrade campaign; the book was printed in Istanbul 1270/1853-4 and 1282/1872, — (9) *Shamʿ u parwāna* ("The taper and the moth"), his fourth *maṯnawī*, written in honour of Süleymān after the conquest of Rhodes 929/1522, but sent to him later; it seems that Lāmiʿī used for this allegorical poem not the accepted Persian version of Ahlī-yi Shīrāz, composed in 894/1488-9, but that of a certain Niyāzī ('Abd Allāh Shabustarī; G K Alpay, *Lāmiʿī Çelebi and his works*, [see BibI], 88 ff), a second-rate author whom he need not mention in his preface; — (10) *Wāmiḳ u ʿAḏrāʾ*, his fifth *maṯnawī*, translated at the request of Sultan Süleymān from the no longer-extant Persian version of ʿUnṣurī, parts were very freely tr. by J. von Hammer *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende*, Vienna 1833; — (11)

Maktal-i Imām Ḥusayn ("Martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn"), his sixth *maṯnawī*, for which no specific source is named; Lāmʿī reacted here against the warnings of some *ʿulamāʾ* concerning the recital of these martyrdom narratives in public illustrated copies have survived, — (12) *Shahrangīz*, a poem in praise of Bursa in expectation of a visit of Sultan Süleymān, published at Bursa 1288/1871-2, tr. A. Pfizmaier, *Die Verherrlichung der Stadt Bursa*, Vienna 1859; — (13) *Munāẓara-yi bahār u zimistān* ("Controversy between spring and winter"), an extensive poem using Bursa and the Keshish Dagh as a stage-setting, Istanbul 1290/1873; — (14) *Munshaʾāt-i mukātib* or *Nigāh al balāgha*, Lāmʿī's letters; — (15) *Manāhib-i Ḥażrat-i Uways al-Karanī*, a prose legend, on the few mss., see G. K. Alpay, *op. cit.*, 82 no. 9, — (16) *ʿIbrat nāma* or *ʿIbrat nāma* ("The exemplar") written after the battle of Mohács (932/1526), a prose work in two parts, legendary accounts of holy persons, and stories with moral significance, their agreeable literary style procured a wide popularity for this work, printed twice in 1273/1856-7 and 1327/1909; — (17) *Sharaf al-insān*, ("The nobility of man"), perhaps Lāmʿī's best-known prose work, written in 933/1526-7. The theme, the contest of man with the animals, is taken from the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, — (18) *Wīs u Rāmin*, his seventh *maṯnawī*, in honour of Süleymān, appeared in the same year, Lāmʿī uses Gurgānī critically and changes the tone drastically; "instead of expressing the intensity of human passions, Lāmʿī tries to amuse and edify. The end of this poem is tinged with mystic reflections ..." (V. Minorsky, who had not seen Lāmʿī's work, in *Vīs u Rāmin, a Parthian romance*, in *BSOAS*, xii [1947], 32 2), — (19) his *Dīwān* of about 10,000 verses, compiled in 936/1529, — (20) A work on the *maṯnawī Haft paykar* ("The seven effigies") based on Hātifī (q.v.) *Haft manẓar*, was interrupted by Lāmʿī's death and completed by his son-in-law Koshen-zāde.

Bibliography: On Lāmʿī's life, Sehī, *Ḥasht bihisht* Istanbul 1325/1907-8, 50 Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 230-4; ʿĀshik Celebi, facs. Meredith Owens, London 1971, 108b-109a; Tashköprüzāde Medjdi, 1269/1852-3, 432-3; Hammer Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, Pesth 1837, 22 ff.; Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī, iv, 86; *Othmanli müellifleri*, ii, 492; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii, Th. Menzel, *EI*[2] art. *Lāmʿī*, A. Karahan, art. *Lāmʿī* in *IA*, vii, both with bibliography, A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyat tarihi*, i, Ankara 1973, 84, 87. Specimens of texts are in Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna 1853, A. S. Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*[2], Ankara 1972, F. Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964, Idem, *Nasrın*, i, Istanbul 1966-7, E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature* in *CAJ*, xx (1977), 157-90. A comprehensive description of Lāmʿī's works, with reference to the manuscripts is contained in G. K. Alpay, *Lāmʿī Chelebi and his works*, in *JNES*, xxxv (1976), 73-93, to which should be added N. Tercan's article *Lāmiʿī'nin Göv u Çevgān mesnevisi* (see above). (B. FLEMMING)

LAMLAM, a generic name given by mediaeval Arabic authors to the animistic African peoples, considered to be cannibals, living to the south of the Muslim sultanates of the Sudanese zone; other versions are Dahdam, Damdam, Iamiam, Limiyyia, Nammam and Tamiam.

Al-Masʿūdī (before 358/957) places the Dahdam upstream from Gao and says of them "They fight amongst themselves. They eat people. They have a paramount king who has other kings under his authority. In his land there is an important fortress in which there is an image in the shape of a woman which they venerate and to whom they make pilgrimages (tr. in Cuoq, *Recueil*, 61). This passage is repeated by al-Bakrī (460/1068), who speaks of the Damdam, and by al-Idrīsī (548/1154), who speaks of the Lamlam who are raided by the slave merchants of Takrūr and Ghana. Ibn Saʿīd (before 685/1286) speaks of, as well as the Lamlam of the west, the Damdam to the south of Ethiopia and Nubia, and his information is repeated by Abu'l-Fidāʾ (721/1321). Al-Dimashkī (before 727/1327) mentions the lakes of the Tamlim and the Damdam, a name also borne by a river emptying in to the Indian Ocean, and equally speaks of the Lamlam to the south of Ghāna. According to al-ʿUmarī (before 749/1349), the Damdam are a people employing horses and hostile to Mansa Mūsā (Mossi?). Ibn Khaldūn (784/1382) and al-Makrīzī (845/1442) repeat the information of Ibn Saʿīd about the Damdam invading Ethiopia and Nubia. Leo Africanus takes over from al-Makrīzī the name of Tamim in order to make up a kingdom of Tenuam, and it is under this form that knowledge of it came to European writers of the 16th century, such as Marmol 1573, Belleforest 1575 and Anania 1582 (Iamiam).

The 19th century explorers speak of them mainly in the form Yenyem or Niamniam (see Cooley, *loc. cit.*, below).

Bibliography: W. D. Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs ...*, London 1841, repr. 1966, 111-16; J. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIII*[e] *au XVI*[e] *s.*, Paris 1975. (R. MAUNY)

LAMT, a word of obscure origin which denotes the oryx of the Sahara [see MAHĀRĪ]. Now the word is obsolete and occurs only in a proverbial expression inspired by the speed with which it runs. "he runs like a *lamṭ*" (see M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au IIIe-IXe siècle* Algiers 1949, 105, n. 159). It is also used in northern Algeria, where Beaussier (*Dict.*, s.v.) found it applied to a mythical animal which, even though it had only one foot, was very swift.

Arab geographers of the Middle Ages referred to the *lamṭ* in association with the tribe of the Lamṭa [q.v.], who were particularly famous for the shields they made from the skin of this animal (*darāḳa lamṭiyya*). In this expression, the adjective could just as well have been derived from *Lamṭa* as from *lamṭ*, so the two terms may only be apparently related and the connection may be an arbitrary one.

The earliest mention of these shields (*darak*) may be found in al-Yaʿḳūbī (A. *al-Buldān*, 345, tr. Wiet Cairo 1937, 206 n. 1), who says simply that they were white in colour, or in Ibn al-Fakīh al-Hamadhānī (*Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 81, tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 99; ed. tr. Hadj-Sadok, *op. land.*, 33-35), who is more explicit. He describes how the inhabitants of Anbiya and the Lamṭa soak them in milk for a whole year with the result that "a sabre rebounds off them, and if it does manage to penetrate, it sticks so hard that no-one can pull it out". Curing leather in milk makes shields (not only those made by the Lamṭa) better than those from India, where elephant hide is used. That was the opinion of al-Masʿūdī, (*Murūdj*, iii, 28 = § 859). Al-Zuhrī (*K. al-Diaʿrafiyya*, ed. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, Damascus (1968), §§ 314-15, in his description of the *lamṭ*

records that *lamṭiyya* shields were offered to the kings of the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It is in this last country that E. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 95) says that "the most desirable shields were those made from *lamṭ* leather". The name of the animal was certainly well-known, especially in Portuguese. It was called *lant*, *lanz*, etc. Another point is made by al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed.-tr. de Slane, 1965², 171-231), who says that the best (and most expensive) shields were made from the hides of old females. The place where they were made is said by al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome ni, 224, ni H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 57) to have been at Nūl (see Yābūt, s.v.), a centre for the Lamṭa near Joulimind, he says that "the Maghribīs use them in battle because they are light yet solid". More information is provided by the Egyptian Ibn Zunbul al-Mahallī (10th/16th century), who also describes the *lamṭ* (*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 179-80) and says that these shields "are special, because holes made by arrows or spears close up again by themselves and so they never lose their value as defensive weapons". Leo Africanus (*Desc. de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 559, see also 452-3) has a paragraph devoted to the *lamṭ*, and says that in the summer it is easier to catch the animal because the heat of the sand affects its hooves. As far as the target (*lamṭiyya*) are concerned, he provides more up-to-date information additional to the earlier accounts and says "Nothing except bullets from fire-arms can pierce them, but they are very costly".

These defensive arms are probably no longer made except for tourists but until recently the Touareg (at least, the Touareg nobility who had the sole right to carry them) still used them and they were "escutcheon-like in shape and significance; the decorative motifs have magical qualities associated with them." (H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs de Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 325-6, with illustrations, see also H. Pisani, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest*, Algiers 1888, 95) When P. de Foucauld was writing, the *ungen* of Ahaggar had the same name as the animal, the hide of which was used to make them, *ihem*, pl. *shemmem* (*Dict.*, ii, 1072-3).

Bibliography In addition to the sources already cited, see P. de Cénival and Th. Monod, *Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal par Valentim Fernandes* (1506-7), Paris 1938, 159-61, n. 90; G. Ferrand, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, in *JA* (1925), 43-4, 248-9; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 73-82; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, etc., Dakar 1959, 256. (F. Viré)

LAMṬA, a large Berber tribe of the Barāna family. Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the Ṣanhāja, Haskūra and Gazūla, others give them a Ḥimyarite origin like the Hawwāra and the Lawāta (*q.vv.*).

The Lamṭa were one of the nomadic tribes who wore a veil (*mulaṯṯamūn*). One section lived on the south of the Maḍb, between the Massūfa on the west and the Ṭārga (Tuareg) on the east; they even seem to have extended as far as the Niger. In the south of Morocco, in al-Sūs, where there were Lamṭa who led a nomadic life, in company with the Gazūla, the Lamṭa occupied the territory nearest to the Atlas. On the coming of the nomadic Arabs of the Ma'qil family, the two sections of the Lamṭa were absorbed by the Dhawī Ḥassān, the remaining sections then joined the Shabānāt, another Ma'qil tribe, to oppose the Gazūla who joined the Dhawī Ḥassān.

In the territory of the Lamṭa of al-Sūs at the mouth of the Wādī Nūl (now Wād Nūn) lay the commercial town of Nūl or Nūl of the Lamṭa, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara. Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there.

The jurist Ugg"ag b. Zallū of Sidjilmāsa, a pupil of Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī (*q.v.* in Suppl.), was a member of the tribe of Lamṭa, one of his pupils was 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Gazūlī, founder of the Almoravid empire [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

The country of the Lamṭa was noted for the shields made at Nūl with the skin of the *lamṭ* antelope (*q.v.*).

Bibliography Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ya'ḳūbī, Bakrī, Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-'Ibar*, indices, s.vv. Lamṭa and Nūl; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome, loc. ili, 221-5; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, index (esp. 452-3, where H. Lhote's long note should be regarded with care). (G. S. Colin*)

LAMṬŪNA (in Leo Africanus: Lantuna or Luntuna), a great Berber tribe belonging to the branch of the Ṣanhāja who led a nomadic life, and like other tribes of this branch forming part of the *Mulaṯṯamūn* or "wearers of the veil" [see LITHĀM].

The Lamṭūna nomadised over the western Sahara, where between the 2nd/8th and 5th/11th centuries they played a considerable political role. According to al-Bakrī (459/1067), the region covered by them stretched from the lands of Islam (i.e. the Maghrib) to those of the blacks. This is what this geographer says of the Lamṭūna's way of life: "They are strangers to any manual work to agriculture and even to bread. Their riches consist wholly of their herds. They live entirely off meat and milk". According to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the Lamṭūna already formed a considerable kingdom at the time of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, founder of the amirate of Cordova (138-72/756-88). This author plus Ibn Abī Zar' (d. between 730-20/1330-20) give the names of several kings of the Lamṭūna from that time onwards. The first of these was a certain Talīkākīn; the period of his power is unknown, but it is very probable that he lived towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century. His successor was Tilūthā or Taywalūtān b. Tilūlā b. Talīkākīn, who died aged 80 in 222/836-7. He was a great ruler, and if Ibn Abī Zar' is to be believed, to reigned over all the desert (i.e. all the western Sahara), and the territory under his control stretched for three month's journey in both length and breadth, as far as the borders of the land of the blacks, of whom more than twenty of their kings were subject to him. Tilūthā's successor was his nephew al-Athīr b. Bātū (also called Yalaṭtān) who died aged 65 in 257/851 n, or according to another source, in 287/900. The fourth king of the Lamṭūna was Tamīm (or Ramīm) b. al-Athīr who reigned over the tribe until 300/912-13; he was killed by the Ṣanhāja notables in a rebellion. His death heralded a time of troubles which lasted 120 years, i.e. until ca. 420/1029.

It seems that the state (or rather, the confederation of Berber tribes) created by the Lamṭūna and which endured down to 306/918 19, was actually the state or rather confederation called Anbiya by the mediaeval Arabic writers. This existed already in the time of the astronomer al-Fazārī (ca. 172/788), who locates it as between the kingdom of Sidjilmāsa (in the western

Maghrib) and that of Ghāna in the western Sudan. We also owe a few details about the Anbiya to Ibn al-Fakīh al-Hamadhānī (*ca.* 290/903), whose information on Africa goes back to the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He relates that 'the land of Anbiya is part of the Sūs al-Aksā (in the extreme south of present-day Morocco) and extends over seventy nights' march across the plains and deserts'. One may further add that the historian and geographer al-Ya'kūbī (d. 278/891) says as follows about the people of Anbiya: "It is by setting off from Sidjilmāssa southwards that one arrives in the land of the blacks ... It is reached via empty regions and deserts stretching for about fifty days' march. En route one meets a people called Anbiya, a part of the Ṣanhādja [who live] in the desert, they have no fixed abodes. They veil their faces, according to one of their customs. They do not wear a tunic, but cover themselves with pieces of cloth. Their food comes from camels, and they have no cereals or corn". On al-Ya'kūbī's evidence the Anbiya confederation was not, in the 3rd/9th century, the only great Berber power in the western Sahara. Indeed, he mentions also as existing in this desert and on the fringes of the land of the blacks a land (or a town) called Ghast, identical with the Awdaghast of the geographers of the 4th-5th/10-11th centuries and situated in south-eastern Mauritania. According to al-Ya'kūbī again, there was in this country a king who had no religion, who raided into the land of the blacks and who possessed numerous kingdoms.

It seems that the king of Awdaghast contributed to the fall of the confederation of the Lamtūna (or of Anbiya), and it may be in reference to him that Ibn Abī Zar' speaks when he mentions the revolt of the Ṣanhādja notables against the fourth king of the Lamtūna in 306/918-19. Hence the king Tīnazwā b. Wānghīk b. Bīzār or Barūyān b. Wānghīk b. Izār, who ruled, according to Ibn Khaldūn, over the Lamtūna and all the Sahara in the 4th/10th century, in the times of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) and his son al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76), belonged to the dynasty of Awdaghast and not to that of the Lamtūna. This same Barūyān b. Wānghīk b. Izār appears merely to be a deformation of that of Tīn Yeraṭṭān b. Wasīnū b. Nīzār attributed to the king of Awdaghast (who reigned between 340/932 and 356/967) by the geographer al-Bakrī. It is the same person who is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal (d. *ca.* 378/988) under the name of Tanburūtān b. Isfīshar and who was his contemporary; he says of him "Tanburutān b. Isfīshar ... was at that time king of all the Ṣanhādja ... He governed these last for twenty years ... Power belonged to this man's family in that tribe from time immemorial".

It appears that towards the end of the 4th/10th century or at the beginning of the next one, the kingdom of Awdaghast was destroyed by the king of Ghāna, who incorporated its capital (now the ruins of Tegdaoust) in his own kingdom, whilst leaving the tribe of Lamtūna their freedom. It was at this time at the end of a period of 120 years during which "power was divided up amongst the Lamtūna", as Ibn Abī Zar' says, that there appeared amongst the Lamtūna a new king called 'Abd Allāh (or Abū 'Ubayd Allāh) b. Tīfāwat, who brought about a union of all the Lamtūna. According to Ibn Abī Zar', he was a man of religion and piety who made the Pilgrimage. He was killed, at the end of three years' reign, during a raid, al-Bakrī calls him Muhammad Tāreshna and says that he carried on the holy war, in the course of which he was killed at a place called Kankāra (Gangara, the Mandingos) in the land of the blacks. Tāreshna (*ca.* Nēreshī) al-Lamtūnī seems to have reigned between 426 and 429/1034-8, at the head of a confederation of Ṣanhādja tribes whose members included, as well as the Lamtūna, the Djudāla and perhaps the Masūfa too.

At the outset, the Lamtūna were pagans, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, only became Muslim during the 3rd/9th century. But most of the tribe's members were only nominally Muslim, apart from the *amīrs* and probably a section of the notables. Because of this fact, Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djudālī, the successor of Nāreshī (Tāreshna) as head of the Lamtūna confederation, decided in the course of his Pilgrimage to Mecca, to bring from the Maghrib into the Sahara a pious and learned Muslim *shaykh* called 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, who was to work at the conversion of the Djudāla and Lamtūna to a genuine form of Islam. 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn soon discovered that most of the people he was working amongst lived in ignorance; hence he quickly surrounded himself with true believers and declared holy war against the infidels of the two tribes, which he managed to convert to Islam after several raids. In this way came about the origin of the kingdom of the Murābiṭūn or Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

After the death of Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djudālī (*ca.* 434/1042-3), 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, by now the spiritual head of the new community, appointed as his successor the *amīr* Yahyā b. 'Umar b. Talākākīn, who reigned until 440/1056-7. Then the latter's brother, Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, also appointed by 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, reigned over the western Sahara. Abū Bakr b. 'Umar was content to rule over the desert and to leave Morocco, whose conquest he undertook, to his nephew Ibn Tāshfīn. However, he kept the title of *amīr* of the Almoravids till his death. Apparently, after Abū Bakr's death (he was killed to 480/1087 during one of his raids against the blacks in the western Sudan) the Lamtūna still retained for some time their supremacy over the people of the western Sahara. Towards the middle of the 6th/12th century al-Zuhrī speaks of a Yahyā b. Abī Bakr, *amīr* of the Masūfa (=Lamtūna) who lived towards the year 496/1102-3 and who seems to have been the son of the *amīr* Abū Bakr b. 'Umar al-Lamtūnī. During this time there took place the conquest of Ghāna by the Lamtūna and the conversion of that city to Islam. Later, the power of the Lamtūna grew feebler, but nevertheless, we know, thanks to the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (*ca.* 588/1192), that the Lamtūna always possessed, at this period, an independent king as well as their own *shaykh*. Subsequently, like the Masūfa and other Berber tribes of the southwestern Sahara, the Lamtūna were compelled to recognise the supremacy of the Sudanese kings of Mālī. If al-'Umarī (743-50/1342-9) is to be believed, the Lamtūna came under their control in the first half of the 8th/14th century; however, they still had their own *shaykh*. The later Arabic sources are silent about this people, whose importance became at that time almost nil.

A word should finally be said about the boundaries of the Lamtūna territories in the period from the 2nd/8th to the 8th/14th centuries. Originally, they extended, according to al-Bakrī, to the south of the mountain of Ayzal (Kedyet Ij Jill or Fort Gouraud on no maps), occupying all the eastern part of what is now Mauritania, as far as the fringes of the Sudan. They were separated from the Atlantic by the lands nomadised over by the Djudāla, who occupied western Mauritania and the south-western part of

that country (al-Bakrī, Ibn Sa'īd) to the north of the lower Senegal and as far as the fringes of the Djabal al-Lamṭā' (modern Cap Blanc). Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Lamṭūna occupied the Mauritanian Adrar previously inhabited by a non-Muslim Berber tribe. They built there a fortress called Azukkī or Azukkī (Azoguī on modern Atar on modern maps), which then became their capital and a very important stage along the commercial route connecting Sidjilmāssa with Ghāna. From the Mauritanian Adrar, the lands traversed by the Lamṭūna stretched as far as the Sudan, more exactly to Tagant. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Lamṭūna occupied the district of Nūl al-Abyaḍ in the south-west of modern Morocco and that of Tāzugaght (Saguiet El Hamra on modern maps = al-Sākiya al-ḥamrā'), both of which belonged to the tribe of al Idrīsī's time.

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(T. Lewicki)

AL-LAMṬŪNĪ, Abū Bakr b. 'Umar b. Tāgḍāgīn al-Ṣanhādjī, war leader of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] and above all, the real founder of one of the historic capitals of Morocco, Marrakech (Murrākush [*q.v.*]). He was the brother of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar who became, at the death of the pious *ḥādjdj* Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gaddālī, *amīr* of the Berber confederation of Ṣanhādja nomads of the parts of the Sahara bordering on the Atlantic (Lamṭūna, Gudāla and Masūfa). The two brothers were the first to rejoin, after his *hidjra*, the Mālikī reformer 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn in his *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] at Nā (?), situated on an island or a peninsula of the Atlantic coast of modern Mauritania. It was from this *ribāṭ* that the powerful movement which culminated in the establishment of the Berber Almoravid dynasty was launched.

In 448/1056 Yaḥyā b. 'Umar was killed fighting the infidels in the western Sudan, and the *imām* 'Abd Allāh immediately replaced him, as head of the armed forces, by his brother Abū Bakr, who was celebrated for his courage, religious enthusiasm and experience. The new *amīr* had his position legitimised by the people at Sidjilmāssa and struck coins in his own, and was then charged with the task of conquering, by word and by sword, the region of the Moroccan Atlas. In 449/1057-8 his successful campaign ended in the capture of the town of Aghmāt [*q.v.*], the Maṣmūda capital. With the support behind him of this urban centre, at the time one enjoying considerable prestige, *the imām* 'Abd Allāh directed his troops against the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], the heretics of the central Moroccan Atlantic coast region, but having injudiciously rushed into the battle, he was killed in 451/1059. Abū Bakr now became the sole head of the Almoravids, he buried 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn on the spot, went on to crush the Barghawāṭa and returned, laden with booty, to Aghmāt. There he established his centre of power and married the rich widow of the former governor of the town, the Tunisian lady Zaynab bint Iskīk of Nafzāwiyya, whose beauty was only equalled by her political astuteness.

Being probably now largely occupied with the administering of his native land and of his conquests, Abū Bakr at this point gave command of the army to his nephew and cousin, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [*q.v.*], who had come to prominence through his outstanding qualities, confirming him in the office and directing him to the conquest of northern Morocco.

However, life in Aghmāt became more and more difficult for everyone. Both the persons and the possessions of the local people suffered from the presence of their unpolished conquerors, and these latter, as Saharan nomads, felt little at ease within the walls which they had conquered but which were suffocating them. In the end, Abū Bakr was persuaded to found a new town, one better situated in all regards than the double city of Aghmāt. Following the advice of his expert counsellors, he decided to establish the new centre on the actual site of Marrakesh. The process of transfer took place, according to the Moroccan historian Ibn al-'Iḏārī in his *Bayān*, on 23 Radjab 462/7 May 1070 and not in 1062 as indicated by the Abī Zar' [*q.v.*] in his rather undependable *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*. The initial works, directed by the amīr personally, were concentrated on the construction of a *ḳaṣaba* [*q.v.*], the renowned Ksar al-ḥadjar "stone fortress", where the ruler's harem, treasury and armoury were deposited in safety over the following three months.

Soon afterwards, on a date which the *Bayān* fixes within Rabī' II 462/January 1070, Abū Bakr received some alarming news from the desert. In order to fly to the aid of his tribe, he left to Yūsuf b. Tashfīn the administration of the Almoravid conquests, the town in course of construction, a large part of the army and even his wife, who had herself urged him to divorce her so that she might, at the end of the waiting period required by Muslim law, legally marry Yūsuf and give him the benefit of her great experience of the Moroccan situation. The great role played by women in Almoravid society is of course well known.

After having restored order within the desert, Abū Bakr did not return to Morocco till 464/1072-3. Well aware of what was happening at Marrakesh, he prudently installed himself at Aghmāt. He had

quickly learnt and realised that Yūsuf, strongly backed by Zaynab, would not give back to him the command entrusted to him earlier on the town of Marrakesh, now expanding rapidly. After a pathetic interview between the two men, seated together on a burnoose to the open countryside Abū Bakr had the sense to accept the very impressive presents offered to him, and with his face thus saved, returned to the land of his people in order to resume the holy war against the infidel blacks. This doughty hero of the faith, and founder of one of the great capitals of the Islamic world, was killed in 468/1075-6 in the massif of Tagant to the south of the Senegal River, where his gravestone and epitaph have been found.

His son Ibrāhīm then went to Morocco to reclaim his father's heritage of leadership, but wise counsels of prudence and substantial presents discouraged these ambitions and led to his definitive disappearance from Almoravid history.

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LAMU, a town, island and archipelago, in lat. 2° S. off the Kenya coast, together with Pate and Manda islands [*q.vv.*] and some smaller islands, probably to be identified with the Pyralaae Islands mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of ca. A.D. 206 as an established resort of Arab and Egyptian sea traders. Nevertheless, the first archaeological evidence found on Manda does not antedate the 8th or 9th century A.D., nor on Lamu before the 13th century. The first reliable literary evidence is that of Ibn Taghribirdī (later 9th/15th century), but the Swahili traditional history *Khabar Lamu*, and likewise the Swahili traditional histories of Pate, assert that it was founded in 77/693 by Syrians sent thither by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and reinforced by a further contingent sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 170/786. Although out in themselves impossible, there is no contemporary literary or archaeological evidence to sustain these 13th century traditions. Syrian traders are not known to have penetrated further south than the Ethiopian ports, and such late traditions are to be regarded with the greatest caution, if not scepticism. At the end of the 9th/15th century the island and the adjoining landfall are mentioned briefly by the celebrated pilot, Aḥmad b. Mājid.

Ibn Taghribirdī, quoting al-Makrīzī, makes only the curtest mention. The king is entitled in arabergris found on the beach. There are large bananas trees, from which a kind of honey is made, and various preserves. The town is almost buried under the sands. This suggests that in the later 9th/15th century the town was in decline. Its fortunes seem to be aptly illustrated by a sequence of dedicatory inscriptions, all but one in the mosques. The earliest is dated 1370-1 A.D.: the best, with a remarkable wooden *minbar* unique in eastern Africa, where stone alone is used for this purpose, was not built until 1511-12. The 18th century saw the construction of four *ateques*, in 1735, 1753, 1760 and 1797. In this interval, from *ca.* 1506 to 1698, the town was under nominal Portuguese control, and the first tribute of two *mithkāls* of gold was paid in Venetian *mocenigos*. In 1585 the town acknowledged Turkish suzerainty in the person of the Amīr ʿAlī Bey, for which the Portuguese deposed the sultan in 1587, hanging him in Goa on Christmas Day, 1589. Lamu supported the Mombasa rising of 1632 [*see* MOMBASA], for which the town was punished in 1634. Following another rising in 1678, the sultan of Lamu and four other neighbouring sultans lost their heads.

Lamu came under the nominal control of ʿUmān after the ʿUmānī capture of Mombasa in 1698, but this was not effectively exercised until 1812-13, in which year an inscription dates the building of the fort as a residence for the Bū Saʿīdī governor, always a member of the royal family until about 1901 [*see* AL BŪ SAʿĪD]. Under them the town grew considerably because of the expansionist trading policy of Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān and Zanzibar and his successors. Lamu was an important centre for trade in ivory, mangrove wood (used universally at this epoch throughout southern Arabia for roofing) and, for a period, slaves. New mosques were dedicated in 1823, 1824 (two), 1845, 1849, 1865, 1876, 1877 and 1880-1. To the same period we may ascribe the pleasant two- and occasionally three storeyed houses with their verandahs (Swa. *baraza*), which form the greater part of the older town, so reminiscent of southern Arabia, but with a distinctive architecture which may be called "Zanzibari". Particularly attractive are their doors of carved teak. These and the so-called Lamu chests (Swa. *sanduku*), camphorwood clothes chests, used because that wood is resistant to the omnipresent white ant, were important local manufactures. Elaborate beds and chairs, of ebony inlaid with ivory, give some indication of the luxury of the merchant notables. This is echoed in poetry, and especially during the 19th century Lamu was celebrated for its numerous Swahili poets and literary men [*see* SWAHILI, Literature]. These included poetesses, of whom Mwana Kupona was the most famous. The poetry is written in the local dialect of Swahili, Ki Amu. During the 1960s J. W. T. Allen identified no less than 30,000 pages of Swahili poetry in private hands in Lamu town, all in manuscript. Of these 10,000 pages have been photographed and the record deposited in the University Library, Dar es Salaam. It is estimated that as many pages were found of Arabic manuscripts, but at the present these have neither been photographed nor catalogued: they remain a challenge to the present generation of scholars.

With the growth of Mombasa as a deep-water port, the diminution in importance of the mangrove and ivory trades, and the disappearance of the slave trade, Lamu receded in importance, although recently it has achieved a certain popularity as a tourist centre. But more than anything it has been saved by emerging as the most important Islamic religious centre on eastern Africa. The Ribāṭ al-Riyāḍa, or Madrasat al-Riyāḍa, also commonly called the Mosque College of Lamu, was founded in 1319/1901-2 by Ḥabīb Sālih b. Ḥabīb ʿAlawī b. Ḥabīb ʿAbd Allāh Djamāl al-Layl, the word *Ḥabīb* being used as an alternative to *Sayyid*. Of a well-known Ḥaḍramī family of *sayyids*, an ancestor had settled at Sin town on the neighbouring Pate island; from there another ancestor migrated to the Comoro Islands [*see* KUMA and PATE]. There Ḥabīb Sālih was

born and brought up as a Swahili speaker although his was a learned family, Arabic was not spoken in the home. There and from family connections he became learned in the religious sciences and in traditional Arab medicine, although he never left eastern Africa. Migrating from the Comoros to Lamu, he began to teach, and soon acquired a band of followers. Following quarrels with the more conservative Muslims in the town, and especially because of the use of the tambourine to accompany the reading of the Barzanji *mawlidi* to celebrate the birth of the Prophet, Habib Salih first built a hut for use as a *musalla*, and subsequently the present mosque. This became a centre for the dissemination of the 'Alawiyya *tariqa*, which soon attracted students from neighbouring African peoples, mainly the Pokomo, the Galla and the Bajun. By the 1950s the influence of the mosque had made itself felt throughout the eastern littoral of Kenya and the present Tanzania, and its pupils could be found teaching in numerous small Kur'anic schools. In eastern Africa, all Sunni mosques hold *mawlidi* in honour of the Prophet during the month of his birth, the authorities in each neighbourhood arranging not to clash with each other's celebrations. The most important *mawlid* is that of the Ribat al-Riyad, attracting visitors from throughout Kenya and Tanzania, even as far as the border with Mozambique. Apart from the strictly religious ceremonies and the solemn procession to Habib Salih's tomb, Africans of different tribes also celebrate it with dances that are generally frowned upon as impious, if not heretical, by those of Arab descent. The tomb itself is in a flimsy wooden hut. If this is surprising such simplicity in a holy tomb has its parallels not only in Tanzania but also in al-Shihr the port through which the potent influence of the Hadramawt has chiefly percolated into eastern Africa.

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

LANBASAR (thus in Rashid al-Din and Mustawfi), popular pronunciation with assimilation Lam(m)asar < Lambasar, the name of one of the Isma'ili fortresses in northwestern Iran taken over from a local chief by Hasan-i Sabbah's lieutenant and eventual successor Kiya Buzurg-Ummid, according to Quwayni in 495/1102 (see ALAMUT, ISMA'ILIYYA). Its still-extensive ruins lie on a site sloping at 30°, whose surface resembles in shape a truncated cone and which measures some 1,500 ft./480 m. by 600 ft./190 m., with easily defensible slopes, in the Rudbar district of the upper Shah-Rud, tributary of the Safid-Rud [*q.v.*] in what was the mediaeval region of Daylam [*q.v.*], now in the central *ustan* of modern Iran. Its precise location is 30 miles/43 km. north-east of Kazwin and 2 miles/3 km. north of the village Shahristan-i Bala, on the Nayin-Rud stream, in lat. 36° 33′ N. and long. 50° 13′ 30″ E. The fortress's position guarded the approaches to Alamut from the Shah-Rud valley, and it was accordingly an important unit in the network of Isma'ili castles in Daylam. In recent times, the site and ruins have been visited and described by Freya Stark (1931), W. Ivanow (1958) and F. J. E. Willey (1960).

Lanbasar was besieged in vain in 511/1117 by the forces of the Saljuk sultan Muhammad b. Malik-Shah [*q.v.*]. At the time when the Il-Khan Hulegu overran northern Persia, the last Isma'ili Grand Master Rukn al-Din Khur-Shah submitted to the Mongols, and some forty Isma'ili strongholds passed into the invaders' hands. Lanbasar, however, held out against Hulegu's general Davir-Buka for a year after the beginning of 655/1257, and another fortress, Girdkuh, for considerably later, it was presumably after its capture that Lanbasar was abandoned as a military centre.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LANGA [see LAS BELA, 2 Ethnography].

LANKORAN (LENKORAN), the chief town of the district of the same name in the region of Baku. Lankoran is the Russian pronunciation of the name, which was at one time written Langar-kunan ("anchorage"), as perhaps Langar-kanan ("place which pulls out the anchors"), which is pronounced Lankaran in Persian and Lankon in Talishi. The ships of the Baku-Enzeli [*q.v.*] line used formerly to call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead, but at 8 miles north-east of the town is the island of Sara, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather.

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazdean (?) fashion), but it is not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded. Certain statements (cf. *Ta'rikh-i 'Alam-ara* under the year 940/1533 in Dorn, *Auszüge*, iv, 283, and Shaykh 'Ali Hazin [about 1725 A.D.], *Ta'rikh-i Ahwal*, ed. Balfour, 137) suggest that the capital of Talish was originally at Astara, towards the end of the 16th century, Lankoran be-

came the capital of this khānate. The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1723 with Tahmāsp II, and 1729 with the Afghān Ashraf), but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1732. Retaken by Count Zubov in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1812 by the Persians who fortified it. On 9 Muharram (*ʿāshūrā*) 1228/1 January 1813, Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kotliarevski after a brave resistance of the Persians. This event hastened the conclusion of the Treaty of Gulistān (1813), by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tālish to the north of the river Astārā. From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district. The fortress was dismantled in 1865. Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the Adharbāydjān S.S.R. in Soviet Transcaucasia.

The population of the town, which was 3,370 in 1867, had reached 11,100 in 1897. The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq. miles and in 1840 had 30,500 inhabitants and in 1861 99,082. Later, the district was reduced to 2,000 sq. miles, in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,805, of whom 46.8% were Azeri Turks, Iranian Tālish 46.2%, Russians 6.9% (ie. the north) and Armenians (0.1%). The district is composed of three zones, to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Mūghān; to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation, whilst to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,500 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier, forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardabīl. The district is rich in forests and had good fishing.

The figures for the 1926 and 1932 censuses showed little change from the above figures, but by 1973 the town alone had a population of 42,300. The town has a number of schools and colleges, libraries and clubs, as well as a museum of local lore. During the 1930s, a newspaper was published in Ādharbāydjānī and Tālishī. The majority of the population of the province are Shīʿī, though there are substantial Sunnī communities in the south. The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid, teacher of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, eponymous ancestor of the Ṣafawī dynasty, is situated a few miles to the south of the town of Lankoran.

The chief local industries are associated with the processing of agricultural products (tea, fish, vegetables, wine).

Bibliography: cf. the article TALYSH. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥat*, Tehran 1315, s.v. Lankarān. Bérézine, *Puteshestviye po Daghestanu*, Kāzān 1849, iii, 113; Semenov, *Geografichesko-statisticheskiy slovar' Rossiyskoy imperii*, St. Petersburg 1867, *La Grande Encycl. russe* (ed. Brockhaus-Efron), G. Radde, *Reisen an d. persisch russ. Grenze*, Leipzig 1886, Radde, *Talysch*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, xxxi (1885), J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique, Études géogr.*, i, 231-89; *Études archéol.*, i, 13-125, with an archaeological map; N. Y. Marr, *Talyshi*, publ. by the Acad. of Sciences, Petrograd 1922 (with a detailed bibliography), B. Miller, *Predmor'ye obles'i pogranichnykh s Talysh*, Baku 1926 (mainly linguistic), B. V. Miller, *Talishskiy yazyk*, Moscow 1953, *BSE*², Moscow 1973, xiv, 530; (English tr.) *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, New York-London 1977, xiv, 411.

(V. MINORSKY-[L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON]).

LĀR and LĀRĪDJĀN. Broadly attested outside southern Iran, the toponym Lār is applied to a characteristic region of northern Iran known by the name of Lārīdjān. Lār itself is the name of a watercourse, of its valley and of the pasture-lands which surround it. In different forms and local variants, it also refers to other cities or urban settlements of the Iranian lands.

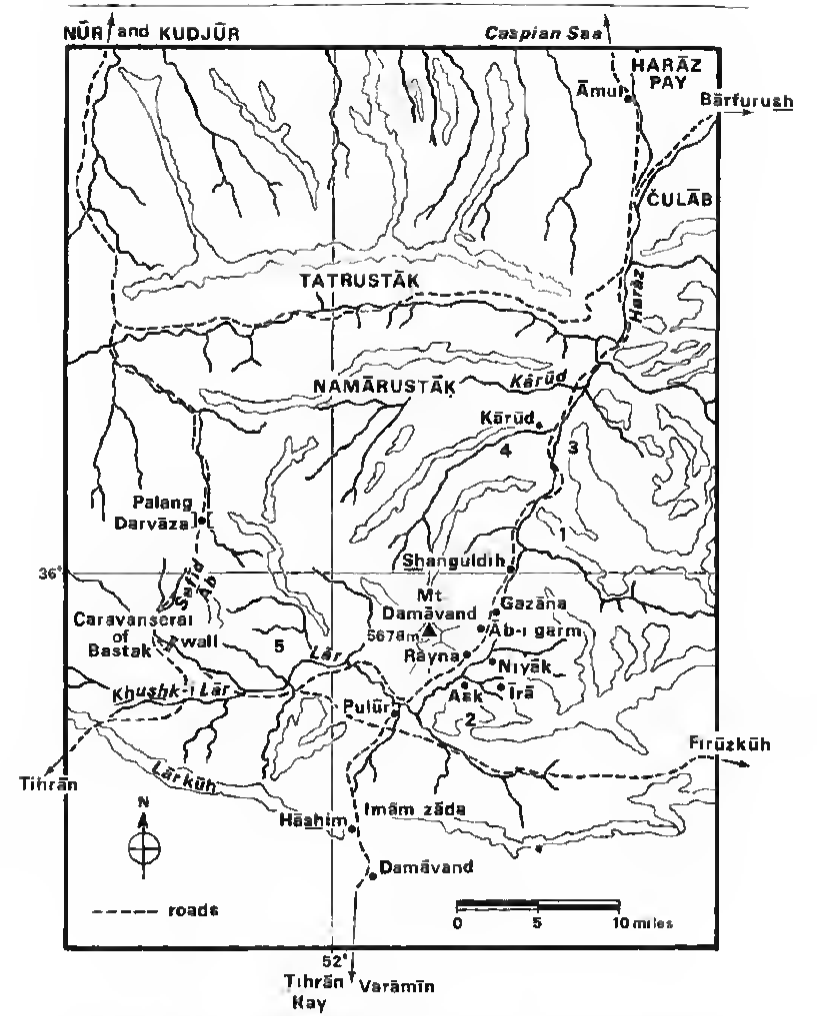
1. The high valley of the Lār.

On the barren slopes of the Elburz, not far from the conurbation of Tehran, the valley of the Lār constitutes one of the high points of nomadism. Situated at the foot of Mt. Damāvand—at 5,678 m (de Planhol), the highest peak of the Elburz and Iranian range—between the valleys of Nūr, Karadj, Djādi-i Rūd and Harāz, populated by Gīlakī peasants, today it supports no permanent settlement. Highly appreciated over a long period, not only by the nomads but also by the neighbouring village communities and by members of the royal household, its summer pastures have been the object of complex apportionments between these three contenders. Since the decade of the 1930s, the balance has been largely upset in favour of the nomads or semi-nomads, threatened in their turn by the process of modernisation.

Between its source in the vicinity of Kulūn/Kulūn-i Bastak and the elbow of Pulūr where it changes its name to that of Harāz, the Lār takes in the waters of numerous tributaries (names supplied by Rabino, 41-2, Karīmān, *Kaspia*, 120-1). It flows between mountains which, in the north as in the south, rise beyond the 3,000 to mark; to the south, the peak of the Lār-kūh is at 90 altitude of 3,901 m (12,797 feet according to an American map printed in 1957; *ibid.*, 115). On either side of the banks of the Lār, the pasture-lands extend over some 80 km and over a breadth of 6 to 7 km. (*ibid.*, 122). The winters are long and extremely cold. The altitude does not fall below a level of 2,500 m., even in summer, the temperature seldom rises above 24°C. At the eastern extremity of the valley, at Pulūr (see Lārīdjān, below), situated at 2,130 m., average temperature over the year is 5.8° C., rainfall is 547.7 mm. (Adle, chart, 569 mm. according to de Planhol, 23, n. 52, after Péguy).

Near the confluence of the Sefīd Āb and the Lār, a wall of dry rock blocks the entire valley. Situated, close by the so-called caravanserai of Shāh ʿAbbās, at a crossroads of caravan routes between Tehran and the north, in a locality dominated by the ruins of Kal'a-yi Dukhtar, according to oral tradition this wall separates two villages (Hourcade, 42 and *asap*). Indications of the existence of permanent settlement in the valley of the Lār are quite numerous, besides the remains observed by certain travellers (Wells 2, Von Call-Rosenburg, 122, Stahl, 10), there is the oral tradition current among the Hedāvand nomads (Brugsch), i, 285 quoted by de Planhol, 21-2) among the Gīlakī villagers of the valley of Irā (Hourcade, 42, n. 6) and most notably the tradition attested at Lāristhe as in the villages close to the valley of the Lār, according to which, under a king of ancient Iran, the villagers of the Lār, unable to endure the rigours of the winter, are supposed to have emigrated to Lār of the Fārs (Fasāʾī, ii, 281 ff., Kotschy, 52). This popular tradition should not be regarded as "quite fantastic" (de Planhol, 23) since numerous toponyms (Lār, Lārak, Elburz, Bastak etc.), are current in the north as in the south.

Although it is impossible to follow the evolution of relations between nomads and settlers until after the beginning of the 19th century, it seems that the settled territory covered a greater area then than it does today. According to de Planhol, the "wall" across the valley separated nomads from



Lāridjān (after Rabino) *Sub-districts* : 1 Amīrī or Pā'īn Lāridjān, 2 Bālā Lāridjān, 3 Bīhrustāk, 4 Dilārustāk, 5 Valley of the Lār ; on 4 and 5, see our reserves and remarks in the article

settlers. Since the decade of the 1830s, the encampments of the nomads and semi nomads of the Lār have been amply described by travellers, diplomats, soldiers etc. These accounts describe to us the stability of these tribes (itineraries of migration, places of summer pasturing etc.) of which the majority were transferred to the region of Tehran from the 18th century onward, for political reasons (Hourcade, 39). For at least a century, and until quite recently (1976), approximately 200,000 head of small livestock (sheep and goats) belonging to the nomads of the south slope of the Elburz have summered at the Lār. But the terms "tribes" and "nomads" are quite inappropriate to designate populations whose origins

remain obscure. Briefly, one encounters Hedīwand who speak the Lori language (having arrived in the 18th century); Kurd Arabic speakers (originally from Khurāsān?); the 'Arabs, poor and Persian speaking; the Kalmur or Kalhur, Gīlaki speakers, whose chiefs lived in Tehran (descended from the Kalmuk Mongols?), the Persian speaking Pāzuki ("Tsake of Khurāsān", Kurds?), other small tribes or diverse groups. Turks (Sayl Sepur, 'Alī Mangīr, Kal'a'i, shepherds of the Turkish villages of Rūdkhān), Kurds; "great nomads" ('Alī Kā'i, Gīlaki speakers; Hasanlu, Turkish speakers, Sangsari, who speak an Iranian dialect from the North-West). numerous details on these tribes (number of tents, migrations, summer pasturing etc.) in Houreade, 40 ff.; de Planhol, 33 ff.; Houreade and Tual, 23.

The use of Turco-Mongol terminology in nomadism reflects the acceleration of the process of hedounisation in the region following the Mongol invasion. The term *yāylāk* refers to the tent as well as to encampments (Stack, *i*, 98) or pastures and summer settlements (Rabino, *115*). The summer pasturing (*yaylak*) of the Lār was frequented by the Il-Khānids, the Timūrids, the Ṣafawids and the Kādjārs. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848-96), the pastures were grazed in summer by horses from the Shāh's stables (de Planhol, 21). He often set up his summer camp there, to be followed by all the dignitaries and their families, military men, ambassadors (numerous references to the camp of Lār in the diplomatic archives in London, Paris etc., in the stories told by travellers, soldiers, sportsmen, etc.). Under the Pahlavīs (1925-79), the pastures to the west and south of Damāwand remained for the most part the property of the crown or of public services (national education, army, agriculture, etc.), who leased them to the nomads.

While profiting from the decline of sedentary mountain life, nomadism has recently suffered the impact of the expansion of the Tehran conurbation. Semi-nomadic groups adapted with varying degrees of success to the re-organisation of the milk and meat markets, becoming the salaried shepherds of large societies, "city-dwelling" nomads or villagers. But the trend towards sedentary living, utilisation of the motor-car, etc. have modified migratory practices in some cases, nomadism has been replaced by pastoral migrations of the Alpine type (Houreade, 44-5). Other factors have contributed to the decline of nomadism. The development of tourism and of sporting activities (mountaineering, trout fishing, also practised by the nomads, spa facilities and skiing activities in neighbouring areas) has led to the creation of cottage-industries and of construction projects, inevitable measures for the protection of the environment have brought about the extension of natural reserves to the detriment of the pasture lands. But it is the construction of the dam of the Lār, designed to improve the water-resources of Tehran, which has had the profoundest impact on nomadism. With its foundations laid in 1975, this huge dam (105 m. in height, 1,000 m. long, reservoir of 30 square km. containing 960 million cubic m. of water) was due to become operational in 1980. Ecological constraints—particularly the erosion of the banks and terraces as a result of over grazing—brought about the expulsion of the nomads from 1976 onward (*ibid.*, 45 f.). The abandonment of major industrialisation projects should in principle favour the renewal of the traditional economy and of nomadism which had been tending towards modernisation and self-destruction (*ibid.*, 47 f.).

Rivalries between the nomads, the villagers and the state over the appropriation of pasture-lands are reflected on the administrative level. Originally belonging to the Ustān-i Markazī (*bakhsh* of Ārdjān, *shahrstān* of Tihrān: *DG*, *i*, 196), the Lār has seen its southern area attached to the villages of the southern slopes (Ustān-i Markazī) and the rest shared between the *dihistān* of Nūr and Lāridjān (Ustān-i Māzandarān), the properties of the crown and the state lying between these two spheres of ownership (Houreade, 38). Until the 19th century, its history is intermingled with that of Lāridjān (see below), of which it often forms an integral part.

2. *Lāridjān*

Geographical setting. Lāridjān takes its name from the Lār (see above), a perennial river which flows down the southern flank of the Damāwand and constitutes the principal branch of the headwaters of the Harāz. The change of name takes place towards the elbow of Pulūr where the Harāz is swollen by the addition of the Delīčāy; in places where it crosses *inhabited territory*, the river is called Ghāzān-čāy (from the Turkish "river which bores", according to de Planhol, 27, n. 23, perhaps also in memory of the Il-Khān Ghāzān; see below).

Constituted of volcanic rocks thrown up in the Pliocene and Quaternary periods (clear trachytes and coloured andesites), the cone of Mt. Damāwand (400 km²) offers on its eastern slope—dissected by the Harāz and its tributaries and a multiplicity of deep valleys—conditions more favourable to human settlement than exist on its western slope, which is made up of a compact and inhospitable mass of andesites. The high valley of the Lār does not fall below a level of 2,500 m., although the more deeply excavated valleys descend towards a level of 1,300 m., the furthest limit of permanent settlement currently being in the region of 2,300-2,400 m. On the eastern periphery, the soil produced by the decomposition of volcanic deposits engenders a stretch of fertile and well-watered ground. These natural conditions explain the human dissymmetry of this volcanic massif, which gives to Lāridjān its physical shape and its individuality (de Planhol, 17 ff., on the morphology and physical geography of the Damāwand, see P. Bout, M. Derruau, J. Dresch and Ch. P. Péguy, in *Mémoires et Documents*, viii, CNRS, Paris 1961, 39-83; see also *CHI*, *i*, 44 ff., 189, 425).

Socio-economic outline. A remnant of one of the most ancient provincial nuclei of northern Iran, Lāridjān is characterised by an exceptional density of villages, in contrast to the remarkable void existing upstream of the Lār towards Pulūr as well as in the down-stream valley, on the Caspian side. Life in the settled areas, in the main valley, is closely linked to that of the high pastures of the Lār and of Lāridjān. The traditional equilibrium is based on a minute system of balance between intensive agricultural exploitation of tiny plots, the pastoral life and complementary resources supplied by the winter emigration (on land use and irrigated and pluvial cultivation—corn, barley, lucerne, vegetables etc.—the agrarian structure and rustic landscape, the pastoral life and exploitation of the mountain—raising of small and large live stock—see de Planhol, 22 ff., also Houreade and Tual, 34 ff.). The rigours of the climate and the lack of winter resources are the cause of the significant migrations. In winter, only the peasantry and the stock-breeders remain on the mountain. Some farmers possess arable land on the Caspian plains. Traders and artisans (manufacturers of felt) traditionally

emigrated towards the Caspian. Conversely, the people of the plain of Āmul used to spend the winters on the Lār. Some important resources were drawn from the transit of merchandise and from mule-traffic along the traditional highway axes, the Harās valley route (Tehran-Āmul) by way of the col of Imām-zāda Hāshum), the route of Nūr and Kudjūr through Afdje, via the valley of the Lār (Hourcade and Tual, 25 f.).

Having witnessed an expansion at the beginning of the century, sedentary rustic life has experienced a constant decline as a result of this migration towards the Caspian and towards Tehran, a new focus of attraction. In the decade of the 1930s, new migratory patterns are seen to emerge, in ever increasing numbers, the nomads establish themselves in the high altitude cultivated lands abandoned by the villagers (de Planhol, 32 f.). The improvement of roads, the reorganisation of the production and marketing of dairy and meat products, have transformed the pastoral life and nomadism (see above). The tourist excursions undertaken by a great many city-dwellers are capable of "rendering marginal" the migrations of villagers. Centres of seasonal commerce have been established along the major routes (Hourcade and Tual, 29 f.).

The uneven settlement of the land and the social contrasts are reflected in the appearance of dwellings (large houses belonging to farmers/stock-breeders, the small houses of the emigrants, more recently, summer resort chalets). Cave-dwelling is an ancient practice; caverns excavated in the calcareous rock are currently used for sheltering live-stock and fodder (de Planhol, 26, nn. 55, 56). Study of the system of ownership reveals a predominance of small properties. Quite complex contracts exist between small-holders and exploitative farmers/stockbreeders. Although the standard of living is fairly low, it is possible to regard Lārīdjān as "a rural democracy, with a hierarchy, but without glaring inequalities" (de Planhol, 29 f.).

Lārīdjān is the point of departure for the ascent of Damāwand [*q.v.*] (Dumāwand/Dumbāwand/Dubāwand, etc.), a mountain which plays a significant rôle in the myths and legends of Iran (Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, index, Schwarz, 785 ff.), and in local folklore (Minorsky, *Lār*, in *EI*[1]). Nāsir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century) relates that sulphur extracted from the crater was wrapped in the skins of cattle which were then rolled down the slopes (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1344/1965, 7). Ibn Isfandiyār (writing in 613/1216) describes—following the *Firdaws al-ḥikmat*—how the ascent could be made in two days, starting from the village of Ask (I, 82-3, tr. 55-6). In the 19th century, two scientific ascents were made within a few days of each other in September 1837 (W. Taylour Thomson and E. d'Arcy Todd), subsequently, it became fashionable for Europeans (travellers, diplomats, explorers, mountaineers, etc.) to make expeditions to Mt. Damāwand (de Planhol, 19 ff.). Ascent by the north face being something of an exercise for experienced climbers, it is more easily accomplished by the south face starting from the village of Rayna/Reine (to the south-east, 2,200 m. in altitude) with the aid of mule-drivers well acquainted with the mountain (see de Planhol, in *Iran*, Nagel's Guide, Geneva 1973, 228-9).

As warriors of repute, the Lārīdjānīs have had occasion to defend their territory or to support the claims of local chieftains. After having fought against the Kādjārs, they supplied them with appreciable help in the maintenance of order in the north as well as in the south of Iran (see below).

Administrative framework and demography. Although Lārīdjān has been able to extend its influence over the neighbouring regions, its borders have changed little in the course of time. They have probably not gone beyond those that it had in the Kādjār period. This is how Rabino defines them (114-15, with the names of villages and pasturages, names given here in parentheses are those of the main places of permanent settlement).

(a) Amīrī or Pā'īn Lārīdjān (Shāhāndasht, Shanguldih)

(b) Bālā Lārīdjān (Ask, Āb i garm, Geynā, Gazmā, Garāsnak, Irā, Malār, Lāsrim, Navā, Niyāk, Pulūr, Rayna)

(c) Bāhrustāḳ (Bāydjān, Nawsar/Nāsar)

(d) Dilārustāḳ (Fīra, Bādādil Dilā, Kahr rūd/Kuhrūd/Kārū, Kurī, Nāndal/Nunnal, Tihna/Tina

(e) The valley of the Lār, besides the caravanserais of Surkhak, Bastak and Sefīd Āb on the road from Tehran to the Nūr *via* Lashkarak, there are no pasturages (see Hourcade, chart of the summering-sites of the Lār)

Although Dilārustāḳ, on the northern slope of the Damāwand, has been capable of definition as "a separate regional subdivision" (de Planhol, 17), it is historically a part of Lārīdjān. With the exception of the valley of the Lār—which now depends to a large extent on the Ustān i Markazī (see above)—Lārīdjān has preserved its other administrative divisions (see below).

The demographic evolution of the region is hard to trace. Having apparently benefited from the development of Māzandarān in the Safawid era, the population of the region seems to have declined in the 18th century. The improvement and then the decline of the 19th century is reflected in the population of the regional centre, Ask: 1,000 to 1,500 houses in 1837 (d'Arcy Todd), 2,000 in 1860 (Drugsch), 500 in 1874 (Napier). Recent information indicates a decline at Ask (approximately 700 in habitants in 1950, 424 in 1956) and a relative expansion at Rayna (600 houses in 1874 (Napier), 400 in 1958 (de Planhol)).

Attached to the Ustān-i Māzandarān, Lārīdjān constitutes a *bakhsh* of the *shahristān* of Āmul. It is divided into four *dihistāns*, as follows (*DG*, iii, 266, data from about the year 1950).

dihistān	*inhabited places*	*inhabitants*
Bālā Lārīdjān	18	7500
Bāhrustāḳ	7	500
Amīrī	10	2000
Dilārustāḳ	10	1500

The censuses of 1956, 1966 and 1976 indicate a demographic decline, the inhabitants being progressively less numerous than the migrants (see Hourcade and Tual, 16 ff.).

Historical evolution. The toponym Lārīdjān is quite widely attested in Islamic sources. It derives from Lārīg *Lār* + *īg* (a suffix which, in Pahlavī, serves to form adjectives of relation; however, its use in proper names in Pahlavī remains problematical: see Ph. Gignoux, in *Pad nām-i yazdān*, 63 f.). It should therefore be written with a long ī although, as in the case of Lāhīdjān, both ancient and modern authors most frequently write it with a short i. The use of Pahlavī, especially in coinage, epigraphy, seals, etc. was maintained for a long period in the Caspian region (as the Arabo-Sāsānid coinages of Tabaristān, see R. Curiel in *Pad nām-i yazdān*, 151-8).

The precise localisation of the urban settlement or the district known in ancient times by this name

remains uncertain. Its origin is lost in the myths and legends of ancient Iran which cannot easily be exploited from a historical point of view. Briefly, "Lāridjān is the most ancient region of Ṭabaristān. Firīdūn (i.e. Thraetona/Frēton) was born in the 'village' (*dēh*, which can have a broader sense) of War which is the principal town (*kaṣaba*) of this region (*nāḥiyat*) and where the cathedral mosque (*djāmiʿ*) and the oratory (*muṣallā*) are situated" (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 57). Waraka for War is an incorrect reading by Browne (tr. of Ibn Isfandiyār, 25), followed by Rabino, 49, Minorsky, art. *Lar* in *EI*[1] (who identifies Waraka/Warak/Varena with the village of Wāna in Lāridjān), de Planhol, 20 etc. According to Āmulī (33), the birth-place of Firīdūn is Lāridjān, *kaṣaba* of the region of the same name. According to Marʿashī (*TT*, 4), Gurgīn Mīlād, the "founder" of Gurgān, possessed the region of Rav[in water, his *ḳishlāḳ* [q.v.] was at Karadj Rūd in summer his *yaylaḳ* was at Lār (*TT*, 4; on Lār i Kaṣrān, see below). More easily identifiable is Shalab/Calab/Calāw, at Dilārustāḳ at the northern foot of the Damāwand/Damāwand, an area of rich pastures where Firīdūn was brought up, went hunting mounted on a cow and devoted himself to training oxen as saddle-animals, and whence he set out to conquer ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 57 ff., according to de Planhol (20, n. 34), there is in this myth an echo of the ancient mountain practice of riding oxen.

The fact that Lāridjān designates sometimes an urban settlement, sometimes a district, does nothing to facilitate the toponymic study of the region. Lāridjān is the mountainous frontier zone where the Hashaz flows (*Hudūd*, 77). Probably because of the fairly late Islamisation of the region (by the ʿAlids), Lāridjān is rarely mentioned by geographers who wrote in Arabic. In addition, their works contain ambiguities. Thus Lārīz (supposedly the ancient form of Lāridj), named as a village or a district of Ṭabaristān (Marquart, 127, 135) is not the present day Lāridjān (on Lārīz and Marquart's interpretation, cf. below, 3).

According to Yāḳūt (iv, 340-1) "Lāridjān is a small town (*bulayda*) between Ray and Āmul in Ṭabaristān; it lies at a distance of 18 *farsaḵhs* from each of these two towns, it is protected by a fortress often mentioned in the chronicles of the Buwayhids and of Daylam". Villages, fortified points, places allegedly situated in Lāridjān are mentioned by various sources. The village of Īrā is mentioned under the name of Bāra/Yāra (al-Iṣṭaḵhrī, 210, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 272, quoted by Schwarz, 789, does this refer to Īrā near Ask, or to an ancient permanent village to the south of the valley of the Lār (see above). Ask (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 83). Fulūl, Fulūl-i Lāridjān, Kal'a-yi Fulūl (Marʿashī, *TT*, 216; *TG*, 284); Kal'a-i Lawandar (near Ravṣa) (Marʿashī, *TT*, 213-14), the *ḳal'a* or the urban settlement of Kuhrūd/Kahrūd/Karu/Karūd (Āmulī, 135; Ibn Isfandiyār, ii, 78, 99; Marʿashī, *TT*, 54, 213). This or the *ḳal'as* of Lār, without further definition, are also mentioned (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 297-9; Āmulī, 109; Marʿashī, *TT*, 212). In the Sāsānid period, Lāridjān must have formed part of the Padashkhʷargar, of which the sovereign was Māh gushnasp (or Dushnasfshah) at the end of the Arsacid period. Subsequently, this region belonged to the Sāsānid Kawād, then to his son Kāwūs. Later it came under the control of the Sāsānid family of the Kārinds [q.v.] (Marquart, 130 ff; Karīmān, *Kaṣrān*, ii, 832). In a broad sense, Kūh-i Kārin or Dīlmī-i Kārin designated the eastern Elburz. According to Rabino (2), it included present-day Lāridjān, the Sawād Kūh and the Hazār-djarīb. But according to the *Dārāb nāma*, the Dīlmī-i Kārin is also called Dīlmī-i Rūnandj/Rūna (Rūyān) and the Damāwand/Damāwand does not form a part of this mountain (Muḥammad b. Naḍīf Rahrān, *Dārāb-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1342/1963, 58). At the time of the Arab invasion, the situation in the region is unclear, especially as regards the Lār (valley of the Lār), the southern limit of Lāridjān, where ancient occupation is attested most notably by the presence of remains of sanctuaries dedicated, it is said, to Nāhīd/Anāhita (Karīmān, *op cit*, 189, 632). The mountainous region to the north of the Ray was called Kaṣrān (Kūhsarān), and was divided into Kaṣrān-i dākhil (or Kaṣrān-i dardūl) and Kaṣrān-i bīrūn (Karīmān, *op cit*., 3 ff. with reference to al-Iṣṭaḵhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal al-Mukaddasī, Zakariyā al-Kazwīnī, Yāḳūt, etc.) The Lār presumably belonged to the Kaṣrān-i dākhil. Lār-i Kaṣrān is found in various sources (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 56; Marʿashī, *TT*, 222, 224, Āmulī 182 f., etc.) But reference to Lār ū Kaṣrān (e.g. Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 223) is also found, which gives grounds for supposing that one part of the Lār belonged to Kaṣrān and the other part to Lāridjān. Furthermore, the mountains to the north west of the Lār whose waterways flow towards the north, form part of the Rūd bār-i Kaṣrān (Karīmān, *op cit*., 20 f.). It also appears that the Lār, endowed with at least one fortress, at times exercised a certain independence between Lāridjān, Lawāsān and Kaṣrān. It may also be noted that—at least as the geographical level—the mountains of Rūyān formed a frontier with the mountains of Ray (Ibn al-Fakīh, 304, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* 320, quoted by Karīmān, *op cit*., 28).

At the time of the conquest of Ray (which al-Ṭabarī locates in 22/643), the Maṣmughān (Mas-i Mughān Grand Master of the Magi) who exercised jurisdiction over Damāwand, Khuwār, Lārīz and Sharrz, agreed conditionally to the payment of the *djizya* and *kharādj* (Karīmān, *RE*, ii, 487, after al Ṭabarī and Ibn al Athīr). According to H. Karīmān (*Kaṣrān*, i, 71 ff.), the north of Kaṣrān and a part of Lāridjān were in the hands of the Maṣmughān, but this is not stated clearly in the sources. The possessions of the Maṣmughān were conquered by Abū Muslim in 132/748 (Marquart, 127, after Ibn al Athīr).

In the absence of indications in the sources which would permit an appraisal of the economic worth of the region, it may be said that, in mediaeval Iran, Lāridjān exercised—as a result of its geographical position—control over a military, commercial and pastoral route i.e. the Ray-Āmul axis towards the Caspian Sea and the transversal routes towards Kūmis and Khurāsān via Firūz-kūh to the east, towards Karwīn and Āḏharbāydjān to the west. A highway also connects Ārām, in the Hazār djarīb, to Lāridjān (Rabino, 125). Other transversal routes were added later (see below). This function would pre-suppose the existence of a stable local power. The latter was exercised by governors usually bearing the title of *marzbān* (the term Lāridjān seems also to have had a patronymic connotation). Ibn Isfandiyār supplies us with a list of these *marzbāns* beginning with Faḍl b. al-Marzubān in 252/866 (the list has been partially reconstructed by Rabino, 147, up to the 7th/13th century). In the final third of the 3rd/9th century, Sahl b. al Marzubān constructed across Lāridjān the route which, in earlier times, had been impracticable both in winter and in summer, and he took steps to ensure its security (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 222).

Like other chieftains of Tabaristān, the governors of Lārīdjān accorded a warm welcome to the ʿAlids. The chieftains of Lārīdjān and of Kaṣrān rallied to the support of the brother of Ḥasan b. Zayd known as el-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 233, Marʿashī, *TT*, 232). In 272/885-6, the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Zayd, brother of Ḥasan b. Zayd, attempted to take possession of Ray; on being defeated, he sought refuge in Lārīdjān (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 252, Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 59). In the Saldjūk period, the phase of disorder which followed the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and of Malik Shāh (485/1092) had an effect on Lārīdjān. Having ordered his governors of Lārīdjān, of Rūyān and of Āmul to help him in the fight against the Ismāʿīlīs, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh nominated as governor of Ray and of a vast area, including Lārīdjān, his young emir Malik Aḥmed, whom he entrusted to the care of *an emir* named Sunghār-i Kutlik. This Saldjūk policy, aimed at maintaining control of pro-Shīʿī regions, spread consternation among the Bāwandid Ispahbods (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 38). Nevertheless, Lārīdjān benefited—as did other regions of Iran before the Mongol ravages—from the decline of Saldjūk power. After a period of conflict with the Ispahbad Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I Bāwandī (534-58/1140-63) (see Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77; Āmulī, 126), Manūčihr, *marzbān* of Lārīdjān, turned Kal-ʿa Kuhrūd (in the down-stream area, later known by various names, including Kārūd/Kārūd) into a place so prosperous that people of all professions, natives of India, of Egypt and of Syria, came and settled there (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77 ff., 99), this *kal-ʿa* was destroyed in 583/1181-2 and later rebuilt (Marʿashī, *TT*, 215 ff.). Other fortified points are mentioned. The *kal-ʿa* of Lārīdjān (without further definition) is named in connection with various events (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 237, 269, Āmulī, 109), Marʿashī mentions the *kal-ʿa* of Fūlād (*TT*, 19). Manūčihr allied himself with other chieftains of Tabaristān, to Shāh Ghāzī Rustam Bāwandī, his troops formed a part of the army which conquered Bisṭām/Bustām and Dāmghān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 34, Marʿashī, *TT*, 23; Āmulī, 132).

Abū Ḥarb, the eldest son of Manūčihr, was a violent and irreligious man. He killed his father and his brothers (through trickery), renewed the alliance with Shāh Ghāzī Rustam, and fought alongside him against the *sutundar* Kay Kāwūs, after having been defeated, the latter went to war against the rebel Garshāsī. At the last military parade conducted by Shāh Ghāzī Rustam, Abū Ḥarb was among his army commanders (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 69 *ff.*; Marʿashī, *TT*, 22-3). Eventually, the people of Lārīdjān lost patience with Abū Ḥarb and his misdeeds, and killed him. His one-year-old son, Khākh-wār or Kina-khwār (i.e. "Avenger") was put into power by ʿAlī Lārīdjānī, the commander of Abū Ḥarb's army and of that of his father Manūčihr. ʿAlī Lārīdjānī appointed himself *atabeg* and towards the end of his career he collaborated at Ray with the Saldjūk *atabeg* Ildegiz [see ILDEGIZ] in carrying off "the treasures" of Lārīdjān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 110-11; Marʿashī, *TT*, 107). The Lārīdjānīs rallied to the cause of the *ispahbad* ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Ḥasan (surnamed "al-Malik al-Shahīd", 558-67/1163-71), maternal uncle of Khākh-wār. Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla controlled Kaṣrān, and, especially after the misconduct of Abū Ḥarb, Lārīdjān had practically lost its independence. Furthermore, "Amīr Lārīdjānī" incited the Saldjūk *atabeg* to recapture from ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla the *wilāyat-i Lārīdjān* "which had always been a part of ʿIrāḳ" (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 112). Under the *ispahbad* Ḥusām al-Dawla Shāh Ardashīr, a sizable portion of Lārīdjān formed part of the "darūn Tarīḍha" (*ibid.*, 144). Ḥusām al-Dawla entrusted the government (*sardārī*) of Lārīdjān to the *ispahbad* Abū Djaʿfar Asʿarb (Marʿashī, *TT*, 110).

At the turn of the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, the history of the region is poorly attested, the chronicles mention numerous journeys that passed through Lārīdjān, of which the *kal-ʿa* also constituted a refuge (for example for the mother, the wives and the children of Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh when he fled before the armies of Čingiz Khān: Nasawī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djalāl-al-dīn*, ed. Kazwīnī, *GMS*, xvi, ii, London 1910, 195). The relations between the Lārīdjānīs and the Ismāʿīlīs (energetically fought by Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I) and, in general, the politico-religious situation in the region on the eve of the Mongol invasion, remain obscure. It may also be noted that, according to Mustawfī, the *kal-ʿa* of Lār was included among the Ismāʿīlī fortresses conquered by Hülägü Khān in 654/1256 (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1339/1960, 527).

Following the Mongol invasion, the weakening of local powers resulted in the loss to Lārīdjān of part of its strategic importance (later Saldjūk, Mongol and Timūrid sources refer to the region by the name *wilāyat-i Lār*). It is, however, unknown to what extent the presence of the Mongols, experienced in operating in high-altitude areas and the extension of nomadism which ruined the neighbouring districts, affected Lārīdjān (on these problems, see J. Aubin, *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, i, Paris-Geneva 1972, 105-30, at 116 ff.). It seems that the pasturages of the Lār were appreciated by the Il-Khāns. Arghūn Khān "had caused a fine palace (*kūshk u ʿilī*) to be built at the summer resort of Lār, at the foot of Mount Damāwand, this place is now known by the name of Kūshk-i Arghūn" (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 229). Thus was no doubt the place where Ghāzān Khān solemnly adopted the Muslim faith in Shaʿbān 694/June 1295 (at least, this is the version given by some authors: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* Amsterdam 1852, iv, 132-2, ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Taʾrīkh-i Mughul*, Tehran 2536/1977, 256. J. A. Boyle in *CHI*, v, 378). But details as to the site, the date the number of Mongols converted on the occasion, etc., remain poorly defined in the sources. According to the leading chroniclers, it was at Fīrūz Kūh that, following the advice of his *amīr* Nawrūz, Ghāzān Khān was converted to Islam at the beginning of Shaʿbān 694/mid-June 1295 in the presence of the *shaykh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, Baku 1957, iii, 294 ff.; Waṣṣāf, *Taʾrīkh*, Tehran 1338/1959, 326-7; Khwānd-Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333/1954, iii, 144; Mīr-Khwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Tehran 1339/1960, v, 380). According to local tradition, it was in the valley of the Lār, at Kūshk-i Arghūn, that this conversion took place (Feuvrier, 259). It may also be noted that on numerous occasions Ghāzān Khān frequented the "Yaylāḳ-i Damāwand" (see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. K. Jahn, GMS, London 1940, index).

The Tūdrids also thought highly of the pasturelands of the Lār. It was in the valley of the Lār that the Spanish ambassador Clavijo came, in June-July 1404, in visit the son-in-law of Timūr, Sulaymān Mīrzā, whom he found in the middle of his encampment of some three thousand tents (tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 169). Some days previously, on his way from Ardabīl, Timūr had broken his journey at the *wilāyat-i Lār*, in Kūshk-i Arghūn, which he

left for Fīrūz-kūh on 29 June (Yazdī, *Ẓafar nāma*, ed. Calcutta, ii, 591, ed Tahran 1336/1957, ii, 417)

As elsewhere in Iran, and especially in Māzandarān, Lāridjān was affected in the 8th-9th/14th-15th century by the increasing power of socio-religious movements and of the *sayyids*. In 734/1333-4 Amīr Mas'ūd Sarbadār forced the Il Khān Tughā Tīmūr, governor of the Kaṣrān-i dākhil, to take refuge in the summer resort of Lār-i Kaṣrān [Āmul, 182-3] In this period, the Mar'ashī *sayyids* (*q.v.*) were all-powerful in Māzandarān. In the years 783-4/1381-3, Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn, brother of Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn, took possession of Kal'a-yi Nūr; in two years, he took all the *kal'as* from Tālikān to Lawāsān, including the *kal'a* of the Lār and of Lāridjān (Lawandar, near Rayen, Kārūd). Lāridjān was then in the hands of Riyā Ḥasan Kiyā'ī Damāndar Namārustāk, Daylārustāk, Tarīta Rustāk and Kārūd were under the control of Māzandarān (Mar'ashī, *TT*, 273-74) In 795, Tīmūr exiled Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn to Transoxania with his brothers and his sons. After his death Shāhrukh allowed them to return to Māzandarān (Khwānd-Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 22) In 817/1416, Sayyid Murtaḍā b. 'Alī seized power in Māzandarān He entrusted Namārustāk, Daylārustāk and Tarīta Rustāk to his son Malik Kāwūs and gave him authority to wrest Lāridjān from the hands of Riyā'ī Damāndar (Mar'ashī, *TT*, 268) But other local potentates disputed control of the region with the *sayyids*, notably the Pādūsbānids or Rustamdāriyya [who bore successively the titles of Ispahbad, Ustundar and Malik) and the Kiyā of Čulaw/Calāb (see Rabino, 241 ff.). After the death of the Pādūsbānid Malik Gayūmarth (837/1455), Rustamdār was shared between his sons Kāwūs and Iskandar, founders of the Banī Kāwūs (Nūr branch) and of the Banī Iskandar (Rudjār branch). Under Malik Gayūmarth Iskandar had been in control of Lāridjān, Namārustāk and Kārūd Conflicts between Kāwūs and Iskandar were numerous and prolonged; Djahān Shāh Karā Koyunlū intervened on a number of occasions, calling upon Amīr Riyā Sayyid Muhammad Gīlānī to settle the dispute between the adversaries (Mahdjūrī, ii, 75 ff.; Karīmān, *Kaṣrān*, 397-8).

In the 20th-14th century, the region remained under the control of the Pādūsbānids. Under the Ṣafawid Shāh Tahmāsp I, it was shared between three cousins: Malik Bahman held Lāridjān (formerly a dependancy of Rudjūr), Malik 'Azīz held Nūr and Malik Sultān Muḥammad held Rudjūr At the beginning of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, Rustamdār was divided into three *nahiyas* Malik Bahman holding Lārdjān, Malik Djalālīngīr b. Malik 'Azīz holding Nūr, and Malik Djahāngīr b Malik Sultān Muḥammad holding Rudjūr (*AAA*, ii, 399, tr 696, 534, tr. 713). Malik Bahman was constantly at war with his neighbours, whom he endeavoured to dominate by force or by trickery These internecine struggles inevitably gave encouragement to Shāh 'Abbās I in his scheme to assert his power over the whole of Māzandarān. In 1002/1592, Malik Bahman welcomed to the summer resort of Lār a Ṣafawid expedition on its way to Khurāsān (Yazdī, fol. 58a). In 1012/1593, he laid siege to the *kal'a* of Lawāsān, captured and then put in death the brother of Malik Sultān Ḥusayn Lawāsānī who was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās, and led away his wives and children to captivity in Lāridjān (*AAA*, ii, 520-1, tr. 697, 714-15; Yazdī, fol. 65a) In the course of the second campaign in Māzandarān which Farhād Khān undertook on the orders of Shāh 'Abbās I, he succeeded in capturing Malik Bahman (in 1015/1596-7), who was put to death (by Malik Sultān Ḥusayn Lawāsānī to avenge the blood of his brother, according to *AAA*, ii 522, tr 698, by 'Abd al-Kahhār Beg, son of Malik Sultān Husayn according to Yazdī fol 73b, on Malik Bahman, see also Mīr Tīmūr Mar'ashī, 273 ff.). Realising the futility of resistance, Malik Kay Khusraw, eldest son of Malik Bahman, surrendered. Shāh 'Abbās had commanded Muḥammad Beg Begdilū Shāmlū to take possession of the *kal'a* the brothers and the children of Malik Bahman, who were subsequently delivered to Malik Ḥusayn Lawāsānī: then he entrusted Lāridjān *ve s tiyūl* to a Kizilbāsh *khān* (*AAA*, ii, 534-5 tr 723-24) But the two Djahāngīrs of Rustamdār who had capitulated in Shāh 'Abbās at the summer resort of Lār retained important functions the Malik of Nūr was appointed governor of Sāwa, the Malik of Rudjūr at first retained his possessions as suzerain and became one of the trusted officers of Shāh 'Abbās. Later, he rebelled as did other *maliks* of Rustamdār, their conspiracies were foiled and all were put to death. Thus was extinguished the power of the Pādūsbānids (*ibid.*, 535-4, tr 725 ff.)

The Kaṣrān-i dākhil and the summer resort (*yaylāk*) of the Lār were favourite haunts of the Ṣafawids. At the time when the Kizilbāsh *amirs* enthroned Shah Tahmāsp I (932/1524-5), the *wakīl* Div Sultān Rūmlū established his summer quarters at Lār, before marching on Khurāsān, which had been invaded by the Uzbeks (*AAA*, i, 45, tr. 78). On many occasions, Shāh 'Abbās visited the *yaylāk-i Lār* (*ibid.*, ii, 399, 452, 654).

Although the history of Māzandarān and of Kaṣrān is relatively well-documented from the time of the Ṣafawids to the present day, points of reference concerning the Lār and Lāridjān do not become plentiful until the Kādjār period Tahmāsp II lived for two years in Māzandarān (1137-9/1724-5), in particular in Larigān where he was joined by Fath 'Alī Khān Kādjār, who became his *sipah-sālār* (Mahdjūrī, 110 ff.; I'timād al-Salṭana, *Mir'āt al-buldān-i nāṣirī*, i 527). The chieftains of Lāridjān and the potentates of Māzandarān took the side of the Zands against Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Kādjār Koyūnlū Ṣafa 'Alī Khān, leader of the dignitaries of Lāridjān, prevented him from going to Āmul, the misconduct of Walī Khān, the envoy of the Kādjār chief, led to the revolt of ' the people of the mountain and of the plain", under the command of Mukīm Khān Sārawī, Afshārid governor of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 123-4) After the death of Karīm Khān Zand (1195-1779), numerous Lāridjānīs and Māzandarānīs allied themselves in Muṣṭafā Kulī Khān Kādjār, estranged brother of Āghā Muḥammad Khān (*ibid.*, 132) After defeating 'Alī Murād Khān Zand and his coalition of Lāridjānīs, Afghans and men from the Lur, Āghā Muḥammad Khān controlled the whole of Māzandarān and of Astarābād [end of 1204/1760) But in the conflicts in which he was continually at odds with his brothers, the Lāridjānīs fought on the side of his enemies (Riḍā Kulī Khān, Mihdī Kulī Khān *ibid.*, 152-3) Captured and then set free by Āghā Muḥammad Khān, Riḍā Kulī Khān again rebelled With his Lāridjānī *tufangčīs* (musketeers), he captured Āghā Muḥammad Khān, who was set free on the intervention of Murtaḍā Kulī Khān (*ibid.*, 153, Fasā'ī, i, 222; according to Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, i, 20-1, it was Dja'far Kulī Khān who liberated Āghā Muḥammad Khān). Beaten once more by the army of Astarābād, Riḍā Kulī Khān rallied to the cause of Ṣādik Khān Zand. But

in 1156/1781-2, the Lārijānīs remained in the camp of the Zands. They joined forces with Amīr Gūna Khān, sent by ʿAlī Murād Khān to Māzandarān, on whom Āghā Muḥammad Khān inflicted a crushing defeat at Sabze Maydān; the cruelty of the Kādjār khān towards the Lārijānīs has remained proverbial in the region (Fasāʾī, i, 223, Mahdjūrī, 134). But in 1198/1783-4, Shaykh Ways Khān Zand, son of ʿAlī Murād, asserted his control over the whole of Māzandarān, Fīrūz-kūh, Lārijān and Rustamdār (i.e. Nūr u Kudjūr), Fasāʾī, i 224-5. The following year, Āghā Muḥammad Khān was obliged to recapture Māzandarān before proceeding to take possession of Tehran.

Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), the khān of Lārijān enjoyed a quasi-independence. This semi-autonomy was founded upon control of the principal economic thoroughfare between Māzandarān and Tehran "in a fairly subtle equilibrium of forces and of services rendered with the sovereign who ruled not far from there" (de Planhol, 19, with reference to Aucher Eloy, Thompson, d'Arcy Todd). Ask was at that time the local capital of the province. ʿAbbās Kulī Khān Lārijānī Sartīp (later Sardār) possessed a fine palace there (Buhse 229-30). This prince of Lārijān set about maintaining order in the region. He made himself a valuable ally of the Kādjār authority and of the *ʿulamāʾ* by quelling the Bābī insurrection [see BĀBIS] of Mullā Husayn Dīnābī-i Bāb al-Bāb at Shaykh Ṭabarsī/Ṭabrsī in 1265/1849 (see Mīrzā Husayn Hamadānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djadīd*, tr. E.G. Browne, London 1893, 52-3, 67 ff., and index; Mahdjūrī, 165 ff.) ʿAbbās Kulī Khān at that time occupied the highest rank among the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 176). The following year, he helped to re-establish order in Fārs with his Lārijānī horsemen, *ils* entrusted the government of Kuhgīlūya and of Bihbahān to his Lārijānī officers and acted himself in the role of administrator (*Ṣāmī, Fasāʾī*, i, 306 *f*. The prosperity of Lārijān is again indicated in 1860 (Brugsch, i, 295) and in 1862 (de Philippi, 256 9). At the start of the journey of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to Māzandarān, in 1281/1868, ʿAbbās Kulī Khān presented himself to the *shikār* with all the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdjūrī, 177). Although the decline of the town of Ask became a constant process, at the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's second visit in Māzandarān (1292/1875-6), Lārijān retained a degree of prosperity and still had its dignitaries (including *ʿulamāʾ* and *sayyids*) Mehdjūrī, 181 ff. But in 1875 an Italian general had under his command in Tehran a regiment recruited in Lārijān (von Call-Rosenburg, 142, quoted by de Planhol, 19, n. 23).

The last important figure of Lārijān in the Kādjār period was Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān, son of ʿAbbās Kulī Khān surnamed Amīr-i Mukarram, he was a senior functionary at the court of the Kādjārs. Outside Lārijān, he exercised jurisdiction over numerous villages of Āmul. During the upheavals of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), he was appointed governor of Astarābād and encountered hostility from members of the local *anjuman* (Mahdjūrī, 249). At the time of the dismissal of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1327/1909), he was obliged to confront his kinsmen Amīr-i Aʿẓam Sangsarī and his coalition of religious astuvsis and of Bakhtiyārīs. Amīr-i Aʿẓam plundered the treasures of Amīr Mukarram at Ask and carried them off to Tehran. In the course of a second expedition of Amīr-i Aʿẓam to Lārijān, a large number of Bakhtiyārīs were killed (including their leader Imām Kulī Khān), *ibid.*, 258 ff. Although succeeding in retaining some of his influence, Amīr Mukarram Lārijānī was exiled to Kirmānshāh by Wuthūk al-Dawla in 1337/1918-9 (*ibid.*, 295). Under Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, his possessions as well as numerous villages of Kasrān and Māzandarān became the property of the crown (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa*) placed under the jurisdiction of officers who, in their turn, oppressed the villagers (*ibid.*, 326-7).

The predilection of the Kādjārs for the summer resort of the Lār led to the development of roads, especially transversal routes linking the winter and summer palaces of the Tehran region. The modernisation of arterial routes towards Lār and Lārijān was pursued by the Pahlavīs (Karīm Kasrān, 165 ff.).

3. *Other Lārs*

Besides Lār in Fārs (Lāristān) and Lārijān, the toponym Lār and its variants are widely attested in the Iranian lands. Within the present-day frontiers the following are to be noted (after *DG*):

village	*Mahrastān*	*DG*
Lār	Sāwa	i, 196
Larījān	Maḥallāt	i, 197
Lār	Zandjān	ii, 268
Lār-i Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān	Zandjān	ii, 269
Lār-sar	Fīrūz	ii, 268
(Lārmā)	Sārī	iii, 266
(Lārīm)	Shāhī	iii, 267
Lār	Bihbahān	vi, 335
Lār	Čīl Bahār	vii, 38
(Lār-hang)	Saḥeswār	ix, 374

Lārak is alleged to be the name of a locality in Hazārdjarīb (Rahīno, 124).

The gorge (*tangi*) of Lārdjī on the northern slopes of the Elburz in Māzandarān is known for its deposits of iron ore (*Lughat-nāma-i Dihkhudā*, after Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā-yi iktiṣādī*, 259 60). A Lardīn or Lārdīn in Badakhshān (Manorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 110, n. 1). A gorge called Lār is mentioned in Kashf al-*Maḥdjūb* [*q.v.*] (Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāyadar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Elias and Ross, London 1895, repr. 1898, 423, n. 3).

According to Minorsky, Lāf(i)djān/Lāhidjān/Lāhidān are variants of Lār (*Lāhidjān*, in *EI*², *Ir*, 407 ff.) Lāhidjān and its variants are widely presented in Gīlān and elsewhere, (in Āḏharbāydjān in Fārs, in Dāghistān, etc. Minorsky, *ibid.*, also W. Ellers in *Ar O*, xxii [1954], n. 174).

Variants of Lār have led to some confusions. Thus although Yāḳūt (iv, 340-1) has established a distinction between "Lārdjān" and "Lārīz", attempts have been made to discern in the latter toponym the arabised form of Lārijān (Marquart, 127, 1). Lārīs is presented sometimes as a district of Tabaristān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, Ibn al-Fakīh, 1), sometimes as a village provided with a fortress two days' distance from Āmul, on which it is dependent (Yāḳūt, iv, 341); its prominent citizens are known by the nisba of al-Lārisī (Yāḳūt, Samʿānī). According to Rabino (130), Lārīs is probably Lār, a village in the district of Āmul, better known by the name of Kalʿa Lārīz.

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LĀR, LĀRISTĀN, a Persian toponym which, in various forms (Lār, Lād, Lādh, Lāz, Alār, etc.) denotes an important town of Fārs and its surrounding region (Lār and Lārustān), an island and an islet in the Persian Gulf, and various villages and a region of pastures in southern Persia (Lār and Landjān).

1. The town of Lār (lat. 27° 40' N., long. 54° 20' E.) is the chief-lieu of a *shahrestān* (which has become a *farmāndārī*; see *Lārestān*, below) of the province of Fārs (*ustān-i Fārs*). It is situated on one of the roads connecting Shīrāz (*q.v.*) with the Persian Gulf ports and the Sea of 'Umān (Darya-yi 'Umān), 306 km. from Shīrāz, 306 km. from Bandar Linga (*q.v.*) and 259 km. from Bandar 'Abbās (*q.v.*). Lār is an old station on the caravan route (9th-12th/15th-18th centuries), and lies at a height of 909 m. in a moderately mountainous region (ca. 1,000 to 2,000 m. high). Because of the region's aridity, the town's drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns for collecting rain-water (*birkas*). For irrigation, a network of *kanāts* (*q.v.*) is used. Unlike other towns in Fārs, and despite earthquakes, Lār has retained relatively well its former appearance, e.g. in its wind towers (*bād-gīrs* (*q.v.* in Suppl.)), its labyrinths of streets, alleys, etc. Only a single new avenue, the Khiyābān-i Hummat, crosses the town from north to south. The most interesting monuments comprise:

(1) The stone-built fortress Azhdahā Faykar ("having a dragon's body") which dominates the town from a rocky spur. According to legend, its well contains an army and treasures belonging to the Kā'ānī Mīr Muḥammad (see the extracts from the *Tuḥfat al-ghara'ib* ms. of the B.L., Or. 10999, ed. J. Aubin in *Farhang-i Īrān zamīn*, VII/2-3 [1337/1958], 177). The ancient castle of the kingdom of Lār is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake in 1593 (the ruins are mentioned by 17th century European travellers, see Calmard 150). The region is full of fortified places in particular, at Gurāsh, most of them in ruins (on the *kal'as* of Lār, see the *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd*, ed. Aubin, in *Ibid.*, I, 174).

(2) The Bāzār-i Keysariyya ("imperial market") which forms, with the caravanserais surrounding it, a remarkable architectural ensemble. This is a covered bazaar of the *tahte sūf* type (i.e. cruciform, with four streets for merchants and artisans, or four aisles), with an almost square plan (117 m. E.-W., 124 m. N.-S.). It is built out of dressed masonry covered with stucco. Its dome (*tāk*, *gunbad*) is 18 m. high, and has a *bād-gīr* providing fresh air and ventilation. Inscriptions indicate various dates of building or reconstruction under Shāh 'Abbās in 1014/1605-6, by Hadidjī Kanbar 'Alī Beg Dhu 'l-Kadr (see Fasā'ī, II, 283), and under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1300/1882-3, by Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, governor of Fārs. This *bāzār* was allegedly the model of the Bāzār-i Keysariyya of Isfahān (built 1029/1620) and of the Bāzār-i Wakīl of Shīrāz (see Allāh Kulī Īslāmī, *Bāzār-i Kaysariyya-yi Lār*, in *Honar va Mardum*, no. 139 [1353/1974], 70-3; this article makes no mention of the evidence from European travellers of the Ṣafawid period, for which see Calmard 154, and below).

(3) The Masdjid-i Djum'a, for which we have no exact, historical description. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a dervish convent (*zāwiya*, i.e. *khānakāh*) of the famous Shaykh Abū Dulaf Muḥammad. At the opening of the 17th century, there was situated near the Kaysariyya bazaar "a very great mosque, the only one of the town"; it contained the marble tomb of a saint constructed "in a fine court outside the mosque" (Rebalo, 109). A marble *mihrāb* of Gudjrātī style, allegedly dating from the 8th/14th century

Map 1. The routes from Shīrāz to the Gulf via Lār (1638-1706). (After Jacqueline Calmard, *Les routes de Chiraz au Golfe Persique.*)

1. *Shīrāz-Lār Bandar ʿAbbās*

Mandelslo	1638, February
Basting de Oude	1645, March
La Boullaye-Le-Gouz	1649, March
De Bourges	1661, October
Tavernier	1665, March
Thévenot	1665, March
Struys	1672, March
Chardin	1674, March
Melton	1675, September
Fryer	1677, January
Fryer	1678, October
Van Leenen	1701, April
De Bruijn	1705, August-September

2. *Bandar ʿAbbās-Lār Shīrāz*

De Bourges	1661, May
Tavernier	1665, September
Thévenot	1665, September
Pétis de la Croix	1674, July
Fryer	1676, June
Fryer	1678, May
De Bruijn	1706, October

3. *Shīrāz-Lār Bandar Kung*

Gemelli Carreri	1694, September
Morelli	1694, October
Pereira Fidalgo	1697, June
F. M. di San Siro	1697, June

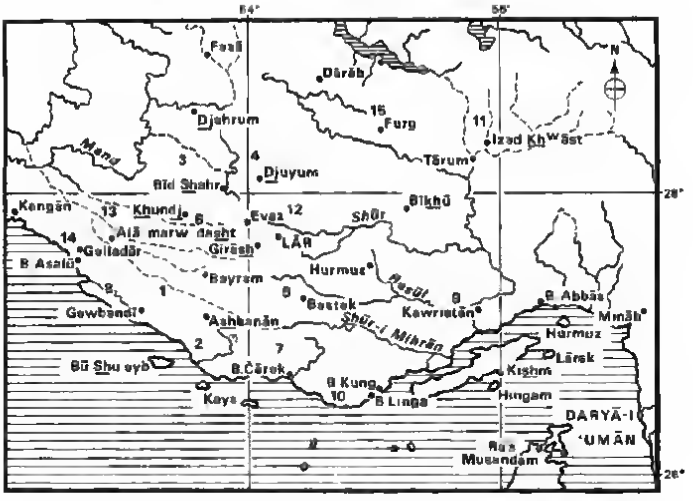
4 *Bandar Kung-Lar-Shīrāz*

P. de la S. Trinità	1640, March.
Hedges	1685, July
Pereira Fidalgo	1696, July-August

and coming from Lār, is preserved in the Fārs Museum at Shīrāz. This *mihrāb* poses an historical problem, was it brought to Persia in its present state? And were the inscriptions on it added in Persia? (see R. Howard, *The Lar mihrab*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, ix [April 1976], 24-5, with a photograph which does not permit the decipherment of the inscriptions)

Lār is divided into 14 quarters (*kuy*). Like most modern Persian towns, it now takes in several suburban areas. It has all the organs of civil administration, a military garrison, schools (a *dabīristān* and four *dabistāns*) and an airport (to the south-east of the town). Although the climate of Lār is relatively more tolerable than that of the Gulf coasts, various illnesses are rife there, in particular trachoma and filariosis, both for long endemic in the region. The demography of the town has followed the evolving of the natural conditions and the historical and economic vicissitudes of the region (see below).

2. Lāristān, *Geographical sketch.* As a province of southern Persia on the Shīrāz—Bandar ʿAbbās axis, Lāristān is generally reckoned as part of the *garmsīrāt* or warm regions of Fārs, with which it was integrated at the opening of the 12th/17th century. Since its influence spread over the neighbouring regions (see Map 2), its natural borders have fluctuated, in general, they may be fixed as follows. In the north-east and north, the old regions of Sabʿa (centred on Furg) and of the Shabānkāra (centred on Idj, now Istahbānāt, Lāristān takes in Djūyum, to the south of the Dārāb). In the east, along a line passing half-way between Djahrum and Djūyum and connecting with the Gulf littoral in the region of Gawbandī (embracing the lands of Bīd Shahr, Khundj, ʿAlāmrawdasht and Galladār). In the south, the Gulf littoral (ports and islands of the Gulf of ʿUmān, embracing Laghtān, from Cape



Map 2. Lāristān and its dependences in the 19th century, after the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*.

number	*nāḥiya*	*bandar*	number of villages	position as regards township to Lār
1	Bīkha-yi Abshīn*	Bayram	10	west
2	Bīkha yi Fāl*	Ashkanān	10	south-west
3	Bīd Shahr	(Bīd Shahr)	23	north-west
4	Djūyum	(Djūyum)	15	north west
5	Djahāngīriyya/Djuhūngīra	Bastak	30	south
6	Khundj	(Khundj)	29	north west
7	Shīb Kūh i Lāristān	Bandar Čārak	42	south
8	Fūmastān-i Lārastān**	Gawbandī	23	south west
9	Kawristān/Kafīristān	(Kashīsh)	4	east
10	Linga	Bandar Linga	22	south-east
11	Mazā'idjān	(Izad-khwāst)	6	north-east
12	Muḍāfāt i Shahr-i Lār	Lār	34	central
13	'Alā-marw-dasht	('Alā marw dasht)	?	west
14	Fāl-u-Gulladār	(Gulladār)	43	west
15	Sabā'a-u-Furg	(Furg)	(7 *buluks*)	north-east

* Bīkha, meaning a steep-sided valley, derived from *bīkh*, "river-bed", in Lāristānī (Iktidārī, *Farhang*).
** Fūmistān, from *fūm*, meaning "coca" in vernacular Persian

Nāband to Bandar 'Abbās, in the east, Kawristān. In former times, certain adjoining regions (such as Furg, Tārum and Hurmuz) have been on occasion attached to Fārs, on others to Kirmān, Kawristān/Kawristīna was taken over by the Shabānkāra in the 7th/13th century (see below, on history).

As noted by numerous travellers, this region has distinct geographical features. Nevertheless, it has never formed the object of detailed geological studies, as in regard to archaeology (see below), only the peripheral zones have been studied. The region is situated to the south of the main spine of the Zagros (the "Main Zagros thrust line", according to A. Rutner and J. Salkidin, in *Bull. Amer. Assoc. of Petroleum Geologists* [1968]), i.e. on the edge of the Arabian formation level which juts forth a salient into the region of Bandar 'Abbās. In certain marginal zones belonging to the Cretaceous period there are included some Eocene period formations, such as the "Ginaw series" (at Kūh-i Ginaw, see Pilgrim [1924], 59 ff.). The autochthonous, marginal folds which make up the mountainous terrain which is characteristic of Lāristān are clearly marked out. With their east-west orientation, they are made up from a basis of an epicontinental sedimentation, their composition (calcareous rocks, marls and gypsums) suggests the existence of fairly shallow seas. In their immediate vicinity are often found domes of salt, generally considered as being of Cambrian origin. The most concentration of these domes of salt is located in one part and another of a line connecting Lār and Bandar 'Abbās (see J. V. Harri-

son, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 179 with map). These marginal folds are closed on the south by the Kūh i Khamīr [opposite the island of Kishm *q.v.*], which is made up of calcareous rocks described as "foetid or putrid" (hippuritic limestone) belonging to the structure bearing the special name of the "Khamīr series" (see Pilgrim [1924], 15, 80). The "Hurmus series", conglomerate of rock found on the peripheries of most of these salt domes, stretch as far west as Tārum and Kirmān and possibly further in to Lāristān (Pilgrim places them as Jurassic, *ibid.*, 16, and Harrison as Cambrian, *ibid.*, 225).

The orography of the region is characterised by a relief which is lower than elsewhere in Fārs (especially along the axes Shīrāz-Bushire and Shīrāz-Bandar Ṭāhirī) or further on the east in Makrān. Along the Djahrum-Lār road, the highest point is 2,120 m., and only along the edges of Lāristān is the 3,000 m. mark passed (Kūh-i Furgūn, 3,280 m.). Elsewhere, heights are more usually between 1,000 and 2,000 m. Lāristān suffers from frequent earth quakes, some of which have been described as noted by chroniclers and travellers; six have been situated between 1953 and 1960. In 1960, one of them caused much destruction and numerous casualties at Lār and Girāsh (two photographs in the *National Geographic Magazine* [Jan. 1961], 68-9). The hydrography of Lāristān is very clearly marked by aridity. Except along the margins, snow does not remain long in winter, and the rainfall is feeble (at the most, 100-200 mm. per annum). The water intended for consumption or for irrigation is frequently brackish (see below). The rivers with a regular flow are very erratic: rainstorms gouge out ravines across crossing-routes and floods are often the cause of catastrophes. The most important river—known, with local variants, as the Rūd-Khāna-yi Shōr Mībrān runs from west to east, from the *dihistān* of Farāmarzān to Bandar Khamīr. It is totally useless for agriculture: its flow is very feeble, and it can be forded at all seasons (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 208).

The region has a sub-tropical climate, hot and humid along the coasts, arid and torrid in the interior (see A. H. Adle, *Regions climatiques et végétation en Iran*, Tehran 1960, Persian text 40-1, Fr. text 8-9). Although certain traces of a continental climate may be felt at Lār (untouched by the monsoons), the variations of daytime and nocturnal temperature are small, and towards the Gulf, the temperatures become torrid (Calmard, 94 ff.). Winter cold is only met with along the Lār-Djahrum route. In Lār, the houses are cooled by *bād gīr* (*ibid.*, 95), and beyond Kawristān, a drying wind called *bād-i samūm* ("poisonous") blows (*ibid.*, 97). There is a great contrast between the plains of the littoral affected by the monsoons (with a hot and humid climate) and the upland regions (mountains, elevated plains and desolate plateaux) of the interior which have a dry climate, with mild winters and very hot summers. The palm-groves of the interior offer, however, shelter for the coastal peoples at the period of greatest heat.

Socio-religious aspects. The story of the population of Lāristān is an extremely complex one. Heterogeneous groups have been subsequently added to an ancient Iranian stratum of agriculturists and pastoralists. Elements described as Mongol were still in course of sedentarisation in the Kurbāl district at the end of the 7th/13th century (Aubin, *Les mādiyals*, n. 24). The presence of Turkmens, who intervened in the affairs of Lār at the beginning of the 14th century, presents an historical problem (*ibid.*, 496, and below). From the 10th/16th century onwards, travellers mention the presence of numerous nomads. Kashkā'ī groups spent the winter in the Khundī district (*Le Fars*, 17, 21). Some Dahārīḳ had become sedentarised and lived in tents on the plain of Yazd-i Khwāst (*ibid.*, 27). Some Bāṣarī spent the winter in the districts of Sarwistān and Kurbāl, and some Nafar occasionally passed the winter in Lāristān (*ibid.*, 31-2). Some nomadic or semi-nomadic families (*ilāt*) of Turkish origin have been recorded at Dizz, Sāyibān, Karmūsta(dī), Sahrā-yi Bāgh, Ashkanān, Bīd Shahr and Djūyum; and some Arabs and Bāṣirī at Djūyum, Harm, Kāriyān and Bīd Shahr (see the names in Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209; Ikticārī, *EK*, 13). There are sedentary Arab elements along the coasts, at Bandar 'Abbās, at Bandar Linga (Kawāsim *q.v.*) known locally as Djawāsim) and to the interior (notably the Dhū-Hāngiriyya/Dhuhāngira, cf. the *khaykhs* of Bastak). The Banyans, Hindu merchants also called Multānīs (numerous at Bandar 'Abbās and at Bandar Kung in the Ṣafawid period), used to play an outstanding commercial role, and there are still residual groups of Hindus in Lāristān. There used to exist an important Jewish community at Lār, Gīlār, Djahrum and Hurmuz, and Lār was a centre of Hebraic learning. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, a Jew from Lār became a convert to Islām, assumed the name of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lārī and secured from the Shī'ī *shāmil* the putting-into-force of discriminatory measures against the Jews. These measures were incorporated in a code to be applied to all the Jews of Persia, who had to wear special, distinctive clothing (a hat or piece of coloured cloth), and they underwent various persecutions under 'Abbās I and his successors in the 19th century, there were massacres, forcible conversions, expulsions etc., and the Jews of Lār, Djahrum, Fasā, etc. emigrated to Shīrāz (the main items of bibliography about the Jews of Lār are to be found in L. Loeb, *The Jews of Southwest Iran, a study of cultural persistence*, diss. Columbia University 1970, 32 ff., with translations of the "restrictionary codes", Appx. I, and chronological lists of intimidatory measures, Appx. II, on Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lārī, see also Habīb Līwī (Levy), *Ta'rīkh-i Yahūdī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1339/1960, iii, 224 ff.).

Islām in Lāristān was notable for the preponderant influence of the Sunnī *ṭarīkas* or dervish orders: the Ishākiyya/Murshidiyya, the Dhahabiyya (at Khundī and Lār), the Banī 'Abbāsī (at Bastak), etc. The Twelver Shī'ism imposed by the Ṣafawids only succeeded in implanting itself in Lāristān to a partial extent and numerous troubles broke out in the post-Ṣafawid period, in the 18th and 19th centuries (see Aubin, *Les ramates du Lāristan*, and below). The dichotomy thus created remains very apparent today, since the greater part of the urban and village communities are in majority Shāfi'ī Sunnīs. The sedentary Arabs of southern Lāristān are Sunnīs. Amongst the tribal groups, it appears that today, only the Turkish tribes are both nomadic and Shī'īs (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 157 n. 8). Non-Islamic practices have been noted among the peoples of African origin along the coasts and in the islands (see below on Lārak).

The population structure has been heavily affected by natural factors: earthquakes, floods, droughts, polluted water sources, locust-plagues, etc. These last have been the cause of dearths and illnesses: ophthalmia (from the sand storms), malaria, dysentery,

and anoses all the filiarosis peculiar to Lāristān, caused by a parasite present in particular in the stagnant water of cisterns, the guinea-worm or *Filaria medinensis*, *payuṣ/pīyāk* in Persian and *pess* in Lāristāni (see Iktidārī, *Farhang*, 67). Accidents of history have also been the cause of depopulation (destructions, sackings, massacres, exoduses, deportations, etc.). Despite the relative economic florescence of the region during the 14th-18th centuries, the Lāris have continued to emigrate, above all towards Muslim India, where they have served in the army and in the administration.

Taking into account the lack of preciseness in the evidence, the demography of the region as a whole is difficult to delineate. The only data which are even a little sure concern the town of Lār itself, and these are given below (unless there is an indication to the contrary, these items of information pertain to the town or the urban agglomeration of Lār; one should reckon 6 persons per family or household): 4,000 heads of families in 1543 (Teixeira), 4,000 households in 1638 (Mandelslo), 50,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 18th century (English estimate), 25,000 inhabitants in 1808 (a figure given to Dupré, who found it exaggerated), 1,200 households in 1811 (information given to Stack, who estimated the population at 6,000 inhabitants) 2,500 families (1913); 17,656 inhabitants (*in* 1950); 14,188 inhabitants (1956); 17,000 inhabitants (1960 estimate). In 1966, the *ghabrīstān* comprised 137,303 inhabitants and the town of Lār 37,198. The preliminary results of the 1976 census (the only information so far published) deal only with the *ghabrīstān* of Lār, and give a population of 183,369, 50,465 being urban and 132,904 rural dwellers.

Language and literatures. In addition to Persian, Arabic (spoken on the coasts) and Turkish, Lāristān has its own particular dialect, which has been used by popular poets of the region their verses have been partly gathered together in written form and studied (see the references in Minorsky's *EI*[1] article). Some proverbs in *lārestānī* have been published (Iktidārī, in *FIZ*, xi/2-3 [1333/1954], 233-53), as well as vocabularies: K. Kamioka and M. Yamada, *Lorestan studies*. i. *Lari basic vocabulary*, Tokyo 1979 (not seen). Some works in Judaeo-Persian have been written at Lār, which must have been the centre for a school of scribes, translators, copyists, etc. (see Loeb, *op cit*, 49 ff.) The fate of the Jews of Lār has been put into Persian verses (mixed with dialectal terms) by the Jewish poets (on whom see Habīb Līwī, *op cit*., 270-1), notably by Bābā'ī Lutf Kashānī and Bābā'ī Farhād Kāshānī (cited at length by Līwī, 224 ff.).

Numerous *littérateurs* originally from Lāristān have written in Persian in all the literary genres: poetry, grammar, philosophy, mysticism, *fiḳh*, historiography, etc. (see the lists cited by Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ms. India Off. Līm., cat. Ethé, i, 397, fol. 111a-b; Fasā'ī, ii, 284 ff., Iktidārī, *LK*, 135-203. To these one should add Nīmdihī, a writer of the 9th/15th century, on whom see Aubin, in *REI* (1967), 61-82, Karīmatī [idem, *Les sommetes du Lārestān*, 155]; Shaykh Aḥmad Fakīhī [*ibid*., 170 n. 2], etc.).

Economic aspects. Though generally considered as one of the poorest regions of Persia, Lāristān is not without natural resources. Sulphur is found in many places, and is fairly easily exploitable in the coastal regions, at Bastānu (to the west of Bandar Lingā) and at Khamīr (to the east of Bandar Lingā) in the interior, at Karmūsta(dī), to the south-east of Lār, etc. In the 19th century, the sulphur mines of Lāristān were quite productive (see Pilgrim (1908), 155 ff., [1921], 343 ff.). Gypsum (*gač*) is frequent everywhere, and is easily exploitable along the littoral (Pilgrim [1908], 257-8). The iron ore and the salt of the "Hurmuz series" are more difficult to exploit. There is also some copper, unexploited, at 'Karmoussah' = Karmūsta(dī), see Dupré, i, 431. Saltpetre, taken from nitrous lands and abundant in the region of Lār, yields material for gunpowder (at Girāsh, to the east of Lār Dupré, *loc. cit*.) On the minerals of Lāristān, see also Fasā'ī, ii, 332-6. After having been famous for its bows (see below), Lār was also famed for its firearms (Calmard, 157). Various manufactories existed at Evaz (*ca*. 30 km. north-east of Lār, see Dupré, *loc. cit*., Karīmatī, 48-9).

The natural vegetation covering is fairly meagre. However, Lāristān is relatively well-wooded. There are to be found varieties of tamarisk, acacias, conifers (Adle, *op. cit*., 10), and the jujube tree (*kunār*) is also to be found. The *gaz* wood, which is very hard and solid, is used for cabinet-making and for timber framing. Various spiny shrubs, such as the *khārīr*, are enjoyed by camels. The region falls completely within the date-palm zone, which is cultivated in the oases of the interior. The date harvest occupies a seasonal work-force, and as well as dates, cotton, tobacco (of good quality) and mustard are grown and exported (*Le Fars*, 163). In some places, opium poppies, sesame, etc. are cultivated. On the stony plains between Lār and Bandar 'Abbās, asafoetida, the exudation from the roots of certain varieties of *Ferula foetida*, used in the pharmacopoeia as far as in Europe, is gathered (Calmard, 115 n. 16). Amongst products of an animal origin, the "benoar" has been noted (see below). One should also note the raising of and trafficking in camels (Dupré, i, 442, *Le Fars*, 163), a similar trade in horses exported to India (see below) and one in sheep, whose skins were the subject of an extensive trade throughout all of Lāristān (Dupré, i, 453).

The basic problem remains that of water-supply. The water from wells and watercourses is most often brackish. Cisterns *for* rain water (*berkas*), in various patterns (hexagonal, circular, etc.), are to be found in all the inhabited spots and at road stages. Except in certain regions of the north, in particular at those at Dīkyum and Khundī, where irrigation by *ḳanāts*, wells (*gīsmīs*) and springs is found, dry farming is generally done (*daymī*, see Ranmārī, *Farhang*, vii, 209). In the date-palm oases of the interior, these are often consumed on the spot. In addition to dates, the food supply comes, according to local possibilities, from cereals, products of market-gardening, citrous fruits, specimens of the gourd family, milk products (cows, goats, sheep), poultry, etc. Travellers have noticed the abundance of game (hares, mouflons, partridges, quails) and the excellent truffles of Lār. On occasion, grasshoppers are also appreciated (Calmard, 120-1). Along the coasts and elsewhere in Lāristān, fish is fed to animals, including to camels, asses and even to bovines and sheep (*ibid*., 124). There is a condiment, peculiar to the region, made from a fish base and spices (*mīlīsha* or *mīlyūs*, called *maḥwa* in Lāristānī; see Iktidārī, *Farhang*, 203-4, and Fasā'ī, ii, 283, where its making is described).

As well as the making of arms, local products include cotton cloths and carpets (*gilīm*, *ḥālī*). Except in period of disturbance, the agro-pastoral sedentary and the nomadic economies complement

each other (i.e. exchange of agricultural products and manufactured goods for the products of stock-rearing, carpets, etc.).

The economy of Lāristān was relatively prosperous in the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries, but suffered in the post-Ṣafawī disturbances and the interruption and ending of international trade (see below). The profession of caravaneer (coupled with the rearing of camels, mules, asses, etc.) used to occupy an important proportion of both the town and rural population. From this economic activity in the past, the people of Lāristān have retained an interest in the commercial life; one meets, above all along the Gulf shores, numerous peddlers (*pīlawars*). Also, the profession of arms (cf. the famous *tufangdās*) has continued to attract a good number of Lārīs.

Historical evolution. Lāristān or the land of Lār does not emerge clearly in Persian history till the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Until then—apart from a few sparse items of information about the neighbouring regions or about certain small places (Yāḳūt speaks of "Dūrwaym Abī Aḥmad", i.e. Dīdyum)—its past belongs almost exclusively to the little-known history of the kingdom of Lār. There are doubts concerning the localisation of this last according to mythical or legendary history. Minorsky (*EI*[1] art. *Lār*) proposed to equate it with the land of the dragon Hoṭān Bokht (or the *Haftwād* of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*) which Ardashīr Pāpakān killed. This dragon is said to have lived in the village of Alār in the *rustāḳ* of Kodjārān, one of the *rustāḳs* bordering on the Gulf of the province of Ardashīr Khurra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 820). The variants Gulār (*Khwadāmak*, tr. Nöldeke, 50), Kočārān (*ibid.*) or Kudjārān (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 308) do not help in identifying it. Alār is the name of an island (see below); Kudjār, in the *bulūk* of Galladār (Fasāʾī, *Fārsnāma*), borders on Lāristān (of which it forms part, in the large sense). At the present day, one finds several villages in Lāristān whose names might well be variants of Gulār (Iṣṭakhrī, *LK*, 46 n. 2; Gūlār belongs to the *bakhsh* of Dīdyum, Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 200). But there is also a Kulār in the *shahristān* of Būshahr (*ibid.*, 187), a Kūlār in the *bulūk* of Čāhār nāḥiya (Fasāʾī, *Fārsnāma*), etc.

Thus the localisation of the land of the dragon Haftwād within the imprecise borders of Ardashīr Khurra (also called Irāhistān) remains problematical. Moreover, a legend which could have some basis of genuineness places the home of Haftwād in the region of Bam (Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 3). The place name Masak i Lārān appears in the *Bundahišn* (D. Monchizadeh, *Topographische-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos*, Wiesbaden 1975, 141). A village called Lār exists in the *shahrastān* of Čāh Bahār (in the old *nāḥiya* of Kirmān via Makrān), populated by Sunnī Balūčīs (pop. 220 in ca. 1950, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, viii, 383).

According to a *layt* attributed to Firdawsī (lacking in the known editions of the *Shāh-nāma*, but cited in the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, whence Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Lād*; Fasāʾī, ii, 283, etc.), the town or region of "Lād" was allegedly "given" to Gurgīn Mīlād by the Kayānid Kay-Khusraw when he renounced the world and distributed the Persian lands to his dignitaries. The passage from *d* to *r* is found in Armenian, in Tātī (Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Lār*), J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, 73) and in various Iranian dialects (see G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 158). Previously, Lād seems to have had another name (*AAA*, tr. Savory, ii, 807).

According to a legend as generally current in southern Persia as in Lāristān, the people of Lār in Fārs are said to have come from Lār at Damāwand (on Lār and Lārijān), whose cold climate in winter they were unable to endure (Fasāʾī, ii, 282 *ff*.). Although one can hardly see this legend as historical material, there are toponymical resemblances between the two places: Kūh-i Alburz in both places (to the south-east of Djahrum is Lāristān), a defile (*gardana*) Kulūn i Bastak of Lār at Damāwand (Lārijān) and the settlement of Bastak in Lāristān (Iṣṭakhrī, *LK*, 47, n. 4; Muwaḳḳid *Bastak*, 6).

According to another tradition, the foundation of Lār came from one Balash (Valakhsh), son of Fīrūz (Pērōz), see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209 and Dihkhudā, *LN*, s.v. Lār.

Archaeological information gives us only very imprecise material on the past of Lāristān. Investigations have revealed numerous "Sāsānid" traces, above all in the western border district. On Galladār (formerly Khondjōfāl), see Sir Aurel Stein, *Archaeological reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran*, London 1937, 213-25, on the *Ṭāhar-zāda* of Kāriyān and of Mahallča, near Fīshvar, see L. Vanden Berghe, in *Iranica Antiqua*, i (1961), drawing, 156, and maps. Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, n. 3, idem, *Survie de Shāhn*; and for an archaeological survey in southern Lāristān, see Stein, in *GJ*, lxxxiii/1 (1934), 130 ff.

The list of princes of Lār from Gurgīn Mīlād up to the 16th century, has been partially reconstructed by J. Aubin from the Ṣafawī sources (above all, from Ghaffārī, *Djahān-ārā*, ms. B.L. Or. 141, Add. 7629/1; Rāḥī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ms. *I.O.* L. (cat. Ethé, i, 397) and ms. B.N. Paris, Suppl persan, 357, Ḥasan Beg, *Ḥasan al-tawārīkh*, ms. B.L. Or. 1649; Munedjim-Bashī's *Ṣaḥāʾif al-akhbār* (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, *LK*, 69-72) add nothing to this list, which replaces that of Minorsky in *EI*[1] art., based on a single ms. of the *Djahān-ārā*). Information on this princely family only becomes reliable after 594/1198. Between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries fifteen *amīrs* followed each other, son succeeding father. But the list has some vague points; ibn Baṭṭūṭa's evidence (according to him, the sultan of Lār was a Turkmen and not a descendant of Mīlād) and that of other sources does not tally. Also, the chronology becomes uncertain for the last five reigns, in the 10/16th century, *Lar médiévale*, 496 ff.).

As Aubin has pointed out, the problem of the "rise" of Lār in the 13th and 14th centuries can only be approached indirectly, as a reflex of the establishment of a new route Hurmuz-Lār-Shīrāz (*op. cit.*, 491). This particular problem is connected with the more general one of the evolution of the maritime outlets of Fārs and Kirmān. The ruin of Sīrāf (5th/11th century) and its problematical survival linked to the development of the island of Kays/Kīsh (see Kays) (6th-8th/12th-14th centuries) caused an eastwards displacement of the ports and routes of the Persian Gulf. New towns grew up on the *garmsīrāt* of Fārs, first of all Fāl/Bāl, a place to which the Sīrāfīs, menaced by the Gulf pirates and the tribes of the interior, could fall back, and then Khundjī, situated at the crossroads of the *garm-sīrāt* routes, on the Kays Shīrāz axis and the transversal axis towards Lār and Hurmuz. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, a complicated play of interests brought the various socio-economic small groups and local powers into conflict. Around 700/1300, the dervishes of Khundjī secured from the Tībī merchants the cession of the isle of Djarūn to the princes of Hurmuz,

and these last acknowledged them till the time of the Portuguese domination (Aubin, *Princes d'Ormuz*, 94-5, *Survie de Shihāb*, 28) Around 700/1300 also Kays was occupied by the Ormuzis, and henceforth, the international transit trade via Hurmuz and the Kays-Shīrāz route was abandoned

Although Lār is described in the 8th/14th century as a prosperous town (by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see below), it does not seem to have played any important political role nor to have excited the envy of its neighbours in mediaeval Persia The sole exception to this state of affairs seems to have been the annexation in the 7th/13th century of Lār by the Shabānkāra, its southern neighbours who controlled eastern Fārs and who had spread into Kirmān. According to Aubin (Lār *médiéval*, 499-500), this involved an episode in the fight between the Shabānkāra and Salghurid Fārs From the beginning of his reign, the Salghurid Abū Bakr b Sa'd (628-58/1231-60) began a policy of dominating the Gulf. In this kind of race to the sea, he clashed with other local powers Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shabānkāra'ī and, over control of the island of Kays, the prince of Hurmuz. It was probably in 648/1250-1 that Muẓaffar al Dīn seized Lār; the territories annexed extended to the Gulf shores (not precisely delimited in the west, but to Kawrastān, the *ḳaṣaba* with the kingdom of Hurmuz, in the east, see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 500). Lār's orientation towards the Gulf and its prosperity in the 8th/14th century are confirmed by various sources Mustawfī —who does not use the term Lāristān but that of *wilāyat i ḥawāḥ i daryā* "region along the sea coast"— says that most of its inhabitants are merchants who travel by sea and land, and corn, dates and cotton are grown there (*Nuzha*, 139, tr. 138). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's words, who visited Lāristān (probably in 748/1347), pose certain problems, especially in regard to dating (see I. Hrbek, in *ArO*, xxx [1962], 446 *ff.*, and Aubin's remarks, *Survie de Shihāb*, 23, n. 20, 29, n. 58, 31, n. 92). He describes Lār to us as "a large town with springs, considerable streams and gardens". It had large, well-built bazaars. He lodged in a *zāwiya* of Shāfi'ī dervishes, who welcomed travellers. Not only the dervishes but also the brigands of Lāristān were organised for trading (Aubin, *Lar médiéval*, 500 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 240-1, tr. Gibb, ii, 405-6).

We know from other sources, complementing Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's information, that the hereditary *shaykhs* of the *zāwiya* of Lār came originally from Khundjī (Aubin, *Survie de Shihāb* 32, n. 98). The religious situation at Khundjī in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries is unclear. In the 7th/13th century, this little town became the seat of a *shāhnakhī* [*q.v.*] whose *murshid* was Shaykh Dāniyāl, affiliated to the Ishāḳiyya or Murshidiyya order. In addition to the rich *zāwiya* of Shaykh Abū Dulaf Muḥammad (Sh. Dāniyāl's successor), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw at Khundjī another Shāfi'ī *zāwiya* of an impressive nature It seems that in the 9th/15th century the *shāhnakhā* of Sh Dāniyāl fell into decline, whilst that of Abū Nadjāl (that visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa? In 1347?) was more flourishing (Aubin, *op. cit.*, *passim*). According to Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 29-30, the one visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was that of the *shaykh* of the Banū 'Abbāsī, Hādidjī Shaykh 'Abd al-Salām Khundjī, known under the *lakab* of Kuṭb al-Awliyā' (d. aged 85 in 746/1345-6).

According to various sources, two Indian princes are said to have invited the poet Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] to their court. At the invitation of the Deccan sultān Maḥmūd Shāh of the Bahmanids, Ḥāfiẓ proceeded to Hurmuz via Lār with the intention of setting sail for India by ship; but since a storm blew up at the time of his departure, he is said to have abandoned the plan (see Browne, *LHP*, iii, 285-7). Some coins struck in Lār (a gold piece of the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjā', and some Theorist (and Caghatayid?) coins) testify to the interest of certain princes in the town during the 8th/9th/14th-15th centuries (references given by Minoraky in his *EI*[1] art.).

In the 8th/14th century, the *garmsīrāt* of Fārs were divided into two antagonistic politico-administrative groupings, the *bilād Lār* and the *bilād Khundjī-u-Fāl* (cf Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) "de structure interne différente et ils vivent extérieures opposées' (Aubin, *Survie de Shihāb*, 23) Khundjī ū-Fāl had amicable relations with the principality of Hurmuz, whilst the principality of Lār employed an aggressive policy towards this last and even tried to annex it (see below) Although Khundjī-ū-Fāl possessed—in the same manner as Shīrāz or Hurmuz—a class of numerous, experienced notables, one only finds there, at a late date, a powerful family (that of the *ra'īs Fālī*) who, well after the decline of Khundjī ū-Fāl, became viziers at Hurmuz at the end of the 9th/15th century and remained there till the end of the period of Portuguese domination (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 36). As for the principality of Lār, despite its feeble resources, its lack of an intellectual élite and the emigration of its traders and its soldiers to India, it had a family of *malīks* who assured to the town a continuity of princely power during the 8th 9th/14th 15th centuries. Gradually, in the course of the second half of this latter century, a class of educated notables took shape there (*ibid.*, 32).

The causes of the decline and then of the deflection of the Khundjī-ū-Fāl route remain little known (political upheavals, the loss of influence by a certain or group of family and natural catastrophes have been suggested, *ibid.*, 33). The ruin of Kāzarūn (on the Khundjī Shīrāz axis, earthquakes and floods *ca.* 1440), the development of Djahrum as an intellectual and religious centre in the second half of the 9th/15th century and the founding nearby of a community of dervishes (by Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Kūshkmārī, called Kuṭb-i Muḥyī at Ikhwānābād or Kuṭbābād, at the crossroads of the routes from Shīrāz, Fasā and Lār, favoured the use of the Hurmuz-Lār-Djahrum-Shīrāz axis (see Map 1). At the end of the 8th/14th century, Djahrum was a stage on the Shīrāz-Lār road (Aubin, *Lar médiéval*, 501) Whilst the Hurmuz-Shīrāz route via Tārum, Furg and Fasā continued to be used, that via Djahrum was regularly employed from the second half of the 9th/15th century onwards (Aubin, *ibid.*, and *Survie de Shihāb*, 33-4).

In the *garmsīrāt*, only the family of the *ra'īs Fālīs*—who held Shilaw and retained some influence in the Gulf—succeeded in maintaining Fāl as a petty urban centre, despite the growing pressure of the princes of Lār The latter in fact drew benefit from the new position of their town-staging post on the Hurmuz-Shīrāz axis by extending their power towards the coast and the intervening high valleys (*ibid.*, 35-6). The inevitable conflict between Lār and Hurmuz—which had become economically complementary through their dependence on the Indian trade—broke out in 904/1598-9, when the prince of Lār tried to exploit an outbreak of discontent amongst the Bedouins of Djulfar. The naval expedition against the island of Djarūn led by Abū Bakr Lārī was checked by Khwādja 'Aṭā', a *ghulām* of Salghur Shāh (Aubin, *in Mare*, i, 102-3). The intrusion of the Lārīs in the affairs of Hurmuz revived

after the death of Salghur Shāh (1303) with a further attack on Djarūn. But the new lord of Hurmuz, Khwādja ʿAṭā², put an end to this at the same time removing the young ruler ousted from a union between Salghur Shāh and a princess of Lār (*ibid.*, 204-5). Nevertheless, the princes of Lār continued to expand towards the shores. Their vassals, the *amīrs* of Ilūd, brought pressure to bear on the Lashtān region (the land behind the island of Kīshm or Nāband): one of them seized the district of Lashtān in 1346 (Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 142-3, on Ilūd, see *ibid.*, n. 367 and Lār *médiévale*, n. 22). Yet despite the decline of Fāl, Lārīs and Fāls followed parallel paths in their relations with Hurmuz even after the advent of the Ṣafawids.

At the end of the 9th/15th century, commercial traffic was enough to stimulate Lār's prosperity. The prince levied on taxes on goods in transit. At the beginning of the next century, at the time when the Portuguese appeared, Lārī merchants and mercenary soldiers took an active part in affairs of the Deccan. The famous silver coin of Lār, the *lārī* or *larīn* [*q.v.*], circulated through all the markets of the Indian Ocean shores (Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 142, Steensgaard, 420-1). Like Lārī warriors, the bows of Lār were celebrated, and were exported to ʿIrāḳ and India (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 177-8). After Fāl (*Dār al-Ṣafā*? "abode of purity") and its twin Khundjī (*Dār al-Audjā*? "abode of saints"), Lār could boast the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Maʿdala* "abode of equity".

In 914/1508 envoys from Hurmuz and Lār came to give allegiance to Shāh Ismāʿīl at Shīrāz (*AAA*, tr Savory, i, 37-8). The prince-governors of Lār became tributary to the Ṣafawids with the title of *Amīr-i Diwān* (*ibid.*, ii, 806). Around the turn of the 15th-16th century, pieces of information on Lār become more numerous. The travellers who passed through it in the 15th century did not give any details on their itinerary (Afanasiy Nikitin, *Khozheyo za tri morya*, Moscow 1958, 89, Girolamo S Stefano, see Aubin, *Sur la route de Shīrāz*, 33, nn. 106-7) Gil Sanches, secretary of the Portuguese embassy to Shāh Ismāʿīl who, in 1525, returned from Shīrāz to Hurmuz via Lār, tells us nothing further. Other Portuguese, however, were more informative. The embassy of 1523-4 passed through Lār. Though sometimes difficult to trace, the itinerary of the embassy is described in detail by Antonio Tenreiro (*Itinerário*, Lisbon 1972, 16 ff., for a critical study of this text and of the parallel account of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, see Aubin, in *Arquivos*, iii (1973), 238-52, with 245-6 on Lār itself. Tenreiro gives us some important information about Lāristān, especially on Kawristān/Kawuristān, the frontier region between Lār and Hurmuz (cf. Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 104), on the caravanseras and cisterns constructed along the road by pious donors, on the town of Lār (its protective wall built from stone and with plaster decorated with tiled squares, the Lārīs' clothing, the Lārī bows, the agricultural products (dates and barley), the local Jews, the money there (the *larīn*), the muleteers-caravaneers, etc.), on the date-palm groves, the rearing of mares and the export of horses to India via Hurmuz, and on the mountain goats which produced the *bezoar* (*bezoar*, i.e. *Mizāḥ* [*q.v.*]: this famous antidote to poisons of which there existed spurious imitations, was produced in Persia in Khurāsān and in the land of the Shabānkāra: see C Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, Cambridge 1951: 369 ff.). Tenreiro also describes the road from Khundjī to Kīrāka at a time when it had become a secondary track (Aubin, *Sur la route de Shīrāz*, 33-4).

In 1540, under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, the Venetian Michele Membré travelled from Shīrāz to Hurmuz via Lār, giving a description of the latter (*Relazione di Persia* (1542), IUON Naples 1969, 53-4). According to him, the town was surrounded in two halves by stone walls. It had a higher part, that with the citadel, and a lower part, and "outside the town there are other houses which are not walled". Membré and his retinue lodged in a caravanserai outside the town walls. He noted the numerous cisterns for collecting rain water built by pious Lārīs both in the town and at two-league intervals along the Lār-Hurmuz route. At Lār, there were even some fountains for the prostitutes. The gold and silver smiths were "gentiles from India", "all gathered together in one street". At Lār, both Turkish and Persian were spoken. The king, a vassal of the "Sofi", was called "Sopraxa" (?), and wore the "cap" of the Sofi (the external sign of adhesion to Twelver Shīʿism, according to the Kizilbash). The shops, piled high with merchandise, hardly needed protection at nights against thieves "because the said king of Lār exercises great justice".

Soon after Membré's passage through Lār, the prince [Anūshīrwān] b Abū Saʿīd b ʿAlī² al-Mulk, called Shāh ʿĀdil, was assassinated (29 Safar 948/24 June 1541, see Aubin, *Lar médiévale*, 494). Under his successor Ibrāhīm Khān, the relations of Lār with the Ṣafawid authority deteriorated. He omitted to go and give allegiance to Shāh ʿAbbās I when he went to Shīrāz, ill-treated the Shāh's tribute-collectors and levied extraordinary taxes on merchants and travellers. The Shāh's anger was aroused, and he sent two punitive expeditions against Lār in 1010-11/1601-2 under the command of Allāh-Verdī Khān, the *beglar beg* of Fārs. In the course of the second one, the latter seized Lār, carried off Ibrāhīm Khan and his entourage back to Shīrāz and confiscated their possessions. Ibrāhīm Khān and the "treasures of Lār", including the famous crown of Kay Khusraw, were then taken off by Allāh-Verdī Khan to Shāh ʿAbbās's court, then engaged on a campaign to Bādghīs near Harāt. In the course of the expedition against Balkh, Ibrāhīm Khān died of an epidemic which affected a large number of the troops. The administration of Lār was entrusted to Kāfī Abū ʾl-Khayr Lārī, a devoted Shīʿī (*AAA*, tr Savory, 807-8, *cf.* Yazdī, fol. 95a ff.).

During the whole of the 11th/17th century, until the decline of the Ṣafawids, the Persian Gulf routes via Lār were followed by numerous traders, diplomats, travellers, men of religion, etc., who have left us lively first-hand accounts. A few months after Allāh-Verdī Khān's seizure of Lār, the Augustinian friar António de Gouvea passed through the town, where he mentions the recent destructions (on Gouvea's mission as mediator in the conflict between the Portuguese and Shāh ʿAbbās, see Steensgaard, 230-1, on Lār, 231). In a parallel version to the *Itinerário* of Gaspar de S. Bernardino, Nicolau de Orta Rebelo gives us a long description of Lār and Lāristān dated August-September 1606 (on S. Bernardino's narrative, see Aubin, in *Arquivos*, i [1969], 208-15, on Lār, ed Lisbon 1842, 136-67). Rebelo noted the numerous charitable works (cisterns and caravanserais), the security of the roads (the Hurmuz-Lār road and above all the entry into Lār was very well policed "because of the war between the Sofi and the king of Ormuz") and the freedoms and the liberalities which the Persians and the travellers enjoyed (see below). He further noted the

abundance and low price of the *bāzār* products (fruits, textiles, poultry such as partridges, and sheep) and the rebuilding works undertaken after the Ṣafawid conquest, in particular, the fortress dominating the town and the bazar (i.e. the *Bāzār i Mayṣariyya*, see above) rebuilt at that time by Kanbar ʿAlī Beg, who also erected a sumptuous caravanserai on the Lār-Shīrāz road (Rabelo, ed. Serrão, 101-12).

After the Ṣafawids achieved direct control of Lār, its affairs were continuously affected by the question of Hormuz, which brought into play the colonial rivalries (essentially those of Spain and Portugal, now united under one crown, against the English), the Persians' own interests, those of the Arab merchants and the Gulf pirates, etc (Steensgaard, 253 ff.). After the conquest of Lār, the Persians had —at least temporarily—taken off the protection payments ("mocarrerias", i.e. *muḳarrarī*) made by the ruler of Hurmuz to that of Lār (*ibid.*, 249). Kanbar ʿAlī Beg tried to reimpose there levies on Hurmuz and occupied the island of Kishm (*ibid.*, 250 ff.) The khān of Shīrāz, the *beglar-begī* of Fārs Imāmḳulī Khān, seized the port at Gombrun/ Gombroon (Portuguese Comorão) in December 1614 (*ibid.*, 291 ff.), and in spring 1622 Persian troops commanded by Imāmḳulī Khān were helped by an English naval force (*AA4*, tr 1200-4, Steensgaard, 305 ff.). The negotiations begun by the second "Spanish" embassy of Sherley (1617-22) and the presence of a Spanish ambassador at the Persian court and a Persian one at the Spanish court since 1617 were unable to prevent the Portuguese from losing "the key to the Land of India" Much held back in his mission (cf. Steensgaard, 312 ff.), the Castilian ambassador Figueroa has left behind for us an itinerary (lacking details) of his journey through Lāristān in 1618

After the fall of Hurmuz, the English, and then the Dutch, and then later the French, were authorised by the Ṣafawid government to set up their factories at Gombrun, now renamed Bandar ʿAbbāsī. In 1630, the Portuguese gained the same permission to use Bandar Kung (8 km to the east of the modern Bandar Linga), which began to fill up with Arabs and Persians (and then with Banyans and Portuguese) and became an important town in the years 1630-40 (Steensgaard, 357 f). Despite the difficulties of the routes into the interior, Dīlsk/Dīlsak and Bandar Kung became significant rivals of Bandar ʿAbbāsī (on the rivalry of Bandar Kung and Bandar ʿAbbāsī, see Calmard, 86-7).

From this time onwards, the routes through Lāristān are described in detail by the travellers We have important items of information from Sir Thomas Herbert about the embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton to Persia in 1628-9 (tr Paris 1663, 205 ff.; Calmard, illustration 1), and the parallel account of Robert Stedart (ed. Denison Ross, London 1935, on Shīrāz-Lār-Gombroon, see 78-85) Mandelslo, a member of the Duke of Holstein's embassy, passed through Lār in February 1638, and he gives us a fairly detailed description of his route from Shīrāz to "Gamron" (tr Wicquefort, Paris 1659, Book i, 91 ff.) With the development of the commerce of the trading Companies, journeys and accounts of them abound. Putting together a synthesis of all the items of information from 1638 to 1706, a map is here given showing the chronological divisions of the routes from the Gulf to Shīrāz via Lār (Map 1, the travellers who only describe Bandar ʿAbbāsī, Bandar Kung etc., have not been included here). As this chronology shows, the dates of movements across Lāristān were a function of the movements of ships, hence of the monsoons, and the climatic conditions in the interior of the country: there were few journeys in mid-summer, because of the extreme heat and the "poisonous winds" (*bād-e samūm*), or in winter, because of the snow along the route Lār-Shīrāz (Calmard, 23 ff.). The travellers give us first hand information on the routes followed (which varied little from the 17th to the 19th centuries, except on the Lār-Shīrāz section), on travelling conditions (state of the roads, bridges and fords; the security provided by the *rāh-dārs*, "road-guards"; tolls, customs-dues, etc.), on the natural habitat and the populations (climate, plants, animals, local inhabitants, habitats, illnesses and urban communities), on the political rivalries in the Gulf and in Persia between the central and local powers (including the topic of pirate activity) and between the different European Companies, etc. (see the *Bibl.* for travellers of the 17th-18th centuries).

Although the Dutch remained the most firmly-implanted group along the Hurmuz-Lār-Shīrāz-Iṣfahān axis (they had factories or "houses" in each of these towns) and derived great profits (above all, from the illegal trade in gold which weakened the Persian economy), the Portuguese continued to strengthen their presence at Bandar Kung (used by the Portuguese, Italians and other travellers). At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, an attempted Portuguese-Persian alliance against the "Arabs" (i.e. Muscat or ʿUmān) was cut short because of the internal situation in Persia (see Aubin, *L'ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo* Introd.). This did not prevent the taking shape of threats from the ʿUmānīs (aided by the Kawāsim [*q.v.*] and Arabs from Ḳaṭar) against the islands and the ports along the Lāristān coast (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafawī dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 115-18, and below, on Lārak). During this period of troubles, the Lāristān government was a kind of family enterprise: the *ghalbandar* of Bandar Kung was the brother of the Bandar ʿAbbāsī one and tied Khān of Lār's one (Calmard, 187) According to Pereira Fidalgo, the Khān of Lār had under his jurisdiction Bandar Gombrun, Bandar Kung and Bandar Rig (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 36-7).

Despite the repeated attacks of Arab pirates and of the Balūčīs (who seem to have allied with the ʿUmānīs in their threats to the ports and to Lār, see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 79), Lāristān resisted longer than Iṣfahān-Shīrāz axis against the Afghān invasion. In practice, when Shīʿism became implanted along the Shīrāz-Lār-Bandar ʿAbbāsī commercial route, the south and part of the north of Lāristān (except for the town of Lār) had remained Shāfiʿī. Certain lines of *shaykhs*, in particular at Evaz and Bastak, occupied the dominant places of Sunnī Lāristān. Despite the support of the *tufangčīs* or musketeers of the Sunnī *garmsīrāt* the Afghāns were unable to establish an effective control over Lār, which was held in turn by a Balūčī chief, a local notable, a Ṣafawid general and the *sardār* of Fārs Muḥammad Khān Balūč (see Aubin, *Les sunnites du Lārestān*, 159 ff.). In the latter's rebellion against Nādir (the later Nādir Shāh), Muḥammad Khān Balūč was supported by the Sunnīs of Lāristān. Nādir's revenge there was merciless the executions of Muḥammad Khān and Shaykh Aḥmad Madanī, fines, extensive deportations, etc. (*ibid.*, 168 ff.).

Taking advantage of this period of troubles and its aftermath, the brigand chief Naṣīr Khān Lārī was able to establish—in the first place with the

help of his brother Ḥādjdjī Khān—control over the Bušīk-i Sab'a (i.e. the region between Lāristān and Kirmān), and then over Lār. After an abortive expedition against Shīrāz in 1163/1750, in which Ḥādjdjī Khān died as route, Nasīr Khān extended his jurisdiction over the Gulf littoral (i.e. over the Arab *shaykhs*) and his expensive protection over the East India Company at Bandar ʿAbbāsī. Nevertheless, he had difficulties as controlling this latter port, and moreover, fell inevitably into conflict with Karīm Khān Zand. During the years 1754-66, he fought on two fronts, against the governor of Kirmān on the north-east and against the penetration of the Zands on the west. He even planned joint attacks against Karīm Khān in Shīrāz to concert with the Kādjār chief, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (in 1756 and 1758). It was Ṣādiḳ Khān Zand who in the end captured the town of Lār and reduced Nasīr Khān's fortress there in 1179/1760 (on these events, see Perry, 117-29, based on the English and Dutch archives and on the main Persian sources; add to these Rustam al Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, Tehran 1343/1969, 373-4, Muwaḥḥid, *Bastak*, 38-9)

It seems that, contrary to what Fasāʾī asserts (followed by Minorsky, *EI*[1] art, and Perry, 122), the administration of Lāristān did not remain in a more or less autonomous fashion in the hands of Nasīr Khān's family (till 1845, according to Minorsky, till 1858 according to Perry) This same family adopted towards the Zands and then towards Agha Muḥammad Khān Kādjār on at least rebellious attitude (Fasāʾī, i, 229, Dupré, i, 369) Furthermore, Karīm Khān Zand and Luṭf ʿAlī Zand handed over the government of Lāristān and the ports of the Gulf to the *shaykhs* of Bastak (now promoted to *khāns*) Under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the government of Lāristān and the Bušīk-i Sab'a reverted to this same family, it was given to three sons of ʿAbd Allāh Khān (at Furg, Tārum and Lār respectively), with ʿAbd Allāh himself residing at Shīrāz at the side of the Kādjār prince-governor (Dupré, i, 361 ff) Having become *beglar-begi* of Lāristān, one of his sons, Nasīr Khān Lārī, was in 1247/1832-3 deposed from office and the governorship of Lāristān entrusted to Aḥmad Khān Bastakī (Fasāʾī, i, 280). In the next year, Nasīr Khān was re-appointed *beglar-begi* of Lāristān and the Sab'a (*ibid.*, i 281). In 1262/1845, after dissensions had arisen amongst the *khāns* of Lār, the *wālī* of Fārs put an end to this and appointed at Lār a mere *kalāntar* (*q.v.*), Karbalāʾī ʿAlī Riḍā Girāshī, and then his son (Fasāʾī, ii, 284). Nasīr Allāh Khān Lārī, jailed in Shīrāz for his extravagant appropriations, managed to escape and to stir up a revolt in the region of Sab'a. He could not be suppressed by force, but hid in the mountains in the end, he went to Shīrāz and was in 1275/1858 granted a pension (Fasāʾī, i, 328-29). In 1276/1859-60 the governorship of Lāristān was given to the Kādjār prince Mahdī Kulī Mīrzā, who put down the revolt of Muṣṭafā Khān-i Bastakī (*ibid.*, i, 321).

In view of the extreme difficulties of the Kādjārs in keeping control of Fārs and the Gulf ports (in particular, Bandar ʿAbbāsī, the governorship of which had to be handed over to the Imām of Masḳat (Muscat) until 1284/1868), the governorship of Lāristān kept its considerable importance. In 1284/1868 and in 1293/1877, it included the regions of Sab'a and Bandar ʿAbbāsī, to which were joined (in 1297/1880 and 1299/1881-2) jurisdiction over the Five Tribes (Khamsa [see Wilāyat-i khamse]) and over Dārāb (*ibid.*, i, 326, 336, 340, 365). Towards the end of the Kādjār period, Lāristān found itself more and more under the control of the Kawāmī, a powerful viziral family of Fārs stemming from the descendants of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Khān (ʿImād al-Dawla Shīrāzī In 1294/1877-8, Iḥtishām al-Dawla and Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Kawām al-Mulk restored order in the coastal districts of Lāristān (*ibid.*, i, 337-8) In 1299/1882, the governorship al Lāristān, Sab'a, Dārāb, Khamsa and Fasā was entrusted to Kawām al-Mulk, who to fact died the next year The plan for the administrative reorganisation of Fārs in 1913 proposed no longer to attach "Lāristān and ʿAbbāsī" to the Kawāmī sphere of influence nor to the *sardsīr* of the Khamsa tribes (*La Fars*, 182). Under the Pahlavīs, Lār became a *shahristān* comprising five *bakhshs*: Markazī, Bastak, Linga, Gawbandī, and Dīḳūm and Bunārdīya (the result of the administrative reform of 1317/1938-9, see Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 209) With the reform of 1334/1955-6, the Farmāndārī yi Lāristān comprised the following *bakhshs*: Bwas, Lāmard, Dīḳyum and Humā. The coastal districts and their hinterlands now form part of the Ports and Islands of the Persian Gulf Bastak, shorn at two *dihistāns*, is one of the five *bakhshs* of Bandar Linga (Muwaḥḥid, 8-9).

The fighting between Karīm Khān Zand and Nasīr Khān Lārī for control *of* the ports and the routes through Lāristān accelerated the economic ruin of the region (Perry, 252 ff.) Already rather little used in the Ṣafawid period (over and above the Gulf routes via Lār), the Shīrāz Bandar Rīg route (facing the island of Khārg) was envisaged by the East India Company as an alternative to the Shīrāz Bandar ʿAbbāsī one (*ibid.*, 259). The troubles in Lāristān amongst the local powers led to the Companies moving further north up the Gulf the English to Bushire (Bū-Shahr) and the Dutch to Khārg (*ibid.*, 134 ff , Stiffe, in *GJ*, xvi [1900], 211-13). Hence Lār retained henceforth only a regional importance.

Lāristān once again suffered from brigandage (the pillaging expedition of the Balūčī Muḥrab Khān, *sardār* of Dampūr, at the opening of the 19th century, see Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, London 1816, 163, Fr. tr. Paris 1818, i, 325 ff. (on the Balūčī raids of 1810, see Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 163) Around 1256/1840, Lār seems to have been occupied by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī, head of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in revolt against the Shāh (Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1897, 94. on Āḳā Khān's revolt, see H. Algar, in *SI*, xxix [1969], 55-28). Despite its comparative isolation, Lār continued to trade with the Gulf ports (in particular, with Bandar ʿAbbāsī, Bandar Linga and Bandar Ṭāhirī (the former Sārīf), see Stiffe, in *GJ*, vi (1895), 166-75.

In 1681, Stack found Lār in a fairly wretched condition (i, 133-45). But the action of its governor Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān (a person whom he describes at length) and his son allowed the town's buildings to be restored (see above, on the Ḳayṣariyya *bāzār*), and as being in excellent condition in 1907 Bandar Linga was at that time the main port of Lār (via Bastak; see A T Wilson, in *GJ* [February 1908], 152-70). The comparative development of Bandar Linga under the Kawāsim/Djawāsim Arabs favoured the hinterland, and notably Bastak At the end of the Kādjār period (ca 1900-23), the Gulf ports, including Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Linga, were increasingly controlled by Belgian officials (Lorimer, IIA, 24). In 1333/1926-27, Bandar ʿAbbās was considered to be wholly under British influence (Kabābī, 541).

3. The island of Lār (see Map 2). This Gulf island is generally considered on being that called

Abū Shu'ayb (Ed. Shu'ayb, Shaykh Shu'ayb or District al-Shaykh), situated to the south-east of Bandar Nakhīlū and belonging to the Shīh-i Kūh-i Lāristān (at 3 *farsakhs*' distance from the coast, according to Fasā'ī, ii, 325). Since the identification of this island is not made easy by utilising the classical and early Islamic sources, one finds numerous errors in both old and modern writers, and some of them have mixed up the island and the kingdom of Lār (Ikṭidārī, *LA*, 128-9). Researches must have touched on *it* in the course of his periplus. It could possibly be the island of pearls (Nesos Margaritis) of Orthagoras (see Tomaschek, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi [1890], 55, and Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. s.v.) The geographers writing in Arabic give it various names: Lāwān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Iṣṭakhrī), Lār (Yākūt, Abu 'l-Fidā'); whilst the variants Alār, Lān Allān (Lārān) are given by Schwarz, 87, Le Strange, 261, and Minorsky, *loc. cit.* Ibn al-Balkhī (*Fārs-nāma* ed. Le Strange, 141) connects the island with Ardashīr Khurra (Irāhistān) Muḥammad b. Najīb Bakrān calls this island Lādh (*Jahān-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1342/1903, 43). The toponym Lādh (cf. Lād, the ancient name of the town or the kingdom of Lār) could be applicable to the place called Laz/Laza or to Lār/Lara/Lazā, the most important settlement in the eastern part of the island. The Portuguese called it Ilha de Lazão or Laracour (Lār-Shatwār, from the name of the inlet Shatwār/Shitwār/Chitwār at its eastern extremity: see Aubin, in *Mare*, ii, 97, n. 115).

According to Yākūt (iv, 341), Lār is a large island situated between Sīrāf and Kays, lacking any settlement or village; there were pearl fishers, i.e. divers; its circumference was said to be 12 *farsakhs* round. Because of the insecurity from Gulf piracy, the island was thinly peopled. According to Duarte Barbosa, it formed part of the dependencies of Hurmuz (Aubin, in *ibid.*). It is situated, in relationship to the coast, which makes an outward salient at Ra's Nakhīlū, 14 to 15 miles from the coast, from east to west it is about 15 miles long, and about 3 miles wide. It is 120 feet high at the centre, and low plains of one to two miles extend towards each extremity. It has virtually no vegetation, but the water from its well is of good quality (Lorimer, iiB, 2613). Its geological formation is identical with that of the island of Kays and Hindarābī (Pilgrim [1908], 142).

Shaykh Shu'ayb is attached to the *dihistān* of Badawl in the *shahristān* of Bandar Linga (Razmārā, *Farhang*, vii, 61, which places it 23 km. to the south-east of Bandar Makām and gives its dimensions as 04 x 3 km., with its highest point *ca.* 37 m.). Drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns to catch rain-water. There is cultivation of dates, cereals and some market-garden produce. Fishing, for fish and for pearls, is carried on. At the beginning of the 20th century, it had 10 villages or hamlets, the most important being Laz (70 houses). It had a total of *ca.* 300 houses for 1,500 inhabitants, Shāfi'ī and Sunnī Arabs of various tribes (Lorimer, iiB, 1814-15). In an 1950, it had 7 small settlements and 730 inhabitants, both Sunnī and Shī'ī, speaking Arabic and Persian (Razmārā, *Farhang*, *loc. cit.*, which mentions its liability to malaria). The population seems to have varied little (800 in *ca.* 1976, according to the *Farhang-i Mu'īn*, v, 948).

4. The island of Lārak (see Map 2). This is an island of the Gulf 20 miles south of Bandar 'Abbās and partially closing the approach to this port between Kishm and Hurmuz. The channel between Lārak and Kishm, to the north-east, is 6 miles wide, between Lārak and Hurmuz, to the north-north-east, it is 11 miles. Slightly smaller than Hurmuz, Lārak is oval in shape, measuring 6 miles (from east-north to west-south west) by 4 miles. It is surrounded by deep water except at the western side. The interior is a mass of sharp, sandstone hills mixed with salt domes and domes of red iron oxide (a typical formation of the "Hurmuz series", see Pilgrim [1908], 144, [1924], 26). Except for a few date palms, it is almost bare of vegetation. The highest point reaches 510 feet. Except for the well of Salrad (in the west), water comes from cisterns (Lorimer, iiB, 2086, see also Fasā'ī, ii, 317). There are many gazelles and rabbits, the former living off a spiny plant called the *hutum* which stays green in winter as well as summer (Kabābī, 98, who states that the island is 13 miles in circumference, 18 miles from Bandar 'Abbās, 28 miles from Kūh i Musandam, 8 miles from Shahr-i Kishm, and 16 to 17 miles from Muscat).

The sparsity and the vagueness of the older sources has given rise to many hypotheses. Lārak, literally "little Lār", has been take—by Kabābī, 291—for the ancient island of Lār (wrongly, because the depths do not allow pearl-fishing). The island seems to have occupied, made useful and cultivated by a fairly important (to judge by the remains of buildings and irrigation works) non-Muslim population (according to the orientation of numerous tombs, see Lorimer, iiB, 2087, and Kabābī, 698). Amongst the ruins, the latter author mentions those of a rectangular fortress like the one of the island of Kishm. Lorimer records two ancient forts, a ruinous one at the place called Kharābistān, in the interior of the island (i.e. Lārak-i kūhī), and the other, in a better condition, at Labṭyāb on the northern coast. According to this same authority, the fort is said to be Portuguese, but according to Curzon, ii, 423, Dutch. According to Ikṭidārī, the *kal'as* of Lārak and Kishm are Portuguese, whilst that of Khamīr is possibly Dutch. The Lārak *kal'a* is made from dressed stone covered with mortar, with three floors, four towers and a look-out walkway (*Āthār*, 740 ff., with photographs). Only the foundations remain of the East India Company's telegraph house. Among the remains of the cemetery have been found lamps for the dead from baked earth (*ibid.*, with photograph at 742).

The anchorage of Lārak was much appreciated by sailors, especially the Portuguese, who called it Lareka/Lareca. They sheltered there in February 1625 when making an attempt to recover Hurmuz (see Steensgaard, 352). The ambassador Pereira Fidalgo stopped there in 1696 (ed. Aubin, 29). In 1717, Lārak was captured by the Imām of Masḳaṭ aided by the Ḳawāsim and Arabs from Ḳaṭar (Perry, 138).

According to the *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* (17th century), Lārak was inhabited by Arab fishermen. The boat from Bandar Rig called there sometimes (ed. Aubin, in *FIZ*, vi/2-3 [1337/1958], 275). At the beginning of the 20th century, the population of *ca.* 200 was made up of Dhahūriyyīn linked by marriage with the Banū Shaṭayr Shīhūh of Kumzār (the region of the Ru'ūs al-Jibāl in 'Umān) who spoke *kumzārī* (Lorimer, iiB, 2086). In addition to the Kumzāris, Kabābī notes 30 heads of families, five of them from Bustānī-yi 'Abbāsī, and he states that the soil of the island is good for agriculture. The people live by extracting salt (exported to the 'Umānīt and Kishm) fishing and a little bit of stock-rearing (sheep and goats). In summer, most of them migrate to the oasis-palm groves of Mināb (Kabābī, 96). Formerly, the island depended administratively on

the *hukūmat* of Kishm. Persian authority was only established after 1905-6 with the building of a customs-post (Lorimer, IIB, 1087; Kabābī, 97). One of the interesting peculiarities of Lārak is that it possesses—in company with other places of the coasts and islands of Lāristān—*zār* (*q.v.*) adepts and practitioners. Called locally the *ahl-i hawā* 'people of the wind', they have as the officiating persons men (the *Mihrs*), women (the *mamās*) and some *shaykhs*, most of them of African origin (see Ghulām Husayn Sā'idī, *Ahl-i hawā*, Tehran 1345/1965, index *s.v.* Lārak).

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LARACHE [see AL-ʿARAʾISH].

LĀRANDA, Laranda or Karaman in modern Turkish usage, earlier Turkish Karamān or Dārende, a provincial town in Anatolia, is the seat of one of the thirteen districts of Konya [*q.v.*]. The district of Karaman is the largest (4,647 km²) *sandjak* in Turkey. The town lies outside the earthquake zone at lat. 37° N, long. 33° 10' E, at an elevation of 1,038 m., on the plateau at the northern end of the pass leading through the Taurus Mts. to the Göksu (ancient Kalykadnos, or Saleph) river valley. The main road from Konya (al 110 km.) to Silifke (at 148 km.) passes through the district. The town has a station on the railway line from Konya to Ereğli, a stretch of the former Istanbul-Baghdād railway. The population grew from 8,182 in 1927 to 28,213 in 1965 and to 51,208 in 1980, when the *ilçe* counted 113,408 inhabitants.

1. History

Excavations at prehistoric sites in the Konya-Laranda area, especially at Catal Hüyük and Can Hasan, have revealed an advanced Neolithic culture and substantial towns dating from ca. 7000 B.C. (See J. Mellaart *et alii*, in *Cambridge ancient history*. Idem and D. Fossum in *Anatolian Studies*, x (1960); U. B. Alkim, in *Anatolia* i (1956); D. Magie, *Roman rule*; W. Ramsay, *Hist. geogr.*, 45, F. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*)

The Byzantine Laranda (τὰ Λάρανδα, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, xii, col. 793) fell to the Saldjūks after the battle of Manzikert (463/1071), and islamisation must have taken place early. After having been under Dānishmendid [*q.v.*] rule, it was retaken around 560/1165 by the Saldjūk sultan Kilidj Arslān II [*q.v.*]. Taken briefly in 586/1190 by emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and in 1210 by Leo II of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, it was regained by the Saldjūks in 1218 and used as a frontier fortress against the Armenian kingdom in 623/1226 the area was organised as the *wilāyat-i Arman* (*Histoire des Croisades, Doc. Arm.*, i, 380, *Cambridge History of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970, 534 ff.). Around 625/1228, the family of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] settled in the town. Djalāl al-Dīn was married there and extols its delights in his poetry (A. Gölpı-

punarli, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, Istanbul 1959, 41 ff.). It is claimed locally that the great folk poet Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] is also buried there (idem, *Yunus Emre, hayatı* ..., Istanbul 1963; M. C. S. Tekindağ, in *Belleten* XXX (1966), 217, 59-90 *Procs. of the 1971 Istanbul Symposium on Yunus Emre*). Lārānda also claims as its native sons the chronicler Neshrī [*q.v.*], the Grand Vizier Karamānī Mehmed Pasha [*q.v.*], the medical writer Lārendeli Siyābīzāde Dervīsh, and others (Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, index; Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber*, index; V. L. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans*, London 1964; A. A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943). In 626/1228 the Türkmen dynasty of the Karamān-oghullari [*q.v.*] emerged in the Ermenek-Lārānda region, and in 628/1231 the town was given as a temporary *iḳṭāʿ* to Kushlu Sankum, a Khwārazmian chief. In 654/1256 Lārānda became the capital of the Karamānids under Karamān-oghlu Gümrī Beg and was able to maintain itself against the combined forces of the Saldjūḳs and their supporters, the Il Khānid Mongols. In 689/1288 Lārānda was burned by the Il-Khānids, and lost temporarily again to them in 691/1292, but heavy destruction and loss of population did not stop the Karamānids from rising to great political power. The town grew in importance and was enriched with many buildings (See section 2, below). After 1300, the name Lārānda was replaced by the new name Karamān. Even when the Karamānid princes expanded their dominions and were able to make the prestigious royal city of Konya their capital in 712/1312, the old residence remained important as a seat of lesser members of the dynasty. The town remained somewhat distant from the battle front during the Karamānids' struggle with the competing powers in Anatolia, including the Mongols and later the Ottomans, the heirs of the Saldjūḳ sultans. According to F. Sümer (art. KARAMĀN-OGHULLARI, Vol. IV, 622a), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his visit to Konya and Lārānda and of his meeting the Karamānid beys, is based on hearsay. In 799/1397 the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I Yildirim [*q.v.*] occupied Lārānda and conquered nearly all the dominions of the Karamān-oghlu *amīr* 'Alā' al-Dīn, who was himself killed. The *amīr*'s widow, the Ottoman princess Nefīsa (Melek Khātūn), and her two sons Mehmed Beg and 'Alī Beg, were deported to Bursa in 800/1398. This was seemingly the end of the principality. Timūr, however, restored the Karamānids to power after the battle of Ankara (804/1402), and they maintained themselves in the face of the Ottoman restoration in 817/1414 and 818/1415. Next to Konya, Lārānda remained the main centre of the Karamānid state and flourished greatly. At this time, however, the Mamlūks invaded the country and occupied Lārānda in 822/1418-19 for a short time, the region becoming tributary to them. The town's lords then changed several times because of civil warfare. In 826/1423, Mehmed Beg was killed at the siege of Antāliya and buried in Lārānda. The town saw its last decades of glory as a capital under Karamān-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg (827-69/1424-64). When de la Brocquière traversed the lands of "the Grand Karman" in 836/1432, he attended an audience with sultan Ibrāhīm in his court at Konya after having visited Lārānda. He remarked on the great extent of the Karamānid domains, the dignity and wealth of the court and flourishing trade of both towns. Another conflict brought the Mamlūk army to Lārānda again, and it was set on fire (865/1456-7). After Konya was lost to the Ottomans, the Grand Vizier Mahmūd Pasha took Lārānda in 873/1468, the last Karamānid chiefs continuing their resistance against the forces of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror. Part of the inhabitants, especially the craftsmen, were deported in 1471 to be settled in Istanbul in the so-called Büyük Karamān quarter (the present Çarṣamba). In Lārānda a number of monumental buildings, sacred and profane, were destroyed by the new Ottoman rulers (including by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]). The castle was repaired with the architectural debris. In 881/1476 the first Ottoman registration of land, property and pious foundations took place, and the town's tithe tax (*ʿushr*) was made into a *waḳf tax* the benefit of al-Madīna. By this time, the rule of the Karamān-oghullari in Lārānda had virtually come to an end (Tekindağ, 1963, 61; Konyalı, 1967, 405). The town became the first Ottoman *sheḥzāde* (prince's) *sanǰaḳ*, governed from Konya under princes Muṣṭafā and Djem [*q.vv.*]. In 888/1483 Bāyazīd II had the Karamānid territory organised as a regular Ottoman province as the *eyālet* of Karamān, with Konya as capital and seat of the *beglerbegi*.

From now onwards, Lārānda was of only secondary importance. With its castle, it must have played a role in the Ottoman campaigns to suppress revolts fomented by Karamānid chiefs and Ṣafawid agents till *ca.* 1502. The rebel Kull Shāh seized the town briefly in 916/1510, while in 917/1511 the area was taken by prince Aḥmad in his fruitless effort to succeed Bāyazīd II. Turmoil was caused in 933-5/1526-8 by the Kalender [*q.v.*]. Until 924/1527, the town was part of the fortified frontier with the Mamlūk dominions, and it became a *ḳaḍā*' in the *sanǰaḳ* of Konya. During a short period in the 11/17th century, it probably held the rank of *sanǰaḳ* itself. The name of Karamān came now more and more in use. The importance of the trade route passing through Lārānda was probably reduced by the extension of the Ottoman empire to the east. The tax registers dated *ca.* 929/1523 show that the population of Lārānda counted 664 *khāne* = 464 *nefer* or tax payers (Konyalı) or 493 *khāne* = 693 *nefers* (Jennings), or 576 *khāne* = 693 *nefers* (Faroqhi). The registers of 997/1584 and 995/1587 show 2,027 *nüfus* (Konyalı), 2,048 *nefers* (Jennings), and 1,425 *khāne* = 2,048 *nefers* plus 625 *müǰerred*s (Faroqhi). The number of *mukallefs* had increased in 1587 from 34 (Konyalı 33) to 30. Thirteen of those quarters still exist at the present. The growth of population seems to point to secure living conditions. From other sources it is known, however, that Lārānda was one of the centres of the well known *softa* or student revolts against the central government's financial policy in the years 985 1005/1577-94. In 1596 the Djelālī [see DJELĀLĪ in Suppl.] revolts ravaged the province of Karaman. Lārānda's population seems to have remained loyal to the government during the following years, at least till 1021/1613. The presence of the Janissary garrison must have had an influence here (cf. M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları (1559-1603)*, Ankara 1963, Index s.v. Karaman (Lârende)). Kara Yazıdjī [*q.v.*], one of the Djelālīs, was bought off by the office of *mukāṭaʿa* of Karamān.

From the taxation data of the 10th/16th century, Lārānda appears as a flourishing interregional market town in an important agricultural region. The building activity during the same century seems to bear this out. The town contained, around 929/1523, 1 *ʿimāret*, 4 *ḥammām*s, 25 *masdjids*, 7 *medrese*s, 1 *dār al-ḥadīth*, 10 *tekke*s, 7 *ḵānḳāh*s, 264 *dükkān*s

and 65 *ṣandūḳs* ("trading booths"). The castle was manned by a garrison of 39 men under a commander (*dizdār*) and a *kilkyā*. Its armament must have included some pieces of artillery (Konyalı, 176, 178). Tenth/seventeenth century Lārandā is described by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 322-15) and Kātib Čelebi (*Durūb-nāmā*, 1145/1732, 614 f.). In 1867, Lārandā/Karamān was incorporated in the new *wilāyet* of Konya as a *ḳaḍā'* in the central *sanǧaḳ*.

Traditional economy, based mainly on dry farming, live-stock, textiles and the production of the well-known *Karamān-bulgurı* (wheat), has been diversified and enlarged. Lead, zinc and chrome are in limited production and there are minor iron ore deposits in the area. In the early 1960s, 400 workers from Karaman went to Germany in the first group of Turkish labourers. For further details, see Ibrahim Rifki Boyunukahn, *Karamanlı'nın iktisadi ve sosyal gelişimi*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul 1968.

Bibliography (cf.) arts. KARAMĀN, KARAMĀN-OGHULLARI; *IA*, art. "Karamanlılar" (M. C. S. Tekindağ), *Konya vilâyeti salnâmesi* 1289/1872; *ibid.*, 1295/1878; *ibid.*, 1330/1912, *Konya il yıllığı* 1967, Ankara 1969; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39-97, N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle*, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), 1-129 (bibliogr. index), E. Diez, G. Aslanapa and M. M. Koman, *Karaman devri sonatı*, Istanbul 1950, S. Faroqhi, *Taxation and urban activities in sixteenth-century Anatolia*, in *Int. J. of Turkish Studies*, i (1979-80), 19-53, G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1972, 76, 367, 430, 434, T. Gökbilgin, *XVI. asırda Karaman eyâleti ve Lârende (Karaman) vakıf ve müesseseleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vii (1968), 23-38, R. C. Jennings, *Urban population in Anatolia in the sixteenth century, a study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon and Erzurum*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 21-57, M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *San Osmanlı-Karaman münasebetleri hakkında araştırmalar*, in *TD*, xiii/17-18 (1963), 43-76, idem, *Şemseddin Mehmed Bey devrinde Karamanlılar*, in *TD*, xiv/19 (1964), 81-98, idem, *Osmanlı tarihi yazıcılığı*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/140 (1971), 655-67; F. N. Uzluk, *Fâtih devrinde Karaman eyâleti tahrîrleri fihristi*, Ankara 1958, 24-27, fasc. 26-30; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideler ve kitâbeler ile Karaman tarihi. Ermenek ve Mut âbideleri*, Istanbul 1967, is the principal source of information on Lārandā's institutions, but is not a history; B. de la Broquière, in Thomas Wright (ed.), *Early travels in Palestine*, London 1848, reprinted New York 1968, 283-382, especially 305 ff., Oğuz Erel and others, *A palaeoecological survey in the Konya area*, in *Anatolian Studies*, xxi, 15; H. A. R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325-1354*, Cambridge 1955-71, ii, 430 ff.; S. Salaville and F. Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique*, i, years 1584-1850, ii, years 1850-1865, Athens 1958, 1966.

(A. H. DE GROOT - H. A. REED)

2. MONUMENTS

The archival sources for the monuments of Lārandā/Karamān—the *waḳf* review of Ḳāḍī Muṣliḥ al-Dīn dated Muḥarram 881/January 1477 (= Ankara, Kuyudu-i kadime 665, facsimile and commentary, Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyâleti vakıflar fihristi*, Ankara 1958); and *waḳf* reviews of Bāyazīd II, dated 906/1500-1 (= Ankara, Kuyudu-i kadime 585, old number 255) and Süleymān I, dated 929/1522-3 (= Başvekâlet Arşivi 387)—give a more varied picture of the 14th-16th century monuments of Karamān and can be used to supplement the data of those still extant, though the unusually diverse nomenclature of the monuments makes some identifications subject to caution. The present review is, therefore, concerned primarily with standing buildings. In one respect, however, the sources are significant: they provide singularly little evidence for the 13th century architecture of the town.

Sherd finds from the Citadel or Içkale are evidence for 13th century habitation, though the existence of a Saldjūḳ palace remains to be demonstrated. Saldjūḳ blue and white tiles were also reused in the Hatuniye Medrese (see below), and two fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum (355-6 1906) have been shown (M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, i-ii [= Deutsche Archäologisches Institut. Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 15], Tubingen 1976, ii, 483-4) to have Karamān as their likely provenance. But there is no architectural evidence for major buildings in the 13th century, and the only surviving 13th century monument is a small *mesdjid*[•] (Monuments marked with an asterisk bear dated inscriptions), much restored in 643/1245-6 by Sa'd al-Dīn [ʿAlī b. Abū (*sic*) Bakr (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, ii, 483-4; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideler ve kitabeler ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 347-58), a domed square with an adjacent flat-roofed *iwān*. It contains multiple burials, but the only dated tombstone is that of Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Madjd al-Dīn [ʿAlī, dated Djumādā II 700/March 1301. The area was evidently a cemetery at the time it was built.

Fortifications. Of the original triple enceinte, little remains. The outermost walls have disappeared entirely. The middle enceinte, to which Ewliyā Čelebi attributed nine gates and from which Christian and pre-Christian spolia have been retrieved, is now reduced to a single gate and a few fragments of rubble walls. The Citadel or Içkale (Fig. 1) which, doubtless by mistake, he describes as surrounded by a deep moat, is rectangular, with eight round, faceted or rectangular towers. The walls contain many heterogeneous re-used Islamic blocks (Fig. 2), perhaps from the monuments which, Shikārī states (M. Koman, *Şikârî'nin Karaman oğulları tarihi* [= Konya Halkevi Tarih ve Müze Kaunlen Vaymları, I-2], 1946, 112), were destroyed by Gedik Aḥmad Pasha [see AḤMAD PASHA GEDIK] on the Ottoman occupation of Karamān (*inter* 864 the Djāmi'-i Sultān, the Djāmi'-i Kāshī and the Djāmi'-i Nigāhshāhī), and from the Great Mosque, the mosque of the Karamānid [ʿAlā' al-Dīn Beg and the mosque of Karamān Shāh. None of the reused fragments bears a foundation inscription, so that Shikārī's assertion is difficult to evaluate. However, since all are fairly near ground level, the Citadel was evidently rebuilt shortly after the Ottoman conquest. It was radically restored in 1965.

The pre-Ottoman fortifications cannot be identified, though the Citadel mound is evidently man-made and the fortress played an important role as late as the end of the 15th century. Nor can the water supply be traced, in the absence of wells or aqueducts, the Citadel must have been supplied by cisterns. However, their presence remains to be established.

Mosques. The Great Mosque, now restored out of all recognition, was a flat-roofed aisled construc-

tion with wooden columns and stalactite capitals (Konyalı, *op. cit.*, 359-63). No Great Mosque is mentioned in the *waḳf* register of Muḥarrem 861/January 1457, which thus indirectly corroborates Shikārī's assertion that it was destroyed in or after the Ottoman capture of Karamān. The only evidence, moreover, for the existence of a Great Mosque in the 16th century is the foundation inscription of a *maḳṣūra* • associated with it dated 940/1533-4. The façade of the Hacıbeyler Camii (Konyalı, 294-8), a rectangular building now with a pyramidal gabled roof, has also evidently been substantially rebuilt save for the entrance in a projecting rectangular moulded frame bearing a foundation inscription dated 902/1496-7 (cf. the anonymous foundation inscription of the heavily restored Arapzade or Araboğlu Mosque dated 899/1493-4). However, a block built into the wall to the left of the porch bears the foundation inscription of a mosque dated 757/1356. This is evidently a re-use, and it is unclear whether the present building occupies the site of an earlier mosque.

The Dikbasan Mosque in the bazar (Meinecke, ii, 273-7), identified by Konyalı, (281-8) with the Fatḥ Camii of the *waḳf* registers of the reigns of Bāyazīd II (906/1500-1) and Süleymān I (929/1522-3), is a flat-roofed, four-aisled construction with a carved stone *miḥrāb* in the central bay. The brick minaret is rebuilt. The interior contains a two-line chronogram, read variously as 899/1493-4 (Konyalı, loc cit) and 910/1514-15 (E. Diez, O. Aslanapa and Mahmut Mesut Koman, *Karaman devri sanatı* Istanbul 1950, 40), and a re-used fragment of relief tile on a cobalt ground with traces of gilt dated Djumādā II 840/January 1437, perhaps from an earlier building on the site which was then rebuilt about 1500. The most imposing Ottoman mosque, however, is that of Nāb Paşha, a native of Karamān, built while he was governor of Konya and dated 1005/1596-7. Against the inside wall of the three domed narthex is a wooden gallery, the soffits of which have an applied revetment of gilt and painted wooden strapwork, probably contemporary.

Madrasas. The *madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā (Konyalı, 455-60, Aslanapa Dez-Koman, 50-4 Meinecke, ii, 258-64) was destroyed in 1927 (Fig. 3) The building was, however, photographed by both Sarre and Van Berchem, and Sarre was able to draw a plan of the building (F. Sarre, *Konya. Seldschukische Denkmäler* [= *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, IV], Berlin 1910, Plate 30, misidentified as that of the Hatuniye Medrese). This shows a central dome on pendentives, lateral ranges of four bays fronted by arcades on re-used marble columns, and an axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers with a *miḥrāb* housed in its side wall. To either side of the shallow recessed entrance and inner porch were rectangular corner rooms and annexes, that in the right housing the stair well of the minaret. This was cylindrical on a square base, with a shaft, divided, like that of the *Ulu Cami* of Ibrāhīm Beg (see below), by projecting mouldings into registers, and a single stone balcony on a corbelled stalactite base. The porch was a barely-decorated moulded frame with a shallow stalactite canopy on corner pilasters with doubled polyhedral capitals. The foundation inscription, which has now disappeared, occupied the course above the doorway and was flanked by further pilasters and capitals. The *waḳf* review of Muḥarrem 881/January 1477 gives the *madrasa* of the Amīr Mūsā in seventh place. Its precise designation is problematic. Mūsā Beg (d. 758/1356 ?) is buried in the Taḥ Medrese • (740/1339-40) which he built at Ermenak (*q.v.*). The present foundation was also funerary, however, and Konyalı (*loc cit*) has identified the tombstones of Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmed Beg b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. Karāmān (*sic*) (d. 7 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 750/17 January 1350) and his brother Shams al-Dīn Beg (d. 753/1352-3) from it. These were a terminus for its construction, and a third burial, of Durkh[w]and Khātūn bint. Badr al-Dīn Beg (d. 12 Djumādā I 813/13 September 1410), testifies to its later frequentation by the Karamānids.

The Hatuniye Medrese • (783/1381-2) (Fig. 4) the finest decorated building of Karamān, was founded by Sulṭān Khātūn, daughter of Murād I Khudāwandgār and wife of the Karamānid 'Alā' al-Dīn Beg (Aslanapa-Duez-Koman, 55-86), Konyalı, 461-82; Meinecke, ii, 165-72). The building is symmetrically planned, with small domed rooms to either side of the entrance block, side ranges of three domed cells and a rectangular vaulted *dars khāne*, and an axial *īwān* flanked by domed chambers, one a mausoleum. The entrances to these have high relief-carved limestone frames (Fig 5) The projecting entrance block has been heavily restored several times the entrance is recessed in an elaborately-carved and profiled bi-coloured marble frame, continuing a tradition of Saldjūḳ porch decoration—the Çifte minare Medrese, Erzurum (ca 1242), the Gök Medrese, Sivas • (670/1271-2) and the Eşrefoğulları Camii, Beyşehir • (699/1300)— and although on a smaller scale than these, is particularly close in conception and execution to the Gök Medrese at Sivas (cf. S. Ögel, *Bir Selçuk portalları* (*sic*) *grubu ve Karaman'daki Hatuniye Medresesi portalı*, in *Ilahiyât Fakültesi Dergisi. Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi 1957* [Ankara 1958], 125-9 and Figs. 6-7). It bears a craftsman's signature, Khw[ā]dja Aḥmad b. Nu'mān b Aḥmed (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, ii, 166, correcting the "Muḥammad" in Mayer, *Architects*, 112), which also continues the Saldjūḳ tradition of signed façades. The remarkably exact copying on a smaller scale of both profiles and decoration suggests strongly that forms of projection were known to the builders of 14th century Anatolia, though there are no literary attestations for the popularity of the prototype, and the other cases of parallelism have not been established beyond the Saldjūḳ period (cf. K Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karawanserai des 13 Jahrhunderts*, ii-iii, Berlin 1976, 148) The marble revetment of the façade, like the columns inside, is entirely re-used

There is no trace of any tile mosaic *miḥrāb*, but Meinecke, *loc cit.*, has established that the *īwān* and the mausoleum both had dados of dark turquoise-green hexagonal tiles The cenotaphs have disappeared but these also may well have been tiled. The Hatuniye has also yielded a re-use Saldjūḳ tile inscription, evidently from a plain foundation, in white relief *naskhī* on a scrolled ground, in the name of Abu'l-Fatḥ Kayḳhusraw ... b. al-Sa'īd Khiḍr Arslān (= *RCEA*, 4827), now in the Islamic Museum in East Berlin (No I 563). The inscription is defective and the ruler, therefore, indeterminate, but Meinecke, *loc cit*, has argued for Kaykhusraw I (second reign 601-7/1205-11) or for Kaykhusraw II (634-44/1237-46) [*q.vv.*] Kaykhusraw III (663-82/1266-84) [*q.v.*] may be eliminated, since from 1261 the amīrate of Karamān was independant, and the titulature of a Saldjūḳ Sulṭān would not have appeared unmodified in foundations at Karamān of the later 13th century

The foundress has been identified with Malak Khātūn, whose *waḳfiyya*, appointing herself as

mutawallī with her descendants after her, dated Rabīʿ I 787/May 1385, is resumed by Konyalı, 475-82, and appears in précis above the entrance to the mausoleum. This designates the foundation as a Ḥanafī *madrasa*, to which the family mausoleum was to be attached, with the provision that a Shāfiʿī *mudarris* might be appointed if no-one better was available. On the foundation were two *muʾezzins*, five *fakīhs*, a *müʾezzinhān*, a *sawʾadhdhān*, a sweeper and a porter. The endowments are almost exclusively agricultural property and the national income therefore fairly small. No students on the foundation are mentioned, and the *madrasa* is so small that some of the staff, anyway, must have lived out.

Khānḳāhs. The *tekke* of Siyahser or Karabaş Vali, otherwise known as the *khānḳāh* of Shaykh or Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Konyalı, 326-32, Aslanapa-Dıez-Koman, 85-7) consists of a flat-roofed, three-aisled covered mosque with transverse arcades and a minaret of Ottoman type, possibly a later construction, at its north-east corner (Fig. 8). On its north-west side is a symmetrically planned building, following Anatolian custom in not being *ḳibla* oriented, with a central sunken area with a large fountain and roofed by a dome on pendentives. Of the three *iwāns*, each has lateral annexes, while on the south-east side an arcade or loggia serves as a narthex to the mosque. The masonry and plan suggest a foundation date of about 1460. Both *tekke* and mosque have entrances on the east. Out side is a cemetery with late burials and a ruined undated octagonal canopy tomb (Fig 9).

The complex no longer bears a foundation inscription, but has been associated with a Ḳhalwatī *shaykh*, known variously as Mawlānā or Shaykh or Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Rūmī or Aswad, whose tombstone (Konyalı, 326), dated Shawwāl 870/June 1466, was recorded in the canopy mausoleum in 1943. The confusion of names suggests that the monument was coloured by later *shaykhs*. The mosque was evidently ruined by the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II, since it does not appear in the *waḳf* register of Muḥarram 882/January 1477, and in the register of the reign of Bāyazīd II dated 906/1500-1, the *waḳfs* are stated to be at the disposal (*der taṣarruf*) of another, unidentified *sheyḫ*, that of Shaykh Pīr Khalīfa.

A building, known variously as the Aktekke, Mevlevī *tekke*, *tekke* and tomb of "Mader i Mevlānā" and the Valide Sultan Camii seems to be an adaptation of a 14th century Ottoman mosque plan, consisting of a large, partially-domed rectangular area containing twenty-one undated cenotaphs, with an exterior portico preceded by a narrow courtyard with ranges of cells to either side (Konyalı, 229-33; Aslanapa-Dıez-Koman, 44-9). The foundation inscription records the foundation by the Karamānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg of a *zāwiya* for a *shaykh*, whose *laḳabs* are given as Djalāl al-Milla wa 'l-Ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-Dīn, in Rabīʿ I 772/October 1370. The foundation was evidently associated with another *zāwiya*, the *waḳfiyya* of which on the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg and dated 769/1367-8 (Konya, Yusuf Ağa Kütübhanesi No. 20389) has been resumed by Konyalı, 252-3. This was in favour of the descendants of a *shaykh*, Djalāl al-Ḥaḳḳ wa'l Sharʿ'n wa 'l-Milla wa '-Dīn, whose name is not given. The conclusion that the *shaykh* in question was Djalāl al-Dīn *Rūmī* is unwarranted; there is no evidence in either foundation inscription or *waḳfiyya* that a Mevlevī foundation was envisaged, and the popular association of the *tekke* with the Mevlevī order must, therefore, be based on a late colonisation of the *tekke* by Mevlevī dervishes.

Though the details of its organisation are obscure, the so called *ʿImāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (Konyalı, 403-52, Aslanapa-Dıez-Koman, 67-84, Meinecke, ii, 170-3) belongs architecturally among the *tekkes* of Karamān. It was a multiple foundation, enclosed by a wall of which there is now no trace, consisting of the *ʿimāret*, a mausoleum attached and a fountain opposite (Fig. 10). The *ʿimāret* has a domed, central courtyard surrounded on three sides by two storeys of rooms, with a *ḳibla*-oriented axial *iwān* flanked by domed chambers. The minaret salient and traces of the springing of arches on the façade show that originally the building was intended to have an arcaded exo-narthex. The *ʿimāret* plan has several remarkable features, including the fan pendentives below the dome which derive from the brick architecture of 13th century Konya, though with the exception of re-used marble blocks for the lintel and consoles of the main entrances and the tympana of the outside windows the building is entirely of local stone. The upper storey consists of long galleries, evidently store rooms or places of assembly. The central area is poorly lit and barely decorated in a style deriving from the internal stone carving of the Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzuram (*ca.* 1242) and the Hospital at Divriği (626/1228 onwards), and the decoration is concentrated on the exterior-grilled windows and their tympana, soffits, door frames and a cylindrical minaret shaft divided by projecting mouldings into registers sparingly decorated with bi coloured stone (*ablaḳ*). The main entrance is framed by mouldings of Anatolian Saldjūḳ origin, but without concern for their canonical disposition, and their carved decoration, particularly tha markedly chinoiserie foliate elements in the spandrels of the porch, is more indebted to the demorative renaissance of the 1420s at Bursa than the Saldjūḳ tradition. The Bursa style is also apparent in the carved marble hood of an exterior window, a single carved block with an arabesque-palmette design, deriving from the marble hoods of the Green Mosque at Bursa.

The tomb, at the southern corner, is also *ḳibla*-oriented, a domed square surmounted by an eight-sided pyramidal canopy on an octagonal drum (Fig 12). Inside there are two floors a crypt or burial chamber just below ground level and an upper chamber with a carved porch reached by a double staircase. The porch has a shallow stalactite canopy and carved frame with marble jambs, and a lintel with voussoirs set as a flattened broken arch of Bursa type. The upper chamber contains three damaged moulded plaster cenotaphs (Fig. 12), of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Karamān (d. 888/1483-4), ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm (d. 870/1465-6) and Shāh Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 888/1483-4) Meinecke, *loc. cit.*, remarks that the first two are evidently from the same mould and that the third may well be contemporary. The plaster shows traces of gilding and may also have been painted.

The interior of the *ʿimāret* still contains traces of hexagonal turquoise tiles alternating with cobalt triangles set directly on the rubble walls. The most important decorative feature, however, was a monumental tile *miḥrāb*, now in the Çinili Köşk in Istanbul, old number 136 (E. Kühnel, *Die Sammlung Türkischer und Islamischer Kunst im Tschinili Kiosk* [= Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museen in Istanbul III], Berlin-Leipzig 1938, Fig. 24). It is of polychrome tiles, partially gilt after

firing, with black or red contours of earth colours to prevent the glazes from running. Though not identical to the tile-work of the Green Mosque and Tomb at Bursa (822/1419-20) or the Muradiye at Edirne (*ca.* 1433), it is markedly similar. Menecke, *loc cit*, considers the *mihrāb* to have been a special order, while assigning comparable fragments in Konya, Berlin and the Victoria and Albert Museum to a reflection of the tomb of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Konya in 783/1381-2. Also from the *'imāret*, doubtless from the main entrance, is a wooden door, now to the Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (Çinili Köşk, old number 18, *not* No 238 as in Aslanapa Diez-Konan, *loc cit.*), carved by a craftsman, 'Umar b. Ilyās al-Karamānī (Mayer, *Woodcarvers*, 16), combining high-relief lobate motifs and silhouette carved lions and gryphons, in a style much closer to stone carving than was Anatolian woodwork of the Saldjūk period.

The *'imāret* and mausoleum are rich in inscriptions. That over the main entrance is dated Muharram 836/August-September 1432. Over the entrances to the domed chambers flanking the axial *īwān* are two undated extracts from the *waḳfiyya*. The basic *waḳfiyya* text, dated Shawwāl 835/July 1432, bears two addenda of the same year and further addenda of 843/1439-40, 849/1445-6, 851/1447-8 and 870/1465-6 (facsimile and commentary by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Karamanoğulları devri vesikalarından Ibrahim Bey Karaman imareti vakfiyesi*, in *Belleten*, i [1937], 65-164). The richest foundation of Karamān, was it endowed as *waḳf ahlī* according to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, with a staff of twelve Kur'ān readers, from among whom the officials of the foundation were to be appointed with appropriate supplements to their basic stipends of 225 silver *dirhams*, and servants to work in the kitchens to provide three days' free food and lodging for reputable visitors. Its designation is slightly ambiguous. Uzunçarşılı describes the foundation as *dār ḥurrā'*, *maṭbakh* and *masdjid*. However, the foundation inscription and the first of the two extracts from the *waḳfiyya* inscribed inside describe it merely as *khāniḳāh* "*'imāra al-mubāraka* (non-descript "foundation"); while the *waḳfiyya* also mentions a *dār al-ḍiyāfa*. None of this is sufficient to characterise the foundation as a novelty in institutional organisation. The *mutawallī* was as he Ibrāhīm Beg during his lifetime, and thereafter his descendants. Nothing is said of the disbursement of surplus revenue, but the express conditions that one-quarter of the income should go to the upkeep of the foundation and that *waḳf* property be kept in good repair look forward to the terms of Ottoman *waḳfiyyas*.

Mausolea. The distinction between attached and unattached mausolea is probably artificial, since the cemeteries have suffered considerably from recent urban expansion. Photographs, for example, taken prior to the restoration of the 'Alā' al-Dīn Türbe (Fig. 13), close to the no longer extant *maḥrasa* of Mūsā Beg (see above) show the springing of the arches of an adjoining building on its south east side, while a tomb, probably early 15th century, popularly associated with the Zeynī *Ḳādīn* and *fakīh*, Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed Fenārī, who was actually buried at Bursa [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE] (d. 834/1430-1), was also attached to a *zāwiya* or *masdjid*. Of the tombs in the cemeteries only three are now of architectural importance. The 'Alā' al-Dīn Türbe (designated as such in the *waḳf* survey of Muharram 881/January 1477) is an octagonal construction of the 14th century with a fluted pyramidal roof following a brick prototype (cf. the mausoleum of Sayyid Maḥmūd Khayrānī at Akṣehir [bar. 1224-5], *EGEA*, 3920) with a recessed entrance and diminutive stalactite canopy (Fig. 14). A ruined octagonal tomb with a set-back octagonal transitional zone and a recessed entrance is a shallow, broken-arched niche, known (Konyalı, 499-501) as the Demirgömlek Türbe and identified on the basis of the 881/1477 *waḳf* survey as the mausoleum of a late Karamānid official, Amīn al-Dīn, appears to be a development of a tomb type characterised by the Hüdavend Türbe at Niğde (712/1312-13). Comparable is the Kızlar Türbe, an undated construction of cut stone with bi-chrome (*opus sectile*) designs on alternate facets and a recessed entrance set in an arched canopy. The evidence (despite Konyalı, 364-77) that the tomb of Yunus Emre—fervently believed by the local population to have died at Karaman—is in the Kirişçi Baba Mosque is inconclusive.

Baths and fountains. Most of the baths of Karamān were seriously damaged in an earthquake in 1299/1881-2. None is dated, but the plan of a bath given by Aslanapa-Diez-Konan, 49, which, they suggest might have been founded by the Karamānid Süleymān Beg, is of recognisably traditional type. There are no recorded double baths, as the buildings must have been used alternately by men and women. Many must occupy the sites of baths mentioned in 16th century Ottoman *waḳfiyyas* and may well be older, since Sauvaget has remarked that waterworks, for obvious reasons, tend to persist even though the superstructure is rebuilt. However, there is a clear relation between the construction of new baths in the outlying quarters of the town and the building of fountains in the 18th—19th centuries.

The numerous fountains of the quarters of Kara Īmān (Konyalı, 625-35) are of uniform type, with the outflow inset in an arched, normally undecorated, recess, with small *maṣṭabas* or seats at the sides. Those in the centre of Karamān have, like the baths, been the object of frequent, mostly unrecorded, repairs and restorations often re-using stone from other constructions. Thus the foundation inscription of a *dār el-ḥuffāz* dated Rabī' II 835/May 1431 built into the Hoca Maḥmūd fountain (Konyalı 637-8) is on evidence that the fountain was associated with any *dār al-ḥuffāz* founded by Khwādja Maḥmūd. Likewise with the marble foundation plaque of an *'imāra* of the Karamānid 'Alī' al-Dīn Beg's Superviser of Waterworks (*mīr-i āb-dār*), dated Rabī' II 777/October 1375, built into the so-called Şahruh Çeşmesi (Konyalı, 352). The earliest standing fountain is thus that opposite the main entrance of the *'imāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432), set in a well decorated carved frame. The fountains of the Ottoman period, except for the Kadıbudak and Kilçi Çeşmes (both 958/1551), are mostly associated with mosque foundations. To judge from the surviving inscriptions, few were built in the 17th century. However, the large number of construction or restoration inscriptions covering the period 1790-1850 on the fountains of the peripheral quarters is evidence for considerable urban expansion in the late Ottoman period.

Conclusion. Despite the disappearance of important monuments over the past hundred years, the surviving monuments (of which only the most important have been considered) seem a typical sample of the original constructions of the Karamānid

and Ottoman period. To judge from the earliest Ottoman *waḳf* surveys, many buildings were already *kharāb* and their *waḳfs* appropriated by other foundations. Calculation of the revenues of the major Karamānid constructions is difficult, since the scale of the endowments is not recorded. However only the largest foundations, the *madrasa* of Mūsā Beg (ca. 1340, no longer extant) the Hatuniye Medrese (763/1362) and the *Imāret* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432), have whole villages specified among their *waḳf*. Even allowing, therefore, for the decay of Saldjūḳ foundations and their endowments through the 14th century and their tacit absorption by the later Karamānid foundations, the *waḳf* registers tend to show that even of the height of the Karamānids' power, building was on more extensive at Karaman than at other centres of the amirate—Niğde, Ermenak, Ereğli and Aksaray—and considerably less than at Konya, Akşehir, Beyşehir and Aksaray under the Saldjūḳs.

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(J. M. Rogers)

LĀRĪ (see LARĪḤ),

al-LĀRĪ, Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Djalāl b. Kamāl al-Anṣārī (or al-Nāṣirī), known as Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, Persian scholar and historian, was born ca. 1520 in Lār, to the south of Shīrāz. Following his family's tradition, he entered upon a scholarly career and studied under Mullā Ṣadrā's son Mīr Ghiyāth b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and Mīr Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, a pupil of Djalāl al-Dīn [see AD-DAWĀNĪ]. It is transmitted that Lārī's father proceeded openly against the Shī'ī heretics (*rawāfiḍ*).

During his later journeys, al-Lārī was at first received honourably by the Mughal emperor Humāyūn (1530-56), who granted him the title *ustād* and became his pupil. Because of the unrest after Humāyūn's death he left the country to go first on a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to the Persian source quoted below, four hundred of his books were lost at a shipwreck. After the pilgrimage, from 964/1556-7 (rather 1557) onwards, he stayed for a while in Aleppo, where he apparently tried to establish himself as a merchant. His erudition stood out in discussions with learned men, among whom was Aḥmad Kazwīnī who did not dare to answer Lārī's objections against his recently-composed *Ḥāshiya al-tadjrīd*. It is not known how long Lārī stayed in Aleppo; he probably lacked there means of subsistence. His next station was Istanbul, where he obtained admittance to the Muftī Abū 'l-Su'ūd [see ABU 'L-SU'UD]. But he declined the offer of a professorship, endowed with 50 *akçes* daily; he might have thought that such a position was rather unimportant in comparison with his previous situation at the Mughal court. In this connection, the Ottoman historian 'Ālī speaks of breach of faith of the Muftī *sic-d-sic* Lārī (H. Sohrweide in *Isl*, xlvi [1970], 286). Disappointed, he left Istanbul and found his final home in Āmid (now Diyarbakr), where Iskender Pasha, the Ottoman governor, appointed him professor at the Khosrew Pasha *madrasa* and teacher of his children. After being accepted among the *mudjtahid-yn Rūm*, he then also met with recognition by the Porte. He died over 80 years old in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 979/April-May 1572.

He was originally a follower of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, becoming later a Ḥanafī also, he had a certain inclination towards mysticism. He wrote numerous annotations and commentaries of well-known works on philosophy, astronomy, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. His few experiments as a poet met with no approval, but his *Mu'ālidj al-aḥadīth wa-murāḥil al-aḥādīth*, a universal history in Persian, dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Selīm II (974-82/1566-74) on the occasion of his accession to the throne, became widely known. The work consists of ten chapters, and is a compilation from fifty Arabic, Persian and a few Turkish works, which are mentioned in the preface. Possibly between 974/1566-7 and 976/1570, Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn (d. 1008/1599 [see KHŌDJA EFENDI]) undertook, at the order of the Grand Vizier, an adaptation in Turkish of the first also chapters. He left out the tenth chapter, on the Ottomans; as is well-known, they were the subject of his own work, the *Tādj al-tawārīkh*. In the 19th century, the official historiographer Es'ad Efendi [see ES'AD EFENDI, ḲARAḤİSĀRLI-ZĀDE EṢ'AD EFENDI MEHMED] also made a partial translation.

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(H. Sohaweide)

LĀRIDA, name denoting, in Arabic texts, the former Ilerda, an episcopal see currently Lérida, provincial capital in Spain to the west of Barcelona, on the Segre

It was a district ('*amal*) centre of the Upper March (*al-Thaghr al-a'lā*) to which other towns and a large number of fortified strongholds were subordinate. Situated on a fertile plain, it is surrounded by numerous gardens and orchards. One of its main sources of wealth was constituted by the plantations of fine quality flax which were farmed commercially throughout the March. There used to be gold in large quantities in the river of Lārida. The district included rich farmlands on the banks of the Cinca (*nahr al-sīnka*) with olive groves and vineyards. There were numerous agricultural estates (*diyā'*) comprising cereal and pasture land. Al-Ḥumayrī notes as a special feature the fact that each rural grouping (*day'a*) had at its disposal a fortified look-out tower (*burdj*), or underground galleries (*sirdāb*) where the farmers could take refuge in the event

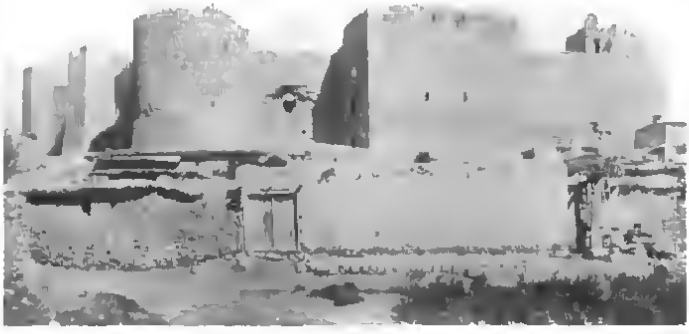

Fig. 1 Citadel or Içkale. Late 16th century. General view, prior to restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem, Geneva)

Fig. 2. Citadel. Re-used 14th century stone-carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978)

Fig 3 *Madrasa* of the Amir Mūsā (ca 1340). (F Sarre, courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum)

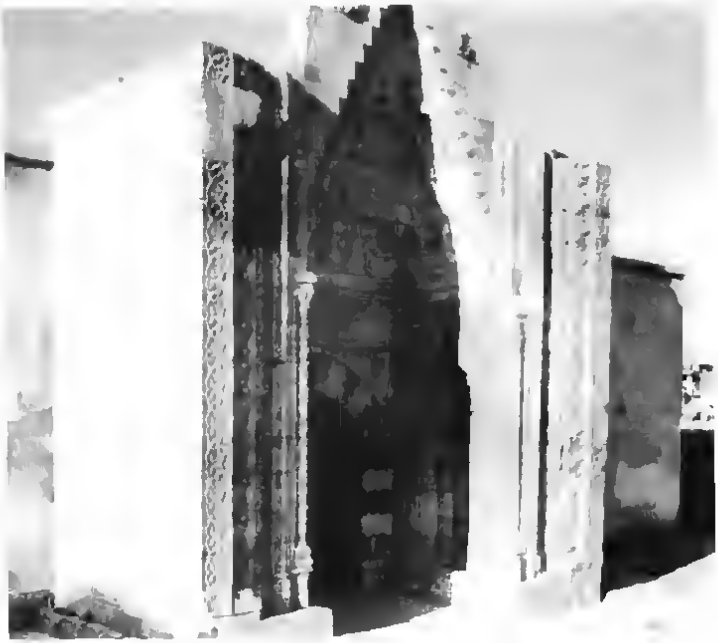

Fig 4 Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2) Main entrance (J M Rogers 1978)

Fig. 5 Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Interior Door frame and *wakfiyya* excerpt before restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem)

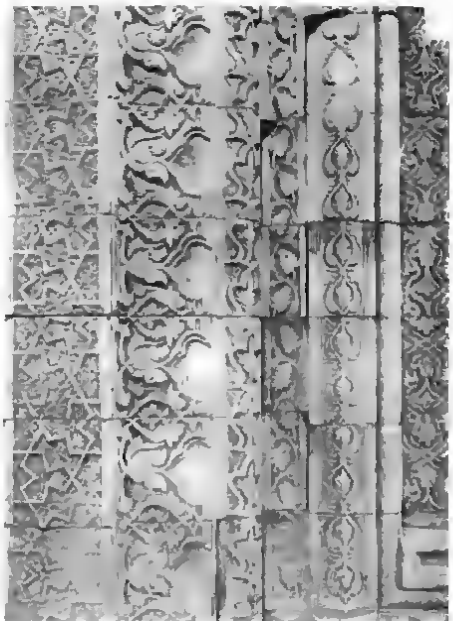

Fig. 6 Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Façade before restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Fondation Max Van Berchem)

Fig 7 Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Detail of marble carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig 8 Sivahser or Karabaş Veli (*ca.* 1460) Interior (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 9, Siyahser or Karabaş Veli (ca 1460) Ruined canopy mausoleum (J. M. Rogers, 1978)

Fig. 10. *'Imāret* of Ibrāhim Beg (836/1432) General view (J. M. Rogers, 1978)

Fig. 11 *'Imāret* of Ibrāhim Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum Entrance (F. Sarre courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum)

Fig. 12. *'Imārat* of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum. Moulded plaster cenotaphs (F. Sarre Museum)

Fig 13. 'Alā' al-Dīn Türbe (14th century) General view. (F. Sarre, 9002 Museum)

Fig 14. 'Alā' al-Dīn Türbe (14th century) Entrance. (F. Sarre, 9003 Museum)

of attack. Situated on the main strategic route of the Upper March, Lārida was an obligatory transit point of armies and a site of the utmost importance in the defensive system of the Marches. Conquered by the Muslims at some time after the capture of Saragossa and Tarragona (where inhabitants capitulated without resistance, if al-Rāzī is to be believed), the territory of Lārida underwent pillage and destruction, in the 2nd/8th century, at the hands of Franks—the armies of Louis—and of Cis-Pyrenean Christians and renegades. Governed by *walīs* granted military prerogatives on account of its distance from Cordova, it succeeded on many occasions in eluding the authority of the *amīrs*. The Banū Kasī, the Banū Mūsā or Banū Lubb on the one hand, the Banū ʿAmrūs, and the Banū Shabrīṭ or Banū Ṭawīl, on the other, as well as the Banū ʾl-Muḥājir or Tuǰībīs [*qq.v.*], dominate the entire history of Lārida and its region in the 3rd-4th/9-10th centuries.

The name of Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Kāsī who, in 270/883-4, reconstructed and fortified Lārida and its surrounding territory, deserves a special mention. His sons were obliged, in *ca.* 277/890, to fight against Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl of Huesca, who vied with them for possession of the Barbitania (Barbastro and Litera, in the Ribagorza). The *walīs* of Lārida, with their own troops or with reinforcements from Cordova, fought on more than one occasion with the Christians of Pallars and of the Barcelona region. The superb Grand Mosque built by Lubb b. Muḥammad b. Kasī in the upper part of the fortress dates from the beginning of the 4th/10th century. In the final third of the 4th/10th century, the role of *ḥāʾid* appears to have been occupied by Rashīd al-Barghawāṭī, who was instructed to restore to Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Tuǰībī the district of Lārida, which continued to be controlled by his family for a number of years. In the 5th/11th century, the fate of Lārida and its region was linked to that of the Arab family of the Banū Hūd [see HŪDIDS], who in 431/1039 replaced the Tuǰībī family in controlling the valley of the Ebro and in the *ṭāʾifas* of Saragossa and Lārida. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muẓaffar—like the *ḥāǧib* Munḏhir at a later stage—governed the town, from a time prior to the death of his father [438/1046] and was in disagreement with his brother Aḥmad al-Muktadir of Saragossa, who held him responsible for the loss of Barbastro in 456/1064 [see ʿABBĀDIDS]. Under the control of members of the family of the Banū Hūd, sometimes dependent on Saragossa and in a precarious state in the 6th/12th century in the face of the Christian advance, the town survived under the authority of *walīs*. It was compelled, when the fortresses of the defensive perimeter were taken, and Armengol VI of Urgel and Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona entered into alliance with other Catalan chieftains, to capitulate on 19 Djumādā II 544/24 October 1149, when it was at that time being governed by the *walī* al-Muẓaffar b. Sulaymān.

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LARIN (P., *Lārī*), a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the 16th and 17th centuries. It takes its name from the town of Lār [*q.v.*], the capital of Lāristān at which it was first struck, of Pedro Texeira (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc., London 1902, 342) "There is also the city of Lar whence are called Iaris, a money of the finest silver, very well drawn and current throughout the East", and Sir Thomas Herbert speaking of Lār in 1627 (*Some years' travels*, London 1665, 130) "near this bycar the larnes are coyned, a famous sort of money" The larin weighed about 74 grains (4·9 grammes) and had a high reputation for the purity of its silver. It was worth ten pence in English money (Hechert) or one-fifth of a French crown (Tavernier) or to Portuguese reis

The larin is in shape quite unlike any other coin. It is a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side with inscriptions from dies like any other coin. It is admirably described by William Barret in his account of the moneys of Basra in 1594 (Hakluyt, *Principal voyages*, Glasgow 1904, vi, 12): "The said larins is a strange piece of money, not being round like all other current money of Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather where with we use to write and in length about one eighth part thereof, which is so wrested that the two ends meet at the iuste halfe part and in the head thereof there is a stamp Turkesco and these be the best current money in all the Indices and six of the larines make a ducate".

The kingdom of Lār ceased to issue these coins after its conquest by Shāh ʿAbbās the Great of Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, iii, 128), but its popularity led to this type of coin being adopted by other states of the Indian Ocean. The kings of Hormuz of the latter half of the 16th century issued larins, as did the Shāhs of Persia at Shīrāz and the Ottoman Sultans at Basra. In India, they

were struck in the 17th century by the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bījāpūr and other rulers, and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there. In the Maldive Islands in the early 17th century, the king struck his own larins, as we know from the *Voyage* of F. Pyrard de Laval (Hakluyt Soc., 1887, i, 230 sq.). In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the natives but also by the Portuguese merchants of Colombo, in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money. These pieces are either unscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script. In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the 18th century. A degenerate descendant of the larin existed till recently (H. St. J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii, 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Hasā, where it is known as a *fawīla*, i.e. the "long" [coin]. It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. It is described by Palgrave (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, ii, 179) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Hasā *fawīl*", applied to any one who, like the local currency, is of no use away from home. H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, still registers in his *Glossary*, 643, the *fawīl* as a copper bar coin current in Hasā.

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LARISSA (see VENIZELOS).

LAS BELA, a former native state of the British Indian empire. It lies in the south-east of Balūčistān, along the coast to the west of Karachi, between lats. 24° 54′ and 26° 39′ N. and longs. 64° 7′ and 67° 29′ E. It is bounded on the west by Makrān [*q.v.*] (of which western Las Bēla forms indeed a part), on the north by the Jhalāwān district of the former Kalāt native state [see KALĀT] and on the east by the former province of Sind. Its area, both as a former native state and as a modern District of Pakistan (see below) is 6,441 sq. miles.

1. Geography. The central part of the state is a flat, arid plain (*las* = "plain"), but in the western part of the state there is the Makrān coastal range running parallel to the sea, and ranges like the Mor and Pab ones run north-southwards in the eastern part of the state and separate Las Bēla from the lower Indus plains. The central lowland area is drained by the Porāli, Titīvān and other streams, and it is here that the main settlements lie. Much of the terrain of Las Bēla is desolate and scrub-covered, and because of the exiguous rainfall [7″/17.5 cm. per annum], agriculture depends essentially on irrigation from floods coming down from the hills after the summer rains; this water is collected by dams across watercourses, and *kārīz* [see KANĀT] are used for conveying water to fields. The coastal population depends on a small amount of coastal navigation, and especially on fishing, the whole Makrān coastland being known in classical times as one in habited by Ichthyophagoi, with the suppression of piracy in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea during the 19th century, these fisheries expanded considerably, and salted fish was exported from the Makrān coasts as far as Zanzibar, Bombay and the Malabar coast.

2. Ethnography. The main Lasi tribes claim descent from the Sūmrā and Samma former rulers of Sind, and seem from their names (cf. the frequent element *putra*) to be of Indian Rājput origin. Las Bēla being the only part of Makrān where an originally Indian ethnic element has apparently maintained itself against the Balūč incomers. There are five principal tribal confederations, of which the Rōndjha held the chieftainship of Bēla before 1742, and the Djāmots after them. A group called the Gadrās, of negroid features, clearly descend from an imported slave population, and another low-caste group is constituted by the Langas, mainly employed as domestic servants. The overwhelming majority of the population is Sunnī Muslim in faith, with some Khōdja Ismā'īlī traders in the towns. The worship of local *pīrs* or saints is widespread, with especially important shrines, formerly visited by Hindus from quite distant parts of the subcontinent as well as by Muslims, at Hinglādj, Shāh Bilāwal and Lāhūt-i Lāmakān. Three-quarters of the population speak the Djadgālī or Djadgālī (lit. "Djat language") form of Sindhī, but Makrānī Balūčī is spoken generally in the west and Brahūī in the extreme north.

3. History. Las Bēla has virtually no separate history before the 18th century, for the history of the region before then, see in general MAKRĀN. Alexander the Great must, however, have passed through what became Las Bēla when in 326 B.C. he left Pattala on the lower Indus and marched westwards via the land of the Oreitae to Gedrosia or Makrān and then Persia.

Various local tribes exercised power in Las Bēla until in 1742 a Djām 'Alī of the Djāmot tribe (see above) established his authority there with the help of a Brahūī force from the ruler of Kalāt Mahabbat Khān; the chieftainship henceforth remained with this family, who were known by the Rājput title, formerly used in Sind, of Djām but who came to claim a spurious descent from the Arab tribe of Kuraysh. Las Bēla thus became a dependency of Kalāt, whose Khān at first drew half the revenues of Bēla as his share and later required on occasion a troop contingent in lieu, also, Las Bēla's southern frontier adjoining Jhalāwān remained for long undefined. Henry Pottinger passed through Bēla in 1810 and found that town enjoying considerable prosperity under the benevolent rule of Djām Mīr Khān I (1776-1812); a colony of 250-300 Hindu merchant families carried on trade there (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 14 sq.). It was during this Djām's reign that conflict arose over the Makrān port of Gwādar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which had been transferred to the sultans of 'Umān in 1784 by Mīr Nasīr Khān of Kalāt, but captured at one point by Mīr Khān I. In the middle decades of the 19th century, Djām Mīr Khān II (1830-69), who was beginning his reign as a child when Charles Masson was in Bēla in the 1830s (*Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 27-128, 253-30), came to covet the territories of his father in law Khudādād Khān of Kalāt, and allied on various occasions from 1843 onwards with the Khān of Khārān [*q.v.*] in north-western Balučistān and the Brahūī *sardārs* or chiefs of Jhalāwān. After 1869 he lost the chieftainship of Las Bēla, however, and was an exile in British India, his son and ultimate successor as Djām 'Alī Khān III in 1878 recognised the suzerainty of Kalāt

in the general settlement at Mastung arranged by Sir Robert Sandeman (T. H. Thornton, *Col. Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 46). Irreconcilable disputes within Las Bela broke out between father and son, with Djām ʿAlī Khān exiled to Quetta in 1886. When Djām Mīr Khān II died in 1888 Sir Robert Sandeman then Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistān, in 1889 installed Djām ʿAlī Khān III in Bela (*ibid.*, 199-203). After this latter ruler's death in 1896, there were disputes among his sons, but Djām Mīr Kamāl Khān assumed the chieftainship, and in the ensuing decades, events in Las Bela were less eventful.

After British India was partitioned, Las Bela, like Kalāt and Khārān, acceded to Pakistan (1948), and after 1952 became part of the Baluchistān States Union, with the Djām no longer an independent ruler but receiving a privy purse from the central government. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, with Las Bela as a District of Kalāt Division under a Deputy Commissioner, but after 1960 Las Bela District was transferred to Karachi Division. According to the 1961 census, Las Bela District had a population of 90,826, excluding non-Pakistanis, and the town of Bela one of 3,139 (*Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census report*, Las Bela, Karachi n.d.)

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article) *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], vi, 280, xvi, 144-9; *Baluchistan District gazetteer series* viii. *Las Bela*, Allahabad 1907; M. Longworth Dames, *EI*[1] art. *Balūčistān*.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LASHKAR, the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *ʿaskar*, *djund* [*q.vv.*], or *djaysh* [*q.v.*], and the term normally used by the Indian Muslim rulers for army. Though armies were generally organised according to the Perso-Turkish military traditions of the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūkids, Mongol traditions were also assimilated later into the subsequent plans for the reorganisation of the *lashkar*.

Composition and organisation. The *lashkar* of the Dihlī Sultāns that of the 9th/15th century provincial dynasties, and that of the Mughals was divided into the cavalry, infantry and the elephant corps, the cavalry forming its backbone following the Ghaznawid, Ghurid and Saldjūkid traditions, both the Sultāns and the Mughal emperors maintained a multi-racial professional cavalry, not neglecting to include even the leaders of the Hindu racial and ethnic groups.

In the 7th/13th century, the Dihlī cavalry, or the standing army at the capital, was variously known as the *lashkar-i khāṣṣ*, *afwādj-i khāṣṣ*, *khāṣṣ-i sultānī*, or simply *khāṣṣ*. Some Sultāns also recruited a slave corps personally loyal to themselves, but they invariably proved disastrous to their successors. The *ghulāms* (king's body guards) performed both military and police duties and were counted as members of the military force. Apart from the *khāṣṣ*, the *iṭlāʿ* [*q.v.*]-holders also recruited cavalry from the regions in which they were posted, or from the garrisons under their command. The army of the *iṭlāʿ*-holders was known as the *lashkar-i aṭrāf*, or later, as the *lashkar-i bilād-i mamālik*.

A separate army was kept at strategic points, both in old and newly built forts along the River Indus in order to stop the Mongol incursions. Sultān Balban [*q.v.* in Suppl.] built strong forts even at Djalālī, Patiyālī, and in other predominantly Hindū areas east and north of Dihlī, in order to open up roads and communication with Oudh *via* Awadh [*q.v.*]. He manned these forts with Afghāns, who were given fertile land to farm. The commanders of the forts remained as *iṭlāʿ*-holders, but the soldiers were encouraged to develop a personal interest in the land as landowners.

Bughrā Khān, a son of Balban, is said to have informed his own son Kaykubad, who succeeded his grandfather Balban as the Sultān of Dihlī, that a *sar khayl* should be in control of ten horsemen; a *sipah-sālār* should command ten *sar-khayls*; an *amīr* should be a commander of ten *sipah-sālārs*; a *malik* should have authority over ten *amīrs*, and a *khān*'s forces should control contingents of ten *maliks* (cf. Diyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-2, 145). This is not to say, however, that the armies were organised according to a decimal system, but it was an ideal which the Sultāns wished to implement, because of their growing awareness of the decimal chain into which the Mongol army was divided. Sultān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, however, did re-organise his army on that basis, and the Tughluks are known to have continued the decimal system, for we are told by al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* that, in Muhammad b. Tughluk's reign, the *khān* commanded 10,000 horsemen, the *malik* 1,000, the *amīr* 100, and the *sipah-sālār* less than 100.

The head of the military administration was known as the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, or the *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i ʿarḍ* [see ʿĀRIḌ, ʿARḌ]. As a minister, he was second only to the *wazīr* or the Prime Minister. In the reign of Balban, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was known by the title *rāwat-i ʿarḍ*, the first word being of Hindī origin. Amīr Khusraw's maternal grandfather, ʿImād al-Mulk (pillar of the state), was Balban's *rāwat-i ʿarḍ*, and had a very keen sense of his responsibility. Later, in Firūz Shāh's reign, the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was given the title ʿImād al-Mulk.

The *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was the principal recruiting officer for the Sultān's standing army (*lashkar-i khāṣṣ*). He inspected the armaments and horses of the cavalry at least once a year, kept their descriptive rolls (*ḥulyat*), and recommended promotions or punishments accordingly. The *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik* was also responsible for the internal organisation and the discipline of the *lashkar-i khāṣṣ* and the commissariat. The leading *iṭlāʿ* holders appointed their own personal *ʿāriḍs*.

Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] tells us how the *ʿāriḍs* assistants were required to note down the name and *ḥulyat* of both the troopers and the foot-soldiers. As an inspection of the army was invariably held before its march to a campaign, the *ʿāriḍ* on such occasions was not expected to be too harsh, for disheartened troopers, according to Fakhr-i Mudabbir, were not very dependable (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa*, ed. A.S. Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1966, 276-8).

It would seem that the system of *dāgh* (branding of horses) which was known in the reign of the Ghaznawids had been abandoned by Iltutmish. It was reintroduced by Sultān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, but Sultān Firūz Tughluk abolished the practice, as well as that of recording *ḥulyats*. The latter was reintroduced once again by Sikandar Lōdī, while Shīr Shāh also made *dāgh* compulsory (see DĀGH U TASHĪA in Suppl.).

A remarkable change took place in the military organisation when Akbar introduced his monolithic military and civil service organisation, known as *manṣabdārī*. Although the system became more complex in

the reign of Shāhdjahān, the basic framework of the *manṣabdārī* system as instituted by Akbar endured. According to the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the Emperor divided the *manṣab* (rank) of the *manṣabdārs* from the *dah-bāshī* (commander of ten) to *dah hazārī* (10,000), reserving commands of 5,000 and above for his own sons. He intended to limit the *manṣabs* to sixty-six, representing the value of letters in the name of Allāh, but in fact there were only ever thirty-three grades. Akbar himself relaxed the rule about higher ranks, promoting Prince Salīm to a *manṣab* of 12,000 and two nobles to the ranks of 7,000. All *manṣabdārs* were required to maintain horsemen, horses, elephants, camels and carts, as fixed by their respective *manṣabs*. By 1016/1607 the *manṣabs* were divided into *dhāt* and *sawār* and the institutions of *yak-aspah*, *dū aspah* and *sih aspah* were also introduced. *Manṣabdārs* of the rank of 500 were called *amīrs* and those holding higher ranks were given other appropriate titles. Later in Shāhdjahān's reign, only those who held the rank of 1,000 were known as *omirs* (rendered as *Omrahs* by Bernier and other foreign authors).

The personal rank of *manṣabdārs* called *dhāt* was meant for calculating one's salary according to the sanctioned pay scale, and the *sawār* rank indicated the number of troopers and horses the *manṣabdārs* were ordered to maintain, for example, a *manṣabdār* with a *sawār* rank of 5,000 was ordinarily required to produce 1,000 horsemen at muster. Troopers who were required to provide one horse were called *yak-aspah*, while those who undertook to provide two horses were called *dū-aspah*. Those obliged to provide three were known as *sih-aspah*. The *manṣabdārs'* and *amīrs'* contingents contained all three types of troopers proportionate to the salaries they drew. Salaries were not allowed for the full twelve months, some drew them for much shorter periods. For example, a *manṣabdār* with a *sawār* rank of 5,000 drawing his salary for twelve months was required to muster a contingent of 1,000 troopers, of whom 300 were *sih-aspah*, 600 *dū-aspah* and 100 *yak-aspah*, i.e. a contingent containing 2,200 horses. If, on the other hand, he were to draw his salary for only five months in a year, he would need to muster only *yak-aspahs*.

The contingents of the *manṣabdārs* were multi-racial, the number of recruits of different martial races being predetermined. Only the Rādjpūts and Mughals were allowed to recruit troopers exclusively from their own racial groups and tribes.

Troopers wishing to enter the army had first to find a patron who generally belonged to the same race as himself, but as the empire expanded, the racial exclusiveness of the *manṣabdar*'s contingents broke down. The candidates had to furnish their own horses of a standard breed, as well as armaments, but the patron *manṣabdārs* also gave them horses for which deductions were made from the troopers' salary. The *manṣabdārs'* troopers were known as their *khānazād* ("followers").

The appointments of the *manṣabdārs* from the lowest to the highest rank were approved by the emperor, and all of them were technically speaking directly subordinate to him. The head of the military administration was called the *mīr bakhshī*, the Mughal name given to the *'ariḍ-i mamālik*. The *mīr bakhshī* also held the status of a minister, and in that capacity was next to the prime minister. However, even the ministers' contingents were examined by the *mīr-bakhshī*'s department and, the fact that their salary depended on the maintenance of those contingents meant that even the prime minister's salary was dependent on the *mīr bakhshī*'s approval. The *bakhshī*'s department also recorded the descriptive roll (*ṣīghra*) of the *manṣabdārs*, their troopers and horses. The breeds and the quality of their horses were examined and those that were approved were branded with different marks (*dāgh*). A muster of troopers and horses was held periodically for physical checking and verification (*tashīha*). Those who failed to muster their troops forfeited their pay or were heavily fined. The *mīr bakhshī* was assisted by two other *bakhshīs* who helped to check the evasion of rules, and to prevent fraud. The Mughal government, which depended mainly on the troopers of the *manṣabdārs* for their conquests and for the suppression of rebellions, remained efficient only so long as the monarchs were strong. Unfortunately, under the incompetent Mughal emperors who succeeded Awrangzīb the government began to disintegrate.

There was a second group of troopers, superior to the *khānazān*, who were known as *aḥadīs* (from *aḥad*, "one"). An *amīr* was commissioned especially to introduce suitable candidates for the *aḥadī* ship, and a separate *bakhshī* was assigned to examine their horses, brand them, and compile their descriptive rolls. The *aḥadīs'* salaries were some 75% higher than those of the *khānazān*, and their horses and arms were thus of a superior kind. During Akbar's reign, the *aḥadīs* acted as his immediate servants. They were also assigned to non-military duties. The *wala shāhī* ("belonging to the exalted king"), referred to as the "emperor's slaves" by Manucci, worked as bodyguards or defenders of the imperial person, and were also picked from amongst the *aḥadīs*.

Another category of horsemen were known as *bārgīr sawārs*. They neither owned horses nor were enrolled as *khānazān*. However, as they were fit for cavalry service, in times of emergency they were provided with horses and went into action. They were not however, part of the regular cavalry.

Abu 'l-Faḍl also makes mention of a large army consisting of 384,558 cavalrymen maintained by the *sawārdārs* [q.v.]. Some *sawārdārs* made their contingents available to the emperors for suppressing rebellions, they also kept their localities free from robbers, and performed police duties in the villages, but in no way did this big army form a part of the Mughal regular fighting forces.

The foot-soldiers who were maintained within their infantry contingents by the Dihlī Sulṭāns were known as *pīyāde*, and were mostly Hindūs. They were good archers and were generally arrayed in front of the lines of horses, or around the elephants in order to prevent them from fleeing. As body guards and palace-guards of the emperors and princes the *pīyāde* were deeply loyal to their masters and are known to have rendered singular services to Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. Shēr Shāh presented them with matchlocks, and Akbar's infantry contained 12,000 matchlockbearers (see ASAGE, vi. India). They were divided into four grades with different salaries. Akbar also recruited into the infantry a caste of Hindū highway robbers called *māwīs*, and named them *khidmatiyya* as (serving men). Their officer was called the Khidmat Rāy. The *khidmatiyya* were required to guard the palace and to control highway robbery. Members of many other hill tribes and Hindū martial clans were also induced to join the Mughal infantry. The matchlockmen and the archers formed a formidable corps of the Mughal army. For administrative purposes, Akbar used to assign contingents of foot-soldiers, paid by the imperial treasury, to some high *manṣabdārs*. They were

known as *piyāda-i dakkhīs* and were classified as *nīma-sawārān* (half troopers) in the descriptive rolls. One-fourth of the *dakkhīs* foot-soldiers, used matchlocks, and the rest were archers.

Auxiliary tradesmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths cotton carders stonemasons, leather workers firework makers, turners, diggers, miners, axemen, farriers, and *kahārs* (bearers of different kinds of litters) were also classed as infantry Indispensable as they were for constructing defensive works, pontoon bridges and helping in siege operations they were also included in the infantry and trained in swordsmanship in order to defend themselves in these of need

Elephants imported from India formed a formidable corps of the Ghaznawid army (see FIL. As beasts of war and (HARB v Persia) The Dihlī Sultans were also highly impressed with the utility of elephants in war Balban considered each elephant as equal to 500 horsemen, and the Dihlī Sulṭāns lost no opportunity in obtaining the choicest elephants for their *pīlkhāna* (elephant stables) They also strove to keep those areas that supplied the best elephants such as Bengal and Deccan, in their possession. One hundred and twenty war-elephants arrayed against Timūr's army by the feeble Tughluk Sulṭan are known to have struck panic even into that world conqueror's army (see also HARB vi India)

Elephants were an asset to the army in battering the gates of strongholds The warriors shot arrows or matchlocks from their positions on the elephants' back, the commanders who were seated on the elephants could be seen from a distance by the rest of the army and were able to instil confidence into their soldiers. However, when panic-stricken, or severely wounded, the elephants became uncontrollable and would often trample their own army underfoot.

The Muslim rulers in India did not neglect the artillery (see NĀRŪN. vi. India) The Deccan Sulṭāns of India, who had close contact with the Ottoman Turks, were pioneers in establishing firearm factories. The Gujarāt Sulṭāns followed their example, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Bahādur Shāh made good use of the Turkish gunners in their service. Bābur, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, secured a decisive victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī, mainly due to the efficiency of his artillery In India, he took a keen interest in having heavy guns cast by those gunners trained under the Ottoman Sulṭāns who were now in his service. Akbar also took a personal interest in casting guns, and recruited even Portuguese to develop his artillery Many new types of guns were invented by the Persian Fatḥ-Allāh Shīrāzī in Akbar's reign. From the middle of the 11th/17th century, European adventurers drawing exceptionally high salaries began to hold superior positions in the artillery of the Mughals and other rulers. In the 12th/18th century, the British and French gunners made radical improvements in the casting of cannons and heavy guns but the blacksmiths invariably remained Indians

All the heavy guns were given pompous names, and some of them were so heavy that it took as many as twenty oxen to haul and several elephants to push them Naturally, they could not cross boat-bridges and were only with great difficulty transported along the rugged routes. The light artillery consisted of several types of guns, variously known as *gajnāl* or *hatnāl* (guns transported on elephants), *shuturnāl*, *zambūrak* and *shāhīn* (swivel gun or wall-piece). A special type of light artillery known as the "artillery of the stirrup", which François Bernier mentions, consisted of "fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and one in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers" (*Travels in the Mogul empire*, ed. A Constable Oxford 1891, 217-18)

The *Dārūgha-i ʿilm-khāna*, or *mīr ātash* ("head of the artillery department"), performed duties similar to those of the *bakhshī* insofar as the recruitment of artillerymen and the supervision of guns were concerned With the growing importance of artillery, the *mīr ātash* in the 12th/18th century became one of the most influential officers of the empire.

The Indo Muslim rulers did not, however, take any interest in developing their navy Maḥmūd of Ghazna is known to have fought against the Djāts in 418/1027 by launching a flotilla of 1,400 boats on the River Indus The Dihlī Sulṭāns used boats provided by Hindū chieftains only for transporting goods and men. The Gujarāt Sulṭāns fought naval battles against the Portuguese. Bābur had enormous boats constructed and Akbar also constructed an impressive flotilla of huge boats some being shaped in the forms of different animals. Bengal, Kashmīr, Thatta, Lahore and Allāhābād were the main boatbuilding centres Akbar also employed seamen, had pilgrim ships built, but was unable to establish a genuine navy Early in Awrangzīb's reign, Mīr Djumla [q.v.] fought successful river battles against the races of Kūch Bihār and Asām, who had complete mastery over their rivers. The only navy that the Muslims possessed belonged to the Habshīs who ruled the rocky island of Djandjīra [q.v. in Suppl.], 45 miles south of Bombay They were most daring seamen, and until 1730 were victorious both against the English and the Marāthās (see further NAVY[1]).

Numbers. The strength of the army of the Dihlī Sulṭāns can only be roughly estimated and many of the figures in the sources seem to be exaggerated. We are told by Mubāḥī-i Sirāǧ-i Dihlawī [q.v.] that in 658/1259, Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd had collected 50,000 troopers and 400,000 foot-soldiers from Dihlī and its vicinity to demonstrate his strength before Hūlāgū's ambassadors. Balban recruited a considerable number of trained soldiers into the corps of the *sawārān-i khāṣ* and made his standing army very strong Troopers in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's army numbered 475,000. Muḥammad b. Tughluk's cavalry is said to have consisted of 900,000 troopers, some being stationed in the capital and the others in the provinces. In 730/1329-30 he is known to have recruited 370,000 troopers for his Khurāsān expedition. The army he sent against Karādjil consisted of 100,000 troops and a large infantry On his first Bengal expedition in 754/1353-4, Fīrūz Tughluk commanded 90,000 troopers. Again, Fīrūz Shāh marched against Bengal with 80,000 troopers, 470 elephants and an exceedingly large number of foot soldiers.

According to Bābur, Ibrāhīm Lōdī had resources enough to have brought into the field 500,000 men, but actually took only 100,000 men and 1000 elephants with him Bābur's army, on the other hand, consisted of only 12,000 men. Humāyun fought the battle of Kanawdj against Shīr Shāh with 100,000 troopers, while Shīr Shāh commanded only half that number.

The total strength of the army of Shīr Shāh consisted of nearly 300,000 horsemen and 100,000 infantry, comprising matchlockmen and archers. Of this army, 150,000 troopers, 25,000 horsemen and 5,000 elephants were commanded by the king himself, the

rest serving at cantonments and in strategic places. The contingents of *iḳṭāʿ* holders were also requisitioned whenever needed.

The Persian sources do not help us in calculating the number of Akbar's *manṣabdārs*, but their number at the Emperor's death, given by De Laet as 2,941, seems approximately correct. According to Father Monserrate, there were "forty five thousand cavalry, five thousand elephants and many thousand infantry, paid directly from the royal treasury" (J.S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerji (trs.), *The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.* Oxford 1922, 89)

Bernier says that the total number of cavalry in India was incredible, but he considered that the effective cavalry commonly about Awrangzīb's person, including that of the *rāǧās* and Afghāns, amounted to 35 or 40,000 which, added to those in the provinces, formed a total of more than 200 000 troopers.

In 1057/1647, Shāhdjahān's army consisted of 8,000 *manṣabdārs*, 7,000 *aḥadī* and *barḳ-andāz* troopers, and 185,000 troopers (*tābīnān*) belonging to the princes, important *umarā* and *manṣabdārs*. This army did not include the troopers under the *faydjdjad* officers. Of the infantry of Shāhdjahān, which included matchlockmen and others who discharged heavy and light artillery, 10,000 were always with the Emperor

Training and physical exercises, and uniforms. Before their admission into service, both the troopers and foot-soldiers had to pass a severe test of their competence. Fakhr-i Mudabbir gives the rules for training horses and for horsemanship in considerable detail, and works on archery as well as swordsmanship have also survived. This same author further discusses the advantage of different kinds of sports such as wrestling boxing, weight-lifting, disc-throwing and fencing for military training, and gives a detailed account of the advantages which the manoeuvering of stick ball and horse in polo offered to the troopers. After entering into service, the soldiers had to maintain rather than improve their military skills through regular physical exercises, horse racing [see RUZ̲ĀNIYYA] and polo [see ČAWGĀN]. Balban took with him 2,000 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers, expert in archery, during his regular hunting expeditions; Fīrūz Tughluk used to array his army in battle formation, even on his hunting expeditions. These expeditions and polo were an indispensable part of the life of the Mughal soldiers, officers, princes and emperors. The military parades and proper battle array were not possible without some training in combined movements, but regular drills of the soldiers do not seem to have been common.

The troopers are not known to have worn any uniforms. In the miniatures depicting the reign of the Mughals, they are seen wearing clothes of different colours, but in the 12th/18th century, some nobles seem to have introduced uniforms. The contingents were generally identified by the special marks with which their horses were branded.

Pay. Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his immediate successors paid their army in cash, but in the 7th/13th century the Dihlī Sulṭāns assigned *iḳṭāʿs* (assignments of revenue of different regions) to their commanders for their personal maintenance and for that of the troops (*lashkar-i ayādī*) under them. Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish assigned the revenue of the villages around the capital and in the Do'āb to the *lashkar-i ḳalb*, and the latter were also called *iḳṭāʿ*-holders. By the time of Balban, the surviving troopers of the *lashkar-i ḳalb* and their descendants had become the hereditary owners of the villages. Balban ordered the resumption of the *iḳṭāʿs* of old men widows and orphans into the *khālisa* [*q.v.*] (= territory whose revenue was reserved for the Sulṭāns' treasury) but later abandoned the scheme for emotional reasons. However, Balban's own *khālisa* had expanded, and he was able to pay his own body-guards and troopers a handsome salary in cash.

The Khaldjīs and the Tughluks reorganised their revenue system and determined the salary of the commanders and their troopers in cash. They then assigned its equivalent in the form of the revenue of territories in lieu of the salary. Al-'Umarī states that the Syrian and Egyptian *iḳṭāʿ* system differed from that of India in the mode of making payment to the troopers. In Egypt and Syria, commanders assigned land directly to their troops instead of salaries, while in India the troopers were paid in cash. 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī resumed all the smaller *iḳṭāʿs* into the *khālisa* and paid cash to his large army, recruited to meet the Mongol threat to his kingdom and to ensure further conquests. Two hundred and thirty-four *tankas* (*q.v.*) were paid annually by the Sulṭān to a well-trained and equipped trooper with one horse 78 *tankas* extra being granted to troopers with two horses. To ensure that the troopers lived satisfactorily on their low salaries, he fixed the prices of all commodities, from horses to articles of daily use, making sure that supplies were not withheld.

Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk also paid his large standing army in cash, and issued strict orders to the *iḳṭāʿ*-holders to refrain from reducing the salaries of troopers fixed by him. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluk made his commanders further dependent upon the local treasuries for their salaries sometimes by appointing his own officers, and sometimes revenue farmers to collect the revenue from the *iḳṭāʿs*. Fīrūz Tughluk made all civil and military posts hereditary and paid them by assigning *iḳṭāʿs*, the revenue from which was known as *waḏīfa*.

The Afghāns found Fīrūz's policy highly compatible with their own tribal system, and assigned hereditary *iḳṭāʿs* to their commanders, who in turn sub-assigned smaller areas to their subordinates, who then paid the troopers by making similar sub-assignments. However, the monthly salary of ordinary troopers was fixed and the *iḳṭāʿs* were granted to the commanders on the basis of the total number of troopers and their monthly salary. Shīr Shāh, who in his youth had managed his own father's sub-assignment, was fully conversant with the abuses of the system. He reverted to the system of 'Alā' al-Dīn and paid his standing army in cash, personally supervising the recruitment and the fixation of the soldiers' salaries, which were paid in cash. Fraudulent practices were eradicated by making payment only to those whose horses were branded. The big *iḳṭāʿs* corresponding to provinces were managed by the Afghān tribal chiefs, but they were also ordered strictly to enforce the central government regulations in their respective administrative charges, including monthly cash payments to the troopers and the branding of horses.

Akbar and his successors paid their *manṣabdārs* mostly by assigning them revenue from territories, called by the Mughals *djāgīr* (*q.v.*), although the term *iḳṭāʿ* was also used. Some *manṣabdārs* were paid in cash, others partly in cash and partly in *djāgīr*. The salary schedules of *manṣabdārs* were carefully prepared on the basis of their *ẕāt* and *sawār* ranks

(including *dū-aspah* and *sih-aspah*) [see further MANṢABDĀR] The available pay certificates of the *manṣabdārs* of Shāhdjahān's reign explicitly mention the amount of salary which they were allowed to draw to maintain themselves, their families and their personal establishments (*khāṣṣ*), and the amount meant to be paid to the *tābīnān*. For example, in 1060/1650, Rā'o Karan was allowed to draw 4,700,000 *dāms* for his *dhāt* rank of 2,300 and 16,000 *dāms* for *sībāh* in his *sawār* rank of 2,000. His fixed salary totalling 20,700,000 *dāms* was to be drawn from the revenue of *parganās* (*q.v.*) mentioned in the certificate (*Selected documents of Shāhdjahān's reign*, Daftar Dīwānī Haydarābād 1950, 176 f). In Shāhdjahān's reign, the *manṣabdārs* from 5,000 to the lowest rank were subdivided into three grades in their *dhāt* rank, the *manṣabdārs* of the first grade drawing the highest salary.

The salary of the troopers was fixed according to the breed of horses they maintained. According to the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* a *yak-aspah* trooper was paid according to the following rates: If his horse was an 'Irāḳī, he received 30 rupees *per mensem*; if *mughannas* (nearly equal to 'Irāḳī, half breed), 25 rupees, if Turkī, 20 rupees, if a *yābū* (the Indian-bred offspring of Turkī horses), 18 rupees, if a Tāzī (Indian cross Arab breed inferior to *yābū*), 15 rupees and if a *djanglā* (Indian-bred, inferior to *tazī*), 12 rupees. According to Bernier, early in the reign of Awrangzīb the troopers with one horse did not draw a salary of less than 25 rupees per month. However, the *manṣabdārs* could pay an even higher salary, and in order to attract efficient troopers into their service many *manṣabdārs* did so. Manucci strongly criticises discrepancies in payments to troopers, some of whom received 20 to 30 rupees, others forty, fifty, or a hundred. This inconsistency can be ascribed partly to the fact that Manucci's comments relate to the last years of Awrangzīb's reign, and partly to the fact that he does not appreciate the fact that troopers maintaining more than one horse naturally received a higher salary.

The *manṣabdārs* were authorised to deduct 5% from the salary of the *tābīnān* for miscellaneous administrative charges. A further deduction of one month's salary was made annually for the cost of horse and equipment supplied by the government to the troopers until the amount of the loan was paid off. The price of a trooper's horse charged by the government used to be 50% higher than their cost price but since the government bought horses at competitive prices, the troopers did not suffer any loss, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl.

The *manṣabdārs*, *tābīnān* and other government servants received rewards for their good work in the form of increments in salaries, cash prizes and additions to the *djāgīrs*. Akbar introduced the system of granting loans to officers for their urgent needs. A rate of interest which doubled the original loan in ten years was charged. This usury was known as *musā'adat* ("assistance"). The *manṣabdārs* who violated the rules and neglected their duties, for example by failing to muster horses of the breed for which they drew salaries, or by omitting to produce the number of horses stipulated for their *sawār* rank, were fined according to a fixed schedule. Checks and counterchecks were introduced to prevent defalcation of government money through a machinery of rules and regulations requiring close co-ordination between the state departments and the department of the *mīr bakhshī*.

Since the armies of both the Dihlī Sulṭāns and the Mughals were paid by the state, they were not entitled to receive the four-fifths of the *ghanīma* (booty) sanctioned by the Sharī'a. Fīrūz Tughluḳ is known to have distributed the portion of the *ghanīma* taken at Djādjnagar and Akbar took only one fifth into the imperial treasury, requesting the officers (*fawdjdārs* (*q.v.*)) to distribute the rest equitably amongst the army. However, as the booty gained by the *fawdjdārs* in local wars was never very great, the amount received by the troops was minimal.

Horses and elephants. The Indian Muslim rulers maintained the superiority of their cavalry, not only by acquiring superior breeds of horses through sea and land routes, but also by devoting their full attention to improving Indian horse breeds. From the Persian Gulf, Bahrayn and the ports of the coast of southern Arabia were imported 'Irāḳī, Persian Syrian and Arab horses. Overland trade brought in Tātārī or Central Asian horses from the territories living between the steppelands of southern Russia and the Oxus. The horses from Ghazna to Peshāwar compared favourably with these animals. The territories between the eastern Panḏjāb to north-western India, and from north-eastern India to upper Burma, contained the best horse-breeding grounds, although horses from these areas were considered inferior to those imported from foreign lands, and were sold at a lower price. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says "The people of India do not buy them [horses] for [their qualities in] running or racing, because they themselves wear coats of mail in battle and they cover their horses with armour, and what they prize in these horses is strength and length of pace. The horses that they want for racing are brought to them from al-Yaman, 'Umān and Fārs, and each of those horses is sold at from one to four thousand [silver] *dīnārs* (*Riḥla* ii, 374, tr. Gibb, ii, 479). This same author states here that the price of the cheapest Tātārī horse in Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's reign was 100 silver *dīnārs* while the exceptional ones were sold for 500. Racehorses were therefore very dear.

Akbar reorganised the purchase of horses of foreign breeds by providing improved living conditions for the merchants and the horses they came to sell. Horses from 'Irāḳ, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Turkistān, Badakhshān, Shiwān, the lands of the Kirghiz, Tibet and Kashmīr were acquired for the imperial stables. Soon, Indian breeding techniques were so greatly improved that the Indian horses could hardly be distinguished from 'Irāḳī or Persian breeds. Among the new horse-breeding regions, Kačch began to produce horses which exceed the Arab imports. Horses from the region between the Indus and the Djhelum were similar to those from 'Irāḳ. The horses in Akbar's stables numbered 12,000, the imperial stables were classified into several categories and the quantity of the beasts' fodder, the quality of their outfits, and the salaries of officers and servants appointed to look after them were fixed.

Under the Dihlī Sulṭāns, the superintendent of the royal horses was known as the *ākhūrbeg*, there being one for each wing of the army. Under the Mughals, this officer was known as the *dārōghā* or *ākhtabīgī*. Akbar appointed a noble of 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān's (*q.v.*) status as the *dārōghā Manṣabdārs* from the rank of 5,000 down to the senior *ahadīs* were appointed as the *dārōghas* (superintendents) of different stables. A big staff, which included senior officers on the list of *ahadīs*, was appointed to carry out miscellaneous duties related

to the maintenance and improvement of the stables [see FARRĀSH, v. India].

The Ghūrid conquest of India was achieved by the exploits of the cavalry. The elephants in the *pīlkhāna* (elephant stables) were acquired mainly as booty. However, it was after the Deccan conquests that the *pīlkhāna* of Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī came to consist of ca. 1,000 war-elephants. The numbers increased during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, and the elephants seem to have been bought even from Ceylon. Fīrūz also added to the number of elephants in his stable, but under his successors they were rapidly lost, to the extent that the last Tughluḳ Sulṭān faced Timūr with only 120 war-elephants. In Akbar's reign, elephants were hunted in the forests of Āgra and Allāhābād provinces, besides being acquired from Bengal and Orissa. The best elephants were to be found in the forests of Panna, near Būndī in Rādjasthān. Djahāngīr seized 69 elephants from Gudjarāt, but they could be bought from all over India; in Shāhdjahān's reign, the first white elephant was bought from Pegu. Akbar introduced the breeding of elephants, abandoning the ancient superstitious belief that to do so was unlucky, and his successors continued to follow his lead. He also classified elephants into seven categories, and framed rules for their feeding and general improvement.

Under the Dihlī Sulṭāns, the *shaḥna-yi fīl* was the supreme head of the *pīlkhāna*. Again, there was one for each army wing, and the *shaḥnas* were each assisted by a large staff. From the reign of Akbar, the elephants were classified into *ḥalḳas* "circles" or "rings") of tens, twenties and thirties, and placed under the control of superintendents known as *fīlpāndārs*, who were also ordered to train them to stand firm at the sight of fire and in the noise of artillery. Several *ḥalḳas* of elephants were placed in the care of some important nobles, and 101 chosen elephants known as *khāṣṣa* elephants were placed in the care of one such person, with the expenses being met from the imperial treasury.

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(S A. A. Rizvi)

LASHKAR-I BĀZĀR, the name given to a complex of military encampments, settlements and royal palaces in southern Afghānistān which apparently flourished in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. The site (lat. 31° 28' N. and long 64° 20' E.) is an extensive one, stretching along the left bank of the Helmand River [see HELMAND] near its confluence with the Arghandāb with the mediaeval Islamic town of Bust [q.v.] modern ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Bist, at its southern end, and the modern, new town (named after the mediaeval complex of buildings) of Lashkar-gāh at its northern one. The western edge of the complex is thus bounded by the river and also protected by a cliff running down to the water.

1. History. The existence of ruins on this site was vaguely known to H W Bellew in the mid-19th century, probably from hearsay when he was travelling on the region, but its existence was only made known to the academic world through the discovery in 1948 and the subsequent five seasons of excavations in 1949-51 by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.

The complex is not unmentioned in mediaeval geographical and historical sources. Al-Muḳaddasī, 304-5, says that "half a *farsakh* [from Bust], in the direction of Ghazna, there is something like a town, called al-ʿAskar, where the ruler (*al-sulṭān*) resides". Since al-Muḳaddasī completed his *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* in 375/985, although later additions may have been made to it, it seems that Lashkar-i Bāzār was an early creation of Sebüktigin, built to secure his newly-

acquired province of Zamīn Dāwar and Bust—the founder of the Ghaznawid line had seized this from the Turkish *ghulām* ruler there, Baytūz, in 367/977 § [see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 37]—but it is not excluded that Baytūz himself had buildings on this site, and a coin of his dated 350/969-70 has been found there, see Gardīz, *Lashkari Bāzār*, ii, 170-1. Whether Mukaddasī's *al-ʿAskar* is responsible for the form *al-y.n.* of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 120, § 24.11, "a small district between Bust and Zamīn-Dāwar", as suggested by Minorsky, comm. 345, is uncertain. However, our site must be that mentioned by the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], Tehran 1324/1945, 149, Russian tr. Arends[2], Moscow 1969, 221, when he speaks of the building operations of sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (422-32/1031-41) "At Bust, by the polo-ground of the military encampment (*lashkar gāh*) of his father the *amīr*, he had several additional constructions made, some of these are still visible today" (sc. in ca. 432/1059).

The main, or southern palace, shows signs of two successive burnings after the first one of these, there was a general restoration, but after the second, the whole palace was definitely abandoned. It seems reasonable to assume, with Schlumberger, that the first conflagration was the work of the vandalistic Ghūrid sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, called Djahān-sūz, in ca. 545/1150, when he sacked Ghazna, temporarily expelled the Ghaznawid sultan Bahrām Shāh to India, and then marched back to Ghūr via Zamīn-Dāwar and Bust. Djuzdjānī states that he devastated the palaces and public buildings of the Ghaznawids at Bust (see Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 118-19). When, soon after these events, the last Ghaznawid sultans abandoned their Afghān possessions and retreated to the Pandjab, the Ghurids or their governors doubtless restored the buildings at Lashkar i Bāzār and installed themselves there in the Ghaznawids' stead. Schlumberger dates certain alterations even to the post-Ghūrid period, that of the Khwārazm-Shāhs. The second and fatal burning thus probably dates from the ravages of the Mongols in southern Afghānistān in spring 617-18/1221; Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas 64-5, tr. 109-10, speaks of a siege by the Mongols of Kandahār at this time (doubted, however, by Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 438). Yet undeniably, life no longer continued on any discernible scale at Lashkar i Bāzār.

2. The buildings. Lashkar i Bazār includes three palace buildings along the cliffs of the Helmand, the most impressive of which is the southernmost one, constructed of unbaked brick on foundations of fired brick and with wooden bonding, fired brick was also used in the reception hall and for doorways. The palace is built round a vast central rectangular courtyard with four *īwāns*. After the first burning of the palace, modifications and repairs were made to the palace and the fire-blackened remains of the original main entrance were masked by a new entrance with decoration of geometric panels and epigraphic bands, on one of which are the remains of a date, 552/1155-64, probably indicating a reconstruction by the penultimate Ghaznawid sultan, Khusraw Shāh, the last of his family to reign in Afghānistān, as by his Ghūrid successors.

At the north of the palace, backing on to the Helmand, is the very interesting reception hall of the palace, the most monumental of the rooms in style and the most richly decorated, including with panels of brick ribbon work with stucco insets. But especially important from the viewpoints of cultural and artistic history is the fact that the friezes running round the inner faces of the brick piers in the hall contain mural paintings (these have now been removed, for safety, to the Kabul Museum). The remains of 44 figures are visible, and with these probably to be found on the missing north side, must have numbered some 60 all told. They depict frontal views of the bodies of what must have been the royal guards, the corps d'élite of Turkish military slaves of sultans Maḥmūd and Masʿūd [see GHULĀM 2, Persia]. These warriors wear rich tunics and boots, and bear the shafts on their left shoulders of what may well have been maces, the mace (*gurz*) being a favourite weapon of Masʿūd himself, according to Bayhaḳī and a weapon of heroes in the *Shāh nāma*. The faces are unfortunately badly damaged, but a painted fragment found elsewhere in the palace shows a beardless smooth-faced youth with what are generally regarded as "Mongolian" (here, of course, "Turkish") features. The appearance of these figures accords remarkably well with the literary descriptions (e.g. Bayhaḳī of the rich uniforms, bejewelled weapons, etc. of the royal *ghulāms* when paraded on ceremonial occasions such as the reception of envoys and ambassadors.

Leading to the southern palace was the street of the army bazaar, 500 yds./half-a-kilometer long and lined with shops, judging from the absence of post-Maḥmūd coins found there, this bazaar may well have been abandoned after that sultan's death. Also to the south of the palace was the great mosque (the southern palace itself contains a small, richly-decorated mosque obviously for the private use of the sultans and their entourages), constructed originally from good-quality fired brick, but rebuilt, like the southern palace, after the first burning in a less careful manner. Schlumberger places the original mosque within the early Ghaznawid period, and it is of obvious interest as one of the very few pre-Mongol period mosques in Afghānistān.

The placing of all these buildings of the Lashkar-i Bāzār complex in their proper architectural and art historical contexts raises many problems, and a full evaluation can only begin to be made now that we have the long-awaited volume in the DAFA Mémoires series on the architecture of Lashkar-i Bāzār (see *Bibl.* below). Schlumberger was reminded of the plans of Sāmarrā palaces ["l'architecture de Lashkari Bazar apparaît, à plus d'un égard, comme un représentant provincial et tardif de celle de Abbassides"], but noted eastern Iranian features, such as courtyards with four *īwāns* and the ornamental use of brick [*Syria*, xxix [1952], 268-9]. J. M. Rogers has noted the early appearance in the southern palace (the early Ghaznawid construction) of the angular, interlacing strapwork in stucco characteristic somewhat of Saldjūḳ decoration (*The 12th century—a turning point in the architecture of the Mashriq*[1], in D. S. Richards, ed., *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, Oxford 1973, 221-3). The mural paintings reminded Schlumberger again of Achaemenid representations, but he observed also that the heritage of the Buddhist art of Gandhara and northern India, much nearer in place and time to 5th/11th century Zamīn-Dāwar, should clearly be taken into account. Finally, it should be noted that the pottery finds at Lashkar-i Bāzār give a valuable conspectus of

local artistic trends in this field for the period ca 1000-1220.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-LĀT, name of one of the three most venerated deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon, the two others being Manāt and al-ʿUzzā [*q.vv.*]

The deep attachment felt by the Thaḳīf towards al-Lāt, the Aws and the Khazraj towards Manāt and the Kuraysh towards al-ʿUzzā, constituted the greatest obstacle in the path of the peaceful implantation of Islam in the regions of the Ḥiḏjaz. This obstacle was so difficult to overcome that the Prophet seems, for a brief period, to have consented to the continuation of the cult of these three deities, called *al-gharānīḳ al-ʿulā* (see T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 88-90, but cf. AL-KUR'ĀN, D, *in fine*).

The cult of al-Lāt the deity of the Thaḳīf, descendants of the Thamūd (*Aghānī*², iv, 74, 76; al-Ṭabarī, I², 937), is attested over a vast area of the pre-Islamic Near East. She was at the same time the goddess of shepherds, from the Ḥiḏjāz to Ṣafā, and that of caravan-travellers, from Mecca to Petra and to Palmyra. Her name is recorded in the most remote antiquity, and it is to be found, in various forms, in the works of Herodotus (cf. *EI*¹ s.v. *Allāt*), also in Akkadian inats (*Al-la-tum*: Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 259; J. Bottéro, in *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, 56). Safaitic texts (B. Dussaud, *Pénétration*, 56 ff.), Palmyran texts (D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 63, 71, 73), Nabataean texts (M. de Vogüé, *Palm.*, 119; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 292 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², 32), Aramaic texts (Pognon, in *MFOB*, v [1911], 77-8). The Arabic form of her name dates back, at least, to the time of the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the reformer of the idolatrous cult in Mecca at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., a period for which there is evidence on the cult of al-Lāt in Nabataea, in Ṣafā and in Palmyra. Now it is known that this reformer spent some time in the land of Moab, whence he would have brought back statues of various divinities, including that of Ḥubal [*q.v.*]

The precise meaning of the name of al-Lāt remains unclear. Two interpretations deserve consideration.

The first derives it from the root *l-ā-t* Arab lexicographers are unanimous in considering that al-Lāt is derived from the verb *laṯa*, "to mix, to knead, barley-meal (*sawīḳ*)." It has been shown, in *Panthéon* (122 ff.), that this interpretation emerges from a revealing association with the "idol of jealousy" erected in the temple of Jerusalem (Ezekiel, v, 15), which can be none other than Astarte (cf. II Kings, xxi, 7, xxiii, 6-7, 13-14; see Dussaud, in *Syria*, xxi [1940], 359-60, Ch. Virolleaud, in *JA*, ccxxxiv [1943-5], 418-19). The "oblation of jealousy", offered by the husband who suspected the wife of infidelity, was made with barley-meal. Here Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, 10, speaks of a *lāṯ al-sawīḳ*, "kneader of barley-meal", who was a Jew and after whom was named the square rock of Tāʾif, symbol of al-Lāt. From this it may be deduced that a ritual similar to the Hebraic ritual of the "oblation of jealousy" was practised in the vicinity of the sacred stone, symbolising al-Lāt, and that the latter was regarded as one of the multiple incarnations of the Semitic Baʿla of which Astarte was the most eminent. This is further evidence of the Semitic tradition of the anonymity of gods, to whom epithets were given reflecting the sites or the forms of worship dedicated to them.

The second treating al-Lāt as consort of Allāh or of his prototype Il or El, simplifies the problem, taking al-Lāt to be a feminine form of Allāh or al-Ilāh unnamed god of the pre-Islamic Arab pantheon (*Panthéon*, 42-4).

Either of these etymologies is possible: the first responds best to Arab traditions, the second is more in line with Semitic tradition in general (cf. details to *Panthéon*, 122 no).

Al-Lāt is seen at Ṭāʾif displaying the most primitive attributes of the Semitic Baʿla. Originally, she was represented by a white stone, in contrast to the black stone of Mecca, subsequently, she was associated with a sacred tree, then a sanctuary was erected for her, and this became a place of pilgrimage. But the rivalry between Ṭāʾif and Mecca and the commercial and economic predominance of the latter prevented the goddess of the Thaḳīf from making Ṭāʾif a centre of assembly for all the Arabs. The Mecca of Kuṣayy, the reformer of the pilgrimage and architect of the Kurayṣh confederation, rapidly eclipsed the other metropolises of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus al-Lāt was unable to preserve anything of her former prestige other than the epithets *rabba* "mother of the gods", in her role as goddess of fertility, after the manner of Baʿla, of whom she is an incarnation, and *ṯaḳīya*, "preeminent goddess", an epithet still reflecting the important cultic role that she had played among the Arabs of the Nabataean, Safaitic and Palmyran regions, as goddess of sun (see refs. in *Panthéon*, 112, n. 2).

In order to consolidate the economic power of Mecca and to reinforce its role as holy city of the Arabs, Kuṣayy brought together in the Kaʿba all the divinities of Arabia. The triad which emerged, namely Manāt, goddess of the northern Arabs, al-Lāt, goddess of the Arabs of the Nadjd, and al-ʿUzzā, goddess of the Kurayṣh confederation, represent the three political forces which co-existed in central and northern Arabia from the period of Kuṣayy (5th century A.D.) to the advent of Islam. These three deities correspond to the theophanies of Venus, morning star and evening star, very often confused with the Semitic Baʿla and worshipped by the Arabs since time immemorial.

Although al-ʿUzzā was the last-born of the triad, she soon became the most important, in her role as tutelary goddess of the sanctuary of Mecca (see details in *Panthéon*, 128 ff.). In a parallel development, the three sacred trees (*asmāʾī*) which stood before the sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla, on the road leading towards ʿIrāḳ and Syria, were assimilated to the three divinities (*Panthéon*, 164).

The predominance of al-ʿUzzā over Manāt and al-Lāt is expressed by the dual al-ʿUzzatān, "the two 'Uzzās", which designated them (*Ḥamāsa*, 190, l. 15; *Panthéon*, 128, n. 3). This predominance is also apparent in the Nabataean region, where al-Lāt had been a favourite goddess, as a result of the

expansion of Meccan commerce inside Nabataea, the birthplace of Kuṣayy.

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LAṬĪFĪ, ʿABD-AL-LAṬĪF ČELEBI, a Turkish biographer, littérateur and poet who lived in the 10th/16th century. Born in Kastamonu in 895/1491, according to his own statement (*Taḏkhira*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 235, 297), he belonged to an old and a noble family called the Khaṭīb-zādeler and his forefather, Ḥamdī Čelebi, was a poet who lived in the time of Meḥemmed II, the Conqueror. He states in his *Taḏkhira* (298) that he started writing poetry when he was seven years old. He began to receive his education in Kastamonu, but soon gave it up (ʿĀṣhīḳ Čelebi, *Maṣhāʾir al-shuʿarāʾ*, ms. Istanbul Üniversitesi, TY. 2406, f. 132b), and worked as an accountant and a secretary. But at the same time, he spent much effort to educate and train himself, and acquired a considerable reputation in poetry, and especially in the high culture of his time. He came to Istanbul in his youth, and was at once appointed secretary to the *ʿImāret* (or the public kitchen for the poor) in Belgrade. After a long stay in Rumelia, he returned to Istanbul (950/1543), and served again as a secretary for some *ʿimārets*. At that time Sehī had written his *Taḏkhira*, which had aroused great interest among the literary circles, and with the encouragement of his friends (*Taḏkhira*, 229) and following ʿĀṣhīḳ Čelebi's ideas, Laṭīfī completed his *Taḏkhira*, clearly his most important work. In 953/1546 Laṭīfī presented this work to Süleymān the Magnificent, and as a result was appointed secretary to the *mufī* of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the trustee of which was Tashlīghalī Yaḥyā, the famous Turkish poet, and in 960/1553 he was occupying this post (ʿĀlī, *Künh al akhbār*, Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 9559, f. 471a). Later he worked in similar jobs in Rhodes and Cairo. ʿĀṣhīḳ Čelebi, who completed his own work in 974/1566-7, relates that Laṭīfī spent his time composing poetry and belles-lettres, and above all in religious duties. Having changed the introduction of his *Risāle-yi mufṭī-i Istanbul*—which in fact had been composed in his youth—he presented it to Murād III in 982/1574, expecting some gifts, but it is not certain whether he was recompensed. Laṭīfī spent his declining years in Istanbul (Ḥasan Čelebi, *Taḏkhira*, ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 1737, ff. 265 b, 266a). He must have died on 25 Ramaḍān 999/23 October 1582, probably on his way to Mecca for pilgrimage. He had been in Egypt, and his ship was wrecked on its way to Yemen (Kātib, *Rāz nāma*, ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 4058, *l.* 105a, and a letter written by Masīḥ zāde, who survived the disaster). Laṭīfī says in his *Risāle-yi mufṭī-i Istanbul* (f. 60b) that he was 35 years old when he finished this book, i.e. this was in 931/1524-5, hence his birth date must have been 896/1490-1, making him 94 lunar years old when he died.

All through his life Laṭīfī complained that he had never been appreciated properly. He did not have a comfortable life, for he had never been pushing and sycophantic, but he expected that others would have realised his literary ability.

Although Laṭīfī mentions in his *Taḏkhira* that he composed twelve books, treatises and literary compositions, only the following seem to be extant: (1) the *Taḏkhirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, his most important work, generally considered as the second finest biographical work (after ʿĀṣhīḳ Čelebi's) in Ottoman literature. He states that ten biographical works were composed in his time, but none of them received attention and fame or were widely read (*Taḏkhira*, 301). Probably they were all incomplete, pioneering attempts in this field. The *Taḏkhira* consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, he mentions poet-*shaykhs* of Anatolia who were brought up in or emigrated to Anatolia. In the second, he speaks about Ottoman sultans who engaged in poetry. In the third, the main part of the work, Laṭīfī mentions, in alphabetical order, the names of 300 poets (*Taḏkhira*, 372) who lived from the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51) until 950/1543. The book is arranged alphabetically (*sawāḳim*), a method which Laṭīfī initiated in Turkish biographical works, whereas Sehī's and Nawāʿī's had been arranged by *ṭabaḳāt* or generations, so that Laṭīfī's *Taḏkhira* became the bridge between the two types. Laṭīfī took this idea from ʿĀṣhīḳ Čelebi, but applied it in his book before him. Some criticisms were, however, made about his work. One was that Laṭīfī did not include poets of his own time in the *Taḏkhira*. From the early copies of the work (e.g. Kayseri Rāṣid Efendi Libr. 1250, copied before 957/1550, and another one which stems from the above, Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 2584, copied in 968/1561), it can be deduced that two redactions of the work were in existence and that the early copies did not have Laṭīfī's autobiography. The author later included it, as well as criticisms of some other poets not previously included. By doing so, he improved the text and also replied in the criticisms of those whom he calls *shāmātа-i ḥāsid u ḥasad*, "the hateful and the jealous ones". ʿĀṣhīḳ Celebi relates that Laṭīfī's work also became nicknamed the *Kastamonu nāme* (f. 233a), for the author found ways to connect some poets in Kastamonu, whether or not they had been born in the city, but he adds that Laṭīfī's *Taḏkhira* is most valuable and quite different from Sehī's one. Ḥasan Čelebi regards the style as rather dull (Ḥasan Čelebi, *Taḏkhira*, f. 265b). Hence ʿĀlī took it upon himself to answer all unfair criticisms (*op. cit.*, 413b). The work is undoubtedly important, not only because of its form, but also because of the fact that, with this work, for the first time literary criticism and assumptions were dealt with in this Ottoman poetic biographical genre. It accordingly soon became a very popular reference book, considered to be reliable. It was edited by Ahmed Diwdat under

the title of *Taḏkira-yi Laṭīfī* (Āṯār-i aḥlāf series, no. 9, Istanbul 1314/1896). H. Theodor Chabert summarised it in German (*Laṭīfī oder biographische Nachrichten von verstorbenen Türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werke*, Zürich 1809); another translation into German was done by O. Rescher (*Laṭīfīs Taḏkhira*, Tübingen 1930, this last translator referred to 9 old mss. of the work, together with the edited text. (2) *Ewṣāf-ı Ṣanāyi'-i Istanbul*. As the title indicates, the work is a brief description of the natural beauties, the historical buildings and monuments, etc. of Istanbul, in short, a physical description of the city and its spiritual life in the 10th/16th century, written in an artistic style. The work is quite valuable in that Laṭīfī's observations reflect the thoughts and the feelings of his youth. As he says in the *Khātima* or conclusion, he was then spiritually in confusion, at times acting like a vagabond and at others behaving piously. The text is adorned with poetry, and Laṭīfī claimed that he had invented a new style in prose writing; Istanbul was the most proper topic for such a purpose, in order to display a successful sample of his creative style (*Taḏkira*, 300-1). He later revised the work, and with a new introduction, presented it to Murād III. (3) *Fuṣūl-ı arba'a* (*Munāẓara, Muḥāvara?*), an artistic description of the specialities of the four seasons, written in a mixture of prose and poetry. It was first published in the *'Aṣr* newspaper in instalments and then as a book under the title *Munāẓara-yi Laṭīfī* (Istanbul 1287/1870). (4) *Sulṭān al-maḥabba*, a Turkish translation of 100 *ḥadīṯs*, composed in verse. (5) A Turkish translation of 40 *ḥadīṯs*, also in verse, having much subject matter in common with the previous one (ms. in Şehid Ali Paşa Libr. 872, f. 99b-125a). (6) *Naṣm al-ǧawāhir* (*La'ālī ı manẓūma wa-ǧawāhir ı manṯūra*), a versified Turkish translation of 207 speeches of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Libr., 542, ff. 40b-66b). (7) *Asmā' suwar al-Ḳur'ān*, a poem giving the names of the sūras of the Ḳur'ān in 29 couplets (ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, TY. 902, f. 115b-116a). The following works are now known only by name: (8) *Dīwān* (*Taḏkira*, 300). (9) *Rabī'iyya-yi aḥlāṭ* (Ṣāḥlī Čelebī, *op. cit.*, f. 153a, 'Alī, *op. cit.*, f. 415b), very likely the first chapter of the *Fuṣūl-ı arba'a*. (10) *Aḥwāl-ı Ibrāhīm Paşha* (Ṣāḥlī Čelebī, *loc. cit.*), possibly the same work about the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Paşha, *Waṣf-ı Āṣaf-odası*, which 'Alī enumerates. (11) *Aḥvāl al-fuṣḥā?* (*Taḏkira*, 302).

From the contents of his works, Laṭīfī was apparently not a first class poet, but a very good critic who had the power of discernment, wide knowledge in his field and, above all, a fine literary taste. As he states in the *Taḏkira* (300-1), he brought into being a new style in prose by adorning the text with proverbs, parables and phrases, etc., just as Nāǧātī had done in verse a century before. His works are in fact good examples of rhymed prose, displaying a mature style, with balanced sentences, ordered thoughts and fluent language, without such defects as *ta'ḳīd* or obscurity, *ḥašw*[1] or concatenation and *ġarāyib* or unaccustomed words.

Bibliography In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see 'Aḥdī, *Gulšan-ı šu'arā'* (ms. Ist. Üniversitesi, no. TY. 2604, ff. 107b-108a), Bayānī, *Taḏkirat al-šu'arā'* (ms. no. TY. 2568, ff. 75b-76a), Fāṭ'at, *Zubdat al-aš'ār* (ms. no. TY. 3289, f. 96b), J. von Hammer, *Dewlet-i 'Oṯmānīyye tārīḫi* (Turkish tr. of 'Aṭā), Istanbul 1329/1911, i, 34, idem, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Budapest 1837, iii, 28-30, Sommer, *Osteuropäische Literatur*, St. Petersburg 1891, 456, Fā'iḳ Reşhīd, *Taḏkiretü'ş-Şu'arā*, Istanbul 1314/1896, 7, 373-81, E. J. W. Gibb, *HOP*, M. Thūrayyā, *Sidjill-i 'Oṯmānī*, Istanbul 1316/1898-9, iv, 92, F. Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber*, 110 ff., Mehmed Ḫālid, *Laṭīfī ve taḏkiresi*, in *Ḥayāt mecmū'ası*, Istanbul 1927, xvii, xix, *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları kataloğları* (*earlier textbooks*), Istanbul 1937, 597 ff. (NIHAD M. ÇETİN)

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE [see MUǦARRAFIYA, KUSŪFAT AL-ABD]

LAWĀTA, an important Berber ethnic group belonging to the family of Butr and whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the Young, son of Lawā the Old. They are distant descendants of the Lebu (Lebou) of the Egyptian documents of the 13th century B.C., of the Lubim or Lehabim of the Bible, the Libues (Libyans) of the ancient Greeks, of the Laguantae of Corippus and the Leuathae of Procopius (6th century A.D.). It is probable that the Lebu (Lebou) of the Egyptians lived on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, between Egypt and the Gulf of Syrtes. As for the Libues, they were for Pindar (518-438 B.C.) natives of Cyrenaica, but later their name became among the ancients a name for all the indigenous peoples who lived in the littoral zone of North Africa, from Egypt as far as the Atlantic coast inclusive. However it appears that the real Lebu (Lebou) survived in the tribe of the Lihuralchae who lived, according to Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), in the north of Marmarica, immediately to the east of Cyrenaica. Another section of the Libues properly so-called, apparently Egyptianised, were the Libuaegyptii whom Ptolemy places in Marmarica, i.e. in the region of Lake Mareia in Egypt, Mariut (Maryout) on our maps. It should further be added that some Greek and Latin authors, such as Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy mention still another branch of the Libues, namely the people of the Libyphoenicians who were probably Libyans mixed with the Punic people, and who lived most probably, if one is to believe Pliny, in the province of Byzacena in present day Tunisia. Later on in the 6th century A.D. the Libues properly so-called appear under the name of Laguantan (*Laouatae), Baguas (*Ilawa-s), Hilaguas (*Ilawa-s) or Leuathae (*Lawata) in Tripolitania and in Tunisia. Procopius speaks of the massacre of the chiefs of the Leuathae at Leptis Magna (Lebda) in 543 by Sergius, Byzantine governor of Tripolitania, and he speaks of the penetration of this people from Tripolitania into Byzacena and of its alliance with the Berber king of the land, Antalas. This time, the Leuathae advanced as far as the town of Lares (Larbous on our maps), which they besieged. Procopius also speaks of a second invasion of this tribe into Byzacena in 548. On this occasion, the Leuathae occupied southern and central Tunisia, as far as the confines of the Proconsulate.

According to the ancient Arabo-Berber traditions, the Lawāta first established themselves after their arrival from Palestine in the Maghrib, in the period of Biblical David (*sic*), in the territory of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). It was this land which they occupied at the time of the invasion of the Arabs (in 21/641-2), at the time when the Islamisation of the Maghrib began. The Arabic sources tell us of the peace treaty that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ concluded in this year with the Lawāta of Barḳa. However, it is certain that some sections of this people, distant descendents of the ancient Libuarkhae and Libuaegypti, also lived in

this period in Egypt, and it is very probable that other Lawāta sections, who were descended from these Laguantan or Cerippos and the Lanathoe of Procopius and were established in the 6th century A.D., in Byzacena, continued to live, in the 7th century, in the southern part of Tunisia. Later on, from the 8th century A.D., branches of the Lawāta expanded into some regions of Algeria and Morocco.

If we set aside the powerful peoples of Mazāta and Sadrāta, to whom some Berber genealogists attribute a Lawātī origin, but who already constituted, in the 9th century A.D., separate ethnic groups, the Lawāta properly so-called were subdivided in the Middle Ages into several branches of which we know the names, thanks especially to the works of al-Yaʿḳūbī and Ibn Khaldūn. They are as follows: 1. Māṣila or Miṣala ماصلة (al-Bakrī writes this name by error ماصلة Fāḍila), 2. Kaṭīfa, 3. Maghāgha, 4. Wāhila, 5. Marāwa (this name might be identifiable with that of the Libyan tribe of the Mareotae living in the south of Lake Mariut in Egypt), 6. مصمدية Masʿūda (to be corrected as Masghūna, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Maṣghūna); 7. Zanāra; 8. زكودة Zakūda (Ibn Ḥawḳal زكودة Akūda), 9. Makarta (al-Yaʿḳūbī, Mafrṭa); ʿAtrūna, and 11. Djadīna (this tribe was a branch of the Lawātan group of Kaṭūf or Kaṭīfa). It is also highly likely that the following Berber tribes of Barḳa belonged to the Lawāta: 12. فطيطة Faṭīṭa (Ibn Ḥawḳal, فرطيطة Farṭīṭa); 13. Siwa (al-Makrīzī, Siwa) and 14. Masūsa. This constitutes the evidence concerning this collection of Lawātī groups and their geographical situation, going from east to west: evidence which the mediaeval Arab authors, at the end of the 9th/8th-15th centuries, have bequeathed to us.

Egypt. The numerous Lawātī groups dwelt in a nomadic fashion near to Alexandria and Cairo, to the west of these cities. Among these groups who paid the *Kharādj* to the Egyptian government, Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions, in the 4th/10th century, a branch of the Lawātī group of Māṣila (Māsala). It was apparently these Lawāta whom al-Idrīsī mentions as a tribe who ravaged the western banks of the Nile to the north of al-Bahnasā. Later on, in the 8th/14th century, the plains extending from Alexandria to Cairo which constituted the province of al-Buḥayra were inhabited by another branch of the Lawāta, the Zanāra, a people who were nomadic, but who stopped in al-Buḥayra to sow their seeds at the approach of winter, as they passed through the environs of Barḳa. The Zanāra themselves paid a tax to the Egyptian government. Ibn Khaldūn says that, in a slightly later period (probably towards the end of the 8th/14th century), the chief of the Zanāra of al-Buḥayra called بدر Badr (or more likely بدر Yedder) b. Salīm revolted against the Egyptian government, but after having been beaten by the Mamlūks, he took refuge in Barḳa. According to Ibn Khaldūn, some remnants of the tribe of Lawāta were also to be found, in his own time, i.e. towards the second half of the 8th/14th century, in Upper Egypt, where they pastured their flocks and cultivated the land. One should also note that the present locality of Maghāgha situated on the road leading from Cairo to Asyūṭ, 180 km. south of Cairo, probably owes its name to the Lawātī tribe of Maghāgha. A numerous Lawātī population occupied, in the 4th/10th century, the oases of Egypt, where the Lawāta created a state. According to al-Masʿūdī, the Lawātan master of the oases in 332/943-4 was called ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; he had under his command several thousand riders on horses and camels. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, who wrote at a slightly later period than that of al-Masʿūdī, the kings of the oases who belonged to the tribe of Lawāta, mistress of this region, traced their origin to the dynasty of Āl ʿAbdān (= ʿAbd al-Malik). Al-Bakrī also speaks of the Lawātī tribes established in the Egyptian oases. It appears that these Lawātī tribes of al-Buḥayra and the oases were distant descendents of the Libuaegyptii of the ancients. It is perhaps due to this Lawātī branch that Ibn Ḥazm attributes to the Lawāta a Coptic origin. Moreover, to the west of Alexandria, in Marmarica, al-Bakrī mentions the existence of about a thousand tents belonging to the Māṭa or Māṣala (al-Bakrī writes this name by error Fāḍila) and to the Banū ʿAbdān, a Berber tribe who probably belonged to the group of Lawāta. A section of the tribe of Siwa or Sīwa who probably belonged in the group of Lawāta lived, in the 9th/15th century, in the oasis of Sīwa, the oasis of Ammon of the ancients and Santariyya of al-Idrīsī. The oasis of Siwa owes its name to this people.

Barḳa. This land was inhabited, in the 1st-4th/7th-10th centuries, almost exclusively by Lawātī groups. One of these groups, namely the tribe of Māṣila (Māṣala), was placed by al-Yaʿḳūbī in the eastern part of Barḳa: they lived, in the 4th/9th century, alongside other peoples, probably Berbers. They were also to be found in the coastal region, mixed with other Lawātī groups, such as Zanāra, Masghūna, Marāwa and Fatīṭa (Farṭīṭa), in the great *manzil* of Wādī Makhīlī, which resembled a town and which may be identified with El-Mechili on our maps. The dwellings of the Masghūna and some other groups of the Lawāta, such as Marāwa, Makarṭa and Zakūda, were also to be found near the road which linked Wādī Makhīlī to the town of Barḳa, el-Merdj on our maps. The tribe of Marāwa left its name to present-day Marsa, a locality situated about 50 km. to the east of el-Merdj. Further to the south-west, in the Djabal al-Gharbī (probably Dahar al-Aḥmar and Dahar al-Abyad on our maps), al-Yaʿḳūbī also places Berber groups of the tribe of Lawāta. In the record of these chains of mountains lived, according to this geographer, the Lawātī tribes of Zakūda, Makarṭa and Zanāra. It is also in this region that there lived a section of the tribe of Kaṭūfa which gave its name to Kaṣr Ketof, a locality mentioned by H. Barth (*Wanderungen*, 356). Further to the west, in the environs of Berenīḳ (ancient Berenice, Benghazi on our maps) lived three Lawātī tribes, namely Maghāgha, Wāhila and Djadīna, as well as the tribes of Siwa and Masūsa, who themselves traced their origin from Lawāta. The territory of the tribe of Masūsa extended from Benghazi inwards the south and south-east. Indeed, the name of this tribe is to be connected with the Wādī Masūn mentioned by Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 337/948-8) and by al-Bakrī who wrote a century later. According to the latter, there are in this valley "several ruined vaults and cisterns, in the number, it is said, of three hundred and sixty." In our opinion, it is to be identified with Msoas (Msus) on our maps, a centre of encampments situated near an homonymous *wādī*, about 80 km. east of Soloukh. A section of the Masūsa also lived in the town of Adjdābiya (Adjedabia on our maps), alongside Lawātī groups of Zanāra, Wāhila, Siwa and Djadīna. The latter constituted the majority of the inhabitants of this town.

Tripolitania. The inhabitants of Adjdābiya constituted in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, if one may believe al-Yaʿḳūbī, the westernmost group

of the Lawāta of Barḳa. However, it appears that the ethnic situation of this part of Libya was a little different a century earlier, under the domination of the Ibāḍī imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī who, in 140-4/757-62, was master of the whole of eastern Barbary. Indeed, it is known that an Ibāḍī chief belonging to the tribe of Lawāta, one named ʿUmar b Inkaten al-Lawātī, lived at first near the great road which led, following the coasts of this country, to the town of Maghmadūs (ancient Macomades Syrtis or Macomades Seloram), i.e. in eastern Tripolitania properly so-called. Then he went to settle in the Djabal Nafūsa, in western Tripolitania. It is also known that he became governor of the province of Surt (Syrtis) in eastern Tripolitania on behalf of the Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and that he commanded a Lawātī brigade, the only one in the army of this *imām*. It may be supposed that these Lawāta of eastern Tripolitania constituted, in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, the remnants of the Leuathae, whose chiefs had been massacred at Leptis Magna in 543 A.D., by Sergius Byzantine governor of Tripolitania, and whole main body then retired towards the south of Tunisia.

Tunisia. Al Yaʿḳūbī mentions the Lawāta (who are descendants of the Leuathae of Byzacena) in the town of Kābis (Gabès). According to al-Bakrī, the Lawāta were also found, in the 5th/11th century, in the environs of this town. Ibn Khaldūn places, in the 8th/14th century, some Lawātī groups in the mountain called Djabal Lawāta situated to the south of Kābis. It is to this branch of Lawāta that the family of Banū Makkī, who were rulers of Gabes in the 8th/14th century, traces its origin. Another group of the Lawāta lived in the district of Nafzāwa, whose Ibāḍī population remained, towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, under the government of Miyāl b Yūsuf al-Lawātī. We know it thanks to al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century), who also mentions the existence of a section of the tribe of Lawāta in the town of Turra (probably the ancient Turris Tamalleni) in the district of Nafzāwa. Another section of the Ibāḍī Lawāta lived, according to the same author, at Kuṭrār in Bilād al-Djarīd. The Lawāta were also found among the Berber tribes who were exterminated, in 224/838-9, by the Aghlabid general ʿĪsā b Rayʿān al-Asadī. This took place between the towns of Kastīliya (Tozeur) and Ḳafṣa (Gafsa). Another branch of the Lawāta of Tunisia, probably the descendants of that branch of the Leuathae who appear alongside the Lares (Lorbous) from the 5th century A.D., were found among the Berber Ibāḍī tribes who followed, in 144/761-2, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Rustam, the old Ibāḍī governor of Ifrīḳiya, in his flight from al-Ḳayrawān (Kairouan) to the central Maghrib, before the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muḥammad b al-Ashʿath.

Algeria. An important section of the Lawāta lived, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, in the vast massif of the Awrās (Aurès on our maps), alongside other semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary populations of shepherds and cultivators. They were already mentioned in the period of the Ibāḍī-Nukkārī chief Abū Yazīd Makhlad b Kaydād (d. 335/947), who rebelled against the Fāṭimid dynasty. Hence the Lawāta of the Aurès rallied to this chief. They continued to live in the Aurès until the 8th/14th century at least and, at this period, they kept in subjection the Berber groups of the Hawwāra and Ketāma who lived alongside them. At this time, they were able to put into the field a thousand cavalry and a large number of infantry. The Lawāta of the Aurès preserved their independence, apart from two sections of this branch, namely the Banū Ribāṭ and Banū Badīs who (for several years paid tribute to the dynasty of the Banū Mozni of the Zāb. Later on, the Banū Badīs seized places in the environs of the town of Nīḳāwus (Ngaous or N'Gaous in the plain of the Hodna, north-west of the Aurès). It is very probable that the Lawāta of the Aurès were simply the remnants of the Lawāta of southern Tunisia who succeeded in retiring to this massif after the extermination of the Berber tribes of this latter region by the Aghlabid general ʿĪsā b Rayʿān al-Asadī which took place as mentioned above, between Tozeur and Gafsa in 224/838-9.

Another section of the Algerian Lawāta occupied, according to al-Bakrī, the surroundings of the town of Madjdjāna (Medjanae of the ancients) which was situated near Wādī Mallāḳ (Mellegue, south of the ancient town of Madaurus (Mdaourouch on our maps), on the road which led from Kayrawān to Bagḥāya. The history of this group is unknown to us, however, it is not impossible that we are concerned here with descendants of these Leuathae who besieged the town of Lares (Lorbous) in 543 A.D.

Ibn Khaldūn mentions a branch of the Lawāta settled in the plain of Tagrert, in the environs of Bougie. This branch cultivated the land and pastured its flocks. In the 8th/14th century, it was subject to the government of Bougie.

There was no lack in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, if one can believe al-Shammākhī, of small groups of Lawāta in the oasis of Sūf (Souf) and in that of Rīgh. According to this author, a Lawātī settled in this latter oasis had come from Barḳa. However, it appears that the majority of these Lawāta traced their origin to Nafzāwa and the Bilād al-Djarīd in southern Tunisia.

An important group of Lawāta who accompanied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Ibāḍī governor of Kayrawān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam in his flight from Ifrīḳiya to the west in 144/761-2, settled to the south of Tāhert, capital of the Ibāḍī state founded by this emigrant. If Ibn Ṣaghīr is to be believed, the Lawāta already lived there towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and at the beginning of the 3rd/9th, at the reign of his successor, the Imām al-Afla b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. They owned a fortress there and often involved themselves in the affairs of the Rustamid *Imāma*. According to al-Bakrī, the Lawāta inhabited, in the 5th/11th century, the region situated to the south of Tāhert and also the fortress of Izmāma situated on the road which linked this latter town with the town of al-Masīla. Ibn Khaldūn supplies us with several details on this section of the Lawāta. According to this historian, they frequented the valley of Mīnas. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the chief of this Lawātī section was in the service of the Fāṭimid ʿUbayd Allāh, but later these Lawāta revolted against al-Manṣūr, the third Fāṭimid caliph, who defeated them and drove them out into the desert. There were also wars between the Lawāta of Mīnas and a Zanāta tribe who lived on the other side of this valley. Following these wars, the Lawāta of Mīnas went to settle on the mountain called Darrīdj, where they extended their settlements towards the interior of the tell and as far as the mountain which dominates the Mitidja. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this branch of the Lawāta was in the 5th/11th century, liable for tax.

Morocco. According to the early Arabic sources, there were also some Lawāta in Morocco. It is possible that they may have come from eastern

Barbary towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century, probably with the Ibāḍī and Ṣufrī chiefs who took refuge in the west of the Maghrib before the ʿAbbāsid armies. In any case, when Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh founded the state of the Idrīsids in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, among the Berbers of the north of Morocco who rallied to his cause (in 172/788-9) there was also a section of the Lawāta. This people probably lived to the south and west of Fās. Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī notes there, in fact, the territories occupied by this people. These are probably the Lawāta settled on the Sebou River who owned the fortress called Lawāta Madyan. This fortress was situated on the road which linked the town of Sidjilmāsa to Fās, Another group of Lawāta lived in the north-west of Morocco, south of the town of Asīla (Arzila), the territory of which also belonged formerly to this people. In the province of Tādla, south of the Oued Umm al-Rabīʿ, there lived, among the Arabs of the tribe of the Banū Ḥiṣār, the Lawāta tribe of Zanāra.

Mauritania. A certain number of people belonging to the tribe of Lawāta, probably merchants, lived in the south of Mauritania, in the town of Awdaghast which was an ancient centre of commerce. It is possible that they may have come from Tāhert, or more likely from southern Tunisia.

Sicily. According to Amari the Berbers of the tribe of Lawāta appear in the Middle Ages in the diplomas of Palermo as amongst the inhabitants of this town. There was also in Sicily a colony of the Lawātī sub-tribe of Maghāgha. It is indeed, from the name of this tribe that the name of the town of Magagi is derived (in Arabic al-Maghāghī), mentioned in a Sicilian diploma of 1182.

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al LAWĀTĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Miyāl b. Yūsuf, noted Ibāḍī-Wahbī historian, traditionist and biographer. He was descended from Yūsuf al-Lawātī, the vizier of al-Afḍal b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the third Ibāḍī *imām* of the Rustamid dynasty (208-50/823-71). According to the biographical notices about him given in the works of al-Dardjīnī and al-Shammākhī, he was born in the first half of the 5th/11th century in the province of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). His *nisba* indicates that he was from the Berber tribe of the Lawāta [*q.v.*], of which several sections were adherents of the Ibāḍiyya. In 450/1058-9, when he was 18 years old, he left his natal Barḳa and went to settle at Adjīū, a town situated in the oasis of Arīgh (modern Oued Righ), and he apparently died there in 528/1133-4 at an advanced age. Nothing is known of his life, except that he travelled to the Kaʿba of the Banū Ḥammād and that he had visited two places not very far from the Oued Righ, sc. Wargḥāna (modern Ouriana) in the north, on the road from the Oued Righ to Biskra, and Wārdjlān (Ouargla) to the south of the Oued Righ. One may also note that his family had connections with the town of Sadrāta (the modern ruins of Sedrata) in the Ouargla oasis. Indeed, his maternal uncle, the learned *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sadrātī, was probably a native of that town.

Ibāḍī tradition rightly accords al-Lawātī a place of honour. He was not only an eminent historian and traditionist, but also a remarkable poet. He wrote a work on the history of the North African Ibāḍiyya which was used by the anonymous author of the *Siyar al-mashāyikh*, who used al-Lawātī's autograph. He also taught Ibāḍī history and *siyar* to numerous pupils. One should mention three of these, who are accounted amongst the most celebrated historians and biographers of the 6th/12th century. Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Khalfūn al-Sūfī, Abū 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wisyānī and Abū Nūḥ, all of whom took from al-Lawātī many narratives, to be used in their own works or else to be transmitted to the traditionalists of the following generation. Amongst other works, whose authors used al-Lawātī's traditions and stories, may be mentioned, in addition to the *Siyar al-mashāyikh*, the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Darḍjīnī and the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī.

It is interesting to remark that Abū Muḥammad also devoted time to the explanation of collections of Ibāḍī traditions written in Arabic for adherents who were only Berber speaking. Thus for instance, in the course of an academic session at Adjīū on the Oued Righ, he gave an exposition of the Arabic text of the *Athār* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, an Ibāḍī traditionist of the East who flourished in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

Al-Lawātī was also a poet, and al-Shammākhī speaks of his poetic *dīwān*.

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LAWḤ (A.), board, plank; tablet, table. Both ranges of meaning are found in other Semitic languages such as Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, and Jeffery thought that, whilst the sense "board, plank" might be an original Arabism, the second sense was almost certainly from the Judaeo-Christian cultural and religious milieu (see *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 253-4).

The word occurs five times in the Kurʾān. The first meaning is found in sūra LIV, 13, where Noah's ark is called *dhāt alwāḥ*. The second meaning is that of *lawḥ* as writing material, e.g. the tablets of the Tawrāt (sūra VII, 142, 149, 153, where the plural *alwāḥ* is used; see *EA*, iii, 427) *Al-tawrāt* see *s.v.-lawḥ* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān*, sūra IV, bāb 18) correspond to our "paper and tab". The expression *mā bayn al-lawḥayn* "what lies between the two boards" is found in *Ḥadīth*, to describe the whole Kurʾān (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra IX, bāb 4; *Libās*, bāb 84), cf. *mā bayn al-daffatayn* (Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Kurʾān*, bāb 16). In modern Arabic, *al-lawḥ* also means a school-child's slate and a blackboard.

Al-lawḥ thus means the tablet kept in heaven, which in sūra LXXXV, 22 is called *lawḥ maḥfūẓ*, usually translated as the "safely preserved" tablet. But it is not certain whether the words in this passage are really syntactically connected. If we read *maḥfūẓun*, the word does not go with *lawḥin* but with the preceding *kurʾānun* and the translation is "Verily it is a Kurʾān, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries), "safely preserved", i.e. against alteration.

In the commentaries on sūra XCVII, 1, the tablet is again mentioned "We sent it down (sc. the Kurʾān) in the night of the decree", this refers either to the first revelation made to Muḥammad or to the descent of the Kurʾān from that tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest. The tablet as the original copy of the Kurʾān is thus identical with *umm al-kitāb*.

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the *lawḥ* with the pen, *kalam* [*q.v.*] and the particulars contained as a whole in God's conscious-ness are transmitted by this last, so that on the *lawḥ* are inscribed the archetypes of all things, past present and future. The popular mind represented the *lawḥ*, following an *ḥadīth* of the Prophet given by al-Bayhaḳī, as created from a white pearl, with its upper and lower surfaces of jacynth. We have therefore to distinguish two quite different conceptions:

a. The tablet as the original copy of the Kurʾān. This idea is found in the pseudepigraphical literature. In the *Book of Jubilees*, iii, 10, it is said that the laws relating to the purification of women after childbed (Leviticus xii) are written on tablets in heaven. Jub. xii, 28-9, says the same of the law regarding the "feast of booths" (Lev., xxiii, 40-3) and Jub., xxii, 15, of the law of tithes (Lev., xxvii).

b. The tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will is also found in the *Book of Jubilees*. In Jub., v, 13 it is said that the divine judgement on all that exists on earth is written on the tablets in heaven. Enoch prophesies the future from the contents of these tablets (Book of Enoch, xciii, 2; lxxxi, cm, 2, cvi, 19). The "scripture of truth" is mentioned as early as Daniel, x, 21, the contents of which Daniel announces in prophetic form. These ideas are connected with the Babylonian conception of "tablets of fate".

From these passages, it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also, the tables in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate. This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of *lawḥ* in Muslim literature.

For other passages, cf. the index in Charles, *The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, s.v. "Tablets", it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs.

In Šīʿī mysticism and in esoteric philosophy and cosmology, the *lawḥ* has an important place. The pantheistic mystical writer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [9 v.] (d. in the first half of the 9th/15th century) explains in his *al-Insān al-kāmil* how God's creation is first given shape occultly in the divine knowledge, and only later given objective individualisation by the pen or divine intelligence, which distinguishes the created from the Creator and imprints its form of existence on the tablet as the mind imprints ideas on the soul (R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 111 n. 2). Esoteric works identified various forms of the tablet with the primal intelligence (as above), the *ʿaql al-awwal*, with the expressive, universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*) — the preserved tablet, with the particularising soul, and with the *lawḥ al-hayūlā* or material tablet, which receives the forms of the supersensory world (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 204). Mystically-inspired persons, it was held, might have glimpses of the entirety of God's decrees inscribed on the tablet and normally hidden from human comprehension either by dreams or by a sudden flash of divine revelation (*ilhām*), removing the veil (see D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude to life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 253 f., 264-5). Finally, it may be noted that the 19th century Persian religious leader Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] promulgated, at different points in his career, various "tablets" containing homiletic counsels and prophetic instructions for his followers, such as the *lawḥ al-amr* "tablet of command" issued in 1280/1865 and ostensibly from the divine pen, giving an exposition of his mission (a document which contributed to the schism with his rival Mīrzā Yaḥyā Subḥ i Azalī), the *lawḥ-i bashārāt* "tablet of good tidings", etc. (see E. G. Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bābī religion*, Cambridge 1918, 17, 21-2, 29-31, 167).

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AL-LAWḤĪ AL-MAḤFŪẒ [see AL-LAWḤ]

LAWN (A.), "colour". One of the distinctive features of the Arabic language is the great richness of its chromatic vocabulary. It is as if the smallest detail, the most minute nuance, was deemed to require a nomenclature *sui generis*.

In the first part of this article, we shall undertake a morphological and semantic analysis of the names of colours. Subsequently we shall see how Muslim thinkers, theologians and philosophers, have analysed perception of colours. The final part will be devoted to the symbolic dimension of colours.

For a proper understanding of the subject, some clarifications and definitions are required, however: the colour of an object is observed, on the purely perceptive level, with its three sensory variants of tonality ("colour" in the strict sense), luminosity (the "quality", the extent to which the object reflects or transmits light) and saturation ("vivacity", "intensity" of the colour). White is an achromatic colour, as is black. Just as, in physics, a white body diffuses equally all the visible radiations that it receives, so a perfectly black body, for its part, absorbs all radiations totally and transmits none. The achromatic colours have a zero saturation. The complementary colours are those which neutralise each other and which when combined produce white: indigo/yellow, blue/orange, violet/yellow green, red/blue-green. Finally, of the seven colours of the spectrum, only three, blue, yellow and red, are fundamental: they serve to elaborate the other colours.

Morphological study. The morphology of adjectives of colour is characterised by the fact that they are, in the majority of cases, formed on the diptote paradigm *af'al* in the masculine, *fa'lā'* in the feminine. The *af'al* theme is a theme of intensity, which also supplies the elative, this common formulation of the intensive and of the adjective of colour is apparently not coincidental, and it is asserted that, semantically, the latter may have been regarded, at a certain stage in the evolution of the language, as an intensive that which we translate as "red" may, originally, have signified 'more red than . . ". The evolution of the language would have led to the elipse of the second term of the comparison. (In this context see *LA*, ed. Beirut, ii, 1223, root *ḥ-m-r*. As M. Guillaumont has commented (*Problèmes de la couleur*, 343), "it is a fact that in Semitic, there is a particularly narrow line separating names of colours and intensive themes. In Aramaic, names of colours are specifically formed on the pattern *f'ʿl*. In Hebrew there also exists a series of names of colours formed on an intensive pattern characterised by the doubling of the last two radicals [*f'lʿl*] . . ".

Alongside this *af'al/fa'lā'* construction, which is not only that of the majority of adjectives of colour, but also that of all the fundamental colours, other forms are encountered, admittedly rare, to which we nevertheless, draw attention, while not forgetting that some of them are doublets of the form *af'al*, or combine to form doublets of their own. We may mention the following themes. *fā'il* (*bāhiṭ*), *mufa"al* (*muḥtaras*"), *fa'il* (*ḥjawen*), *fa'il* [*fakiʿ*], *fa'al* or *fa'il* (*shahab*, *lahik*) and *muf'il* (*mukrif*). Less common are adjectives of the patterns *fa'lāl*, *fa'lāl*, *fa'illi*, *fa"ayl*, *fi'āl*, *fa'āll*, *fā'ill*, *fa'alit* and *fa'ilī*. There exists an undoubted link between certain of these themes and a certain chromatic nuance, *fā'il* and saturation, *mufa"al* and mixture, *fa'il* and blending. Others of these themes are in fact relative adjectives terminating in *ī*, an indirect manner of denoting colour to which Arabic frequently has recourse. Some adjectives of colour (often borrowed words) are defined by relation to an object which represents this colour and which serves as a support. Thus *wardī* derives *from ward* "rose", *banafsajī* from *banafsaj* "violet", *kuḥlī* from *kuḥl* [*q.v.*] 'collyrium'. It is most probable that there exists a connection between the form of the adjective and its meaning. Thus, from the one root *f-ḥ-ṣ*, the following are derived. *faḥṣ* "of a simple yellow", *fuḥṣ* "very red" (of human complexion), *faḥṣ* "red or white", and *afḥaṣ* "very white"—so many bright nuances.

Nouns of colour are *maṣdars* which generally have the form *fa'la*. This is the only abstract element in chromatic terminology. By *ḥumra* or *supra*, Arabic expresses "the state of being red", "the state of being yellow". As with the adjectives of colour, but within a less varied spectrum, the nouns of colour, although being *maṣdars*, are capable of borrowing the following themes *fa'al*, *fa'l*, *fa'āl* (the last applying, apparently exclusively, to white and black, of which the roots are "hollow"), *fi'l*, *fa'ālī*, *fi'la*. For nouns of colour of the theme *fa'la*, and for these alone, it seems that these *maṣdars* cannot be called "verbal substantives", since, as we shall see, the verbs of colour which correspond to these *maṣdars* are denominative in origin.

Of the derived forms of the Arabic verb there are two—those of the paradigm *if'alla* and *if'illa*—which have a particular quality, they express states (colour or deformity), they do not derive from the "bare form" *fa'ala*, but are denominative in origin, formed from adjectives of the paradigm *af'al* expressing the states cited above and they denote an intensive aspect which is illustrated by the doubling of the final radical. The XIth form (*if'ālla*), less common than the IXth (*if'alla*) seems to be a doublet of it, still more intensive. Thus we have, besides *ibyaḍḍa* and *ismadda*, meaning respectively "to become white", "to become black", *ibyāḍḍa* and *ismāḍḍa*, for "to become pure white", "to become black as ebony". All verbs of the IXth and XIth forms are verbs of colour or of deformity. It does not, however, follow that all verbs expressing a notion of colour belong to one of these two forms. Besides the latter which could be described as "essential verbs of colour", we encounter others which borrow all the verbal forms, "bare" or derived, and which in general express colour through derivation of sense.

Finally, attention should be drawn to non-triliteral forms and loan words. The following parsdigms are encountered. *fa'lal*, *fa'lāl*, *fa'lal*, *fa'laīt* and *fa'lil* among the former. As for loan words, the most used are *arğawān* "purple", *zirǧāb* "yellow", *surḫān* "red and gilt", *firfir* "violet", *samāwī* "sky-blue", and *nīlaǧ* "indigo", these are terms derived from Persian or Greek.

Semantic study. To express the concept of "colour", Arabic uses the general term *lawn* which, besides this precise sense, also denotes "shade", "aspect", "type", "dish (of food)", etc. In addition to this general term, we also have the following words: *bāṣ* (stressing a notion of brightness, of clear colour), *ṣabḥ* (liquid colour or tincture, also applied to the object which it colours) *sukna* (applied to the colour of the complexion), *loṭṭ*, *nadīr*, *khuḍra* (applied to a dirty colour, a mixture of two blended colours) *kharadj*, *khāṣaf* and *nasīf* (all three referring to a mixture, a combination of two colours sometimes regarded as opposites).

It would seem useful, as preliminary to a semantic survey, to discover how the Arabs perceived the colours of the rainbow [see QAWS QUZAḤ], and how they subsequently transcribed their perceptions. Since this atmospheric phenomenon displays a very wide spectrum of colours, it is of the utmost interest *to determine how each people, the names that they* have given to what they have seen. We know that the Greeks and Romans attributed three colours to the rainbow. In his *Meteora* (iii, 4, 373) Aristotle lists red brown (*oinopa*), green (*prasinon*) and purple (*phoinikoun*) in which he sees a progressive weakening of the light. Plato shows, in the *Timaeus*, that it is possible to reconstitute all shades with

four fundamental colours: black, blue, red, and the colour of light. Comparative study of languages belonging to very diverse cultural areas show that the divisions of the spectrum are far from always coinciding. They are arbitrary, and differ according to situations and the existing resources of the language. The great dictionaries and encyclopaedias of classical Arabic present, under the heading *lawn lawn*, almost unanimously, the following formula: "the rainbow consists of stripe to a circular are, coloured yellow, red and green" Here too—green replacing blue with which it is often confused—we again find the three fundamental colours.

The primary term used to denote the colour white is the adjective *abyaḍ* The same root supplies the word for "egg", *bayḍa*. *Al-abyaḍ* also denotes saliva, a sword, money, and, paradoxically, in Africa, coal. In the Kur'ān, the terms *abyaḍ* and *aswad* appear consecutively, expressing the contrast between light and dark, rather than that between white and black. Many examples could be quoted where *abyaḍ* refers to a tonality rather than a colour. There exists a host of other terms to denote white: *adam*, *ghighm*, *qiwm* (which denotes white as well as a dark tonality), *aṣḥyab*, *ṣaḥāb*, *ṣalm*, *aqtarr*, *fakk*[a] (a bright white as well as a bright red), *akmar*, *ḳuḥlī*, *ḥaḍīd*, *ahamm* (which displays the same peculiarities as *qiwm*), *ḥawārī*, *ḫāliṣ*, *zakar*, *lahak*, *asraḥ*, *nāṣ*[a] (brightness of white, yellow, red) *yaḥaḍ*, etc.

The principal term used to denote black is *aswad*, of which the root implies the notion of power, of might. The antonym of *abyaḍ*, sc. *aswad*, has the same characteristics: very often it applies to a dim or dark tonality, rather than to the colour black itself (cf Kur'ān, II, 187, III, 106, XVI, 58, XXXIX, 60, XLIII, 17) The substantive *al-aswad* can refer to such diverse objects and creatures as the snake, the scorpion, dates, etc The *maṣdar* "*sawād*", referred, quite uniquely, to a region of 'Irāḳ especially rich in palm trees and orchards.

The range of terms used in reference to black is also extremely wide Worthy of mention are *bagīs*, *muṭalḥam*, *ḳiṭmr*, *ahtam*, *ḳuḥlān*, *ḥundas*, *ḥulba*, *ḥilik*, *ahamm* (white, black, or dark red), *ahwas*, *ahwa* (a perfect example of the concept of darkness: black, red, green, cf Kur'ān, LXXXVII, 5) *adhas* (dark), *addjūn*, *adjādī*, *adhan*, *adlam*, *adham* (dark cf Kur'ān LV, 64), *aṣḥam*, *aṣfa*[c], *mughm*, *ghuddāf*, *ghurāb* (the association between the crow and the colour black is very wide spread, we may recall that the root *ġ r b* serves to denote black in Hebrew and in Aramaic), *afḥam*, *ḥilm*, *kitm*, *ḥilm*, *ahḥal*, etc.

Grey, a fusion of black and white, does not have a precise colour. It does not have a primary term in Arabic. We may mention the designations *shhb* and *ashhab* *aghbam*, *ahbab*, *adram*, *arhad*, *arsand*, *ormak*, *aghbath*, *asrak*, *aṣḥal*, *ḳahd*, *aḳlas*, *asmas*, *amlaḥ*, *amhak*, etc

The Arabs rarely mention violet The principal term, borrowed from Persian, is *banafsadj* Also encountered are *khubbāzā*, *zanādjāsā*, *finfīl*, evidently non Arabic words, and all of them adjectives of relation The same applies to indigo, of which the colouring material, a plant, is called *ḥiṣr*, *sadīs mughayyar*, *'ilm*, *nu'ūr*, *nīl*, *asla* or *nīlaǧ* and *wasma*. On the rare occasions when the colour indigo is mentioned, it is through paraphrases, as the colour of the indigo, or through adjectives of relation ending in *ī*

Blue, on the other hand, is one of the essential colours of nature The usual word denoting it is *azraḳ*, a term which also has the sense of livid, haggard (cf Kur'ān, XX, 102) The plural, *zurḳūm*, designates snakes The terminology of this colour is relatively limited, and this could be connected with the symbolic nature of blue, which we shall examine in due course. We may cite *samāwī*, *ḥaḳl*, *aṣḥal*, *'awhak* and *amlaḥ* (three terms of a pejorative nature) and *amlak*.

Green is synonymous with nature It is the basis of life. The usual term is *akhḍar*, an adjective also associated with the notion of darkness, since it sometimes denotes black, dark, grey We also find *al-khaḍrā'* as a reference to the sky: a further illustration of the link between blue and green, often confused in antiquity The Greeks, the Chinese, the Melanesians, the New Caledonians, the Romans, among others, used the same term to denote these two colours Without leaving the extreme richness of those of black and of white, the terminology of green is fairly extensive. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning *ḥiḍr*[a], *aḥwā*, *aḥḥāb*, *aḥḥab*, *adlas*, *rakik*, *'aṣḥaṣ* and *aghyan*.

Yellow is denoted, most often, by *aṣfar*, a word whose relationship with the name of the saffron plant (borrowed from Persian) is striking. Arab historians applied the designation *Banū 'l-Aṣfar* [q.v., lit. "the Yellow Ones"] to the Greeks and the Byzantines, while they called themselves "the Blacks" (or "the Muslims"?) and applied the designation "the Red ones" to all non-Arabs. The terminology of yellow is extensive The principal terms are *ḥibr*, *dhirḥ*, *ṣubraǧ*, *zabraǧ*, *wardī*, *nāḍir*, *aṣḥam*, *afṣa*[c] (see *fakk*[a] for bright white and red), *ḥalaǧ*, *amlaǧ*, *nāṣ*[a] (the same remark as for *afṣa*[c]) and *wāris*.

Orange, like violet and indigo, is indicated by means of the adjective of relation applying to the object which represents the colour *burtuḳālī* "orange", supplies the adjective *burtuḳālī*

Red evokes the notions of blood, flesh, fruits, life. The two "opposed" and complementary colours, green and red, are also the colours of all vegetable and animal life Red has always occupied a position of particular significance, in almost every sector of humanity It has always enjoyed a privileged status in vocabulary All its shades are represented, in virtually all languages Black, red and white form the trilogy of colours that are the best recognised and the richest in terminology and symbolism. The usual word, in Arabic, is *aḥmar*, deriving from a root with the sense of ardour, violence, intensity Red is the colour for which Arabic terminology is the richest. We shall confine ourselves to citing *ādam* (already encountered as a word for white, and perhaps the term for red in normal Semitic), *baḥaǧī*, *aṣḥam*, *ḫalūḳ*, *qiwm* (already encountered as a word for white), *ahlas*, *kānī*, *adhas*, *madmūm*, *adhas*, *adham*, *arḥad*, *rādinī*, *sabraḳ*, *azhar*, *ashā*, *aslaḥ*, *aslaǧ*, *aghrak*, *ṣuḥābī*, *ashas*, *sawʾarī*, *ṣiḥlab*, (already mentioned for white), *sawʾarī*, *aṣḥab*, *aḥraǧī*, *'anak*, *'anamī ghasīl*, *ghadh*, *waghlak*, *fadm*, *fadn*, *firiṣ*, *firṣad*, *afdab*, *fakk*[a] (already mentioned for yellow), *ḥumrī*, *ahraǧ*, *ḥirmiz* ("crimson"), *ḫaḍar*, *ḫinʾ* (especially denoting coloration), *alfa*[c], *ḥarsh*, *half*, *ḥamd*, *mārī*[a], *amʿar*, *mamkūr*, *nahd*[a], *ward* (cf. Kur'ān, LV, 37) and *yāmī*[c].

Brown and pink have a limited vocabulary It is logical, on the other hand that russet fawn should be precisely observed and distinguished by a people whose origins lie in the desert. We may mention *bukram*, *akṣab* *ḥadīr*, *ashkab*, *aghkar*, *asḥar*, *aṣḥab*, *a'yas*, *ahlaf* *ḥumayt* and *ward* (already mentioned for red) Purple is denoted, in the principal Semitic languages, by terms deriving from one single quadriliteral root *r-g-w-n* Arab lexicographers claim

that the Arabic *arghawān* is a loan word from Persian. *Firfīrī* and *birfīrī* obviously derive from the same etymology as the Greek *porphyra* and the Latin *purpura*. For lessened colours other than brown, the terminology often relies on variants of terms designating dust, ashes and earth.

The vocabulary of mixtures and blendings of colours is very extensive. One is struck by the frequency of the consonant *sh* in the formation of terms designating flecked, mottled, striped, spotted colorations. In addition—which is scarcely surprising—the hides of horses and camels are differentiated, down to the slightest nuance, by dozens and dozens of term (see the articles by Hess and Shihābī, cited in the *Bibl.*). The striking fact, in this context, is the large number of terms (*adhas*, *addjun*, *adkham*, *adra'*, *ad'as*, *adghath*, *adgham*, *adlam*, *adhas*, *adham*, etc.) with *d* as the first radical.

We close this brief survey of the semantics of colour with the remark that doublets and loan words are particularly frequent here.

Tonality, luminosity and saturation. The three psycho-sociological components which were cited at the beginning of this study are three unevenly-perceived sensory variants. It does not appear that tonality, in its sense of specific colour, was of fundamental importance to the Arabs when they evoked, in their literature, the colour of a landscape, a garment or any object belonging to their regular lives. It was rather a case of indistinct touches conferring a general impression. On the other hand—and this feature is determined by that mentioned above—luminosity, and saturation even more so, impressed them particularly. This is to be expected of a people living in a sun-drenched environment. These two notions of luminosity and of intensity seem in addition to be confused in the semantic quality of the innumerable adjectives which the Arabic language possesses, and which could be called "intensives of colour". The latter are used to qualify a "classical" adjective of colour, such as *abyaḍ*, *aswad*, *akhḍar* and *aḥmar*, and to indicate that this colour has attained its highest degree of luminosity or of intensity. While the substantives, *al-shab'*, *al-tashrīb*, *al-taḥkīḥ* and *al-yaḥī'*, specifically denote saturation, and while, on the other hand, brightness has the names *al-barīk*, *al-laṣīf* and *al-ra'fīf*, it is nonetheless true that the intensives *fāḳi'*, *naṣi'*, *khāliṣ*, *nāḍir* and *'atīk*, previously encountered in this survey, and all of them active participles: (a) imply, when they govern an adjective of colour, the notions of saturation and luminosity, indicating that the colour is intense and striking, and (b) are capable of being applied—originally at least—to any colour whatsoever. Apparently it was at a later stage that Arab grammarians assigned to each of these intensives a specific adjective of colour to qualify.

Colour in the works of Aristotle and his Arab translators. The Arab philosophers, in their analysis of the problem of colour and of its perception, were, to differing degrees, influenced by Aristotelian theory on the subject. It is important therefore to identify the major themes of the theses expounded by Aristotle, especially in his *De anima* (ii, 418a-419a) and his *De sensu et sensib.* 437b-440b).

The Greek philosophers were struck by the indissoluble link between light and colour on the one hand, and transparency on the other. The eyes, the most transparent part of the human body, are the meeting point of light or of external colour, and of their interior equivalent, a fact which favoured the theory of emanations. What is visible, says Aristotle, is colour, and colour is that which is on the surface of what is visible by itself. The basis of all the phenomena of colour is the transparent. The latter, represented especially by air and water, carries and determines colour, and colour is not visible without the aid of light, since it is only in the light that the colour of any object may be perceived. Where transparency is only potential, there is darkness. Light is like the colour of what is transparent, when the latter is realised in entelechy. The receptacle of colour must be what is colourless. The quiddity of colour is the ability to move the transparent in fact, and the transparent has the property of transmitting, instantaneously, the colour of the visual object to the eye, independently of any notion of time or space. One sees it, it is a qualitative and not a quantitative transmission. Aristotle rejects categorically the theory of emanations, developed by Empedocles, revised by Plato in his *Timaeus* (458 ff.) according to which we see by means of "rays of the nature of fire", which issue from the eye and meet the luminous emanation from the object perceived. Aristotle and all those who followed him, including the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], insisted on the aqueous and non-igneous nature of the eye. All the same, the Master rejected the idea, propounded by Democritus, Leucippus and Epicurus, that vision is only the reflection of an object, as in a mirror. Every object, even opaque, contains, in varying proportions, air and water, and to the extent to which bodies contain transparency, they are susceptible to being coloured. The colour of a solid body is the limit, the surface, not of the body itself, but of the transparency that is within it. The nature of transparency extends, in addition, throughout the whole of the body. Colours are the defined transparencies which reside in bodies and which approximate, more or less, to white or to black, according to whether they contain more or less fire (luminosity and active transparency), or earth (the opaque in the absolute), the thining element or the obscure element. The essence of colour is the act of determining a qualitative change in the light, which is, itself, active transparency. The intermediate colours—that is, those other than black and white—exist neither through juxtaposition of a white and black particle, nor by superimposition of one colour perceived over another. They result from a total, effective blending, of bodies entailing the blending of their colours. Such is the determinant cause for the existence of a multiplicity of colours. But their number is limited, since it is confined within the two extremes of white and black. Finally, Aristotle distinguishes between darkness and blackness. Darkness is the absence of actualisation of the transparent. It has no existence *per se*.

Some eminent Arab authors and translators, like 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. 240/855) and Hunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873) were influenced by Greek theories of colour, as they became known to them through the medium of the commentators of the early Middle Ages. According to al-Ṭabarī, white is evidence of the predominance of the dry element over the humid within bodies, the exact converse applies to black. For him, red results from the synthesis of heat with dryness and humidity. Such are the three fundamental colours from which the others derive. Yellow is the intermediary between red and black, green the intermediary between red and white. In the former, humidity is greater than in the latter. Other chromatic nuances are determined by varying quantities of dryness, humidity and heat. Haneyo,

for his part, is complimentary towards Aristotelian theories regarding the perception of colours. He insists on the fact that light is neither a form of fire nor a rarified body, as some of Aristotle's predecessors had claimed but a contingency borne by a body Colour is the perfection (entelechy) of limpid and diaphanous bodies—namely, *water*, air and all other similar substances—which receive the real colour of the objects surrounding them The transparent body has as colour *per se*; but it absorbs the colour of the object which it envelops It thus has potential colour Colours transform the transparent from being potentially coloured, it becomes actually coloured. Light, by its presence in the air, renders it capable of receiving colour.

Colour according to the **Mu'tazilīs** In its defence of the articles of faith by means of rational argumentation, the theologico-political school of the Mu'tazilīs was led to take an interest in the problem of physical bodies and of their perception, but they took divergent views on the problem of colour. While al-Naẓẓām (d. ca. 230/845), starting with the postulate that accidents cannot be visible, classed colours among the substances, the corruptible bodies, Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (d. ca. 220/835), his contemporary Mu'ammar and the majority of the disciples of the school, considered colours as accidents due to the action of men alone, or produced by the very nature of the things that they affect Thus they are not subject to divine creation, but God remains the determinant cause of the accidental determination of substances. God created substances (bodies, atoms), capable of producing, by their own nature, well-determined accidents, and colour is one of these. Directly following this reasoning, Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (beginning of the 3rd/9th century) declared that colour does not constitute proof of the existence of God, but is a simple form of physical bodies. Mu'ammar, the theoretician of *ma'nā* ("entity", "nature"), according to which "God creates a thing by virtue of a cause which, itself, derives from another cause, which is the fruit of another cause ", postulated that it is through the effect of a *ma'nā* that blackness differs from whiteness, and through another *ma'nā* that a certain body is black and another white. In fact, according to him, every "accident" (movement, colour, taste), requires the existence of an infinite chain of determining *ma'nās*, of which the initial cause is the Creator. "If God colours a body, it is because this body is by nature susceptible to colour. The same applies for other accidents" (Nader, *Système*, 162). Abū Hāshim al-Djubbā'ī (d. 321/933) classed colouration (*al-lawniyya*), like substantiality, corporality, and accidentality among the real things which do not actually exist. He considered that substance is not coloured necessarily, but that any substance endowed with colour is incapable of losing it. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (d. ca. 319/931) declared, for his part, that substance has always been endowed with colour. But the two masters agreed in stressing the fact that substance and colour are two distinct things, the first depends on divine action, while the second is engendered by the substance which bears it.

In fact, the *Maḳālāt* of al-Ash'arī (392-3) echo the controversy which developed within the school concerning these questions. From the perception of a coloured object, can one abstract the colour, knowing that the latter cannot be perceived, but only known? Or indeed, can one at the same time perceive whiteness and white, blackness and black? Or again, does one see only the colour and not the object, as al-Naẓẓām suggested? Opinions differed on the above points. As regards sensible awareness of the exterior world, al-Naẓẓām borrowed from the pre-Aristotelian philosophers their sensualist thesis, and their theory of 'pores' and "emanations' According to him, colour, form, flavour, taste etc., are each perceived only through the medium of an opening of a certain kind, by which the senses are affected Each of these sensations is a rarified body it emanates from a sensible object, penetrates through the specific apertures of the sensory organs, and thus reaches the consciousness of the being that senses it. Al 'Allāf (d. after 226/840) spoke of a divine intervention in the operation of man's awareness of sensible objects, but other Mu'tazilī theoreticians, like Mu'ammar, regarded the perception of sensible objects as a natural act of the sensory organs, as an engendered act (*tawallud*), free from any divine initiative.

Colour according to the *falāsifa*. At the meeting-point of Mu'tazilism and of *falsafa*, of which he was one of the major initiators, al-Kindī (d. ca. 259/873) was greatly interested in the 'physical sciences ' and, consequently, in the theory of light, of colour, and of their articulation In his work, as in that of his most eminent successors, the influence of Aristotelian theories, as they had been transmitted to the Arabs through the contemporary Neo-Platonism, is manifest. For "the philosopher of the Arabs", colour is a "general accident, since it affects numerous things". An accident perceived by the first of "the two noble sensory perceptions" (*al ḥassayn al-sharīfayn*), sight and hearing Just as the active intellect has the function of actualising potential intelligibles, the light which strikes opaque objects transforms potential colours into actual colours. The truly diaphanous body has no colour of its own, since it is the vehicle of the colour of the objects situated behind it. Of the four elements of the universe, only earth is not transparent· it is thus the only bearer of colour in this sublunar world. For an object to be affected by light and thus, a bearer of colour, it must be circumscribed, not fluid, compact, and it must form an obstacle (*yaʿtarid*) to visual rays. The colours which we believe that we perceive to fire are in fact the colours of terrestrial particles which are mixed with the fire The latter—like air and water—is totally colourless. At the same time, our senses give us the illusion that the sky is azure (*lāzuwardī*) in colour, although it is not so at all. In fact, the colour that we believe we see in the sky is an artificiality it is the colour of the vaporous and terrestrial particles of which the air is full. The stars, on the other hand, are circumscribed and compact bodies, as is proved by the fact that they eclipse one another. That is why they may be coloured.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was also interested in colours. The latter, he tells us, occur on the surface of bodies, under the effect of a luminous source since they do not exist in themselves. They are thus accidents provoked by this source of light. The chromatic differences are provided by the different dispositions of the lighted bodies. Colours only affect the sublunar world, the world of generation and of corruption. The heavenly bodies, the primary elements (*usṭuḳusāt*), the simple bodies, have no colour. The colour of terrestrial bodies derives from the fusion of the elements composing each one of them. The presence of the fire element brings a tendency towards white, that of the earth element a tendency towards black. The intermediary colours result from the proportions in which these two primary elements are blended

Repeating an Aristotelian formula, al Farābī defines colour as "the surface of the diaphanous body, in the measure of its transparency". White is not the negation of black, nor black that of white; these opposite do not annihilate each other.

The Ikhwān al Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] (end half of the 4th/10th century) authors of a collective encyclopaedia clearly influenced by Neo-Platonian emanationism, considered colour one of the complementary attributes of the body. It is a "spiritual accident", a "form which the soul puts into the body". Light is bound up with the souls and spirits that circulate within it. While traversing diaphanous bodies ("the purest bodies are diaphanous") in the same way in which the soul circulates in the human body, light carries colours up to the pupil, preserving their purity intact. At the level of the pupil, the visual faculty perceives the colours, then transmits them to the imaginative faculty. Light and darkness are "spiritual colours". On contacts with bodies, they transform themselves, respectively, into white and black, which are "corporeal colours". Colours, defined as "the brightness of the rays of bodies" appear only on the surface of the latter. There exist seven simple colours: white, black, red, yellow, green, blue and "the dull colour" (*al-kudra*, violet?). Black derives from an earthy humidity which prevents light from reaching vision. Black is the absence of light. It causes convergence of the visual cluster. At the opposite extreme, white is the manifestation of light in its full purity. For its part, it entails a divergence of the visual cluster. The other colours are intermediaries between these two extremes, each one being characterised by the respective part played by the quantity of white and of black which it contains. An object appears yellow when an obstacle prevents *light from appearing pure. Red can derive from* "putrefactive causes" (through excess of humidity) or from "liquefactive causes" (through excess of heat). Green draws near to black, in the sense that, here too, an earthy humidity is dominant, constructing the passage of light and of the visual rays. Blue belongs to the chromatic family of green. God made the air blue and the plant green to accommodate the interest of His creatures. In fact, these two colours possess the virtue of being salutary for the vision. The colours of the rainbow are four in number: red, yellow, green and blue; each of these colours corresponds to one of the four primary qualities, namely, heat, dryness, humidity and cold, and to one of the four elements, namely, fire, air, earth and water. Finally, these authors reflect the theory of emanations. Such a thesis, they declare, could only be supported by people having no "experience of the things of the spirit and of nature".

Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), like Aristotle, classed the psychology of the sensory apparatus among the physical sciences. He devoted an entire chapter of his *Shifā'* to the problems of vision and of colour. Light is a quality affecting diaphanous bodies; and colour, opaque bodies. The latter are coloured potentially. Colour can exist without being visible but actual colour occurs only by virtue of its clarity. Colours do not exist, in fact, in bodies. A black, dark body, is potentially coloured. An object that is coloured when it is lit up, will be colourless in the dark: it is deprived of actualised colour. The actively transparent (air, water, the celestial sphere) is a diaphanous medium, and at the same time a vehicle. The illuminating body approaches the coloured body, without any change, say alteration, affecting the diaphanous medium. The existence of light makes the potential transparent an actualised transparent. As light increases, so the manifestation of colour increases also. Ibn Sīnā followed the views of Aristotle in regarding as absurd the theory of emanations, in rejecting the theory that assimilated vision to a reflection similar to that transmitted by a mirror, and in distinguishing between darkness and blackness. He rejected the theory according to which only whiteness is a colour, and blackness is darkness, since, he tells us, black is illuminated, and it gives light to things other than itself. Consequently, colour is not whiteness alone. Absolute, generic colour, is not light but the latter is the cause for the apparition of the former, and the cause of its transmission. Light is thus a constituent part of the visible entity which we call "colour". Effective colour results from the encounter of light with potential colour. The intermediary colours result from the blending of black and white. White can turn into black in three different ways: (a) through grey of increasing darkness; (b) through red tending increasingly towards brown, and (c) through green and indigo. These diverse processes are the reflection of the diversity of composition of the intermediary colours.

Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039), in his *Optics*, took issue with those scholars who denied the real existence of colour, and declared that it was only an apparition situated between the eye and the source of light. According to him, if it is true that the appearance of colour is affected by the quality of the light which carries it, and that the same colour can be transformed according to the degree of light which it is given it nonetheless remains a fact that colour has an existence of its own. His commentator Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (d. 720/1320) explored the fundamental connection *between light and colour. In darkness*, colours are presented potentially, in coloured bodies. They are transformed into actual colours when light affects these bodies.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) devoted a paragraph of his *Fiṣal* to colour. Here we read that the air is invisible, because it has no colour, whereas water is visible, because it is white. Similarly fire also is colourless in its sphere: the colour that we see in burning wood, in the wick of a lamp or in any other body that is consumed by fire, derives from the measure of humidity contained in these bodies. In burning, the latter is transformed into igneous air, and the colour which each of these burning bodies adopts is determined by the materials of which it is composed. It is also particles of humidity which give rise to the rainbow. The scholar of Cordova subsequently sets out to refute the theses of the "Ancients", according to whom white results from a divergence of the visual cluster, and black from a convergence of this cluster. According to him, black is invisible, because perception exists only through an extension of vision. Since the eye sees only that which is coloured, black is not a colour. It is, in fact, only darkness, the non-being, privation of colour and eye sight. When we believe that we "see" black, we are subject to an optical illusion. It is purely a matter of convention and metaphor when we describe a person, a crow or a garment, as black. In fact, each of these bodies has its own colour, which is not black. As for the difference between a matt black and a shiny, bright black body, this derives not from the black itself, but from the lustre, the brightness and the scintillation, which are distinct and constitute a colour in its own right, which affects all the chromatic nuances. We may recall that Plato counted

"the colour of light" among the four fundamental colours. One could, says Ibn Ḥazm, just as well say that the dull is a specific colour, since the vision perceives it. Such is also the case with brightness, with luminosity. It is evident that the Ẓāhirī master was particularly aware of the sensory variants of colour. He goes on to establish a hierarchy in the vividness of perception of colours, whose order is as follows: white, yellow, red and green. It is to be noted that he shows a great deal of circumspection in the declaration of his statements, since he is careful to follow them, invariably, with the formula "God alone knows!", as even "May God assist us!"

Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1139), elaborated a whole doctrine of colour in his *Treatise on the soul*. The influence of Aristotle, in particular of his *De sensu et sensib.* is evident, a fact which the author makes no attempt to conceal, as he quotes from the latter work on more than one occasion. The postulate is that the primary sensory element of vision is colour. The seeing soul (*al-nafs al-bāṣira*) is the faculty which exists in the eye and which enables it to perceive colour. It is localised in the vitreous humour, which the Arab philosophers called the glacial humour (*al-rutūba al-djalīdiyya*). Colour is, in substance, a form. It is perceptible only through the intermediary of the air, and when a coloured object is placed directly before the eye, the latter is incapable of perceiving it. The air only discharges its function as a vehicle for colour when it is lit by a luminous source. Two hypotheses could then be formulated: (a) colours, in darkness, are untentual only, and have no effective existence; (b) the air absorbs colours only through the influence of the optical image in which these colours reside. For Ibn Bādjdja, the potential existence of colour in darkness is in no doubt. Proof of this existence lies in the different tonalities of the same colour, depending on the quality of the surrounding light, which includes penumbra. He adds that this was demonstrated well by Aristotle (see *De sensu et sensib*., iii, 440a, 7-13). As for the phosphorescence and the sheen of certain objects and animals, these are determined not by colour but by impressions affecting the eye. The property of colour, endowed by the fact that it derives from the blending of the lighted with the coloured body, is that of being, itself, a dispenser of light, and of moving the air. Colour therefore contains light. It promotes a movement in the lighted body, in that it is lighted, for this body is, itself, a vehicle for colour. In addition colour puts the diaphanous into effect, by reason of the fact that the latter only accepts colour because it is lighted. Democritus was mistaken in declaring that vision in a vacuum would be purer than through the diaphanous. Just as colour cannot be perceived in the absence of light, so the latter is only perceptible when associated with colour.

The eminent commentator on Aristotle, Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), also undertook to expound a theory of light and of colour, as far as possible consistent with the spirit of the Peripatetic science, as transmitted through the intermediary of Alexander of Aphrodisium, Themistius and Jean Philiponus. He sets out his theory in his Great Commentary *on De anima* and his *Epitome on Parva naturalia*. Colour exists on the surface of a certain body. It is the entelechy (actualisation) of a limited transparency, as that it is a limited transparency, while light is the entelechy of an unlimited transparency. Resulting from a blending of fire with diaphanous body, colours find in the light, not the cause of their transmission of the visual organ, but a genuine essence and existence. We have seen that Ibn Bādjdja supported the theory according to which colours exist, *in potentia*, in bodies, whether the latter are lighted or not. Unlike his compatriot from Saragossa, the master of Cordova claims that they can exist effectively, even when they are not perceived. They only become visible under the effect of light. "It is evident that light is necessary for colours to be visible; whether because it gives to colours the form and the manner of being (*malaka/habitus*) by which they impinge upon the transparent, or because it gives the transparent the form by which it receives the action of the colours, or else both can be achieved" (*apud* L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd*, 133).

For his part, Averroes maintains the following connection. light gives to the transparent the manner of being which enables it to be influenced by colour. Light and colour coexist in the diaphanous milieu. They derive, the former from a body which is luminous in itself, the latter from a body which is coloured in itself. Light brings about the actualisation of potential colour, in such a way that it is capable of moving the diaphanous, which is transformed from the potentially diaphanous to the effectively diaphanous, and can, as a result, absorb colour and transmit it to the eye. Thus the objective existence of colours, and their effect on the eye, depends on light. But visibility is not a condition for the existence of colour. It follows that, contrary to the view of Ibn Bādjdja, colour as such does not contain light. When light acts upon the diaphanous, then, according to the intensity of this light, and its degree of transparency, different colours are produced. White derives from a blending of pure fire, that is, solar light (in its capacity as a luminous element) with air (in its capacity as the most diaphanous element). Black derives from a blending of turbid fire (that which is located above the elements and below the spheres) and earth (in its capacity as the most opaque element). The two absolute colours are thus "the primary elements" (*usṭuḳussāt*) of the colours. All the other colours are situated between these two extremes. They result from an infinity of proportioning of the chromatic pair white/black. To the extent to which an intermediate colour (green, red, yellow, etc.) tends towards white, it loses, in proportion, the ingredient of black which it contains, and *vice versa*. In common with Aristotle, his Arab commentator believes that the blending of colours consists, not in a juxtaposition or a superimposition, but in a total union of constituent elements, in the event, of fire and diaphanous bodies.

It is evident that while the Arab theologians and philosophers did not neglect the subject of colour, they were concerned essentially with the manipulation of theories inherited from the Greeks and translated, since the 3rd/9th century, by men like Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn or Bishr b. Mattā. There was, strictly speaking, no Arab-Muslim doctrine of colour and, as far as we know, no monograph devoted to this question.

A mystical vision of colour. It is hardly necessary to stress the universal nature of the spiritual experience of colours. In this context, the works of H. Corbin enable us to appreciate the interest which certain Muslim mystics, like Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221) and al-Simnānī (d. 737/1336) took in the phenomenon of colours, and in the synchronism between them and the interior vision. Taking up the theory of "physiological colours" dear to Goethe, which the German master espoused in his *Farbenlehre* (1808), to refute the hitherto un-

challenged theses of Newton, the Iranian theosophist al-Kirmānī (d. 1870) laid stress on the difference to be established between the existence (*wudjūd*) and the manifestation (*ṣuḥūr*) of colour, a difference which has nothing to do with the classic distinction drawn by the *falāsifa* between potential and actual existence. His hermeneutic of colours "sets in motion . . . a symbolism based on an integral spiritual realism" (Corbin). Colour is the language of souls. The eye—the meeting point between exterior light and interior light—does not reflect passively the world which is presented to it, it participates in the perception of things, and produces its own colour. Deriving support from certain verses of the Kur'ān which, like XIII, 16 and XXXV, 20, make forceful statements such as "Are the blind man and he who sees equal; are darkness and light equal . . . ?", al-Kirmānī considers that the colours perceived by our eye are those of bodies, not those of rays of light, and that they exist in the supra-sensible worlds. "Light is the abstract of colour, or colour in the abstract state . . . Light is the spirituality of colour, and colour is the corporality of light . . . It is through the medium one of the other that they enter our field of vision" (Corbin). Without light, colour is still present, but is similar to a body deprived of its spirit. Every compound, whether it belongs to the sensible or to the supra-sensible world, therefore has a colour. The colour of the world of Intelligence is white, that of the world of Spirit is yellow, that of the world of the Soul is green; that of the world of Nature is red, that of the world of Matter is an ashen colour, that of the Imaginary world is deep green, that of the material body is black. In the same spiritual context, we may recall the famous formula of Novalis: "Colour is an attempt by matter to become light", and this comment by Rudolph Steiner: "Colour is not only a quality applied to the surface of objects, but a light flashing from the soul of things to reveal itself to our soul".

These reflections lead us on to the symbolism of colour.

The symbolism of colour. Colours are capable of acting, on the human being, independently of the optical system, and the sensation of colour, essentially, is an individual thing before it is a collective thing. The link between human perception, power of evocation and psychism, does not need to be proved. Also, since time immemorial, peoples have used colours as a system for the communication of thought, and as "signs" and symbols of abstract ideas. Although each colour does not denote, incontrovertibly, a universal quality, a number of invariants have been isolated by comparative study. Colours have played a role of considerable importance in ritual, in magic and in superstition. Nor are the psychological, physiological and physical effects of colour to be ignored: this "language of colour" in which is expressed, in art, the ineffable role of the chromatic nuances, whose faculty of interaction is essential for painting.

One quotation from the Kur'ān will suffice to prove that this was also the case with the Arabs. In XVI, 13 we read "... in that He has disseminated various colours upon the Earth, here, truly, is a certain sign for a people that is edified . . ." (see also XVI, 6; XXX, 22; XXXV, 27, 28; XXXIX, 21).

One of the most striking manifestations of the symbolic connotations of colours among the Arabs, is the phenomenon of opposites (*al-aḍdād* [q.v.]). We have seen, in studying the semantic value of certain adjectives of colour, that they were sometimes capable of embracing two diametrically opposite meanings. This phenomenon is particularly to be noted in the case of white and black, which have common adjectives. To signify wine, the Arabs used a number of euphemisms, of the type "the fair drink", "the golden one", etc. It seems to have been the same reasoning that led them, superstitiously, to avoid the use of certain terms, and to evoke them either by sufficiently eloquent imagery or by antiphrasis, in cases where the context rendered the sense unequivocal. Even today, in certain parts of the Orient and the Maghrib, in order to avoid pronouncing the word "black" (the accursed colour, the colour of Hell) opposites are used. In Morocco *al-abyad* sometimes denotes tar or coal. It has been observed, in addition, that some adjectives occasionally quality two colours which, while being different, nonetheless present certain affinities. In the collective unconscious where humanity's roots are laid, it does not seem that our ancestors felt the need to establish a tight partition between colours which may be regarded as being close, as they offer similar attributes of luminosity or of intensity, such as blue and green in the former instance, yellow and red in the latter. The same conclusion holds good for the Arabs. For them, the symbolic value of white, does not seem to have been much different from that which it was for the majority of peoples, for certain latent associations are universal. The colour of brightness, of loyalty, of royalty, sc. white, most often symbolises purity, joy, chastity and virginity in popular psychology. White, the confusion of all the colours, is unity, the very image of divinity. The body of the archangel Gabriel is snow white. The white bird is the emissary sent from Heaven to tell good news. The white cock is held to be the incarnation of an angel. It was a white cock that Allah sent to indicate to Adam the times of prayer (*Kiṣaṣ*, 13, 66-7, 126, 200). By reference to the white hand of Moses, when he accomplished the miracles recounted in the Kur'ān, the expression *yad beyḍā'* symbolises potency, power, authority. In the colloquial speech of Syria, "a white heart" designates a person of good companionship, of noble nature; "a white standard", a good reputation; "white tidings", a joyful message. In Egypt, a fine day is compared to milk or to a white flower. But, as in the Far East, and as in Europe for a long time, white can also be the colour of grief and of mourning. Death is livid and white in contrast to the redness of life. The shroud is white. White hair is the forerunner of death. In Spain, in Morocco, in eastern Persia, white was also the colour of mourning (cf. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 298-9). The popular subconscious has, furthermore, also been aware of this affinity between white and death, and the end of life is characterised by rhetorical figures such as "white death", sudden and natural death, death in which human knowledge is powerless towards the unknowable.

Aswad and *sayyid* present an etymological relationship that is loaded with meaning. The Arabs sensed that black was a dominant colour, exercising over them a fascination that was mingled with fear. Black, darkness, the night, mystery—all of these demand respect. The Black Stone of the Ka'be is a pillar of spiritual influence. Black is the omit of "the unknown journey", of mourning and of all sadness. It is also the joint symbol of vengeance and revolt (cf. the black flag of the 'Abbāsids). In the history of superstition in the lands of Islam, black occupies a privileged position. By a kind of homeopathic magic, it is used as a charm against "the evil eye". The black

cat is endowed with enormous magic power: it is a creation of Satan, and anyone who eats its flesh is immunised against illness; its spleen, when applied to a woman, stops menstruation. For the Muslims, as for so many other peoples, the black crow exercises a baleful influence, meeting the bird is an unfavourable omen, since the bird is the herald of separation; is it not assumed that the Prophet said that the crow must be killed, since it is wicked and perverse? The chains of Hell are black. A black cloud is a sign of divine wrath. Cain killed Abel with a black rock (*Kiṣaṣ*, 8, 108, 121, 186-7, 193-4, 208). *Al-sawād* "is the black hair, source of sorrow and fear. "Black lives" is a term applied to a sworn enemy, "black heart" is a degenerate and vulgar personality; "black news" denotes a calamity, "black life" is unfortunate, a "black face" belongs to a discredited person, "black death" is reserved for that caused by strangulation.

Blue, at the opposite extreme from red, is a cold, fleeting, profound, immaterial colour. The sky and the sea are blue, *anyone who plunges into them is* lost to infinity, since their depth is immeasurable. Metaphysical fear is a "blue fear". The Arabs considered this colour magical, inauspicious and disturbing. Blue eyes are a source of bad luck, and miscreants are depicted with them in the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (117, 121, 123). In Egypt, as a defence against the "evil eye", blue-coloured grains of alum (*shabb*) are hung at the neck of children and adults. Blue stone possesses a share of the sacred force, by virtue of its celestial colour. The magical power of blue is at the same time the dispenser of ill fortune and a defence against it. The "blue enemy" is an inveterate and mortal enemy in Syrian parlance, when it is said of a person that "his bones are blue", this means that he is of cunning, vindictive nature. Blue is the *colour of haggard, livid, frightened people*. In the only Qurʾānic passage where the root *z-r-q* occurs (XX, 102), it is used to describe the guilty ones on the Day of Last Judgment. This is why, as with black, the Arabs took pains to avoid mentioning this colour. In certain regions of Egypt, one says "green" rather than "blue". A disagreeable or fretful day is also described as "a black day 'or' a blue day". We may note that in Sanskrit, the term *nīla* serves to denote both blue and black, two colours regarded as maleficent. In Egypt, *nīla* (indigo) is a sign of misfortune, of failure.

Equidistant between infernal red and celestial blue, green has a medium role, a form of equilibrium dear to Islam. For the Arabs, as for many other peoples, it is the symbol of good luck, of natural fertility, of *vegetation, of youth. For Islam*, the green standard of the Messenger of Allah and the green cloak of ʿAlī have become the very emblems of the Religion. As a beneficent colour, green belongs so naturally to the popular spirit of the Arabs that their colloquial language is full of expressions where this colour symbolises joy, gaiety or success. In Syria, a "green hand" is used in describing a lucky person. To wish somebody a good year, one uses the expression "green year", and when one takes up residence in a new dwelling, green leaves of beet are hung there as a token of good luck. In Morocco, the expression "my stirrups are green" means "I bring the rain when I travel into an area where it is awaited". Muhammad himself declared: "The sight of green is as agreeable to the eyes as the sight of a beautiful woman (cf. *al-Ḥākim, Tarīkh*, 137). The archangel *Gabriel has* two green wings. The Heavenly Throne is carved from a jewel green in colour. Abraham is clothed, in Paradise, in green garments. The Preserved Tablet [see LAWḤ] is made of emerald (*Kiṣaṣ*, 7, 13, 139, 220). The title "Green Bird" is the name given to a number of saints. One should not ignore the special place reserved by the doctors of *djihād* to the *shahīd*, "the *martyr* in the Way of Allāh", while the *corpses* of these martyrs remain in their tombs, their souls, on the other hand, are entitled to privileged treatment. "Allāh puts their souls into the bodies of green birds, which quench their thirst in the rivers of Eden, and eat of its fruits", says a famous *ḥadīth*. In symbolism and the occult sciences, the emerald, a beautiful green stone, is seen as endowed with an esoteric significance and a regenerative power. The *Emerald table* is the title of a work, which appeared in the Middle Ages, containing all the laws of occultism and the Kabbala, and attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. "The colour green", said al-Simnānī, "is the most appropriate to the secret of the Mystery of Mysteries". In Islamic cosmology, *Kāf* [*q.v.*] the mountain encircling the terrestrial world, is made of *green emerald, whose colour is reflected* by the celestial vault. The image "green death" refers to the action of clothing oneself in rags or patched garments, as do the dervishes and the Ṣūfīs. It is thus the most gentle of deaths, accepted willingly and endowed with spiritual worth.

The colour of gold and of the sun, of butter and honey, but also that of sulphur and the flame that consumes, yellow presents a wide ambivalence on the symbolic level, and not only for the Arabs. It can, according to the nuances applied to it, refer just as easily to cowardice as treason as to royal power and glory. The sight of the Angel of Death gives to Adam sweat "the colour of saffron". At the time of the "descent of Jesus" and the Last Judgment, the guests of Paradise will have white faces, those of Hell black; as for the people condemned to undergo "the ordeals of the tomb" their faces will be "the colour of saffron" (*Kiṣaṣ*, 75, 308). The link between bright yellow and youth, love, waning, separation, is widespread in human psychology. For the Andalusian poets, the yellow of the narcissus is the symbol of the lover who pines away for unrequited love. The colour yellow symbolises the pain of separation. *Al-ṣafrāʾ* denotes bile. In the parlance of the Levant, "a yellow smile" denotes a smile full of envy. On the other hand, we may note that in the ʿAbbāsid period, the Muslim East displayed a definite predilection for yellow. Even food was coloured yellow through the use of saffron.

Red is the colour of fire and of blood, of passion, of impulse and of danger. It is fundamentally linked to the vital force, and to the warlike qualities. It is a gushing colour, hot and male, unlike blue and green. The name of the first man, Adam, signifies "red" in Hebrew. As with yellow, its symbolism is ambivalent, both divine and infernal. The Burning Bush has its equivalent in the Furnace. The red sulphur (*kibrīt aḥmar*) of Islamic esotericism denotes Universal Man, the product of the action of hermetic red. It is said that at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn, the angels who assisted the faithful against the infidels wore red turbans or belts. But, on the other hand, when the Eternal decreed the destruction of Saba and of its dam, He sent red rats to undermine the edifice (*Kiṣaṣ*, 280, 285). The Arabs qualified with "red" the form of death caused by the emission of blood. In popular speech, an unlucky year is called "a red year". *In Syria*, the expression "*his eye is red*" applies to a cruel person; and "his wool is red" means that he is accursed.

We see that the problem of colours, of their transmission and their perception, is quite complex There has been a definite evolution in chromatic perception since the origins of humanity. In early antiquity, man was, apparently, above all sensitive to the light, and very little to colour as strictly defined Gradually, psychism—and, consequently, semantics—learned to distinguish the nuances and to designate them The infinite richness of the colours emerged slowly in the course of the centuries. The apprenticeship of colour took place in the milieu surrounding each people Language and perception have interfered, without ever totally covering all aspects of the question. Symbolism has entered into the element of subjectivity and ambivalence inherent in every perception of colour while the human brain has extended its field of reflection, the range of its thought, and rendered its transition more flexible, by learning how to nuance it

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LAWSHA, Spanish Loja, a small town of al-Andalus, 35 miles to the south-west of Granada, on the left bank of the Genil at the foot of an imposing limestone mountain, the Periquetes. It has now rather less than 30,300 inhabitants, but was probably more important during the Arab period. It was the birthplace of the famous Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*q.v.*), who wrote an enthusiastic description of it. The walls of the *ḥiṣn* which commanded the town during the Arab period can still be seen. It was repopulated in 280/893 during the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. This "key of Granada" was besieged in 1488 by the Catholic kings, who captured it on 25 Djumādā I 891/29 May 1486.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

LAYL and **NAHĀR** (Ar.), two antithetical terms which designate respectively night and day, but do not have exactly the same status and are not parallel.

Layl is treated as a collective noun without dual (except in poetry where the use of this incorrect form is justified by the requirements of metre), or plural; it possesses, as would be expected, a noun of unity, *laylat*un "one night", of which the plural *layālī* and the seldom used diminutive *luyaylayāt*un, are something of an embarrassment to philologists, who are inclined to consider them as formed either on *"layl-iyyat*un or on *"layālīt Nahār*, for its part, applies to the "day" which extends from sunrise to sunset; like *yawm*, it has neither dual, nor plural (since the forms *anhur*, *nuhur* and in dialect, *nahārāt*, are secondary and judged inadmissible by the grammarians, who can only account for them as an aberrant transfer from the generic to the particular, from *djins* to *nawʿ*), but it is not a collective and, for this reason, it has no noun of unity and cannot itself supply this function. Thus the correlative of opposition to *layl*, *nahār*, cannot be opposed to *laylat*un, of which the antonym is *yawm* (pl. *ayyām*), signifying "day" (of twenty-four hours) So one says *layl*un *wa-nahār*un "night and day, by night and day" (e.g. Kurʾān LXXI, 3), but *yawm wa layla*, "a day and a night" is twenty-four hours and not thirty-six, the famous battles of the pre-Islamic Arabs, which did not take place at night, are known by the expression *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*], generally translated as "the days of the Arabs" On the other hand *nahār* is sometimes a substitute for *yawm* as in Moroccan dialect where, in stories, "one day" is always *wāḥd n-nhār* and one even encounters *wāḥd n-nhār . . f lil* (e.g. G S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 87). On the other hand, *ayyām* and *laylī* are, in certain cases, interchangeable While the "borrowed days", each one of which effectively lasts twenty-four hours, are known in Arabic as *ayyām al-ʿadjūz* [*q.v.*], the very cold period which begins in December and ends

forty days later is always called *al-ʿayyūḳ al-sūd* "the black nights", while the forty "mottled" days which, in two series of twenty, immediately precede and follow it and during which the cold is less severe, are sometimes called *al-ʿayyūḳ al-bulḳ* (e.g. in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, sometimes *al-layālī al-bulḳ* (especially by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 384).

Similarly, the distances which are express in "n days' journey" are measured by the Arabs in *stages* (*marḥala*, pl. *marāḥil*), translated either as "days" (*ayyām*) or as "nights" (*layālī*), even in reference to a country whose day-time travel is practicable). While the day of the month can be expressed by means of *yawm* followed by an ordinal number up to 29, an ordinal and a cardinal from *ašara* upwards (*al-yawma ʾl-ḥādiya ašar ʾl-ʿišrīna min Ṣafar* = 23 Ṣafar), a calculation based on nights is used in preference, most often with elision of the word *layla* or *layālī*, but with the feminine form of the numerical noun (whereas *yawm* or *ayyām* would demand the masculine), for example *li-arbaʿa ʿašrata ḫalat/ḫalatawna min Muḥarrim* = "fourteen (nights) having elapsed of Muharram = the 14th of the month (not the 15th, since the official day begins at sunset), or, *li-ʿišrīn baḳiyat/baḳīya min Muḥarrim* = "ten (nights) remaining of Muharram" the 20th of the month. (In this context, in calculating correspondence with the Julian or Gregorian calendars, it is important to know if an event dated on a certain day happened before midnight, in which case the corresponding date indicated by the tables should be put back one unit.)

Being accustomed to look to the sky for guidance while travelling of night, and to use the stars [see ANWĀʾ] and the phases of the moon [see KAMAR] for the measurement of time, the ancient Arabs divided the lunar month into ten periods of three nights bearing names chosen for the most part as references to the different shapes of the moon or to the degree of its brightness: 1-3° *ghurar* (or *ghurr*, *kurāʿ*); 4-6° *nufal* (or *ḏulur* *ẓulaḥ*); 7-9° *tusaʿ* (or *zuhr buhr*); 10-12° *ʿušar* 13-15 *bīḍ*, 16-18 *ḥurāʿ* (or *durʿ*); 19-21 *ẓulam*; 22-24° *ḥanādis* (or *naḥs*, *ḥusaḥ*) 25-27 *ḏaʾādiʾ* (or *ḥuḳam*); 28-30° *maḥāḳ*. These three last nights were qualified with, respectively, *ḏaʾdāʾ*, *ḏaʾmā*ʾ and *layliṭ*, but the 30th also bore the names *sarār*, *saror*, *nāḥita*, *ḏaʾdaʾ*, *falta*. The first and the last days of the month, in historical and correspondence, are also designated by terms connected with the moon: *ghurra* for the first and *munsalaḫ* or *sarār* for the last. There also exists a different nomenclature in which nights from the 13th to the 21st bear the same names as those detailed in the scheme above, but the others are: 1-3 *hilāl*, 4-5 *ḥamas*, 7-12 *nufal*, 22-27 *ḥanādis* 28 *ḏaʾdāʾaldāʾ*, 30: *maḥāḳ* (for all these names, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, § 159; al Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 429 ff. = §§ 1316-18; *Calendrier de Cordoue*, 18; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, 63 4 Ibn Sīdah, *Muḵaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 30-1, thn al-Aḏ̲ānī, *al-Azmina wa ʾl-anwāʾ*, 85-7, M. Rodinson, *La lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam* in *Sources orientales*, *La lune, mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 163-4).

The ancient Arabs possessed a host of epithets to describe a dark night but it is scarcely possible to establish a gradation between them. The majority of these terms, some of which are quite expressive (e.g. *muẖaniḳa*, *muḫlikima*), have fallen into disuse, as their creation only the following: *layla ṣalmāʾ* *muʿanbisa*, *muʿaddahimma*, *ḏayǰūr*, "very dark" *muʿlanbisa*, *bahīm*, "where one can see nothing"; *laḥāya*, *ḥāǰiya*, "overcast and moonless"; *sadaf*, *ghaiham* "penumbral", *layl musḏahirr* or *muḏraḥiḍḍ*, "long night" (see Ibn Sīdah, *op. laud.*, ix, 57-42).

From the whole of this rich vocabulary, attested in ancient poetry or compiled by *rāwīs* and reproduced scrupulously, though without much enthusiasm, by lexicographers, only the most current elements (in particular those derived from the root *ṣ-l-m*) figure in the Kurʾān, where day and night are items of considerable importance; we may in fact count a total of 37 occurrences of *nahār*, 79 of *layl*, 7 *al layla* and 4 of *layālī* (compared with 36 of *yawm*, 27 of *ayyām* and 69 of *yawmaʾiḏin*). The day and the night, naturally created by God and put at the disposal of mankind (XIV, 37/33) are signs (XVII 15/12, XLI, 37) of divine power, they are mutually concurrent (XXXI, 28/29, XXXIX, 7/5, LVII, 6), and God brings forth the day from the night (XXXVI 37, see also VII, 52/54), complementary (VI, 13, 60, XXV, 49/47, XXVII, 88/86, XXX, 22/23, XXXIV, 32/33, XXXVI, 40, XL, 63/61), they succeed one another regularly, with emphasis placed on this succession (*ikhtilāf al-layl an ʾl-nahār*, II, 159/164, IV, 187/190, X, 8, XXIII, 92/80, XLV, 4/5), which is sometimes treated by translators as a contrast between two creations which renew themselves constantly (hence the term *al-ǧadīdāni*, "the two new ones"). The two words appear together in a total of 24 verses.

The word *sāʿa*, which occurs 47 times in the Kurʾān (in 33 cases to designate the [Last] Hour) meant nothing more than "a moment, a brief lapse of time", for the ancient Arabs apparently did not divide the day in 24 hours this usage, a perfectly understandable one, is retained in the classical language, where expressions are encountered such as *summa sāʿatan* "instantly fatal poison". The concept of the hour was, however, introduced into Arab culture at an early stage for it was indispensable to astronomers, who distinguished between equal or average hours (*sāʿāt muʿtadilat*) and unequal or true hours (*zamāniyyāt* or *muʿwaǧǧaǧat*, and Islamic civilisation was at quite an early stage familiar with various types of clock [see HIYAL in Suppl.] which were evidently not at the disposal of the majority of peoples However, references in historical texts to events which took place, for example, at the third hour of the day or of the night, lead one to suspect that this notion was more widespread than is generally thought; it is thus possible that in a period which cannot be precisely identified, the day and the night were divided into twelve hours, the relative proximity of the equator making fluctuations in their duration according to the seasons a matter of small account This method of reckoning is still in use in Arabia, where, now that the possession of watches is widespread, it causes a certain amount of confusion.

The night begins immediately after sunset, which marks the start of the official day; this is why, when one talks of the previous night, the Arabic expression is *al-laylata* "this night", if the time is before midday (but *al-Maḥāta* "[the night] that has passed" if the time is after midday). The divisions of the night were not precisely defined, in spite of the rich vocabulary which is to be found, for example, in the *Muḵaṣṣaṣ* (ix, 44-8) of Ibn Sīdah who mentions, following Ḳutrub (ix, 37) five parts (*aǧzāʾ*) named respectively: *ḫuḍra*, *madda*, *sudfa*, *ḥadīma* and *yaʿfūr*, these expressions do not seem to have been in widespread use and, in any case, they are not defined in a satisfactory manner. However, the need to fix the hours of the three canonical prayers which take place during the night obliged the Muslims to interpret precisely

the meanings of certain ancient terms and to establish with accuracy the times to which they apply. Among the many words denoting the beginning of the night, *shafaḳ* has been sanctioned by usage in the Ḳur'ān (LXXXIV, 16), Allāh swears by the *shafaḳ*, interpreted as meaning rather "twilight" or "day", as opposed to the night which figures in the oath contained in the following verse, but it is agreed that this term designated "the evening twilight", the time at which the *maghrib* prayer should be performed [see MIḲĀT]. Some authors distinguish two twilights, of which the first is characterised by the redness of the sky and the second by its pallor (e.g. Ibn al-Aḳfānī, *op. laud.*, 118), but this distinction is secondary. The astronomic twilight lasts for as long as it takes the sun to descend 18° below the horizon (or 1 hour, 12 minute, since 15° = 1 hour), and Muslim scholars adopt the average figure of 17°, it is however quite certain that the real duration of the *shafaḳ* varies according to latitude, season and meteorological conditions; this is why the calendars indicate it regularly in order to enable the faithful to perform the prayer within the required time, one might naturally ask on what observations are based the figures supplied for example by the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, where this duration (and that of the morning twilight, the *fadjr*, which is reckoned to be identical) varies from 1 hour 1/7 on the 1st of January to 2 hours 1/8 on the 21st of June. As regards the *maghrib* prayer, it is said in the Ḳur'ān (XVII, 80/77) *aḳimi 'l-ṣalāta li-dulūki 'l-shamsi ilā ghasaḳi 'l-layl*, and the end of the *shafaḳ* effectively marks the start of the *ghasaḳ* (which was also known by other names *saḳām*, even if the moon was shining, *ẓalāmu al-layl*, etc.), the beginning of the latter period is the time for the prayer of *'ishā'*, which some call incorrectly *al-'ishā' al-ākhira*, as opposed to a *'ishā' ūlā* = *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, and which the Bedouins were reproached for calling *ṣalāt al-ʿatama*, after the first third of the night during which they customarily performed the milking (*ʿatʿātīm*) of their camels. Although we know of a considerable number of terms designating any part of the night (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 45) only a few words seem to be at all precise, in spite of differences in interpretation, thus, *ʿashāwa*, *sifʿa*, *hadʾ* and variants = 1/4 of the night *thuluth* and variants = 1/3, *thulūthāni* and variants = 1/3 or 1/3, *thulūʾ*, *thuluthā*, *thulthān*, *muthlith* and variants = 1/2 approximately. The middle of the night was called *ḥiṣṣa nuṣfumm ḳurbāh*, but astronomers rendered "midnight" simply by *nuṣf al-layl* (in the same way they called 'midday' *nuṣf al-nahār*) and the modern language uses the expression *munuṣṣaf al-layl*. The *ʿatʿasa* precedes the third third, the *saḥar* or *saḥr* which matches the *ghasaḳ* and is immediately followed by the morning twilight, the *fadjr*; for the Muslim astronomers, this twilight begins at the moment that the sun is 19° below the horizon, but the real duration of it is indicated, as has been seen above, in the calendars. It is during this final part of the night that the morning prayer (*fadjr* or *ṣubḥ*) is performed. Since their territory did not extend as far as latitude 48°, the Arabs did not know that at the summer solstice there is no complete night (the *layl ʿiyāl* of the astronomers) at this latitude.

Night travellers experienced a certain relief when they observed the first lights of dawn, and they tended to include the *fadjr* in the *nahār*; a reflection of this conception is also found in the works of lexicographers who normally place the *ṣubḥ* (or *ṣabāḥ* or *ṣabāḥ*) at the end of the night and are furthermore inclined to make it the beginning of the day, calling *ghudwa* or *bukra* the time which elapses between the *fadjr* prayer and the sunrise (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 48-52). Although the prayers which punctuate the Muslim's life obliged the *fuḳahāʾ* to fix with a degree of exactitude the time of the *ṣubḥ* and of the *ʿaṣr* (let alone the *ḍuḥā*), the divisions of the day lack precision. The *saḥar* begins at the moment that the upper edge of the sun appears on the horizon, just as the night and the official day begin when the opposite edge, now uppermost, disappears. The first part of the day, up to the moment when the sun has traversed a quarter of the diurnal arc, is called *ḍuḥa*, the period corresponding to the sun's progress over the second quarter of the arc is known as *ḍaḥāʾ*; it carries to an end at midday (*nawāl*), which is marked, for the astronomers, by the sun crossing the meridian, and, for the simple faithful, by the displacement of the shade which moves from the west (where it is called the *fallʾ*) to the east (where it takes the name *faʾʾ*). It is at this moment that there begins the period, varying according to the judicial schools [see MIḲĀT], during which the midday prayer (*ẓuhr*) must be performed. A number of terms referring to the heat which then reigns are employed (*hājira*, *hādjira*, *hāʾida*, *ghāʾira*), without designating a precise lapse of time. Some calendars indicate, at the beginning and the end of each month of the solar year, the altitude (*irtifāʿ*) in degrees of the sun at midday (e.g. the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, or, to enable the faithful to calculate for themselves the hour of the *ẓuhr*, the length of the shadow either in feet, as in the *Risāla* of Ibn al-Bannāʾ, or in height (*ḳāma*), once again as in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, where the shade varies from a quarter of the height of an object on the 16th of June and the 1st of July, to ten and five-sixths on the 16th of December. The period which follows that of the *ẓuhr* and also extends between limits determined by the length of the shadow, but variable according to the *fuḳahāʾ*, is that of the *ʿaṣr* (see I. Goldziher, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix 293 ff.; transl. in *Arabica* viii [1961], 26 ff.); this term is thus precisely defined in Islam, although diverse and much less definite interpretations are retained. *Aṣīl* was used in reference to the time which elapses between the *ʿaṣr* and sunset, but this word tends to be employed, in the contemporary language, for the evening twilight *masāʾ*, which had the same meaning, is today applied to the evening, as opposed to *ṣabāḥ*, "morning", and also comes to designate the period which begins at noon and encroaches upon the night, the word *ʿashiyya* (and variants) is also taken in the sense of "evening", although it used to be as precise as *masāʾ* and *aṣīl*, designated the end of the *nahār* and was the opposite of *ḍuḥā* (e.g. Ḳur'ān, LXXIX, 46: *illā ʿashiyyatan aw ḍuḥāhā*).

The calendars to which reference has been made often attach importance to the length of the day and of the night, which some of them indicate twice a month, either in degrees of the sun's arc, or in hours. Since the authors who supply these figures are not usually astronomers, they give the impression of borrowing these numerical data from their predecessors, without perhaps taking account of differences in latitude, especially in view of the fact that, when addressing themselves to their fellow-citizens, they do not take the trouble to establish the name, and the position relative to the Equator, of the place concerned. It would nevertheless be possible to calculate the latitude of this place if one could rely on the accuracy of the data relating to the length of the longest and shortest days and nights of the year, but in this

respect great uncertainty remains. It is furthermore to be noted that the geographers, heirs to the Ptolemaic tradition, divide the zone reckoned to be inhabited in the northern hemisphere, as far as approximately latitude 50°, into seven climates [see IKLIM], of which the lower and upper limits are constituted by parallels separated one from the other by a distance corresponding to a difference in half an-hour in the length of the longest day of the year.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

LAYLĀ AL-AKHYALIYYA, Arab poetess of the 1st/7th century of the tribe of the ʿUkayl (ʿĀmir b. Saʿsaʿa group) whose nasab came to her from an ancestor, Akhyal, or from several of the Akhyāl. Literary tradition attributes to her an elegy on the murder of ʿUthmān and speaks of her as having been familiar, late in life, with the caliphs Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik, and the redoutable governor al-Ḥadjdjādj. It follows that the pinnacle of her career should be placed at around 650-60 A.D. She is well-known for her romantic saga, of ʿUdhrite type, concerning her relationship with the bandit warrior Tawba b. Ḥumayyir, also of the ʿUkayl tribe. He loved her, and although he was prevented from marrying her, he always maintained a chivalrous devotion to her. When he was killed in the course of one of his raids, Layla mourned him in a number of touching elegies, fragments of which are available to us from literary sources (as far as is known, they were never collected in a *dīwān*) which show Laylā resembling a Muslim al-Khansāʾ (*q.v.*). In fact, these funereal elegies, like those of the most famous poetess of the Djāhiliyya, are still imbued with a purely pagan spirit, lauding the warlike and beneficent virtues of their heroes (for al-Khansāʾ, her two brothers; for Layla, her sweetheart Tawba), without any hint of Islām or Muslim piety. The genre of the *rithāʾ* [see MARTHIYA] was henceforth perpetuated in an established form in the new milieu of Islam. As with the poetess of Sulaym, the sincerity of Laylā's sorrow and her fidelity to a long and unrequited love come through the conventional *topoi* of the elegy, as in the accounts of her conversations with the caliphs.

Besides these *marāthī*, there is attributed to Laylā a poetic exchange in *hidjāʾ* form, fairly coarse as is typical of this genre, with the poet al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī. Thus is all that is known of her life (she was married to a certain Sawwār b. Awfā al-Kushayrī). On the date and place of her death, there is conflicting evidence. According to a highly romantic tradition, she died very close to the tomb of Tawba, in circumstances which would corroborate certain well-known verses of her friend in this respect, more plausible perhaps are other traditions which put her death in Iran (at Sāwa or Rayy), in the course of a journey which she had undertaken in her old age through the *bādiya* of al-Hadjdjādj, to visit her cousin Kutayba b. Muslim (*q.v.*), who was then campaigning in Khurāsān. In any case, the date would be in the early years of the 8th century A.D. (end of the 1st century of the Muslim era). Her historical authenticity is not in any doubt, unlike that of her more famous namesake, Laylā of Madjnūn.

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(F. GABRIELI)

LAYLĀ KHĀNİM (? - 1847), Turkish poetess of the first half of the 19th century. Very little is known about her life. Born in Istanbul the daughter of the *kāḍī-ʿaskar* Morali-zāde Ḥāmid Efendi, she was educated by private tutors, particularly by her maternal uncle ʿIzzet Mollā [*q.v.*], whom she eulogised in an elegy. Her short lived marriage and her gay and unscrupulous way of life gave rise to gossip about her being a lesbian. Her poems, not particularly original, are written in a comparatively simple and unadorned style avoiding the artificialities and affectation of many of her contemporaries. She excelled in *münādjāt* and *marthiyes*. Her *dīwān* was printed at Bulāk in 1844, with second and third editions made in Istanbul in 1851 and 1883 respectively. Laylā Khānim was a Mewlewī adherent, and is buried in the garden of the Galata Mewlewī convent.

Bibliography: Fatīn, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1271, 363-4; Mehmed Dhihnī, *Meshāhīr al-nisāʾ*, M. Nadjī, *Esāmī* Istanbul 1308, 271; Ibnülemin M. K. Inal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, v, Istanbul 1938, 875-9 (with further bibliography); Ibrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul n.d. [1946], s.v.

(FAHIR İZ)

LAYLĀ KHĀNİM (Modern Turkish LEYLA SAZ 1850-1936), Turkish poetess and composer. She was born in Istanbul, the daughter of Dr. Ismāʿīl Pasha (1811-72), originally a Greek from Chios, who served as imperial surgeon under Mahmūd II and as governor, minister and Palace physician under ʿAbd al-Medjīd and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. From early childhood, Laylā Khānim frequently lived in the imperial harem or in close association with it. She was privately educated and was married to a civil servant from Crete, Sirrī Efendi (later Pasha, 1844-95), who served as a governor in various parts of the empire. Laylā Khānim, who accompanied him, included interesting travel notes in her famous memoirs (see below). She died in Istanbul on 6 December 1936.

As a composer, she followed the classical Turkish tradition, although the influence of Western music which had entered the Ottoman Palace in the mid-1800s is noticeable in her works. She is the composer of over 100 works to which she wrote the words, including some famous and very popular *sharkī* and marches.

Her early poems published in the *Khazīne-yi evrāḳ* in the 1880s are in the *dīwān* tradition. Later, she wrote in the manner of the *Tanzīmāt* modernists, particularly of ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Ḥāmid. She occasionally used syllabic metre and a simple language for her *türkūs*. Only a small portion of her compositions and poems survived the fire which destroyed her villa in Bostāndjī near Istanbul (see Mustafa Rona, *Yirminci yüzyıl Türk muharrirleri*², Istanbul 1970, 25-32, where 45 of her compositions are given). Her scattered poems were collected and edited by her son Yusuf Rāḍī in 1928 as *Solmuş üzüklər* ("Faded flowers"). They seldom rise above the average.

Laylā Khānim's most important contribution is her invaluable memoirs, which mainly cover her experiences in the harem. This is a unique first-hand report of Palace life from the inside. The memoirs describe in great detail everyday life in the Palace, its décor and furnishings, and particularly the harem, its customs, fashions, ceremonies, special occasions, training and life of princes, princesses and slave girls, etc., together with character studies and sketches of interesting types. She began to write her memoirs in 1897 and completed them in 1920 at the age of 70, and the publishing the first part, on the harem, in the daily *Vakit* (beginning on January 1921) and the second part, on women's life, in the 19th century, in the daily *Ileri* (from 25 April 1921). As Istanbul

was under Allied occupation at the time and the press under strict control, some passages were omitted by the censor. The memoirs were translated by her son and published under a pseudonym, that of Mme. Adriana Piazzi (Delcambre), *Le Harem impérial et les sultanes au XIXe siècle: souvenirs*, adaptés en français par son fils Youssouf Kazi Préface de Claude Farrère, Paris 1925. Both parts of the memoirs have now been edited in one volume by Sadi Borak as Leyla Saz, *Harem'im iç yüzü*, Istanbul 1974.

Bibliography given in the text, but see also Ibnülemin M. K. Inal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, v, Istanbul 1938, 880-5. (Fahir Iz)

LAYLĀ Ō MAJNŪN [see MAJNŪN WA-LAYLĀ]

LAYLAT AL BARĀ'A [see BARĀ'A]

LAYLAT AL ḲADR [see RAMAḌĀN]

AL-LAYTH B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, Arab philologist and jurisprudent, grandson of the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Naṣr b. Sayyār al Kināni al Laythī (d. 131/748, 85 years old[q.v.]). Sometimes he is identified as the son of the latter or even as the son of an alleged third son of his grandfather, Rāfi', who might be confused with the well-known Rāfi' b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār [see NAṢR B. SAYYĀR].

The biographical information about al-Layth (or Laith) is meagre. He studied grammar and lexicography under the versatile scholar and *ḥadīth* of Kūfa, Kisāʾi b. Maʿmūn (d. 175/791 ?), and was held in high repute as a secretary with the Barmakids. It seems that his relationship with the master of the *ʿarabiyya*, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791 ? [q.v.]), who was not much older than himself, was trustful and close. We learn that from traditions, some of which are embellished by anecdotes, and so furthermore learn that he revised and completed the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl, according to some sources after the latter's death. Al-Layth may have finished this work at the beginning of the eighties of the 2nd century A.H. (about 800 A.D.) and died soon afterwards, in other words, just before the fall of the Barmakids in 187/803. Later philologists consider him as the actual author—and recent investigations confirm this view, especially as regard to the bulk of the material—or else they leave this question undecided, speaking of the *Kitāb Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, whereas others attribute the misunderstandings and the mistakes which they thought to have discovered in the first Arabic dictionary mainly to that revision. (Concerning the works which have been written before the background of such criticism, cf. J. Kraemer, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 208 f.)

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AL-LAYTH B. SAʿD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-FAHMĪ, ABU L-ḤĀRITH, traditionist and jurisconsult, belonging to the class of the great *tābiʿūn*. He was born and died in Egypt (Ḳarḳashanda, Shaʿbān 94/May 713—Miṣr, 14 Shaʿbān 175/16 December 791). At the cemetery in Cairo, may be seen the tomb of "El Imam El Leis". This "scholar of Egypt" (of Persian origin) is ranked unanimously among the leading authorities (*fuḳahāʾ al-amṣār*) on questions of religious knowledge in the early years of the Islamic empire, these being: Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī and the Abū Laylā (Kūfa), Ibn Ḏjurayḏj (Mecca) Mālik and Ibn al-Madjishūn (Medina), al-Awzāʿī (Syria), and finally, al-Layth b. Saʿd (Egypt). With his vividly critical attitude towards the law schools (the Mālikī one in particular), the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm regards all these individuals as the worthy successors of Mālik in respect of erudition, intelligence and moral severity (*al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ii, 138). Al-Layth is also held in high esteem by the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī, in whose opinion the study of tradition rests, essentially, on the authority of these three masters Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Layth b. Saʿd.

Only fragmentary information is available concerning the career of al-Layth (cf. the article devoted to him in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 3-14). His training in the discipline of *ḥadīth* was both Meccan (with Ibn Shihāb, Nāfiʿ and ʿAṭāʾ b. Rabāḥ among others) and Medinan (Mālik). He travelled to Baghdād in Shawwal 161/July 778, where his teaching of *ḥadīth* was an outstanding success and earned him the patronage of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His humility is said to have prevented him from soliciting honours and appointments of state. On returning to Egypt, he devoted himself to teaching and also to the management of what seems to have been a considerable fortune. He was credited with an annual income of the order of 25,000 *dīnārs*, which he utilised with such generosity that he was left with practically nothing which could justify the payment of *zakāt*. Al-Layth was, throughout his life, a much-courted and honoured man (no doubt because of his fortune). According to a man familiar with him over a period of twenty years, he was never seen snatching or dining unaccompanied by numerous associates. He lived in a grand scale and knew how to enjoy his wealth. If such a life-style allowed him a certain amount of leisure for participation in public life, or for daily sessions of *ḥadīth*, it was hardly compatible with long and exacting periods of work. In addition, the written work of al-Layth seems to be less than prolific (see *Bibl.*) in comparison with that of Mālik (93-179/711-95) who was able, in the rustic setting of Medina, to lead a much more productive scholastic life.

The biographers of al-Layth often compare him with Mālik, with the object of attributing superiority in numerous areas in the former. Without doubt, subjectivity plays a major part in these judgments, when dealing with an individual whose special success and munificence inspired much respect. In the doctrinal sphere as such, the personal contribution of al-Layth is far from comparable with that of the *imām* Mālik. It is significant in this context that classical authors discussed the legitimacy of whether al-Layth should be accorded the title of *imām*, taking into account not only his piety and his virtues, but also the importance and impact of his doctrine as measured on the scale of the *umma* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*,

xiii, 13). The verdict of posterity is negative on this point, all that need be quoted here by way of a tribute is the opinion recorded by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071). "If Mālik had not existed, the superiority of al-Layth would have been universally recognised" (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 7). Having been a pupil of Mālik, al-Layth was in a position to assert his independence with regard to his eminent contemporary, while maintaining a relationship with him marked by courtesy and a willingness for intellectual co-operation (cf. his *Risāla ilā Mālik b. Anas*, in Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, *I'lām al-muwakkiʿīn*, iii, 94-100). If in the sphere of religious law (*fikh*), the influence of al-Layth is decidedly slight, his name nevertheless remains connected with the disciplines of *ḥadīth*, where the classical authorities unanimously attribute to him a well proven competence and integrity.

Bibliography. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 520, no. 7, where the work of al-Layth (1. *Ḥadīth*, 2. *Masāʾil min fiqhihi al-Layth*, 3. the above-mentioned *Risāla*) is to be supplemented by *Kutub masāʾil fi l-fikh*, cited in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (199). al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo-Baghdād 1349/1931, xiii, 3-24 (article no. 6960), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī al-Tabrīzī, *Mighāth al-mustaghīth*, Damascus 1380-2/1961-2, iii, 745; R. G. Khoury, *al-Layth ibn Saʿd (94/713-175/791), grand maître et mécène de l'Égypte, vu à travers quelques documents islamiques anciens*, in *Festschrift Naṣīm Abbott*, *JNES*, 21/3 (1962), 189 202. (A. MERAD)

LAZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (Iberic, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeastern corner of the shores of the Black Sea, in the region called in Ottoman times Lazistān.

1 History and geography. The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns to the ethnical nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the Rion, to the Çoruḳh (the ancient Akampsis), and even to the sources of the Araxes, also creates difficulties.

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz. The name Λαζοί, Λᾶζες is only found after the Christian era (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, iv, 4; *Periplus of Arrian*, xi, 2, Ptolemy, v, 9, 3). The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazos or "old Lazik" which Arrian puts 680 stadia (about 80 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Novorossiisk) and 1,040 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus i.e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tuapse. Kiessling sees in the Lazoi a section of the Kerketai, who in the first centuries of the Christian era had to migrate southwards under pressure from the Zygoi (i.e. the Čerkes [q.v.]) who call themselves Adighe (Adizghe); the same author regards the Kerketai as a "Georgian" tribe. The fact is that at the time of Arrian (2nd century A.D.), the Lazoi were already living to the south of Sukhum. The order of the peoples living along the coast in the east of Trebizond was as follows Colchi (and Sanni); Macheleones, Heniochi, Zydritae; Lazoi (Λᾶζαι), subjects of King Malasseus, who owned the suzerainty of Rome, Apsilae, Abasci [cf. ABKHAZ]; Sanigae near Sebastopolis (= Sukhum).

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Aeonymous Periplus, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, v, 180). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 53, in the time of Diocletian (284-303), the king of the Bosporus, Sauromates, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halys (N. Marr explained this last name by the Laz word meaning "river"). Among the peoples subject to the Laz, Procopius (*Bell. Got.*, iv, 2, 3) mentions the Abasgoi and the people of Suanoi and Skymnia (= Lečkhum). It is probable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes. The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the 6th century. "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527-65) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, v, 9), which must have been in existence for some time before this. The Laz also sent bishops to their neighbours (Procopius, *Bell. Got.*, iv, 2). In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors, who gave investiture to their kings, and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasions by the nomads from the north. On the other hand, the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis. In 458 King Gobazes sought the help of the Sasānid Yazdagird II against the Romans. Between 539 and 562 Lazica was the scene of the celebrated struggle between Byzantium under Justinian and Persia under Khusraw I Anūshirwān.

According to Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis, but their towns (Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Petrus, Skanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mocheresis) all lay to the north of the river, while on the left bank, which was desert land, the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south. Nearer to Trebizond were the "Roman Pontica", which only means that the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethnic point of view, the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz.

In 1204 with the aid of troops lent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is very closely connected with that of the southern Caucasus. Nicephoros (v. 7) says that the founder of the dynasty had seized "the lands of Colchis and of the Lazes". In 1282 John Comnenus received the title of "Emperor of the East, of Iveria and of the lands beyond the sea". In 1341 the princess Anna Anakhutlu ascended the throne with the help of the Laz. The lands directly under the authority of the emperors of Trebizond seem to have extended as far as Makrial, while Gonia was under a local dynasty (cf. the *Chronicle of Panaretos*, under the year 1376).

In 865/1461 the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad II conquered Trebizond and as a result the Laz came into contact with Islam, which became their religion in the form of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. The stages of their conversion are still unknown. The fact is that, even in the central regions of Georgia (Akhaltsikhe), Islam seems to have gained ground gradually from the 13th century onwards (N. Marr, *in Bull. of the Acad. of St. Petersburg* [1917], 413-46, 478-506).

In 926/1519 Trebizond, with Batum, was made a separate *eyālet*. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who went through this region in 1050/1640, the five *sanǧaḳs* of the *eyālet* were Djanikha (Djanik = Samsun?), Trebizond, Gūnāya (Gonia) and Lower and Upper Batum. The modern Lazistān was governed from Gonia, for among the *kaṣaba*'s of this fortress we find Atina, Sumla, Witče/Biče (= Witse) and Arkhawi

(Ewliyā and the version of the *Dühān-nümā* in Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, in *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.* [1846]). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Celebi, deceived by the similarity in sound of Caucasian names (as also was Vivien de St. Martin), proposed a theory of the identity of the name Lezgi and Laz. Ewliyā calls Trebizond the "former Lazgi *mülkiyet*". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, after enumerating the peoples of the district of Lezgi as Mingrelians (Megrel), Georgians, Abkhaz (Abaza), Čerkes and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond. To the south-east of Trebizond in the Čepni mountains he mentions the Turks who "worship as their God (*ma'būd*) the Shāh of Persia (i.e. are extreme Shī'ites) and are associated (*mushārik*) with the Laz". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā do not agree on the number of the fiefs of Trebizond, Ewliyā only says that the value of the *zi'āmet* has depreciated through the unruliness of many of its 41 *nāḥiyes* (*Dühān-nümā*, 429; Ewliyā, ii, 81, 83-5).

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the *derbeys* of Lazistān was only struck at the beginning of the 19th century by the Ottoman Pasha at Trebizond, but Koch, who visited the country after his expedition, still found most of the hereditary *derbeys* in power, although shorn of some of their liberties. He counted fifteen of them: Atina (two), Bulep, Artashin, Witse Kapiste, Arkhawe, Kisse, Khopa, Makria (Makriali) Gonie Batum, Maradit (Maradidi?), Perlewan and Čat. The lands of the three latter lay however, on the Čorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazistān in the strict sense. On the other hand, among the *derbeys* of Lazistān was the lord of Hamshin, i.e. of the upper valleys of Kalopotamos and of Fortuna, inhabited by Muslim Armenians. According to the Armenian historian Levond in Chahnazarian, Paris 1856, 262, the latter with their chief Hamam of the Amatuni family had settled in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780-97) (the old Tambur was given the name Hamshin < Hamamshen, 'built by Hamam"). It is evidently this region that Clavijo (1403-6) ed. Sreznewski, St. Petersburg 1881, 383, calls "tierra de Arraquiel". He adds that the people, dissatisfied with their king Arraquiel (Arakel?), submitted to the Muslim ruler of Ispir. The Hamshin are now Muslims, and only those of Khopa have not forgotten Armenian. A Hamshin lexicon was published by Kipshidze.

With the institution of the *wilāyets*, the *sandjak* of Lazistān became part of the *wilāyet* of Trebizond. Its capital was at first Batum but after the Russian occupation of Batumi in 1878, the administration of the *sandjak* was transferred to Rize (Rhizaion), detached for this purpose from the old central *sandjak* of Trebizond. That part of Lazistān lying to the west of the Ottoman-Russian frontier occupied a strip of coast 100 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad. The *kadā*'s of the *sandjak* were: Khopa, Atina and Rize, subdivided again into 6 *nāḥiyes* (Sāmī-Bey, *Kāmūs al-a'lām*, v, 3966). Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 118-21, mentions Of as a fourth *kadā*' and gives 8 (?) *nāḥiyes* (Hamshin, Karadere, Mapawri, Wakf, Kurā-yi sabī'a, Witse, Arkhawi) in 1880 there were in the *sandjak* 364 inhabited places with 138,467 inhabitants, of whom 889 were Orthodox Greeks and the rest Muslims (Laz, Turkicised Laz, Turks and "Hamshin"). The number of true Laz cannot be more than half the total population.

The term Laz is used in the west of Turkey to designate generally the people of the country round the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the people calling themselves by this name and speaking the Laz language now live in the two *kadā*'s, modern *sipes*: Khopa (between Kopunush and Gurup) and Atina (between Gurup and Kemer). Laz is spoken in 64 of the 69 villages of the *kadā*' or *sipe* of Atina. To these should be added the very few Laz who used to live in Russian territory to the south of Batum. These Laz were incorporated in Turkey by virtue of the Turco-Soviet treaty of 16 March 1921, which moved the Turkish frontier to Sarp (to the south of the mouth of the Čoroḳh). Rize and Batum are now outside the Laz country proper.

Due to its remoteness and to its proximity to the Russian frontier, Lazistān has only been marginally affected by the modernisation of Turkey in recent years. Communications are poor, and roads largely unmade. The ancient port of Hopa, which is the end of the line for passenger and mail steamers from Istanbul, has been equipped with a modern harbour which includes two massive artificial moles. At Sarp which is only about 10 miles from the important Soviet port of Batum, there is a flourishing tea factory surrounded by the highly productive plantations of this bush.

The Laz have traditionally been regarded as very conservative in their Islamic religion, and the old Turkish shadow theatre (Karagöz (q.v.)) and popular theatre (Orta oyunu [q.v.]) often portrayed the Laz as slow witted rustics, a Turkish proverb stated that 'a Muslim does not eat Laz jelly', *Lazların tersinen musulman yemez ansı* (*tersinen* < Greek θέρμος). In fact, despite a long-established reputation for brigandage and for smuggling goods across the Turco-Russian frontier, the modern Laz are highly intelligent. They are skilful tillers of the soil, and were in the past often to be found in the towns of eastern Turkey as gardeners. Today they are to be found in towns all over Turkey in their traditional calling of bakers and pastrycooks, before the First World War many Laz went to Russia to work as bakers, and often returned with Russian wives who became converts to Islam. They are shrewd and enterprising businessmen, and have secured a large portion of the real estate market in Istanbul. When modern educational opportunities are available to them, they readily respond to this stimulus. They are also excellent sailors, and form a large proportion of the crews of many Turkish vessels.

2. Language. The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian), but N. Y. Marr found in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect. In the Laso-Mingrelian group he believed that he could find resemblances to the more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar). There are two Laz languages, eastern, and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Čhaḳa). Laz is very full of Turkish words. It has no written literature but there are local poets (Rashīd Hilmī, Pehlwān oghlu etc.). The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf. Pisarev in *Zapiski VOIRAO* [1901], xiii, 173-201), in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf. a specimen in Marr, *Tekst i ratskazy*, St. Petersburg, vii, 55).

The Georgians call the Laz Č'an, but the Laz do not know this name. "Č'an" is evidently the original of the Greek name Sannoi/Tzannoi and it survives in the official name of the *sandjak* of Samsun (Djanik). From the historical point of view, the separation of the Laz and Č'an seems to have taken place, in spite

of the close relationship between the two of them. In the time of Arrian, the Sannoi were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond. In an obscure passage in this author (cf. the perplexed commentary of C Müller, in *Geogr. graeci minores*, ad *Arriani Peripl.* 8), he places on the river of the frontier between the Colchians (Laz?) and the Φασιανοί (?). Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak a "language of their own", and according to Marr, the people of Khushnishin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language. Procopius places the "Sannoi who are now called the Tzannoi" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Čoroḫ from the sea (the Paryadres range, the name of which survives in the modern Parikhar/Balkhar). Marr's researches showed that the Čʿan (Tzannoi) had at first occupied a larger area, including the basin of the Čoroḫ and its tributaries on the right bank, from which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (Kʿartʿli). The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Tzanids (Ζανίδες). The latter in alliance with the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348, and in 1377 were punished by the Emperor. At this period the Tzanids must have been in the southwest of Trebizond (besides, the *sanǧak* of Djanik is to the west of this port). Thus the Georgian application of the name Čʿan to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes one of whom (the true Čʿan) living to the south and west of the Laz) was ultimately thrust to the west of Trebizond.

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(V. MINORSKY-[D M LANG])

LAZARUS, the name to the Gospels of (1) the poor man who finds compensation in Abraham's bosom for the misery of this world (Luke, xvi, 19-31); and (2) the dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John, xi). The Kurʾān mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (III, 43/49). Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus. al-Ṭabarī in his *Taʾrīḫ* talks of these miracles in general. According to him, Ḥām b. Nūḥ is revived by Jesus (i, 187). al-Kisāʾī only mentions Sām son of Nūḥ amongst those restored to life by Jesus. al-Thaʿlabī relates, closely following St. John's Gospel "al-ʿAzīr died, his sister went to inform Jesus, Jesus came three (in the Gospel, four) days after his death, went with his sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-ʿAzīr to arise, children were born to him" In Ibn al-Aṯīr the resurrected man is called "ʿĀzir", the *al* of Ilyāsīn was taken for the article, as in al-Yasaʿ (Elisha) and Alexander (al Iskandar) or in Āzar, the father of Abraham in the Kurʾān, whose canon Fraenkel derives from Illusar. In Ibn al Aṯīr we find Muslim legend endeavouring to increase the miracle, Jesus raises not only ʿĀzir (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to them), and Sām (son of Nūḥ), the prophet Ūsuvr and Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā (John the Baptist)

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LEBANON [see LUBNĀN]

LĒBARAN, the name generally used in Indonesia for the ʿId al-Fiṭr [q.v.], originally means "end" or "close", in this case specifically the end of the fast (Indonesian *puasa*) Combining it with the Javanese word *garèbèg* ("procession"), people in Java also use the term *garèbèg puasa*, the court festival at the end of the fast Ignoring the original meaning of the word *liburan*, the expression *liburan haji* is sometimes used for the ʿId al Aḍḥā [q.v.], the "major festival" according to Islamic law

Just as in other Islamic countries, the festival after the month of fasting is also celebrated in Indo-

nesia as the greatest festival of the year. The way of celebrating it does not differ greatly from other countries [see ʿĪD and ʿĪD AL-FIṬR]. An exception must be made for the principalities of Central Java, where this festival has a special character because of its connection with the court and the influence of elements from pre-Islamic Hindu culture. For a description of the background and meaning of the ceremonials and practices surrounding the *garēbēg puasa* in Yogyakarta, the reader is referred to the literature mentioned below.

As a result of Islamic reformism, as well as the independence of Indonesia (with the Ministry of Religious Affairs trying to influence religious developments), Muslims have been encouraged to participate in Islamic observances in conformity with Islamic law, whereas ceremonials and practices such as those connected with the *garēbēgs* in Yogyakarta are relegated to the sphere of custom and folklore.

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(B. J. BOLAND)

LEFF, an Arabic term used in the Berber speaking regions of central and southern Morocco (a different term is used in a similar way in Berberophone regions of northern Morocco, and the term *ṣaff* appears to be its equivalent in Kabylia) to denote a kind of political alliance or party.

The term or the notion acquires its importance, however, from its prominence in the literature on the social and political organisation of the Berbers, notably in the work of R. Montagne, who extended it to the totality of North African and eventually also to Middle Eastern societies, including even urban and minority ones, thus he later claimed to find similar institutions amongst urban Jewish communities in Morocco, and also in Arabia.

In Montagne's hands, the word in effect became a technical term of political analysis, though with the definite suggestion that the theory formulated by means of the *leff* (*lleff* in Berber) or by an equivalent was already present in the minds of, and above all put in practice by, the indigenous users of that word. According to this theory, and to the associated explication of the indigenous significance of the term, *leffs* were alliances with the following properties: They were very stable over generations. The units whith entered into them were themselves communities, whether genealogically or territorially defined. They were binary: in a given region there would be two and only two such *leffs*. They were invoked, like military alliances, when violent conflict occurred: members of the same *leff* were expected to give support to each other, when any one of them became involved in conflict with opponents from the other *leff*. These alliances were hereditary, and transitive, in the sense that membership of the same *leff* by A and B, and by B and C, implied that A and C were likewise of the same alliance. Finally, these *lfuf* were supposed to be arranged in a kind of chess-board pattern on the map, a community (say a village or valley) would belong to an alliance other than that of its immediate neighbours but the same as that of its neighbours-but-one.

The significance of the notion of *leff* arises above all from the great importance of the theory based on it. The problem which this theory attempts to solve is that of the nature of the maintenance of order in areas in which central government is absent or ineffective, notably in the *blād es-sība*, the dissident regions of pre-colonial Morocco [see MAKHZEN], though also in other similar areas. The *leff* theory maintains that the crucial institution for furthering the maintenance of order in such conditions was, precisely, the balanced opposition of two moieties, deployed chequerwise over the countryside. This theory has a certain affinity to that of "segmentary opposition" as developed by E. Evans-Pritchard (and foreshadowed by E. Durkheim, partly on the basis of Algerian material), but differs from it in various important respects. Segmentation, as understood by Evans-Pritchard, was not necessarily binary, but it was of its essence that it operated at a number of levels of size: the "opposition" of "balanced" segments operated simultaneously between, say, intra-village lineages, entire villages, and clusters of villages grouped as "clans", etc. Conflict at one level did not preclude co-operation at another. By contrast, the *leffs* of Montagne were, in any one region, articulated at one level of size only. In Montagne's hands, the theory was combined with another important thesis: that this balance-of-moieties mechanism occasionally broke down, and was replaced by ephemeral tyrannies such as those of the "great caids" of the Moroccan South, but that these temporary crystallisations of personal power in turn gave way to a re-establishment of the original system, in a kind of cyclical pattern.

The theory of the *leffs* has been subjected to various criticisms, both empirical and theoretical. Subsequent researchers have not always found them even in areas where Montagne claimed they were most at home (e.g. J. Berque), or have doubted whether they in fact contribute to the maintenance of peace (e.g. A. Adam), or they have pointed out that the problem posed, that of order-in-anarchy, is only solved by the theory for those units which are of the size at which these leagues are articulated, whereas in fact the problem also arises at all other levels of size at which conflict is liable to occur (and at those other levels, the theory offers no solution). There is also reason to suppose that in regions where groups were less stable, and territorial units less well-defined than in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas which inspired Montagne, *leffs* were more fluid and opportunistic than his work would suggest. Nevertheless, his work, which is heavily centred on the notion of *leff*, remains one of the high points of the political sociology of North Africa.

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(E. GELLNER)

LEFKOSHA, Grk. Leukosia, the town of Nicosia in Cyprus [see NICOSIA].

The town was under joint Arab-Byzantine rule from 688 A.D. to 965 when Nicephorus Phocas seized it (R. J. H. Jenkins, *Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-965*, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, St. Louis 1953, ii, 1006-14). The Venetians occupied it in 1489, the Ottomans in 1571, the British in 1878, annexing it in 1924. The town was sacked by Mamlūk forces of Sultan Barsbay in 1426. The Ottomans captured the town after a fifty-day siege in 1570, after much suffering on both sides and thousands of casualties. There is a good account of this conquest in *Türk ıslahi kurrellari tarihi*, in *Kıbrıs seferi (1570-1572)*, T. C. Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi Başkanlığı Resmi Yayınları Seri no. 2, Ankara 1972.

Western visitors to Lefkōsha during the Ottoman period report the town as being severely underpopulated and devoid of evidence of its former wealth and luxury. They attributed that plight to the tyranny and extortions of Ottoman officials whom the Porte would not or could not control, to plague, virulent fevers, and hordes of locusts, and to the fatalism and lethargy of Muslim and eastern Christians. Few knew that the town had reached the peak of its wealth and population late in the Lusignan period. Never under the Venetians or the Ottomans did it regain that fame and splendour, though both made sporadic efforts to revitalise and repopulate it.

By 1222 the Lusignan capital had become a first-class town. W. von Oldenburg said "It has inhabitants without number, all very rich, whose houses in their interior adornment and paintings closely resemble the houses of Antioch" (C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 14). By the end of the 13th century the town had fallen behind Maghūsha [q.v.] or Famagusta in wealth and trade, although the simple Westphalian priest Ludolf (1350) saw Lefkōsha as "another great city ... in a fine open plain with an excellent climate", where lived the king, bishops and prelates, princes and nobles, barons and knights who in Cyprus "are the richest in the world" (Cobham, 20, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii, 336. Cf. Jacobus de Verona [1335] in Cobham, 57; *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii [1895], 376 f.). The pilgrim Martoni (1394) judged the town larger than Aversa, with many gardens and orchards, some six acres in size (Cobham, 26, *ROL*, iii [1895], 654).

In 1433 the astute Peco Tafur attested that Lefkōsha again surpassed Maghūsha. "This is the greatest and most healthy city of the kingdom where the kings and all the lords of the realm always live" (Cobham, 38, *Andanças é Viajes*, ... Pt. 2, 67, in *Colección de Libros Españoles raros o curiosos*, viii, Madrid 1874). Lefkōsha had become the trading emporium of the eastern Mediterranean; the Dominican monk Felix Fabri (1483) admired the "... great city ... surrounded by fertile and pleasant hills ... Here are merchants from every part of the world, Christians and infidels. There are stores, great and precious, for the aromatic herbs of the East are brought here raw and are prepared by the performer's art" (Cobham, 421; *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae*, ed. C. D. Hassler, in *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, iv [1849], 250).

The Venetian patrician Fra Francesco Suriano (1484) saw the town, "twice as large as Perugia", with palaces, houses, and churches, destroyed by a disastrous earthquake of 1480 (Cobham, 48, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. F. G. Golubovich, Milan 1900, 219 n.), but by then it had passed its economic and demographic peak; to Peter Mésenge (1507) only a quarter of the town appeared occupied (C. Enlart, *L'art gothique*, ii, 589).

Savorgnan (1562) found empty tracts and dusty disordered streets with no good houses (Sir George Hill, *A history of Cyprus*, iii, 822, 844 ff., 852 f.). However, the nobles had not given up their praegratives, as the pilgrim Furer (1565) perceived in that town, "of some size and beauty", lived the French nobles who "... keep their vassals, who are called *Parisi*, in the state of slaves ... The nobles are greatly given to amusements, especially hunting and hawking ... [with] solemn games and banquets with great cost and splendour" (Cobham, 78-9. C. Fürer von Haimendorf, in Cobham, 78-9, *Reis-Beschreibung*, Nuremburg 1646, 302).

The Lusignans had fortified their capital expertly. Early in the 13th century, walls 4, 7 or 9 miles in circuit were built high to resist attacks in the style of Crusader warfare. In 1507, to resist the heavy pounding of Ottoman cannon, the Venetians had large sections of the walls dismantled and rebuilt them thicker and lower, with a circumference of only three miles, yet apparently still large enough to accommodate the existing population. A deep moat was excavated around the circular walls; all structures outside the new walls were methodically levelled, the rubble being used as fill for the new walls. Writing in 1572 just after the Turkish conquest, the priest Étienne de Lusignan celebrated a town he remembered with 250 to 300 churches, 80 of which had been destroyed completely when two thirds of the town was levelled. "In this city lived all the nobility of Cyprus, Barons, Knights and Feudatories, nearly all of whom died in this affair [i.e. its fall], with townsfolk to the number of twenty thousand, all men devoted to the service of God most High, and of their sovereign. The remnant of the souls ... were all made slaves." (Cobham, 120-1; *Description*, 31, 262).

Local agriculture and commerce, as well as local and international trade boosted the economy of the town. In good times it produced a marketable surplus of cotton, wool, and silk, which were sold raw or processed or manufactured into a variety of cloths. As long as Cyprus remained close to the terminals of the silk and spice trades as the easternmost outpost of the western Christian world in the Mediterranean Lefkōsha would remain a centre of trade. Nevertheless, the town could not escape the changes in the international socio-economic order which saw the Mediterranean world gradually lose its commercial and cultural pre-eminence to northwestern Europe.

Forcacchi (1576) reported that great quantities of camlet and cotton cloth were made in that "very pleasantly and beautifully situated" town "healthfully and pleasantly" supplied with running water. The camlets were good and the "cotton woolles" "the best of the Orient", according to Sandys (1610) (Cobham, 164-5, *L'isole* ... Venice 1572, 22 f.; Padua 1620. Cobham, 208, *A relation of a journey*, London 1615, 120).

Pococke (1738), a careful observer of Cyprus, found the trade of Lefkōsha still substantial. "There is a great manufacture of cotton stuffs, particularly of very fine dimities, and also half satins of a very coarse sort: they have here the best water in Cyprus ..." Cottons were sold to Holland, England, Venice and Livorno and "a great quantity of yellow, red, and black Turkey leather" to Istanbul (Cobham, 260, 268-9, Pinkerton, ed., *A general collection of ... voyages*, London 1811, x, 582-3). According to

Mariti, the covered market (*bedestān*), the former church of St. George next to Aya Sofya was the gathering place of the chief Turkish, Greek and Armenian merchants, of whom the last were the richest. At large bazaars and *khāns* local villagers as well as townspeople sold the cotton that they had spun, dyeing skins and stamping cloth were other major industries (*Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, tr C. D. Cobham, 42-5). W. M. Leake (1800) was completely negative: "The flat roofs, trellised windows, and light balconies of the better order of houses, situated as they are in the midst of gardens of oranges and lemons, give together with the fortifications, a respectable and picturesque appearance... at a little distance, but, upon entering it, the narrow dirty streets, and miserable habitations of the lower classes, make a very different impression upon the traveller and the sickly countenances of the inhabitants sufficiently shew the unhealthiness of the climate"; but W. Turner (1815) reported that every house had a well-cultivated garden with fig, olive, mulberry, orange, lemon and pomegranate trees, all the houses were of mud and the streets, though clean, were unpaved (Cobham, 339, 436-7).

Since the Lusignan period, Aya Sofya, as cathedral and mosque, had been the centre of the city, with the main bazaars adjacent in the 19th century the entire road from Tahta Kale and Bat gate to Baghōsha gate was lined with merchants' booths; the Friday bazaar of women has existed at least since then. In the 1870s there were 25 quarters inside the walls, 14 Muslim, 7 Greek Orthodox, 1 Armenian, 1 Latin and 1 mixed (Bazar and Phaneromeni) (Jeffery, *Cyprus monuments*, 32-3, with map)

Lefḳōsha, located near the centre of the island, lies on the Pedhyas, the longest and largest seasonal "river" in Cyprus, only 12 miles from the perennial springs of Deghirmendjik, the largest on the island, from where water is easily brought by aqueduct. The immediate hinterland is fertile grainland, its villages produced grain adequate for the town's needs except when drought or, more frequently, hordes of locusts appeared. The Lusignan rulers built summer palaces in the northern mountains for relief from the intense summer heat; many Latin nobles took refuge in the Troodos mountains, just as the British colonial government did later. Spring and fall are long and pleasant, while winter is short and mild. Lefḳōsha was by no means free of the malaria and plague which long decimated the island's population, but these diseases were less severe there than along the marshy littoral. Stochove (1631) said the town *had* the best air in Cyprus, although Turazz (1815) observed that even there "fevers" occurred constantly in the summer (Cobham, 216, 430, 438). According to J. Bramsen (1824), the fever season was June to October (*Letters of a Prussian traveller* [illegible], London 1828, 304).

In 1571 Lefḳōsha, with a *ḥiṣār* of the third class, was made the capital of a large *beglerbeglīḳ* which included all of Cyprus and the Anatolino *sanḏjaḳs* of ʿAlāʾiyye, Içel, Silifke, Tersūs, and Sis on the south side of the Taurus. Originally, Tarābulus al-Shām was included too. Despite several changes in administrative organisation which greatly reduced the importance of the province, Lefḳōsha always remained the administrative centre. Foreign consuls lived at Larnaka or its port Tuzla, where they served foreign merchants at a comfortable distance from the *ḳāḍī*.

A study of the Lefḳōsha judicial records (*sidjill*) surviving from the period 1580-1640 reveals some urban activities. Lists of official prices (*narkh*) indicate a busy market in commodities. The rich and varied agricultural produce of Cyprus found its way to the bazaars of Lefḳōsha, including yoghurt, cheese, meats, grapes and other fruits, and olives. Cotton cloth and raw cotton were the leading goods in commercial transactions, but wool and woollen cloth were important too. Lending and credit were an integral part of the town's economic life, both for Muslims and for the *dhimmīs* (i.e. Greek Orthodox). In intercommunal credit, the Muslims were disproportionately the lenders. Interest was openly charged (*ḳarḍ-i ḥasan*, or *ḳarḍ-i ṭarʿī*), although bankruptcy (*iflās*) seems to have been uncommon. Muslims and *dhimmīs* interacted frequently. They worked in the same quarters, bought and sold land and even houses from one another, and made business partnerships. About one-third of the judicial cases involved *dhimmīs*, and 20% of the cases were intercommunal. Conversion to Islam was very common, probably increasing in frequency between 1580 and 1600 but then falling off considerably; there is no evidence of wholesale conversion. Converts had to declare their conversion publicly in court. Besides the Greek Orthodox majority, a handful of Armenian Gregorians and of Maronites had churches, and there was a very small community of Jews. Women used the court very frequently (almost a quarter of all cases), where their property, inheritance, and domestic claims were apparently handled like those of men. More than 20% of the property mentioned belonged to women.

Although Lefḳōsha has since the residence of the autocephalous archbishops of Cyprus since the Lusignan period, the office has never been associated with a particular town. Ottoman rule relieved the Orthodox clergy from their long subordination to the Latin hierarchy (cf. R. Janin, art. *Chypre*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xii, 791-819, J. Hackett, *A history of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901.

Most estimates of the town's population between 1510 and 1560 range between 15,000 and 20,000 people (Hill, iii, 875). Visitors to Lefḳōsha during the Ottoman period often remarked about the population of the town. According to A. M. Graziani, 10,000 people were put to death in eight days of plundering when the town fell to the Ottomans; Porcacchi reported that all the people were "cut to pieces" and Sandys wrote of "an incredible slaughter" (Cobham, 170, 207). Dandini, who visited there in summer 1596 and spring 1597, estimated that the large, well built town had at least 30,000 inhabitants, of whom only 4,000 or 5,000 were Turks (Cobham, 182), J. Cotovicus (1597 *ff*) reported the town full of ruins, Sandys (1610) "deiected by the Turks", for the latter, the town, once equal in beauty to the chief towns of Italy, is now half-destroyed (Cobham, 195, 207). In 1683 de Bruyn observed that the population was almost half-Greek (Cobham, 239, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, Delft 1698, 371). Cyprianos gives a fairly official estimate of 755 Christian families for 1777 (Cobham, 366). In 1806 ʿAlī Bey estimated the town's population at less than 1,000 Turkish and 1,000 Greek families, although Lefḳōsha could easily hold 100,000 people within its walls (Cobham, 393, *Voyages*, Paris 1814, ii, 82 ff.). J. M. Kinneir (1814) reported on the authority of the archbishop 2,000 Muslim families, 1,000 Greek Orthodox families, 40 Armenian, and 12 Maronite (Cobham, 417; *Journey*, London 1818, 190 ff.). An estimate of 12,000, including 8,000 Turks, 3,700 Greek Orthodox and 50 Armenians was attributed to the governor

Tal'at Efendi in 1841 (L. Lacroix, *L'Univers. Histoire et description des tous les peuples. Îles de la Grèce*, Paris 1853, 38). A census just before the island was handed over to the British in 1878 reportedly found 10,879 people, of whom 5,628 (52%) were Muslims (*Correspondence respecting the Island of Cyprus* No. 3 Sir G. Wolseley to Marquess of Salisbury, 1879)

A census held in the third year of British rule (4 April 1881) showed the population of Lefkōsha at 11,573, of whom 5,659 were Greek Orthodox (46%), 5,597 Muslims (47%), 181 Roman Catholics, 78 Maronites, 88 Armenian Gregorians, 94 Church of England and Protestants, and 22 Jews. Although the population of the town had increased 9% to 12,515 in 1891, the number of Muslims declined slightly to 5,331, 43% of the population (*Cyprus Gazette*, 16 October 1891). A census of 1901 shows a population of 14,752, a 28% increase over 1881. The Muslims numbered 6,013, up only 11% in two decades, while the Greek Orthodox had increased 41% to 8,738 (*Cyprus Gazette*, 26 April 1901, 30 August 1901). Almost 40% of the population of the six leading towns lived in Lefkōsha. The town contained only 6% of the population of the island, although 12% of the Muslims lived there.

Initially, British policy in Cyprus was to preserve the existing Ottoman political, social and economic systems, except in a few specific areas of public health, extensive official English translations of recent Ottoman *mukhtaṣars* and cadastral records were prepared. In 1693, £ 661 of the £ 1,310 in municipal revenues from Lefkōsha were from slaughter house fees, £ 351 from market tolls and rents, and £ 246 from weighing and measuring taxes. The municipality established in 1884 even had a "censor of markets". *Awḳāf* still provided the water supply: 300 measures from the Arab Ahmet and 170 measures from the Sīlīkdar aqueduct were sold annually, while another 100 measures were donated to mosques, churches and schools (*Cyprus Blue Book*, 4 January 1893. See also *Statute laws of Cyprus*, 1878-1903, 633-41, "Nicosia water supply"). Eleven Muslim schools, supported by *awḳāf*, mosque funds and grants from the Porte, had 374 students in 1889-90 and 633 students in 1892-3, about 23% of them girls (*Cyprus Blue Book*, year 1889-90). Cotton and silk remained the major industries. Nearly every village in the district had cotton looms, and many houses in the larger villages had hand looms for manufacturing cotton and silk stuffs. In 1889 the town also had a tannery, 3 tobacco factories, 3 steam-powered flour and cotton mills, calico printers, copper, silver, and goldsmiths, and 5 distilleries (*Cyprus Blue Book*, 1889-90, 1891-2). The proposed railway between Lefkōsha and Larnaka was never attempted, but in 1906 a railway connected Lefkōsha and the new harbour of Maghōsha.

In 1946, 10,330 of the 34,485 inhabitants were Muslims, including 9,524 of 24,967 within the walls and 1,078 of 9,518 outside them. Besides 20,788 Greek Orthodox, there were 2,252 Armenians, 160 Maronites and 30 Jews; each of the 24 quarters was mixed.

Monuments. The Venetians levelled much of the Lusignan town in rebuilding the walls. Although the town walls are essentially the creation of the Venetians, the Ottomans repaired them extensively in the 1570s. Virtually all the monumental buildings date from the brilliant Lusignan period, neither the Venetians nor the Ottomans added religious or other public buildings, for many already stood empty after the population began to decline (these are discussed with illustrations by C. Enlart, 67-189, and pls. 1-12). Cf. G. Jeffery, *Description*, 18-100, and *Cyprus monuments. No. 7. Historical and architectural buildings. The mosques of Nicosia*, Nicosia 1935; F. Çuhadaroğlu and F. Oğuz, *Turkish historical monuments in Cyprus*, in *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi*, ii (1973), 1-76, Oktay Aslanapa, *Kıbrıs'da türk eserleri*, Cevdet Çağdaş, *Kıbrıs'ta türk devri eserleri*, Lefkoşa 1965. The finest Ottoman constructions are the Mawlawī *tekke* inside Girne gate (pre-1600), the Büyük Khān (pre-1600), and the small ʿArab Aḥmed Pasha mosque. Many aspects of the Ottoman town are preserved within the walls of the Turkish quarter: narrow streets, overhanging balconies, stone walled houses and gardens, and bazaars. A very few stone-cut houses, or their foundations, survive from the Venetian period, as do several fine houses from the Ottoman period. Sadly, there is little appreciation of this cultural heritage, and they are gradually being eliminated.

Until this century, the town has been confined within the walls. The main buildings of the Ottoman period, like the Büyük Khān and the so-called Kumārdjilar Khān, date from early in the Ottoman occupation. Occupance of the town has been a conservative one with few changes in the main centres and a preservation of old quarter names and locations from earliest times.

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(R. C. JENNINGS)

LEGACY [see MIRĀṮ]

LEGEND [see RIWĀYA, KIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ', SIYER]

LEGISLATION [see ṬANẒĪMĀT]

LEH (لاخ or لاه), the ancient Ottoman Turkish term for the Poles and Poland (from *Lech*, Polish tribal name later extended to comprise all the nation, with the original nasal *ę* ousted by *e*, as in Byz. Λεχοι "the Poles" and Λεχία "Poland". In Turkish, Poland was also called *Leh wilāyeti* (*memleketi*), the Poles *Lehli* and the Polish language *lehçe*. From the 12th/18th century, the Turks also called the country *Lahistān* (Pers. *Lahistān*, from which is derived Pers. *ahl-i Lahistān* "Poles" and *zabān-i Lahistāni* "the Polish language"). In the hitherto unpublished Crimean Tatar documents from the late 10th/16th century, the word for Poland is *Laḫā* (the Ukrainian-Russian form of the Polish *Lech*) or *s-Laḫā* (لاخ and لياخ); Arch. wum. Główan Akt Dawnych, Warsaw, Arch. Koronne, Dz. tatarski, kartony 60, 63). The term *Kirāl*, which is attested in the same sources (كورال or كرال, from the Ukr.-Rus. *korol* "king"), means "the kingdom"—Poland, including her southeastern provinces, i.e. Ruthenia and the Ukraine (قرول *korol* as it occurs in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat nāme*, vi, 366, 368 *et passim*, wherever the lands, the Ruthenians-Ukrainians and their language are mentioned). (On *Kirāl*, see also E. Schütz, *Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *AOrH*, xxix [1975], 164-3; this term is not so close there as in the said documents.) The mediaeval Islamic authors called Poland by names derived from Lat. *Polonia*: Ar. *Bulāniya* (T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w tzw. Księgi Rogera*" *geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisiego*, i, Cracow 1945, 125 and 1), Pers. *Polonyā* (M. D'Ohsson, *Les peuples du Caucase ou voyage d'Abou al-Cassim*, Paris 1828, 269). The latter name was equally used by the Ottoman author Resmī Ḫōǧa (d. 973/1597-8) in his *Ta'rīḫ-i Sāḥib Girāy ḫān* (A. Muchliński, *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich* ..., Vilna 1858, 9). Since the 13th/19th century, the terms *Polonya* (Ital. *Polonia*), *Polonyalı* and *Polonya dili* are in use in Turkey. In modern Arabic, Poland is called *Bulanda*, *Bulāndā* (Eng. *Poland*) and *Bulāniyā* (Ital. *Polonia*), the Poles *Bulūnī* and Polish *al-lugha al-bulāndiyya* (*al-bulāndiyya*, *al-bulāniyya*).

Poland was known to Islamic peoples from the account written by Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb (if not earlier) about the Slavonic lands (354/965-6), which, however, contained no reference to the name of the country, mentioning only the Polish ruler Mīsaḳa (from Pol. *Mieszko*). Poland has been long since connected with Islamic countries by animated trade relations, the numerous early Islamic coins found now on her territory bearing an undeniable witness to the fact.

With regard to political relations between the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy and the world of Islam, they appear to have been established first with the break up of the Golden Horde and the khānate which arose from their downfall (see ARU'RUS). After a period of peaceful and friendly contacts with the Crimean khān Ḥāǧǧī Girey I and his successor Nūr Dewlet, the long years under Mengli Girey I were a period of unrest and strife. The khān vacillated between support for Poland-Lithuania and for Muscovy, which challenged the Jagellons in disputes over the regions of western Russia, Bělorussia and the Ukraine. Poland-Lithuania emerged successfully from this period, but it was under an obligation to the khānate to pay specified sums in return for military aid against Muscovy (see K. Pułaski, *Stosunki z Mendli Girejem chanem Tatarów perekopskich. 1469-1515*, Warsaw 1881, L. Kolankowski, *Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxix [1953], 279-300). But the Tatar attacks into the Polish region were endless invasions by the Tatar Cossacks (*Tatar kazaklari*, *buzum kazaklar* of the Crimean sources) drew revenge from the Zaporozhians (*Özü/Özu kazaklari*). The Crimea, which since 1475 had been a vassal state of the Porte, was often used in the political battles of the Porte against the Poles; the Tatars took part in Turkish invasions of Poland in 1498, 1523-4, 1620, etc. In 1628 khān Meḥmed Girey III and ṣalgha Shāhīn Girey Sulṭān took an oath of allegiance to Poland for her help in their struggle against the Porte and khān Ḏānibek Girey. The next year, however, Poland's striving to gain sway over the Crimea finally failed. The refusal of king Władysław IV to give the "presents" in the Crimea became of the Tatar violations of the peace led Islām Girey III into an alliance with the Zaporozhians and to the Crimean Tatar Ukrainian united war against Poland, 1648-54 (Hazzy Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia chana Islam Gireja III*, ed. Z. Abrahamowicz, Warsaw 1971). The treaty between B. Chmielnicki and Moscow in 1654 made the Tatars change their standpoint radically. With renewed Tatar support for Poland in her war in the Ukraine, Meḥmed Girey IV was to undertake diplomatic intervention in Denmark in her favour after the Swedish invasion into Poland in 1655 (J. Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden zur Russlandreise zu Kopenhagen ...*, Freiburg 1976), and in 1656 his troops fought successfully in Poland against the Swedes. Pursuing them, the Tatars advanced as far as Eastern Prussia. These events are the historical roots of the "journey" narrated by Ewliyā Čelebi, *op. cit.*, vi, 364-78, to Denmark, Sweden, etc., with 40,000 Crimean Tatars after the Turkish conquest of Újvár Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) in 1663; there, he must have met some of the Tatar expedition against the Swedes fighting in Poland (see *Księga podróży Evliya Czelebiego. Wybór*, Warsaw 1973, 193-208, 423-7—a collective work by several authors, foreword by J. Reychman, translation of the relevant text and commentary by Z. Abrahamowicz). The Tatars took a part in the Turkish war against Poland in 1672, sometimes acting as mediators between Poland and Turkey. The plans of King John III Sobieski for a Polish-Russian war against the Crimea and for a joint division of the khānate proved impracticable. The danger presented by the Tsarist empire to Poland and the Crimea in the 12th/18th century reconciled the two countries once again.

Witold (ca. 1352–1430), Archduke of Lithuania, who played a prominent part in the domestic struggle which was going on within the Horde, then undergoing a process of disintegration, on his return in 1397 from an expedition to the banks of the Don brought a large number of Tatar families and settled them in his land. This gave rise to a strong Tatar colonisation in Lithuania, since 1385 united with Poland, and on Polish territory as well [see LITHUA].

The diplomatic ties between Poland and the Ottoman Empire existed back to 1419. When King Ladislas III of Poland (I of Hungary) disregarded the warnings of his Polish advisers, the tragedy of the Battle of Varna (1444) ensued, it was to be a terrible event for Poland to remember, and a pointer to her future association with the Turks. By this time, she was no longer disposed to engage in elaborate plans for a papal-imperial attack on Islam: she was at peace with the Turks and had a good defence against the territorial ambitions of the hostile Hapsburgs. After the Turkish attack on Kaffa [see KEFE] and the khānate of the Crimea (1475) and the Turko-Tatar conquest of the Black Sea ports of Kilia and Akkerman (1484), which were so vital to Poland, a ceasefire was arranged between King Casimir IV Jagello and Sultān Bāyezīd II (12 March 1489). The Moldavian campaign of King John Albert (1497) and the subsequent Turko-Tatar attacks on Poland (1498) had shown that there was a military equilibrium between the two powers, and peace was again restored between them in 1499. Following the armistice of 1525 and that of 1528, Süleymān the Magnificent made in January 1533 a life-long peace treaty and alliance with King Sigismund I and his son Sigismund Augustus who, in 1529, was crowned as his father's successor. This treaty, which Sigismund Augustus had renewed in 1553 with the old sultan, in 1564 with Sultān Selīm as the heir to the throne, and in 1568 had renewed with the Pādishāh Selīm II, was the basis of relations between Poland and Turkey in the 16th/16th century. During this period, these relations were on the whole favourable, but not without certain difficulties (C. Backvis, *La difficile coexistence pacifique entre Polonais et Turcs au XVIe siècle*, in *Mélanges d'histoire générale dédiés à la mémoire de A. Abel*, ii, Brussels 1975, 13–52). Poland did not concur with the insinuations made by Süleymān and his Ruthenian wife Khurrem Sultān [q.v.] against the Hapsburgs, and in 1569 Sigismund Augustus also rejected the Turkish plan for a Polish-Turkish alliance against Moscow. During the first two elections of kings after the death of the last Jagellon king, the Porte intervened vigorously to prevent the choice of a Hapsburg. Moreover Süleymān already appeared to be favourably disposed to Poland when he heard the false news of the death of both Polish kings in 1535 (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, no. 39; K. Beydilli, *Die polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien*, Munich 1975). The Polish Turkish War of 1620 (Poland was defeated at Cecora) and 1621 (the victory for Poland at Chocim [see KHOTIN]) was not only caused by Poland's attempt to force the Ottomans out of Moldavia but also by the strife stirred up by the excesses of the Tatars and Zaporozhians (R. Majewski, *Cecora. Koh 1620*, Warsaw 1970). It ended with the peace of 1623. The self-willed assault on Kamieniec undertaken in 1633 by Abāza Mehmed Pasha [see ABĀZA] did not lead to a deterioration of mutual relations. However, the borderland skirmishes steadily grew in number. This even led King Ladislas IV to construe beginning from 1645, plans for joint Polish and Venetian attack against Turkey, with the support of the Zaporozhians (W. Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*, Cracow 1895). These plans did not come to be fulfilled, as Ladislas IV died in 1648, and the war of the Cossacks and Tatars against Poland broke out the same year. The Porte very much valued Poland's role in maintaining the balance of power in their struggle against the Hapsburgs, and in 1648, when Poland was defeated in the war with Islam Girey III and the Zaporozhians, it intervened on Poland's side, thus provoking the anger of the Tatars (Abrahamowicz, *Katalog* ..., nos. 339–41, Senai, *op. cit.*, fol. 25-26). In view of her agreements with Poland, the Porte was also rather reluctant to adopt the plan suggested by B. Chmielnicki of placing the Ukraine under the sultan's patronage, even though this plan seemed to promise the liberation of Turkish lands from the threat of Cossack attacks. The theory of an alliance of the Porte with the Hetman in 1648 (O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Orients*, vi [1953]) cannot be supported, considering the carefully guarded attitude of the Turks towards him in 1651 (J. Rypka, *Westere Beziehge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyćkyj*, in *ArO*, x, and Abrahamowicz, *Katalog* ..., no. 344). Even when in 1665/1665 Sultān Mehmed IV had taken the Cossacks formally under his patronage, he hastened to declare to King John Casimir that he nevertheless wished to maintain the good relations with Poland (A. N. Kurat and K. V. Zetterstéen, *Türkische Urkunden*, Leipzig 1938, no. 2). In the years that followed, the period of the 'Flood', Turkey lent Poland also considerable support against the threat to her by Carl X Gustavus of Sweden (1656) and George II Rákóczi (1657).

The balance of power was first destroyed by the Grand Vizier Kepriilüzāde Fāḍil Ahmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ II] when, in 1669, he granted the Cossack Hetman P. Doroszenko, who since 1666 was in revolt against Poland, the supreme authority of the Pādishāh, as a result, the Grand Vizier directly attacked Poland in 1672. The splendour of his success included the capture of Podolia, compelling Poland to pay tribute, etc. But this faded quickly with the defeat of the Turks at Chocim in 1673 (J. Sobieski was still only Royal Chief Hetman) and then again at Żórawno in 1676 (Sobieski was then King, the attack was repelled, the tribute imposed in 1672 was repealed and it was never paid by Poland).

The Porte was now involved in a difficult war with Russia over the Ukraine. The successor of the Grand Vizier, Merzifonlu Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha [q.v.], adopted an inflexible attitude as his next treaty with Poland (1678), and an additional threat to Poland came from the south in consequence of his 1681 alliance with E. Thökölÿ. He had occasion to deplore his rash step when, at the battle for the relief of Vienna on 12 September 1683 and in the subsequent war in Hungary, the Polish king "was the first one to drive his horse against the Muslims and then to draw his sword" and "caused so much harm that it was he who gave the greatest help and support [for the Emperor Leopold I] and had many Muslims taken prisoner" (Dīlsezāde Ḥasan Esīrī, and eyewitness of the events of 1683, in *TOEM*, iii, 1016; in general, see Z. Wójcik, *King John III of Poland and the Turkish aspect of his foreign policy*, in *Balkan*, xliv, no. 176 [1980]). The fruits of the victory of John

III, the commander-in-chief of the allied Christian armies in this battle, fell to Austria alone, and the territory taken from Poland in 1672 was only restored by the Porte in 1699

The turning point in the relations between the two neighbours was the Treaty of Carlowitz (see KARLOVČAI) Poland, who had once been so proud of her epithet *antemurale christianitatis*—against Islam—was now, in the face of the common threat of Russia, drawing nearer to Turkey, particularly after the partitioning of the country by Catherine II with the help of Austria and Prussia (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja. 1683-1793*, Warsaw 1936). A manifestation of the Turkish sympathies towards the Poles in this time can be found in the *Sefâret nâme yi Fransa* by Mehmed Emîn Wehbî Pasha, the Porte's envoy to Napoleon I in 1807. Turkey never recognised the division of Poland, but offered Polish patriots continuing protection after the failure of their national uprising in 1831, and they supported Polish efforts to attack the empire of the Tsar from the south The greatest Polish poet, A. Mickiewicz, had gone to Constantinople to organise the Polish Legion, and he died there in 1855 Countless Polish refugees performed all kinds of work there to further the modernisation and europeanisation of the country and of Ottoman society and the army K Berzeczki-Mustafâ Dhihî al-Dîn Pasha was the first to rouse a spirit of national identity within the Ottomans (B Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey* Oxford 1961, 28, 339) S Chlebowski, court painter to Sultân 'Abd al-'Azîz, painted a series of scenes from Ottoman history for the new Dolmabaghçe Palace (A. Lewak, *Dzieje emigracyi polskiej w Turcyi (1831-1878)*, Warsaw 1933) Polish specialists and advisers even penetrated the intimate society of Kemâl Pasha Atatürk. This resulted in friendly relations between the new Poland and the Turkish republic from its inception In spite of its complicated political situation, Turkey gave Poland vital help during the Second World War. After the war, both countries developed their co-operation in economic and cultural fields. An active link between the two is Polonezköy, founded in 1835 by Prince Adam J Czartoryski, and thereafter called *Adampol* in Polish It is a colony of Polish immigrants on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorous near Istanbul, who still maintain their national character

Venetian-Persian attempts to win over Poland to the idea of an anti-Turkish coalition in 1474 and 1475 faded under the careful direction of King Casimir IV (J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, v, Cracow 1878, 602, 604, 626). Sigismund III Vasa (1566-1632) also remained deaf to similar suggestions from Shâh 'Abbâs I, the dispute with Sweden and later with Muscovy was more important to him The first delegation from the Shâh led by Sir Anthony Sherley had not been, incidentally, allowed by the Tsar Boris Godunov to unite Poland because of his hostile attitude to the king. Afterwards, in 1601, *Sefer* Meratowicz, an Armenian merchant from Warsaw, travelled to Kâshân to buy carpets for the king (T. Mańkowski, *Wyprawa po kobiercc do Persyi w roku 1601*, in *RO*, xviii [1951]) In doing so, he came then personal contact with 'Abbâs I (see his travel narrative in A Waliszak (ed.), *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Cracow 1980, 35-47), and then other Polish envoys travelled to Persia, though sometimes for the purpose of trade Serious plans for an anti-Turkish alliance with Persia were cherished by the Polish Kings Ladislas IV and John III, but proved impossible (St. Chowaniec, *Z dziejów polityki Jana III na Bliskim Wschodzie*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xl [1926]). In the 17th/17th century the kings of Poland supported the Catholic Mission to Iran, vainly hoping to convert her to Christianity. In the 13th/19th century, Poles also came to Persia, some as refugees from the army of the Tsar in Central Asia and some as political agents from Paris t owork among them, and some came as merchants and industrialists from the Russian-occupied regions of Poland. Friendly allé anses between Poland and Persia after 1918 won the help of the Shâh, Muhammad Rıdâ, who favourably received numerous Polish military and civilian personnel in Persia during the Second World War This also led to active agreements between the two states after the war

In May 1551 a legation from Bukhârâ was staying in Cracow The business discussed there probably included the provision of experts in the production of gunpowder and also artillery advisers for these Sunni allies of the Ottoman Empire which was peacefully co-existing with Poland This was a difficult time for Poland, because the king was mourning the death of his beloved wife The fact that there is no mention of any later similar delegation suggests that there was no favourable outcome for this mission (AGAD, AK Rachunki poselskie, and information obtained from Professor B Baranowski; the documents referring to this episode were partly destroyed in Warsaw during the last war)

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, there was Polish intervention in Moscow concerning the impostor Dmitri, and on this occasion a temporary rapprochement between the Poles and the Kâlmov (q.v.) Tatars took place. During the 13th/19th century, there was contact between those Poles who had been deprived of their state and the Islamic peoples of the Russian Empire, on the one hand, there were scientists and technologists, etc., employed by the Russians, and on the other hand the political outcasts, victims of Tsarist administration. Polish patriots from Paris had contacts, through Constantinople, with the anti-Tsarist insurgents in Dâghistân under the leadership of Shamil (L. Widerszal, *Sprawy kaukaskie w polityce europejskiej w latach 1832-1864*, Warsaw 1934).

Polish relations with Arabic countries had begun with pilgrimages to the Holy Land. In 1645 King Władysław IV made an endeavour to reach an agreement with Morocco The reply by Sultân Muhammad II, extant in an Italian translation only, the unique piece of evidence for these contacts, is too scanty a record to establish their purport In any case, Poland's attempts, if there had been any, to gain Moroccan support in the struggle against Turkey, proved fruitless (B. Baranowski, *Próby nawiązania stosunków polsko-marokańskich w połowie XVII wieku*, in *RO*, xvii [1953], 212-19) It was not until the 13th/19th century that the contacts with the Arab nations grew closer. After 1918, these contacts had attained the status of diplomatic ties which again, after the Second World War, developed into a lively co-operation in economic, technical and cultural spheres with different states of that region.

Under the strong influence of Islamic culture, Poland was shown to be a borderland between the Christian West and the Islamic East. This was particularly evident in material culture, for the products of these Islamic craftsmen (Turkish, Persian and to some extent Crimean Tatar) reached Poland either by trade or as the spoils of war. They shed an oriental

influence on Polish national costume, domestic furniture, the conduct of war, and arms and equipment. These artifacts spread beyond Poland to other countries (e.g. Persian carpets were known in the West as "tapis polonais"), and they were later imitated in Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Cracow 1935, *idem*, *Le tapis persan dit cracovien-persanen de la cathédrale de Cracovie*, in *RO*, xvi [1951]). This attracted a number of Oriental words and terms into Polish (A. Zajączkowski, *Studia orientalistyczne z dziejów słownictwa polskiego*, Wrocław 1953). Polish museums contain authentic art treasures from Islamic countries, especially weapons, Ottoman standards and tents. There are Persian carpets bearing the Polish eagle which S. Murakowicz brought from Kāshān for the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1602 and which are now in the Residenzmuseum, Munich. The activities of the art-loving Stanisław Augustus, the last Polish king (1765-95), of many Polish magnates to the 18th century as well as various Polish emigrants to the East in the 19th century, led to the formation of rich collections of Islamic art in Poland.

Moreover, Poland was not averse to the intellectual culture of the Islamic East. The most important work in this connection is the translation by Samuel Otwinowski of the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī in the mid-17th century (following an Ottoman version; it appeared in print only in 1879). The 18th and 19th centuries, the Romantic Period, brought new oriental influences to bear on Polish literature. These traditions are maintained by modern Polish orientalists of the post-war period, who translate into Polish the literature and historiography of the Islamic world.

The travel descriptions by many a Pole journeying to the Islamic East of the 10th/16th century have contributed much to the knowledge of that world in Europe (A. Broniewius, J. Łaski, Michało Litvanus, A. Taranowski, M. Radziwiłł). Similarly, the career of Fr. Meagues Menińskі as an Ottoman scholar in part stemmed from his stay in Poland where, for some years, he was engaged as court-interpreter.

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LEMNOS [see LIMNI]

LEO AFRICANUS, the name by which the author of the *Descriptione dell' Africa* is generally known, who was in fact originally called al Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī (or al Fāsī). He was born in Granada between 894 and 901/1489 and 1495 into a family which had to emigrate to Morocco after that city's fall [see GHARNĀṬA], and was brought up in Fās, where he received a good education and very soon entered the service of the administration there. Whilst still a student, he was employed for two years in the mental hospital, which he describes in detail (*Description*, tr. Épaulard, I, 185 (see BIMĀRISTĀN ii)). He then accompanied to Timbuktu one of his uncles, who had been sent there as an ambassador (*Descr.*, I, 136), travelled across Morocco on various diplomatic and commercial missions on behalf of the sultan of Fās, Muḥammad al Burtuḳālī [see WATTĀSIDS], and already displayed a precocious intellectual curiosity by collecting, in the course of his travels, funerary inscriptions, of which he made a collection (*Descr.*, I, 231). He later returned to Timbuktu, and from there, crossed by the land route to Egypt, whence he returned home by sea. In 921/1515 he undertook a last sumour, which took him to the East, via Dehdū, Tlemcen, Algiers, Bougie, Masila, Tunis (where he gathered information on economic and social life there, see R. Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, p. xxxv) and Tripolitania. From Cairo, where he found himself in 1517, he travelled up to Aswān, made the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and even claimed to have gone to Constantinople. During his voyage homewards by sea, he was captured at Djerba by Sicilian corsairs, who took him to Naples and then Rome, where they presented him to Pope Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici. By the end of the year, the Pope had persuaded him to become a Christian, he baptised him on 6 January 1520 and gave him his own name, Johannes Leo de Medicis (the latter rendered his name in Arabic as Yuḥannā al-Asad al-Gharnāṭī, the editor of the *Descriptione* calls him Giovanni Leone Africano, and current usage generally refers to him by the second of these Christian names).

Apart from the autobiographical details which can be gleaned from the *Description*, we know little of his life, all that is known is that, before 1530, he went to Tunis, and probably spent the last years of his life in his ancestral faith.

During his stay in Italy, he learnt Italian, taught Arabic at Bologna and, in addition to his *Descriptione of Africa*, conceived the further plan of describing similarly the part of Asia which he claimed to have visited, and also Europe (see *Descr.*, II, 537-8). He certainly put together in 930/1524, ICZ the physician Jacob ben Simon, an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin vocabulary, of which the Arabic part is preserved in the Escorial (no. 598, see H. Derenbourg, *Cat. des manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris 1884, I, 420). He also left behind a treatise on prosody (see A. Codazzi, *Il trattato dell' arte metrica di Giovanni Leone Africano*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, I, 180-98), and there is attributed to him a biographical work completed in 1527 and translated into Latin under the title *Libellus de vere quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes* (ed. J. H Hottinger, 1664, and then by J. A. Fabricius, 1717). Nevertheless, his main fame rests on his *Descriptione dell'Africa*, completed on 10 March 1526; written in poor Italian on the basis of notes in Arabic, it was edited and published by G. B Ramusio, in *Navigationi e viaggi*, Venice 1550, I, f. 1-130a (and several later editions) It was translated, as early as 1556, into French by Temporal (ed. Schefer, Paris 1896 8) and into Latin by Florian(us), as *J. Leonis Africani de totius Africae descriptione* (Antwerp 1556) On this latter translation were based an English version by John Pory (*Historie of Africa*, 1600, ed. Browne, *London* 1896), a Dutch one by Leers and a German one by Lorsbach The original ms. of the *Descriptione* was rediscovered in 1931 and placed in the National Library at Rome (no. 953), it was to have been edited by Sra. A Codazzi, but publication of this hardly seems worthwhile now that A. Épaulard has been able to compare it with the Ramusio edition and has brought to the *textus receptus* some improvements and corrections, utilised in his French translation, *Description de l'Afrique*, Paris 1956, which has been edited by H. Lhote, with a copious commentary by A Épaulard, Th. Monod, H. Lhote and R. Mauny. It has been possible to identify the majority of the place names, deformed in the Italian text, and the notes, which are generally accurate, throw useful light on the work's information.

The *Description* contains nine sections (1) generalities about Africa, (2) south-western Morocco (in particular, Marrakesh, with errors—see G Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, p. xiv and index), (3) the kingdom of Fās (a very extended treatment, one more accurate and confident); (4) the kingdom of Tlemcen (5) Bougie and Tunis, (6) southern Morocco, and the southern parts of Algeria and Tunisia, followed by Libya; (7) the land of the blacks, (8) Egypt, and (9) the rivers, animals, plants and minerals of Africa. This work remained for centuries a major source on the Islamic world, and is still cited by historians and geographers of Africa. Although it is not free from errors—certainly excusable if one takes into account the conditions in which it was put together—it provides first-hand items of information on the situation at the beginning of the 10th/16th century in the lands visited, on the ethnog-

raphy and the institutions of their various inhabitants, and in particular, on political, economic and social life in North Africa.

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LEON [see LIVIUS]

LEPANTO [see AYNABAKHTĪ]

LEPHOSY [see BUPHĀM, in Suppl.]

LERIDA [see LĀRIDA]

LESH (Ottoman لِش) from the Albanian, Italian Alessio, a minor port, military stronghold and administrative centre in northern Albania, 30 km to the south of Shkodër/Scutari, which was part of the Ottoman empire between 1478 and 1912.

Lesh, the classical Lissus, is one of the oldest urban centres of the country. It is built on the banks of the river Drin not far from its estuary, and is overlooked by two isolated hills, each carrying the ruins of ancient fortifications. This setting largely determined the history and the function of Lesh; it was a military stronghold in periods of danger and a harbour in more peaceful times. During antiquity, both hilltops and the lower town on the river were surrounded by an enormous wall, parts of which still survive. This large city was destroyed during the invasions of the Barbarians (592 A.D.), and never recovered again. Anna Comnena mentions Lissus in her *Alexiade* as a strong Byzantine fortress and as fairly well-inhabited. In the 13th century, Lesh was included in the Serbian state, together with Shkodër. During the dismemberment of the Serbian empire, after the mid-14th century, Lesh became a part of the minor Albanian principality of Dukagin, but its lord ceded Lesh to the Republic of Venice in 1393. The citadel on the lower of the two hills (the old Acropolis on the higher hill had been left in ruins since classical times) was in ruins in the Venetian period. The Signoria decided only to rebuild the walls of the lower town on the river, which was done between 1404 and 1430. An enormous conflagration destroyed most of the settlement in 1440. In 1451 the new city wall was ready, partly paid for by Venice, partly by the local inhabitants.

In 1468 the famous rebel against the Ottomans and national hero of the Albanians, George Kastriotes Skanderbeg, died in Lesh and was buried in the Gothic cathedral of St Nicolas in the lower town, an event described in detail by the chronicler Marin Barletius. Ten years later, during Sultan Mehemmed I'ātih's campaign against Shkodër (known to the Ottomans as Iskenderiyye), Lesh was captured and incorporated in the Ottoman realm. Before they tied with wives, children and property to the ships that were waiting to the river, the inhabitants of Lesh set fire to the city. The conquest is related by Tursun Beg in his *Ta'rīkh-i Abu 'l-Fatḥ* and by Sa'd al-Dīn in his *Tādj al-tawārīkh*.

It was long before the ruined town recovered. At first, Lesh seems to have been included in the *sandjak* of Elbasan, but later (after 1485 and perhaps after the Venetian interlude) it was added to that of Iskenderiyye. In 1502, during Bāyezīd II's short war with Venice, Lesh was taken by Venetian forces, who kept it for a short period. When they retreated, they had the town walls destroyed. The Ottomans reoccupied a totally wrecked town. They decided to rebuild the citadel on the hill, a site which offered better chances for defence than the place along the river. The work was finished in 928/1522, as is attested by a monumental Ottoman inscription—now preserved in the Lesh Historical Museum—which mentions the name of Sultān Süleymān, the date in numbers and in the form of a chronogram, and the name of the architect as Derwīsh Mehmed, the son of Skura. The latter must have been a member of this well known Albanian noble family of that name.

In the first half of the 16th century, Lesh remained a small place. The Idjmāl defter no. 367 of 937-6, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, mentions it as a village in the *liwā'* of Iskenderiyye, having 144 households. The Mufaṣṣal defter *T.K.* 65 of the *liwā'* of Dukagin, preserved in the Tapu ve Kadastro Gen. Müd. in Ankara (fols. 52-5b), from 999/1590-1 (dated by internal evidence), mentions Lesh as an urban settlement (*nāḥiye*) in the *sandjak* of Dukagin. The latter was set up in the thirties or forties of the 16th century and had Pec (Ipek) as its chef-lieu, although the *sandjak-begi* resided sometimes in Lesh. Western sources mention in 1553 a figure of 80 houses of Turks in the castle on the hill (which is called "Castel Nova"). The lower town (il-Borgo) is described as a predominantly Christian place. The latter developed slowly into a centre of trade.

In the thirties of the 16th century, a strong impetus to this function of the town was given by the Ottoman governor of Shkodër (later also in Thessaloniki and Prizren), Kukli Mehmed Beg of Prizren. At his expense, the caravan road through the mountains from Lesh to Prizren in the interior was safeguarded by a chain of caravanserais. Two of them were built in Lesh itself, together with 30 shops, which were part of the *waḳf* property of Kukli Beg's foundations in Prizren and its surroundings.

The Muḥāsṣal defter T.K. 63 mentions that a part of the inhabitants of Lesh were "outside the old register", which means that they had moved in from elsewhere. They gained their living as workers in the harbour and had the *filluri* status as concerned taxes and paid only a lump sum of 52 *akčes* yearly. The register mentions 141 Christian households of them and six of Muslims, all living in the newly-founded suburb of "Ishulā" (Ishull Leshē) which was formerly a *mezrā'a*.

In or around 1560, the old cathedral of St Nicolas was confiscated by the Ottomans and turned into a mosque, this being reported in the visitation report of the bishop of Bar (Antivari) Marino Bizzi in 1610. In 1624 the open town is said to have numbered 500 Turkish (read: Muslim) households. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions Lesh as a part of the *sandjak* of Dukagin and situated near the district of Zadrima, whose inhabitants were rebellious Albanians. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Lesh in 1072/1661-2 on his way to Shkodër. At that time, Lesh was a *voyvodalik* in the *sandjak* of Dukagin and the seat of the provincial administration of the area. In the castle, built on a steep rock, was a garrison under command of a *dizdār* and only a few houses of civilians. An Ottoman budget of the year 1079/1669-70 has 136 men as garrison for the "Castle of Lesh in the *liwā'* of Dukagin". The 17th century Lesh cannot have been very prosperous. Ewliyā mentions that its houses were rather poor. The church-mosque was deserted in the

thirties or forties of the century, and left in ruins for more than a hundred years.

In the last decades of the 18th century, Sultān Selīm III concerned himself for the reconstruction of the building. At that time, it received the form it still had in our time (1978). The Armenian geographer Inciciyan describes Leshi in the last decades of the 18th century as a place with a thousand houses.

During the administrative reforms of the 19th century (1862), the old *sanǧak* of Dukagin was dissolved and added to the *wilāyet* of Shkodër. The *Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3901, describes it towards the end of the last century as a *kadāʾ* in the above-mentioned *wilāyet*, with 5 300 inhabitants, 80 shops and four mosques. The *Iǧtidāʿiyya wilāyeti sālnāmesi* of 1316/1898-3, mentions Leshi as being the chef-lieu of a *kadāʾ* with 32 villages with a total of 5 510 (male) inhabitants, of whom 1 500 were Muslims and 4,000 (Roman Catholic) Christians. The district contained 31 churches, and eight mosques but had only three schools, two for Muslims and one for Christians.

In the seventies of the 20th century, Leshi was still a minor town. Its centre was modernised, the old cathedral of St Nicolas—Mosque of Sultān Selīm III, was restored. In the spring of 1978, the tomb of the legendary Skanderbeg was discovered by Albanian archeologists, as being situated in the middle of the old church just as Barletius wrote. Shortly afterwards, the town and the church suffered badly during an earthquake. What remained of the church was consolidated into a huge, concrete-built memorial to Skanderbeg. The remains of the castle of Sultān Süleyman still overlook the little town.

Bibliography For the pre Ottoman history and topography of Leshi, see for example Milan von Sufflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens, hauptsächlich im Mittelalter*, Denkschriften no 63 der Akad. der Wiss., Vienna 1924; C. Praschniker and A. Schober, *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro*, Vienna 1919; Th. Ippen, *Durch Zadrima nach Alessio*, in *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, ed. Carl Patsch, Vienna Leipzig 1904. Frano Prendi, *Koço Zheku, Lasi të dritën e të dhënave të reja arkeologjike* ("Lassus à la lumière des plus récentes données archéologiques"), in *Monumentet*, ii (Tirana 1972), 7-23. For the site of the tomb of Skanderbeg, F. Prendi, *Lieu de sepulture de Skanderbeg*, in *Studia Albanica* (Tirana 1966), 159-67. The inscription of Sultān Süleymān has not been published adequately. For the history of the administrative division of the *sanǧak* of Dukagin see Hazim Šabanović, *Upravna Podjela Jugoslovenskog Zemalja pod Turskom Vladavinom do Karlovačkog Mira 1699 god.*, in *Godišnjak Istorshog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine*, iv (Sarajevo 1952); A. Burkon, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 54 5; Selami Pulaha, *La cadastre de l'an 1485 du Sandjak de Shkodër, II*, Tirana 1974, which clearly shows that Leshi was not included in the Shkodër *sanǧak* as formed in 1479. For Kukil Beg, see Hasan Kaleši, *Prisrenac Kukli Beg i njegovo Zadužbine*, in *Prilozi*, viii-ix (1960), 143-68. Bishop Bizzi's report was published by Ivanjo Rački, *Izvještaj biskupa nadbiskupa Marina Bizzia o stanju katolovanja god. 1610 po Arhinarchoj i Sta roj Srbiji*, in *Starine*, xx (Zagreb 1888). For Blasi, his journey and works, G. Stadtmüller, *Die Visitationsreise des Erzbischofs Marino Bian*, in *Sesta Monacensia* (*Festschrift Babinger*), Leiden 1952, 184-99. See further Ḥāǧǧī Khalīfa, *Geograph. Beschreiben von Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 246, Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat nāme*, vi, 206-7 of the printed edition (which shows in the section on Northern Albania large lacunas if compared with the autograph manuscript, Revan 1457 in the Topkapı Sarayı), Inciciyan, *World geography*, Turkish tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1973 4. The Ottoman budget of 1661 was published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Istanbul Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii/1-4 (Istanbul 1955-6), 225-303. Compare also *Guide d'Albanie*, Tirana 1956. (M. Kiel)

LETTER [see BARĪD, HABR, RISĀLA]

LEVANTE [see GHARB AL-ANDALUS]

LEVKAS, Greek Leukas, Santa Maura, Aya Mavra, Turkish Levkada, the name of a mountainous (up to 1,158 m. above sea level) island on the coast of western Greece with a total surface of 304 km². It is also the name of the only town on the island. The name means "White island" in Greek, and goes back to antiquity. The fortified part of the town, an Ottoman naval base which was since about 1550 [see KARLĪLE] a part of the province of the Kapudan Pasha and a much feared pirates' nest, was situated on a small, flat island in a shallow lagoon between the mainland of Acarnania and the island. It is connected with both of these through causeways and bridges across the lagoon. Today the old walled town is an empty shell: the entire civil population of Levkas town (in 1961: 6 532) has been since the end of the Ottoman period (1684) concentrated on a sandy spit on the north eastern tip of the island. The Ottoman geographers (Pīrī Reʾīs, Menemenli Mehmed Reʾīs, Kātib Čelebi, Evliyā Čelebi, etc.) called the island Levkada (لكاده or لغاده), and the town Aya Mavra (ايامورة). The history of the town and the island are inseparably connected with each other. In Ottoman times, the town of Levkas (Aya Mavra) was the largest urban settlement in the *sanǧak* of Karlī-ili. In the second half of the 16th and most of the 17th century it was an Islamic centre of some importance, and possessed two of the largest works of Ottoman civil and military architecture in the Western Balkans, viz. the aqueduct of Sultan Süleymān and Prince Dihāngīr and the castle, rebuilt by Kilič ʿAlī Pasha under Selīm II.

The history of the town of Levkas goes back to the 8th century B.C., when it was founded as a colony of Corinth. The town of antiquity lay a few miles to the south of the present site. It disappeared during the migration of nations through the Balkans into Greece. The island was a possession of the Despotate of Epirus until the extinction of the native house, after which it became a possession of the Frankish house of the Orsini. Around 1300, Julka I Orsini built a small castle on a small sandy island in the mud bay between the island of Levkada and the mainland of Acarnania in order to protect the settlement there, until that time an open one. In 1362 island and town were included in the possessions of the Italian ducal house of Tocco. Duke Carlo Tocco (1381-1403) made the town the capital of his dominions (which since around 1400 also included a part of the mainland). Carlo greatly enlarged the walled town. Open settlements are reported to have existed on both sides of the walled town. The open town of Levkas of today is of later origin. In 1430 the Ottomans placed most of Epirus under their direct rule. In 1449 they drove away the Toccos from the large city of Arta, only 50 km from Levkas. The last Tocco, Leonardo, was maintained as a vassal of the Sultan and was connected

to him by family ties because of his marriage with Mélica Branković, a niece of the much-respected step-mother of Meḥemmed II, Carica Mara (widow of Murād II). Mélica died in 1464. In 1477 Leonardo remarried, this time with Francesca Marzano, a princess of the Aragonese house of Southern Italy, the bitter opponents of the Ottomans. Two years later an Ottoman fleet under Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, then Bey of Avlonya (Valona), occupied the islands of Zakynthos (Zante), Cephalonia and Levkas (Cephalonia and Zante were lost in Venice in 1481; in 1485 the Ottomans re-acquired Cephalonia by treaty, but lost it definitively to Venice in 1500). Leonardo and Francesca, bitterly hated by their Greek subjects because of their ruthless exploitation, fled to Italy, where King Ferrante of Aragon gave them new possessions. Gedik Aḥmed is said to have deported the population of the islands, or at least a part of them, to Istanbul as part of Sultan Meḥemmed's policy of repopulating his capital Istanbul. Very likely there were also strategic grounds.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war over the last bases of the Signoria on the Greek shores (see GONOS, ISCHOS, AYNABAKHTI), the Venetians under Bernardo Pesaro captured Levkas in August 1502. It was returned to the Ottomans as a result of the treaty with Venice, in which the Sultan recognised the Venetian occupation of Cephalonia. Levkas was to remain Ottoman for almost two centuries.

Ottoman Levkas (i.e. the town) became the seat of one of the two *ḳaḍā*'s into which the *sanǧaḳ* of Karlı-ili was divided during the greater part of the 16th century. The town was the largest of the *sanǧaḳ*, and possessed by far the most important castle, containing a strong garrison. The *ḳaḍā*' of Aya Mavra was relatively thinly populated. An Ottoman census register (Tapu defter 367 in the BBA) from the years between 1523-36 shows that the town of Levkas/Aya Mavra numbered 194 households, 28 bachelors and 20 widows, perhaps giving a total civil population of a thousand souls. The *ḳaḍā*' had at that time two towns (the second town was Vonitsa, with 90 households, 27 bachelors and 13 widows), and comprised 43 villages, five monasteries and a total population of 2,834 households, 305 bachelors, 299 widows (as a total population of about 12,000 souls). These notes from the census register make clear that the *ḳaḍā*' of Aya Mavra not only comprised the island of Levkas but also a considerable part of the mainland of Acarnania. The bulk of the population of the *sanǧaḳ* of Karlı-ili lived in the *ḳaḍā*' of Engüli-ḳaṣrı (= Angelokastro, Ottoman between 1460 and 1812), further inland. Engüli-ḳaṣrı itself, which was officially the seat of the *sanǧaḳ beg*, numbered according to the same register 144 households, but the *ḳaḍā*' contained no less than 253 villages with 9,909 households, 990 bachelors and 954 widows (perhaps 46,000-47,000 souls). The register mentions that the garrison of Levkas town contained 111 soldiers and nine gunners. The castle of Angeli ḳaṣrı, safely inland, had only 25 soldiers (*neferāt-i ḳal'e*), Vonitsa, more exposed than Engüli-ḳaṣrı but less dangerously situated than Levkas town, had 25 soldiers and two gunners. Not a single Muslim household or individual is mentioned in the entire *sanǧaḳ* of Karlı-ili. There were only three mosques to this province, those in the three castles, serving the needs of the garrisons. The register of 1523-36 mentions in the entire *sanǧaḳ* only three *imāms*, two *ḫaṭīb*s and two *müʾeḏḏin*s. Thus Islam in Levkas was in the first half-century of Ottoman rule only represented by the military and administrative machinery. This was to change notably in the subsequent years.

Because of the constant lack of fresh water in the fortified town, due to its setting on saltings surrounded on all sides by the waters of the lagoon, the Ottomans were forced to carry out important hydraulic works. Good drinking water was brought from the interior of the island to the fortified town by an aqueduct of 3 kms. long, which was carried over the lagoon for almost a mile on an aqueduct with several hundreds of arches (Evliya Çelebi, viii, 638, gives 366 arches, Coronelli, *Mémoires, etc. de la Morée*, Amsterdam 1686, 146, has 360 arches; Henry Holland [in 1812], *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, London 1815, 61, has 360 arches). Over the aqueduct ran a narrow path offering a much shorter way to the island than that over the saltings. A note in Mühimme defteri no. 6 in the BBA in Istanbul contains the extract of an order of the *ḥiṣṣa* of Engüli-ḳaṣrı and Aya Mavra that the aqueduct currently under construction in Aya Mavra had to bring the water firstly to the walled town and then to the open town on the island, and not to the walled town alone, as had previously been ordered. The inhabitants of the town had pointed out to the Porte that the open town (*varoš*) did not contain 200 houses, as was thought in Istanbul, but 700 to 800 houses. Hence the need for more water. The order states that the aqueduct was built by "His Majesty". It is dated 17 Rebīʿ al-Evvel 972/24 October 1564, thus in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. Mühimme defter no. 5, containing a part of the orders of the year 973 (*sic*), has an imperial order from 6 Reǧeb to the Beg of Karlı-ili and the *ḥiṣṣa* of Aya Mavra requesting the repair of the fortress works and ordering the subject people from the nearby villages to assist the garrison in the work. An order of some months later (11 Ramażān 973) urges the *ḥiṣṣa* to begin the work and to finish it as soon as possible.

During the crisis of Lepanto (1571), the fortress of Aya Mavra was besieged but held out. After the siege the Ottoman government ordered the total reconstruction of the old fortress works. This work was carried out under supervision of Kapudan Kılıç ʿAlī Pasha between the years 980-1/1572-4. The Mühimme defters 19, and 21 contain some dozen of orders demanding carpenters and masons from Tirḥala, Ayna-bahtı and Yanova to go to Aya Mavra, and Yürüks and Tatars from Selānik and Tirḥala and timariots from Üsküb (Skopje) to assist with the work. This new fortress has the form of an irregular hexagon which is at its longest 220 m and 150 m wide. It is strengthened by nine round bastions of various sizes, all equipped with domed and vaulted casemates for guns and an open artillery platform on top. The mediaeval castle of the Orsinis was maintained at the north-eastern corner, as a kind of *ič ḳal'a*.

The works of the Ottoman geographers contain little information about this outpost of Islam in the far west of the Balkans. Pīrī Reʾīs in his *Baḥriyye* describes in a few lines the setting of the fortified town, as being situated on an island in a shallow lagoon and accessible only by two drawbridges that only opened to let ships pass through. Ḥāǧǧī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna geographisch beschrieben* Vienna 1812, 128) merely copies this information. Meḥmed ʿĀṣıḳ in his *Menāẓır al-ʿavālim* does not discuss this section of the Balkans. A wealth of information, on the other hand, is found in the *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Evliyā Çelebi (viii, 631-7). Evliyā visited Levkas as 1081/1670-1, at a time when Islam

had made considerable progress. After a detailed and fairly correct description of the works of fortification, he tells us that there were five Friday Mosques in the town, among which was the Khānkār Djāmi', a converted old church (this church-mosque was seen in 1863 by D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands*, London 1863, 139-40, but has since disappeared). Besides these mosques there was a fine newly built *masdjid*. Other Muslim buildings were a *medrese*, two *mekteb*, a *hammām* and six *tekkes*, of which one was erected by a certain Ahmed Agha in 1028/1619, with an inscription in Turkish giving the date in numbers in the form of a chronogram. In the walled *town were 200 stone-built houses remaining from* the times of the unbelievers. These houses were exclusively inhabited by Muslims. Due east of the walled town as an open suburb called "Shehidlik Varoshi", with forty or fifty wooden houses inhabited by Muslims and Christians. Just outside the west gate of the walled town on the sandy flats stretching towards the island, was a larger suburb, called "Tashra Varosh". It contained 300 houses built of wood (for strategic reasons). In this suburb was a wooden mosque with a stone-built *minaret*, a *masdjid*, a *tekke*, a *mekteb* and two *khāns*. The Christian inhabitants of this suburb possessed seven tiny churches. This part of town was full of winehouses, frequented by the irregulars of the garrison and the fleet.

At a distance of two miles across a shallow sea was the island of Lefkada, whose fertility was praised by Ewliyā. It had innumerable gardens and orchards and twenty prosperous villages, all inhabited by unbelievers. The island was reached by a path on top of the aqueduct which Ewliyā attributes to "the brother of Sultan Selim II, prince Djihāngīr" (1533-53). It is possible that there is a confusion with the son of Selim II, also called Djihāngīr, who must have reached manhood at the time when the order in the Mühimme defter 6 was written. This Djihāngīr died in 983/1575 (cf. *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, I, 29).

The fourth part of the "agglomeration" of Levkas was the "Varosh-i Lefkada" containing no less than 700 prosperous houses, all inhabited by Greeks, and having 20 churches. This information is in blatant contradiction to what *we find in the Megale Ellenike Enkyklopaideia*, xvi, 28, art. "Leukas", where a pitiful story of decay and stagnation is told and the great suburb on the island is said to have been "a few fisherman's huts". This part of town was long known as Amaxiki, a name that slowly fell into disuse in the 19th century.

The whole urban settlement of Levkas thus had 1,250 houses, or about 6,250 inhabitants. Six years after Ewliyā, Jacob Spon and George Wheler (*Italienische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise Beschreibungen*, Nürnberg 1681, I, 29 [also tr. into English and French]) noted that in the citadel and the suburbs together lived 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Turks.

The strength of the garrison of Aya Mavra as given by Ewliyā (633), is perhaps exaggerated. He mentions 1,085 *kal'e neferāni*, but an official Ottoman budget of the same year as his visit (published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Tarih Vesikaları Mecmuası*, xvii [1955-6], 378) has only 285 *topčiyān ve rü'esā ve 'amele ve cebehāne-i kal'e ya Aya-mavra* ("gunners, captains, soldiers and cavalry of the castle of A.") on the pay list.

The halcyon days of Muslim Levkas ended during the war of 1683-99 against the Christian coalition. In the summer of 1684 the Venetian fleet under Morosini captured the town after a bombardment of 26 days. The garrison and the Muslim civil population got a safe conduct to the Ottoman mainland. Morosini turned the walled town, denuded of its inhabitants, into a citadel and removed its houses. He also evacuated and demolished the two suburbs just outside the castle and turned them into a glacis for the fortress. The deported inhabitants were helped building new houses on the island. Since that time the town was solely confined to the former Varosh (= Amaxiki) on the island itself. All the Muslim buildings except the fortress works and the aqueduct were removed by the Venetians.

The Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlofča [*q.v.*]) assigned the town and the island definitely to Venice, which in the first years of the 18th century modernised the Ottoman castle. On that occasion, the Ič Kal'e of 1300 disappeared and the east front of the castle, facing the mainland that had remained Ottoman, the ramparts and bulwarks, were replaced by modern works, including two bastions, a ravelin and a couvre-face in the wet moat and an enveloppe all around. Two separate works came to cover the flanks. Some Latin inscriptions mention the name of the commander under whom the work was carried out and the date of completion, viz. Augostino Sagredo, 1713.

During the Corfu campaign of the Ottomans against Venice (1716), the modernised fortress was strongly defended. It was captured by the Ottoman army but was to return to the Venetians a year later. The Venetian rule lasted until 1797 (Treaty of Campo Formio) and was only interrupted by a revolt of the Greeks in 1769, after which date the fortress was again repaired (long Latin inscription.). In 1797 the island was occupied by the French, who kept it till 1800, when after a brief action of the combined Ottoman-Russian forces the island became part of the so-called Republic of the Seven Islands. The French returned in 1807, but were driven away from these islands by the British in 1809-10. In the first decade of the 19th century, the mainland of Acarnania was controlled by Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha, the able but treacherous Vizier of Yanina (Yanya), who in 1807 invested Lefkas unsuccessfully. On a rocky foreland commanding the only road from the mainland to the island he erected in the year a strong fortress. This was the site of the Khalwetiyye *tekke* of Dīdīr Hasan, extensively described by Ewliyā in 1670. Hence the name of that new work, *Kastro tis Tekkes*. Six km. further south, on a cape commanding the southern entrance to the lagoon of Levkas, 'Alī Pasha constructed another, large, castle, now called "Castle of St. George". Both forts still exist today.

The mainland of Acarnania was included in the new Greek kingdom in 1832. In 1864 the British ceded Levkas and the other Ionian islands to Greece. The repeated changes of master did not stimulate the expansion of the town. When Henry Holland visited it in 1812, the town numbered but 5,000 inhabitants. Until the sixties of the present century, the populations of island and town have remained stationary (the island in 1863, 24,000, in 1961, 26,000). The great Ottoman aqueduct was wrecked during an earthquake in 1825, together with most of the town (Ansted, *Ionian Islands*, 144). It was not rebuilt, but served further as road until in this century it disappeared completely under the modern causeway. The town was rebuilt with wooden houses to minimise the damage of the very frequent earthquakes (list

of dates in *M. E. Enāvī*, xvi art. "Leukas"). The now decayed and deserted three Ottoman castles remain the only visible link with the Islamic past.

Bibliography The Ottoman sources mentioned in the article are unpublished. A comprehensive history of Ottoman Levkas, based on Ottoman and Western sources, is still a task for the future. Fragments of information can be pieced together from *inter alia*, E. Kirsten and W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde. Ein Führer zu Klassischen Stätten*, Heidelberg 1962, W. Miller, *The Latins in the Orient*, London 1908 (repr. 1964); idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, London 1921; idem, *The Ionian Islands under Venice*, in *EHR*, xlvi (1928); F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, Munich 1953, 421-3; idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-ili vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen* (most accessible in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, Munich 1962, 370-7); D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, Oxford 1957. For the confused accounts in the Ottoman chroniclers, see KARĪL-ILI above. It should be added that the chronicler Oruč Beg (German tr. R. F. Kreutel, *Der fromme Bayerid*, Graz 1978, 152), has little-known details on the Ottoman capture of 1502. A Western travel account contemporary with Tʷlīyā Čelebī (1675-6) is J. Spon G. Wheler, *Italienische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise Beschreibung*, Nuremberg 1681 (also in English, *A journey into Greece*, Amsterdam, 1686) of also H. Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia*, London 1815 (repr. New York 1971), 58-64; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835, i, 101 ff., Leake has also accounts of the actions of ʿAlī Pasha on the mainland and his endeavour to capture Levkas fortress (with a good topographical sketch-map of the various parts of town, the forts and the aqueduct), D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863*, London 1863 (Santa Maura on 125 ff., with much on history, economy, topography, etc.). See also K. G. Machaïras, *I Levkas epi Enetokratias (1684-1797)*, Athens 1951, and idem, *I Levkas, 1700-1864*, Athens 1958; P. Routogiannis, *Istoria tis nisou Lefkados*, 2, Athens 1960.

The first detailed plan of the Ottoman castle of Selīm II and Kilīd ʿAlī is given in the work of Vincenzo Coronelli. For an old drawing of the aqueduct, see A. Grasset St. Sauveur, *Voyages dans les îles et possessions ci-devant vénitiennes du Levant*, Paris 1800, 337 ff. For details on the fortress, see Machaïras, *To en Levkadi frourion tis Aghias Mauras*, Athens 1956 (100 pages, but nothing serious on the Ottoman actions. Very good plans of the walled town before and after the Venetian reconstruction and large-size map of the area). For the Ottoman aspects of the castle, see for the time being, M. Kiel, *Leukas/Santa Maura een Turks-Venetiaanse grensvesting*, in *Jaarboek Stichting Menno van Coehoorn*, 1976, 58-64 (with photographs and plan of the castle).

For a modern survey of the history of the entire Ionian archipelago, see M. Pratt, *Britain's Greek empire*, London 1978. (M. KIEL)

LEWEND, the name given to two kinds of Ottoman daily-wage irregular militia, one sea going (*deñizi*) the other land based (*barrī*), both existing from early times.

The word may derive in its maritime sense from the Italian *levantino* (Sh. Sāmī, *Kāmūs-i Türkī*), used originally by Venetians for soldiers recruited from their Levantine possessions, and then passing into Ottoman Turkish as a term for mercenaries recruited from the Mediterranean regions especially the eastern lands and islands of Greece, Dalmatia and western Anatolia. Some claim its more common use as "a rough-and-ready cavalryman" came from Persia (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish and English lexicon*, s.v. and Uzunçarşılı, 46). By 966/1558 the Ottoman government clearly distinguished mounted *lewends* from corsairs (*Mühimme defteri*, iii, 163, and *Selāḥdār Ta'rīkhi*, i, 352).

1. *Deñiz lewend*. In the hey day of Ottoman maritime expansion, demands for unskilled labour could be met by luring Muslim or Christian (Rūm) *lewends* for a period of the campaign, paid in early times by booty, in later times a daily wage through the admiralty. These *lewends* acted as rowers, guardsmen, marines for shore invasion, but above all as seagoing musketbearers. Muslim *deñiz lewends* wore distinctive blue baggy trousers with a yellow sash, *Rūm lewends* a cloak with cowl, a blue-and-white sash, and white baggy trousers. For those whose labour the Admiralty needed during the winter in the Bosphorus arsenal, special quarters (*ḥāne*) were built on the Rūmeli side in the early 12th/18th century, known to this day as *Lewend čiftligi*. By the mid-12th/18th century, Muslim *lewends* took over many of the specialised naval duties previously pursued by *Rūm lewends* (who no longer enjoyed absolute trust), to serve permanently as *kalyonǧis* or galleon sailors. Their apparently exciting life as semi-official pirates, corsairs, and adventurers on the sea lived on into the modern Turkish language, in which *lewend* still means a bold, good-looking, dashing young man.

2. *Karā lewend*. Trained musketmen, discharged from Ottoman armies or the fleet, acting in concert with other jobless and homeless personnel (such as *sekbān*, *gönüllü*, and *ʿazab* [*q.v.*]), created mischief in Ottoman lands. Those who acted as cavalry were called *bāṭa lewend*. Any man with a horse might join one of the many official or outlaw bands which swarmed in Anatolia, particularly after the 10th/16th century. *Karā lewends* fell into three categories: (a) *bāṣhī lewend* irregular cavalry attached and paid by a *beglerbegi* or a provincial *wālī* for special services in peace or war, such as guarding fortresses, civil police duty, and honour guards. *Kapūlī lewends* generally followed Ottoman military rank-order, led by a *bölükbaṣhī*, and included Anatolians, sc. Arabs, Kurds (Rafeq, 37) and Turks, together with Rumelians sc. Albanians (Turan, 168), Hungarians (Orhonlu, 100) and probably many others. *Kapūlī lewends* were colourful but not particularly uniform apparel, their respective employers supplying clothing suitable to their particular affectation (Cezar, 294-6). (b) *bāṣhīsīz lewend* (sometimes *bāṣhībozuk*, "independent") any *lewend* discharged from the service of his *beglerbegi* or *wālī*, who in theory returned to civilian pursuits Anatolian social and economic conditions being in serious dislocation after the 10th/16th century, most *bāṣhīsīz lewends* moved quickly into wandering groups of brutal marauders, many of whom took part in the Dʒelālī revolts (*q.v.* in Suppl.), and (c) *mīrī lewends* those hired by the government as musketmen or cavalry for a specific campaign and paid for by the central treasury.

To the end of the 12th/18th century, *lewends* found employment in Anatolia and Rumeli, often terrorising rather than protecting those officially in their charge. In Dubrovnik in 1000/1592 they were "brigands" (*shi-i fesād ve lewendān*) (Biegman, 82), in Cairo in 1008/1599 a visitor called them "unscrupulous scum"

(Tietze, 40); an observer in Ankara in 1029/1619 saw them as tyrants over the citizens (Andreasyan, 162) in 1065/1658 they supported Abāza Ḥasan Pasha's (*q.v.*) massive rebellion, crushed by Köprülü Meḥmed Pāshā (Naʿīmā, vi, 347-9). By 1131/1719 a *fatwā* had abolished the *levends* from the empire, but a new war with Persia demanded an extension of their enrolment by eastern frontier governors until 1136/1726 (Uzunçarşılı, 47). Two decades later, 10,000 *levends* deserted Yegen Meḥmed Pasha in his ill-fated battle against Nādir Shāh (*ibid.*), the Ottomans reacted angrily and those caught were executed, but many continued the sale of their services to any provincial officer or man of wealth (aʿyān [*q.v.*]) who could pay. By 1190/1776 the government again ordered the *kara levends* to be abolished; most were absorbed into acceptable military units by the turn of the century. Others fled to Syria, where they found employment with Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha of Sidon Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿAẓm of Damascus, acceptance among the local Kurdish *levends* (*levend al-akrād*, Rafeq, 37), and work in Palestine as mercenaries (Cohen, 286). By the beginning of the 13th/19th century, most *kara levends* had been eliminated from the empire or had been absorbed into the modernised armies of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II.

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(J. H. KRAMERS-[W. J. GRISWOLD])

LEXICOGRAPHY [see KĀMŪS].

LEZGH (self-designation Lezghi, pl. Lezghiar, Russian variants: Lezgintsy, Kyurintsy, others Lezg, Lezgin, Kürin), a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Lezgh language belongs with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Khinalug, Krīz, Dhzak, Khaput and Udi to the Samurian group of the Northeast-Caucasian (Čečeno-Lezgian) language family. The Lezgh language is comprised of these closely-related dialects, all of which have been strongly influenced by the Azeri Turkish language, sc. Kürin (Girneli and Akhti, spoken in southeastern Dāghistān, and Kube, spoken in northeastern Āḏharbāyḏjān. The Kürin dialect forms the basis of the Lezgh literary language since it is the most widespread of the three, and since it is the dialect spoken in Kuraikh (the most important cultural and economic centre in the Lezgh territory, and former seat of the Khānate of Kürin.

Lezgh became a written language in the late 19th century (using the Arabic script), although it did not replace Arabic as the common literary language among the Lezghs until after the Russian Revolution (in the late 1920s). Early attempts at using the Cyrillic script (1904-5) for writing the Lezgh language met with utter failure. In 1928 the use of the Arabic script was abolished, and writing in Lezgh was changed to the Latin, and in 1938, to the Cyrillic script. Lezgh is at present one of the nine official languages of the Dāghistān ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools. Formerly (between the late 1920s and 1960s) Lezgh served as a language of instruction among the Lezghs of Dāghistān (and between the late 1920s and 1939 among the Lezghs of Āḏharbāyḏjān) up to the 5th grade. Lezgh was also the official language used among the Aguls between the late 1920s and 1950s. Since that time, all education among the Lezghs has been in Russian in Dāghistān, and in Azeri in Āḏharbāyḏjān. The term "Lezgin" had been used by Russian authors to refer not only to the Lezghs proper, but also at times to all mountaineer Dāghistānis, or only the southern Dāghistānis (including all the peoples in the Samurian group).

The Lezghs inhabit for the most part the south-eastern portion of Dāghistān (Akhti, Dokuzpara, Kasumkent, Kurakh, Magaramkent and Rutul *rayons*) and contiguous northeastern Āḏharbāyḏjān (Kube, Nukha and Shemākha *rayons*). The 1970 Soviet census listed 325,849 Lezghs residing in the USSR. Of these, 50.2% lived in the Dāghistān ASSR and 42.4% in the Āḏharbāyḏjān SSR. Of the Lezghs, 93.9% considered Lezgh their native language, while 3.7% considered it to be Russian and 2.4% other languages (mainly Azeri).

According to legend the Islamic religion was originally introduced among the Lezghs by Arab conquerors in the 7th and 8th centuries. The final conversion of the Lezghs to Islam came to the middle of the 15th century with the conquest of the Lezgh territory by the Shāh of Shirvān-Khalīl Ullāh.

Although the bulk of Lezghs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfi'ī school, there is a sizable minority of Shī'īs in Āḏharbāyḏjān.

As a result of the long influence of the Turkish Khānates of Āḏharbāyḏjān on the Lezghs, a Lezgh feudal principality—the Khānate of Kürin—was formed in 1775 with its centre at Kuba. This Khānate, however, included only a relatively small part of the Lezgh territory and exerted only a minor influence on the Lezghs. The majority of Lezghs continued to live in free societies, while others lived at different times under the Khānates of Kuba, Derbend and Kazikumukh. In 1812 the Kürin Khānate became a Russian protectorate, and in 1864, with its abolition, the Lezgh territory became an integral part of the Russian Empire. In the mid-19th century, under the leadership of Shamil and his Murīds, the Lezghs took part in the Caucasian wars against the Russians.

Although a weak feudal structure had developed in the region of Kuba, the majority of the Lezghs lived in free societies made up of patriarchal clans and extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village *ṣāḥil*. Within the clan or extended family there was mutual help in work and family affairs, as well as group responsibility in *wendetta*s, which were under the jurisdiction of the *'ādat*. The Lezghs maintained a strict clan endogamic marriage system.

The traditional economy of the Lezghs was based primarily on home industries (weaving, rug making, leather working, pottery, smithing, etc.) and transhumance sheep and goat raising. These activities still play a major role in the village economy. In the foothill and lowland areas, cereal crops, gardening and horticulture are important. Winter pastures of the Lezghs were found primarily in Āḏharbāyḏjān and there was a long tradition of seasonal (winter) migratory labour among the Lezgh men to the cities of Bākū, Shamākha and Kuba (all in Āḏharbāyḏjān). As a result of this migration, as well as the long cultural and political ties with Āḏharbāyḏjān, the Lezgh culture and language have been profoundly influenced by the Āḏharbāyḏjānīs, but this strong assimilatory force exerted on them has been sharply weakened during the Soviet period.

The Lezghs have a relatively long literary tradition though little pre-Revolutionary literature was written in the Lezgh language, since the dominant tongues here were Arabic or Azeri or Persian. Among the more renowned writers of Lezgh origin are the theologian Sa'īd of Kelkhür, the mystical poet Etim Emin, the Azeri historian Ḥasan Alkadarī and the poets Sayfullāh Cobānzāde, Emīr Arslān and Ḥādjdjī of Akhti. Soviet literature began with Sulaymān Stal'skiī (the "national poet of Dāghistān"), and he has been followed by Ṭāhir Ahmov of Khurug, 'Alibek Fatabov, Shāh Emīr Maradov, etc.

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LI'ĀN (A.), on Islamic law, an oath which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof and without his becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and the possibility also of denying the paternity of a child borne by the wife. "In the language of the *Sharī'a*, evidence given by the husband, strengthened by oaths, by which the husband invokes the curse (*la'na*) from this the whole process is *a potiori* named) and the wife the wrath of Allāh upon themselves, if they should lie, it frees the husband from *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] (the legal punishment) for *ḳadhf* [*q.v.*] (accusation without proof of infidelity by persons "of irreproachable character") and the wife of *ḥadd* for incontinence" al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans*, ed. Sprenger and Lees, Bibl. Indica, Old Series, ii, 1909). On the technical use of the related verbal forms, cf. the Arabic lexica and Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict. arabes*, s.v., al-Kastallānī, commentary on al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, 25, at the beginning, al-Zurḳānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, *Bāb mā djā'a fī 'l-li'ān* at the beginning.

2. The following Kur'ānic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the *li'ān* (XXIV, 6-10): "As to those who accuse their wives [of adultery] without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is speaking the truth and the fifth time that the curse of Allāh may fall upon him if he is lying, but the woman may avert the punishment from herself if she swears four times by Allāh that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allāh may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth. If Allāh were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you ...".

These verses belong to a part of the Kur'ān, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of XXIV, 1-10, 21-6, verses 11-20, which certainly belong to the year 5, were inserted later, so that our verses must therefore be older (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 210-11. H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii, 27, puts the sūra between the battles of Badr (2 A.H.) and Uḥud (3 A.H.)).

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Kur'ān XXIV, 4 (cf. also verses 23-5) for *ḳadhf* and are therefore, like this penalty, primarily Muslim and have an affinities in Arab paganism, in which an institution like the *li'ān* had no place at all (contrary to D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto mussulmano*, i, 221 below). The word *li'ān*, which comes from the Kur'ān, is unknown in pre-Islamic poetry.

The *ḥadīth*s concerning *li'ān* are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical, and profess to give the occasion of the revelation of the Kur'ānic verses in question, they are in some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurḳānī, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, *Bāb mā djā'a fī 'l-li'ān*), systematised and unreliable (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, etc., where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. 7 [to 56 ult. may be added, Tir. 44, sūra 24]). Four types may be distinguished among them: (1) the husband (unnamed) laments his sad case to the Prophet in covert language, whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form); (2) 'Uwaymir b. Ḥārith asks in the same way, first through the intermediary of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type); (3) Hilāl b. Umayya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with *ḥadd* for this, when Allāh saves him at some point by the revelation of the verses (this type, probably a development of the first, in which Sa'd b. 'Ubāda also

is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and unoriginal appearance), and (4) someone marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin, while she disputes his assertion, the Prophet therefore orders *li'ān* (not exegetic). There are of course other transitional and mixed forms. In so far as the *ḥadīth*s yield nothing new about *li'ān*, this brief outline is sufficient, they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Kur'ānic institution.

2. The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon in the Kur'ān, whether *li'ān* makes separation between the husband and wife necessary. In many *ḥadīth*s this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the *li'ān*. The statement that al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr is said to have held this view (Muslim, Nasā'ī) is, however, based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another *ḥadīth*, in which he appears as a contemporary, on the other hand, that 'Uthmān al-Batti held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurḳānī on the *Muwaṭṭa'*). Among the oldest representatives of the other view, which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after *li'ān*, may be included with some probability 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and with certainty al-Zuhrī, in whose time it was already *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*), the tracing of this opinion back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, which we find in the *ḥadīth*s, must however be regarded as unhistorical.

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of *li'ān* is to be carried through, whether by a triple *ṭalāḳ*, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife, or by the decision of the judge before whom the *li'ān* is taken, or by the *li'ān* itself. The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while as trace of its use in law has survived; these traditions are rather interpreted in favour of the second view (cf. the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, *bāb* 30 and *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 43, the tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 330-1, forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception, a polemic against the first view in al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal *ikhtilāf*, apart from the ample testimony to it in *ḥadīth*, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Zuhrī, in whose time it appears as *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*). Its ascription to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition, it is only found after the rise of the *madhāhib*. We seem therefore to have a tendency to development in a particular direction.

Other prescriptions about *li'ān* in tradition going beyond what is laid down in the Kur'ān, are of less importance. Thus when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can never marry the wife again at a later date, that a *li'ān* may take place during pregnancy (legal *ikhtilāf* is later attached to their interpretation of this *ḥadīth*), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance, i.e. is considered illegitimate. Other *ḥadīth*s say that the *li'ān* must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the *ḥadd* to the Prophet. We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the latter *ikhtilāf* by a tradition according to which the Prophet did not allow *li'ān* unless the husband and wife were on equal terms as regards Islam and freedom, a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the *Mudawwana*.

Details of the further teaching of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī on *li'ān* are given in the *Kitāb al-Āthār*. Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī bring us to the period of the rise of the *madhāhib*. Mālik states definitely that it was the *sunna* of Medina, about which there is no doubt and no *ikhtilāf*, that the husband and wife after the *li'ān* has taken place could never marry one another again, and al-Shāfi'ī says that with *li'ān*, divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was *sunna* of the Prophet.

3. The teachings of the separate *madhāhib* develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e.g. from the *Mudawwana*), it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in *li'ān* which annulled the marriage (cf. above), while his school later held the third opinion entirely). The most important regulations of *fiḳh* regarding *li'ān* that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows; if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of *li'ān*. If the husband refuses to pronounce the formulae prescribed to him, he is punished with the *ḥadd* (so *ḥadīth*, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, however, he is imprisoned until he pronounces the formulae, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereupon he is liable to *ḥadd*. If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formulae, she is punished with the *ḥadd* for adultery, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, she is imprisoned until she pronounces the formulae, whereupon she is set free or confesses her transgression and is thus liable to *ḥadd*. On the question whether *li'ān* is possible if one partner is or both are not Muslims or not free or not *'adl*, there is a wealth of *ikhtilāf*, which cannot be detailed here, the same applies to the possibility of *li'ān* during the pregnancy of the woman, with the object of denying the paternity of the child. On this point, the strength of the principle that the marriage decides the descent of the child, is remarkable, as is the distinction between two objects of *li'ān* (accusation of the wife of adultery and denial of paternity), which is only a result of later developments. In the whole of the earlier period these two objects coincide from the juristic point of view. The divorcing element in *li'ān* is, according to the Mālikīs (on their presumed divergence from Mālik himself on this question, cf. above), and a tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the *li'ān* of the wife according to al-Shāfi'ī that of the husband; but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, it is the verdict of the judges pronounced after the *li'ān* of both. Opinions also differ regarding the legal consequences of a later withdrawal of the *li'ān* by the husband, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a new marriage of the two people is possible in this case, but according to Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, it is not. Among older authorities, only Sa'īd b. Djubayr is in favour of the first view, while 'Umar, 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Aṭā' and al-Zuhrī are quoted as in favour of the second (not all have historical

confirmation), which was also held by al-Awzāʿī and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Finally, it is a disputed question whether the *liʿān* can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures; al-Bukhārī devotes ch. 25 of his *Kitāb al-Talāḳ* to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude to it.

4. It is easy to understand that the resort was only had to the *liʿān* in extreme cases. Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the 4th/10th century pronouncing the *liʿān* against his wife simply in order to revive this *sunna* of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 21, Eng. tr. ii, 33). But it has only begun to fall into disuse with the introduction of modern legal codes into the Islamic countries and the creation of legal mechanisms for the adjudication of disputes over paternity. Thus the natural substitute for it, proof of non-access at the time of the child's conception, was introduced into Egypt in 1929 by the device of restricting the competence of the *Sharīʿa* courts in questions of maintenance and paternity, since the courts were forbidden to entertain disputed paternity suits where either non-consummation of the marriage, or the birth of the child more than one year after the last physical access between wife and husband could be established. In some countries, e.g. Tunisia or Morocco, procedures have been introduced whereby a husband can repudiate a child with which his wife is pregnant, or has already given birth to it, without recourse to the *liʿān* procedure. In the Arabian peninsula, however, it remains in force, whilst in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent it still provides a way by means of which a wife who claims to have been falsely accused of infidelity by her husband can go to court and claim dissolution of the marriage.

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(J. Schacht*)

LIBĀS (A., pls *lubūs*, *albisa*) like its cognate counterpart in most Semitic languages (cf. Akk. *labāšu*, Heb. and Aram. לבוש, Syr. ܠܒܫܐ), is the general Arabic term for clothing or apparel. The dictionaries define it as "that which conceals or covers the pudenda", for which the Ḳurʾānic verse is cited, "O Children of Adam! We have revealed unto you clothing to conceal your shame, and finery, but the garment of piety, that is best" (VII, 26). In addition, "it is for self-beautification and adornment and for protection against heat and cold" (*Ḳāmūs TA*, s.v.). In addition to the form *libās*, one finds *labs*, *malbas*, *milbas*, *malbac*, *labūs* and *labūsa* also signifying clothing.

A detailed history of Islamic costume has yet to be written. There have been of late ever-increasing studies of modern and late pre-modern attire for various Islamic countries (cf. *Bibliography*), but with the exception of R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam 1845) no comprehensive work covering all Arab —much less Islamic—lands in all periods has been produced. Dozy's pioneer work was based solely on literary references which were mostly in manuscript at that time. His literary references were somewhat supplemented by R. Levy, *Notes on costumes from Arabic sources*, in *JRAS* (1933), 318-38. E. B. Serjeant's monograph *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest* (Beirut 1972), although not dealing specifically with costume, has brought forth a great deal of important ancillary material. Recent attempts to coordinate literary, sources with representations of costume in Islamic art and with actual relics of garments preserved for specific periods are those of L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva 1952, and Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt, according to the trousseau lists and cognate material from the Cairo Geniza*, unpubl. diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1972.

We shall limit ourselves here to a general survey of costume history in the Arab world during the classical period, with some brief notes on pre-Islamic and modern times.

i. — In the Central and Eastern Arab Lands

1. Clothing of the pre-Islamic Arabs

Despite numerous references to the Arabs in classical geographical and historical literature, there is only scattered and scanty information concerning their attire. Herodotus mentions that the Arabs wore the *sura*, a sort of long flowing garment caught in with a belt (*Hist.* vii, 66). This most certainly is the *izār* (also found in the forms *uzr*, *awzār*, and in Middle Arabic texts and vernaculars *tizr*), a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and a long loin cloth or waist cloth (comp. late bibl. Heb. אזור). This is corroborated by Strabo, who says of the Arab Nabataeans that "they go without tunics, with girdles about their loins, and with slippers on their feet" (*Geog.* xvi, 4, 26). The mode of wearing the *izār* by the Muslim pilgrim in a state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] reflects this ancient fashion.

The earliest evidence for the clothing worn in ancient Arabia is the rupestrean art of prehistoric Arabia (second and first millennia B.C.). These show men wearing relatively little clothing aside from a *coche-taxe* and a variety of headdresses (see E. Anati, *Rock-art in Central Arabia*, i, Louvain 1968, 159, 163, and *passim*). Already at this very early time some women are depicted in enveloping wraps (*ibid.*, 195). Some sort of slippers or sandals were also worn by both sexes (*ibid.*)

Those Arabs who lived within the cultural sphere of one or another of the great empires could not help but be influenced by the fashions of the higher civilisations, clothing being a manifestation of culture, no less than art, architecture, literature, etc. Thus we find statues of the Arab rulers of Hatra in Mesopotamia which depict them wearing Parthian-style dress. Some wear a sleeved mantle and chiton, and others Persian trousers and military festoons (see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* ii, Berlin 1965, 227). Those Arabs who inhabited the oasis towns of the Syrian desert apparently dressed in the fashion of the eastern Hellenistic world (see

R. Dussaud *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, figs. 20-3, *et passim*)

Because of their conservative existence beyond the pale of sedentary civilisation, the Bedouin have maintained a fairly constant style of dress from pre-Islamic times down to the present. Throughout the Muslim world loose wraps have always been an extremely common feature of dress for both men and women. Ibn Khaldūn noted that wraps, as opposed to tailored or fitted clothing, were the mark of non-urban dwellers (*Muḳaddima*, repr. Beirut 1900, 411) Ibn Khaldūn's observation, of course, needs some modification. City-dwellers wore wraps also. To be sure, these were of finer quality, often ornate, and were worn over fitted clothing The Bedouin have always shown a preference for dark garments. The Babylonian Talmud cites the dark garments of an Arab as an example of a blue black colour it is trying to define with precision (*Niddah*, 20a) Clothing is frequently mentioned in Djāhilī poetry, especially the many kinds of outer mantles such as *burd*, *ṯawb*, *ridā'*, and *shamla* (apparently similar to the bibl Heb **שִׂמְלָה**). Tertullian mentions that Arabian women appeared in public totally enveloped in their mantle in such a way as that only one eye is left free (*De virg. vel.*, 17). This fashion continues in places to far apart as Iran and southern Algeria and Morocco

The use of footwear in Arabia goes back to pre-historic times and was certainly necessitated by the harsh landscape Many of the figures in the ancient rupestrean engravings wear some sort of distinctive shoe or sandal (Anati, *Rock-art, passim*) The Talmud specifically mentions that the sandals worn by the Arabs are "close-fitting" (*Yevamot*, 102a) and that they "are knotted tightly by the shoemakers" (*Shabbat*, 129a).

2. The time of the Prophet and early Islam. The fashion of dress of the earliest Muslim community was on the whole an extension of the preceding period, with certain modifications for the new moral sensibilities. It is interesting to observe that many of the garments worn by the Prophet and his contemporaries continued through the centuries as the basic clothing of villagers and Bedouin, being simple, functional, and suitable to the ecology The urban dweller, though perhaps far more conscious of *sunna* [q.v.] than his rural or nomadic cousins, has since Umayyad times been constantly modifying his wardrobe Nevertheless, the basic outlines of the Islamic vestimentary system have remained remarkably constant even in the city

The basic articles of clothing at the time of the Prophet for both sexes consisted of an undergarment, a body shirt, a long dress, gown, or tunic, and an overgarment such as a mantle coat, or wrap, footgear consisting of shoes or sandals, and a head covering. A person might wear many garments or only one depending upon a variety of factors including weather, occasion, economic means, etc. Many of the items of clothing worn by men and women were identical. Indeed, many of the articles were simply large pieces of fabric in which the wearer wrapped himself What must have set off male from female fashion in many instances was the manner of draping, the accessories (jewelry, head- and footgear, and veils), as well as colours, fabrics and decoration.

The basic undergarment was the *izār* (sometimes referred to as *ḳaṭwa*), the loincloth which goes back to prehistoric times. It may well be—although there is dispute over this point in the Muslim traditions as well as in Western scholarship—that *sirwāl* (from old P. *sārawāra*, modern P. *shalwār*) or underdrawers were already in use by this time before the conquest of Iran. Persian cultural influences had filtered down into Arabia through the Laḳhmid kingdom of Ḥīra and perhaps up through the Yemen. There are *ḥadīṯs* both claiming and denying that the Prophet wore them From many *ḥadīṯs*, however, it would seem that there were women who were certainly *mutasarwilāt*, i.e. wearing the *sirwāl*, at this early period In one well known story the Prophet averted his glance out of modesty from a woman who had fallen from her mount until he was assured that she was wearing a *sirwāl*. How these early *sirwāl* looked cannot be ascertained In later Islamic times they differed greatly from country to country and included all sorts of pantaloons, knee-breeches, long trousers, and close-fitting drawers It is reported that the men who bore ʿĀʾisha's litter on the pilgrimage wore *tubbān*, small *sirwāl* or briefs (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥajj* XXV, *bāb* 28) Not everyone could afford a separate undergarment, and there are numerous *ḥadīṯs* in which men without underwear are forbidden to sit or squat publicly, truss up their garments while working, or to drape themselves in the fashion known as *al-ṣammā'* whereby one end of the mantle is pulled up on the shoulder leaving the other side of the body exposed—apparently in the style of the Greek chiton (cf. e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 8; viii, 10, 1; lxxvii, 10, 2, and most of the other canonical collections).

The basic body shirt was the *ḳamīṣ* (from late Latin *camisia* cf. Jerome, *Ep ann mul*, 64, no 11) Like so many items of Islamic attire, it was worn by both sexes Just as to the Arab world today, the *ḳamīṣ* was frequently worn by children. The Prophet supposedly covered his uncle al-ʿAbbās with a *ḳamīṣ* when the latter was taken prisoner naked at Badr Any variety of robes or tunics might be worn over the *ḳamīṣ*. These include the *ṯiyāb* which in addition to being a gown was also a general word for garment (the pls. *ṯiyāb* and *aṯwāb* designate clothes) and fabric, since many garments were no more than a piece of cloth (*ṯiyāba*). Also worn over the *ḳamīṣ* were the *ʿabāʾa*, a woollen tunic with rather narrow sleeves which was imported to the Prophet's time from Syria (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 90 and lxxvii, 10), and perhaps elsewhere in the Byzantine empire (Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, xxxi, 4), the *ḥulla*, a long, flowing coat which the Prophet wore tucked up when he went out (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* lxxvi, 3) and of which he is reported to have worn on occasion a red one of great beauty (*ibid*, lxi, 23, 2), the *ḳabāʾ*, a luxurious, sleeved robe, slit in front, with buttons (*muzarrar*), made of fabrics such as brocade (*dībādj*), and apparently of Persian provenance, the *farrādj*, a robe similar to the *ḳabāʾ*, but slit in the back. The Prophet is reported to have received a silk *farrādj* (*farrādj ḥarīr*) as a gift, to have worn it, prayed in it, and finally to have thrown it off as if it were suddenly loathsome, saying that it was not fitting for the God-fearing (Bukhārī, Muslim, Nasāʾī, and elsewhere) The custom of wearing several layers of tunics and robes continued through the Middle Ages and still persists in traditional areas today. In Morocco, for example, one frequently sees a man wearing two and even three *ǧallābas* (hooded outer robe) over two or more tunics.

The principal form of armour was the coat of mail known as *dir*ʿ or *dirʿa* which Nöldeke thought to be of Ethiopic origin (*Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1910, 53), but as Bosworth has shown, was borrowed from Persia (cf. **Iran** and **the Arabs**, in *Cambr. hist. of Iran*, iii, ed. E. Yarshater,

Cambridge 1953). Also mentioned in the early sources is a *ḳubba min ḥadīd* or tunic of mail.

Arabian fashion required both men and women to wear a mantle of some sort over everything else when appearing in public. In the case of the less well-to-do, the mantle or outer wrap might be the only garment over the underwear, and there are numerous *ḥadīths* dealing with questions of public modesty which arose because of the common presence of men dressed in a single wrap at prayer. Once again, it is the ubiquitous *izār* which was the fundamental garment in this category for both sexes. Another basic one was the *ḥamīṣa*, which like *izār* simply means "wrap". These were usually white or some other light colour. The *ḥamīṣa*, on the other hand, was black with ornamental borders (*aʿlām*). In a frequently repeated *ḥadīth*, the Prophet found himself distracted by the decoration on a *ḥamīṣa* he was wearing at prayer and called for a simple woollen cloak known as an *anbiǧāniyya* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 14, 1, *al-ṣalāt*; Ibn Māǧa, *Sunan*, xxxii, 1). Like many wraps, the *ḥamīṣa* also served as a sleeping garment. Some wraps and mantles at this time seem to have been associated with one sex or other, although these were in the minority. The *ridāʾ* was a man's mantle par excellence, and for the man of honour in the words of the Ḏabbī poet al-Samaw'al, "every *ridāʾ* he wears is becoming". The *dirbās*, *ḫumṣ*, and *muṭraḥ* were primarily for women. Tirmiḏī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd all repeat a *ḥadīth* about Muḥammad wearing a black *muṭraḥ*, but all other references to this garment are solely in a feminine context (e.g. Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Muʿallaḳa* 28, Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iii, 15). Then, as now, there were many names for wraps and mantles, and these were often synonymous, perhaps reflecting earlier usages of regional dialects. That the terms were frequently interchangeable is clear from a *ḥadīth* where a woman brings the Prophet as a gift a woven *burda* with a border (*burda mamsūǧa fīhā ḥāšiyatuhā*) which the herself had made and asks the people assembled if they know what a *burda* is. They answer "a *ḥamīṣa*". The story continues that Muḥammad wore it as his *izār* (*naʾiǧ*) and gave it upon request to a man who wanted it for a shroud (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xxiii, 26; Ibn Māǧa, *Sunan*, xxxii, 1 and with variations elsewhere). Many wraps and mantles were known by their fabrics. Thus the *namira* was a man's wrap with stripes of varying colours which gave it the appearance of a tiger's skin, whence its name. The *mulabbada* was simply a felted *ḫirḳ* (the generic word for wrap, cf. Assyr. *ḫurāṣu*, bibl. Heb. סְרָבִים, both general terms for garment as covering). The *burda* or *burd* (*q.v.*) was a wrap of striped woollen cloth produced in the Yaman. The Prophet wore a Naǧrānī *burd* with a wide border. He gave one such mantle of his to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (*q.v.*) which became legendary. The distinction between fabric and garment is often not clear. The *ḥibara* was a striped garment similar to the *burd*, and according to Anas, it was the favourite garment of the Prophet. Yet we also read of *ḥibara* garments, and thus, in a tradition to ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet was wrapped in a *burd* of *ḥibara* fabric when he died (*suǧǧiya bi-burd ḥibara*). The *siyarāʾ* was both a mantle of Seres (Gk. Σῆρες, Aram. קסרי and سمور) or Chinese silk and the fabric. Thus we find *ḥulla siyarāʾ*, *burd siyarāʾ*, and *ḫamīṣ ḥarīr siyarāʾ*.

Precisely how these mantles and the many others mentioned in the traditions were draped are cannot know, but it is quite clear from the sources that there was a wide variety of styles. This is further corroborated by the fact that as these parts of the Islamic world where traditional wraps and mantles are still worn today there is considerable variation from one locale to the other in draping style. The canonical *ḥadīth* collections are almost unanimous in citing condemnations of the practice of ostentatiously trailing one's garment along the ground (*ǧarr min al-ḫuyalāʾ*). Ankle-length garments were considered proper in the early *umma*. Shorter garments became the mark of an ascetic, longer ones the mark of a libertine.

Already in the Prophet's time the ancient Near Eastern practice of covering the head out of modesty and respect was the norm for both men and women. It is for this reason the Muslims and Jews customarily cover their heads when praying, rather than baring them as in the West. The Kurʾān warns that the wicked man will be dragged down to hell by his raposed "lying, sinful forelock" (XCVI, 15-16). Of course, a man or woman could draw his or her long mantle or couple wrap over the head, and in the case of women this was and still is the most common fashion even when some sort of hat or veil is worn under it. The Prophet is reported to have visited Abū Bakr while wearing the border of his *burd* over his head with a black headband ("*ʿaṣāba dasmāʾ*) (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 16). In his last public appearance before his death, Muḥammad supposedly wore his *miḥṯafa* (a wrap similar to the *izār*) over his head, again held in place with a black headband (*ibid.* lxi, 25, 5c).

The *ʿimāma* or turban has been worn by the Arabs since pre-Islamic times. The word turban which is used in one form or another in all western languages derives from Persian *dulband* via vulgar Turkish *tulbasi* or *tolbasi*. The *ʿimāma* of Ḏabbī and early Islamic times was probably not the composite headgear of the mediaeval and modern periods consisting of one or two caps (*ṭāqiyya* or *ʿaraḳiyya* and/or *kalansuwa*, *kalāk* or *farbuḳ*) and a winding cloth, but merely any strip of fabric wound around the head. G. Jacob has suggested that the later turban is a synthesis of Arab and Persian styles (*Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 237). In the early *umma*, the *ʿimāma* certainly did not have any of the significance it was later to have as a "badge of Islam" (*simāt al-Islām*) and a "divider between unbelief and belief" (*fāṣila bayn al-kufr wa 'l-īmān*). Nor was it yet—in the words of a proverb still heard in Morocco, at least—the "crowns of the Arabs" (*taǧān al-ʿarab*). The many *ḥadīths* which provide detailed descriptions of the Prophet's *ʿimāma* are clearly anachronistic. For later generations, Muḥammad was "the wearer of the turban" (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*), and like many of the accoutrements associated with a hero of epic proportions, his turban had a name—*al-saḥāb* or "the cloud". According to a Shīʿī tradition, he willed it to ʿAlī. This *ḥadīth* may have been circulated in order to counteract any prestige accruing to the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs by their possession of the Prophet's *burda*. One of the few reliable facts we know about the *ʿimāma* in early Islamic times is that it as one of the garments specifically forbidden to a person in a state of *iḥrām* (*q.v.*). The *ʿimāma* must here consisted of a very long strip of fabric as in later periods, since there are reports of its being used for bandaging (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxiv, 16, 2).

The hats worn in the Prophet's time included the *ṭaylasān*, which through worn by Muslims was considered a typically Khaybarī Jewish hat (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxiv, 38, 13), the *balansuwa* which originally designated a close-fitting cap, and the *burnus*, a

sort of high cap or helmet. Already at this early time the *burnus* must have also designated by extension a cloak with hood, despite Björkman's view to the contrary (art "Turban", *EI*[1], iv 889) since 'Umar's assassin was prevented from escaping by a Muslim who threw a *burnus* over him (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxii, 8). The word *balanṣuwa* apparently also could designate a hood or cowl, since it is mentioned along with the *ṭaylasān* as one of the garments which a man might spread under him for prayer when the ground was too hot (*ibid.*, viii, 23). The high cap known as *ṭarṭūra* or *ṭurṭur*, though not mentioned in the early traditional literature, appears already in a 7th century papyrus (J. von Karabaček, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, in *Denkschr. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissen.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. lxii, Abh. 2, Vienna 1918, 67). The 16th century traveller Belon suggested a connection between this cap and the ancient Egyptian headcovering called by the Latin writers *turritum capitis ornamentum* or *turritum coronam* (cited in Dozy, *Vêtements*, 263). S. Fraenkel's suggestion that the word is derived from Aramaic טרטן (*Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 53) seems more probable, since such hats were worn in the Aramaic speaking regions in the period just prior to the advent of Islam. They are depicted in several murals from Dura-Europos and elsewhere (see e.g. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Mayer Memorial Studies ii, Leiden 1950, Pl. xix, no. 61). On military expeditions, men wore a *mighfar* or *khifāra*, a cap or headcloth of mail over which was worn a *kalansuwa* or a helmet known as *bayḍa* (so-called because of its resemblance to an ostrich egg). The Prophet was wearing a *mighfar* on the day Mecca surrendered.

Women in early Islamic times normally covered their head and face with any of a variety of veils when appearing in public. In addition, they were usually entirely enveloped in the large *ḥijāb* from head to foot leaving only one eye free. A common head veil was the *mandīl* or *minṭīl* (ultimately derived from Lat. *mantellum*; cf. Sp. *mantilla*). The word may also have already been used at this time for "handkerchief" or "hand cloth" (see the detailed discussion on the *mandīl* in F. Rosenthal, *Four essays on art and literature in Islam*, Mayer Memorial Studies ii, Leiden 1972, 63-108, and MANDĪL). The two most common face veils were the *liṯām* [*q.v.*], a rectangular cloth covering the nose and the lower half of the face, and the *burḳu'*, a harness-like affair consisting of fabric suspended from the centre front of the headband (*ṣiḫāb*) to cover the face. The lower corners of the *burḳu'* were attached to the sides of the headband by a string creating a mask-like effect. The *burḳu'* is still worn by married women amongst the Sinai Bedouin. 'Ā'isha wore neither of these veils when she was a *muḥrima* (*lā talaṯṯamnā wa-lā tabarḳa'nā*). Another veil worn by women at this time was the *miḳna'*. Oddly enough, there is no mention of any sort of hats or head dresses for women at this early period, despite a veritable plethora of such items from the High Middle Ages to modern times.

Men did veil on occasion, normally by wearing the outer mantle (*izār*, *ridā'*, *burd*, *milḥafa*, etc.) in such a way as to cover both head and face). The Prophet is described on more than one occasion as being *muḳannaʿ*. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing the face veil known as *ḫimār* or *miḳnaʿa* (cf. for example, Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 16). Very handsome young men sometimes veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs, in order to protect themselves from the evil eye (*Aghānī*, vi, 33; xi, 98; xiii, 137; xv, 157, also J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], repr. Berlin 1961, 196). The free end of the turban cloth frequently served as a face veil to protect the wearer against dust while riding. It was veiled in the fashion that al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] entered into the mosque at Kūfa, mounted the pulpit, and dramatically bared his face as he began his famous sermon with the lines "I am the son of splendour, the scaler of the high places/When I take off my turban you know who I am".

Footwear for both sexes fell into one of two categories—the *naʿl* or sandal which could be of palm fibre, smooth leather, or leather with animal hair, and the *ḫuff*, a sort of shoe or boot made of leather. The various kinds of slippers which are popular throughout the modern Islamic world under a variety of names (*bābūdj*, *tikkūma*, *surmūdja*, *bulgha*, etc.) came into vogue after the conquests.

3. Early Islamic laws and customs regarding clothing. The austere nature of the early Medinese *umma* did not encourage luxury of any kind. The Kur'ān promises the righteous garments of silk [see ḤARĪR] in Paradise, but the Prophet felt that such clothes were inappropriate in this life for men although apparently not for women. According to a frequently-repeated *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad forbade seven things: silver vessels, gold rings, garments of *ḥarīr*, *dībādj* (brocade), *ḳassī* (a striped fabric from Egypt containing silk), *istabraḳ* (satin), and *mayāṯir ḥumr* (tanned hides). Actually, there are many more fabrics mentioned in the traditional literature which he supposedly proscribed. It would seem that he did make exceptions in the case of individuals suffering from some pruritic skin condition or lice. With the development of the empire and the rise of a leisured class, there came into being a wealth of counter-traditions expressing the permissibility of wearing clothes of silk and other luxury fabrics.

Many of the earliest and most reliable traditions regarding clothing deal with *ṭahāra* and questions of ritual impurity caused by menstrual flow or the ejaculation of semen. Each of the Prophet's wives had a special menstrual garment. Garments defiled by menstrual flow need only to be washed to be worn for prayer (e.g., Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, i, 130), and if not stained, a menstrual garment may be worn for prayer without washing. For these and related laws, see DJANĀBA, ḤAYḌ, GHUSL, and WUḌūʾ. It is not certain whether or not women in the early *umma* had special clothes for mourning. During the Djāhiliyya, a woman wore her worst clothes when in mourning (*wa-labisat sharra ṯiyābihā*—Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxvii, 46, 47). The Prophet forbade women in mourning to wear dyed clothing except for garments of *ʿaṣb*, a Yemenite fabric with threads dyed prior to weaving (*ibid.*, 48, 49). The technical term for "mourning garment" (*ḥaḍḍ al-ḥidād*) only appears in Ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad* vi, 438) and seems to be a later development. The name implies a garment dyed to a dark iron black.

As already noted, many of the garments worn in early Islamic times were the same for both men and women, especially tunics and wraps. There were, nonetheless, distinct stylistic differences. Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, strictly condemns transvestitism (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 61). However, in Islam this prohibition clearly refers to overall conduct as much as dress.

Clothes have always been considered objects of significant material value in the Middle East. They

are mentioned as valuable gifts, a medium of payment, and items of booty. A man who had worked in the Prophet's baggage train supposedly went to Hell for taking a single *ʿabāʾa* (a sleeveless robe) from the *khums* of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 190). Garments could also be used for the payment of the *ṣadāq* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 33). As had been the custom of oriental rulers since ancient times, Muḥammad bestowed valuable garments upon members of his entourage as a mark of favour [cf. e.g. Genesis, xxxvii, 3 and xli, 42].

Many customs were associated with clothes. Then as now, pious wishes and felicitations were appropriate for someone with a new garment. Muḥammad wished Umm Khālid *abli wa-akhlifi* ("wear it out and exchange it"), when he presented her with a small black *khamīṣa* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 22, 1). In more recent times, the wishes have become less eloquent, and one simply says *mabrūk* ("congratulations") or *naʿīmmah* ("how nice!"). In accordance with an ancient custom going back to pagan times, the Prophet reversed his *ridāʾ* when he went out to make the prayer for rain. He did not reverse his cloak, however, when making the *istisḳāʾ* (*q.v.*) on Friday (*ibid.*, xv, 21). The act of reversing the garment was apparently symbolic of the change in weather sought. It was still practiced in Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 197). The custom of baring the head in extreme humility during the *istisḳāʾ* ritual also probably goes back to this period, though it is not mentioned in the literary sources until the later Middle Ages (see I. Goldziher, *Enthüllung des Hauptes*, in *Isl.* vi [1916], 301-16, esp. 304).

Many customs regarding clothes which mean certainly have their roots in ancient Near Eastern superstition and are found also in the Talmud are ascribed to Muḥammad in the Muslim traditions. Thus the believer should always put the right shoe on first. He should not go out with only one shoe on—either both or barefoot (cf. the ill omen for Pelias of anyone shod in only a single sandal, in the Greek myth of Jason). Furthermore, shoes should never be left with the soles facing heavenward.

4. The Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids and the *ṭirāz* system. Judging by the rather scattered and scanty literary evidence, most of the Arabian garments of early Islamic times continue into the Umayyad period, although some items become more and more restricted to Bedouin use (e.g. the *miʾzar*). The most significant change that came with the rise of an Islamic empire is the use of clothing made of luxury fabrics by the Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers. ʿAbd al-Malik is reported by al-Mekkī to have worn embroidered garments (tr. E. Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, viii [1900-1], 275). Sulaymān and his retinue wore only garments of sugky or variegated silk, including the *ḳuṭn*, *ridāʾ*, *izār*, *ʿimāma*, and *salawāt* (Masʿūdī *Murūdj*, v, 400). There is one report specifically mentioning the so-called "caliphal garments" (*thiyāb al-khilāfa*) being worn by al-Walīd II (*Aghānī* vii, 83). Later under the ʿAbbāsids, the caliph wore special robes of office with embroidered borders and which were called by this name. It is only stated of al-Walīd's "caliphal garments" that they were white. The ʿAbbāsid robes of state were normally black. Their custom of wearing black garments on official occasions was established by al-Manṣūr and was only abandoned for a brief period in favour of ʿAlid green under al-Maʾmūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1021 *f.*).

Two of the most significant phenomena of Islamic costume history originate in the Umayyad period—the sumptuary laws requiring distinguishing clothing for the non-Muslim subject population, and the production of regal embroidered fabrics for clothing.

The laws of differentiation or *shurūṭ* [*q.v.*] most probably do not go back to the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, since at that early period the old *al-dhimma* [*q.v.*] and the Arabs did not dress alike anyway. Although these laws were to be minutely detailed only in later centuries, they go back in general outline as well as in spirit, at least, to the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. *Dhimmīs* were forbidden to wear Arab-style headgear, including the *ʿimāma*, *ṭaylasān*, and *ḳalansuwa*, Arab military dress, and certain robes, as for example, the *ḥulla*[1]. They also had to wear a distinguishing belt called *zunnār* and more frequently *ghiyār* (cf. Gk ζωνάριον). This ordinance may have applied at first only to Christians. By the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, these rules governing *dhimmī* dress were well-refined and were ascribed back to ʿUmar I [Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1382, 127 *f.*]. For a detailed discussion of the restrictions on *dhimmī* dress and the sources for Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times, see A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, repr. London 1970, 115-26.

The production of special embroidered fabrics in palace textile factories also began in Umayyad times and became a standard feature of mediaeval Islamic material culture. The fabrics were known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*], which in its narrowest sense meant "embroidery", especially embroidered bands with writing in them, and in a wider sense, indicated an elaborately embroidered robe, such as might be worn by a ruler of his entourage. *Ṭirāz* garments were bestowed as tokens of royal favour and were among the standard gifts brought by diplomatic embassies to other rulers as part of foreign policy. In the view of many scholars, the Umayyads most likely took over Byzantine state factory establishments and adapted them to their special needs and tastes (e.g. E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of dated tiraz fabrics*, Washington: The Textile Museum, 1952, 1). However, most mediaeval Arab historians believed the production of *ṭirāz* garments to be derived from a Persian institution, and there is some evidence that garments with royal insignia were worn in Sasanian times (see S. D. Goitein, *Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Genisa*, in *JQR*, NS xliv [1954-5], 34 *f.*, where Talmudic evidence is cited). The truth as to the origins of the *ṭirāz* system would seem to combine both views.

The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *ṭirāz* factories was Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1938, 60). In any event, it is clear that by late Umayyad times the *ṭirāz* system extended across the caliphate, and continued to flourish under the ʿAbbāsids, Būyids and Saldjūḳs. The production of such luxurious fabrics was a highly profitable business, and there was considerable government control. The state was also responsible for the prizes at Ashtor's view (E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 73). This is perhaps an oversimplification.

To the mediaeval Middle Eastern bourgeoisie, *ṭirāz* garments were status symbols as well as valuable pieces of real property. Clothing formed part—sometimes a considerable part—of a family's investment, being transmitted from parents to children, to be converted into cash in case of emergency. Clothes also

formed an important element of the state's assets. Thousands of garments are listed among the annual treasury receipts under Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Jahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, 176-182). In addition to their socio-economic importance, garments of *ṭirāz* fabrics were of great socio-political significance. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs and, at a later date, other Muslim rulers, were wont to bestow robes of honour (*khilaʿ*, sing. *khilʿa* [q.v.]) upon those of their subjects—Muslim and non-Muslim, male and female—whom they wished to reward or for some reason mark for distinction. The *khilʿa* was often not a single robe, but an entire outfit. This suit consisting of two or more garments was known as a *kulla*. (The word today means a "western suit of clothes".) The vizier Hāmid b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 311/923), for example, received two such outfits each consisting of a lined coat (*muḥaššaw*), a sleeved robe (*durraʿa*), a body shirt (*ḳamīṣ*), drawers (*sarāwīl*), and turban (*ʿimāma*) (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176).

With the rise of the bourgeoisie during the ʿAbbāsid period and the dissemination of the polite educational ideal of *adab* [q.v.] by the Persian secretarial class, many new garments and fabrics came into use and people became ever more fashion-minded. The early aversion from silks and satins was forgotten or ignored by all but a pious few, and only the most ascetic and the poor wore the rough woollen robe known as the *ḵurṭa* [q.v.] (too latter use of this word to designate "rag" or "shelcloth" is instructive). Another wool garment worn only by the very poor was the sleeved tunic known as *muḳaṭṭaʿa*. Cultured gentlemen and ladies, on the other hand, were very much concerned with their appearance. The *adīb* al-Washshāʾ [q.v.] (d. 325/936) devoted several chapters of his book *On elegance and elegant people* (*K. al-Muwaššaḥ aw al-ẓarf wa ʾl-ẓurafāʾ*, ed. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, ed. cited here is that of Cairo 1362/1953) to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries, as well as the acceptable canons of taste. The fashionable man, according to al-Washshāʾ, outfitted himself in several layers of clothing, beginning with a fine undershirt (*ghilāla*), over which was worn the heavier, lined (*muḥaffaw*) *ḳamīṣ*. Both of these ought to be of fine linen, such as Dabīḳī or Djannābī (produced in Egypt and Fārs, respectively). Over these tunics was worn a lined robe (*durraʿa*) or *ḏiraʿa* of linen, silk, or *muʿlam* (a fabric with a silk warp and a woof of some other stuff). Finally, when going out, the fashionable would drape over these his *ridāʾ* or another cloak known as *miṭraf* (also *miṭraf*) which had decorative borders at each end (*ṭaraf*) and cover his head, or turban rather, with a *ḳaylasān*, which at this time was probably a cowl (*K. al-Muwaššaḥ*, 180 f.). Making a good appearance also meant not wearing unpleasant or clashing colours, dirty clothes, or clothes perfumed like those of slave girls. Shoes and sandals could be of any of a number of leathers, colours, and designs, and it was permissible to wear shoes in such colour combinations as black and red and yellow and black (*ibid.*, 181). The wearing of stockings (*ḏjawrab*, from Pers. *gurbā*), a fashion adopted from the Persians, was by now well-established.

Al-Washshāʾ does not provide as much detail in his chapter on female attire which is devoted specifically to "those clothes which differ from those of fashionable men." The elegant woman's lingerie consisted of a smoky-grey coloured *ghilāla* and *sirwāl*. White garments of any kind—except for the *sirwāl*—were considered masculine and were to be avoided. Exactly what kind of dress was worn over the undergarments at this time is not specified. Al-Washshāʾ does mention, however, that it should be wide-sleeved (*ʿalwān maftūḥa*) and that the collar should have a drawstring (*wa ʾl-ḏjurrubbānāt al-mukhāriḳiyya*). For her wraps, the woman was to wear a Rashīdī or a Ṭabarī *ridāʾ* (from Rosetta and Ṭabaristān, respectively). She might then totally envelop herself in a Khurāsānī *izār* or *milḥafa*. On her head she wore a black *miʿdjar*, which seems to have been the female equivalent of the *ʿimāma* both in form and use. Black was particularly stylish at this time. The *miʿdjar* was worn together with a face veil (*miḥnaʿa* or *miḥnaḳ*). The Nishāpūr *miḥnaʿa* was held in particular esteem (*ibid.*, 163 f.).

Persian cultural influence became more pronounced under the ʿAbbāsids. In addition to those garments of Persian provenance already mentioned (*sarāwīl* and *ḳabāʾ*), there was introduced at this time the distinctive, tall, conical Persian hat called the *ḳalansuwa tawīla* or simply *tawīla* (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* vi, 59). This hat was also called *dannūṣa* because of its resemblance to a long amphora-like wine jar known as a *dann* (*ibid.*, i, 373, and *Aghānī*² x, 123). The top of the *tawīla* was pointed (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 377 = § 3537, where it is described as *maḥdūda*). This hat consisted of a wicker or wooden frame covered with fabric such as silk. R. Levy has suggested that it may also have been shaped like "a truncated cone worn have upwards after the fashion of the cumbrous headgear of the modern Lurs" (*Notes on costumes from Arabic sources*, in *JRAS* [1935], 324); however, this suggestion is not borne out by the evidence of illuminated manuscripts. Abū Zayd of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* is frequently depicted wearing a pointed *tawīla* (e.g. Bibl. Nat., Paris, ms. arabe 3929, f. 69). Hārūn al-Rashīd is supposed to have worn such a hat inscribed on one side with the word *ḥādjdj* and on the other with *ghāzin* for the duties which he undertook on alternating years of leading the pilgrimage and the war against Byzantium (Ṭabarī, iii, 709). Another Persian garment which was introduced at this and which became extremely popular throughout the Arab world is the *khaftān*, a fine robe with sleeves that buttons down the front (the original Persian word designates a caftan). The caliph al-Muḳtadir wore a *khaftān* of Tustarī silk brocaded with silver when he set out on his fatal march against the rebel Muʾnis in 320/932 (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 181 f., Levy, *JRAS* [1935], 331-2, and the sources cited by both). Since the later Middle Ages, the form *ḳaftān* (variant *ḳuftān*) has been used exclusively throughout the Arabic speaking world, due to the influence of Turkish.

Fine garments were brought to Baghdād from all over the Muslim world, as well as being imported from abroad. From India came the *fūṭa*, a long piece of sari like cloth which served a variety of functions as a loincloth, apron, and a variety of headgear (Stillman, *Female attire*, 224 ff.). From China during this period there came oilcloth raincloaks (*mumṭara*) (Ibn ʿAbdalabī, *Luḳāʾiḥ al-muʾādib*, Cairo 1960, 221, Engtr. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1968, 141; Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. Bosworth, 390). Fine garments for men in 3rd/9th century ʿIrāḳ ranged in price from 3-30 *dīnārs*, and even more (Ashtor, *Prix et salaires*, 53). However, some of the prices cited by Arab writers for fabulous garments and fabrics are clearly anecdotal, as for example, the 50,000 *dīnārs* that al-Khayzurān [q.v.] is reported to have paid for a piece of *washī* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 298). Still, it is quite apparent both from the literary and documentary sources that throughout

the Middle Ages clothing was very costly in comparison with the other necessities of life.

5. The Fāṭimids. Perhaps no period in the history of the Arab East was more clothes-conscious than that of the Fāṭimids. Fāṭimid pomp and ceremony exceeded anything known in Baghdād, and clothing played a major part in creating the splendid effect.

The first Fāṭimid caliph in Egypt, al-Muʿizz (d. 365/975), founded a special government costume supply house known as the *dār al-kiswa* or *khizānat al kiswa* with an outlay of 600,000 *dīnārs*. An official bureau (*dīwān*) oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of costumes. Every official and functionary from the caliph down to government clerks was supplied with a ceremonial costume (*badla mashhūriyya*) for public occasions. According to al-Maḳrīzī, who is the almost exclusive source of information for Fāṭimid ceremonial costume, each person was provided with an entire wardrobe "from the turban to the underdrawers" (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 409). The *khizāna* provided different weight clothes for summer and winter. A complete costume (*badla mukmala*) could consist of as many as a dozen articles, most of which have been mentioned in the preceding sections.

Naturally, these ceremonial costumes were made of the most costly fabrics. The most popular were *ḥarīr* (fine silk), *ʿaṣb*, *dabīḳī*, *ghazzī*, *dimyāṭī* (all linens), *khuruṭūsī* (kingly brocade), and *ṭirāz* (siglaton). Most of the ceremonial costumes were white and embroidered with gold and silver threads in accordance with the official Fāṭimid imagery of luminous splendour and divine light. The selection of the caliphal costume was itself a ritualised event before every holiday.

Each rank and office was distinguished by its costume. The most outstanding item of the caliph's attire was his enormous turban which consisted of a cap (*shāshiyya*) around which was wound a *mandīl* to a fashion unique for the ruler in the shape of a myrobalan. This special manner of winding the caliphal turban was called "the winding of majesty" (*shaddat al-waḳār*). The entire turban was ornamented with jewels. An enormous solitaire (*yatīma*) mounted on a silk band was centred on the caliph's forehead (*Khiṭaṭ* i, 449). The entire headgear was called "the noble crown" (*al-tāj al-sharīf*).

The rest of the imperial retinue wore a variety of less splendid headdresses. The chief eunuchs of the court who were the *umarāʾ* of the palace, all wore turbans which were distinctively wound under the chin —the so-called *tabrīn al-ʿimāma* or simply *al-ḥanak*. Thus, they were known as *al-ustādhūn al-muḥannakūn*. The caliph al-ʿAzīz became the first ruler to appear with the *ḥanak* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 285) and eventually so did the vizier and the *umarāʾ* (*ibid.*, i, 440, 449). This fashion was introduced into the east by the Fāṭimids from the Maghrib, where it still may be seen, especially in southern Algeria and Morocco.

Another head covering which is first mentioned during this period is the *kalansuwa* or *kalānsa* (cf. Lat. *calausius*, Fr. *calotte*, Pers. *kalāh*) which was a kind of cap (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 413). It was to become a standard item in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (see e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 39, 52-3; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 98).

The various modern studies dealing with Fāṭimid ceremonies draw mainly upon al-Maḳrīzī and to a lesser extent, on al-Ḳalḳashandī and on Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, all three of whom depended upon the lost work of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. See K. A. Inostrantsev, *Torzhestvenī vizad Fatimidskikh khalifov* ('The solemn entry of the Fāṭimid caliphs'), in *Zapiski Vost. Otdyel. Imp. Russ. Arkheol. Obshchestva*, xvii (St. Petersburg 1904), M. H. Zaki, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1937; M. Canard, *La cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi/2 (1951), 355-420; idem, *Le procession du vendredi au cher les Fatimides*, in *AIEO*, x (1952), 364-98; ʿA. al-Mādjid, *Nuḳum al-Fāṭimiyyīn wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1955.

6. The Geniza as a source for mediaeval Islamic attire. The Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*] manuscripts are an important and till recently, untapped source for the costume history of the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and—to a lesser extent—the Mamlūk periods. In particular, the some 750 trousseau lists from the Geniza, in combination with ancillary Geniza records, offer a wealth of information on the attire of Jewish women in mediaeval Egypt, and by extension, the attire of Muslim women as well. Information for male costume comes from commercial documents, but is by no means as extensive or as detailed.

One fact stands out clearly—that Jewish and Muslim women dressed alike during the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. The Geniza trousseau lists give every indication that the restrictive laws of *ghiyār* were not enforced. The same garments are mentioned as in the Islamic sources. There is no limitation in the Geniza as to colour and textile, rather there is the greatest variety of hues and diversity of fabrics. Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts (and most likely Copts as well) went veiled.

The Geniza documents show that the bourgeoisie consciously or unconsciously tried to imitate the modes and mores of the ruling class. Merchants, for example, bestowed *khilaʿ* and *ṭirāz* garments upon relatives and friends. People of means wore all the precious fabrics known to us from the descriptions of the Fāṭimid ceremonies. Over sixty fabrics are mentioned in the Geniza. Of these, forty-six are known from the literary sources collected by Serjeant. Under the Fāṭimids and Ayyūbids, the mercantile class indulged itself in many types of garments. The Geniza trousseaux mention almost seventy items for women alone.

The Geniza has revealed the names and considerable data for more than two dozen garments which were hitherto unknown or only mentioned in isolated literary sources without any explanation or description. Among these are the *ḏihāniyya* and *mukhīma*, both fine dresses; the *ḥadīdīa*, a dress which first appears in late Ayyūbid trousseaux and became popular in Mamlūk times, after which it seems to have disappeared; the *ʿabāyya*, *ʿarḍī*, *mukhallaʿ* and *radda*, all head scarves or shawls; and the *wasaṭ* and *khaṣr*, both belts or cummerbunds.

In addition to new names of garments and textiles, the Geniza has provided an entirely new vocabulary of patterns and adornments. Many of these designs can be correlated with those in manuscript illustrations (see Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire*, in *IJMES* vii/4 [1976], 579 ff.).

There is also considerable new information on garments already known. For example, the *safsārī* and the *ṭarḥa*, both mantles, which have been in attested use in the Maghrib from mediaeval to modern times (al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, 59; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 125) are shown to have been worn in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt as well. No doubt they were brought

into the east after the Fāṭimid conquest in 358/969. The *badan*, a short, sleeveless tunic, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian Peninsula (Doxy, *Vêtements* 56-8), is shown to have been a fairly common article of feminine attire in mediaeval Egypt.

For the information provided by the Geniza on costume, see Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of Mediaeval Egypt*, idem, *The wardrobe of a Jewish bride in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Studies in Marriage Customs*, ed. Ben-Ami and Noy, Folklore Research Center Studies, iv (Jerusalem 1974), 297-304; eadem, *The importance of the Cairo Genaa manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire*; eadem, *Ketūbbōt ha-Genizā ke-Māqōr li-Lvūsh šel Iššāh bimē ha-Bēnayim*, in *Hiṣṭē Geniza Qāhir*, ed. M. Friedman, Tel Aviv 1980, 149-60.

7. The early Turkish dynasties: Saldjūḳs, Ayyūbids, Mamlūks. The Turkish military dynasties that controlled one part or another of the Middle East from the late 5th/11th to the early 10th/16th centuries brought with them many Central Asian styles, particularly in military and ceremonial attire. These, however, were the distinguishing costumes of the military élite. The fashion of dress of the native Arab population was little affected at first. M. V. Gorelik (*Khudozhestvennye misteryam XII-XIII vv. kak etnograficheskiy istochnik*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, cxxiii/2 (1972), 37-50) has attempted to distinguish between two broad complexes of dress throughout the Arab east at this time—the western, based on the fusion of Arabian styles with those derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean prototypes, and the eastern, derived from Iranian, Turkish, and Inner Asian styles. Syria and ʿIrāḳ during this period fell generally into the latter category, while Egypt, with the exception of the military, fell into the former.

Throughout much of this period, the typical outer garment for a member of the ruling class was any one of a variety of coats (*abḥiya*). These were worn over the usual layers of undershirts, the most common of which was the *ḳamīṣ*. The undershirt was normally hidden by the outer garments, except in southern ʿIrāḳ where it was cut long to extend below the coat above it.

The Saldjūḳs and Ayyūbids preferred the so-called Turkish coats (*al-abḥiya al-turkiyya*), the hem of which crossed the chest in a diagonal from right to left. The Mamlūk *amīrs* wore the Tartar coats (*al-abḥiya al-tatariyya*) with the hem crossing the opposite way. Over the coat was worn a belt of metal plaquettes (*ḥiṣṣa*) or a sash (*ḥizām*). Al-Makrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 99) identifies the *ḥiṣṣa* with the ancient *minṭaḳa*, and states that there was a special market in Cairo (*sūḳ al-ḥaṣṣāṣīyyīn*) devoted to the sale and manufacture of these belts. (For a finely preserved specimen of the *ḥiṣṣa*, see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Pl. IX.)

For members of the upper classes, the sleeves of their coat were frequently indicative of rank and social status. The longer and more ample the sleeves, the higher the standing of the wearer.

The illustrations from *Maḥasin*, *K. al-Aghānī*, and *K. al-Diryāḳ* manuscripts from this period attest a wide variety of caps and turban styles. The normal headgear of the military class was a stiff cap with a triangular front. It was sometimes trimmed with fur (*shurbūsh*), and sometimes had a small kerchief bound around it to form a sort of turban (*tabḳīṭa*). The other most common cap was the *ḳalansuwa* which was usually yellow under the Ayyubids, yellow and red under the early Mamlūks, and later red only (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 29).

The *ḳabāʾ* and the *sharbūsh* were so much the distinctive mark of a Muslim knight that even a Crusader was prepared to wear them as a gesture of friendship to Salāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 52-3).

Under the Mamlūks, two popular short sleeved coats were the *bughṭāḳ* (also *bughṭāḳ*) and the *sakkārīya*. These were made of a variety of fabrics and frequently were lined with fur. Such a coat was sometimes worn under an ample outer robe (*farādjīya*).

Eventually, some of the garments which were at first the mark of the military aristocracy were imitated by the middle classes. The *bughṭāḳ*, for example, appears in several Geniza documents.

The only comprehensive study of the attire of any of the dynasties of this period is L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, where there is an extensive bibliography. Shartar, general studies include Mayer, *al-Asyāʾ fī ʾl-ayyām al-mukhtalifa*, in *al-Kulliyya* (1932), 438-49; idem, *Saracenic arms and armour*, in *AI*, x (1943), 1-12; M. V. Gorelik, *op. cit.* (men's dress only); ʿA. M. Mādjid, *Nuzum dawlat salāṭīn al-Mamālīk wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1967, 64-87, has a chapter on Mamlūk attire which, however, adds little to Mayer's work.

8. The Ottoman period (to early modern times). As far as the costume history of the region is concerned, the Ottoman conquest of the Arab East in the early 10th/16th century marked a continuation of the preceding period, rather than an abrupt change. Ceremonial and military dress remained Turkish (see below, section iv). Some Ottoman fashions were adopted by members of the urban élite, as for example, the Turkish-style *kaftān* for men and the long, tightly fitted coat known as the *yelek* for women. Turkish synonyms came into common use for certain items of clothing alongside, but not necessarily replacing, the native Arabic equivalents (e.g. *ḳafṭān* for *ṣurdā* and *yashmak* for *burḳuʿ*). But on the whole, Arab styles and Arabic terminology prevailed. The vestimentary system remained essentially the same.

Outside of the principal, metropolitan seats of administration, distinct regional styles predominated. These regional distinctions were of minor differences in cut (e.g. sleeves, opening for the neck, ampleness, and length) and not so-much differences in decorative details such as embroidery, colour, fabric pattern, fastenings, trimming, etc., rather than in the basic garments themselves. The author of the fine details in variation in basic costumes throughout the Ottoman East in the last century is apparent from the important photograph album of Hamdy Bey and M. de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1873.

Regional distinctions were—and this remains true today in those places where traditional costumes are still worn—most striking in female attire. Men's clothing was more or less uniform throughout much of the Middle East during the Ottoman period. This was due in part to the fact that men were physically and socially more mobile than women and came to have a more pan-Middle Eastern style of dress. Thus when a plate from E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (London 1836) appeared in a book on Syria with the added caption "A Syrian gentleman with pipe and inkwell, *ca.* 1860", the inaccuracy was only minor.

9. The last one hundred years: the impact of the West on traditional Middle Eastern

dress. The ever-increasing Western economic, political, and cultural penetration into the Middle East in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century had a marked impact on the costume history of the region. Over the past hundred years a gradual abandoning of traditional, loose-flowing garments has been taking place in favour of Western tailored clothes. The transition was slow at first and did not take place in every place and among all groups at the same time.

The first group in the Arab East who began in large numbers to abandon traditional attire were the westernised Christian and Jewish protégés of the foreign powers. The civil emancipation of non-Muslims during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period and the expansion of missionary schools and European businesses accelerated the process.

Most Christian and Jewish women abandoned the veil a full generation or more before their Muslim counterparts. One factor which facilitated their abandoning the veil at much earlier was that the segregation of women in the non-Muslim communities was never as strict as it was among Muslims, nor was the non-Muslims' style of veiling quite as total even in the preceding centuries (see e.g. Y. K. Stillman, *The costumes of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, in *Aspects of Jewish folklore*, ed. D. Noy, Cambridge, Mass. 1979).

By the end of the 19th century, the "to veil or not to veil" question had become one of the burning issues for modernist reformers such as Ḳāsim Amīn (see his *Taḥrīr al-mar'a*, Cairo 1901). It also became a burning issue for the small but growing Egyptian feminist movement. Hudā Ša'rāwī, the famous Egyptian feminist, is supposed to have solemnly cast her veil into the Mediterranean as she returned home in 1923 from a women's congress in Rome (A. H. Hourani, *The unveiling of a challenge to the old order*, in *UNESCO Courier* [January 1956], 37). Her symbolic action was soon followed by many upper and upper middle class women, but not by women of the lower middle class, which remained the last stronghold of tradition (see Y. K. Stillman, *Attitudes toward women in traditional Near Eastern societies*, in *S. D. Goitein Festschrift*, I, ed. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami and N. A. Stillman, English-language volume, Jerusalem 1981, 345-60).

Muslim men abandoned traditional attire more rapidly than Muslim women. This is due to the male's greater physical and social mobility, as noted above. The first Muslim men to adopt the European mode of dress were members of the bureaucracy and the upper class who were in direct contact with westerners and who, in many cases, had visited Europe. Such individuals were referred to as "westernisers" (Ar. *mutafarnagūn*) and "westernised gentry" (Turk. *alafranga ẓükelaler*). Throughout the 19th century they remained a small minority. However, after the First World War the change became rapid (see e.g. R. Tresse, *L'évolution du costume des citadins syrolibanais depuis un siècle*, in *La Géographie*, lxx [1938], 1-16, 76-82; idem, *L'évolution du costume des citadines en Syrie depuis le XIXe siècle*, in *La Géographie*, lxxi-lxxii [1939], 257-71, 29-40).

One aspect of the male wardrobe that has resisted change even where the transition to Western attire has been more or less complete is the headgear. It is still common to see men dressed in a Western suit, wearing a *ṭarbūsh*, a *turbān*, or a *kūfiyya*. This is due to the traditional importance of covering the head and to the fact that the headcovering (originally the turban) was considered a badge of Islam. The *kūfiyya*, which was in the last century most commonly worn by Bedouin and peasants in many parts of the Middle East, has in recent years taken on a nationalist connotation comparable to that of the fez in Ottoman Turkey under the Young Turks. The chequered *kūfiyya* is today the badge of the Palestinian commandos (see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costume and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 16). The traditional *ʿaqāl* is now worn almost exclusively by members of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the Middle East (although in the Maghrib, and in particular in Morocco, it is still commonly worn even by men who have adopted Western dress. See below, section ii).

Outside the major cities, traditional costumes are still commonly worn, but they are loosing ground rapidly in many places. Even among some Bedouin European garments are gradually displacing traditional clothing (see L. Stein, *Beduinen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig* [1962] 41-2). The one area which has successfully maintained its traditional style of dress in all levels of society is the Arabian Peninsula.

Any sort of country-by-country survey of the traditional garments still worn—or worn until recently—in the Arab East would be outside the scope of this article. Western travellers to the Middle East over the past two-and a half centuries have provided lengthy and detailed descriptions of native costumes. In addition to these, there have appeared in recent years a number of scholarly monographs on various aspects of Middle Eastern costume (see *Bibl.*).

What follows is the alphabetical glossary of some of the more common articles of clothing still worn in the Arab East in the 20th century.

GLOSSARY

ʿabāʾ, *ʿabāʾa*: coat, shoulder mantle, worn by both sexes (Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria-Palestine)

ʿaḳāl: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, worn by men (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

anṭarī: a lined vest ranging from short to knee length, worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

arabiyya: skull cap, often embroidered, worn by both sexes by itself or under the head-dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.), called *ʿarāḳīn* in ʿIrāḳ

aṣba: folded scarf worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

bābūǧ, *bābūǧ*: oriental slippers of soft leather (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr. Pal.)

badan: cotton or silk man's gown (Ar. Pen.)

bennīk benīḳ: a wide-sleeved men's coat (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

bišt: mantle, jacket, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

brim: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, syn. with *ʿaḳāl* (Syr.-Pal.); *binding for* loin cloth, syn. with *ḥizām* (Ar. Pen.)

burd, *burda*: heavy woollen wrap usually worn by men (Ar. Pen., Eg.)

burnus: woollen hooded cloak worn by men, imported from the Maghrib (Eg.)

burḳaʿ: woman's face veil (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr. Pal.)

būsh: variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in N. Syria (Syr.-Pal.)

buʾṭā, *buṭṭā*: black lace veil worn by women (Ir.)

čāqčūr, *čaḳčūr*: Turkish-style pantaloons, underdrawers, worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

dāmir: a woman's jacket with short sleeves, syn. with *sāḥiya* (Syr.-Pal.)

diffiyya: a heavy winter cloak for men (Eg.)

dilīḳ: the patched garment of Ṣūfīs, also worn by clowns (Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ʿallāsiyya the loose body shirt still commonly worn by men in Egypt.

ʿallāya· embroidered *ǧubba*, a wedding costume may be a dress or a coat depending upon the region, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.); a man's marriage *ǧafān* (Yemen)

ǧubba a coat-like outer garment worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ǧūkh, ǧūkha· a wide-sleeved coat worn by men (Syr.-Pal.)

*ǧurdā*ʾa a woman's outer coat, open in front, sometimes syn. with *ǧubba* (Syr.-Pal.)

ǧurdiyya· a long-sleeved man's robe (Eg.)

ǧarmaliyya a woman's dress (Syr.-Pal.)

ǧarūdiyya a square kerchief bound around the cap by women (Eg.)

ǧāz the Turkish fez, synonym for the red *ṭarbūš* (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ǧuzūn a woman's dress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḥāṭa: embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)

ḥabbūṭ, ḥabbūṭiyya· head scarf with an embroidered pattern of lozenges, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ḥadīṭa· large head shawl for women, worn in the Hebron area (Syr.-Pal.)

ḥabara· dark, silky enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḥabw· binding for waist wrapper worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen.)

ḥaṭṭa: cloth belt with silver plaque in the centre, worn by men (Syr. Pal.)

ḥizām: a belt or sash worn about the waist by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḥulalliyya. a large dark wrap wound around the body with the upper parts pulled down over the shoulders and secured with pins (Eg.)

ḥiddāda a white *ḥafiyya* worn in summer (Syr.-Pal.)

ʿiṣāba headband worn by women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḥizām woven, woollen belt, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ṯōb· a loose gown worn by women (Ar. Pen.)

ṯōr· a large, enveloping body wrap for women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḥafiyya, ḥafiyya· head scarf worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ǧaftān, ǧuftān nanple, full-length robe, bottoned down the front, with long sleeves, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḥamar a broad belt often red in colour, worn by men (Eg., Syr. Pal.)

ḥamīṣ, ḥamīṣa shirt like dress worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫalaḳa a woman's dress (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫalwatiyya. a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made at Hasbeya (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫarḳa veil, head scarf, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.) also syn. with *dalʾ* of Sūfīs

ḫuff short boots or leather outer socks (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫiyūr a man's belt (Ir.)

ḫēr· a variety of *ǧamʿ* (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫubrān· a jacket with long, wide sleeves, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫumbāz overgarment, gown, made of striped silk, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫurṣ, ḫirṣ a metallic cup or crown, often studded with jewels worn on top of a woman's headdress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫaffīa man's turban cloth (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫalāʾif long bands of cloth attached to a hat and in which woman's hair is wrapped (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫām a woman's head scarf of white silk or cotton net into which flat metal strips have been decoratively hammered (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫibāṭ· pants, underpants, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫubāṭa, ḫabbāṭa a felt cap worn by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫadrafa· a variety of *ṯōb* worn by Jordanian women (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫaṭrūma head scarf worn by Bedouin women (Ar. Pen.)

ḫandīl· a woman's head scarf veil (Syr.-Pal.), an embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)

ḫaʿraṭa: syn. with *ʿarakiyya* (Ar. Pen.)

ḫarḳūḳ pointed men's shoes of thick red morocco (Eg.)

ḫaglīa a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Baghdad (Ir.)

ḫazz long stocking of soft, yellow leather, inner shoe worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫazzānī a fine *ʿabāʾ* of white wool for men, produced in Baghdad (Ir.)

ḫazz, ḫazzā, ḫizz: syn. with *ḫazz* (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫiṭṭafa a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫaṭṭafa a large, white head veil for women (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫiṭṭafa· a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫuḍarbāyya a peasant woman's jacket (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫuḍḍa: a very wide turban worn by *ʿulamāʾ* (Eg.)

ḫulāʾa: a large, enveloping outer wrap worn by women (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr. Pal.)

ḫuṣayyafa. a silk *ḥafiyya* (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫaʾf a general word for shoe used throughout the Middle East

ḫabba. a loose gown worn by women, synonymous with *ṯōb* (Eg.)

ḫuffa a small embroidered bonnet trimmed with coins, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫīṭa. a woollen or velvet coat for women (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫalfa a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫalābīṭiyya· a variety of *ʿabāʾ* made in Hasbaya (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫadda a man's leather belt (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫāʾil a woman's shawl, usually of wool (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr. Pal.)

ḫalaḳūr. synonymous with *sirmāl* (Ir.)

ḫambar: a large veil common in the Hebron area and southern Palestine

ḫēʾiyya. a black face veil of goat's wool or horse hair, worn by women (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫēš the winding cloth of a turban (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫēšiyya. a variety of *ṭarbūš* (Eg.), a skull cap worn beneath the *ṭarbūš* (Syr.-Pal.)

ḫaṭwa Bethlehem married woman's hat

ḫawdar ṣawdar a black, enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Ir.)

ḫirmiyān woman's pants or pantaloons (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫuṭfa a head scarf of Bedouin women (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)

ḫuwayḳ, ḫuwayḳiyya woman's belt, usually woven of goat's hair, quite ornate, worn mainly in Southern Palestine

ḍidriyya sleeveless vest worn by both sexes (Ir., Syr. Pal.)

ṭāqīa bonnet-like hat trimmed with coins most common to women of Ramallah (Syr.-Pal.); a man's headcloth (Ir.)

ṭadayya· a short, sleeveless vest, worn by men (Eg.)

ṭāqiyya· the common skull cap worn by both sexes alone or under the head dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

ṭaqṭūr· short-sleeved jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭarṭūr· a high conical cap resembling a mitre, worn by Sūfīs (Eg., Syr.-Pal.); a high pointed woman's headdress of wood, horn, or metal, once very common among the Druze (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭarḥa· a woman's head scarf or veil (Syr.-Pal.)

ṭarḥa· a large, dark head veil that hangs all the way down the back, worn by women (Eg.)

ṭhawb basic tunic worn by both sexes throughout the Middle East, a woman's dress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

ṭikka draw string for *sirwāl*, used throughout the Middle East

wuḳā, wuḳāya, awḳā terms designating a variety of women's bonnets, usually decorated with coins (Syr.-Pal.)

yaghmak Turkish-style veil, frequently syn. with *burḳuʿ* (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

yelek a woman's long coat, tightly fitting (Eg., Syr.-Pal.), a long vest worn by both sexes (Ir.)

zunnār· a belt, usually made of a folded scarf, worn by both men and women (Syr.-Pal.)

Bibliography· For a detailed bibliography on Middle Eastern costume that includes both travel and scholarly literature, see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costumes and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 230-8, in addition R. Arié, *Notes sur le costume en Égypte dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, in *REI*, xi (1968), 201-23; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, idem, *Egypt and Palestine*, New York 1858; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, idem, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1830; idem, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, M. Chehab, *Le costume au Liban*, in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, vi, no. 6 (1942-3), 47-79 (useful historical survey); G. Cyr, *Lebanese and Syrian costume*, Beirut, n.d.; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 7 vols., repr. Hildesheim 1964 (vol. v is a basic source for information on costume), W. al-Dādir, *al-Malābis al-ghaʿbiyya fi ʾl-ʿIrāḳ*, Silsilat al-Funūn, i, Baghdād n.d. (valuable study, with good sketches), W. A. Fairservis, *Costumes of the East*, Riverside, Conn. 1971 (a popular introduction, but still useful for the scholar), M. C. Kastinge, *Costumes of the Levant*, Beirut 1955; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, (contains some of the most detailed descriptions of traditional costumes to be found anywhere, fine engravings); J. Lecerf, *La crise vestimentaire d'après-guerre en Syrie d'après la littérature populaire*, in *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, Renseignements coloniaux*, xlviii (1938), 45-7; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Kais. Akad. der Wiss., Ethnol. Reise, iii (Vienna 1908); L. Stern, *Abdallah bei den Beduinen*, Leipzig 1964, R. Stein, *Frauen im Irak*, in *Mitteil. aus dem Mus. für Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1962 (superficial); M. Tilke, *Oriental costumes*, London 1922 (a fundamental study), idem, *Kostumschnitte und Gewandformen*, Tübingen 1948. (Y. K. Stillman)

ii. — The Muslim West

The Muslim West, which in the Middle Ages included Spain and Sicily as well as North Africa, belongs generally to the Arabo-Mediterranean vestimentary system, whose common unifying factors are rectangular tunics and loose outer wraps. Within this system, however, there has always been a great deal of regional, ethnic, and socio-economic variation. The Maghrib has been united since the time of the Arab conquest in the second half of the 1st/7th century for its own particular styles in dress, as in other aspects of material culture. The reasons for this can be conveniently summarised as follows: (1) the physical distance of the Maghrib from the Muslim-Arab heartlands; (2) the indigenous Berber element, which always remained strong; (3) in the case of Spain, the large native Iberian population and the propinquity of Christian territory, (4) the absence of the Persian *ḥāḍir* class, and (5) the very late arrival of the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria (and their total absence from Morocco).

Since much of the information concerning mediaeval Arab costume—nomenclature, style, customs and institutions—applies to the Maghribī centres of urban culture in the Middle Ages, this article will deal only briefly with this period, concentrating on the uniquely Maghribī aspects of its costume history. Most of the article will deal with the period extending from the later Middle Ages to modern times, or approximately the last 700 years, which, it should be pointed out, has been the subject of more study than that devoted to Middle Eastern costume history for all periods combined. A glossary and an extensive bibliography by country follow at the end.

1. Pre-Islamic foundations of Maghribī costume. When the Arabs conquered North Africa, Punic and Byzantine influences were still alive in the cities and towns. The countryside may also have had some Punic elements, but was overwhelmingly—if not exclusively—Berber. Even in Classical times, North Africa was noted for its distinctive style of dress. Greek and Roman authors considered the natives to be barbarians because they wore only an animal skin draped over the left shoulder covering the front and back. Garments of soft leather reminiscent of *fidālī*, the soft leather from goatskin (which in European languages is called morocco, maroquin, etc.) were also mentioned as being worn, and indeed, some archaeological remnants have been found (see S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1927, ii, 32-38, where numerous sources are cited). Both this simple style of draping and the use of leather garments continued among the Berbers well into modern times.

The most striking feature of North African clothing in Roman eyes was the flowing, unbelted tunic. Roman and Byzantine sources mention the unclinched tunic frequently and in the same attributive way that they note the trousers of the European and Asiatic barbarians. Thus, for example, Virgil speaks of *hic ammadum genus et discinctus Mysclusque Afros* (*Aeneid*, viii, 724), and Corippus, the 6th-century poet of the Byzantine reconquest, says even more explicitly: *Nec tunicae manicis ornant sua brachia Maurusiaeque non ullis stringuntur cingula bullis/ Distinctique ...* (*Johannides*, ii, 130-2). The basic Maghribī tunics such as the Tunisian *ʿmagḥba*, the Algerian *ʿbāya*, and the Moroccan *gandūra* all fit this type. Though ample and unclinched, the tunics of the pre-Islamic period seemed to have been short, not falling below the thigh. Similar short, simple garments were common in Berber areas such as the Moroccan Rīf and the Algerian Mzāb into the early 20th century.

Another distinctive feature of North African attire which continued to be a hallmark of Maghribī style in the Islamic period is the hooded cloak, called *burnus* (*burnūs*) in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and *sitḥam* and *akhnif* and less commonly *bernūs* in Morocco. Gsell (*op. cit.*, p. vi, 24-6) sees the origin of the *burnus* in the *sagum*, the simple wool cloak worn by the

Roman legionnaire. E. F. Gauthier (*Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs*, repr. Paris 1952, 148 f.) point to an even more similar garment, the *paenula*, a travelling cloak to which a hood (*cucullus*) was generally attached. Philologically, the word *burnus* is probably derived from Greek and Latin *burrus* (S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 50 f., where an interesting connection is made with *sagum* on p. 51, n. 2). The term *burnus* existed in early Islamic Arabia, where it usually designated a bonnet (see LIBĀS. i). The North African *burnus*-cloak was palpably different. When the Arabs invaded the Maghrib, they distinguished between two great Berber groups, whom they called the Barānis and the Butr (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89 f.) W. Marçais (*Articles et conférences*, Paris 1961, 74) has suggested very plausibly—although with caution—that these names might reflect not genealogical or ethnic groups, but rather physical appearance, i.e., those Berbers who wore hooded garments (*burānis*), and those who wore short garments (*butr*), most likely without hoods. The ubiquity of *burnus* in the Maghrib may originally have been due to the fact that the Berbers in Antiquity and for the first few centuries under Islam wore no caps or headcloths (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89: *wa-ruʾūsuhum fī ʾl-ghālib ḥāsira*). Furthermore, some Berbers shaved all or part of the head (Gsell, *op cit*, 26-28, for classical sources; cf. also Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 89, *wa-ruʾūsuhum yaḥʿaduhā bi ʾl-kalb*).

One but distinctive feature that may be traced back to pre-Islamic times is the large wrapping cloth used as an outer garment by both men and women (albeit in quite different ways) from Libya to Morocco. This wrap which is known by various names, the most common in Arabic being *ḥāʾik*, *ḥaik*, and *burnāṭān*, and in Berber *aʿaban*, *akhupi*, *afaggu*, *tabayhi*, and many others. Gsell suggests that this primitive garment has its origins in two wraps commonly worn in Roman North Africa, the *lodix* and the *strageula* (*op cit*, 29, n. 6). The poet Corippus speaks of the rough wrap which the natives of North Africa wore thrown over the shoulder and enveloping the arms (*Johannidos*, ii, 134 f.: *Horrida subtrictus dependens stragula membris/Ex umeris demissa sacat* ...). Ibn Khaldūn also says that most Berbers wrap themselves with a *ḥaik*[2] that is thrown over the shoulder (*ʿIbar*, vi, 89: *yaghtamiluna ʾl-samma*[2] *bi ʾl-ʿaksiya*). Later European travellers also took note of this rather incommodious fashion (see G. Marçais, *Costume d'Alger*, 25-30, where numerous sources are cited). In Islamic times, the ancient Berber wrap came to be associated with its Arabian counterparts, the *izār*, *milḥafa*, etc. Insofar as it was used as a veil by women, it overlapped with eastern fashions. However, it seems clear from the sources and from the modern witness that the Maghribī man's was, and remained, quite different in the way it was draped.

2. Maghribī costume during the early and high Middle Ages. The Arabs looked upon the Maghrib as a colonial territory even more than they did the conquered lands of the Middle East. There was almost nothing in the cultures of North Africa or Spain to command even their grudging respect or to stimulate a desire for emulation. They therefore adopted little or nothing from the native costume during the first century or so of their rule. The fashion of the urban élite was Arab. A child's tunic dating back to the earliest Islamic period which is now in the possession of the Bardo Museum in Tunis is very similar to garments from the same time in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (see M. Fendri, *Un vêtement islamique ancien au Musée du Bardo*, in *Africa*, ii [1967-8], 241 ff.). The 4th/10th-century geographer al-Muḳaddasī (239) observed that Maghribīs dressed in the Egyptian fashion (*wa-bi ʾl-Maghrib ruʾūsuhum muṭriyya*—that *ruʾūs* here refers to custom in dress is clear from the continuation of the text). The many references to clothing in *Ifrīḳiya* collected by H. R. Idris for the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries correlate fairly well with what is known of Middle Eastern attire during that period (Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, ii, 594-600). The only items that were distinctly Maghribī were the *ḥaik*[2], the *kurrayya* (from Berb *takerrit*, see Doxy, *Vêtements*, 380-2) which was a simple winding cloth for the head and *akrāḍ* (sing. *kurḍ*), native cork-soled sandals (Doxy, *Vêtements*, 362 f.; Isrm, *Suppl.*, ii, 354; Idris, *op cit*, 597, cf. Sp. *alcorques*). According to al-Muḳaddasī (*op cit*, 239), even the traditional Arab *ridāʾ* was worn draped like a *ḥaik*[2] or *burnus*.

The early Umayyad *amīrs* in Spain tried at least they could to maintain the material culture of Syria, and it may be safely assumed that the dress of the small Arab élite and their epigones (*muwalladūn*) remained generally faithful to the styles of the Damascus caliphate. The newer Islamic styles with their oriental influences became the fashion of the upper classes when the ʿIrāḳī singer Ziryāb [q.v.] arrived at the court of Cordova in 207/822, where he established himself as the Andalusian Petronius. He was not only the *arbiter elegantiarum* in regard to the cut, colour, and fabric of clothes, but established the proper season for each outfit (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 88 citing Ibn Ḥayyān) it was he who established the *ḳulla* as the standard robe for both sexes. One eastern fashion which only took limited root in Spain was the wearing of the turban (*ʿimāma*), which was reserved mainly for the *fuḳahāʾ*. Bare heads or heads crowned with a red or green wool cap (*ḳalansuwa*) were commonplace for much of the Spanish population of all classes. Most of the figures that appear in the genre scenes on carved ivory pyxes from Umayyad Spain appear to be bareheaded (see e.g. E. Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, Pl. 122; W. M. Watt and F. Cachia, *A history of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh 1965, Pls. 5 and 7). The *balansuwa* and the *ṭaylasān* were also in vogue after the arrival of Ziryāb (for details on both, see LIBĀS section 1). The last Umayyad *ḥājib* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo increased his already great unpopularity in 399/1009 by ordering courtiers to wear turbans in the style worn by the Berber military (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 48). The style was soon abandoned when two months later his rule came to its violent end.

There was with the passage of time considerable intermingling of styles between the Christian North and the Muslim South. The Spanish peasant's frock, *saya*, is Ar. *ghilys* (from Lat. *sagum*) was commonly worn in the countryside (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 425, Doxy, *Vêtements*, 212 f.). Soldiers wore a scarlet cape (*kabāʾ*) similar to that worn in Christian territory (Lévi-Provençal, *op cit.*, iii, 429, Doxy, *op cit.*, 390, obviously derived from Sp. *capa* or *capa* and not from Pers. *kabā*, concerning which see LIBĀS, sections 2 and 3). Oriental fashion progressively gave way—perhaps as a partial corollary to the Reconquista—to a uniquely Andalusian style or cut (*ṭarīḳ*). By the 7th/13th century, an Easterner in the turban and robes of the Levant was regarded as a curiosity (Lévi-Provençal, *op cit.*, iii, 492).

It is interesting to note that although Muslim

women to Spain wore the various veils used in the Middle East, such as the *khimār*, *burḳu'*, *miḥna'a*, and *miʾzar* (see e.g. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en Arabe classique au XIe siècle*[2], Paris 1953, 179, 280, 329), they were not always too strict about it. The poet *al-*Ramādī saw the beautiful *Khalwa* at the Bāb al-ʿAṭṭārīn, a popular gathering place for women in Cordova, and fell in love with her at first sight. Although she was unveiled, he did not know whether she was slave or free (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. H.K. al-Sayrafī, Cairo n.d., 21 f.). The roguish Ibn Ḳuzmān (*q.v.*) tells of a married Berber woman he met and with whom he had an affair. She is described as wearing only a garland on her head (J.T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974, 465). Jurists complain of the heretical innovation among the common people whereby a man allows his wife or fiancée to unveil in front of someone other than an immediate male relative (Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, *Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥisba wa 'l-muḥtasib*, tr. R. Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i [1960], 32). This laxity may have been due to the influence of the large non-Muslim population or of the considerable Berber element, or both. Even women who were normally veiled would show their faces when in mourning (see e.g. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 103, also Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Risāla fī 'l-ḥisba*[2] *wa 'l-ḥusba*, tr. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XII*e *siècle*, Paris 1947, 59, para. 53).

3. The Berber Empires and their successor states. Middle Eastern influences in Maghribī dress — as in other aspects of material culture — declined greatly from the late 5th/11th century onward. Indigenous Berber and Spanish influences became stronger than ever. The major factors in the increasing "Berberisation" and "Andalusianisation" were the rise of extensive Berber empires that united the Maghrib with what remained of Muslim Spain. This occurred at a time of growing isolation, when the Arab East was coming under the rule of Turkish military régimes with their own language, customs, and style of dress (see ʿasākir, section 1) and when the arteries of communication between Maghrib and Mashriḳ, though by no means cut, were not as smooth as in preceding centuries, because of the war, instability, and the overall decline of Muslim sea power. Lastly, the urban centres of high culture in Ifrīḳiya which had set the fashion for much of North Africa were in ruins after the invasion of the Banū Hilāl Bedouin. Further west, Morocco was a centre of power and Spain a centre of culture. Once united, they would become the focal point of style for the rest of the Maghrib.

The rise of the Almoravids paralleled in a sense a contemporary phenomenon in the East. They were a non-Arab ruling élite who wore their own distinguishing uniform. They dressed in Saharan Berber fashion, and are described as being untouched by Mediterranean civilisation (al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Maghrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 164 f., also Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 182). The main feature setting the Almoravids apart from their subjects was their face veil (*liṯām*, *q.v.*), which masked the lower half of their face, hence their nickname of *al-mulaṯṯamūn*. Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, vi, 197 f.) notes that many Saharan people were *mulaṯṯamūn* even in his own day. The style was essentially the same as that of the modern Tuaregs. Almoravid dress was not for the subject population. In fact, Ibn ʿAbdūn (*op. cit.*, 61 ff., para. 56) warns against permitting even the other Berbers to the service of the Almoravids to wear the *liṯām* in the streets of Seville because of the fear it struck in the population. The Almoravids also wore the *ʿimāma* and *burnus*. There were some Andalusians who donned these items in order to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, even though their own compatriots laughed at them (Ibn Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, in Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, p. li).

The Andalusians found little to copy from the Almoravids. However, the latter found a great deal worthy of emulation to Spanish civilisation. Under Almoravid rule, Andalusian culture spread into Morocco together with, certainly, Andalusian fashions. This movement of styles across the Straits of Gibraltar mainly from north to south would continue under the Almohads and in varying degrees under their successors.

The rise of the Almohads had a more direct and lasting influence on Maghribī costume history. The Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's (*q.v.*) puritanism extended to matters of dress. His biographer al-Baydhaḳ relates that on his return home from the East, the Mahdī upbraided the people of Bijāya for wearing sandals with gilded laces (*al-nʿāl al-sharrāziyya*) and turbans cut in the Muslim fashion (*ʿamāʾim al-iḳlīmiyya*), and for men wearing *ḳufṭāniyyāt*, which was apparently a tunic normally for women (*Taʾrīkh al-Mahdī wa-bidāyat amrihi wa-mabādiʾ dīnihi*, ed. in Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 52, Ar. text). The prudish Mahdī had to cover his face when passing adorned and unveiled female *ḥalwa* vendors in the streets of Tlemcen (*ibid.*, 61). His full wrath was heaped upon the Almohad rulers themselves. In the Friday mosque of Marrakesh, he called the veiled *amīr* and his retinue "veiled slavegirls" (*ibid.*, 68, *ḥarāʾir muḳannaʿāt*). When he encountered the princess al-Sitt unveiled as was customary among Almoravid women, he reprimanded her so severely that she went crying to her brother the *amīr* (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 227).

Like all Berbers, the Almohads wore the *burnus* (also *burnuṭ*) and the *ridāʾ* (al-Baydhaḳ, *op. cit.*, 72 f.). They normally wore the form of turban known as *luṯṯāma* (*ibid.*, 81). Under the Ḥafṣids, the descendants of the great Almohad families wore the *ṭaylasān* with the ends criss-crossed in front like the Arabic letters *lām-alif* (R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947 ff., 278 ff. It was not long before the early Almohad simplicity in dress gave way to the luxuries of al-Andalus. They bestowed magnificent robes of honour (*ḵhilaʿ sanniyya*) upon their favourites (al-Marrākushī, *K. al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1881, 175, 184, 230).

From the Almohad period onwards, veiling for women was more strictly observed throughout North Africa and Muslim Spain. The Almohads also instituted one of the most unusual applications of the laws of *ghiyār* (*q.v.*). Suspecting the sincerity of the large number of Jews who had converted to Islam under duress, the caliph Abū Yūsuf ordered that all these neophytes should wear distinguishing clothing consisting of blue-black garments (*thiyāb ḥuḳḳiyya*) with exaggeratedly wide sleeves (*akmām mufraṭat al-saʿa*) which reached to the ground, and ludicrous caps (*kalansāt ʿalā aḳbāʿ ṣūra*) that resembled pack saddles (*ka-annahā 'l-barādiʿ*) which extended below the ears (al-Marrākushī, *op. cit.*, 223). His son and successor Abū ʿAbd Allāh changed the uniform to yellow garments and yellow turbans (*ibid.*). It may be considered part of the Almohad heritage that in Morocco throughout the later Middle Ages and until modern times, the dress code for Jews was one of the most strictly applied in the Muslim world (see N. A

Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands*, Philadelphia 1979, 53, 304, 332, 367).

There were no great changes in Maghribī fashion with the passing of the Almohads. The Ḥafṣids in Tunisia, the Zayyānids in Algeria, and the Marīnids in Morocco were all in a sense successors rather than supplanters of the Almohads. The information on Tunisian dress culled by Brunschvig (*Ḥafṣides*, ii, 276-82) correlates well with what is known from the preceding period. Local names for special varieties of garments appear more frequently now, as for example, *ḥarakān*, the heavy wrap for men and the *safsārī*, the light wrap for women. Both are mentioned as being commonly worn in Tunisia (*ibid.*, 276, 280), and both are known from earlier centuries as well (see Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire in medieval Egypt*, 42 f., 62 f.). Leo Africanus's (q.v.) description of clothing worn in Marīnid Fās also shows considerable continuity in the general outlines (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 207 f.). He does note that the learned doctors and gentlemen wore jackets with large sleeves like upper-class Venetians. He also mentions that women's trousers for outdoor covered the entire leg. He further notes that the latter are always veiled with a large wrap covering the head and the entire body (*ḥaʾik*) as well as with a face veil (*litḥām*) covering all but the eyes (*ibid.*, 206).

Clothes are mentioned by the Marīnid historian Ibn Aḥmar (*Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banū Marīn*, Rabat 1382/1962, 75) in connection with the popular Moroccan ballad in *baraka*, the blessedness of a charismatic individual. The Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Maḥyū was considered by the Zanāta to be a possessor of *baraka* and a *muǧāb al daʿwa* (one whose prayers are answered). His *kalansuwa* and *sarāwil* would be sent to women in difficult labour to ease the birth.

With the passing of the Almohads, the Muslims of Spain abandoned the turbans they had briefly worn (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 234). Multi-coloured garments were popular. The wealthy wore garments of the fine gilded silk (*al-waṯī al-muḏahhab*) produced in Almería, Murcia, and Málaga or special silken clothes (*al-ṯiyāb al-muḥarrama*) called *mulabbad mukhaṣṣaṣa* ("felted, checked") made in Granada and Basta (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 123). R. Arié has noted that fashions of the neighbouring Christian kingdoms already influenced the mode of Andalusian dress in the early days of the Naṣrīds (*L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 382). The *aṣṣa* (Ar. *ʿaṣāya*) mentioned above was worn not only by peasants, but even by the Naṣrīd monarch when out riding (*ibid.*). The *marlota* (Ar. *mallūṭa*), a sleeved outer garment whose precise details are vague, and the *espellar* (Ar. *bilūṭār*), a hooded cloak shorter than the *burnus*, were among the new fashions (*ibid.*, 386).

4. From the end of the Middle Ages to modern times. The basic outlines of Maghribī costume remained quite constant from the end of the Middle Ages up to and well into the period of colonial domination. Certain new fashion elements were brought into the region by the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria and by the Moriscos and Jewish refugees from Spain in these countries and Morocco as well. Most of the clothing innovations which they introduced remained particular to their own ethnic group. Thus, for example, the *ḥaḏḏāṭa* (Sp. *giraldetta*), a whirling skirt, was worn in Morocco only by Jewish and Andalusian women (see Y. K. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman of Morocco*, in *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, ed. Talmage, Cambridge, Mass. 1980, 350, 355, 1 - 30). The high, brimless hats known as *tarṭūr* and *ṭarṭūra* in Algeria were part of the uniform of the Turkish military élite (Marçais, *Costume d'Alger*, 33-8) and as late as the 18th century, the Turkish-style *dulband* was not permitted to native North Africans (*ibid.*, 53). Nevertheless, Ottoman modes of dress did make themselves felt in the urban centres of Algeria and Tunisia. The *yaleci* (Turk. *yelek*) was very popular in Algeria, and the high, split cone, metal head piece, known as the *šārma*, became a general fashion for women in Algeria and Tunisia (*ibid.*, 218-229, and Pls. xxix xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv). Likewise, the *ḏrabḏāḏī*, or *ḏrabḏāḏ*, a short coat brought by Jews and Andalusians became widespread in the cities of Morocco and Algeria, and in Morocco was manufactured exclusively by Jewish tailors (see Brunot, *Noms de vêtements marocains à Rabat*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, i, 97 f.).

Most remarkable is the conservative nature of draping patterns in men's clothing, which as we have seen goes back to the world of Antiquity. Also interesting to note is the widespread use of fibulae in fasten garments. The Maghribī fibula, called *bšima*, *ḫelāla*, *ḥifāyya*, and in Berber *tabzuṭ*, *tazerzay*, and *tasersit*, has been shown to go back to Antique prototypes (H. Camps-Fabrier, *Le origine des fibules berbères d'Afrique du Nord*, in *Mélanges Le Tourneau = ROMM*, nos. 23-24 (1973), 227-30). However, traditional attire in—as in the case of the Middle East—losing ground rapidly to Western dress, particularly in the major cities and towns where more than half the population now resides.

GLOSSARY

aʿaban, large outer wrap for Berber men (Mor.)

ʿabaya, a sleeveless, long overblouse for men, a sleeveless, flowing dress for women (Alg.)

ʿabrāk bandana for women (S. Mor.)

aḫnif, *ḫnif* Berber cape, hooded for men, unhooded for women (S. Mor.)

ʿarrāḳiyya skull-cap for men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)

bbābūš flat slippers for both sexes (entire Maghrib)

baḫnak embroidered head shawl for women (Tun.)

barrahān; large enveloping outer wrap for both sexes (Lib.)

bdīʿiyya sleeveless vest for men (entire Maghrib), a sleeveless *baḫṭān* for women (Mor.)

bilġa flat slippers, usually pointed at the toe, but sometimes rounded, worn by both sexes (entire Maghrib)

burnūs large hooded cape for men (entire Maghrib.)

būjād women's hat (entire Maghrib., but different in each country)

ʿḳmar body shirt for both sexes (Mor.)

dfīna jacket for men (Alg.)

ḍrīḥila a vest (Lib., Tun.), an old threadbare garment (Mor.)

ḏrabḏāḏī, *ḏrabḏāḏ* a full-length caftan-like garment with either no buttons, or a single button at front (Mor., Alg.)

ḏrāʿīd a pair of men's further leggings (Tun.)

ḏellāba, *ḏellābiyya*, *ḏellāb* Hooded outer robe with long sleeves, originally worn by men only, now by both sexes (mainly Mor., also W. Alg.)

ḏubba, full-length, sack-like chemise without sleeves (Tun.)

ḏuḫḫa a long, woollen outer robe without sleeves or collar which is closed by a single button at the neck worn by men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)

ḍuka a pointed bonnet for women (Tun.)

durrā'a, dor'a, dirra long robe with sleeves for both sexes (entire Maghr.)

fallita, djallita, djanfiya. a skirt of Spanish origin worn mainly by Jewish and Andalusian women (Mor.)

farašiyya (Berb. *tafarašit*) a very light gown with a deep slit at the breast which may or may not have sleeves and is worn under the *kaftān* or garment by both sexes (Mor.) It also comes in a half-length version called *nuss farašiyya*

frāǧa, frāǧa garment similar to the *farağiyya* for men only (Alg , Tun.)

fermla vest for elderly men (Alg.)

fighul shawl and headscarf for women (Mor)

frimla furmayla corselet for women (Alg.), embroidered bolero (Lib)

fūta outer wrap; loin cloth for women (entire Maghr)

fuḳiyya· a body shirt *for* men worn under the *ǧallāba* (Mor)

gandūra full-length tunic with short sleeves for man (S Mor) and for both sexes (Alg)

ghlila sleeveless outer robe for women (Mor)

ghilla· vest for both sexes (Alg)

guiora a light, lacy chemisette for women (Alg)

haddūn, ahaddūn a variety of heavy *burnus* (Mor)

ḥā'ik ḥāyk lahayāt large outer wrap, usually white, worn by both sexes (entire Maghr)

ḥaṭṭa general designation for belt, especially a sash (entire Maghr)

ihurgsen, idūkkha sherbas all names for a simple Berber sandal (Mor)

iherri· a Berber turban consisting of a white cloth wound about the head leaving the crown uncovered (Mor.)

'imāma standard turban (entire Maghr)

ʿizāwiyya a simple, wide tunic consisting of a hole in the centre for the head and one at each side for the arms, made of striped wool and worn by men, also a very ample blouse of strong cotton worn over other clothing (Mor.)

izār, large outer wrap for both sexes (entire Maghr); fringed shawl worn by Jewish women (Mor.)

kabbūt a coat for both sexes (entire Maghr)

kabkāb wooden clogs for women (Alg Tun)

kaftān, caftan, originally worn by men and women, now only by women (Mor., Alg)

kalanswa· pointed bonnet for men (Alg., Tun)

kamīs, ḳamīdja, ḳamīdja long body shirt for both sexes (entire Maghr.)

kashkāba. long sleeveless outer gown for men, long sleeved flowing tunic with a deep slit down the breast for women (Mor)

khīya sleeveless vest for men (Alg.)

khlīfi, a red wrap for women (Mor.)

kisua kbira elegant wedding and festivity dress of Jewish women consisting of several parts, derived from 15th century Spanish dress style (Mor.)

kmādjiya· fine embroidered tunic for both sexes (Tun Lib)

ksā· large outer wrap for both sexes (entire Maghr)

ḳṭib headscarf for women (Mor)

kuṭnyya belt for both sexes (Mor)

lithām veil for lower half of the face, worn by married women (Mor., Alg)

malāsa large Turkish style turban worn by religious dignitaries (Tun.)

marγūl· short, embroidered shift for women (Lib.)

mdamma leather belt worn by men, women and children (Mor.)

milḥafa, milafa, tamelhaft· large outer wrap worn by both sexes (entire Maghr)

mintān mintīl. man's waistcoat with long, straight sleeves (Mor., Alg , Tun.)

na'l, n'āla, n'ēl. sandals (entire Maghr.)

niḳāb face veil for married women, often synonymous with *lithām* (Mor., Alg)

ribuyyāt flat leather slippers worn by both sexes (Mor , Alg., Tun.)

rezza, rzza small, rather flat turban (Mor.)

safsāri large outer wrap for women (Tun. Lib)

sāya a skirt (N. Mor.), a dress (S Mor.)

sbbāṭ closed shoes for either sex (Mor., Alg , Tun.)

sbrāṭ, sbarṭāt flat slippers for both sexes (Mor)

shāsh, shāsh head scarf for both sexes (Mor., Alg., Tun.)

shāshiyya shāsh brimless soft hat worn by both sexes (entire Maghr)

shkāṭiyya hūfiyya woman's bonnet (Tun)

shmāṭiyya woman's headscarf (Mor , Alg.)

sdāriyya (= *ṣadriyya*) a man's waistcoat (entire Maghr)

sidḥām (Berb *azzilam*)· man a hooded cape (Mor.)

sirwāl· trousers for both sexes (entire Maghr)

ṣa'dāiya large embroidered shawl for women (Tun.)

takayda pointed woman's bonnet (Tun.)

ṭāḳiyya skull cap for man (entire Maghr)

tarbūsh hats of various types for men (entire Maghr)

tasam, tarassia, tarassi· wide-brimmed straw hat for both sexes (Mor , Alg)

tesfoual fringed head scarf for women (Lib)

tkāshor stockings for both sexes (entire Maghr)

tmāk riding boots (entire Maghr)

ṭrābah· leather leggings worn by women (Mor)

wikāya woman's head scarf (Mor , Alg)

billeba see *ǧellāba*

zeggāta· a simple, sleeveless, square-cut man's tunic (S Alg.)

zkbāṭa· a man's jacket with long sleeves (Lib.)

zoir a Berber scarf for both sexes (Mor.)

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(Y. K. STILLMAN)

iii — Iran

Iranian costume belongs to a completely different vestimentary system than does Arab costume. The most salient features have shown remarkable consistency from pre-Achaemenid to modern times. Whereas Arab costume (see 2. above) is marked by rectangular tunics and loose wraps, Iranian clothing has traditionally featured tailored garments that include a sleeved coat of varying length and snugness (*kabā*), long straight trousers (*shalwār*) or leggings (*pāy tāba* or *rān*), close-fitting boots (*mūza*, *kafsh*, *khuf*, or *cakhma*), and a high or medium high soft cap (*kulāh* or *kalansuwa*, the latter perhaps a descendant of the ancient *kyrbassia*). This type of attire is typical of other equestrian peoples from the steppes of Inner Asia, such as the Scythians, and also of the Phrygians, and is consistent both with the harsh and highly variable climate and their pastoral way of life It also shows strong affinities with the clothing of other Indo-Aryan peoples who moved further west, such as the Germans. This sort of clothing was also convenient to the calvary warfare practised by these peoples. Flowing robes were also worn, but mainly as royal or priestly dress for ceremonial occasions. Women, like men, wore coats or jackets (*kabāya* or *nīm tana*) and trousers or a skirt (*dāman*), with however, a chemise (*pīrāhan*) or tunic (*djāma*, a word which like Ar *tawb* also designates an unspecified garment and cloth in general)

For convenient surveys of pre-Islamic Iranian costume, see H Goetz, *History of Persian costume*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ed A. Pope, London New York 1938, 2227-38, Georgina Thompson, *Iranian dress in the Achaemenian period*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, vi (1968), 121-6; Dj. Dryr Pūr, *Pushāk-i zanān-i Irān*, Tehran 1347/1968, 4-125

1 The Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods During the Umayyad period 'Irāk, which had for centuries been part of the Persian cultural sphere, became arabised. Traditional Iranian modes of dress remained in the Iranian heartlands and in Transoxania Despite the fact that Umayyad rulers adopted elements of Iranian costume for themselves and their court (see e.g. R. Fēttinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 21, 30-3), they did not permit the Arab fighting man on duty in the Persian territories to don Iranian clothing. Soldiers who put on the Persian-style cuirass (*khafdān*) and leggings (*rān*) were punished (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 515). However, by late Umayyad times the Arabs settled in Khurāsān were becoming increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and, it may be assumed, had adopted many elements of native attire.

The rise of the 'Abbāsids, the founding of Baghdād, and the increasing importance of Persian *mawālī* in the civil service, made 'Irāk a zone of osmosis where Iranian and Arabo-Hellenistic styles fused, with Iranian elements passing westward and Arab styles and terminology eastward There is a frequent overlap to the New Persian vestimentary vocabulary of Arabic and Iranian terms (e.g Ar *libās* becomes a common synonym for Pers. *pūshāk*) Nevertheless, native Iranian styles remained distinctive well into the 'Abbāsid period, as noted by the Arab geographers (e.g al-Mukaddasī, 326-7 For other sources, see P Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, repr Hildesheim 1969, 140-2, 404-5, 424-6, and 834-5). Among the more particular Iranian fashions in Arab eyes were the wearing of boots (*khuf*) in summer as well as in winter (al-Mukaddasī, 327), the unique cold weather clothing (*ibid*., 328), and the extensive use of the *taylasān*, or headshawl worn over the turban, by religious scholars and notables in the northern and eastern parts of Iran and even by the common folk in Fārs (ibid., 327, 440)

Throughout the ʿAbbāsid period—as on earlier and later times as well—Iran was noted for its fine textiles For a thorough survey of Persian textile production in this period, see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, *passim*. Iran was also noted for the special garments produced there Āmul and Kūmis were famous for their wool *fayālīs* (pa-Djāhiz, *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, ed. Ḥ. H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Cairo 1935, 30-1), Gurgān and Rayy for their excellent variety of soft wool cloaks known as *narmak* (from Pers. *narm* "soft", *ibid*., 29-30), and Barn for its fine kerchiefs and turban cloths (*dastār-i ḥamā*, anno , *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, rev. ed V Minorsky and C. E Bosworth, London 1970, 125) Adharbaydjān, Armenia, and Arrān produced the best quality trouser cords (*ghalamī* hood, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 142-3) Kāth, the capital of Khwārazm, was noted for its quilted jackets (*bashtīnd*, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 122).

Artistic representations from the 5th 7th/11th 13th centuries invariably show both man and woman in a full-length sleeved coat (*kabā*) with arm bands (*dastū band*) either with or without *ṭirāz* inscriptions In a 6th/12th century stucco relief from Rayy, each of the women in the courtly scene is depicted in a brocade coat (*kabā yi ḥarīr*) with a bordered edge (*kināra-dār*) Each woman wears a fillet (*pushīnī band*) in the centre of which is an aigrette (*ḍjīka*) Most of the women wear a necklace (*gardan band*) and earrings (*gushwāra*) (the relief is included in Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl 517 and Diyāʾ Pūr, *Pāykār i zanān-i Īrān*, Plt. 105 and 107 For a survey of Persian jewelry during this period, see Dj Diyāʾ Pūr, *Ziwarhā-yi zanān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1347/1968, 331-62).

The Saldjūk period did not mark for Iran the introduction of totally new styles of dress as it did in the Arab East (see section i, above, 8) since the Saldjūks were themselves under the influence of Persian culture There were, however, some new fashions that were introduced at this time, partic ularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, all of Inner Asian, Turkish origin (for examples of Saldjūk caps, see Ill no 7, also Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 643B, 652, 655, 686, 687, 688A, 692, 694, 706, 708, 724A, 813) Men of high rank wore a crown-like hat with a pointed rim on either side (*dūshākh*, Spuler, *Iran*, 389) The so-called Saldjūk crown (*tādj*, *tādj kulāh*, or *afsar*), which shows affinities both to one of the Mongol caps and to the ancient Sāsānid crown, remained for centuries the headdress of rulers and princes depicted in Persian paintings It is perhaps to this sort of "crown" that the poet Saʿdī refers in the expression *kulāh khudāwandī*, or "cap of lordship" (*Būstān*, Introd., 212, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, ed. M. ʿA. Farūghī, Tehran 1964 15). These various hats were apparently known by regional and ethnic names, such as *kulāh-i khᵛārizmī* (al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* Tehran 1333, 385) or *kulāh-i tatarī* (Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, 62) The Saldjūks also introduced new military garments

2 The Ilkhānid and Timūrid Periods. The Mongol conquests brought with them many totally new fashions from the Far East. Court styles were those of China: mandarin robes with elbow length sleeves are most commonly depicted. These were decorated with heraldic designs on the breasts and back—usually Chinese clouds, scrolls, and vegetal motifs. Beneath the robe was worn a long-sleeved tunic. Men wore a variety of hats with brims turned up or down, and even with double brims (for examples of these different hats, see Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2239, Fig. 746a-b; and D. T. Rice, *The illustrations of the "World history" of Rashīd al-Dīn*, Edinburgh 1976, 21, Fig. 10a-f).

Military attire was also of the Far Eastern variety, consisting of long coats of link mail arranged in horizontal bands (*dirāghā-i bakā*) or cuirasses (*zirh*) of mail (Dīwāynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Dihistānukā*, ed. Kazwīnī, ii, 186, 176. Five examples of the Mongol long mail coat, see Rice, *Illustrations . . . of Rashīd al-Dīn*, Pls. 38, 44, 48, 49, 53 For the mail cuirass, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 834B, 839, and 842A) The latter could be worn under a robe (*zira ḥar sir-i djama*, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed and tr E. Quatremère, repr Amsterdam, 1968, 122).

Also typical of Mongol armour were their close-fitting helmets with ear-flaps and a small spike at the top (for examples, see Rice, *Illustrations . . . of Rashīd al Dīn*, Pls 22, 38, 39, 40, 43).

During the Ilkhānid period, women's clothing seems not to have undergone any major change, ce cept with respect to the head gear. The head scarf (see *band*) was worn for the most part as a wimple (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 836B) by non-Mongol women. The Mongol princesses, however, wore a special bonnet consisting of a light wood frame covered with silk and from the top of which protrudes a long feather (see Goetz *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, iii, 2241, Fig 747a-b) This bonnet is frequently mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Histoire des Mongols*, ed Quatremère, 102, 106, 107), and is called *bughtāḳ* The *bughtāḳ* could be ornamented with gold and precious stones and sometimes had a long train (*dhayl-i bughtāḳ*) which hung down behind. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the girls who attended the Mongol ladies were "in *ḥullā* that looked like an *ʿabāʾ* (fez) with a gold band encrusted with jewels around the upper part, topped with peacock feathers" (Ibn *Baṭṭūṭa*, ii, tr. H A. R Gibb, Cambridge 1958, 485).

Despite Timūr Lang's partiality to Mongol ways, there is a noticeable decrease in Mongol influence as far as Persian costume is concerned under the Timūrids The bulky mandarin robes give way to close-fitting garments which follow the body's own lines. The outer *kabā* was often left entirely open or was left partially-open at the neck and below the waist revealing another coat below, beneath which a long body shirt (*ḳamīṣ* or *pīrāhan*) was worn. The *kamar band* which, except for a military belt over the armour, had all but gone out of style in the Ilkhānid period, became once again a regular part of male attire, worn on either the inner or the outer coat. The distinctive caps and hats of the Saldjūk and Mongol periods were gradually replaced during the Timūrid period by turbans, which at first were small, but became progressively larger throughout the 9th/15th century (for examples of the caps and turbans of the period, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 851, 860, 865, 878, 880, 882) The reason for the gradual disappearance of the Mongol caps is that they came to be considered as symbols of paganism, in contradiction to the *dastār* which was symbolic of Islām (see e.g Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, tr. E D Rose, repr New York 1970, 58) One new head-covering that appears at this period is the *kalpāk*, a fur trimmed cap of Turkestan origin. As in earlier periods, both men and women wore fur cloaks (*pūstīn*, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dhayl-i Ātābk-i Ẓafar-nāma*, Tehran n.d., 25) and fur trimmed robes (*kabā pūstīn* Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, 119; and idem, *Būstān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*,

213). For illustrations of fur-trimmed coats, see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 842B, 878; also Diyā' Pūr, *Pūshāk-i zanān-i Irān* Pls. 129, 132.

Female attire during the Timūrid period also consisted of several layers of long close-fitting robes. The *pīrāhan* covered the entire body down to the feet and was long-sleeved. A wide variety of outer coats were worn by women at this time. Although some had long, narrow sleeves, most were short-sleeved (*kūtāh-i kutāh*), and some were sleeveless. The women's *kabā* depicted in Timūrid paintings came in both long and three quarter length versions (For the feminine *kabā* in all its variety, see Diyā' Pūr, *op cit*, 143-65, Pls. 133-58.) The short coat is perhaps the *babādūr*, mentioned in earlier literary sources (e.g. al-Kātib al Arradjānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, Tehran n.d., I, 30), but does not appear in artistic representation until this time.

Most of the women's head-dresses depicted in Timūrid paintings are simple, consisting in the main of a white *sar band* worn in the simple fashion of the preceding periods or allowed to flow down behind. Some women are depicted wearing a close-fitting bonnet-like cap which is usually dark in colour. The bonnet has wide flaps that come down in front of the ears, and is held in place with a chin strap. On the top of the bonnet is a small flat plaque to which the face veil is attached (see Diyā' Pūr, *op. cit.*, Pls 119-20, also J. M. Scarce, *The development of women's veils in Persia and Afghanistan*, in *Costume*, v [1975], 6, Pl. 4, where however, this headdress is interpreted somewhat differently).

European travellers report that women appeared in public at this time in an all-enveloping white wrap (*izār-i safīd*), their faces hidden behind a black *ca*t of woven horsehair (*pīča*) (e.g. Ruy Gonzales de Clevijo, *Narrative of the Embassy ... to the court of Timour*, London 1859, 89). Another sort of face veil worn at this period was a small, white mask covering only the mouth and chin (*dahān band*, Diyā' Pūr *op. cit.*, 155, Pl. 224).

3. The Safawid period. The establishment of the Safawid dynasty marks not only a watershed in Iranian political and religious history, but a turning point in its costume history as well. During this period, Far Eastern influences in Persian costume cease to be important, and there is a reassertion of native Iranian styles.

The most immediate change came in the man's turban (*dūl band*), which was wrapped around a cap with a high, spiked pretrusion that extended straight up through the middle of the headdress (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 893A, 895, 896, 900, 901B). The cap which forms the centre of the turban was known as the *tāǧ Ṣafawī*. It was normally red, although occasionally *tāsm*. Because of the red caps which distinguished the Shī'ī Safawids and their followers they were referred to by the Sunnīs as *kuzilbāš-i surkh*, or "red caps" (see Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 209, n. 2), which was the Persian equivalent of Tk. *kizil bāš* [*q.v.*] The symbolic importance of the Safawī *tāǧ* was such that in an allegorical painting shewing the religions of the world, the Shī'īs, as well as Muhammad, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn are all depicted wearing it (the illustration is in the Houghton *Shāh nāma*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and is reproduced in B. Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam*, London 1976, 257).

Safawid costume became extremely sumptuous with the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp (930-84/1524-76). Clothes were more closely fitted than ever before. The *kabā* for both sexes became somewhat shorter. It was now fastened in front by a row of shiny buttons or golden frogs. The waist was cinched with a narrow belt decorated with large bejewelled gold discs spaced at equal intervals (for surviving examples of such belts, see Diyā' Pūr, *Ziynatkā-yi zanān-i Irān*, 385, Pl. 274, and Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1394B-C; for detailed depictions in miniatures, see *ibid.*, v Pl. 901). The most outstanding feature of the Persian wardrobe for the next century-and-a-half is the great richness of the fabrics in both colour and pattern (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 896, 898-900, for illustrations, and *ibid.*, vi, Pls. 1006, 1012, 1012, 1013, 1025, 1034, 1041, 1042, 1046, for actual textiles and garments).

Ṣafawid costume reached its most distinctive development in the 11th/17th century. The *kabā* remained close-fitted about the trunk, but was now often flared below the waist. Over the *kabā* was worn an overcoat (*bālāpūš*) which could be short and sleeveless (*kurdī*) or long and with sleeves (*badalī*). The turban (*mandīl* or *dāl band*) became even larger than before, but no longer had the long stick protruding from the top. A large scarf or sash replaced the belt with roundels. It was usually tied with a large knot in front (for surviving examples of such silk sashes, see Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1074A-E). Ṣafawid clothing has been described in detail by the European travellers Herbert for the first half of the 17th century (T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, London 1928, 79-80, 930-3) and Chardin for the second half (Sir J. Chardin, *Travels in Persia*, London 1927, 117-25, and the engravings between 212 and 213).

Female attire during this period was very sensuous. The dress (*ḥamla*) was buttoned on and below the neck, but slit open down to the navel to expose the bare flesh (Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, v, Pl. 918A). The items of underwear (*tunbān*) were straighter than male drawers and were often decorated with flower motifs. Over these were worn embroidered leggings (*nāṣafī*) that went from several inches above the ankle to slightly above the knee (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl 918, where a reclining female is shown with her dress rolled up to expose her underwear). A loose shawl (*čārḳad*) which was held on the head by a tiara, an embroidered band, or a pointed *kulāh*, fell down on to the back and shoulders (see e.g. J. M. Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, ii [1929-30], 226 Fig. 2, 214, Fig. 13, and 215, Fig. 21). As in the previous period, the favoured *čādur* for outdoor was white. One new innovation that came into use at this time was the *rū band*, a rectangular white veil that was fastened over the *čādur* and fell down over the face. The *rū band* had a small slit covered with netting over the eyes to permit vision (Scarce, *Women's veils*, in *Costume*, v, 7, Pl. 7).

Two major trends can be detected in Persian costume during the 17th century. One is a bohemianism that appears in the increasingly casual and suggestive style of dressing, at least in the court circles depicted in paintings (see Pope *Survey*, v, Pls. 917B, 918A-B, 921B, 929B, and Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes*, 217, Fig. 18). The other is a noticeable, albeit still minor, Western influence in clothing styles. At first this influence was more Georgian than truly European (Chardin, *Travels*, 212), but later the influence of the clothing of European traders and diplomats become stronger (Upton, *Notes on Persian costume*, 227)

4. The Ḳād̲j̲ār period. There was little discernible change or development in Iranian costume during the half-century of instability between the end of Safawid rule and the establishment of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty, except for a decrease in the elegance of upper-class attire and an increase in words of Turkic origin in the vestimentary vocabulary.

The second ruler of the Ḳād̲j̲ār House, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1212-50/1797/1834), attempted to recreate the glories of the Iranian past with a revival of ancient artistic traditions and styles, including in court dress. He adopted for himself a modified version of one of the Sāsānid winged crowns (see Lewis, *World of Islam*, 270, Pl 27, and 272, Pl 32) Wide shoulder capes and diadems in imitation of Timūrid prototypes were also revived for a short while (Goetz, *Persian costume*, in Pope, *Survey*, III, 2254). However, under his successors this artificial renaissance came to an end.

There was growing European influence in Persia already during the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. During the 19th century these influences became increasingly dominant in court and military dress. Popular costume came under foreign influence more slowly. The many European travellers, missionaries, and diplomats who visited Persia in the 19th and early 20th centuries have left detailed descriptions of clothing of the period. Male costume was composed of loose drawers (*šir ḵẖāma* or *šalwār*) of white, blue, or red cotton, a collarless shirt (*alkhalḳ* or *ḳamīṣ*), a tunic (*bumaṭlīq*), a vest (*ḵẖalḳa* or *ḥarīr*), one of a variety of outer coats (*bilāpūš*, *burūna*, *ḳabā*, *ʿ̲ad̲j̲uba*—the latter favoured by government secretaries), or jackets (*nīm tana*). The principal hat for all classes was the high *kulāh* of felt (*namad*) or lambskin (*pūstī*) which was dented in on one side. Footwear consisted of boots (*sarmūza*) of Russian leather (*bulγārī*) for the upper classes, and leather sandals (*dārbā*) or cotton shoes (*gīwa*) for the common people. The belt for all classes was most commonly a large shawl tied round the waist (*shāl kamar*). The mullās commonly wore the ʿabā (see section i, above), and sayyids the green *ʿimāma* (among the numerous descriptions of male attire see J. B. Fraser, *A winter's journey: Constantinople to Teheran*, II, London 1838, 77-105, 151-7, and C. J. Wills, *In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or modern Persia (1866 to 1881)*, London 2893, 317-22)

Female attire for the upper and middle classes consisted of a transparent *pīrāhan* of gauze and pantaloons (*čākūr*). Over these were worn a short frocked coat or jacket and a pleated skirt (*ḳabāʾ*). The head was normally covered with an embroidered scarf of cotton, silk, or cashmere (*ṭarḥ*). Upper-class women are depicted in contemporary paintings wearing a jewelled tiara (*nīm tāǧ*). Out of doors, women wore a white or black *čādur* and one of a variety of face veils (*rūbānd*, *pīčaʿ burḳaʿ*, *niḳāb*) (see Fraser, 322-5, E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910, 196-203.)

5. Recent years. Urban dress is overwhelmingly that of the modern West. Recently however, there has been a return to the *čādur* even among educated women for political as well as religious reasons. Outside the major cities, and especially in tribal regions, traditional costumes are still worn (for a comprehensive survey, see Dj. Dīyā' Pūr, *Pūšāk-hā-yi sunnatī-yi mardān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1346/1967).

Bibliography. In addition to the works cited in the text, see Capt. L. W. Hart, *Character and costumes of Afghanistan*, London 1843, Lt. J. Rattray, *The costumes of the various tribes, portraits of ladies of rank, celebrated princes and chiefs ...*, London 1848, A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present: a book of travel and research*, New York 1906, H. Goetz, *Persians and Persian costumes on Dutch painting of the seventeenth century*, in *The Art Bulletin*, XXI/1 (March 1939), 280-90, C. G. Feilberg, *Les Papis: Tribu persane de nomades montagnards du sud-ouest de l'Iran*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Række IV, Copenhagen 1952; H. E. Wulff, *Traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, A. Tual, *Maisons et usages du voile dans deux villes d'Iran*, in *Objets et Mondes*, XI/1 (Spring 1971), 95-116; J.-P. Digard, *La parure chez les Bakhtyari*, in *ibid.*, 117-32.

(Y. K. Stillman and H. A. Stillman)

iv. — Turkey

1. Old Turkish costume of the 8th/14th to the 13th/19th centuries. After having settled in Anatolia, the Turks remained faithful to their customs and cultural traditions and preserved their traditional costume. The latter, tracing its origin to Central Asia, was enriched from the 5th/11th century, in Iranian territory, by a certain number of new elements. To judge by the iconographic documents of the 12th to 15th centuries, Turkish costume was inspired to a great extent by Persian costume. But Persian costume evolves, new designs and types of clothing appear in it, whereas Turkish costume, whose style remains almost unchanged for several centuries, retains its specificity and its national character.

Synthesized studies of an historical and comparative character are not always to be found on this subject. The only materials which we have at our disposal, apart from illustrations, are the articles which have come to light and which relate to certain types of clothing in the different periods that Turkish costume has evolved in its history. The question which invariably arouses the largest number of problems and controversies is that of terminology, especially concerning the clothing and the small clothing items of which nothing more has remained. In order to reconstitute the cut of an old costume, its original parts those which have been preserved, have in the first place to be positioned. Turkish costumes are to be found at present in very large numbers in the collections of Turkish museums, especially in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi of Istanbul. They are also to be found, although in a smaller quantity, in European and American museums, notably in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Islamisches Museum, Berlin, and some others. The oldest pieces of these collections date back to the 15th century, but it is impossible and risky in many cases to establish the exact date of their fabrication. The costume of the 16th century possesses, on the other hand, a documentation which seems credible. This comprises especially the Turkish miniatures and, notably, the special albums with the miniatures of costumes (*ḥilyeli-albüm*) which constitute in this respect a very rich source of information. Failing originals, we can also derive help in our comparative studies from various iconographic materials originating from Europe, such as prints, engravings, paintings or further representations of Turkish costume on objects in ceramic, metal and other materials.

Another source of information on old Turkish costume is constituted by the writings of travellers,

explorers; the descriptions left by European ambassadors, as well as the documents of Turkish archives speaking of the organisation of corporations of tailors, of sewing workshops and of registers of costumes.

The classification of costumes can be established according to the use for which they were destined. We may distinguish: (1) the civilian costumes, (2) the military ones, and (3) the religious ones (of *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes). The civilian costumes are divided into (i) costumes of the court (costumes of ceremony, state, household) and (ii) costumes of the bourgeoisie, each having its masculine and feminine variants.

A complete costume is composed of some basic elements (whose number varies in accordance with needs and whose importance is not always the same): (a) head gear, (b) outer garments, (c) inner garments, (d) belt, (e) shoes and (f) accessories.

In Ottoman Turkey, there were registers of laws which also contained the precepts of etiquette. These laws regulated notably dress, i.e. head-gear, clothing, the kind and colour of the material, the shoes, all in accordance with the rank occupied in the social and administrative hierarchy, of the religion or race of the person in question. The most important regulations of this kind date back to the period of Sulaymān I (1520-66), Aḥmed III (1703-30) and ʿUṯmān III (1754-7).

Head-gear. It was the head-gear, masculine as well as feminine, which, in Turkish costume was characterised by the greatest diversity and mobility of forms.

a) Masculine turbans. The Turkish *ḥawḍ* was a head-dress of left or woollen cloth of different thickness around which was wrapped a turban (a long band of material) called in Turkish *tarḥ* or *dülbend* (current pronunciation *tülbend*). It is from the form of the *ḥawḍ* and the way in which the turban was tied that there derive different types and names of head-gear known in Europe as turbans. The *ḥawḍs*, whose height varied, normally had the form of a contracted or enlarged cylinder, flat or bulging, but there were also those which resembled a truncated cone or a cupola. The highest *ḥawḍs* (40 to 60 cm.) were kept rigid by means of a construction of metal bars or a kind of basket. They had a smooth or quilted (*ṭarḥ*) surface and were trimmed with cotton to give the effect of relief or a dome shape with the quilting (*ḳiṭʿa*). To make the turban, lengths of material (*sarīḳ*) were used which were folded or made into rolls (*burma*). Fine materials such as cotton, gauze, muslin, fine wool, silk or brocade were chosen for this. Under the *ḥawḍ* was placed a skull-cap (*takke*) which could also be worn alone. Sometimes small braids (*šāšaḳ*) or pendants (*ṭūšḫūl*) were attached to the *ḥawḍs*, allowing the end of the *tarḥ* to fall on the back or the shoulders (*ḳayḳāša*). To give protection from the rain, a kind of small umbrella or covering (*yaġmōsluḳ*) was carried.

Ḥawḍs included *ṭarṭārāni*—of cylindrical shape, growing broader at the top, worn with a white turban rolled sinistrwise on two sides; *šālmī*—of cylindrical shape introduced by Selīm I (928-26/1512-20), some 45 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around and bulging at the sides; *ḳalpaḳ*—also called *ḳapāli ḥawḍ*, is the most widespread type of turban, worn from the 18th century by functionaries and civilians. It is a *ḥawḍ* of cylindrical shape, quilted, worn with a white turban not too long, rolled at the base and tied in front; *muḫayyara*—a head-dress reserved for the Sultan and the highest dignitaries, a *ḥawḍ* of cylindrical shape, growing slightly broader towards the top, about 45 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around, the end of the turban was fastened with a small roll of red felt *ḳalāvūz*, a head-dress reserved for dignitaries with the rank of *paša* which, from the 18th century, became official head-gear, a *ḥawḍ* with the body of a cone, worn with a white turban rolled around, draped and bulging in four places, decorated with a gold band, *ʿōrf* (*ʿörfī*), worn from the 18th century by the religious classes, a large, dome-shaped *ḥawḍ*, worn with a white turban rolled around and which, draped, forms harmonious folds; *ṭafṭa* (*ḳubbeli ḳalafat*), worn from the 17th century by the functionaries of the Defter, a dome-shaped *ḥawḍ*, worn with a long turban forming folds fastened towards the base with a fine thread or pin and *ḫarīṭalī*—worn from the 17th century, a high, pointed *ḥawḍ*, worn with a turban rolled around whose end was often left free.

Another quite widespread head-dress was the turbsa worn on a small skull-cap (*takke*), often folded in large rolls (*ṭormalī*) or particularly the *ḥawḍ* worn with a small turban (*sarāḫad*) rolled around; the *ḥawḍ* without a turbsa was called *ḳal ḥawḍ* or *ḳal ḳalafat*.

b) *Külāh* (cap, hat). *Külāhs* were a very widespread masculine and feminine head-gear, worn by soldiers, dervishes, functionaries and civilians. This head-gear, of which several dozen variants existed, could be made from felt or woollen cloth combined with other materials such as cotton cloth, fur, small turbans, scarves and trimmings. As to their shape, the most common were caps, head-dresses in the shape of a dome, cone, cylinder broadening towards the top, tube, helmet, brimmed hats with flaps and straps. Among the *külāhs* most frequently worn by servants of the court and soldiers there were the *serpūš ḫas*, worn by the pages, a high, cylindrical *külāh* trimmed with brocade and decorated with *sülüf*, the *börk*, which was the most widespread head-gear, in a cone or helmet shape, raised in front, decorated at the base with gold braid, officers were it decorated in addition with a plume, the *šiškāf* (*ḫeḏeli külāh*) of the Janissaries, a high *külāh* whose rear part fell in the form of a covering (*yaṭlıma*) on the back, a ribbon ornamenting it at the base where a medal case for the officer's spoon or plume was also fixed, and the *ḫurūṭa* of the palace domestics, a *külāh* of woollen cloth in the shape of a sleeve whose rear part fell on the back.

The *külāhs* worn by the dervishes most frequently had the form of a cone, a helmet or a cylinder widening towards the top and they were normally quilted (each order or *ṭarīḳa* had the right to a defined number of *tarḥ*). There were also *külāhs* bordered with fur (*müšeǧǧāl*). Only *šayḫs* had the right to put a turban on the *külāh*. The *külāhs* worn by dervishes also had other names: *šikke*, *tāǧ* and *ḫırḳa tāǧ*.

In the 19th century, the *fes* became a current head-dress, as did the *šāpḳa* in the army.

c) *Ḳalpaḳ* (bushy), a kind of bonnet of lamb's fleece or woollen cloth decorated with lamb's fleece, worn by men and women.

d) Feminine headgear. *Külāhs* of various shapes, scarves with a flap or a peak (*ṭıfer*); a veil (*ferāǧe*); a scarf called a *yašmaḳ*, and the *ḫelvet*, the most popular head gear, in the form of a conical *külāh* or hood decorated with a fine scarf or shawl

and trimmed with feathers, precious stones and ribbons.

Outer garments The most characteristic and widespread outer garment in Turkey (known since antiquity in Central Asia and the Near East) was the *ḳaftān* (caftan), a long, full robe with sleeves. Its cut varied according to the period and area. The Turkish caftan had several variants which were distinguished from one another by the length and width of the skirts and sleeves, the buttoning, the use of slit or supplementary sleeves of a decorative character. It was these elements and the cut which decided the type of caftan. The *ḫiṣṣat*, for example, was a ceremonial caftan, made with sumptuous materials, quite full, with skirts side by side or crossed over. Caftans had skirts descending as far as the ankle, covering the knee, descending as far as the ground or even trailing on the ground. They were slightly-fitting, flared or close-fitting, most often with a collar or bottom of a collar buttoned up to the neck and with a rounded or pointed scooped neckline, with crossed over, buckled or buttonless skirts, fitted or more or less flared sleeves, descending as far as the wrist or short, elongated slit or falling on the back, double sleeves. Caftans were made in brocade, velvet, *ḫamḫā*, satin, cotton, silk, cotton satin and wool. They were often embroidered, laced with frogs and loops, edged with fur and with the lining.

Outer garments. These included the *dolama*, a caftan worn by the least important palace servants, which has a long robe, fastened in front, with narrow sleeves, *entārī*, a kind of caftan, the most widespread of all the garments, worn under the real caftan and fur, descending as far as the ankle or covering the knee; *ferdjī* (a man's garment), a long full robe, with rather wide, short sleeves, sometimes edged with sable, sometimes with a collar; *ḏjūbbe*, a full caftan; *ḥerāḳa*, a *ḫaṭṭ* of *ḏjūbbe* in fine wool, *ḫīrḳa*, a full, short caftan with sleeves; *ʿabā* (really the name of a thick material), a garment of thick woollen cloth, stopping at the knee, *setre*, a military garment covering the knee and fastened at the front; *ẓophon* (or *ẓobḥon*), a short caftan with sleeves, buckled and bordered; *ṣalpa*, a kind of *ẓophon* worn by the working classes, *yelek*, a waistcoat without sleeves formerly worn as an outer garment; *ḏjāmedān*, a short, trimmed waistcoat without sleeves; *mandīl*, a short caftan without sleeves, stopping at the waist; *bisḫt*, a kind of very full caftan with wide sleeves, worn most frequently as a travelling or riding garment. Dervishes' garments: *tennūre*, a long robe without sleeves, *ḫaydarī*, a kind of short garment, without sleeves, stopping at the waist; *ḫīrḳa*, a short caftan with flared sleeves; *ʿetek*, a skirt, and *mentān*.

To go out, particularly in the rain, a kind of cape was put on, called a *ḫarmānyya*, *barānī*, *ḫāpūt* or *yaghmarlyḳ*. Furs were an important element in the costume worn at court. Fox, squirrel, ermine, sable, lynx and marten furs were covered with the most varied materials (brocade, wool, velvet, silk, cottae satin and satin). They were characterised by a great diversity of styles, but the caftan was also dominant there. The most sumptuous fur was the *ḫapanḍja* of the sultan, with a large fur collar narrow or short sleeves, decorated with fur below the shoulders, with straight supplementary sleeves, laced with frogs and loops in front; *ferve* > *beyāḍī*, a fur of white sable covered with green cotton satin, and *ḳonḳa*, a fur (or caftan) with straight sleeves, with a collar. Fall furs edged with fur in front and in general with a collar were worn during ceremonies, gala receptions, etc. These were the *ʿast ḫurḳ*, the *ḏjūbbe ḫurḳ*, or the *dört boḏja ḫurḳ* (when they had supplementary sleeves), or further the *bāl yeḳṭā ḫurḳ* (when it was a fur with wide sleeves).

The outer garments most often worn by women were the *ferādje*, the *entarī*, the *yelek* and capes (*ḫarmānyya*) *ferādje*, a kind of full cloak with sleeves and a collar, sometimes with cuffs *entārī*, a long robe whose cut varied, normally with a low neckline, fitting at the waist and flaring from the hips, buttoned in front as far as the waist, trimmed, laced with frogs and loops, with narrow sleeves, sometimes long or turned up. Women also wore short caftans or short *entārīs* stopping at the hips with wide skirts. Their furs had long sleeves or short ones or were without sleeves. They put a long robe under the *entārī* or over baggy trousers.

Inner garments. Among these are counted shirts (*gömlek*, *ṣtrāḫen*) a long robe worn under the *entārī* or caftan, *ʿaḏāma* or *ʿabā*; baggy trousers (*ṣalvār*) of varying fullness, fuller and in finer materials for women; men's trousers (*ṭaḳṣīr*), reaching down to the ankle or below the knee, the *ẓoṭur*, full trousers as far as the knee and straight from the knee to the ankle, the *tuzluḳ*, breeches worn by men as an outer garment; pants (*don*). All the parts of the trousers were held with a special belt called *ʿuḳur*.

Belts were an indispensable element of old Turkish costume. They were of two kinds: material belts (*kuṣaḳ*), supple, knotted, with the ends hidden under the trousers and leather belts (*kemer*), fastened with a buckle, often decorated, gilded in hammered leather, embellished and encrusted with precious stones.

Shoes were divided into indoor shoes with a supple sole and town shoes with a thicker sole. *Ṭirma*, the most widespread shoes for several centuries, with a high leg reaching up as far as the knee and a supple sole; women's boots bore the name *ḫuffmaḳ*; *čedik* (an older form *čedik*), with a low leg, most often made in yellow Moroccan leather, with a supple sole; *mest*, a kind of *čedik*, *čiṣṭeḳīp*, a mule without heels with the end slightly raised and a supple sole, *terlik*, the most popular shoes, worn by men and women, without heels or quarters slightly raised at the end, in leather or material, often decorated, shoes for women had a low heel. To go out in the town the *pabuč* was slipped on over the supple shoes (*čedik*, *mest*). Sandals with a compensatory sole called *nalın* were also worn. The shoes of the sultan, dignitaries and women were often richly decorated, in accordance with various techniques, with plant motifs (appliqués, embroidered, hammered leather).

Accessories decorating the head gear plumes (*sorguč*, *sūpūrge*), crest (*čelenk*), feathers, ornaments, scarves, shawls, ribbons, tassels, small braids and plumes. Accessories decorating outer garments, thawls, trimmings, buckles, small buckles and metal badges. Jewels and side arms completed the costume.

3. **The modern period.** In the 19th century, in the period of the army reforms, a new military uniform was introduced, combining modified forms of old Turkish costume with some elements of European uniform. This new uniform became common during the second half of the 19th century. Later on, modern European uniform was introduced.

Regional costume is not made the object of this study; there only exist a few studies in depth on this subject (see Hüseyin Rey and Marie de Launay,

Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873, Constantinople 1873).

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(T. Majda)

LIBERIA, an African republic in which, according to the sources, Muslims account for no more than 15 to 20% of the population. They are concentrated mainly between Monrovia and Robertsport on the frontier of Sierra Leone as well as on the frontier of Guinea. Their number is estimated at 300,000, but because the censuses take no account of religious allegiance, there exists no precise figure for a Muslim population whose Islamic culture was until recently extremely primitive.

Islam was a late manifestation in Liberia. Certain groups related to the Mandingo peoples and arriving, in the 16th century, from the region of Kankan were probably the first Muslims to penetrate what was to become Liberia. After the Val, other Mandingo groups like the predominantly merchant tribe of the Gbandi were totally Islamised, while the Loma (or Bouzi) the Kpelle, the Mano and the Sumbo were only partially converted. These peoples, impelled by military and commercial forces, included in their ranks Islamised elements. But the expansion of Islam could only begin to take shape from the 19th century onwards when the Afro-American employers had crossed the forest zone.

Since Liberia was governed until the coup d'état of 12 April 1980 by Liberians of Negro American origin, mostly of the Protestant faith, Muslims enjoyed no political representation. Moreover, the Liberian constitution of 1847 had a significant preamble. "Our People recognises with pious gratitude the goodness of God who has accorded us the blessings of the Christian religion and granted us political and religious liberties . . "; but the first clause declared that all religions would be tolerated and that no religious conditions would be attached to the holding of public office.

In 1953, President Tubman enacted a law pledging to the Muslims of Liberia full recognition of their rights. In 1963, the same president attended the mosque for the beginning of Ramaḍān and delivered the address. It was his government which, after consultation, gave to the leading *Imām* the title of *Muslim Bishop*.

Since 1974, the National Muslim Council of Liberia has united the principal groups. It comprises the following organisations: *The Council of the Muslim Community*, founded in 1949 by Alhaji Varmunyoh Shariff who, in 1953, built the capital's first mosque (inaugurated by President Tubman); *The Muslim Congress of Liberia*, founded in 1965 for cultural and scholastic objectives; *The Muslim League of Salesiya*, and *The Liberia Muslim Union*, established in the north, in the province of Nimba, and providing bursaries for academic students to be educated abroad.

The majority of the Muslims are orthodox Sunnīs of the Mālikī rite. Since 1957, the "Caliph" Mīrzā Nāṣir Aḥmad, who came in 1970 from Pakistan, has established himself and gathered around him a group of about a thousand disciples belonging to the Aḥmadiyya sect. In addition, an autonomous and syncretist Bahā'ī sect, which arrived in the country in 1957, has founded at Bomi Hills a school capable of accommodating between 95 and 30 pupils.

In a land where the level of literacy is low (15 in 20%), the contribution made by the Muslim schools is feeble. The National Muslim Council sponsors one primary school at Monrovia and three high schools of which one, at Kakata, comprises 300 pupils. There is one elementary school at Robertsport (province of Cape Mount) and a secondary school in the province of Bong (40 pupils). Instruction is given partly in Arabic, partly in English.

Some rare Arabic books feature in the libraries of the capital, including some that have no religious content. There are certain Lebanese newspapers, of an interest other than to nationals of that country. The Aḥmadiyya broadcast a five-minute television programme every Friday.

Each year, between 100 and 200 Liberian pilgrims make the journey to Mecca. Only *al-ʿīd al-kabīr* at the end of Ramaḍān is celebrated with any kind of vigour. Despite these modest activities, the role of the Muslims seems to be steadily growing.

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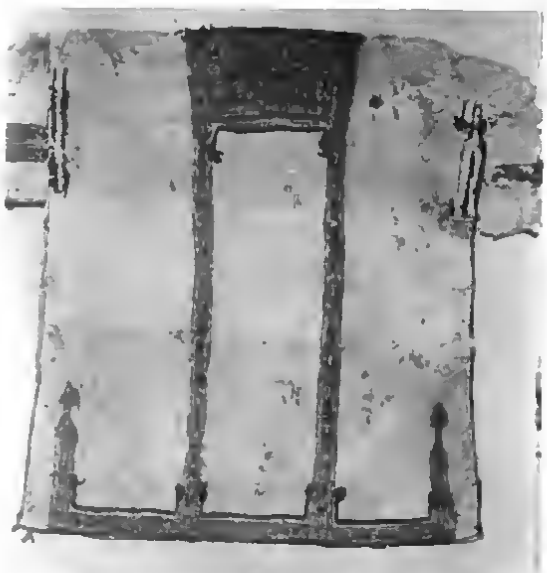
(R. Cornevin)

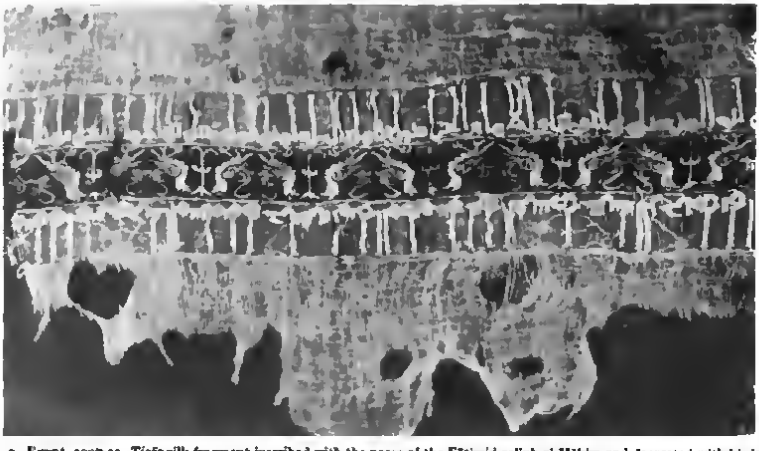
LĪBIYĀ, an Arabic form based on the Italian Libia, which in turn derives from the ancient Greek Λιβύη/Λυβύη.

1. The name. The name first appears in ancient Egyptian writings in the form RBW or LBW, perhaps representing Lubu or Libu. It was also known to the ancient Israelites and occurs several times in the later books of the Old Testament in the form Lubim.



1. Egypt, Fāṭimid period. Tiraz with decorative bands and border. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo)

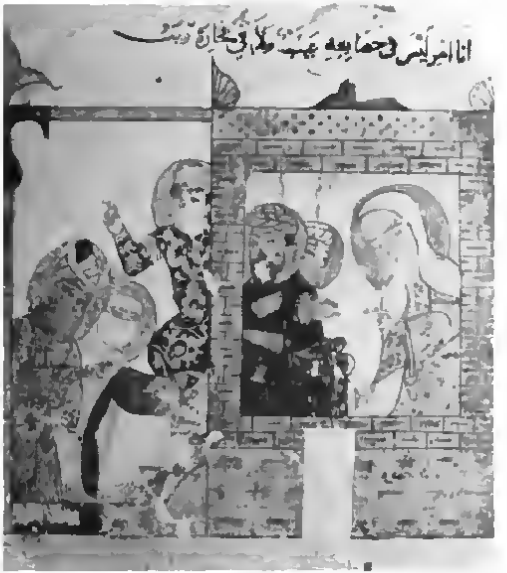
2. Egypt. Fāṭimid period. Fragment of an embroidered garment. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo).



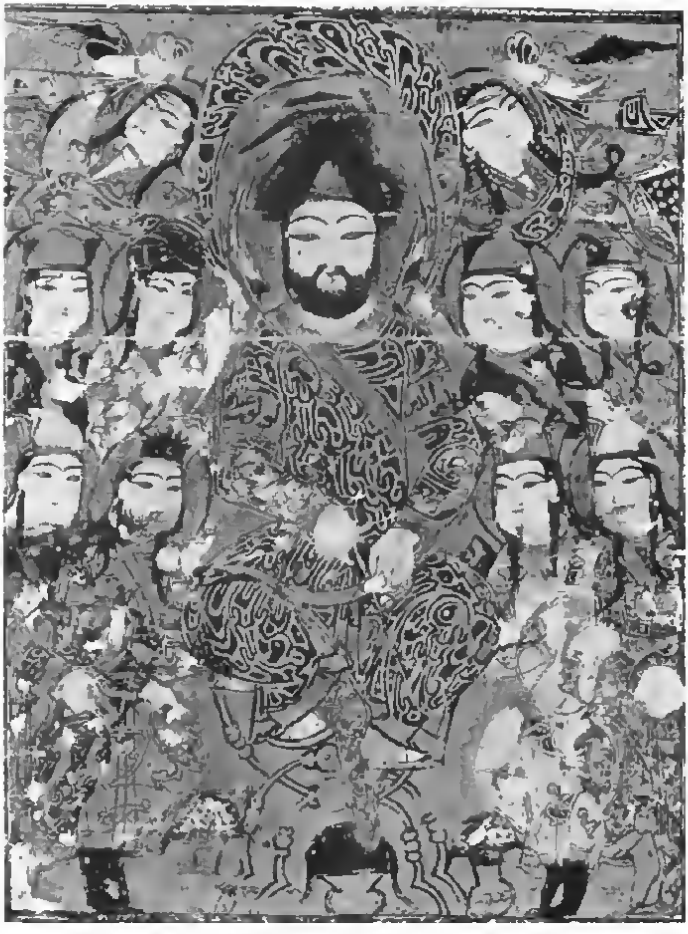
3 Egypt, 1007-11. *Tiraz* silk fragment inscribed with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim and decorated with birds (*muṭayyar*). (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

4 Egypt. Fāṭimid period. Dancing girl in what appears to be a *sirwāl*. She holds a *mandīl ḥumm* in each hand. (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

5. N. ʿIrāḳ (?), second quarter of the 13th century. Woman wearing a *ṭirāz farāḏjiyya*. On her head is an *ʿiṣāba māʾila*. From the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. (Bibl. Nat. Paris, ms. Arabe 3939, fol. 151r).



6. Syria (?), ca. 1300. Group scene. The seated figure on the right is wearing a *ṭaylasān* or *ṭarḥa* over his turban. The fourth figure is wearing a printed robe (*maḫḫtūma*), the woman standing below him is veiled by an *izār*, and the man on the left wears a turban wrapped around a *ḳalansuwa*. From the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. (Brit. Mus. Add. 22 114, fol. 15).



7. N ʿIrāḳ, ca 1218-19 Ruler wearing a *ḳabāʾ lurḥī* with *ṭirāz* bands On his head is a *ghurbāḳ* His attendants also wear Turkish coats Most wear the cap known as *kalawṭa*. From the frontispiece of the *K. al-Aghānī* (Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol 1b, Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

8 Syria Two women of Lattakia: The standing figure is veiled with a *burḥu'* and *ḥabara*, the reclining figure with a *yaẓmaḥ* and *mulā'a* From Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1884, plate facing p 48

9 Tripolitanian merchant From Hamdy Bey and Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1873, Fig. XLII.

10. Egypt Men of the bourgeoisie in *ḏjubba* and *banīsh* From Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1896, 47

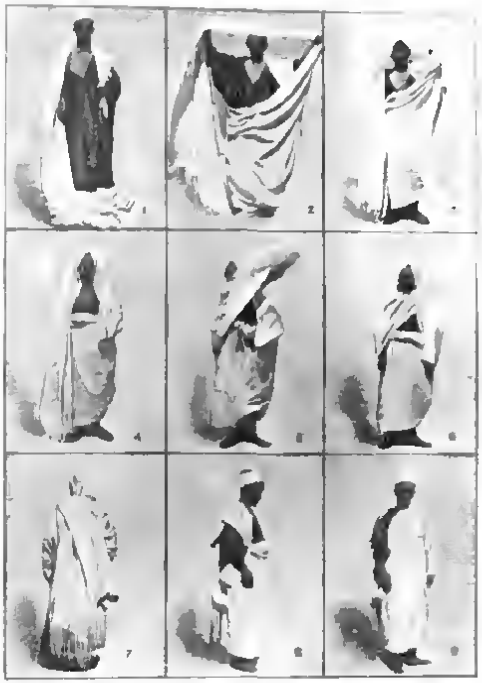
11. Transjordanian villager wearing a *thawb*, *kibr*, and *ʿabāʾa*. On his head a *kāfiyya* and a *ʿakāl*. From Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, fig. 29.

13. Palestine. *Shafwa* worn by married women. Bethlehem, late 19th century. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

12. Palestine. *Taḥṣīra* for a woman. Bethlehem, late 19th-early 20th century. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

14 Syria, early 20th century *Lebās* or *sirwāl* for a woman. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico)

15 Syria, *Yelek* for a woman. Aleppo, *ca.* 1850. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).



17 Morocco A boy's striped woollen *djallāba*. (Courtesy Moroccan Ministry of Tourism)

16. Morocco Draping of the man's *hizā'* or *ḥā'ik* in the national fashion. (From E. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 254).

18. Morocco. High Atlas Berbers wearing the heavy black woollen *aḫḫnīf* (From G. Rousseau, *Le costume au Maroc*, Paris 1938, fig. 1)

19. Algerian *muftī* wearing long Andalusian *sarwāl* and a *ḥafṭān* over which is a *ḥabā'a* and a white *selhām*. On his head is a Turkish style turban called *'imāma mboṛṛdja* over which is the scarf known as a *muḥannaka*, similar to the ancient *ṭaylasān*. (From G. Marçais, *Le costume musulman d'Alger*, Paris 1930, Pl. XIII-Bibl. Nat. Estampes O I 2 a)

20. Tunisia. Woman's wedding dress known as *kmādīdja kabīra* from Nabeul. (From S. Sethom, *La tunique de mariage en Tunisie*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions populaires*, no. 3 [Tunis 1969], fig. 9)

21. Southern Morocco. Guedra dancer wearing an indigo *izār* pinned at either side of the bosom with silver fibulae called *khallāla, khiṭiyya* or *basīma* (Courtesy Moroccan Ministry of Tourism)

22. Iran. Men and women in Timurid attire (from the *Shāh-nāma* of Bāysunkur, Golistān Palace, Tehran, dated 833/1429-30)

23. Iran. Scene from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī depicting Alexander meeting the *Khāqān* of China. All are dressed in Safawid attire and wear the distinctive turban with the protruding spike known as the *tāj Ṣafawī* (from a ms. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, painted in Tabrīz, 931/1524-5).

24. Iran. Kādjār court scene showing Fath ʿAlī Shāh receiving tribute. Figures in the foreground wear frocked coats and *kulāhs*, while the enthroned Shah wears a modified version of the ancient Sāsānid crown (from Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. Elliott 327, *f.* 265b, *ca.* 1810)

25. Iran. Women in black *čādur* and white *rū bend* (from E. C. Sykes, *Persia and its people*, London 1910)

26 — Turkey *If oghlani (page).* (Library of the University of Warsaw).

27 — Turkey *Cavuch bashi* (chief of the Janissaries) (Library of the University of Warsaw).

28 — Turkey *Eski Sarây aghasi* (chief of the Old Palace) (National Library, Warsaw)

29 — Turkey *Anahhar aghasi* (key bearer) (National Library, Warsaw)

The Lehabim of Genesis, x, 13 may possibly represent the name name The term passed into later and modern usage through the Greeks and subsequently the Romans In Greek geographical writings, it was most commonly used—along with Africa, which later replaced it in this sense—as the name of one of the three continents or, occasionally, as the name of the region in North Africa west of Egypt Transmitted by the Greeks to the Romans in both senses, it was first made the name of a specific *political entity by the Emperor* Diocletian, who established the adjoining provinces of upper and lower Libya west of Egypt The authenticity of a *hadīth* quoted by al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*", ed —French tr, M G de Slane, Paris 1965, Ar. 8, tr 23) according to which the Prophet is supposed to have said 'He whose sins are numerous must place Libya (Lūbiyā) behind him", i e go to fight the infidels in Ifrīkiya, is doubtful, moreover, the same author (Ar. 21, tr 49) states that Ifrīkiya is really called Libiya, from the name of the founder of Memphis, who reigned over the land

The term passed, along with much other Greek geographical knowledge and terminology to the Arabs, who normally wrote it in the form Lūbiya (لوبية or لوبية). The earliest Arabic geographical writers name Lūbiya as one of the four quadrants into which the world is divided, the others being Europe, Ethiopia and Scythia (al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed C A Nallino, text III, Rome 1899, 27, tr, 19, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 155, cf Ibn al-Fakīh, 6-7, 197, Aqapius of Menbidj, *K. al-Unwān*, ed A Vasiliev in *Patrologia Orientalis*, v, Paris 1910-12, 622, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed D H Müller, 2, Leiden 1884, 32, Yākūt, s.v, citing al-Bīrūnī who ascribes this classification explicitly to the Greeks). Lūbiya consisted of "Egypt, Kulzum, Habash, the lands of the Berbers and adjoining countries, and the southern seas" In addition to this vague use as the name of a quarter, Lubiya also occurs, more specifically, as a place name in northern Africa Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed and partial French tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers² 1947, 33, 77), probably copied by Ibn Khurradādhbih (ed and partial French tr M. Hadj Sadok, *Description du Maghrib et de l'Europe au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Algiers 1949, 15 and n. 172) makes Lūbiya a province of western Egypt. Al Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, III, 242 = § 1206), copying in his turn Ibn Khurradādhbih, speaks of a place (*mawḍiʿ*) named Lubiya wa-Marāḳiya (Marmarica) and cites in the *Tanbīh* (201) the region (*nāḥiya*) of al-Iskandariyya, Lūbiya and al-Marāḳiya Ibn al-Fakīh (*Buldān*, 74, French tr Massé, 50) makes Libya a locality of Egypt Al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 339, 342, tr Wiet, 197, 201) speaks of Lūbiya as one of the districts (*kūra* or *ʿamal*) dependent on Alexandria, while Yākūt (IV, 368) places Lubiya between Alexandria and Barḳa Most of the mediaval Arab geographers use North African Libya as administratively part of Egypt (al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, I, 36, 309, 311 Ibn Dukmāḳ, V, 43, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 386-7, 390-1, citing the *Rasm al-mufīd* and al-Kudāʿī, see further J Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Mém. IFAO, XXXVI, Cairo 1919, 163, A Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung der früh mittelalterlichen Ägyptens*, Vienna 1959, 8-9) The name also occurs as that of a mountain vaguely situated west of the Nile Valley The passage in al-Bīrūnī, (*K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, Hyderabad 1355, 100) naming Lūbiya as a source of precious stones south of Egypt, is certainly a misreading for Nubia. The form Libya is used, exceptionally, by al Makrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed Wiet, I, 52), citing the Arabic version of Orosius, and therefore following the Latin form of the name. By late mediaval times, the name Lūbiya seems to have passed out of use in Arabic It reappears in the 19th century when it is clearly derived from European sources. A late Ottoman work of reference, the historical and geographical dictionary of Ahmed Rifʿat (*Lughat-i taʾrīkhiyye ve djughrāfiyye*, VI, Istanbul 1308, 152) lists Libya in the form Libī, obviously transcribed from the French, and defines it as "the Greek name of Africa" The entry goes on to explain the different senses in which the word was subsequently used ends by noting that, in the writer's own day, the term was confined to the regions "beyond Tripoli, Tunisia and Egypt and northeast of the Great Sahara Desert." ʿAlī Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ*, XV, 42), no doubt following European practice, also uses the form Libiya for the region west of Egypt

The name Libya continued in occasional use in Europe, mainly in the context of ancient history It was given greater precision and popularity by the Italian geographer F Minutilli, whose *Bibliografia della Libia* was published in Turin in 1903, and who applies the term specifically to the two Turkish *sanḏjaḳs* of Cyrenaica (Barḳa [*q.v.*]) and Tripolitania (Tarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*]), the only parts of the North Africa littoral that had not yet fallen under European control Libya remained a geographical expression until the Italian invasion and the Italian decree of 5 November 1911, proclaiming Italian sovereignty over the two Turkish *sanḏjaḳs* It was made the official name of a country—for the first time since Diocletian—by the *Italian royal decree of* 1 January 1934 which created a new colony, formed by the union of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and called Libya (Arabic Libiyā). This form was retained by the independent state established after the ending of Italian rule

Bibliography For the earlier history, the reader is referred to the articles BARḲA, FAZZĀN and TARĀBULUS Languages On the Arabic spoken in Libya, see ʿARABIYYA III, 3 The Western dialects On Berber, see BERBERS, V, as well as A. Basset, *La langue berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, I, London-New York-Toronto 1952, 69-72 (Ed.)

2 Libyco-Berber Inscriptions The Maghrib and the Sahara possess a large number of inscriptions using a script peculiar to the North-West of Africa, which was given the name Numidian and later Libyan. The first name, which has fallen out of use, was, however, to be preserved to designate one of the forms of this script, known as Eastern, which is widespread in Tunisia and Eastern Algeria.

The Libyan inscriptions published up to now and regarded as ancient, let us say pre-Islamic, can be estimated at some 1,200, but the Sahara possesses thousands of more recent graffiti and inscriptions carved on weathered rocks in the same script, still used by the Touareg, who call it *Tifinegh* (See TUAREGS VI)

These inscriptions, whether the monumental texts of Dougga from the 2nd century B.C. or the simple Touareg graffiti, use only signs of a strictly geometrical form, based for preference on the straight line Also, the alphabet of Dougga which contains 23 or 24 signs only uses the circle for two letters. ⊙.

B and ⊃ R and the curve exceptionally) for M, more often written ⊐, and ⊂ for S, more often rendered by X

The other Libyan alphabets make more use of the curve which appears for example in five or six *Tifinagh* signs The dots, only present in the composition of two Eastern Libyan signs, are more frequent in *Tifinagh* (seven signs) where they sometimes replace the straight portions of the Eastern signs, also = in Eastern is reinforced by W in *Tifinagh* The Libyan scripts seem to have failed to appreciate any cursive form, the signs are clearly separated in the ancient scripts, which know nothing of connections and ligatures, which are not so rare in *Tifinagh*, where the initial *n* and final *l* are joined in about twenty cases according to K Prasse

Another characteristic is that the Libyan script, like the *Tifinagh*, remains essentially consonantal The vowels are not transcribed graphically except at times with a dot in *Tifinagh*, at the end of certain words The sign ☰ seems to have had a separate function in the Eastern script, and the dot to have been the equivalent of *ehf*

The Libyan script, moreover, has no doubling of consonants and does not indicate stress, also, the alphabet is limited. In fact, 24 signs are known in the so-called Eastern form, of which one is doubtful, which agrees with the information given by an African writer of the 5th century, Fulgentius, according to whom the Libyan alphabet contained 23 signs.

The Libyan inscriptions, the ancient Libyco-Berber or *Tifinagh* and the modern *Tifinagh* inscriptions, occupy a vast area which seems to correspond to the ancient domain of the Berber language Roughly, the signs of this script are to be found in use from the Mediterranean as far south as the Niger and from the Canary Islands to Libya It is towards the east that the limit of this script's use is least known.

In Libya it was in common use in the Fezzân and Tripolitania Recently, at the time of his excavation of Bu Ngem, R Rebuffat noted that the Libyan inscriptions and graffiti there were influenced by Latin writing. Beyond there the evidence is less certain nevertheless, a rock inscription found at Khor Kilobersa in Nubia was published recently The signs of this inscription are sufficiently close to ancient *Tifinagh* for Alvarez Delgado to suggest a transcription and translation Another author Zawadowsky, even considered recognising in it a combination of Meroitic script by Libyan but this hypothesis was rejected by the majority of specialists In this vast area the density of inscriptions is highly variable and they are, furthermore, of different periods.

The zone with the highest concentration of Libyan inscriptions, their *locus classicus*, is undoubtedly North-West Tunisia and the part of Algeria adjacent to it of the 1,124 published by J -B Chabot in his *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, 1,073 come from this region. It is in fact the land of the Numides Massyles, cradle of the Numidian kingdom, where the Libyan language and script remained alive for a long time In this district a large number of inscriptions are, moreover, from the Roman period The rest of Algeria, as well as Northern Morocco, contains a low density of inscriptions Despite the discoveries made since the *Recueil* of J.-B Chabot appeared in 1940-1, the number of these inscriptions has only risen to 27 in Northern Morocco (L. Galland), and those in Algeria to the west of Sétif can be estimated at around fifty, of which about ten are in Kabylia alone

Things are less clear on approaching the Saharan regions. Exploration is incomplete and above all very unevenly conducted Furthermore, geological and topographical conditions are very influential factors in distribution It is quite understandable that the flat regions, such as the Hamada or the basins occupied by dunes like the Western Great Erg, the Edeyen of Marzouk, contain very few inscriptions, while the rocky regions are infinitely richer In the present state of our knowledge, which does not necessarily reflect the reality, the richest Saharan regions are the Hoggar and Tassili n'Ajjer, as well as its Libyan extension formed by the Acacus, the Air, the Adrar of the Iforas and the southern edge of the Atlas chain, particularly the south of the High Atlas, the Anti-Atlas and the Rio de Oro.

Inscriptions whose signs are close to the Saharan alphabet are not exceptional in the Canary Islands

Periodically, "Libyan" inscriptions are mentioned outside the Berber domain, such as those of the Grotte Regina at Palermo, which, if their relationship to Libyan is confirmed, can be explained by the presence of Numidian mercenaries in the Punic contingents of Sicily Others have been shown to be bad readings of Latin inscriptions (an inscription of La Garde Freinet, Var, attributed to the 'Saracens") or the most fantastic interpretations, such as inscriptions found in Mexico or even Chile

Traditionally, there are several distinguishable 'alphabets." in the Libyan script Some are contemporaneous with each other such as the so-called Eastern and Western alphabets The Libyco-Berber scripts of the Northern Sahara and the ancient *Tifinagh* preceded the *Tifinagh* used at the present day by the Touaregs, who are unable to read the ancient *Tifinagh* Modern *Tifinagh* can undergo regional variations which are still little known

The Eastern alphabet covers the north of Tripolitania, Tunisia and Eastern Algeria, the western limit of its use is to the east of Sétif, although two western type inscriptions may be seen at Guelma and some eastern-type inscriptions may exceptionally be found in Kabylia, such is the case of the decorated stele featuring a person standing found at Lakhdaria (ex-Palestro), which bears on its main face, on either side of the person, an inscription with eastern signs This inscription mentions offices and titles similar to those in use in Dougga in the 2nd century B C This detail allows us to put forward the hypothesis that it may well be an official inscription of the Numidian Massylian kingdom and somewhat "foreign" in a land that was in ancient times Massaesylian and the later Mauritania this hypothesis may be strengthened by the existence on the reverse of the stele of graffiti using the Western script, which is that of the other inscriptions of the region In the present state of our knowledge, the stele of Lakhdaria is the westernmost evidence of the Numidian or Eastern alphabet which seems to us to be more generally Massylian

The Western Libyan alphabet covers the lands peopled by the Masaesylians and Moors. It contains a greater number of signs than the Eastern, but also presents more variations, some signs known in Algeria are unknown in Morocco, and vice versa. This script thus occupies a vast region, for all the Libyco-Berber inscriptions of the Northern Sahara and the Atlas belong to it to a greater or lesser extent A great many of the Canary Islands inscriptions have the same signs, whose value is unfortunately not known with any certainty, besides, it is hardly likely that the Western script and that of

the Libyco-Berber inscriptions can be transcribed in the same way everywhere. This does not prevent three signs +]V (read from right to left) being found throughout the western area, from Guelma to the Atlantic, and is evidence of a certain unity.

Modern *Tifinagh* signs, current or sub-current, whose use goes back at least to the 5th century A.D. (tomb of Tni Hinan in Hoggar), are known throughout the Touareg world and go beyond it on the north-west, to Touat and Gourara, where they were even in use among the Judaised Berbers.

In some regions such as the Anti-Atlas, particularly in the Tinzouline, the signs of the Western script are sometimes mixed with small animal figures (horse, dog, oryx) which appear to act as pictograms; they are so closely linked that it makes it hard to believe that they do not have the same semantic content. The presence of dromedary figures in the same scenes prevents these inscriptions from being regarded as very ancient. These pictograms, if they really play this role, cannot serve to support the hypothesis of the Libyan alphabet coming into being through transformations of ancient marks of ownership and other traditional drawings, such as those which still figures in tattoos.

However, it should be noted that *Tifinagh* has two signs: ⌶, a sign which has the value Dr and ⌶, which has the value Z, the two of which seem *to be derived from signs of a figurative, more or* less anthropomorphic, character. More frequently, Libyan *Tifinagh* is written in horizontal lines, but the meaning of the reading is highly variable, sometimes it is from right to left, sometimes from left to right, from top to bottom and in boustrophedon. K. Praese noted that the use of a movable support, such as a sheet of paper, actually favoured this tendency. There are even some inscriptions known which describe almost closed curves.

Only the current form of *Tifinagh* and the Eastern Libyan alphabet can be transcribed, the former because the script and language are still in use among the Touareg, the latter because we have at our disposal several Libyco-Punic inscriptions, in particular that of Dougga, where we know that the Libyan text corresponds quite closely to the Punic text. This last has also transcribed, without translation, some Libyan titles or municipal offices, such as LOGMIL or GZB, which, it seems, had no equivalent in the Punic towns. Unfortunately, while the value of the signs is basically known and only requires some verification or points of detail, the language of the Libyan inscriptions is still unknown to us. The little that is known of Libyan, some elements of vocabulary and some presumed grammatical functions, show clearly that this language belongs to Berber, an ancient Berber, certainly, and imperfectly transcribed by a strictly consonantal alphabet, but which cannot be fundamentally different from the numerous current Berber dialects.

However, since the composition of the famous *Recueil* of Chabot, the very few specialists in this field have in general refused to suggest any translation of the texts, which are indeed very short, of the majority of the Libyan inscriptions; some even go so far as to pose the question of whether Libyan belongs to Berber. This carefulness contrasts with the adventurous attempts of G. Marcy, who, relying on Berber, particularly Moroccan *Tamazight* and Touareg *Tamahak*, suggested a translation for most of the Libyan inscriptions known in his time. This attempt was followed by M. Alvarez Delgado, who extends it to some Canary Islands inscriptions.

Between the possibly exaggerated carefulness of the former, and the certainly dangerous enthusiasm of the latter, there has to be a middle position which accepts at the same time both the most serious checking and control and the minimum of hypothesis indispensable for the progress of all-knowledge.

The Western alphabet contains some supplementary signs which are absent in the Eastern and whose originality has been demonstrated by L. Galand in his *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*. The use of these two ancient alphabets was certainly contemporaneous, and it would be a mistake to believe, following a historicising logic, that the Eastern alphabet is the older because the script came from the East. Personally, adopting a hypothesis of J. Février, the author of the present article would carry it so far as to think that the Eastern form of the Libyan script (Numidian or Massylian alphabet) is a recast and simplified form of the original script due to contact with Punic, whereas outside the Massylian territory the old forms continued to be employed and to evolve until they became modern *Tifinagh*, which itself affords variations. His only disagreement with the hypothesis presented by J. Février is over the age of this adaptation, which Février placed in the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., whereas it seems to be much earlier.

Among others, the hypothesis has for long been prevalent that the Libyan alphabet derived directly from the Punic alphabet, as the name *Tifinagh* given to the present form of this script implies. But it is widely recognised that an origin derived from etymology can be fallacious. Nevertheless, the Libyan alphabet has several signs in common with the Punic script where they have the same value (G, T, SH). S. Gsell, however, raised considerable objections to this opinion. The writing of the Punic characters, as they are transmitted by numerous steles from Carthage, Utica, Hadrumeta and Cirta, is radically different from those of all the Libyan alphabets. Not only do nearly all the Punic signs have a cursive form, while the Libyan signs are angular and geometrical, but even the meaning of the script differs. All the Punic inscriptions, like every Semitic text, are written in horizontal lines from right to left, while the Libyan inscriptions are generally written from bottom to top in vertical columns, particularly those which we have every reason to believe the most ancient. It is only at Dougga for several decades, during the reigns of Massinissa and Micipsa, that some inscriptions of an official character were written in horizontal lines. These inscriptions number eleven, which represent a hundredth of the texts gathered by J.-B. Chabot. This proportion would be even smaller if we were to take account of the inscriptions discovered since. The case of the texts inscribed at Dougga is thus highly original and denotes a very powerful Punic influence, but this appears to be only a factor of modernisation and not as an especially determining original element.

If we are to look, as is most likely, among the Near Eastern scripts for the forms from which the Libyan alphabet derives, it is not to the Phoenician of Africa as it is known at Carthage, but to a more archaic script that we should turn, which would explain the similarities remarked with the South Arabian scripts (Himyarite, Sabaean), but also with the Turdetan alphabet of Southern Spain.

The script did not necessarily penetrate Africa by sea, and it is actually more likely that it crossed the continent and that the Numidian Massylian form (the most recent of the ancient Libyan alphabets) may have arisen out of a transformation of the archaic forms in contact with the Punic world.

As far as this alphabet itself is concerned, two old hypotheses may definitely be rejected. The first is that of Meltzer, according to whom the Eastern alphabet was wholly invented by Masinissa, for we know today that some Libyan inscriptions are earlier than this king and further, that the Numidian royal administration employed Punic exclusively in its official inscriptions, as it did in the legends on its coins. The other hypothesis, that of Lhizbarski, who wanted to link Libyan with Neo-Punic is even more improbable, for it is based on a totally outdated chronology of the Neo-Punic script.

If the origin of the Libyan alphabet poses some insoluble problems, it is even more difficult to date its invention or introduction.

Contrary to the views of several authors (D. Blanchet, S. Gsell), the Libyan inscriptions or signs which are found on some rock carvings such as Kef Maktuba, Chabe Nahri and Khanguet el Hadjar cannot be contemporaneous with these latter. It is now known that these carvings are for the most part Neolithic and thus very much earlier than every script. Careful examination reveals in every case that the inscriptions are superimposed on the carvings.

However, this is not the case with the inscription from the Aaib n'Ikkis (High Atlas, Morocco). This inscription occupies a vertical cartouche delimited in an anthropomorphic figure of which it forms an indispensable part. It is certain that this inscription, which contains fifteen or sixteen signs not belonging to the Saharan alphabet, is contemporaneous with the carving. The technique of the hoes, the patina, style and details such as the representation of the sex and the lateral fringes, which accompany the figure, are identical with other carvings which are usually attributed to the Old Bronze Age (J. Arganza civilisation in Spain). Even assigning it as late as possible within the archaeological context, this inscription seems to us clearly earlier than the 6th-5th century B.C.

In Morocco, we also have the inscription of Sidi Slimane of the Gharb which refers to the tumulus that it adjoins and with which it is consequently contemporaneous, the funerary function of this monument belongs to the 4th-3th century B.C.

In Eastern Algeria the hazina (Palaeo-Berber dry stone burial chamber) at Tiddis contained pottery, a piece of which has three Libyan letters painted on its belly. The bones contained in the pottery of this tomb have been dated from 2240 ± 140 years to 250 ± 100 B.C. So this inscription is quite likely to be older than the bilingual dedication of the Temple of Massinissa at Dougga, dating from the tenth year of the reign of Micipsa, i.e. 138 B.C. This inscription was for a long time the only Libyan text reliably dated, and there was also an unconscious tendency to regard it as the oldest. A study by J. G. Février of the inscriptions of Dougga, mentioning municipal offices allows us to reconstruct the genealogy of an important person, Sedot, who was twice (during one year?) prince of the city. Taking account of this genealogy, it is possible to date back two other inscriptions (*KII*, 10, 11) to a generation preceding the dedications of 139, these inscriptions would date from the decade 170-160 B.C.

In the Sahara, the datable documents are rarer, but a preliminary investigation has shown that *Tifinagh* is very much older than the historians, who believed that the Berbers only conquered the Sahara in the 3rd century of our era following the pressure exerted by Rome on the land routes of the north, formerly thought. In Tazzan, some *Tifinagh* scripts are carved on amphora found at Germa which date from the 1st century of our era. Among these graffiti figures sign ⵅ, which exists only in the Saharan alphabet. The Tazzan necropolis thus proves that in the 1st century of our era, *Tifinagh* was in use in the heart of the Sahara.

In the massif of the Hoggar, the stele of Anakrem, whose inscriptions and carvings appear very ancient (H. Camps-Fabrer), is worth citing, and especially the carved blocks of the funerary monument of Tin Hinan at Abalessa. These blocks which bear *Tifinagh* script have been cut so as to form part of the construction of the monument, of which they constitute the lower courses. The cutting has mutilated or interrupted some carved texts. This *Tifinagh*, which belongs, however, to the modern alphabet, is thus at least contemporaneous with the monument and probably older, the funerary furniture and the isotope date calculated from the wood of the bed or stretcher on which Tin Hinan reposed, date the construction of the monument back to the 5th century of our era.

Such are the chronological pointers which allow us to assert the great antiquity of the Libyan script in the Maghrib, where it is clearly earlier than the reign of Masshussa, i.e. at the emergence of the Numidians and Mauri into history. As for the Sahara, the use of *Tifinagh* goes back to at least the beginning of our era and probably much earlier.

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L. Galand provides annually a report entitled "Les études de linguistique berbère" in the *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*. In these chronicles the discoveries and analyses of Libyan inscriptions are mentioned regularly. These reports have been collected in a volume entitled *Langue et littérature berbères. Vingt ans d'études*, Paris 1979. For the chronology of the inscriptions, see G. Camps, *Recherches sur les plus anciennes inscriptions libyques de l'Afrique du Nord et du Sahara*, in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques*, N.S., x-xi (1974-5), 146-66.

(G. CAMPS)

3. Modern history. — On 29 September 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey and started its long-planned invasion of the Libyan littoral. Italian troops did not succeed in penetrating beyond the coastal strip due to stiff resistance by combined Turkish-Libyan Forces. Negotiations between Italy and Turkey resulted in the Peace Treaty of Ouchy (17 October 1912). On the battlefield, however, Libyan resistance did not subside. During World War I the Italians were virtually besieged in their coastal strongholds. In Cyrenaica, Fazzān and the Surtica, resistance was led by Aḥmad al-Sharīf (1873-1933), head of the Sanūsī order, with support from Turkey and Germany. It was under their influence that he decided to attack British Forces in Western Egypt in November 1915. Defeated, he transferred all political and military control of Cyrenaica to his cousin Muḥammad Idrīs al-Sanūsī (born 1882). In April 1917 agreements were reached between Idrīs and the British and Italians (the Accords of 'Akramma). The Sanūsī-Italian accord was superseded in October 1920 by the Accord of al-Rajbān, in which Idrīs was recognized as the independent ruler (*Amīr*) of the interior oases.

In Tripolitania, leadership was divided. Though a number of tribal leaders (*inter alia* Ramaḍān al-Shtaywī (or Suwayhlī) and the Jabal Berber Sulaymān al-Bārūnī) agreed on establishing a Tripolitanian Republic (*Jumhūriyya Ṭarābulusiyya*) in 1919, fighting soon broke out between tribal factions. To overcome dissensions and to strengthen their position vis-à vis the Italians, they decided to offer Idrīs al-Sanūsī the amirate of all Libya. This put him in a predicament, for he was bound to the accords with the Italians. On the other hand, refusal of the offer would undermine his position with his adherents. Finally, he decided to accept the offer, but subsequently fled the country to Cairo (1922).

Full-scale war in Libya was resumed after Mussolini's take-over to Rome in 1922. Due to its internal divisions, resistance in Tripolitania was soon crushed, but in Cyrenaica the charismatic leadership of the Sanūsī representative 'Umar al-Mukhtār inspired Bedouin resistance for almost ten years until at last he was injured in battle, imprisoned and publicly hanged on 16 September 1931. Pacification of Libya being completed, the Italians started extensive agricultural colonisation schemes in the fertile coastal plains. In 1935 they completed the strategic coastal road connecting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The onset of World War II impeded further Italian development plans. After severe fighting between Germany and the Allied Forces, in January 1943 all of Libya was occupied by British and Free French Forces. Idrīs al-Sanūsī had assisted the British war effort from Cairo, and an army of Libyan exiles under the Sanūsī flag had participated in the liberation of Cyrenaica.

After World War II the future fate of Libya was put before the General Assembly of the United Nations. On 21 November 1949 it was decided that Libya should become an independent state before 1 January 1952. A UN Commissioner, the Dutchman Adriaan Pelt, was appointed to supervise the power-transfer from British and French military governments. The UN decision stimulated political debate on the future form of an independent Libya. Two opposing groups emerged. The older tribal and religious leaders, mainly concentrated in Cyrenaica and Fazzān, supported a federation under the Sanūsī crown. The younger generation, influenced by Arab nationalism, advocated a unitary republic. This no doubt would lead to the preponderance of Tripolitania, with its larger population and its better-developed economy and thus reduce the influence of Idrīs's supporters. They were wary of Idrīs's close bonds with Britain. The outcome of the debate, however, was anticipated by the proclamation of Idrīs al-Sanūsī as head of an independent amirate of Cyrenaica, while control of foreign affairs and defence remained with Britain (1949). After this, Idrīs would not support the independence of a united Libya unless under his own crown.

Libyan independence was declared on 24 December 1951. (Due to peculiar international circumstances it was only in 1955 admitted to the UN.) The constitution provided for a hereditary monarchy under a Sanūsī King and a representative federal government consisting of two houses (a Senate and a House of Representatives). The King was endowed with extensive powers, including the right to select and dismiss the Prime Minister, to appoint half the Senate and to dissolve the elected parliament. The political system never matured. The first elections to be held on 19 February 1952 resulted in a victory for government candidates but voting results were contested by the opposition parties. Demonstrations ended in violent clashes with police forces. As a result, all political parties and programmes were suppressed. From that moment, Libyan politics gradually degraded into the assertion of family, tribal and parochial interests.

The next two decades witnessed increasing pressure on Libyan society. An unprecedented oil boom was the main cause. Libya's first oil was struck in 1955, in 1962 it joined OPEC, and in 1969 Libya had already become the world's fourth largest oil producer. Oil revenues ended Libya's dependency on foreign financial aid and allowed a more assertive policy. In order better to cope with the exigencies of oil exploration, in 1963 the cumbersome federal system was abolished. Social changes too, in with developing oil industry. Urbanisation and industrialisation gave birth to a new stratum of traders, service-men and technicians; petroleum and dock workers started to organise in trade unions. The new social groupings were denied political expression. Subsequent tensions were heightened by foreign politics. During the Suez crisis (1956) and again in 1967 there were violent outbursts of Arab nationalist feelings. But Libya, a member of the Arab League since 1953, was tied to the West in its foreign policy by the presence of British and US military bases. The government, though briefly joining the Arab oil embargo of 1967, had on means adequately to meet widespread popular support for a Nasserist policy. This undermined the King's authority.

On 1 September 1969, Idrīs was deposed. In spite of an initial wave of popular enthusiasm, the revolution remained entirely an army affair. It had been planned and implemented by a movement of "Free Officers" modelling itself on the Nasserist revolution. A Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) took control of affairs. It consisted of twelve officers under the general leadership of Colonel Mu'ammar al-Kadhdhāfī (Gaddafi). Political parties remained suppressed. An attempt at broadening the RCC's political base was made by creating the Arab Socialist Union (1972). Lack of cadre, apathy and hostility from traditional leadership caused its failure. Another attempt was made in 1973 by the proclamation of the popular revolution. Its ideology was set forth by Mu'ammar al-Kadhdhāfī in his *Green books* (see *Bibl.*). In these, he propagated his Third World

theory which refuted parliamentary democracy as well as class domination. Libya was to be governed by Popular Congresses (*mu'tamarāt shaʿbiyya*) and Popular Committees (*lijān shaʿbiyya*) in every section of society. On 2 March 1977, power was officially transferred to the people and the country renamed the *Jamāhīriyya* ('Masses' Republic).

In oil policies, republican Libya took a nationalistic stand, leading to a sharp price increase and a major share in production. On the international scene, the theme of Arab unity was paramount, though al-Kadhdhāfī's Third World theory has universalist aspirations.

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(R J I DE LAAN)

4 Ethnography and demography. Since the early 1880s, when Libya began to export oil on an international scale, the social and economic structure of its population has been undergoing a continuous process of accelerated and extensive change. Nonetheless, studies of Libyan culture and society and its institutionalised forms—the family, kinship systems, political organisation, legal procedures, religious beliefs and practices, etc —must still take into account geographical and historical diversities within the country and among its inhabitants. The three regions of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica (Barka), and the Fazzān have had different economies, varying external connections, and experienced specific historical and cultural influences, and internally, each of these regions has been diversified in particular ways.

Along the Mediterranean coastline of 1,800 miles lies a fertile coastal strip nowhere broader than 50 miles. The barren Gulf of Sirte, an arc of some 300 miles where the desert comes right down to the sea, separates the settled coastal areas of Tripolitania from those of Cyrenaica. These areas are well-watered, enjoy a Mediterranean climate and contain the principal cities, towns and villages inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the country's population. The western coastal zone includes the capital city of Tripoli; the inland hills of Djabal Nafūsa with sufficient rainfall for habitation, and ancient olive groves surrounding small Berber speaking towns and troglodytic settlements formerly inhabited by Libyan Jews, and, between the fertile coast and the hills, the arid plain of Djafāra. The eastern zone contains the country's second largest city, Benghazi, and the Djabal Akhḍar mountain range which runs in an arc parallel to the coast from Derna to south of Benghazi and whose uplands, rising to 2,000 feet, receive plentiful rainfall.

To the south of this strip lies a second zone which in the past has been too arid for permanent settlement, but which is sufficiently watered to provide grazing and crops of barley for nomadic herders. Although rains were uncertain and the hot wind from the south (*ghibli*) could "thrivel plants like a flame", this was the country's main barley-producing area.

Beyond this zone was an absolute desert with the exception of four oasis groups in Cyrenaica—Djaghbūb [*q.v.*], Djalo, Marada and Kufra [*q.v.*], and the spare half-dozen oases of the Fazzān [*q.v.*]. Only about one-twentieth of the country's total population lived in this area of extreme desert climate.

The divisive geographical features of Libya were mitigated by trade, religion and, finally, by the political unity created by Italian colonisation, beginning in 1911 and furthered by the Second World War. Before the opening of West African ports in the 19th century, a good proportion of the wealth of tropical Africa had reached Europe by way of Libya. From the Fazzān and Cyrenaica, gold, ivory, sheep, ostrich feathers and slaves transported to the emporia of Tripoli and Benghazi had sustained oasis dwellers, camel-herders and merchant townsmen. The Fazzān had been a wealthy community of slave-owning merchants, Berber-speaking Tuaregs with trading networks as far as Timbuctu, in parts of the Sahara and into the Western Sudan, while Cyrenaica had controlled the caravan route through Kufra to Wadaī. When this commerce ceased, the Tuareg moved further west while the former Tebu-speaking slaves remained in the oases, subsisting as crop-sharing peasants until the oil boom of the 1960s. Most of these areas, as well as the Djabal Akhḍar and the tribes in the plain of Djafāra, were more or less autonomous and maintained their own locally based social structures.

Until the 1950s, at least four fifths of the population of Tripolitania lived from agriculture and animal rearing. In the Djafāra, a number of tribes, integrated in a complex social and economic pattern that included sedentary peasants, transhumants, and oasis cultivators, were linked by *suff* [*q.v.*] relations of alliance which transcended other loyalties

In Cyrenaica, as well, the combination of nomadism, pastoralism, and some cultivation, along with the significant seasonal variations in climate, assumed a characteristic form of social organisation, viz., the segmentary tribal system. Throughout Libya (and elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East), the disposition of non-urban groups reflected the distribution and exploitation of natural resources, and the usage of common concepts, especially that of the segmentary tribal system, was widespread and of central importance. Nonetheless, these shared concepts often glossed over diverse adaptations to different types of ecologies. Thus, for example, in Cyrenaica the virtually sedentary cow and goat herders of the Djabal Akhḍar and the camel and sheep pastoralists of the semi-desert area differed significantly in the pattern of their social relationships. The idiom of "tribe" also nominally existed in the cities of the coastal area, but the urban elites with their cosmopolitan values and social structure had more resemblances and affinities with their urban counterparts in the Arab and Muslim world than they did with the tribesmen of their hinterlands.

Libya, like the rest of predominantly Berber North Africa, had been invaded in the 5th/11th century by the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] and Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*], some of the former settling in Tripolitania, and the latter in Cyrenaica. These tribal movements from the east accelerated the process of Arabisation and the spread of Islam and produced a fusion of cultures and races. Only small pockets of Berber-speakers have resisted in Tripolitania: there are communities of sedentary agriculturalists along the northern fringes of Djabal Nafūsa between Yefren and Nalut, and on the coast at Zuara; these Berber-speakers, who are further distinguished by their adherence to the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] sect, constitute an estimated 4% of the population of Tripolitania. In addition, there are in the oases of Ghadamès and Ghat Berber-speaking Tuareg. To complete the linguistic description, mention should again be made of the Tebu of Fazzān and southern Cyrenaica who speak their own language, a Sudanic dialect. Finally, amongst the Arabic-speaking population, the Libyan Jewish communities deserve inclusion before emigrating *en masse* during the decade following the Second World War. The Jews numbered some 30,000, most of them in Tripolitania. Their communities had their own internal social structures and values, and they played an important rôle in economic life, particularly trade.

In regard to religion, the overwhelming majority of Libyans have long adhered to the Sunnī creed and followed the Mālikī school of law. Yet neither their beliefs, nor the history of the country, may be understood without taking into account the revivalist movement of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*], a neo-Ṣūfī order established by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859). The order, founded on a network of lodges, spread along the desert oases from Tripolitania to the Sudan. With his headquarters in the interior at Djaghbūb, a strategic centre for consolidating power and spreading the creed among tribes along the caravan routes, the head of the order created a political-religious organisation that was to lead the opposition to Italian penetration and eventually become transformed into the Libyan Kingdom under the rule of a descendant of the founder, King Idrīs. The Sanūsī order, as an Islamic revivalist movement, gave the populations of the country a religious zeal and, aroused by Italy's attack, a sense of unity that developed into Libyan nationalism.

During the period of Italy's colonisation of Libya, a large number of agricultural estates belonging to Italian individuals and development companies were established. A programme of state and land-grant colonisation in the 1920s was followed by large-scale agricultural settlement by Italian peasant families in the 1930s. The invasion and the colonial occupation disrupted and influenced the economic and social life of the indigenous population in a myriad of ways: e.g. there was an increase in sedentarisation among nomads, the breakdown of corporate groups, the spread of education, and a massive exodus of poor rural pastoralists and agriculturalists to take up wage labour in the cities and towns of the coastal region, especially after the Second World War.

Since independence in 1951, the government has created a new group of Libyan farmers by transferring to them former Italian lands (and eventually nationalising these lands in 1972) and establishing a National Agricultural Settlement Agency. Moreover, it has instituted policies for land use, irrigation, rural settlement (and, since the revolution of 1969, a state policy for rural development with projects planned for the Djafāra plain, Djabal Akhḍar, Kufra, Serir and Fazzān), and has generally sought to raise the contribution of agriculture to the national economy. But because of the phenomenal development of oil and the growth of industry and services, agriculture has declined significantly since the pre-1961 period when it involved 70% of the labour force.

In 1964 oil in Libya began to flow on an international level. Since then it has transformed the country from a poor agricultural and desert backland to a land of affluence and one of the biggest oil exporters in the world. With an estimated annual average income of $ 8 billion per year (1978) and a per capita Gross National Product of $ 6,320, Libya has become the richest country in Africa and the fifteenth richest country in the world (1977 World Bank Report). The national economy now depends on the oil sector, which accounted for about 62% of Gross Domestic Product in 1980. The government (renamed since 1973 the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamāhīriyya, to replace the Libyan Arab Republic established following the *coup d'état* led by Colonel Muʿammar al-Kaḏḏhāfī (Gaddafi) in 1969) has concentrated in its latest Development Plan (1976-80) on the needs of electricity, water supplies, sewage and housing, and the creation of three major industrial complexes. It is the urban sector, where one third of the labour force are foreigners and less than 3% women, which now receives governmental priorities.

Libya is on the way to becoming a highly urbanised society. About half of its population in 1978 of 3,014,100 (of whom 2,597,800 are Libyans) live in towns of 20,000 or larger. Its accelerated urban growth results from migration, natural increase and immigration of foreign labour. Between 1966 and 1973, towns of 25,000 or more population grew by 20% annually, one of the highest rates in the world. (Natural increase for the same period was 4.2%.) The urban regions of Tripoli and Benghazi (10% of the country's total area) contain 92% of the total population, include fourteen of the fifteen towns with a population of at least 20,000, and are responsible for 85% of Libye's agricultural production. The city of Tripoli has grown from a population of some 30,000 at the beginning of the century, to 210,000 (1931), to 240,000 (1954) and to an estimated 820,000 in 1980, while Benghazi, according to the 1980 estimate, has some 400,000 inhabitants. By the end of this century, it is expected that of Libya's

population of 5.5 to 7 million, 67% to 74% will live in cities of 20,000 or more, i.e., that the number of city-dwellers will triple or quadruple. The study of social and cultural changes consequent to these processes greatly increases the challenges to Libyan ethnography.

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LIBYA-YI SHERĪF, the hairs of the Prophet, (a imitation of the Prophet's practice shaving of the hair and beard later became a *sunna*. According to al-Bukhārī, during his penultimate and last pilgrimages Muhammad permitted people who wanted to get his hair when he was being shaved (Ahmet Zebidī Zeyāüddīn, *Sahīh-i Buhārī muhtasarı tercümesi*, tr. Ahmed Naīm Kāmil Miras, Istanbul 1926-46, vi, 163 f., x, 442). The hairs of his head and beard, thus obtained, were preserved and later circulated in all Islamic countries. People kept this hair in a bottle, wrapped in layers of green cloth, in mosques, palaces, etc., opening this on public festivals such as during the days of Kandīl, Bayram, and in the second half of Ramaḍān. In the houses of the rich, the Libya yi Sherīf was regarded with respect and placed in an honoured, elevated position. In the mosques it stood on a high stool on the landing above the last stair of the pulpit (Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939-43, i, 172; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, ii 366).

Although it means properly a hair from the head of beard of the Prophet, it is called Sekal-i Sherīf incorrectly by the public in the Turkish speaking countries, meaning the Prophet's beard only.

The Libya-yi Sherīf is today kept in a silver box at the Topkapı Palace, together with the other relics of Islām, in the Imperial Chamber (*Khirḳa Odası*), in the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle (*Khirḳa yi Saʿādat Dāiresi*) (Kemal Çığ, *Kolan of Islam*, Istanbul 1966, 7). Two other examples which belong to the Yıldız Palace, now transferred with other objects to Istanbul University Library, are however in boxes encrusted with mother-of-pearl on which verses from the Kur'ān are written. As well as green cloths, these are wrapped in a kind of gauze with inscriptions printed on it, called *destimal* ("napkin"), specially made (İsmail H. Baykal, *Enderun mektebi tarihi*, Istanbul 1953, 148) for the visits to the Holy Mantle organised by the Sultan-Caliph on 15 Ramaḍān and then distributed to the courtiers and other people invited to the ceremony (see KHIRKA-YI SHERĪF).

The ceremony of visiting the Holy Mantle is explained at length in many Ottoman writers. Although the Libya yi Sherīf is kept with the other relics there, it is never mentioned, and the Mantle of the Prophet occupied the most important place in these ceremonies (H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1966, 223; Leylā Saz, *Haremin içyüzü*, Istanbul 1974, 125). It is interesting to note that in histories such as those of Silāḥdār or Selānikī, we find much information about the Holy Standard and the Holy Mantle's being removed from their places and sent away in times of crisis, and about help being expected from them when the sultans or the Ottoman army were in trouble, but one of these authors writes anything about the Libya-yi Sherīf (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti'nin saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 250-60).

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LIBYAN, people and State of early Arabia. i. Libyan and Libyanite in epigraphy. Inscriptions discovered in the north of the Ḥiḏjāz and speedily identified as 'Libyanite' have preserved the names of at least six kings of Libyan, a kingdom which must have existed in several centuries in pre-Islamic times. The great majority of the Libyanite inscriptions are found in the valley of al-ʿUlā and its immediate surroundings, especially in the neighbourhood of al-Khuraybа, the site of ancient Dedān, not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Ḥiḏjr (q.v.), the modern Madāʾin Sālih. Not only Libyanite, but also other inscriptions are found in more or less considerable numbers in the same area: Dedānite, Minaean, Thamudic,

Nabataean, Hebrew and Arabic C. M. Doughty, Ch. Huber and J. Euting were the first travellers to copy Liḥyānite inscriptions and to report on the archaeological remains in their vicinity. On the basis of Euting's documents in particular, D. H. Müller presented a first interpretation of the texts. Close to 400 Liḥyānite inscriptions and graffiti were subsequently published by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac in their monumental *Mission archéologique en Arabie*. In recent years, many more have come to light, for instance those included in some of A. Jamme's publications, particularly in various volumes of his *Miscellanées*. Most important was the discovery, in a mountain gorge near Bīr al-ʿUdhayb, to the west of al-Khurayba, of a group of texts connected with a place of worship of Dhū-Ghābat, the principal deity of Liḥyān at the time.

The Liḥyānite inscriptions are written in a South Semitic alphabet, related to but distinct from the South Arabian, Dedānite, Thamudic and Safaitic scripts. Although the evolution of the South Semitic letter forms is not yet sufficiently clear in all its details, it has become generally accepted, since H. Grimme (1930, 1932), that the Dedānite inscriptions are older than the Liḥyānite ones. On both historical and palaeographic grounds, these Dedānite inscriptions are usually dated, with F. V. Winnett (1937, p. 50), to the sixth century B.C., or slightly later; cf. Winnett, in Winnett and W. L. Reed (1970, pp. 164 ff.). It is not known when the Dedānite supremacy in the region was replaced by the Liḥyānite one and after how long an interval, if any. It seems certain, however, that the kingdom of Liḥyān flourished at least throughout the 3rd century B.C., the Minaean inscription found in Dedān and now dated to approximately this period points to the presence of a colony of Minaean traders without implying, contrary to what was previously believed, Minaean political domination; cf. A. van den Branden (1957, p. 16) and J. Ryckmans (1957-8, p. 243; 1961, pp. 54 ff.). The name of certain kings of Liḥyān, *TLMY*, may be another indication that the Liḥyānite rulers were to some extent contemporaries of the Ptolemies of Egypt, if the identification of that name with Ptolemy, suggested by L. Littmann in J. Euting, *Tagebuch*, ii, 225, and W. W. Tarn is correct. But the name could be Semitic, and it has been compared, most recently again by al-Ansary (1970), with that of Talmay, king of Geshur (II Sam. iii, 3 and xiii, 37; I Chron. iii, 2). The southward advance of the Nabataeans probably caused the downfall of the Liḥyānite kingdom. In this connection, three short Nabataean inscriptions, found south of Taymāʾ and written by a certain Masʿūd, who calls himself king of Liḥyān, are often quoted. Various dates have been ascribed to these inscriptions: the end century B.C. by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (*Mission*, ii, 221); the middle of the 1st century B.C., "but before the final Nabataean conquest of Dedan", by W. F. Albright (1953, p. 7) and, less likely, the 1st century A.D. by W. Caskel (1954, p. 42). Among the deities worshipped by the Liḥyānites, the inscriptions mention, in addition to Dhū-Ghābat, Hallāh, Lāt, Has, ʿUzzay, Has-ʾAktab, Ha-Kōtbay, Baʿalsamēn, Humām, Ha-Mahr, Kharsh, Salmān and Wadd (the vocalisation is purely conventional). These and other deities are also encountered in composite proper names such as Zēd-dhu-Ghābat, Wahb-Allāh, ʾAmat ʿUzzā, Diqsam han-ʾAktab, Qaram Kotbā, ʿAbd Manāt, etc. The site of a temple was discovered in al-Khurayba by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (*Mission*, ii, 58 ff.). Its walls were probably ornamented on the inside with large statues; parts of several of these statues were found lying in the débris. In the central court of the temple, there was a stone basin, circular in form and more than four metres in diameter.

The language of the Liḥyānite inscriptions is an early form of Arabic. Some differences with Classical Arabic are easily observed. The defective spelling of words like *bt* (cf. Classical Arabic *bayt*) and *ʾs* (cf. Classical Arabic *ʾAws*) shows that the Liḥyānite phonemic system comprised the vowels *ē* and *ō*. After nasals, *i* may have been realised as *ē* and as occasionally spelled conformingly, e.g. *bnēh* instead of *bnt*—daughter. The article has the form *h-* before *ʾ*, *ʿ* and, optionally, *ḥ*, *hl-* occurs in one inscription. The dual pronominal suffix *-hmy* (cf. Classical Arabic *-humā*) did not end in *-ā* because, in Liḥyānite orthography, final long *-ā* is written with the letter *-h*. The nominative dual *status constructus* is also spelled with final *-y* and, for that reason, cannot have ended in *-ā*. The perfect, third person m. sg. of the causative stem of verbs with identical second and third radicals is frequently not contracted, *ʾšll* or *ʾšll* but contracted forms are also found on occasion. A systematic analysis of the inscriptions will undoubtedly reveal other peculiarities of Liḥyānite Arabic.

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(A. J. DRUSES)

2. In Islamic sources. The Islamic historical and genealogical sources consider the Arab tribe of Lihyān to be a branch of the Hudhayl [*q.v.*], and ascribe to it the genealogy Lihyan b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Mudar i.e. Lihyān was attached to the North Arab stock. When and how the Lihyān came to the position in which we find them in the 6th century A.D., forming part of the Hudhayl and established in a territory considerably to the south of their original home, so now in the country to the north east of Mecca, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents. Muslim tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of Thamūd [*q.v.*] with the Thamūd proper and the Nabataeans of al-Ḥijr: a memory but a very vague one, of the old kingdom of Lihyān may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Lihyān were "remnants of the Djurhum", who later became part of the Hudhayl (Ṭabarī, i, 749, 11-12 [see DJURHUM], following Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ṭadj al-ʿarūs*, x, 324, 1-2, following al-Hamdānī, probably in *al-Iklīl*, since the passage is not found in the text of the *Djamharat al-ʿArab*).

In the period just before and after Islam, the Lihyān do not seem to have had a history independent of their brethren of Hudhayl, it is only rarely that they are mentioned apart from them, e.g. in *Ḥamāsa*, 33, à propos of their battles with the warrior-poet Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, Yāḳūt, Buldān, ii, 272, iv, 104 (cf. the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī 80-1; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, ed. H. H. Brāu, no. 86 = MSB ii/4, 1V, ccm, no. 4, 1927, 31), ii, 014, of a battle with the Khuzāʿa. The poets of this tribe are not rule reckoned among those of the Hudhayl—e.g. Māliḳ b. Khālid al-Khunāʿī, al-Mutanakhkhil al-Khunāʿī, etc.—At the time of the preaching of Islam we find them, like the rest of the Hudhayl, under the political influence of the Kuraysh. This explains their hostile attitude to Muḥammad, which resulted in the murder of their chief Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nubayh by ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays at the instigation of Muḥammad. This murder was cruelly avenged by the Lihyān, who slew several Muslims in their turn (the *yawm al-Radjīʿ*, 4 A.H.). As there is no further mention of hostile relations between the Muslims and the Lihyān, it is probable that the latter were included in the submission which the Hudhayl made to Islam [see HUDHAYL].

After the triumph of Muḥammad, and in the periods following, there is an almost complete lack of information about the Lihyān, and there are very few persons of note belonging to this tribe: the grammarian al-Lihyānī, whose full name was ʿAlī b. Ḥāzim (Khāzim) or b. al-Mubārak, d. in 822/837 or 223/838 (cf. al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, ed. Krenkow, in *RSO*, viii, 145, no. 125, with bibliography, Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, 51) perhaps belonged to it, but other sources (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 229, *Tadj al-ʿarūs*, x, 324, 19) trace his nisba "al-Lihyānī" to the unusual length of his beard (*lihya*).

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA*)

LĪM, LĪMŪN [see MUḤAMMADĀT]

LIMASSOL [see KURIUS]

LIMNI (Turkish form of the Greek Λῆμνος, in older Ottoman historical works Limoz and Ilimli, in older Greek sources also Λῆμος. Stalimene in mediaeval western sources, Lemnos in modern usage) an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, 80 km. west of the entrance of the Dardanelles (*Canakkale Boghazi* [*q.v.*]) halfway between Mount Athos and Tenedos (*Bozdja-Ada* [*q.v.*]). The island, of ca. 470 km², has been virtually treeless since long before Ottoman times. Agriculture is of local importance only. Its famous export product since antiquity is a sort of volcanic earth which had reputedly medicinal power, *terra lemnia*, *ṭīn-i makhtūm*, which used to be dug once yearly with some ceremony. Lemnos today has a Greek population of about 25 000 which is constantly decreasing. Myrina (formerly Kastro, Turkish Limni) on the western coast is the capital of the island that forms a part of the province of Lesbos of the Republic of Greece. There is a military air base at Mudros. The large harbours of Purnia in the north and Port Mudros in the south, almost cutting Lemnos in two halves, are not much used any more.

Lemnos in the Middle Ages was part of the Byzantine Empire. It suffered the depredations of corsairs, Arabs from Crete (*Ikrīṭish* [*q.v.*]) in the 10th century, and those of Saldjūḳs from Anatolia in the 11th century. With the partition of the Empire after the Latin conquest (1204), Stalimene became an imperial fief granted to Filocalo Navigajoso and to his descendants in 1207. Byzantine rule was restored by the Emperor Michael Paleologus between 1256-8. Prisoners of state were held in the island, e.g. the Ottoman pretender Duume Mustafa in 823-5/1419-22. Shortly before 1453, Dorino I. Gattilusi (1426-55), Lord of Lesbos (Turkish Midilli [*q.v.*]), acquired the whole of Lemnos as a fief. After the fall of Constantinople (29 May 1453), the Byzantine authorities fled. Thanks to the diplomatic activities of Critobulus the Byzantine Ottoman historian, who was a judge in nearby Imbros (Imros [*q.v.*]) the Gattilusi dynasty of Lesbos was granted Lemnos and Thasos (Tashos [*q.v.*]) as fiefs by Sultān Meḥemmed II, subject to a tribute of 2,525 gold pieces a year. Domenico Gattilusi, son and successor of Dorino I, was in 1455 granted Lemnos only. In 1456, however, the inhabitants appealed to the sultan to be directly governed by him. From this time, the first *kānūn-nāme* of Imbros, Lemnos and Thasos must be dated, and this was revised by Selim I in 1519 (cf. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 237 sq.).

A papal war fleet commanded by Ludovico, Cardinal Scarampi, captured the island in 1457, but in 1459 the Ottoman admiral Khādim Ismāʿīl Bey retook it. Critobulus intervened once more to maintain its special status, which led to the grant of Lemnos (plus Imbros and Lnos on the mainland

(Turkish Enez)) in 1460 to the ex-despot of the Morea Demetrius Palaeologus in return for a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces a year. A Venetian force conquered the island in 1464, and held it till the peace was concluded in 1479. Gedik Ahmed Pasha [*q.v.*], *kapudan pasha*, had the fortresses repaired and Anatolian subjects were settled there. A regular administration was now set up with a *sanyak*, a *kadi* and *kadi-askers* in charge of the native Greek population. Limni became later a part of the province of the *sanǧak beyi* of Gelibolu (i.e. of the Ottoman admiral). Towards the end of the 16th century Lemnos together with Chios (Sakiz [*q.v.*]), was the only prosperous island of the Archipelago, with 74 villages, including 3 Turkish Muslim ones.

Its strategic position led to repeated Venetian attacks and its conquest in 1656 undone a year later by Topal Mehmed Pasha after a 63 days' siege of Kastro. Following the destruction of the Ottoman fleet near Cesme on 5 July 1770 by the Russian fleet of Count Alexis Orlov, Lemnos suffered a Russian attack. An Ottoman squadron defeated the Russians in Mudros Bay, and this success brought Dja'fer-li Hasan Bey [*q.v.*] the titles of *ghazi* and *pasha*. After 1774, Ottoman authority in the Archipelago had to be reinstated, which led to a harsh régime and subsequent popular unrest.

During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1806-12, a division of Admiral D. Senyavin's fleet occupied Lemnos in 1807. In the same year the *kapudan pasha* Seyyid 'Ali Pasha confronted the enemy in the battle of Athos, west of Limni (30 June 1807). Lemnos did not play an active role in the Greek War of Independence. When the Ottoman administration underwent the reforms of the *tanzimat*, Lemnos in 1283/1866 became one of the 4 *sanǧaks* of the *vilayet* of the *Djezā'ir-i bahr-i sefid* [*q.v.*], with the *kadā*'s of *Bozdja Ada*, Imros and "*merkez*", the latter subdivided into the *nāhiyes* of Bozbuba (Strati or Aghios Eustratios Island) and Mudros. An Orthodox bishop resided at Kastro. There was a small garrison, and a government steamship had its station there. In 1312/1894 the population consisted of 23,499 Ottoman subjects and 192 foreigners (in the 1310/1892 statistics there were 34,452).

During the Macedonian crisis, the Powers sent a naval force to occupy Lemnos's castle, customs house and telegraph office (5 December 1905) in order to press the Porte to introduce reforms. At the outbreak of the Balkan War, the main division of the Greek fleet under the flag of Admiral Paul Kondouriotis steamed straight to the island (29 May 1912). The next day, 1,500 troops were landed and these occupied Lemnos after a short fight with the 30-man-strong Ottoman garrison. The *mudjafir* and leading Muslim civilians were deported. A Greek naval base was established at Port Mudros.

The Treaty of London (that of St. James) of 30 May 1913 confirmed the Greek annexation. During World War I, the Venizelos government lent Lemnos to the Allied Powers. An Anglo-French naval base and army camp were established at Port Mudros, from where the Gallipoli campaign was directed. It was here, aboard the British battleship HMS *Agamemnon*, that an Ottoman delegation led by the Minister of Marine Hüseyn Re'fi (Ochey) negotiated with the British plenipotentiary Admiral Arthur Calthorpe and concluded the armistice of 30 October 1918 ending hostilities between the Allied Powers and Turkey.

At the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) the new Republic of Turkey recognised formally the loss of Lemnos and other islands. With Samothrace (Turkish Semadirek), Imros (Gökče-Ada) and Tenedos (Bozdja-Ada), the last two having been restored to Turkey, Lemnos formed part of a demilitarised zone. The 7,500 Muslim-Turkish inhabitants of Limni had already left their island in 1920, and Greek refugees from Anatolia took their places in 1923.

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(A. H. DE GROOT)

LINEN [see KATTĀN]

LINGA, a minor seaport, modern Bandar i Linga, on the northern shore of the Persian or Arab Gulf, in lat 26° 34′ N and long 54° 53′ E, to the south of Lāristān (see LĀR, LĀRISTĀN) and facing the islands of Kishm (q.v.) and the Tunbs. Linga has a harbour of some depth, allowing traffic by dhows and coastal craft, behind the town lies a salt marsh, and then the Band-i Linga mountains, which rise to 3,900 ft./1,190 m. The population, formerly largely Arab, is now predominantly Persian, but with strong admixtures of Arabs, Baluchis, Indians and the descendants of black African slaves, these comprising both Sunnīs and Shī'īs.

The old port was at Kung, 8 miles/13 km. to the east, where the Portuguese retained a footing till 1721 long after they had lost Hurmuz (q.v.). In 1760, the Kawāsim Arabs (q.v.) under Shaykh Salīm came from Ra's al-Khayma and established footholds at Linga, which they seized from the *kalāntar* (q.v.) of the Dashtāngīrī district, at Shināṣ and on Kishm island, till they were in 1765 expelled by Karīm Khān Zand (q.v.). In 1809-10 the British naval expedition from Bombay which attacked the Kāsimī pirates at Ra's al-Khayma went on to take Linga and other Kāsimī-held ports on both the Arab and the Persian shores of the Gulf. In 1887 the Persian imperial government extended its control over Linga and deposed the last hereditary *shaykh* of Kadīb, carrying him off in chains to Tehran.

Linga was at this time still a flourishing port, a centre for pearl fishing, with Indian merchants residing there, an import centre for textiles coming into Persia, and an export centre for Persian tobacco. There was still some slave-running of Persians and Baluchis into the Arabian peninsula and of Somalis and black Habashīs into Persia which the Persian authorities in Shīrāz were unable or unwilling to stop. Curzon in 1890 estimated the population of Linga at 20,000. After the assertion of Persian central government control, and the inclusion of Linga within the reformed government customs administration, many of the old-established merchant families moved to the Arab shores, e.g. to Dubayy, Bahrayn and 'Umān, and in recent times, Linga has been only a shadow of its former self, completely overshadowed by such ports as Bushire and Bandar 'Abbās. The population in the 1970s was 9,404. Linga is also administratively one of the five *bakhshs* in the *shahristān* of Lār in the *ustān* of Fārs, the population of the *bakhsh* being *ca.* 41,000.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

LION [see AL ASAD, MINṬAṬAT AL BURUJ].

LIPKA or **LUPKA**, **LUPKA**, the name given to the Tatars who since the 14th century inhabited Lithuania, and later the eastern and south-eastern lands (Belorussia, Volhynia) of old Poland up to Podolia, and after 1672 also partly Moldavia and Dobrudja. Derived from the old Crimean Tatar name of Lithuania, the record of the name in Oriental sources (لِيتقا) to 926/1520 (later لتقه); V. Véliaminof-Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, 3, 4, 720, also لِيفه and لِيفكه *Sulaymān Pasha*, i, Istanbul 1928, 615, 838, and C. Orhonlu, *Lipkalar*, in *TM*, xvi [1972], tables I, VI) permits to infer an original *Litka* > *Lipka*, from which Pol. *Lipka* was formed (contamination with Pol. *lipka* "small lime-tree", the etymology was suggested by the Tatar author S. Tuhan-Baranowski, *Skąd pochodzą nazwa Lipków*, in *Wschód*, iii [1923], 96-8). A less frequent Polish form, *Łubka*, is corroborated in (*Lubka* >) *Łupka*, the Crimean Tatar name of the Lipkas up to the end of the 19th century (Ewliyā Çelebi, *Kniga puteshestviya*, ed. by A. S. Tveritinova, i, Moscow 1961, 254, n. 3).

The Tatar settlements in Lithuania date back to the first quarter of the 14th century. Lithuania was also to provide a refuge for various exiles from the Golden Horde in later years. However, Tatar colonisation on a mass scale in Lithuania is commonly associated with the person of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold (*ca.* 1352-1430), a supporter of the Khān Tokhtamish and his sons in their struggle for power within the Horde. Witold's expedition to the banks of the Don in 1397 gave a rise to a voluntary and long-lasting immigration of large masses of Tatar population from the steppes to Lithuania. The newcomers, who were brought to settle at the very centres of power (Vilna, Troki and others), while maintaining their tribal organisation and freedom of the Islamic cult, were enlisted to do military service to separate units, and were endowed for this with land and exemption from the taxes. The nobility came in time to be put on a par with the Lithuanian and Polish nobility, whereas the former *tamghas* performed the function of coats-of-arms (S. Daniłowicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce*, Vilna 1929). The poorer part of the Tatar population engaged in various activities such as waggon-driving, trade with the East and tanning, a craft traditional with Turkic peoples. Certain of the Lipkas also provided some dispatch-riders sent to the Crimea, and official interpreters for mutual contacts with Turkish and Crimean embassies. The privileges granted to the Lipkas by Witold were to be later reaffirmed by the successive Grand Dukes of Lithuania and Kings of Poland. Nevertheless, they were exposed to the envy of the magnates and nobility and of the Roman Catholic clergy as well, which in turn provoked the first manifestations of ill-will among these Muslims towards their adopted land. Their complex situation was adequately depicted in the anonymous *Risāle-yi Tatar-i Leh* by one of the Lipkas who, during a stay in Istanbul in 965/1557-8 on his way to Mecca, wrote his account for Süleymān the Magnificent (from a 18th century copy thereof, no longer extant, the Turkish text with Polish translation and commentary was published by A. Muchliński, *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich* . . ., Vilna 1858). The rule of the fervent Catholic Sigismund III (1587-1632) and the Counter-Reformation movement brought a number of restrictions to the liberties granted to non-Catholics in Poland, the Lipkas

among others. To this can be attributed the intervention by Sultan Murād III with the King in the matter of liberty of religious cult for the Lipkas, undertaken in 1000/1591 upon the request of two Muslims who had accompanied the King's envoy to Istanbul (Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959, no. 239). In 1609 the mosque at Troki was destroyed and some Tatar women were accused of witchcraft and burnt. P. Czyżewski, in retaliation for his father's death at the hands of a Lipka, published a pamphlet, *Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy* ... (1616), abusive towards the Muslim creed and its believers. It gained wide popularity (republished 1640, 1643) despite the *Apologia Tatarów* by Azulewicz (1639). The Lipkas who had defended their new land as the wars against the Teutonic Order and Muscovy, and even the borderland territory at Poland against the attacks of Crimean Tatars, on the other hand, as early as in 965/1557-6, having the author of the *Rudło* for their mouthpiece, had expressed their wish to be reintegrated with the world of Islam and even of having their land subjugated by the Pādiṣhāh. Now, ostracised as they were and in view of the material difficulties in the Polish army, they partly joined the Turks when the latter invaded Poland in 1672. Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha made Poland, by the Buczacz treaty of 1083/1672, refrain from putting any obstacles to their emigrating to Islamic lands; however, their pro-Turkish enthusiasm was soon to abate. A. Kryczyński, who had once served in the Polish army, and later was made commander (*mutafīḳ*) at Bar, the centre of one of the four *sanǧaḳs* within the new *eyālet* of Podolia, and a fervent promoter of the idea of serving the Ottomans, perished at the hands of other exiles in October 1673 (*Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr fīhā*, i, 638; S. Kryczyński, *Baj barski*, in *RT*, x, 229-302). Some of the Lipkas availed themselves of the Amnesty Act and returned to Poland (S. Grygajtis and J. Janczak, *Powrót Lipków pod zwierzchnictwo Rzeczypospolitej*, in *Sobótka*, 1980/2, 181-5). They also took part in the battle of Chocim on the Polish side under the command of John Sobieski (1673). The reign of John III, a protector and patron of the Lipkas, was also noted in their history by a wave of conversions to Roman Catholicism, a fact which roused the displeasure of Khān Selīm Girey I in 1095/1683 (Vel'yaminov Zernov, *op. cit.*, 720). The Lipkas fought in 1683 under King John III at Vienna, and their merits were recognised and rewarded at the 1684 Diet. Nevertheless, there were as many of them as 474 at Kamieniec Podolski, and lesser numbers were stationed at other Podolian castles occupied by the Turks (Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 71. Lipkas are also to be found in the *Defter-i rāzındme-yi sefer-i ma an erbāb-ı timār-i eyālet-i Kamaniçe ber müǧib-i tezkire-i ʿāṣıfiyye* ... (= 1682) at the Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe, Poznań).

The next considerable emigration of the Lipkas to Turkey took place early in the 18th century, in connection with the victory won by King Augustus II over the Polish-born King Stanisław Leszczyński, whom the Lipkas had supported in his war against the Saxon King. Those of the Lipkas who stayed on in Turkey after 1673, as well as the new emigrants, were settled in Moldavia (the "Piste Pola Tatarow Lipkow Lithuanicorum (*sic*) Topraghi لبقه تاتارلرینک طبراغی in J. A. B. Rizo Zannoni, *Carte da le Pologne divisée par provinces et palatinats* ..., Paris 1772, no. 23), Dobrudja, and even Anatolia (in the *sanǧaḳ* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]) and on the Kizil Irmak [*q.v.*]).

Formerly a constant threat to Polish borderland areas, after 1699 they served the borderland *paşhas* as interpreters in the peaceful relations with Poland. In Poland they enjoyed the favour of the last King Stanisław Augustus (1765-95), and later had their shares in the national Polish uprisings against the Tsarist government; they also served with the Poles in the Napoleonic army. On the other hand, the Russian Empire opened to them a way to a lawful career and education; what was more, the Lipkas owed to it a stimulating contact with the other Turkic Islamic peoples (those of the Crimea and of Azhar Bāyǧān). This atmosphere of religious and national revival, of animated contacts with Turkey and the other Muslim lands, as well as with the centres of Muslim learning (Sarajevo, Cairo), distinguished also the activities of the Lipkas in restored Poland (after 1918). An important part was performed by the Cultural and Educational Association of the Tatars in the Republic of Poland (established 1926) and personally by Dr. J. Szynkiewicz, *muftī* since 1926, an orientalist who was in close contact with the Polish Islamist T. Kowalski (Cracow) and two Karaim Turcologists, S. Szapszał (Vilna) and A. Zajączkowski (Warsaw). In Vilna, where the *muftī* had his seat, a Tatar National Museum was founded in 1929, and the Tatar National Archives in 1931. Several journals were published: *Przegląd islamski* (1930-34), *Życie tatarskie* (from 1934), and the *Rocznik Tatarski* (= *RT*) dealing with scientific research (3 iii: Vilna 1932, Zamość 1935, Warsaw 1938; vol. iv, destroyed by the Nazis, was never published). In 1936 a Tatar cavalry unit was founded within the Polish Army, they were the traditional horse tails (*tuġ*). The forms of Muslim religious activities in Poland were finally established by the relevant Act passed on 24 April 1936. The outbreak of the Second World War did not permit completion of the building of the mosque in Warsaw. Tatars participated in the Polish resistance movement and fell victims to the Nazis during the occupation. The westward shift of Poland's frontiers after the war, and the emigration of the *Muftī* Szynkiewicz, who had not left any followers of his stature, were detrimental to the general situation of the Lipkas. Some of the Tatar intellectuals, however, supported by the Polish state, have focused their attention on religion, contacts with the Muslim world, history, mosques, burial grounds and other monuments of the Tatar past in Poland (M. Konopacki, *Les musulmans en Pologne*, in *REI*, 1968/2; A. Miśkiewicz, *Tatarzy polscy w latach 1918 1980*, in *Nerum*, 1980/8, 83-109).

The author of the *Rudło* reckoned that there were a hundred settlements of the Lipkas, with a corresponding number of mosques, in Poland, and numbered their population at 200,000, which seems greatly exaggerated. Ibrāhīm Pečewi, quoting the statement made by a messenger of the Lipkas to the *muftī* at Akkerman, mentions sixty villages with mosques (*Taʾrīḫ*, i, Istanbul 1283, 472, quoted by A. Muchliński, *Instytucyanie o prosiłkowaniem i ostatnich litewskich tatar*, St. Petersburg 1857, 80-1, and Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 63). In 1932 there were about 6,000 Muslims in Poland, with 16 mosques and one under construction, and two prayer houses (*RT*, i, 323). At present, their approximate number in Poland exceeds 2,000. There are only two mosques, in the villages of Bohoniki and Kruszyniany (*Boġonuḳ*, *Kuşūna* among the Tatars), of which the former, devastated by the Nazi troops, has been rebuilt on a government grant. Since the 19th century there has also been a Muslim community in Warsaw.

with an old burial ground, two new ones were established after the last war in Gdańsk and Szczecin, where the Tatar repatriates from the East had come to settle.

The author of the *Risāle* reports that the *muṣḥafs* were brought by the Lipkas partly from the Crimea and the Horde. Peẕewī relates that litigious matters of religious and legal nature were submitted by them to, e.g., the *muftī* at Akkerman (*loc. cit.*). Their contacts with the Muslim clergy in Turkey (also attested by the references in contemporary Turkish authors, Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 66) are recorded still in the 18th century (Czartoryski Library, Cracow, no XVII/3080). The author of the *Risāle*, a fervent Muslim himself, had deplored the fact that some of the Lipkas assumed the Christian creed that the knowledge of Arabic was dying out among them and that, still worse, they tended to forget their own language so that *yerlüler lisānī ile söyleməye başladılar* and nobody but the newcomers knew the "Ottoman" language. Peẕewī's informant had equally stressed that the Lipkas on copying the Kur'ān *'arabī ḥaṭṭ ile* commented upon it *Leh heferesi lisānī ile* (*loc. cit.*). Ewiya Çelebi had at first called them soberly *Leh gräfina tabʿī ümmet-i Muḥammed'den Ulaḥa ḥavmi*, and numbering them into the "Tatar" nations, justly regarded their language as belonging to the Slavonic family (*Seyāḥat name*, ii, 90, v, 138, 146). Later, however, when the name of the Lipkas was cited to him at Ujvár-Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) by the Crimean Tatar adversaries of the Swedes in Poland in 1656 (cf. LEH), he wrote how in that "Sweden" which he had allegedly visited along with the Tatars in 1663, he found 800,000 (vi, 368) or 1,000,000 (x, 77) *bīçāre* such Tatar, adding to this that they did not know Tatar at all and spoke among themselves only *ṣūfiyān lisānī üzere* (vi, 368). In fact, the Lipkas, as a result of their intermarriage with the Poles and Belorussians, abandoned completely their native language, however, though Polish and Belorussian became their predominant languages, even in religious writings, they were spelt in Arabic alphabet (such texts in both languages are quoted by Muchliński, *Issledovanie* ... 62-70 in general, A. K. Antonovich, *Belorusskie teksti, pisannye arabskim pismom, i ikh grafiko-ortografičeskaya sistema*, Vilna 1968, with detailed bibliography). Furthermore, the Polish and Belorussian as spoken and written by these Muslims were enriched with many loan-words taken from the Muslim creed, community life, and everyday activities, of Arabic, Persian and Turkic origin (A. Woronicz, *Szczątki języków Tatarów litewskich*, in *RT*, ii, 351-67, with a vocabulary listing similar words and phrases). This cultural ambiguity can be also observed on the tombstones of the Lipkas, whose the half moon and the *shahādeteyn* formula in Arabic are usually followed by the text proper written in Polish or, formerly, sometimes in Russian. In recent times, however, even the knowledge of the Arabic alphabet has been dying out among the young generation. Hence when J. Sobolewski wrote his *Wykład wiary mahometańskiej czyli islamskiej* ("Exposition of the Muhammedan or Islamic creed", Vilna 1830), with an explanation of the religious rites and prayers, he did it in Polish only, the book was destined for his many co-religionists who were unable to read the traditional *kitāb* in the Arabic alphabet. The Polish translation of the Kur'ān by Jan Mirza Tarak Buczacki (Warsaw 1858) was founded not upon the original only, and was provided with commentaries derived from the French translation of the Kur'ān by Kazimirski, which in cite J. Szynkiewicz, "were often offensive to the religious feelings of a Muslim" (*Literatura religijna Tatarów litewskich i jej pochodzenie*, in *RT*, ii, 140).

The Tatar national and cultural revival in inter-war Poland was, however, largely due also to some of the Roman Catholic Lipkas (S. Daiadalewicz, S. Kryczyński and others). Lipkas converted to Christianity were also among the ancestors of the celebrated Polish writer H. Sienkiewicz (1846-1916, Nobel Prize for Literature 1905). The Tatars, who since the 14th century had been settled on Polish territories as war prisoners, were soon converted, with just a vague memory left of their origin (the names "Tatar" or "czabany", pl. derived from Turkic *çoban* "shepherd", as in the surroundings of Chrzanów near Cracow) and their traditional occupations (tanning and horse-breeding).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see in general S. L. Kryczyński, *Bibliograficheskie materiali o tatarakh Polshi, Litvi, Belorussii i Ukraini*, Petrograd 1917, with new addenda of idem, in *RT*, i, 295, 312, the most fundamental publication is S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warsaw 1938 (= *RT*, iii), V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porti do nachala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887, 156-7 idem, *Sbornik nekotorykh materialov otnosyashchikhsya k istorii sношeniy Krimskoy i Nogayskoy Ordi s Rossiey i Polshey*, St. Petersburg 1891 (18th-century Turkish documents on the Lipkas), S. Sienicki, *Quelques notes pour servir à l'histoire des musulmans et à leurs cimetières*, in *L'Echo de Varsovie*, 22 December 1934; J. Reychman, *Zabytki orientalne w Polsce*, in *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1957/1; idem, *al-Athār al-islāmī fi Polanda*, Warsaw 1958.

(Z. ABRAHAMOWICZ and J. REYCHMAN)

LISĀN AL-ʿARAB [see IBN MANẒŪR]

LISĀN AL-DĪN [see IBN AL-ḴAṬĪB]

LISBON [see BURTUḠĀL, AL-]

LIṢṢ (A., also *laṣṣ, luṣṣ*, pl. *luṣūṣ*, with *maṣdars* *luṣūṣiyya, laṣāṣiṣ* (see *LA*, viii, 355-6, and Lane, s.v.) one of the two main words in Arabic for thief; robber (the other being *sāriḳ*), in Persian we have *dozd* "thief", *rāhzan* "theft", and in old Turkish *oġrı*, Ottoman *ḳhayrsız*, modern *hırsız*. Arabic *laṣṣ* and the unassimilated variants *l-ṣ/ṣ-ṣ* must have appeared in the language during the Byzantine period, presumably via Syriac *leṣṭā*, whilst there exists the form *luṭṭ*, closer to the Greek original λῃστής, in Mishnaic Hebrew and Palestine Jewish Aramaic (see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Berlin 1898-9, ii, 325; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 284, J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 9) *Luṣṣ*, etc. do not appear in the Kur'ān, where we have *sāriḳ* and *sāriḳa* (V, 42/38, *XII, 70, 73*), but nevertheless they are found occasionally in pre-Islamic poetry (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Labīd), and then quite frequently in the Umayyad period (for full documentation, see the forthcoming entry *ṣ-ṣ* in *WKA*).

In general, the pre-Islamic Arabs did not recognise theft as a highly reprehensible crime, and it was not condemned unless the victim was a member of the kin group as a *ǧār* within it (hence Djaʿal al-ʿUdhrī could astride a man's father as "the one who stole a guest's cloak", *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, 155), the injured party was normally left to secure redress himself and recover his property (see G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben nach den Quellen zu-*

wahidert, Berlin 1897, 217-28). Only with the coming of Islam did theft and brigandage become crimes punishable under the *Sharīʿa*, and *ḥudūd* were laid down both for simple theft (now called in legal parlance *al-sirḳa al-ṣughrā*) and for brigandage and highway robbery (*al-sirḳa al-kubrā* or *ḥaḳḳ al-ṭarīḳ*), for the legal aspects of these crimes, see ḤARAB. And of course, the carrying-off of camels and other beasts in the course of *ghazw* (*q.v.*), the raiding of a hostile tribe, was always regarded as perfectly legitimate.

Bedouin society up to the present day has preserved much of the ancient ethos in regard to thieving, with the Kurʾānic penalty of amputation only sporadically applied, even in the towns. In eastern Arabia, H. R. P. Dickson noted that amongst the local Bedouin, stealing from friend or foe was regarded as something shameful and dishonourable, *ʿayb*, but not treated as a crime (*The Arab of the desert, a glimpse into Badawin life in Kuwait and Sau'di Arabia*, London 1949, 531-2). Where penalties for stealing are applied, they often involve the infliction of indignities rather than mutilation and suchlike severities. Doughty, whilst journeying with a pilgrim caravan, observed the beating of a servant who had stolen from his master, although the leader of the caravan did in fact have the power of life and death in regard to crimes considered as really serious. In the town of ʿAnayza in al-Ḳaṣīm, he noted that common thieves were beaten with green palm rods (because dry ones would have broken their bones) by the *muḳawwirīn* or elders responsible for order and decency, but amputation was not practised, and petty theft, if not openly paraded, was disregarded (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1908, i, 14, 69, ii, 388-9). In Jordan, Jaussen registered humiliating punishments amongst the Bedouins there for stealing, such as tearing out the offender's beard hair by hair (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 229-30), forcibly shaving or plucking out the beard being an ancient Near Eastern way of showing contempt for someone, cf. Hanun King of the Ammonites shaving off half the beards of David's servants (II Sam. x 4-5). Only when a man showed himself as an habitual thief, thereby bringing dishonour on his kin, was he likely to be outlawed by these, becoming an outcast in respect of that particular offence (A. Kennett, *Bedouin justice, laws and customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, Cambridge 1925, 21).

Within the Bedouin life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the *luṣṣ* was in many ways hardly distinguishable from the outcasts and *desperadoes* of the desert known as *ṣaʿālīk* and *futāk* [see ṢUʿLUK], who lived outside the tribal system with every man's hand against them, the poetry of these *ṣaʿālīk* and *futāk* attracted the attention of philologists of the ʿAbbāsid period, and more recently, has attracted that of modern western and oriental scholars (see e.g. Yūsuf Khalīf, *al-Shiʿr al-ṣaʿālīk fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1959, Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 133-45, and arts AL-SHANFARĀ, TAʾABBATA SHARRAN, ʿURWA B. AL-WARD). But the activities of those described as *luṣūṣ* proper seem also to have been isolated for study by the philologists and compilers of *adab* works. Thus we have mention in the literary sources of an *Akhbār al-luṣūṣ*, containing poetry of well-known thieves and brigands amongst the Arabs, by the pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī (212-75/827-88 [*q.v.*]); see Brockelmann, I[2], 108-9, Sezgin, ii, 63, 133), and of a *Kitāb al-Ṣaʿālīk* see ʾl-*ʿurḍa* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Aʿrābī, called al-Aswad *al-Ghundadjānī* (d. *ca.* 428/1036-7, see Sezgin, ii, 68, 88). The contemporary Syrian scholar ʿAbd al-Muʿīn *al-Mallūḥī* has collected the names together of some 30 *luṣṣ* poets of the Islamic period, together with their surviving verses, see his *Aʿlāʾīr al-luṣūṣ wa-akhbāruhum*, in *RAAD*, xlix (1974), 362-76.

With the awakening, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, of a distinct interest among Arabic authors in low life and in the criminal and semi-criminal underworlds of the burgeoning Islamic towns, we find a certain amount of information on the activities of those thieves and brigands in the urban environment, although there are enough continuing references to criminal activities in the countryside and deserts (e.g. the rustlers of thoroughbred horses and camels, the thieves of the latter being known as *khurrāb*, sing. *khirrīb*, see C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. i. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, Leiden 1976, 116) to show that rural crime and brigandage never disappeared.

A writer of such varied interests as al-Djāḥiẓ shows a special interest in the tricks and stratagems of the sophisticated criminals of his time, and he seems to have written a special work on the *ḥiyal al-luṣūṣ*, partially extant and cited in subsequent *adab* works (e.g. possibly in al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Maḥāsin wa ʾl-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 321-3, without explicit mention of the title here; cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ǧāḥiziana III. Essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre ǧāḥizienne*, in *Arabica*, iii [1956], 164, on 95). The compilers of collections of anecdotes were eager to include tales about clever thieves, and in the opening of his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* al-Tanūkhī lists among the interesting tales which he had heard in the course of his career those of fanatically-inspired assassins using knives (*aṣḥāb al-ʿasabiyya wa ʾl-sukkākīn*), of brigands and thieves, and of profligates and rowdies (*ahl al-khalāʿa wa ʾl-sayyārāt*) (ed. ʿA. Shalabī, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, i, 4). Several of the succeeding anecdotes do in fact deal with the ruses of crafty evildoers, see e.g. i, 150-8, nos. 79-80, vii, 96-102, 250-1, nos. 57-9, 144 viii, 218-26, nos. 96-8. One of these tales actually deals with a body of thieves and bandits in India called the Bānuwāniyya, whom al-Tanūkhī equates with the Arab *nuṭṭāfī*, the cut-purse who follows and steals up behind a person to rob him, and from whose activities Muslim traders in India suffered (cf. also the Bānuwānī of al-Djāḥiẓ, cited in Bosworth *op. cit.*, i, 37). Muslim authors seem to have been aware of the existence of organised groups or castes of dacoits and thugs in India, grouping these criminal bodies with the Bedouins of Arabia and predatory Iranian peoples like the Kurds, the Balūč and the Kūfičīs [see KURD] as examples par excellence of violent and uncontrollable brigands. One should note also the connection in certain sources of gambling [see ḲIMĀR] and thieving, seen in the not-infrequent phrase *luṣṣ muḳāmir* "thief and gambler" (see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 214, 253).

The authors of *maḳāmāt* (*q.v.*) and other works of the picaresque genre likewise found here material around which they could weave incidents involving their respective heroes. Thus Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī wove several of the adventures of Abū ʾl-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī around the activities of impudent thieves, such as those who stole surreptitiously from the ranks of prostrate worshippers during the *ṣalāt*, those who ascended house walls and used grapnels for purloining articles inside the rooms, and those who burrowed into cellars and vaults from the outside or from adjacent houses (the *nakkābūn* or *nāḳib al-*

nakīl) see further, Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 190-3). Especially valuable evidence on this type of activities is to be found in the chapter on *luṣūṣ* and associated malfeasances in al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ* (ed. Cairo 1287/1870, ii, 108-11, ed. Beirut 1961, iii, 189-93). Al-Iṣfahānī cites as an outstanding figure amongst successful criminals one ʿUthmān al-Khayyāṭ, who as a skilful practitioner himself (called al-Khayyāṭ, not because his original profession was that of tailor, but because he "sewed up", *khāṭa*, the holes bored into houses for felonious purposes so neatly that they were almost undetectable) had apparently become something of a semi-legendary figure by al-Rāghib's time (the Dīwān al-Calabī Library in Mosul—whose contents are now dispersed and their location largely unknown—contained a *Hikāyat ʿUthmān al-Khayyāṭ fī ʾl-luṣūṣ wa-maṣāyibihi*, see Pellat, *loc. cit.*; and one wonders whether there is some connection with the here of two anecdotes given by al-Tanūkhī, named as ʿAbbās b. Khayyāṭa and described as a supremely clever thief of Baṣra, see *Nishwār*, vii, 97 ult., nos. 58-9).

According to this ʿUthmān, there were five main categories of thieves and brigands: (1) the *makkār* or "trickster", who worked by stratagems and who did not kill in the course of his crimes and was therefore looked down on by his more desperate and violent confrères; (2) the *ṣāḥib al-layl* or "worker by night", the nocturnal housebreaker, who got in either by boring or by scaling walls (the *muttasallik*), and the robber with violence (*mukābir*); (3) the *ṣāḥib al-ṭarīḳ* or "gentleman of the road", the highwayman or brigand; (4) the *nabbāsh* or "burrower, excavator", said to be well known and presumably a man who dug up a people's buried treasure hoards; and (5) the *khannāḳ* or "strangler, sessasin", who may work by suffocating his victim, but may also be a disembowller (*bāḳir*) or one who pounds his victim's head with a stone (*rāḍikh*). He then goes on to detail the types of confederates and auxiliaries ("*aʿwān*) whom criminals employed, e.g. to "ease" likely premises for a future break-in or to create diversions whilst a raid could be made (see further details, see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 101-6).

Bibliography Given essentially in the article. On the legal status of highway robbers and thieves, see Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations, Shaybānī's Siyar*, Baltimore 1966, 247-30.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LITERATURE [see ADAB, ʿARABIYYA, GHAZAL, MAGHĀ, MAḲĀMA, MARTHIYA, MUʿAN, TAʾRĪKH, etc.]

LITHĀM (*a.*) (sometimes also pronounced *liṯām*), the mouth-veil, in a piece of material with which the Bedouins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1822, 374, 2). According to the *LA* *liṯām* is a mouth-veil which also covers the nose top (*ʿarnabat al-anf*) and is worn by women. It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf. Dhu ʾl-Rumma, no 5, 43, also no 39, 24 and 73, 18, and the commentaries on al Mutanabbī, 464, 17, and al Ḥarīrī, 374, 2). It also made the face more or less unrecognisable, and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli (1887), 101). The *liṯām* was therefore also sometimes worn as a deliberate disguise by people who did not usually wear it: thus in the *ʿAmr Nāgha* (ed. Macnaghten, i, 878) it is worn by a princess, who disguises herself as a man, and (*Ibid.*, ii, 59) by a woman for similar reasons. A denominative verb has been formed from *liṯām*, the fifth form of which in particular means "to put on the *liṯām*" (e.g. *Aghānī*, viii, 102, 20, xxi, 55, 19; *Aghānī*, ed. Kosegarten, 121, 13; Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, iii, 2; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ii, 433, 2), while the eighth form in the meaning "to put on something as a *liṯām*" is generally used only metaphorically (see below). *Taltharrun* usually means a woman's veil (Cherbonneau, in *J.A* [1849], i, 64), but *talaththum al-bayāḍ* is also found as the distinctive dress of a particular office under the Fāṭimids: their chief *ḥādis* wore it along with the *ṭarḥa* and *ṭaylasān* (de Sacy, *Chrest.*, ii, 92). In general, however, the *liṯām* does not seem to have been worn by town-dwellers.

The *liṯām* has no considerable importance in Islam from the purely religious point of view; it is forbidden along with certain other garments for the *muḥrim* (al Bukhārī, i, 390, below).

The custom of wearing a *liṯām* was generally disseminated among the Ṣanhādja tribes (*q.v.*) in north-west Africa, who are therefore described as *liṯām wearers*, *mulaththimūn* or *awlād al-mulaththimīn*, as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamṭūna (*q.v.*), the *liṯām* thus came to have a certain political significance. The custom of wearing a *liṯām* (below the *niḳāb*, see al-Bakrī, 170; the *liṯām* is also mentioned by al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Khaldūn, etc., of Corso, 151) was found in other parts of Africa also, e.g. in Kānem (al Makrīzī, i, 193, 33 f.) and still prevails among the Tuareg. The Tuareg veil has been the object of several special studies (see *Bibl.*). Amongst the Tuareg, it is not called *liṯām*, but *tegulmust* or *ṭāgelmust* ("muslin"). Its origin seems to be pre Islamic and perhaps even prehistoric. Among the ancient paintings and rock engravings found by Leo Frobenius there are human figures without mouth and nose, but with only two eyes. The primary motive for a veil seems to be magical, to protect the ways of life from evil forces. These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islam, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled. A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village, whose there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli, 101); another story has it that after the fall of the Umayyads, 200 members of the Umayyad family and their clients escaped as Africa disguised as women and that the wearers of the *liṯām* are descended from them (Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Hussein*, p. viii). According to al-Bakrī (text, 170, tr. 321), they never took off the *liṯām*, and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the *liṯām*, not even his friends could recognise him till the *liṯām* was put on him again: they also called other men who did not wear the *liṯām* "fly-mouthed". The Almohads, particularly Ibn Tūmart, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids. They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the *liṯām* (Goldziher, in *op. cit.*, 102). Among further passages where the term *mulaththim* occurs in this sense may be mentioned ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ed. de Sacy, 483, 4ff. (with other references), Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii, 243 (discusses several passages), Marquart, *Die Benu-Sumāma*, Index, s.v. *Lyamtträger*.

The word *liṯām* and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets.

From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under *her lithām*" (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 400; *cf. mā taḥt al lithāmayn* = "the face" in *al Mutanabbī*, 464, 27) develops the meaning of *l-th-m* = "to kiss" (*'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a*, ed. Schwarz, 6, 207, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān*, Marseilles 1833, 125, l. 3 from below) and especially *laṯāthama* = "to kiss one another", *maṯāthama*, the place which is kissed (al-Farazdaḳ in Dozy, *Supplément*). A girl is given a *lithām* woven out of her own hair (*1001 Nights*, Breslau edition, ii, 52, 2); the camel has a *lithām* of foam around its mouth (Dhu 'l-Rumma, 76, 17), the wolf is *aḥamm al-lithām* = "black in the region of the muzzle" (al-Tirimmāḥ, 4, 35, of the wolf, we find it said in *Ḥamāsa*, i 762, 17, *law yatalaṯṯamūn*); the wine-jar has a *lithām*, i.e. a piece of cloth over its mouth (*maṯāthim*, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 123, 7; also al-Aḵẖṭal, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, 85, 2 and 'Alḳama, ed. Seow, ii, 43, on jars), the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth veil (*laṯṯamat, al Mutanabbī, loc. cit.*), "as the day (*nahār*) doffed its *lithām*" = a description of dawn in Ibn 'Arabshāh, ed. Golius, 64, 3, from below, cf. the commentary on *al Ḥarīrī*, *Maḳāmāt*, 240, 10. *kashafa* (*al-ṣubḥ*) *al-lithāma*, many titles of books also begin with *Kashf al lithām*, cf. Brockelmann, S III, 915, 937 (eight titles with *kashf al-lithām* and one with *imāṭat al-lithām*) the *lithām* is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i.e. they are to be exposed (*'Imād al-Dīn*, ed. Landberg, 65, 12); to doff the *lithām* of one's origin = to confess it freely (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*[2], ii, 426, 3); the archangel Isrāfīl has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (*laṯṯamat*) from heaven down to the seventh earth (al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 56, below), a voice may be hidden, *maṯthūm* (Ṭarafa, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 5, 26 = ed. Beirut 1888, 10), a further metaphor is found in Ibn al-Rūmī, in de Sacy, *Chrest.*, iii, 55, verse 25.

Bibliography. In general, cf. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 399-400 and *Supplément*, ii, 526; and for the veils of Muslim women, in general, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd*, in *Verspr. Geschr.* i 295 ff. and LIMĀḤ. On the Tuareg veil specifically, see H. R. Palmer, *The Tuareg veil*, in *Geogr. J.*, lxvii (1926), 412-18, D. Campbell, *The Touaregs or veiled men of the Sahara*, in *MW*, xviii (1928), 256-62; Raffaele Corso, *Il velo dei Tuaregh*, in *AIUON*, nuova serie (1949), 251-66; J. H. Keenan, *The Tuareg veil*, in *Revue de l'occident musulman*, no. 17 (1974), 107-18; L. Frobenius and H. Obermaier, *Hadschra maktuba*, 1925, pls. 32, 80, 252

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

LITHOGRAPHY [see MAṬBAʿA]

LITHOMANCY [see ṬARḤ]

LIU CHIH (*Matthew Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American edition 1966, characters nos. 4093, 933), also known as LIU CHIAELIEN (*Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 629, 4003), 17th/18th century Chinese Muslim scholar (translator, theologian, philosopher and biographer of the Prophet Muḥammad), the most prolific Chinese Muslim author and probably the best-known literary figure yet produced by the Chinese Muslim community.

A *Ḥui* (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, Liu Chih was born in Nanking *ca.* 1667/1670. Little is known of his class background or early childhood, but it is safe to assume that he was from a well-to-do family. His father Liu Han-ying (*Matthews*, nos. 4093, 2039, 7489) is said to have "ceaselessly regretted" (Pelliot, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 425, n. 2) the paucity of Islamic works available in Chinese, and indeed, some sources have credited Liu Han-ying (under the pseudonym Liu San-chieh, *Matthews'*, nos. 4093, 5425, 774) with the authorship of two short Islamic tracts (Pelliot, *ibid.*); certainly, Liu Chih seems to have manifested an early interest in the study and translation of Islamic works. Liu tells us that he prepared himself for his life's work—the propagation of Islam through the medium of the Chinese language—by undertaking prolonged linguistic and philosophical studies. At the age of 15 he began a study of the traditional Chinese classics and histories which lasted for eight years. This was followed by a six year study of Arabic and Islamic religious literature, a further three years study of Buddhism, and finally, one year studying the Taoist classics. Liu completed his universal education by reading 137 *Hsi-yang* (Western) books of which Ferd, 150 (see *Bibl.*), writes: "this may seem a large number in that period, but it was over a century since Matteo Ricci had arrived in Peking (1601) and he and his successors, together with the Chinese scholars associated with them, had produced a whole series of works on geography, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and religion, including some touching on Confucianism. It is therefore quite possible that there was a collection of that number at Nanking and that Liu had seen it."

From the age of 33, Liu was to concentrate on making Arabic and Islamic works available to his Chinese co-religionists. It is clear that he also wished to make Islam philosophically acceptable to the Confucian Chinese establishment. As Ford (*ibid.*) points out: "his leaning towards Confucianism was more marked than that of any other Muslim and it has sometimes been questioned whether he did not compromise his Muslim principles. After the years of study, he writes, it came on him like a flash that the guiding purpose of the *Qur'ān* was similar to that of Confucius and Mencius. 'The Sacred Book', he wrote, 'is the Sacred Book of Islam, but *is* (the Confucian concept of moral propriety) is the same *is* which exists everywhere under heaven'". In Liu's attempt to reconcile Confucianism and Islam, the traditional dilemma of Chinese Muslims—geographically and culturally isolated from the rest of *dār al-Islām*—can clearly be seen. The same may be said of Liu Chih's personal dilemma—the almost instinctive desire of a Muslim member of the Chinese *literati* in ethnocentric 17th/18th century China to make his "barbarian" religion culturally and politically acceptable in his native land (Liu lived at a time of rapidly-deteriorating Han Chinese—Hui Muslim relations), whilst at the same time strengthening the Islamic affiliations of the Chinese Muslim community.

Liu Chih tells us that after completing his preparatory studies, he wrote several hundred manuscripts, of which only about one tenth were published. His first major work, *T'ien-fang hsing-li* ("The philosophy of Arabia"—preface dated 1116/1704) deals in some depth with questions of cosmology, creation, the nature of man and the unity of God. In the preface to this book, a contemporary non-Muslim mandarin, the Vice-Minister of the Board of Ritual, wrote: "the ancient Confucian doctrine has been undermined at different times by Buddhists and Taoists ... now, however, in this book of Liu Chih we see once more the way of the ancient sages, Yao and Shun, King Wen and King Wu, and Confucius. Thus although his book explains Islam, in truth it illuminates our Confucianism". Similarly in the preface of Liu's *T'ien-fang san-li chi-yao-chieh* ("A selection of important Arabian [i.e. Islamic] rules and cere-

mas'ala"—preface dated 1122/1710), the Vice Minister of the Board of War was to write that after discussing the Muslim religion with Liu he had found that it upheld the traditional Confucian values of loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety and brotherly love—in short, that Islam was not to be equated with "heretical and vicious sects" which were opposed to the established (Confucian) order (Forel, *ibid.*). This early Ch'ing attitude to Chinese Islam was to change radically by the latter half of the 12th/18th century when North-West China was shaken by the rebellion of Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*], and still more so after the mid-13th/19th century risings of Ma Hua-lung and Ya'kūb Beg [*q.vv.*] Liu's *Arabian rules and ceremonies* was less kindly reviewed in the 1197/1782 Catalogue of the Imperial Library, which states: "The style of this book is extremely elegant, but if the base is wrong to start with, fine words avail nothing". In 1710, the same year as the publication of *Arabian rules and ceremonies*, Liu also produced a short handbook entitled *T'ien-fang tsu-mu chieh* ("An explanation of the Arabic alphabet"), essentially a guide to the Arabic script intended for the use of Chinese Muslims.

Undoubtedly Liu Chih's greatest work—he himself saw it as both the zenith and climax of his life's work—was his biography of Muhammad, *T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu nien-p'u* ("An accurate biography of the Arabian Prophet", Hanking 1137/1724, first published 1193/1779). This book has been wholly or partially translated into Russian, French, English and Japanese, and is certainly the most widely-known of all Chinese Muslim books. Liu's biography of Muhammad was based on a number of Arabic and Persian language works the chief of which has been transliterated by Pelliot as *Tarğumat Mustafā*, a work which remains unidentified. A list of 67 reference works in Arabic and Persian used by Liu in his researches has been studied by the Japanese scholar Kuwata Rokuro (see *Bibl.*, also Ford, *op. cit.*, 131).

Liu Chih tells us little of his personal life. We know that he was a bookworm, and that because of his studiousness he was considered rather dull by his relatives and friends. Liu travelled widely, primarily in search of Arabic and Persian texts. Whilst *en route* "he pursued his reading among the dust of the carts by which he travelled, and even when riding on his beast" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. xii).

Before the Communist conquest of China in 1949, Liu Chih's tomb, which could still be seen outside the southern gate of the city of Nsaking, was regularly visited by Chinese Muslim pilgrims. It is not known whether the tomb still exists today, but it should be noted that in 1973 the tomb of Sayyid Wakkās, by tradition the father of Chinese Islam, was restored by the Chinese government.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

LIVADYA (Λεβάδεια), a town in central Greece on the slopes of Mount Helicon, bordering the vast fertile plain of Boeotia. Nearby is Lake Kopais, reclaimed between 1883-92. The local centre of agriculture and the seat of a bishopric, Livadya was in the Frankish Middle Ages one of the important castles of the Duchy of Athens. In Ottoman times (1460-1829) it developed into a prosperous urban centre and grew into the largest city of central Greece, after Athens, with the highest number of Muslim citizens to the south of Thessaly.

The origins of Livadya go back to the remote antiquity. Since the 8th century B.C., it was one of the minor Boeotian towns, living in the shade of the mighty Thebes. As is the case with many Greek cities, little is known about the town in the early Middle Ages. As an urban centre it appears to be the successor of the ancient city of Orchomenos/Skripou, the seat of the Byzantine administration since the 8th century, which declined during the 11th and 12th centuries. The castle of Livadya, situated on a steep conical hill overlooking the city on the south-west, must have been founded by the Franks after 1204, when it was included in the Duchy of Athens. The Catalans of the Grand Company occupied Livadya after the battle of Skripou in 1311 and held it till 1379-80, reconstructing the castle to the form it largely has today. At an unknown date, the Navarrese, who had captured the town in 1378-80, ceded Livadya to the Florentine Nerio I Acciaiuoli, but almost immediately afterwards it was taken by the Ottomans under Ghāzī Ewrenos, who kept it for almost a year (1393-4) Yıldırım Bāyezīd's armies, marching to the Morea in 1397, seem to have passed by Livadya, reconquered by the Franks under Bertrand Mota. The unceasing warfare of the second half of the 14th century, and at least four epidemics of plague (1348, 1372, 1374, 1388) depopulated the land to a large extent. The Acciaiuoli tried to remedy this by settling ten thousand Albanian families who had been ousted from Epirus by Carlo Tocco. The reign of Antonio Acciaiuoli (1403-35), an Ottoman vassal, was more or less peaceful. There must have been some recovery, interrupted only by the plague of 1423. During the "Varna crisis" of 1443-4, the Livadya area was plundered and occupied twice, first by the Ottomans under Turkhān-oghlu ʿÖmer Beg in 1444, as retaliation for the treason of Nerio II, who had forsaken the Ottomans, and then by the troops of Despot Constantin of the Morea. The last Florentine Duke of Boeotia, Antonio II, also an Ottoman vassal, was removed in 1460 when the duchy became an Ottoman *sandjak* without much upheaval. This is perhaps the reason why the Ottoman chroniclers pass over the acquisition of Boeotia in silence. After Chalkis had been wrested from the Venetians (1470), this large walled city and important harbour became the capital of the *sandjak*, called Eghribos (from Euripos), and Livadya the seat of a *kadılık*.

The Ottomans seem to have settled mainly in the Catalan castle and in a cluster of houses below it, on the banks of a torrent. There Turkhān-oghlu ʿÖmer, the Ottoman governor of Thessaly, constructed an *khānkāh* and a domed mosque with some guestrooms that was to become the centre of Islamic life for the next three-and-a-half centuries. The castle was guarded by a garrison of a few dozen soldiers. The mosque is mentioned in the *Wakf-nāma* of ʿÖmer Beg, its staff being paid from the vast urban property of the Turkhān-oghlu clan in Thessaly.

The *Icmal defter* MM 66 from 871/1466-7, is apparently the oldest preserved Ottoman register containing information on Livadya. In the mentioned year, the town was a *nāhiye* of the *sandjak* of Tirkhāla (Trikkala) containing 184 Christian households and 24 bachelors as well as a Muslim community of 57 households and 23 bachelors. The Christian group should be regarded as the autochtonous population of Livadya, the relatively large Muslim group as the product of a deliberate policy of colonisation after the town had been annexed.

In this same year the administrative district of Livadya contained 47 Greek ("Rūm") villages and 30 *hāṣṣa* inhabited by Albanians ("Arnavud"). A year after the conquest of Eghribos (Chalkis), in 875/1471, the town and the district were detached from Tirkhāla and added to the newly formed *sandjak* of Eghribos, as is mentioned *der kenār* note in the same register mentions that in Dhu 'l-Hiddja of 876/May-June 1472, Livadya was entrusted to 42 soldiers of the garrison of Eghribos, soldiers bearing Muslim Turkish names and coming from a number of places in the Balkans (Pirlepe, Fanari (Thessaly), Nighbolu, Ialis (Lamia), Yanbol Serīdje, Serres, Berat in Albania, etc.) thus giving an indication of where the first Muslim settlers of Livadya came from.

During the 16th century, Livadya shared in the general expansion of the cities of the Ottoman empire. The census registers of the *sandjak* of Eghribos, preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, give exact information on the fast growing number of inhabitants as well as on the number and scope of the Islamic institutions founded in the city in that period. The *Mufaṣṣal defter* of 1508 (T.D. 351), which records some of the *wakfs* of the *sandjak* of Eghribos (but no data on the population of Livadya), mentions a *mu'allim khāne* of Hasan Beg b. Mūsā in the city and a *zāwiye* of Ayas Dede, which provided lodging for travellers. Both foundations were maintained from the rents of some shops, watermills and gardens in or near the town. According to the *Icmal defter* (no. 367) of 1520-28, Livadya numbered 427 households, 295 of which were Christian, divided in four *mahalles* under their priests (49 of the Christian families were registered as cultivators of rice, *çeltikçiyān*). The Muslim community, consisting of 96 households, was apparently not yet crystallised in *mahalles*. The *Defter* also mentions a community (*djemā'at*) of 38 Jewish families. Thus the population of Livadya was then 70% Orthodox Christian, 22% Muslim and 8% Jewish. According to the *Kānūnnāme* of the city and the district of Livadya, contained in the same register, the Muslim citizens paid only the tithes and nothing else. This source also states that the Jews had come from the West and that among the Christian inhabitants there were Albanians and Vlach nomads. The Albanians enjoyed some minor tax facilities. The city was by then a *khāṣṣ-i Hümāyūn*. T.D. no. 196 from 1539-40 mentions a garrison of 36 men in the castle of Livadya. This number could in no way because the city was safely situated in the interior of the country and had little to fear from an enemy attack (Chalkis and Athens, both on the coast, had then 357 and 114 men respectively, including *dizdārs*, gunners, etc.).

A further witness of the vast expansion of Livadya in the 16th century is the *Mufaṣṣal defter* of 1569-70 (T.D. 484). It mentions 552 Christian, 317 Muslim, and 32 Jewish households. The Christians still lived in four *mahalles*, but the Muslims had by now formed five *mahalles*, grouped around their mosques: the Djāmi'-i 'Atīk-i 'Ömer Beg, the Djāmi'-

I Dāʾūd Beg, the Mesdjid-i Muṣṭafā Voyvode, the Mesdjid-i Muṣlih al-Dīn and the Mesdjid-i Maḥmūd Čelebi. The rapid augmentation of Muslim inhabitants did not primarily result from conversion of local Christians, for the 1570 register, written when the peak of conversions to Islam was over, gives but 15% converts among the Muslims. In the 16th century, the cultivation of rice in the fertile and well-irrigated plain east of the city expanded likewise. The 1526 register mentions 31 Christian *ʿelitikdjīs* living in Livadya, that of 1570, recapitulating the registrations of the intervening years (not known to us) gives 53 "old" Christian *ʿelitikdjīs* and 16 "new" ones besides 16 "old" Muslim *ʿelitikdjīs* and no less than 43 "new" ones. Only 3% of these 59 Muslim cultivators of rice were converts, which means that they must have come from elsewhere, most probably from Thessaly with its massive population of Muslim Turkish colonists. The *ʿelitikdjīs* of Livadya had a privileged fiscal position, since they were exonerated from the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye* and the *ʿtekālīf-i ʿörfiyye*, a status given to them by "previous Sultāns" and renewed ever since. The cultivation of rice in the marshy Kopais area thus goes back at least to Dāʾūd II or even Meḥemmed II. The Muslim population of Livadya as a whole had a specific status. It was exonerated from the *ʿawāriḍ* and the *tekālīf* taxes and the duty of garrison of the fleet, but was expected to form a military reserve in case of attack. This status, based on "orders of the previous Sultāns", probably goes back to the time of Meḥemmed II.

The 1570 register shows a major shift in the ethnic-religious composition of the Livadya population: 62% was Christian, 35% Muslim and only 3% Jewish. It had the highest number of Muslim ethnics of the entire *sandjak* of Ḳaraḥiṣār (in that year, 1 ghriḥiṣār numbered 769 Muslim households. Thebes (Istifa) (21 households) and Athens 56 households). This expansion of Islam as well as the further growth of the town continued throughout the last quarter of the 16th and first half of the 17th century, although exact numbers are lacking.

The most detailed description of Islamic Livadya in the 17th century is given by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat nāmesi*, viii), who visited the city in 1076/1667-8. By then it appears to have reached its widest expansion. There were 2,020 houses, six Christian *maḥalles*, inhabited by Greeks, Latins and Armenians, and seven Muslim *maḥalles*. The latter were principally the same as those mentioned in the 1570 register, but the *mesdjids* had now became mosques. Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention the *tarafgāh* of Maḥmūd Čelebi, but adds as a new building the Mosque of the Tanneries, commonly known as Süleymāniyye, and notes three *mahalle mesdjids*. According to Ewliya, the mosque of ʿÖmer Beg was a small building in ancient style, with a plentiful congregation. The mosque of Dāʾūd Beg, also in old style, had an inscription in Arabic, dated 933/1526-7, which Ewliyā quotes in *extenso*. There were, furthermore, three dervish *tekkes*, three *mektebs* and two *medresehs*. The existence of the latter is not attested elsewhere. Ewliyā gives a very accurate description of the castle, then guarded by fifty men who had their houses inside the walls. Like the European travellers after him, Ewliyā extols the beauty of the town, situated on seven hills and dales, and its spacious and prosperous houses, fountains and coffeeshops. Among its population were many rich and notable persons. According to Ewliyā, part of the *waḳf* property of the Holy City of Medina and was governed by a Voyvode of the Ḥāṣṣa Aghasi [*q.v.*], who had jurisdiction over this *waḳf*. Commanding 200 men, he administered justice and had the right of capital punishment. Ewliyā's information suggests that he paraphrased stipulations from state documents. Greek sources attest that Livadya was part of the domain of the Wālide Sulṭān, thus reflecting the situation in the last part of the Ottoman period. On an Ottoman list of *ḥāṣṣ*s of 1667 8, Livadya ranked sixth in the hierarchy of twelve states.

Spon and Wheler, who travelled in 1675-6, relate that the town was inhabited by "Turks and Greeks" and a few Jews, living from the production of woollen cloth and trade in corn and rice, which was exported to all of Greece. The Turks possessed "five or six" mosques, the Greeks as many churches. They also mention a caravanserai and say that the mosque of ʿÖmer Beg was originally a church, dedicated to St. George. According to Richard Pococke, who visited Livadya in 1745, the town was inhabited by an almost equal number of Greeks and Turks. His information about the number of houses seems unreliable. Pouqueville, who visited the town shortly before 1800, gives a "cadastre du Vaivodilik de Lebadée" with the names and numbers of the inhabitants of all the villages of the district, Livadya itself counting 2,000 households. In the same period, Col. Leake found Livadya singularly beautiful, possessing an air of opulence not found elsewhere in Ottoman Greece. According to him there were 1,500 houses, only 130 of which were Turkish. Henry Holland, travelling in 1815, noted that Livadya was "still retaining the reputation as one of the principal towns in modern Greece" with nearly 2,000 houses, "many of them very large and inhabited by wealthy and respectable Greeks". There were still five mosques with minarets, but the Turkish population was very small. Economy was still based on agriculture, exports consisting of wheat, barley maize, cotton, wool, cheese, honey, etc., and estimated in 1805 at 250,000 *kile*s (bushels). The reason why the Muslim-Turkish part of the inhabitants of Livadya declined so markedly in the 18th century is not known in detail.

In the first decade of the 19th century, the powerful Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha tried to extend his direct control over Livadya. He was unsuccessful in attempting to lease the taxes of the area but succeeded in enlarging his influence, acting as inspector of the Passes.

In the second half of the Ottoman period, especially in the 18th century, the type of land tenure and the administrative system favoured the development of a powerful Christian bourgeoisie that took control of production and commerce. The main representative of this class was Giannakis Stamos Logothetis, a progressive and cultured man who was in touch with the liberal movements of Western Europe. The general prosperity of the Livadya area was attributed to men like him.

During the Greek War of Independence, the town was several times plundered and burnt and at the end nothing but ruins remained. After 1829, Livadya was rebuilt gradually. In 1889 there were 4,090 inhabitants; in 1907, 7,080, and in 1928, 12,585, more than during the last century of Ottoman rule (approx. 10,000). In 1928 the expansion virtually stopped (in 1961 there were 12,609 inhabitants), but in recent years there is again some growth. No traces of Islamic buildings are preserved except for a fine vaulted stone bridge and an 18th century clock tower. The Catalan castle, wrecked through an earthquake in 1894, still exists in ruined condition.

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(M. Kiel)

LIVNO (in pre-modern Slavonic texts, often written as Hlivno, in older Ottoman texts variously written as Hlevne, Ḫlevne, etc.), a town in Bosnia situated at the spur of a mountain at the eastern edge of the homonymous *polje* or plain in a very dry and stony karst landscape on the approaches to Dalmatia. Today, it is a small local centre far off the main thoroughfares and little-visited, but in the 16th and 17th centuries it was a centre of Ottoman power, seat of the *sanǧaḳ beg*s of Klis, and bulwark of Islam on the western frontiers of the empire. Until World War II, Livno boasted five domed and lead-covered mosques from the classical period of Ottoman architecture, thus ranking second in Bosnia, immediately after Sarajevo, in this aspect, demonstrating the importance which the place once had as a centre of Islam.

The town of Livno is an Ottoman foundation from the early 16th century, whose expansion was greatly promoted by various members of the *sanǧaḳ* administration residing there. The castle of Livno, now a ruin overlooking the town, is much older. It is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th century A.D.) as Hlediana, one of the eleven *župas* of the kingdom of Croatia, situated on the border between the Serbian and the Croatian lands. In the later Middle Ages, Livno belonged to the kings of Bosnia. It is mentioned as "Grad Hlivanjski" in 1400 (Mišković, *Monumenta*, 248-9). In the first half of the 15th century, it was ruled by the family of Vukčić. King Tomas resided in Livno in 1444 (H. Šabanović, tr., *Kršćanska Bosna*, Sarajevo 1959, 254). The castle is again mentioned in 1466 as being guarded against the Turks by Vladislav Hercegović, a son of Duke (Herceg → Hercegovina) Stjepan (son of Vladislav's brothers became the late famous Grand Vizier of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, Herzekoghlu Aḥmed Pasha). The Ottomans captured the castle of Livno between 1466 and 1483. The exact date is not known, and is an object of controversy. The *Taḥrīr defter* no. 28 of 890/1485 mentions Livno as centre of a *nāḥiye*, it possessed then a civil population of 27 families and 26 temporary residents.

In the first decades of the Ottoman period, there was only one mosque in Livno, the Ḫwāǧalar Djāmiʿ, or Starogradsko Džamija, in the castle, serving the needs of the garrison. In the first decades of the 16th century, a Muslim suburb grew up around the Balaǧlıa Mosque (Balaguša), built according to its Arabic inscription in 920/1514. This building, still preserved, is the first of the domed mosques of Livno. Soon afterwards, the Džumanuša Mosque of Sinān Čāwūsh from 935/1528-9 was erected, also a domed structure (destroyed in World War II). The open town of Livno sprang up below the castle on sloping ground, with the older quarters at the foot of the castle and the newer ones further down the hill.

Livno remained a *nāḥiye* of the *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of Norenva until some time in the first quarter of the 16th century. After the conquest of Skradin in 928/1522 (*Defter-i mufṣal*, i, 71), Livno was included in a newly-founded *ḳāḍīlīḳ*, which had the Dalmatian town as its centre. In 1537 Murād Beg Tardić (a Dalmatian convert from Šibenik) captured the fortress of Klis facing the Venetian base of Split (Spalato) and became *sanǧaḳ beg* of the newly-formed *sanǧaḳ* of Klis (*Defterī*, i). As Split was too vulnerably-situated to suit the requirements of an administrative centre, the residence of the beg was set up in Livno. They resided there especially in the latter part of the 16th century, which induced Italian and German sources to speak of "the *sanǧaḳ* of Livno". In 1648, during the Cretan War, Klis was lost for the Ottomans, but the *sanǧaḳ* kept the name of its former titulary capital.

The second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century was the time of the greatest expansion of the town. According to the *Tapu defter* no. 285, 1-7 and no. 284, 67-75, both from 960/1553, the "*ḥiṣār* of Hlivne", part of the *ḫāṣṣ* of the *Mīr-i Livā* of Klis Aḥmed Beg, numbered five *maḥalle*s with 262 households (*ḫāne*s) and 170 bachelors (*mücerred*), thus totalling *ca.* 1,340 inhabitants. Only nine households were Christian, and all others were Muslims. Four of the town quarters were called after the mosque around which they had sprung up: Mahalle-yi Djāmiʿ-i Sinān Čāwush, with 50 *ḫāne*s, 43 *mücerred*s, Mahalle yi Djāmiʿ-i Hamza, with 35 *ḫāne*s and 28 *mücerred*s; Mahalle yi Meǧlid-i

Pehlwān Hüseyn, with 73 *khānes* and 48 *mūdjerrads*; Mahalle-yi Mewlānā Hüseyn Etmekči zāde, with 48 *khānes* and 53 *mūdjerrads*, and Varesh of Hlivne, with 29 Muslim *khānes* and nine Christian *khānes*. Other Ottoman registers, from 40 years later, testify to the rapid development of the town in these years. The *Tapu defter* no. 533, 320-39, and the *T d* 546, 298-307, both from 988/1573-4 mention seven *mahalles* in Livno. Added to those mentioned in 1553 are the following new wards: Mahalle-yi Dīwānī-i sherīf-i Mehmed Agha, Mahalle-yi Dīwānī-i sherīf-i Mehmed and Mahalle-yi Ferhād Beg. The number of inhabitants is given as *nefers* (single individuals, persons), 653 men and a separate group of 40 tanners. An indication of the function of the town as a centre of handicrafts besides being an administrative centre: if three-quarters of the number given were family heads, this would make a total population of little less than 3,000 souls, which is indeed a spectacular growth. The second mosque mentioned in the *T d* of 982 is the so-called Perkuša Džamija, built according to its Arabic inscription in 972/1583-4 by Sipāhī Mehmed. It was the third domed mosque of Livno, and existed till World War II. The above-mentioned Ferhād Beg was a Šokollu zāde (Sokolović), a nephew of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Šokollu. Ferhād was *sandjak begi* of Klis between 1566 and 1574, and is known to have erected a large caravanserai in the lower town of Livno. The last quarter of the 18th century saw the erection of two more domed mosques: the Begluk Džamija of Šokolu-zāde Lala Mustafā Pasha in 985/1577-8, built during his term as *sandjak beg* of Klis (1574-7), and the Glavica Džamija, built by a Dökatar-oghlu Hādjdjī Ahmed in 996/1587-8. Both buildings are preserved at the present date and still have their *Bauinschrift* in Turkish. Four more mosques and a Clock Tower (1653) were built in the course of the 17th century: the Tepet Džamija, Barusa Džamija, Pragic Džamija (demolished in 1918), and the Pasina ex Atlagić Džamija. The latter was most probably built by Mehmed Pasha Atlagić, the most important member of the Livanjsko family of Atlibegović, or Atli-agi Mehmed Pasha Atlagić was *sandjak beg* of Klis in 1685-7 and vizier of Bosnia in 1687-8 (H. Kreševljaković, in *Hrvatska Enciklopedija*, art. *Atlagići*). With the erection of these buildings, the architectural outlook of Livno acquired its definitive form. The only known important group of buildings of the 19th century is the mosque, *mekteb*, *imāret* and water supply system of the brothers Mahmūd Beg and Derwīsh Beg Bashatlī. The mosque, the Milosnik Džamija, built in 1293/1874-5, was restored in 1978.

When Ewliyā Čelebi visited Livno in 1070/1659-60, he found a fully-developed Muslim town, the seat of a *kādī* (the Ottoman list of *kādīlīks* of Rumeli of 1078/1667-8 also mentions "Ihlivne" as seat of a *kādī*), a number of officials of the provincial administration as well as a *dizdār* who commanded a garrison of 600 men. The open town below the castle was composed of nine *mahalles* and had 1,700 stone-built houses, covered with shingles; 13 mosques, of which seven were Friday mosques (for three of them, he gives extracts from the inscriptions), three *medrese*, (attached in the mosques of Dökat[ar]oghlu Hādjdjī Ahmed, Sipāhī Mehmed and Lala [Mustafā] Pasha), five *mekteb*, six *tekkes*, one *kervansaray* and 300 shops. With 5,000-6,000 inhabitants, the town clearly reached the limits of self-sufficiency for a poor karst land like the Livno district. The "golden age" of Islamic Livno ended in 1688 when, during the great war against the Christian coalition, Stojan Janković captured the town and burnt it down. The Starogradsko Džamija in the castle and the Borusa Džamija were destroyed and not rebuilt. Since that time and throughout the 18th century, Livno was the seat of the *Livanjsko kapetanat*, a function which was in the hands of the Atlagić family till 1771. The most famous captain of Livno was Firdūs in the first half of the 19th century. Parts of his fortified house (*kula*) still exist.

At the beginning of the 18th century, with the border areas lost to Venice, the *sandjak* of Klis comprised four *kādīlīks*: Akhisār (Prusac), Gölhisār (Jezero), Novosel and Livno, the latter with the *nāhiyes* of Livno, Glamoč, Grahovo and Šatorinsko. Livno recovered slowly from the destruction of 1688. The castle was maintained throughout the 18th and the greater part of the 19th centuries. In 1833 it still had 34 guns. The Ottoman period ended in 1878, when the Austrian-Hungarian army captured Livno after an obstinate defence. The town continued to flourish until the beginning of the present century as a small centre of grain and live-stock trade and silver filigree-work, until a great conflagration in 1904 swept away more than 500 houses. Before that date it had, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911 edn. (xvi, 816), about 5,000 inhabitants, thus maintaining the level of the 17th century. According to the *Baedeker, Österreich-Ungarn* of 1913, 412, Livno had still 4,700 inhabitants, but this recovery was temporary. After 1918, when it was incorporated in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, a large part of its Muslim population departed. When René Pelletier visited it in the early thirties, Livno had but 2,200 inhabitants (Pelletier, *Sarajevo et sa région*, Paris 1934). During World War II, Livno was three times occupied by German and Croatian Fascist forces and as many times liberated, lastly in October 1944. During these events, all the hitherto preserved mosques but one (Balagusa Dā) were deliberately destroyed or heavily damaged, together with the entire town. The ruins of the Glavica Džamija and the adjacent Clock Tower, together constituting the landmark of Livno, were restored in 1963-4. The Begluk Džamija of Šokolu-zāde Mustafā was restored in 1971-2, and the Zavra Džamija and Ćurčinca Džamija, both wood-covered halls, in the seventies.

In 1953 Livno numbered 3,692 inhabitants, among whom is a small Muslim minority. The centre of gravity of the post-war town has shifted to the flat grounds of the plain below the totally-ruined Ottoman town. In the old parts, now under the protection of the Service of Ancient Monuments of Bosnia, only construction in local style is allowed, thus creating a harmony with the preserved Islamic monuments.

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LIWĀ' (a.), in Ottoman *livā'*.

1. For the meaning banner, flag, standard see ʿALAM.

2. In the Ottoman empire the word indicated a province, several of which were at a certain moment joined into an *eyālet*, later *vilāyet* [see WILĀYA] The term *livā'*, synonymous with Turkish *sancak* [see SANDJAK], was mainly used in official documents. Accordingly, *mīr livā* (from Arabic *amīr al-livā'*) stood for *sancak beg* [see BEG], the governor and military commander of a *livā'* or *sancak*. From the middle of the 19th century onwards there was also used the term *mütesarriflik*, derived from the title *mütesarrif*. Of all the states issued from the Ottoman Empire, only ʿIrāk kept the term *livā'* (up till 1974) to indicate a province. In the army of ʿIrāk, *livā'* indicates a brigade, *amīr al-livā'* brigadier (as in Egypt until 1939)

Bibliography: Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, London 1950, i/1, 137 73; A Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976. For further literature, see SANDJAK. (A. BIRKEN)

LIWĀN [see IWĀN].

LIWĀṬ (a.), sodomy. There does exist in Arabic a verb *lāṭa* meaning "to attach oneself, to join oneself to", but *livāṭ* appears to be rather a *masdar* of *lāṭa* or *lāwaṭa*, denominative of Lūṭ (*q.v.*), i.e. Lot, in modern Arabic there are also the terms *ltwāṭa*, *tnulwaṭa*, *talawwut*, etc., as well as a large number of euphemisms and of dialectical and slang terms. The homosexual is called *lāṭī* or *lā'ī* (pl. *lāṭa*), or *mulāwiṭ*, when he is the active partner, although the distinction is often difficult to establish; the passive is *mu'būn*, and his perversion, *al-ʿibn*, among the synonyms the most common is *mukhannath*, generally translated as "effeminate", although in normal usage it refers to the genuine hermaphrodite (see A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam*, Paris 1975, 55-7) In the Muslim West in the Middle Ages, a special term, *ḥāwī* (pl *ḥuwā*) was used in reference to professional male prostitutes (see below)

In a number of verses of the Kur'ān relating to Lot and his people, the word *fāḥisha*, which may be rendered as "depravity", is clearly an allusion to the vice in question, but this is even more strongly indicated by the pejorative nature of the remarks and questions attributed to this prophet: *inna-kum la-tatūna l-rijāla shahwa-tan min dūni 'l-nisā'*, *bal antum ḳawmu-n musrifūn* "You commit the carnal act, in lust, with men and not with women, you are indeed an impious people" (VII, 79/81), *a-tuna-kum la-tatūna'l rujāla?* (XXVII, 55/54) and *a-ta'tūna 'l dhukrāna?* (XXVI, 165) The punishment inflicted upon the people of Lot, in the Kur'ān as in the Bible (Gen., xix, 1 23) leaves no doubt as to the way in which sodomy should be regarded by Islam, even though it is not explicitly condemned by the Holy Book, which indeed allows a certain ambiguity in passages where the believers are promised that in paradise they will be attended by manservants (*ghilmān*, LII, 24, *wildān*, LVI, 17, LXXVI, 19)

The statements of *ḥadīth* are, on the other hand, perfectly clear and particularly harsh, as is noted by al Nuwayrī who, in his *Nihāya* (ii, 204-20), has conveniently collected them together, with the addition of the opinions of the Companions and the *fukahā'* on the subject. The Prophet is alleged to have said that what he feared most for his community were the practices of the people of Lot (although he seems to have expressed the same idea in regard to wine and to female seduction *Nihāya*, ii, 198) According to him, both the active and the passive agent must be killed (*yuḳtalu'l-fā'il wa 'l-maf'ūl bihi*, terms which were subsequently to be applied, in grammar, to the subject and the direct object) or, more precisely, subjected to the punishment prescribed for the man guilty of *zinā* (*q.v.*), the fornicator, that is, death by stoning (*fa-rdjumū 'l-a'lā wa 'l-asfal*) The man who sodomizes another or inflicts the same treatment on a woman, will on the Day of Resurrection be regarded as more reprehensible than carrion, needless to say, he will suffer eternal damnation, unless he obtains pardon through repentance The lustful kissing of an adolescent is enough to earn a thousand years in Hell

By the very fact of their existence, these *ḥadīths* show that, while probably not very common in Bedouin society, homosexuality was not totally unknown in Arabia of the pre-Islamic period For proof of this, one need look no further than the story of Dhū Nuwās (*q.v.*), who was compelled to kill Dhū Shanātir in order to escape his advances. Proverbs of the form *ahwā min* . . . (al-Maydānī, ii, 205) testify to the antiquity of the form and of the idea which it expresses; al-Maydānī cites the ex-

possession *ahwat min Dubb*, making the last word ("bear") into a proper name; similarly al-Ḍabbī (*Muḍākharat al-ǧulasāʾ wa ʾl-ǧulasāʾ*, in *Nasāʾiʾl al-Ḍabbī*, ed Hārūn, ii, 136-7) quotes a Hiǧāzī proverb, *ahwat min Dīk*, in which *Dīk* ("cock") would also be the name of a person; these coincidences are curious, to say the least. Whatever the case may be, animals are not exempt from this vice: al-Ḍabbī himself (*Hayawān*, iii 204) cites the example of a *maʿbūn* horse, perhaps castrated at an early age, which pursued male horses, mules and donkeys. The same author seems to have been the first to speak (*ibid*, vii, 278) of a fabulous animal, the *ʿuḏīr*, which was in the habit of casnuiting the men whom it encountered, its victims suffered a worm infected anus and died as a result (cf al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, iii, 319-20 = § 1203). In his *Muḥākara*, he also mentions a *waṣīf* of Khuzāʿa, Maymūn b Zayd b Tharwān, who was a lāʾiṭ in Kūfa and who became proverbial under the nickname of Siyāh, but was apparently viewed with an indulgence that spared him any punishment.

However, in the course of the 1st/7th century, a number of precise cases of *liwāṭ* subjected to exemplary penalties are reported, especially by al-Ḍabbī and al-Ṭabarī. Abū Bakr condemned a homosexual to be burned beneath the débris of a wall, and prescribed burning alive as the penalty for all those guilty of such practices; in this respect he was followed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. For his part, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib ordered the stoning of a *lāʾiṭ* and had another thrown head first from the top of a minaret, according to Ibn ʿAbbās, this last punishment must be followed by stoning. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar went a step beyond the condemnation predicted by the Prophet, reckoning that these people would be resurrected in the form of monkeys and pigs. The famous letter from an Umayyad caliph [see KHALĪFA, IV, 1087b] ordering the governor of Mecca or of Medina to "hold a census" of the *mukhannaṯūn* of the town corresponds to a real situation, even if the tradition itself is contrived.

In fact, the increase in prosperity brought about by the rich flow of spoils from the conquered lands was accompanied, paradoxically, by the corruption of morals in the two holy cities. As regards the subject which concerns us here, information relating to the development of music and song reveals the presence of *mukhannaṯūn*, who were apparently for the most part of foreign origin. It may thus be assumed that from this time homosexuality became less of a rarity as the result of a rapid process of acculturation. A defender of paedophiles, al-lovers of *ghilmān*, depicted in the *Muḥākara* (ii, 116) of al-Ḍabbī, observes in effect that natural love is a feature of Bedouin sultans and of simple morality and that in the ancient Arabs glorified women, this was because they knew nothing of the refined pleasures of this world, which are only to be encountered in a highly civilised society.

All the same it is not impossible that the decisive impulse came with the arrival in the ʿAbbāsid army from Khurāsān (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 338) and that homosexuality subsequently spread more widely under the new dynasty. In fact, tradition attributes to al-Amīn tastes so depraved that his mother, Umm Ǧaʿfar, was obliged to procure for him slave women with the physical characteristics sought after by *liwāṭ* among boys and to dress them in masculine clothing, in the hope of inducing him to adopt more oheterosexual morals (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, viii, 299-300 = §§ 3452-3). It was no doubt such episodes that gave rise to the fashion for "masculine girls", *ǧulāmiyyāt*, a trend widely reflected in literature (see H. Zayyāt, *al-Marʾa al ǧulāmiyya fī ʾl-Islām*, in *Mashriq* [1956]). In Ifrīḳiya, the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm II was surrounded by some sixty catamites, whom he treated in a most horrific manner (see M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 306, 327). At Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III had executed a young lad from Léon who was held as a hostage, the future St Pelagius [Pelayo], because he had refused his advances (Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 542; see also Ch. E. Dufourcq, *La vie quotidienne dans l'Europe méditerranéenne sous la domination arabe*, Paris 1978, 127-28). Homosexual tendencies are attributed to al-Muʿtaṣim and to some of his successors, and it is probable that this is not a case of slander designed to justify a vice vigorously opposed by the *fuḳahāʾ*.

In general, the *ḥadīṯ* relating to the punishment of the lāʾiṭ (see above) provides the basis for the opinions of jurists, but a distinction tends to be made, in the application of the legal sanction (*ḥadd*), according to whether the culprit is *muḥṣan* or not, that is in practice, whether he is married or celibate. Ibn Ḥanbal and his followers appear to be the most severe, since they insist that in all cases the culprit must be put to death by stoning, while the other schools are in general content with flagellation, with or without banishment, if the man is not *muḥṣan*; it should be noted in addition that it is sometimes recommended that the prescribed penalty (one hundred strokes) should not be applied in full, and Ibn Ḥazm goes so far as to reduce the number of strokes to ten. These variations correspond to the uncertainties surrounding the definition of the penalty to be imposed for fornication (see ZINĀ for details), but also betray a tendency towards indulgence, moreover, since proof is always difficult to establish, there is little likelihood of the punishment actually being applied. These circumstances do not prevent moral pundits from considering illegal a lustful glance in the direction of a beardless youth (*amrad*), and the Ḥanbalīs forbid men to walk in the street with women or with adolescents (Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr., 362).

The legal provisions set out above are thus to a large extent theoretical, since homosexual relations have always been tolerated. They were common in religious brotherhoods and in educational institutions (see A. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 146), and schoolmasters had an unenviable reputation in this respect, as is shown by many anecdotes. The nudity of the public baths did nothing to discourage such practices, and the paragraph devoted by H. Pérès (*Poésie andalouse*, 343-3) to homosexuality as al-Andalus refers specifically to the *ḥammām*.

As regards women, the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, ii, 110) mentions a love affair between a certain Hind (named, incorrectly, as the daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Munḏhir by S. al-Munaǧǧid, *al-Ḥayāt al-ʿāṭifiyya ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1958, 14; see Masʿūdī-Pellat, index, under Ḥaraqa) and Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma, which would be the oldest example of Sapphism among the Arabs, but in this particular case we have a work of imagination, called moreover *Kitāb Hind wa-bint al-Nuʿmān* by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Cairo, 427), who cites a dozen love romances with female names in their titles (e.g. *K. Rayyā wa-Khadīǧa*, *K. Salmā wa-Suʿād*, etc.). Although information is scarce, it is likely that *sāḥiḳāt*/*musāḥaḳāt*, while not widespread, existed no less than male homosexuality, since according to the relevant *ḥadīṯ* it is also identified with *zinā* (*al-nisāʾ zinā baynahunna*). These practices, which al-

Djāhiẓ (*Hayawān*, vii, 29) knew well, spread in parallel with sodomy, at least in the leisured classes of Arab-Islamic society, if we are to believe the rather late works of ereticism which will be mentioned in due course; in any case, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wrote a *Kitāb al-Sahāḥāt*, of which apparently no traces remain. In addition, the sodomisation of women, although formally forbidden by the Prophet (see above and the *ḥadīth lā taʾtū l-nisāʾ fī mahāshihinna / adbārihinna*) would seem to have been a fairly common practice (see A. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 246-7)

Besides female prostitution (*bighāʾ* [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*]), there is abundant evidence of male prostitution. It is not known how much credence should be attached to an allegation by Ibn Ḥawḳal (93, 95, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 91, 93), reiterated in part by al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, ed. Péres, Algiers 1957, 70; ed. Naples-Rome, ii, 269-70), according to which the Kutāma Berbers "offer themselves to their guests as a token of hospitality, without any sense of shame", while at Sūsa, they are content to offer their male children. In consistencies in these passages are such as to cast doubt on the author's claims.

In any case, the presence of professional deviants (*muʾakhkharūn*) in the larger towns has been frequently attested by travellers (see G. H. Bousquet, *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*, Paris 1953, 59). Mention has been made of transvestites, for example in Bougie (Idrīs, *Zīrides*, 329, 591), in Tunis (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 173) where Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 365) saw young boys prostituting themselves, in Fez, where the same author encounters what he calls *chana* (= *khawā*, a term of particularly common usage in Spain; see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) living with men in hostelries. Such statements cover such a broad expanse of time that they cannot but be a reflection of a permanent situation which has, moreover, persisted into the present day (see, e.g. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 233). It need hardly be said that the authors of works of *ḥisba* utterly deplore these deviants and the moral corruption for which they are responsible, but not one of them is so severe as to demand for them the capital penalty ordained by the afore-mentioned *ḥadīth*. According to Ibn ʿAbdūn (Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 170), the *khawā* are to be expelled from the town and severely punished if they return, since they are accursed of Allāh and of the whole people; al-Sakaṭī (*Manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 68, and gloss., 26; Spanish translation by Chalmeta, in *al Andalus*, 1968 ff., § 16r) speaks only of *mukhannathūn* (singers disguised as women), whom he forbids to wear their hair long over the temples or to attend banquets and funerals (see also Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 123). Although the repression of *liwāṭ*, in the strict sense of the word, forms a part of the general censorship of morals, these works contain few specific references to it.

It should be said that this phenomenon, while provoking the disapproval of a number of moralists loyal to the tradition of the Prophet, has for the most part been viewed with indulgence—if not actively condoned—even in circles which would appear to be furthest from it.

Firstly, homosexuality was a theme favoured by libertine poets who, especially from the 1st/7th century onwards, glorified homosexual love quite shamelessly, often in terms of intolerable obscenity, in the interminable list of these poets, the first place belongs without doubt to Abū Nuwās who, even without the dedication of the *1001 Nights* (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs*, 250) plays a role of unassailable eminence in this regard. His master Wālība b. al-Ḥubāb, who is thought to have debauched him, Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās and a great number of others, were imitated and sometimes overtaken by exponents of *mujūn* [*q.v.*] and of *sukhf*, which Ibn al-Ḥadīdjādj made his speciality, as well as by Ibn Kuzmān in his celebrated *zadjal*.

On the other hand, there are a great many poets who have not hesitated at some point or other in their career, to sing the praises of a youth in many cases no doubt, less from personal taste than from the desire to conform artificially with a general trend. In fact care should be taken not to accuse all such writers of libertinism, for it was conventional practice to glorify wine, women and favourites, without becoming personally involved in debauchery or violating the rules of Islamic ethics. We may cite, as a simple example, the theme of *dabīb*, of "crawling", appropriate perhaps for an Imruʾ al-Kays who lived in a society where it was possible to crawl under the tent in order to approach a woman, but purely conventional in the case of a city-dweller like Ibn Shuhayd who, unlike the pre-Islamic poet, uses (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 244), in poetry of a high standard of sophistication, the masculine form to designate the person in question, whose sex thus remains undefined. Leaving aside the mystics who frequently adopt an equivocal posture, the use, by poets whose morality is not suspect, of the masculine form in their love poems, derives less from a desire to shock than from a sense of modesty and from respect for a tradition that was reckoned to be harmless, a tradition maintaining an ambiguity universally accepted and appreciated.

In the sphere of prose, the most significant, if not the oldest writing, is certainly the *Muṣāḥarat al-ʿushshāḳ wa 'l-ghilmān* of al-Djāḥiẓ who, always prone to cultivate the genre of *munāẓara*, debate, of which he is one of the pioneers in Arabic literature, presents in the form of a stylised dialogue arguments exchanged between homosexuals and men of normal sexuality. So as to leave no doubt as to his own tastes, this author saw fit to publish a *Risāla fī tafḍīl al-bayḍ ʿalā 'l-ṣaʿr* (ed. Pellat, in the *Hawliyyāt* of the University of Tunis, xiii [1976], 185-92) in which he plays on the different meanings of *baṭn*—"stomach" and *ṣaʿr*—"back" in order to demonstrate, with a great deal of humour, the superiority of the former: he goes so far as to attribute to sodomy the destruction of the people of Thamūd [*q.v.*], which is thus accorded the same status as the people of Lot.

In the *Muṣāḥara*, there are a number of anecdotes which testify to the popularity of stories of *lūṭa* from the 3rd/9th century, these were to find a place in collections compiled in later times for the entertainment of what were, in appearance at least, the most puritanical sections of society. A characteristic manifestation of this somewhat perverse taste is encountered in the work of al-Tanūkhī, who devotes a chapter of his *Imtāʿ*, the 18th night (ii, 50-60) to *mujūn* and naturally tells the story of a *lūṭī* (tr. Bouhdiba, *op. laud.*, 158).

The example set by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Muṣāḥara* has been followed by quite serious authors who have left analogous writings, among which we may mention *al-Wasīla bayn al-sunna wa 'l-lūṭa* by Ibn Hūdū (see Brockelmann, S I, 426) and the *Kitāb al-Bāhiyāt* by Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAyaf (see S. al-Munadjdjid, in *RIMA*,

iii [1957], 335). In addition, the vice in question inspired a specialised literature all its own, notably consisting of advice on techniques of seducing young men (see Ṣ al-Munadjdjid, *al-Hayāt al-djinsiyya* 32-4) The writers of works of casuistic (see MIMS and add to *Bibliography*, A. Boudhiba, *op laud.* 191 ff.) mostly devote some space to sodomy on this point, the most characteristic works are without doubt the *Nuzhat al-albāb fi-mā lā yūdjad fi kitāb* (Brockelmann, I, 495, S I, 904) of al-Tīfāshī and the *Nughzat al-sakrān* of Muhammad Sādik Hasan Khān (Istanbul 1296/1878, see Boudhiba, 178)

In the *Mufākhara* of al-Djāḥiẓ, which has nothing in common with the preceding works the advocate for the *ghawānī* claims (ii, 204) that there has never been a case recorded in which love for a youth has proved fatal, while tradition is full of examples of heterosexuals who have pined away, lost their reason or died for love However, there are apparently authentic accounts which contradict this assertion. Al Dabbī (*Bughya*, no 462, tr Lévi Provençal), *Les relations "le Collier de la colombe"*, in *al Andalus*, xv/2 [1950], 363 ff) relates after Ibn Hazm (although the text of the *Tawk al-hamāma*, ed and tr L Bercher, 301, is quite perceptibly different) "the incredible adventure of a certain Ahmad b Kulayb, poet and grammarian of Cordova who, in 426/1035, died of grief because one of his fellow citizens, a member of the Andalusian patrician class, persisted in rejecting his advances" (Lévi Provençal, *Hist Esp mus*, iii 445), the same story is told by Yākūt (*Irshād* ii, 19 ff. = *Udabā'*, iv, 109 ff cf. Metz, *Renaissance*, Eng tr, 350 60) who also relates (ii, 23 ff. = iv, 115 ff., cf Mez, 360-1), after al-Sūlī, the story of a bookseller of Edessa (al Ruhā) named Sa'd, whose shop was a literary salon frequented by poets and in particular by a young Christian called ʿUtba. Sa'd developed a violent passion for the latter, and did not cease pursuing him and dedicating poems to him; ʿUtba became a monk, and, finally denied access to the monastery, Sa'd set fire to all his possessions and became a vagrant He died eventually of consumption, but the governor of the town accused the monks of having killed him and condemned the young men to death, the punishment was averted following the payment of a large sum of money, but when ʿUtba went to visit his parents, the local children pelted him with stones and called him an assassin. A third story (Yākūt, *Irshād*, ii, 25 ff. = *Udabā'*, iv, 122 ff.) tells of a poet in love with a young monk who pines away with grief and dies the very moment that he meets the object of his infatuation.

From anecdotes such as these one gains the impression, on the one hand, that the authorities and the people did not regard the inclinations of these homosexuals as immoral, and on the other, that monasteries and monks played an inauspicious role It is quite clear that poetry and works such as the *Duyūrat* of al-Shābushtī regard monasteries [see DAYR] as places of debauchery frequented by lovers on forbidden delights. One must, however, proceed with caution, because once again we are faced with a poetic theme whose treatment is analogous to that of the glorification of unnatural love by poets who are influenced more by respect for a tradition than by any desire to become personally involved in the acts to which they refer In this context, the adventure of the Andalusian poet al-Ramādī, the account of which is borrowed by H Pérès (*Poème andalous*, 278-9) from a work of dubious authenticity, the *Mufrak al-anfus* of Ibn Khakān, seem of us no more authentic than the braggings of Ibn Shuhayd, in a poem composed in imitation of Abū Nuwās (H. Pérès, *op laud*, 277-8).

The fact remains that in the Middle Ages, many attacks on Islam by Christians were based on the frequency of homosexual relations which, in their view, were permitted by the Kur'ān and which characterised the behaviour of Muslims they based this opinion on verse 20/16 of Sūra IV which they misinterpreted as referring to sodomy, without taking account of the condamnation of "depravity" which it contains (see N Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, 141-5)

It is indeed difficult to measure precisely the extent of the phenomenon, but it should be recognised that the separation of the sexes, which is a particular feature of Islam has played a significant role in promoting it (cf Brunschvig, *Homosexualité*, ii, 273), among women as much as among men, and the precautions taken against such behaviour (al Nawawī, for example, entitles the chapter cited above *al tashdīr min al hawā*) did not succeed in preventing it. It is now known that homosexuality, once regarded as a punishable offence, is ousted as much by genetic as by social and psychological factors, but it seems that in the event the latter have played the leading role in the proliferation of what remains, to a large extent, a vice

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LIYĀKAT ʿALĪ KHĀN, honorary secretary of the All India Muslim League from 1936 to 1947 and prime minister of Pakistan from 1947 to 1951, was born in the Karnāl district of east Pandjāb on 1 October 1895 He was the second son of a well-to-do landlord, Nawwāb Rustam ʿAlī Khān of the Bandal family, which claimed to have migrated 500 years previously from Iran and to descend from the Sāsānid king Anūshīrwān (Khusraw I, 531-79 A D) British officials on the other hand considered the Bandals to be of Pathān origin, or perhaps Djāts hailing from Samāna in Patiāla Liyākat ʿAlī Khān's grandfather, Nawwāb Ahmad ʿAlī Khān, gave powerful support to the British in the Mutiny uprising of 1857-8, for which he was handsomely rewarded in the bestowal of honours and the remission of rent

From 1909 to 1919 Liyākat ʿAlī Khān attended the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College at ʿAligarh, where he was notably successful both on the games field and in the classroom After graduating, he read law at Exeter College, Oxford, getting his degree in 1922, and was called to the Bar in 1922 At Oxford he began to display political promise as a prominent member of the Indian Madjlis On returning to India he settled down on the family estate in the Muzaffarnagar district of the western United Provinces and, despite family pressure to enter government service and his own training as a lawyer, turned at politics. In 1923 he joined the All-India Muslim League, the organisation of Muslim separatist politics, and when in 1927 the League split over its response to the Simon Commission to inquire into India's constitutional progress, he supported the Djinnah group which boycotted the Commission. In 1928 he joined those representing the League at the Indian National Convention which discussed the Nehru Report From 1926 to 1940 he was a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, in which he quickly came to play a prominent part, organising and leading the small but influential Democratic Party and acting as deputy president of the Council from 1932 to 1936

In the 1930s and 1940s Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān played the leading role, after Muḥammad ʿAlī Jinnah, in generating the revival of the All-India Muslim League. In the early 1930s the League was crumbling, meeting only once in full session between 1931 and 1936. In 1933, while visiting London on his second honeymoon, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān helped to persuade, and according to some was decisive in persuading, Jinnah to return to India to revitalise the organisation. In April 1936 he became honorary secretary, a position he held till 1947, even though from July 1936 to early 1938 he was associated with the landlord party in the United Provinces the National Agriculturalist Party led by the Nawwāb of Čattārī, the Muslim League leadership in the province, he declared by way of explanation, was too close to the Indian National Congress. In the early 1940s Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān prepared the League's organisation, and Muslims more generally, for the overwhelming victory of the 1945-6 elections. He sat on the League's major committees, he was chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, he toured India to spread the League's message, he directed the *Dawn* newspaper which was founded in 1942 as the League's mouthpiece, and from 1940 he led the League's party in the Central Legislative Assembly in Jinnah's absences, which were quite frequent. So highly did Jinnah value Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān that in supporting his re-election as honorary secretary in 1943 he described him as his "right hand".

In the two crucial years before the partition of India, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān was at the heart of events. In late 1944 and early 1945 he attempted to come to an agreement with Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress in the Central Legislative Assembly, which would identify common ground and enable the Congress and the League to participate in forming an interim government, although he may have gone too far on his own initiative, as Jinnah disavowed the project. He was also closely involved in two further attempts to solve the constitutional deadlock, the Simla conference of 1945 and the Cabinet Mission discussions of 1946. When towards the end of 1946 the interim government was eventually formed, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān led the Muslim league bloc, defending Muslim interests with vigour. When that government's quasi-Cabinet offices were distributed the Congress apparently trusting in the north Indian belief that Muslims were unskilled in financial matters, encouraged him to take the Finance portfolio, which gave him a say in all the activities of the interim government and enabled him through a masterly budget to impose his will on the political situation. Indeed, it is said that he used his powers to such effect that leading Congressmen, among them Sardar Patel, came to see partition as the only solution to their difficulties. After partition was finally agreed on 2 June 1947, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān was marked out to be the first prime minister of the new state of Pakistan.

When Jinnah, governor general and presiding genius of Pakistan, died on 11 September 1948, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān came forward as the unchallenged ruler. He faced enormous problems: the state was divided into two parts separated by 1,200 miles of hostile territory; there were six million refugees; there were divisions of language, race and religion (85% of the population was Hindu); there was no administrative centre, efficient bureaucracy, political tradition or economic focus. That Pakistan survived these problems, in addition to the premature death of Jinnah, owed much to the wise leadership of Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān.

He responded firmly to the threats levelled by an India still not entirely reconciled to the dismemberment of the subcontinent, and through his statesmanlike approach to international affairs did much to establish Pakistan in the eyes of the world. When in September 1949 India imposed a total trade boycott because Pakistan refused to devalue her rupee alongside the Indian rupee, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān was unmoved, and eighteen months later India relented. When in both 1950 and 1951 India massed her forces on Pakistan's borders, he combined a staunch reply with a readiness to seek an immediate resolution of differences by negotiation. It is sometimes thought that he need not have accepted India's offer of a ceasefire in Kashmir in 1949, but it is difficult to see in view of the condition of Pakistan and her resources at the time, what choice he had. In the world at large he maintained a determined policy of non-alignment: he attended the conferences of British Commonwealth prime ministers but quickly made it clear that Pakistan should not be "taken for granted", he made a personally successful official visit to North America in May and June 1950 but made no foreign policy commitment. He did, however, make commitments in the Muslim world and embarked on that search for a leading role amongst Muslim states which in the succeeding decades characterised his country's foreign policy. International Islamic conferences were held, and by mid 1951 Pakistan had signed formal treaties of friendship with Syria, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia.

Within Pakistān, Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān's first concern was nation building. He strove to make the fragments of the armed forces inherited from the British a truly national force, encouraging them to recruit as many of the under-represented East Pakistanis as possible and removing the remaining foreign officers. Brushing aside suggestions that, now Pakistan was won, the Muslim League had performed its task, he tried to mould it into a party of national construction. "Pakistan is the child of the Muslim League", he declared, "it is the duty of the mother to look after the child till it grows up", and to emphasise his point he became president of the League on 8 October 1950 and urged others to follow suit in drawing together party and government. Most important, he endeavoured to create a framework for politics in which all Pakistanis would be happy to work. There were great problems: autonomous provinces had to agree to surrender powers to the centre, a fair place had to be found for non-Muslim minorities, while the *ʿulamāʾ*, who knew that all sovereignty flowed from God and that they alone were equipped to interpret His law, had to be reconciled with those who believed that the people were sovereign and that power in politics should rest with their representatives. Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān's first step towards creating a constitutional framework was the Objectives Resolution brought before the Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949. Although no more than a statement of intent, it marked out enough apparently common ground, particularly on the questions of sovereignty and minorities, for Pakistanis to be able to proceed with constitution making. There followed the publication of the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee in September 1950 which created great, and it seems unexpected, opposition; the East Pakistanis were the most vociferous, fearing that their majority in the Constituent Assembly would be reduced to a minority, although they were more numerous than the West Pakistanis. Liyāqat ʿAlī Khān responded by

postponing consideration of the report and deciding to hold general elections before grappling again with the constitutional issue. He has been criticised for this move, indeed for mishandling the issue altogether. On the other hand, his aim in holding elections was to create elected bodies which would be more firmly under central control. To this end, he used his powers as Muslim League president to vet all applications for candidacies. He had just completed the task in the Panjāb, and was about to proceed to the North-West Frontier Province, when on 16 October 1951 he was assassinated by an Afghān while addressing a meeting in Rawalpindī.

As a person, Liyākat ʿAlī Khān was noted for charm, manners, simple tastes and an egalitarian outlook which led him of his own accord to drop his hereditary title of Nawwāb-zāda. As a public figure he was noted as a practical administrator, as a witty speaker, and as a calm, shrewd and selfless politician, qualities which no doubt helped him to outstrip more experienced politicians in Jinnah's esteem. The full measure of his achievement will not properly be assessed until the Muslim League papers are fully open for consultation and the context of his last ten years is better understood. Nevertheless, he did much to bring Pakistan into existence and more than anyone else to nurture it through the first four very difficult years. Had he been spared, he may well have given his country a workable constitution, the lack of which came to be much felt. Rightly his countrymen bestowed upon him the title Kāʾid-i-Millat, leader of the nation.

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LIYŪN, capital of the ancient kingdom of Léon and, at the present time, of the province of that name, to the south of the Asturias. The name comes from the *Legio Septima Gemina Asturica*, which established its *castrum* there in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. J. M. Blazquez (*Estructura económica y social de España*) includes it among the towns which were provided with walls during the Later Empire, and its rule was very slight for the whole of the Visigothic period.

The Arab geographers mention Liyūn only rarely. Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ says that "Ibn Saʿīd places it on 10°5' longitude and 46°55' latitude. It is a town of the seventh climate, in the land of the Djalālika. According to Ibn Saʿīd, it is situated to the north-east of Zamora. It is the town of which al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] destroyed the main rampart. It lies on a river which flows into the Zamora river. It is the finest and most important of the towns of the Djalālika." Al-Himyarī (*K. al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, no. 104) makes it "one of the capitals of Castile/Kashtāla. It is a populous town, where business, commerce and stock-raising are carried on. The people there are bellicose and touchy". Al-Makkarī (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 143, 346) mentions the existence of tin mines in the region of Frandja and Liyūn.

The geographers and historians knew perfectly well that there existed a kingdom, with a capital (*ḳāʿida*) of this name, but generally preferred to utilise for this state the ancient term Djillīḳiyya or Djallīḳiyya [*q.v.*]. The information which one can glean from the chronicles is very sparse, a laconic attitude probably due in part to the fact that political and military activity there passed at an early date, and thenceforth almost exclusively, into the hands of the people of Kashtāla [*q.v.*].

At the time of the Muslim conquest, the occupation of Liyūn is mentioned neither by the *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* nor the *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya. It is a reasonable assumption that the town was included in the capitulation of Petrus, *Dux Cantabriae*, which opened up all the Galicia-Asturias-Léon region. It was at that time probably a small, unimportant place with no Muslim governor. The Arab texts are indeed silent about it, and agree with the *Chronica de Alfonso III* in making Astorga and Oviedo the seat of "Munnuza", the Muslim governor of the region at the time of Pelayo's revolt.

The town must have been more or less officially abandoned at the time of the great rising of Berbers who emigrated from northern Spain in the years after 123/741. According to the *Chronica Albeldense* (bez), "Fruela, brother of Alfonso I, entered Léon", and the *Chronica de Alfonso III* (613-16) specifically says that "Abela, Astorica, Legionem, Septemmancas . . Omnes quoque Arabes gladio interficiens xristianos autem eosum ed patriam ducens", events whose veracity seems to be confirmed by the parallel version of the *Akhbār madjmūʿa*. It is essentially these texts which Cl. Sanchez Albornoz depends on for his theory of the *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires 1966. A partial return, spontaneous and unorganised by small cultivators and herdsmen must have taken place under the shelter of the ramparts of the town, since, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (*al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa ʾl-Maghrib*, ii, 345), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II in 231/945-6 sent "his son Muḥammad, who besieged, bombarded, pillaged and burnt Léon, without however being able to destroy the 17-cubits' high walls". The *Chronica Albeldense* mentions under the reign of Alfonso "a campaign by al-Mundhir which is said to have reached as far as the town and which had to retreat with heavy losses", but one cannot tell from this whether it is the attack mentioned by the *Bayān* or not. The town remained uninhabited until 880, when Ordoño II "repeopled the deserted towns from which Alfonso I had expelled the Chaldaeans . . Tuy, Astorga, Léon and Amaya" (*Chronica Alfonso III*, 829).

Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, v, 120, 325, 344) makes Léon the capital (*ḥāʾida, ḥaḍra, dār mamlaka*) of Djallīḳiyya. The town was the objective of two raids by al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, one in 372/982 and the other in 376/986, leading to the sacking and burning of the town (ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*, ed. al-Ahwānī, 80)

Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, iv, 82), as well as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, 235, 268) consider Liyūn solely as an urban centre since they make Alfonso VII "the Slobberer" lord of Cmdad Rodrigo, Avila, Léon and Zamore, information also reproduced by Ibn Khaldūn in his *K. al-ʿIbar*

As opposed to this view, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*K. Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed Beirut 1956, 74, 241) speaks of it as a kingdom and not as a town ("the Christians of Kashtala and Liyūn"). He has preserved for us an additional piece of information by including in the curious *Dhikr al-taʿrīf bimā anʿama min mulūk al-nasārā bi ʾl-Andalus*, which comes at the end of his *Aʿmāl*, material which the Christian chronicles mention about the physician-ambassador Yūsuf b Wāqār al-Isrāʾīl al-Tulaytulī. This chapter uses phonetic transcriptions of Christian names and titles, giving also the Christian equivalent for *hidjrī* dates. It is interesting to compare with this Ibn Khaldūn, who, in his *K. al-ʿIbar* also changes at approximately this time *hāmā* [q.v.] into *hamā*. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports thus that "in 148/766 [error for 768], Aurelio, brother of Froila, governed the territory of the Asturias, Galicia, Portugal and part of Léon"; "in 248/863 [error for, at the earliest, 866] Alfonso the Great transferred the *dār al-mulk* of his father to Léon and styled himself King of Léon"; and "Castilian separatism began under the reign of Garcia in 297/909 [correctly 921-4]", a period corresponding in fact to one of the phases of Castilian expansionism (see KASTĪLA). Ibn al-Khaṭīb then mentions the birth of the kingdom of Castile under Fernan Sanchez, and his struggle against the Léonese state before its merging into the kingdom of Castile and Léon, as well as the origin and the succession of Portugal. The information given by Ibn Khaldūn in the chapter of the *K. al-ʿIbar* called "Notice on the *Dyuldyūn* Banū ʾl-Ḥifnīsh, kings of al-Andalus after the Goths ...", although very similar to that of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, is not a mere piece of plagiarism but seems rather to come from a parallel source of information.

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(P. CHALMETA)

LIZARD [see ḲARA].

LŪDĪS, a North Indian Afghān tribe and dynasty, 855-932/1451-1526

1. History. Afghān tribes from the mountainous Sulaymān regions regularly migrated to the plain of the Indus, they joined the invading armies as auxiliaries in war, and came as traders as herdsmen during peace. They moved to the hills in summer and to the plains at the onset of winter. Among these emigrants were the ancestors of the Lōdī sultans of India. For the Afghāns to India generally, see PATHĀN and WAṬAN.

The Lōdīs are related to a clan of the Ghilzay tribe of Afghānistān (see GHALZAY) and ruled over parts of north India for 77 years. Afghāns came to the Indus plains from Rōh [q.v.] as early as 934/1527-28 with the army of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, the conqueror of Sind, and allied themselves politically with the Hindu Shāhī [q.v.] rulers of Lahore, and receiving part of Lāmghān [see LAMGHĀNĀT] for settlement, built a fort on the mountains of Peshāwar to protect the Pandjāb from raids. During Alptigin's government at Ghazna, when his commander-in-chief Sebüktigin raided Lāmghān and Multān, the Afghāns sought help from Rādjā Diyapal who appointed their chief, Shaykh Ḥamīd Lōdī, viceroy of the *wilāyats* of Lamghān and Multān. Shaykh Ḥamīd appointed his own men as governors of these districts, and thereby the Afghāns gained political importance; their settlements stretched southwards from Lāmghān to Multān, incorporating the tracts of Bannū and Dērā Ismāʿīl Khān.

Later, a family of the Lōdī tribe settled at Multān, which was ruled in 396/1005 by Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Dāwūd, a grandson of Shaykh Ḥamīd. There was also a strong Afghān element in the forces of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Shihāb al-Dīn of Ghōr. The latter on his third campaign to India [see GHŪRIDS] had 12,000 experienced Afghān horsemen in his army, and he defeated the Rādjpūts under Rādjā Pithawrā of Dihlī. On his return journey, he settled in the hills of Rōh, the Sulaymān mountains, Ashnaghar and Badjawr—a tract extending from Kābul to the Indus—and appointed Malik Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī at the head of 20,000 men to transplant the Afghāns from Ghōr to the new settlements, thereby paving his way for the conquest of Hindūstān. Each clan was granted an *iḳṭāʿ* in the environs of Nīlāb and the Indus.

Serving thus in the army of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, the Afghāns rose to power and settled over a large tract of land. Their leader ʿAlī Kirmānī was appointed governor of Multān in 582/1186-7. Sultan Baiban of the "slave kings" posted them as garrisons in Bhodipur, Kampila and Patiālī against the Hindū rebels in the Dōʾāb. During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, they rebelled under their leader, Malik Shāhu Lōdī, in Multān at some time in 741/1341, and killed its governor. Since the time of seizure of the Panjāb by the Ghaznavids, the movements of Afghān merchants increased considerably. They started participating actively in the politics of northern India from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and particularly after Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's death (790/1388), during the decline of the Tughluḳ dynasty and the weak rule of the Sayyids.

During the invasions of India by Timūr [q.v.] in 801/1398, Afghāns fought on both sides. Malik Khiḍr Lōdī, Malik Bahāʾ al-Dīn Dilāwal, Malik Yūsuf Sarwānī and Malik Ḥabīb Niyāzī joined the army of Timūr at the head of 12,000 Afghān mercenaries. About this time, Sulṭān Shāh's tutor Malik Bahrām had come as a warrior trader to Multān from Balōṭ, a *pargana* in the Bīrūn-i Panjnād *sarkār* on the border of Balōčistān, according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. He quarreled with his two brothers Malik Maḥmūd and Malik Mawdūd, and took service under Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's governor at Multān, namely Malik Mardān Dawlat, entitled Malik al-Shaiḵ Nāṣir of Mulk (*Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī* and *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*). Malik Bahrām organized a tribal militia. After his death his sons Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, Malik Fīrūz, Malik Muḥammad, Malik Khwādja and Malik Kāla stayed on in Multān while the city passed, during political confusion and unrest, into several hands. After the death of Malik Mardān Dawlat, his son Malik Shaykh and his adopted son Malik Sulaymān were appointed *amīr*s his death governors of Multān in succession by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. Malik Sulaymān was succeeded in the governorship by his son Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty at Dihlī (see DIHLĪ SULṬĀNATE), who had been appointed governor of Multān and the Panjāb

by the Tughluḳids in recognition of his military service, but later betrayed the Tughluḳids and joined the invading Mongol force under Timūr.

Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, who succeeded his father Malik Bahrām as chief of the Afghān mercenaries, distinguished himself in the service of Khiḍr Khān and helped him in overpowering the Tughluḳids. He succeeded in killing Mallū Iḳbāl Khān, the *de facto* ruler of Dihlī and the staunch supporter of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ, in the battle of Adjodhan fought on the banks of the Satladj (18 Dhu'l-ḳaʿda I 808/11 November 1405). Thus Multān, together with the Pandjāb, acceded from Dihlī, and Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī was put in charge of Sirhind with the title of Islām Khān. During the time of the Sayyid Sulṭān Muḥārak Shāh, son of Khiḍr Khān, the Afghān chief Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī obtained power and held Sirhind with the neighbouring districts in *djāgīr* [*q.v.*]. He settled there with his four brothers and gathered a strong contingent of 12,000 horse, mostly of his own tribe. Malik Kālā married his uncle's daughter, received Dawrāla (Sirhind *sarkār*) in *djāgīr* and served under Nāṣir Khān, who held Multān as governor on behalf of the Sayyid Sulṭān Khiḍr Khān. His child was named Bahlōl, the subsequent founder of the Lōdī dynasty at Dihlī. He died in a struggle against the Niyāzī emigrants in the Indus valley, and the child was brought up by his uncle Malik Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī at Sirhind. Finding him a soldier of promising character, Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī gave him his daughter Shamsu Khātūn, in marriage. Once in Sāmāna he visited a local holy man, Sayyid Abbān, with two companions, (*Ta'rīkh i Shāhī*, 3; *Ta'rīkh i Dāwūdī*, Sarkar *ms*, 4), the Shaykh demanded 1,000 *tankas* in exchange for the throne of Dihlī if any one of them was willing so to hazard for it. Bahlōl Lōdī had with him only 1,300 *tankas* which he instantly offered, and was congratulated as the future ruler of India. Although he was taunted by his companions for this transaction, he drew inspiration from the Shaykh's proposal and had no cause to regret either the throne of Dihlī or his gift.

Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī nominated Bahlōl as his heir-apparent in preference to his adult son Kuṭb Khān. On his father-in-law's death in Radjab 824/March 1432, the Afghān militia became divided into three camps under Kuṭb Khān, Malik Fīrūz, (son and brother of Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī [= Islām Khān] respectively) and Bahlōl Lōdī the latter won over his uncle Malik Fīrūz to his side against the confederation of his rivals Kuṭb Khān and Muḥammad Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Dihlī. The latter sent a force under his *wazīr* Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa and Dasarath *Khokar* to drive the Afghāns out of Sirhind and to deprive Bahlōl Lodī of his *djāgīr*. The Afghāns, defeated, fled to the hills. Malik Fīrūz was made captive and his son Malik Shāhū Khān was killed. Bahlōl escaped, and, on Dasarath's return to the Pandjāb, he managed to re-gather his scattered army. Malik Fīrūz escaped from Dihlī and joined Bahlōl. The contrite Kuṭb Khān Lōdī also joined Bahlōl's camp. Thus remustering his forces, Bahlōl Lōdī recaptured Sirhind in 840/1436. The Sayyid Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh sent a large force under one of his chiefs, Ḥamīd Shāhnī, better known as Husām Khān, which was defeated at Karā (Kharār in Ambāla district ?) near Khiḍrābād Sadhura, and Husām Khān escaped to Dihlī while Bahlōl established himself firmly in the Pandjāb.

In 844/1440, when Dihlī was threatened by Maḥmūd Khaldjī I [*q.v.*] of Mālwā, the feeble Sayyid Sulṭān of Dihlī appealed to Bahlōl, who agreed to help him on condition that Husām Khān, the prime minister was to be replaced by his nominee Ḥamīd Khān. The Sulṭān acted accordingly, without taking into account the implications, and Husām Khān was killed. Bahlōl Lōdī took the field with his contingent of 8,000 Afghān and Mughal militia and 20,000 of the royal army against Maḥmūd, who after a day's desultory fighting sued for peace, and retreated to deal with a serious riot in his own capital, Māndū [*q.v.*], and an invasion by Sulṭān Aḥmad of Gudjarāt. This retreating Mālwā army was waylaid by Bahlōl. Dihlī was saved from annexation to Mālwā, and Bahlōl was awarded the title of Khān-i Khānān, and confirmed in his *djāgīr* at Sirhind, with Lahore and Dībālpūr added to his fief. He then rebelled against Muḥammad Shāh and annexed Sunām, Ḥiṣār Fīrūza and other districts of the Pandjāb. Twice he made unsuccessful attempts to capture Dihlī, once during the time of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 849/1445) and again during that of his son and successor Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh (849-83/1445-78). Circumstances were in his favour. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh was a weak ruler. His authority hardly extended beyond twenty miles from Dihlī hence the epigrams *as Dihlī ta Palam-i Bādshāhī Shāh ʿĀlam* ("ʿĀlam Shāh's rule extends from Dihlī to Pālam"). The ill-advised Sulṭān planned to kill his prime minister Ḥamīd Khān, who escaped from Badāʾūn, occupied the palace of Dihlī and invited Bahlōl to take over. The latter came, but cleverly declined the offer as the time was not ripe. Subsequently seizing an opportunity, he had Ḥamīd Khān arrested by Kuṭb Khān Lōdī and occupied Dihlī. He offered the throne to Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam, who however abdicated in favour of Bahlōl, preferring himself to live a life of ease and seclusion at Badāʾūn. Bahlōl, thereupon, ascended the throne of Dihlī with the title of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahlōl Shāh on 17 Rabīʿ I 855/19 April 1451.

After the capture of Dihlī, Bahlōl extended his territory over north India up to Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. The last decades of the 9th/15th century witnessed a fluctuating struggle between the Sharḳī dynasty of Djawnpur and the Ḥusayn Shāhī dynasty of Bengal, and then between the Lōdīs and both of them. Bihār remained throughout a bone of contention. At first, Bahlōl succeeded in driving out Ḥusayn Shāh from his capital (Djawnpur) to his eastern possessions of Ḳunār, Ḳawad and Bihār. The Lodī Sulṭān proposed to maintain the *status quo*, provided that Ḥusayn Shāh did not harbour his enemies, but the latter was bent on recovering his lost territory. (An inscription confirms the control of Ḥusayn Shāh over Bihār in 892/1486-7, but it was annexed by Sikandar Lōdī and put in the charge of Daryā Khān in 901/1495-6, as is evident from another inscription.) Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī was driven to Kahalgaon, 43 miles east of Bhāgalpūr. The Dihlī army crossed the Ganges from Patnā, while another contingent marched from Darwīshpur via Ḳaṭṭughpur near Munēr Sharf, against the Bengal Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. To oust the Lōdī troops, Prince Dānyāl was sent by his father at the head of Bengal army towards Mungēr (Monghyr). The two armies stood facing each other for some time and ultimately a non-aggression pact was signed at Bārh to the west of Monghyr. Even after this, the boundary remained fluctuating. Bhāgalpur was perhaps, the western extent of the Bengal sultanate during the height of Lōdī power; Sikandar Lōdī's bounds definitely extended up to Bārh in the east [cf. *JBRS* [1955], 358-63].

Bahlōl considered himself a chief of chiefs rather

than an absolute autocrat. The Afghān chroniclers speak highly of his simplicity, sense of social equality, bravery and generosity. He followed strictly the *Sharīʿa*, and spent much time in the company of learned and pious men. He died in Shaʿbān 894/July 1488 at Maṭāwalī near Saket, a short distance from ʿAligaṛh [q.v.]. His body was brought to Dihlī and buried in the Bāgh-i Dūd.

Before his death, he ensured Lōdī dominance in north India by placing his second son Barbak on the Djawnpur throne and assigning Mānikpur to ʿĀlam Khān Lōdī, Bahrayč to his nephew Kālā Pahār, Lakhna'ō and Kālpī to Aʿẓam Humāyūn Lōdī, and Badā'ūn to Khān Djahān Lōdī, while Niẓām Khān held the Pandjāb, Dihlī and most of the Dōʾāb.

He was succeeded by Niẓām Khān as Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, who reigned until 923/1517-18. Bahlūl was a chief of chiefs. Sikandar Lōdī considered himself a fully-fledged Sulṭān. He was a good administrator, a just ruler and a good poet. He was able to control the unruly Afghāns by introducing the system of inspection, auditing accounts and registering a *bīyaz* (descriptive roll) [see DAGH II TASHRIA in Suppl.].

Sikandar Lōdī was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm Lōdī at Āgrā on 8 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 923/22 November 1517. To establish himself, he had to fight against his rival brother Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn of Kālpī and other rebels. After nine years, he had to fight a defensive battle at Pānīpat [*q.v.*] against the Mughal invader Muhammad Bābur of Farghāna. The Afghān Sulṭān, who had been betrayed by Daulat Khān Lōdī, lost the battle, was killed on Friday, 8 Radjab 932/20 April 1526, and was buried by the roadside. Although the Afghān sultanate passed into the hands of the Mughals after about 77 years' rule, the Afghāns continued to fight against the suzerainty of the Mughals under the Karrānis and Nahānīs in Bengal until they were finally subjugated by the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr at Nekuhyāṛa about 30 miles from Dacca in 1021/1612.

Ibrāhīm Lōdī possessed military skill, but lacked tact and moderation. His idea of monarchy in which kin relationship was not counted was in accordance with the traditional idea of monarchy in India, but his repression of the powerful nobles of the Rōhīlā, Farmūlī and Lōdī tribes caused his fall and death. He took drastic steps for establishing his suzerainty, but failed miserably in crushing the nobility which had reduced the Sulṭān to a mere figure head from the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ onwards, which had been granted too much license by his grandfather, but which had been largely controlled by his father, with his benevolent and tactful methods, methods which Ibrāhīm Lōdī himself lacked. He did not know how to win over and conciliate an aggrieved noble and was opposed to the equality which was a tradition of his own Afghān race. He hardly tried to patch up his differences with his nobles and to set up a joint defence against the invading Mughal force under Bābur. A correct use of the wealth which he had amassed in great quantities, and conciliation of his nobles, would have earned the loyalty of the nobility to him and helped him in bringing a still larger and stronger army to the battle field of Pānīpat than he could in fact assemble there, thus presenting a united resistance to the Mughals.

2. Administration. After years of insecurity, a stable government was established by the Lōdīs, essentially a military oligarchy, for, with the exception of a few Rādjpūts, all officials and *djāgīrdārs* were Afghāns, mostly of the Lōdī, Nūhānī, Farmūlī and Sarwānī tribes. Bahlūl had considered himself as *primus inter pares*; Sikandar Lōdī insisted on the dignity of a sultan, thereby going against Afghān tradition. For the civil administration under the Lōdīs, see PARGANA. 6. India (a) The Sultanate of Dihlī and WIZĀRA.

3. Social and cultural life. Timūr's invasion caused considerable damage to Indian culture in the Sultanate period, which shifted from Dihlī to provincial capitals until the establishment of the Lōdī dynasty. Sikandar Lōdī's reign witnessed a renaissance of learning and culture in Dihlī. Hindūs began to take interest in Muslim learning and Dungar, a Hindū poet, taught in a Muslim college. Sikandar patronised music, and gathered poets and musicians in his court. The Sulṭān's cultivation of music led to the compilation of a rare work, the *Laḥdjat Sikandar Shāhī wa-laṭāʾif-i lā-mutanāhī*, a ms. of which is preserved in the Tagor library of Lakhna'ō University.

There was some rapprochement between Muslim Sūfīs and Hindū *yōgīs*, the Bhakti poets Caitanya, Kabīr, Nānak and others compelled some popular attention in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, under Sikandar Lōdī and his successors. There are some contemporary instances of social intercourse between Muslim saints and Hindū *yogīs*, and of Muslim followers of Hindū saints, and vice versa. See further SINDŪ, and also KABĪR, MALIK MUHAMMAD DJĀYASĪ, DJĀMĀLĪ, in Suppl.

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(S M Imamuddin)

4. Architecture. Lōdī architecture is described in the articles DIHLĪ SULṬĀNATE, ART, and HIND. VII. Architecture. There are many sites not mentioned in those articles where monumental tombs of the Lōdī period are found, especially in the neighbourhood of Sirhind (*q.v.*), Sohnā and other towns in the Mēwāt, and in the environs of Āgrā; there is still no adequate study published on Lōdī architecture as a coherent whole, and a competent survey is badly needed. Recent research suggests that later Dihlī Sultanate architecture in the regions of eastern Uttar Pradēsh and Bihār has many features of a regional style not described in the classification of styles in HIND, VII.

5. Coinage. Gold and silver coins, already very scarce under the Sayyids, were not continued by Bahlūl. His standard coin (= *tanka*), a billon issue of 9·2 to 9·4 gms., was of a traditional north Indian (80-*rati*) standard, but issued in sufficient quantity for the sobriquet of *bahlūlī* to be applied to it. Sikandar's standard *tanka* was a 32-*rati* piece hence of less than half the value of the *bahlūlī*. The issues of Ibrāhīm are confined to copper small change. There are a few issues of autonomous Lōdī governors from e.g. Kalpī (*q.v.*). See further DĀR AL-ḌARB and SIKKA.

(J. Burton-Page)

LOGIC [see MANṬIḲ].

LOJA [see LAWSHA].

LOMBOK, an island belonging to the Indonesian province of the Western Smaller Sunda Islands (*Nusa Tenggara Barat*). In the west it is separated from Bali by the Bali Strait, in the east by the Alas Strait from Sumbawa. It is some 4,670 sq. km. in area, and has approximately 1,850,000 inhabitants. There are extreme differences of climate between the humid western and the more arid southern and eastern parts of the island. Mount Rinjani (3,730 m.) is one of the highest mountains in South-East Asia. Mataram, situated close to Lombok's west-coast, is the provincial capital. The Island is divided into three *kabupaten* (regencies): West, Central and East Lombok.

The main population group, comprising *ca.* 95%, are the Sasaks who are nominally adherents of Islam. Approximately 3% are of Balinese origin, in addition to some "*orang Buda*" who keep to old animistic beliefs, some Chinese, and few Arabs (about 140 in West Lombok).

Influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. is suggested by some recently-discovered Buddhist statues in the eastern part of the island. After the conquest of Bali by the *patih* Gajah Mada from the Hindu-Javanese empire of Majapahit in 1343, Lombok met with the same fate. On the initiative of Trenggana (1521-46), the third ruler of the first Islamic kingdom on Java, Demak, Islam was introduced in Lombok among the Sasaks. Tensions between the Sasak rulers and the kings of Sumbawa during the 17th century finally led to the intervention of the Balinese kingdom of Karangasem, which established its supremacy on Lombok at the beginning of the 18th century. Mataram, close to the western shore and thus in neighbourhood to eastern Bali, developed as the most influential centre on Lombok. Its king was counselled by Balinese nobles, and the districts, too, were governed by Balinese, whereas their decisions were executed by Sasak officials who were often descendants from the old indigenous nobility.

In 1849, Karangasem lost its supremacy over Mataram, which maintained closer relations with the Dutch at Batavia. But the Balinese nobility still tried to develop western Lombok into a second Bali, and by court decisions Sasaks were eventually made slaves and had to serve in that rôle. Finally, the Sasaks asked the help of the Dutch Indies government, which organised in 1894 an expedition against Lombok "to protect the Muslims", to abolish the dynasty, and to turn Lombok into a Dutch colony. Besides its political consequences, this expedition resulted in the discovery of the manuscript of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a chronicle of the kingdom of Majapahit from the 14th century.

Although the Sasaks are usually considered to be Muslims, old customs, beliefs, and rules (*adat*) are still dominant. Especially during the 19th century, five parallel movements brought some change into the traditional social structures, the attempts of certain circles of the nobility to exert a greater degree of power, which they justified with *adat* convictions, and which was based on the eventual support of the Dutch, and, on the other side the attempts of mainly commoners to gain some influence too. For them, Islam with its more democratic concept of society, provided sufficient motivation, and at the same time was consonant with the anti-Balinese feelings among the people.

It was the latter group, however, who in the course of time proved to be more influential than the former one. The features of this development are similar to those in other rural areas in Indonesia. The traditional nobility, which as descendants of the original semi-divine hero has a strong attachment to *adat*, disqualified itself by its affiliation to the foreign powers who ruled the area, whereas for the Muslim preachers, lacking those affiliations and usually the assets originating from the lower strata of society, it was much easier to convince the commoners that they were defending their interests. Externally, they were opposed to the habits and convictions of traditional Sasak culture. But as they were usually oriented towards Islamic traditionalism, a number of Sasak cultural and ceremonial notions were to effect absorbed into their understanding and practising of Islam. Besides the questions of leadership and social control, it was especially in regard to the matrimonial customs and kinship relations where a discrepancy between *adat* and Islam was felt, and this caused internal tensions in Sasak society, which on the whole is moving towards a gradual acceptance of the custom and habits of traditionalist Muslims. This happens mainly through intermarriage between *adat*-obeying and Muslim partners, where the former one adopts himself to the Muslim partner. But the transition from *adat* to Islam is much less a matter of changing doctrines than of changing practical behaviours, and it is mainly obedience to certain demands of the *Sharī'a* which serve as the criterion for considering someone as a Muslim or not.

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LORCA [see EL RAL].

LOS PEDROCHES [see FAḤṢ AL BALLŪṬ].

LOT [see LŪṬ].

LUBĀN (*libān*, *lawbān*) is frankincense, the dried up sap produced by notching some kinds of Boswellia, obtained in Somalia and South Arabia in the form of yellow resin-grains. As is well-known, the term is Old Semitic: Assyr. *luḫānu*, old South Arabian *l-b-n*, Hebr. *lbnh*, Aram. *lebonā* (*lebonṯā*), Eth *libān*, from which have been derived the loanword λίβανος, λιβανωτός Latin *olibanum*, with derivations in the Romance languages. The name can be traced back to the original meaning "white" (Hebr *lābān*), after the colour of the fresh, milk white gum-resin, after some time solidified into yellow grains, which are then detached from the trunks or gathered from the soil. At least as often as *luḫān*, there appears in Arabic the synonym *kundur*, according to most authors of Persian origin, but perhaps to be derived from χόνδρος "grain"; this term may have become an independent form, derived from the combination χόνδρος λιβάνου "frankincense grain"

The frankincense trade is extremely old and has been treated repeatedly—but at times inadequately—in comprehensive descriptions. In the first place, frankincense—together with myrrh—formed the richness of the old South-Arabian states of the Minaeans and Sabaeans, the loss of the frankincense monopoly was one of the main causes of the collapse of this commerce fundamental for their existence, and consequently of cause of their downfall around the middle of the 6th century A D. (see the good survey by W. W. Müller, *Alt-Südarabien als Weihrauchland*, in *Theol Quartalschrift*, cxlix [1969], 350-68) The Arabic sources point in the same direction. According to al-Aṣmaʿī, three items were found only in the Yemen, and indeed abundantly there *al-wars* (*waraʿa*, a dye-plant), *al-luḫān* and *al-ʿuṣb* (Petronium) (cited in al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 627). According to a Bedouin from ʿUmān (in al Dīnawarī, *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, nos 972, 979), frankincense is only found in al-Šiḥr, in Šiḥr ʿUmān in fact, as a small briar which reaches up to two cubits high and which grows only in the mountains, its leaves resemble those of the myrtle [see As in Suppl.], as do its fruits, which have a bitter (read *murāra* instead of *barāra*) taste, its resin, also used for chewing and called *kundur*, wells up in some places struck with the hatchet and stays there until harvest. According to al-Dimashkī, *Nukhba*, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, 87, frankincense is obtained on Sukuṭrā (Socotra) and in some regions of the Yemen Afṭar Matī. II, 51, of Ṭabarī, I, 729, 2, reports verbatim that the Magi brought gold, frankincense and myrrh. Lice infestation is caused by two different things by taking excessive delight in dried figs and by burning frankincense (Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn*, III, Cairo 1930, 294)

The best frankincense comes from the male plant (*luḫān dhakar* = the λιβανωτὸς ἄρρην of Dioscorides), it is white and firm and has round grains which are gummy when broken open The white frankincense (*luḫān abyaḍ* = λιβανωτὸς λευκός) is also named as a noble variety, finally are to be mentioned the Javanese (in fact, Sumatran) frankincense (*luḫān ǧāwī*), i.e. benzoen, obtained from various kinds of styrax trees whose fumes are said to remove a cold in the head, send the reddish, Indian frankincense When, however, the geographers speak continuously of the frankincense of Arabia, this statement is based more on a literary topos than on knowledge of things on the spot The critical *Marco Polo* remarks explicitly that he does not want simply to repeat these literary accounts, but to report the personal information of the frankincense-traders According to these last, frankincense was particularly cultivated in two regions of South Arabia in "Escier"—apparently al-Šiḥr—and ʿDufar", the ancient Ẓafār in al-Šiḥr, he further reports, the lord confiscates the entire harvest, pays the cultivator a low price, and sells it to the traders at a sixfold price (for this report, see W Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, II, Leipzig 1886, 624-26). Some other places named by the geographers which produced frankincense lie close to each other and belong to the region of Mahra [q v]. The fact that at times scanty production of frankincense could not always satisfy the sustained and high demand in East and West, led to numerous adulterations (S. Labīb, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965, 334). Nahray ben Nissīm, a Jewish scholar, merchant and banker, called *al-ʿaṭṭār al-maghribī* and well-known from the Genuza documents, carried on a widespread trade in frankincense in the Mediterranean area in the 5th/11th century (S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, I, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 154).

The medicinal use of frankincense, described extensively by Ibn al-Bayṭār, goes back for the greater part to Dioscorides, from whom was also borrowed without examination the enumeration of several kinds, together with their Greek names. According to him, frankincense has a heating, drying and astringent power, expels darkening of the pupils, causes wounds to scar over and checks haemorrhage It softens virulent abscesses and, applied in combination with vinegar and pitch, removes warts and eruptions. It is good for earaches and, combined with other medicines, for illnesses of the trachea and of the intestines. For healthy people, it can be dangerous, for it may cause madness and, if drunk with wine, even death Frankincense is burned by putting it in a mussel-shell and setting fire to it. Shortly before it is fully consumed it must be covered up so that the fire is smothered completely in order that the frankincense is charred and not reduced to ashes; it can then more easily be pulverised. Various supplementary observations were made by the Arab physicians, such as the following: frankincense "burns" pathological phlegms, dries up excessive humours in the breast, strengthens the stomach and warms up a cold liver Dissolved in water and taken daily, it increases the reasoning power and eliminates loss of memory It checks diarrhoea and vomiting, calms palpitation of the heart but can also lead to mental disturbances When chewed, it strengthens the gums. Its bark is good for haemorrhages and intestinal ulcers The bark of the frankin-

cense-tree was often adulterated with that of the stone-pine, but the fraud could easily be detected, when burned, pine-resin smokes while frankincense burns with a flame. Apart from genuine medical science, frankincense is until now still of great importance in popular medicine and magic, cf. e.g. for Egypt, M. Meyerhof, *Der Basar der Drogen und Wohlgerüche in Kairo*, in *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, iii, 3/4, Berlin 1918, 201, and for North-West Africa, Helga Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhändler und seine Ware*, Wiesbaden 1977, 67 ff.

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(A. Dietrich)

LUBNĀN, Arabic name of the Lebanon. The Lebanon belongs to the sphere of Arab culture and of Islamic civilisation. It is also one of the components of the Christian world and of the French-speaking community. Created a state in 1920, it seeks its justification, as do all the countries of the contemporary Near East, through the quest for a very ancient identity. With the prosperity of their merchants, with the Biblical symbol of the cedar on their flag, or with the violence of the civil war which broke out in 1975, the Lebanese are a part of the myths and realities of the peoples who, from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia, have based their civilisations on the patriarchal family, agriculture, the city, commerce and God.

The modern State of the Lebanon was proclaimed on 1 September 1920 by General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic to the Levant. Within the frontiers allotted to it, and which then earned it the title of "Greater Lebanon", it occupied an area estimated today as close to 10,450 km², measuring no more than 220 km from north to south, and with a breadth of 40 to 75 km from east to west. It is bordered to the north and east by the Syrian Arab Republic, to the south by the State of Israel, and to the west it has an open coastline on the Mediterranean. Like the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon, the Ottoman *sandjaḳ* which preceded it, dating from 1861, it took the name which had come to be attributed, progressively, to the whole of the mountain range which stretches from the Nahr al-Kabīr, in the north, to the Nahr Litānī, in the south; it contains furthermore, part of Upper Galilee to the south, the central plain of the Biḳāʿ (the Coelesyria of Antiquity), and the western foothills of the Anti-Lebanon and of Mount Hermon.

In implementation of Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles which created the system of mandates, and of the Treaties of San Remo (25 April 1920) and of Lausanne (24 June 1923) which officially brought about the end and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the Council of the League of Nations, with its decisions of 24 July and 29 September 1923, placed the Lebanon under a mandate entrusted to France. On 26 November 1941, General Catroux, on behalf of the leadership of Free France, recognised the Lebanon as "a sovereign and independent State". In October 1943, following the election to the Presidency of the Republic of the Maronite Christian Bishāra al-Khūrī and the appointment of the Sunnī Muslim Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ as President of the Council of Ministers, the ministerial declaration of the new government affirmed, with all the ambiguity necessary to a compromise, that "the Lebanon is a homeland whose countenance is Arab, which will benefit richly from the civilisation of the Arabs". It became a member of the Arab League on the foundation of the latter in March 1945.

Greater Lebanon had taken the name of the Lebanese Republic when it was endowed, in 1926, with a constitution establishing a parliamentary and liberal régime. In 1943, when the Lebanese Government, with the support of public opinion, took its own destiny properly in hand, it set the seal on these institutions by means of the National Pact (*al-Mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*), a verbal accord which, in particular, defined the division of the responsibilities of power between the different religious communities; it thus entrusted the Presidency of the Republic to a Maronite Christian, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers to a Sunnī Muslim, and the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies to a Shīʿī Muslim. Herein lies the heart of the problem. Under the cover of a constitutional régime inspired by the French Third Republic, Lebanese political and social life was to be regulated by a sectarian division of responsibilities, conforming to the development which it has experienced since the beginnings of Islam [see *ṭāʾifa*] and the changes that it had undergone in the Ottoman Empire in the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. If the declaration of 1943 stated that the Lebanon is a "homeland" (*waṭan*) of Arab countenance, the Constitution made it a "nation" (*umma*). To which structure was the action of the state therefore to respond?

Social culture imposes its norms here, digging its root into a very distant past; there is more of history in this than in all the "Phoenician" justifications put forward today by the Christians, or in the unicity of civilisation to which the Muslims lay claim.

Populated from the very dawn of history, the coast accommodated active ports, the memory of which has been perpetuated by the Biblical texts, and of which contemporary archaeology has revealed

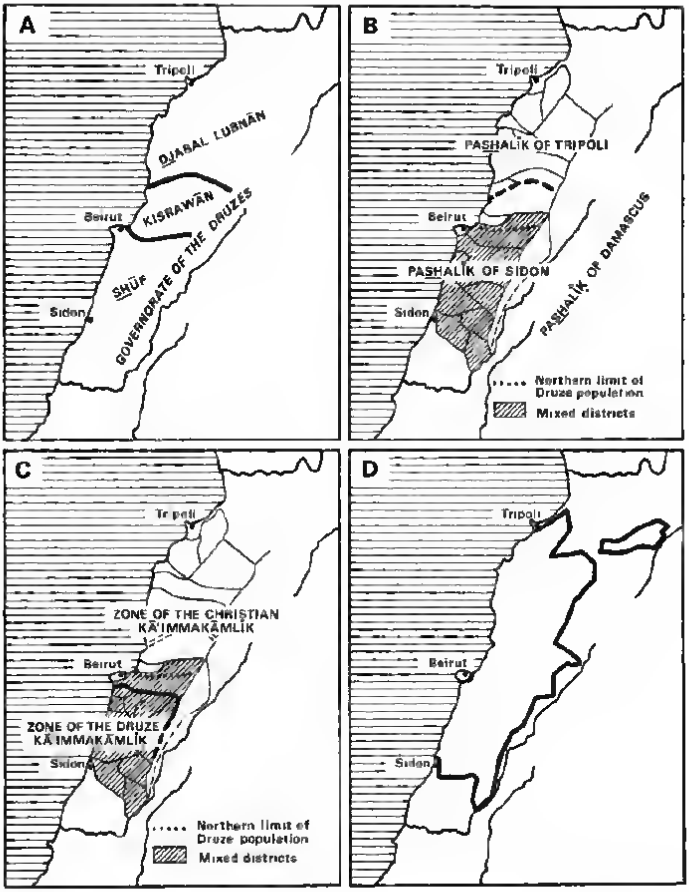

Fig 1 Stages in administrative unification (after D Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe* Paris 1971)

A The historic regions; B The Mountain under the Shihab family C Lebanon and the two *kaʾimmakamliks*, 1843-61; D The Province of Mount Lebanon in 1861

the stages and the levels of habitation, such as those superimposed on more than three millenia of glories and disasters in the remarkable site of Byblos (Jubayl). Under the Roman domination and the rise of Mediterranean traffic which accompanied it, 30,000 spectators could be accommodated in the immense hippodrome constructed in Tyre (Ṣūr) and recently brought to light, excavations having begun in the 1900s.

Shrouded by its forests and its rocks above the narrow coastal strip, the mountain was also penetrated by man at a very early stage, as is shown by its Canaanite and Aramaic toponyms; its inhabitants, probably fairly dispersed until the end of the ancient period, made a living through the exploitation of timber, transporting it on the first stage of the long route which led from Tyre and Sidon (Ṣaydā) to Asia, and through brigandage. The kanat of the gods worshipped by the cities of the coast it also attracted pilgrims to shrines adjoining the ruins of temples built in the Roman period.

After the mission of Muḥammad, the Arab conquest, by modifying the horizons and the nature of power, gave rise to a different exploitation of resources. While the narrow coastal plains, open to the sea and giving access to all ventures coming from

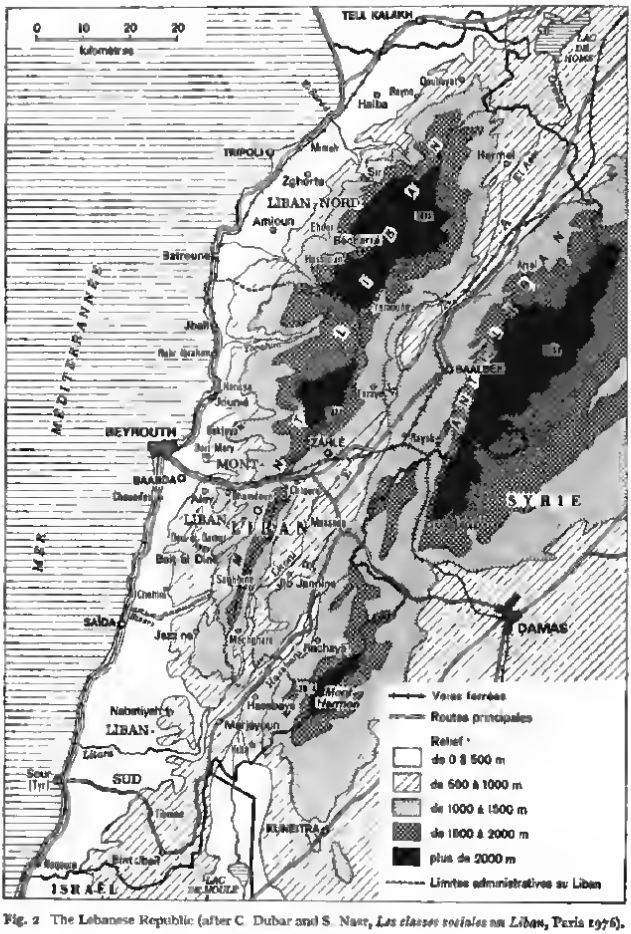

Fig. 2 The Lebanese Republic (after C. Dubar and S. Nasr, *Les classes sociales au Liban*, Paris 1976).

the West, formed a passage hardly favourable to the prosperity of a sedentary life in the absence of security, the Lebanon range became one of the marches of western Syria where Muslim and Byzantine adversaries confronted one another, perhaps through the intermediary action of unruly local inhabitants with an aptitude for warfare. Furthermore, the virtual autonomy enjoyed by those who had established themselves there was favourable to the maintenance and development of heterodox and minority religious tendencies.

On the western slope of a mountain already largely deforested, between its first escarpment dismantled by deep gorges and its high calcareous plateaus of the north or its ridges to the south, conditions for agriculture and human settlement were particularly favourable at altitudes between 900 and 1,500 metres, since here erosion had uncovered soft and fertile strata of chalk. Sandstone, marl, clay and basalt rock provide a more open relief in this area, where the climate is temperate, the air salubrious and water plentiful. Annual rainfall at this altitude in fact reaches levels of between 1,000 and 1,500 mm; most of the rainfall occurs from November to March, but, during the summer season, the high calcareous surfaces retain the water which they have absorbed over the winter in the form of snow. The Lebanese mountain range is well-irrigated at a latitude where water is rare, because it stops the humid air currents coming in from the west, it forms a barrage between the sea and the steppe. Behind the sheer eastern face, the inland depression of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] becomes much more dry; climatic contrasts are accentuated; the Mediterranean littoral is replaced by the Syrian plains which stretch beyond Anti-Lebanon. The Biḳāʿ was the wheat-growing region to which the mountain people came in search of part of their cereal requirements; as a result, it became a disputed territory because, as an enclave also penetrated by nomads, it became a prey to the rival and destructive aspirations of distinguished families who sought to impose their control on the mountain region, and of those who governed in Damascus.

Over the centuries, the mountain people constructed and maintained walls of dry stone to retain the arable soil on the slopes, thereby establishing narrow fields which were arranged in successive and horizontal layers; these were put to full use when the farmers became capable of developing the cultivation of the vine, the olive and the mulberry. This remarkable and intricate system of terracing was an eloquent testimony to the need for regulating work communally in order to guarantee that of each participant, not only because they were subject—not without legal disputes—to the easements of rights of way, of distribution of water and of crop rotation, but also because the security of each element depended on the maintenance of the whole.

The men who constructed and cultivated these terraces were organised according to the two modes of grouping fundamental throughout this historical milieu: the patriarchal family and the religious community. Social life was at first determined by a system which sanctioned marriages within the framework of paternal parentage to form a patriarchal family which was turned in upon itself and of which the identity was established through a patrilineal genealogy and through references to a more or less legendary ancestor. Within this context, the family group found expression for its defensive reflexes ("my brother and I against the son of my paternal uncle, my paternal uncle's son and I against the stranger"), its obligations towards neighbouring family groups and its dependent relationships with more powerful families. In fact, the nature of its internal constitution did nothing to prevent, in the field of exterior contacts, the forging of links of solidarity and the establishment of hierarchies, the role of the latter was still significant in the 19th century among the families of the mountain region. This system, largely pre-Islamic in its origins, was adapted to different types of economic and political organisation, arriving progressively at its fullest expression during the Islamic period, in this mountainous milieu—it should be stressed—just as among the Arab tribes, nomadic, sedentary or sedentarised, of which the conquest did nothing more than establish norms within the general cultural ambience. Thus it was not confined to one religious community, but common to all, even though it underwent evolutions and variations in the course of the centuries; furthermore, the identifying marks of social culture which it notified, and the experience of which was vigorously maintained through the everyday vocabulary of the Arabic language, were shared by the mountain people with their entire human environment, with the inhabitants of the interior as with those of the coast, and with those of the towns as with those of the plain.

However, the higher collective consciousness relied for its support on something beyond this organisation, which could only engender unstable coalitions between separate and rival agnate groups; it became crystallised at the level of a religious community which ascribed itself to a universalism of divine essence and thereby corresponded to a unitary aspiration where the social body ideally expressed its instinct for survival in its cultural identity and through its willingness to transcend personal interest. Islam was the perfect response to this need, while allowing the survival under its protection of other revealed religions which had proved satisfactory. While each religious community transcended the divisions of the family groups which composed it by uniting the latter in a common faith, the different communities became juxtaposed in their turn in a hierarchy imposed by Islamic law, analogous, in fact, to that which proceeded from the structure of society. The effects of this situation were to a great extent accentuated by the schisms and heresies provoked by the fragmentation of each of the great monotheistic religions into tendencies, different interpretations, communities, liturgies, doctrinal and judicial schools, themselves forming *ṭawāʾif* (sing. *ṭāʾifa*), possessing their own distinctive characteristics in the service of the one God, and even exacerbating them in the course of continual confrontations between the communities. The historical ambiguity of the Lebanon, as compared with other groupings of the region, consists in the fact that it was constructed on the banding together of minorities to form a majority.

How did the distribution of those who fostered their idiosyncrasies in this mountain refuge develop? The reply to this question is one of the keys to the progressive definition of "the Lebanon" by its own inhabitants. It is not to be easily answered, however, first because the information on the population during the medieval period is still fragmentary and uncertain, furthermore because hypotheses on this subject have been exploited to develop fallacious or emotional claims which have served to justify community and political choices in contemporary Lebanon, with consequences that have not been

solely doctrinal. Passions are aroused and polemic erupts as soon as it becomes necessary to determine the appellation, past or present, of this mountain chain overhanging the Mediterranean, with the vindication or negation of claims of affiliation with the populations settled there, whose origins, in fact, are as often lost in the obscurity of time and in successive human migrations. The controversy continues when the effort is made to define the society and personality of this region in the Ottoman period, with incantatory references to the Occident as to the Orient, the whole being a splendid mental and verbal confusion of all the ideological and academic models. Genuine scientific endeavour has suffered from these practices, on the other hand, their analysis makes for a better understanding of the mentalities involved and of their significance in the Lebanese context.

In the context of each religious group, the collective imagination and, consequently, the emotional outlook of the community are nourished by accounts of the origins of the group. In the case of the Maronite Christians, they have appeared to be all the more important in the Ottoman and contemporary periods because they have explained, or justified, their geographical and human association with the ancient and Biblical designation of "Lebanon", and the extension of the latter over the whole of the country. The stages in the mental realisation of this territorial appropriation are instructive. In the 16th and 17th centuries, following the epic and liturgical work of the bishop Dj̲ibrāʾīl b. Kilāʿ, one of the preoccupations of the Maronite chroniclers, in particular of the patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayhī, had been to arrange and give shape to stories of monks who had lived as recluses in the canyons of the Kādīshā under the patronage of the saint Mārūn—or as successors to the patriarch Yūḥannā Mārūn—and had exercised a ministry among the peasantry of the neighbourhood. These authors also insisted on the cohesion of the community around their patriarch and on their obedience to the orthodoxy of the Roman Church, which consolidated relations with Catholic Europe at a time when the Maronites were extending their territorial base in central Lebanon, coming into conflict with authority and encountering various spiritual and economic trends. To hagiography and to annals perpetuating the consciousness of the Maronite community, there may be added, especially since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the exploitation of scholarly works with a view to laying claim to a very distant past. Thus the Jesuit priest Henri Lammens had taken up again the study of the "Mardaites" (cf. *EI*[1], s.v.), a rather mysterious people which he believed could have established roots in northern Lebanon after Byzantium had diverted its religious turbulence into opposition to the Muslims, and Maronite authors recognised once more some of their ancestors there, even though these last were tarnished by heterodoxy. However, a question time had to be answered: in relation to Islam and to the "Arabs", was this population to be regarded as allogenous or indigenous? The construction of a national past, conceived as an uninterrupted chain of events, also led Christian authors to claim kinship with the Phoenicians, as they saw in this approach the best interpretation of implantation in time and space.

The monuments which the Crusaders left behind at Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon and on the foothills of the mountain, constitute for their part evidence for those passions which appropriate this past or reject it. Leaving aside sentimental and political reactions, it is nevertheless legitimate to wonder with what populations the "Franks" really came into contact. In the central and northern parts of the mountain, it seems very probable that the dominant tonality was then provided by a population that was either Shīʿī or influenced by Shīʿism. Thus when the Mamlūks, operating from Damascus in the name of orthodox Sunnism, sought, in 704/1305, to recall where the power of the state was situated and to which community it belonged, it was against these *rawāfiḍ* (sing. *rāfiḍa*), "people of dissent" or "recusants", as Ibn Taymiyya condemned them, that they launched in the direction of Kisrawān their victorious and devastating campaigns. This dispersion of the Shīʿīs was favourable to an influx of Marionite populations, moving in from the north, and to an extension of the authority of distinguished Druze families (see DURŪZ) around the Gharb and the Shūf. The chronicle of Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, written in the 15th century, clearly shows how the hierarchy of the family groups became established on the mountain by means of the fiscal and military organisation of the Muslim states (the system of *iḳṭāʿ* under the Mamlūks, to be replaced by the *muḳāṭaʿa* under the Ottomans). It was in this encounter between a population of settlers and an authority which derived its administrative legality from the centre of Sunnī power and its structure from social culture that there was established the "Government of the Druze" which European travellers discovered in the Ottoman period, and where one of the axes of the modern Lebanon progressively took shape.

With the dangers posed by the Franks and Mongols removed, the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 1516 was, in fact, a decisive moment for this mountain region. It had ceased to be a disputed frontier; it became a centre for access which, for all its undoubted difficulty, was situated at the meeting-point of the great land and maritime communications routes of the vast imperial Ottoman federation. Its inhabitants found in this the opportunity to develop their own activities, and thereby, also the means of affirming their own originality. The Ottoman régime favoured the expansion of regional networks for the relaying of long distance trade, the mountain people were thus able to obtain improved profit from their cultivated terraces, producing grapes and oil, and especially silk in the central regions, cotton and tobacco in the south. Their outlets were initially the local centres of manufacture and consumption, Damascus and Aleppo being the leading customers. Major commerce radiated from these inland terminals, both on interior routes and towards the coastal ports, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, which put them in contact with cabotage traffic plying between Palestine and Anatolia and with Egypt, the Maghrib and the ports of Christian Europe, Marseilles in particular, whose merchants, consuls and agents joined together in conducting their business under the system of capitulations (see IMTIYĀZĀT).

As a mainstay of the power of the sultanate which was maintained through control of the towns and the plains, Sunnī society first put down its roots in the centres for the radiation of religion, justice and authority. In the zone studied here, the Sunnīs were located principally in the ports, the coastal plains and the Biḳāʿ, the dignitaries of Sidon undertook with those of Damascus rich exchanges in the form of merchandise, marriages and spiritual brotherhood, while Moroccans were to be recorded in the genealogies of Beirut families. The old communities

of the Melkite Church of Antioch also shared in the revival of the cities and the development of the plains in 1724, their fragmentation into two hierarchies, one of them "orthodox" and remaining under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the other "catholic" and bowing, amid controversy, to that of Rome, bore witness to the effects of the milieu in which they reasserted their vitality. Between the "Greek Orthodox" monastery of Balāmand (formerly the Cistercian Belmont) and the olive plantations of the Kūra, to the south of Tripoli, and, on the other hand, the agricultural development which grew up around the "Greek Catholic" monastery of Saint Saviour, Dayr al-Mukhallaṣ, on land dominated by the Djanbulāṭ Druze family, these two rites also maintained monasteries such as that of Shwayyr, where a printing press was installed during the first half of the 18th century, in this centre of Christianity which the Khāzin and the Mata were to become.

Between the Djabal Lubnān to the north and the Djabal al-Shūf to the south, the movement of Maronite population towards the south of the mountain effectively turned this region into a religious local point, an agricultural zone accessible to commerce, and formed *mukāṭa'āt* administered by families of Maronite *shaykhs* within the context of the Government of the Druzes', the *ḥukm Djabal al-Shūf wa-Kisrawān* of the local chroniclers. Forces which came late contact here also clashed. The Jesuits had sent their first missionaries to the Levant two decades after the Council of Trent, and they had assumed direction of the seminary founded in Rome, in 1584, for the training of young Maronites. It was therefore as paradox that the communities of oriental rite attached to Rome were among the first to feel the impact caused by the renewal of religious activity in Europe and contributed to its repercussions. Under the influence of the Holy See, the Maronite Church underwent a movement of reconstruction which affected monasticism and the hierarchy, and a number of synods, including that of Luwayza in 1736, had to be convened for the new rules to be discussed, accepted and imposed. Better organised, it acquired material strength through the donations and *waḳf*s of which it was the beneficiary, monasteries became institutions of education where, alongside liturgical Syriac, the Arabic language was cultivated as a means of instructing the faithful and of better understanding the sacred texts. The milieu regained its rights through the use of Arabic and the social structure; thereby, the Maronite Church "naturalised" its western elements. By virtue of the authority of its patriarch and the work of its monks on the popular level, its influence in the community grew in comparison to that wielded by the *mukāṭa'ādjis*, the title born by members of families responsible for the levying of a contractual tax on a district, *mukāṭa'a*.

Among the dignitaries (*a'yān*) of old Maronite stock, some advanced in the echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, whilst others acquired the title of honorary consul in dealings with the representatives of the king of France; but the maintenance of their power derived from their role in the Ottoman fiscal system. After their conquest of Syria in 1516, the Ottomans had retained the administrative divisions of the mountain region, following the example of their predecessors and on the basis of the ethnic distribution, the north belonged to the *eyālet* of Tripoli, the centre and the south, where the "Government of the Druzes" held sway, to that of Damascus.

In 1660, in the wake of campaigns which the Porte had been obliged to conduct in order to suppress the rebellious ambitions of the Druze *amīr*s of the leading family of the Ma'n, a new *pashalik*, whose governor resided at Sidon, was created to ensure better control of the Druzes and the Maronites. Detached from that of Damascus, its territory included the central and southern part of the Lebanese range and northern Palestine; however, the pasha of Damascus retained seaority over those of Tripoli and Sidon. The latter made no attempt to exercise direct authority over a mountain range that was difficult of access and inhabited by well-organised groups; in common with the usual practice of the Ottoman administration, they relied on local leaders for the levying and submission of the tribute, the most tangible sign of the sultan's power. In doing so, they were obliged, on the regional level, to adapt themselves to the structures and hierarchy of this society so as to utilise it in a manner favourable to the maintenance of their control, expression and assurance of the sovereignty of the Porte, even though the latter was far away and incapable of applying consistent coercion.

The principal tax, the *mīrī*, was linked to the primacy of agricultural production, it was therefore levied on produce. It was farmed out and the leaseholder was subject to annual confirmation; the *amīr*—or sometimes two or three *amīr*s simultaneously—entrusted with this role belonged to the family of the Ma'n from the time of the Ottoman conquest to the last quarter of the 17th century, then to that of the Shihāb. The delegation of this authority consequently led to the pre-eminence of one family over the others, and of one *amīr* over his kinsmen, the latter was obliged to lead a life of constant duplicity in order to reconcile the rules imposed on him by his social milieu with the obligation to hand over revenue to the imperial financial chest and thus retain his post. According to the total sums determined by the Porte and demanded by the pasha, each year it was his duty to divide the amounts to be levied between the *mukāṭa'ādjis* responsible for collecting the tax from the *mukāṭa'āt* under his jurisdiction. The "Great Prince", the translation adopted by European travellers for the title of *al-amīr al-kabīr*, also took the title of *al-ḥākim* to assert his authority in the *ḥukm Djabal al-Shūf wa-Kisrawān*. Following the example of the controlling family, those senior families which exercised authority over others, and whose members were the most important landowners, took responsibility for the collection of rents in the *mukāṭa'āt*, where their social and proprietorial power was thus guaranteed; but in the effort to exert and retain their authority, the *mukāṭa'ādjis* were themselves cut in internal rivalries, which were the visible results of the division of society into juxtaposed and opposing groups, and which were revived by the ambitions and intrigues of the sultan's representatives. Thus in 1721, near the village of 'Ayn Dārā, the Kaysī faction of the *amīr* Haydār Shihāb crushed the Yamanī faction, in order to establish more firmly the supremacy of the Shihāb, *amīr* Haydār then proceeded to make a new division of the *mukāṭa'āt* among powerful families, strengthening some of them and weakening others. But the Porte was also capable of dismissing *amīr*s [see KAYS 'AYLAN] Kays and Yaman in the Ottoman period].

School text-books appeal to the consciousness of present-day Lebanese through the history of two "heroes", the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn II Ma'n (*q.v.*) and the *amīr* Bashīr II Shihāb (*q.v.*), who contributed to the vision of independance for their country in

a unitary fashion that transcended divisions and sectional interests. Both of them, one at the beginning of the 17th century, the other at the beginning of the 19th, exercised authority of a power and extent that had hitherto been unknown in the region, while exploiting the weakness and rivalries of the Turkish governors, they also looked for support to those states which, in the Mediterranean basin, testified to the regenerated power of Europe. But on each occasion, the Porte succeeded in frustrating their ambitions. When the Druze Fakhr al-Dīn, with this son ʿAlī, took steps to expand his amirate and to render it autonomous, the Ottomans resisted him with the same determination that they had shown in suppressing Shīʿism in the interior of their empire and in combatting Ṣafawid Persia on their eastern frontiers. Fakhr al-Dīn, forced to take refuge at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1612, returned in 1618, but was finally captured near Djazzīn and sent to Istanbul where he was executed in 1635. In a totally different historical context, the *amīr* Bashīr II Shihāb also died in Istanbul, in 1850, but of old age after he had been forced to abdicate his power in 1840, when the Ottoman government, undertaking a programme of political reform and driving the Egyptian troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī out of Syria, refused to renew his appointment. However, for more than a half-century, from 1788 to 1840, he had thrown all the force of his strong personality into giving the people of the Lebanese range a unity of purpose. To this end, he followed the policy of his predecessors which consisted in adding to the territory of the "Government of the Druzes", belonging to the *pashalīk* of Sidon, that of the land of Djubayl, north of the river Muʿamaltayn, which was a dependency of the *pashalīk* of Tripoli; he demoted the leading *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, like the Druze shaykh Bashīr Djumbalāṭ [see DJANBULĀṬ], and made use of the support of the Maronites, who had become the largest community in the mountain region. But as the intermediary of a fiscal system which became more and more oppressive, and subjected to the coercions of Muḥammad ʿAlī during the presence in Syria from 1832 to 1840 of Ibrāhīm Pasha's Egyptian army, he left his country in a state of full-scale revolt on the part of the mountain people. This led to the elimination of the greatest of the "old style" dignitaries, since the central Ottoman power, in seeking to reassert its control, struck at the leadership first; his departure spelt the dissolution of a system.

What situation was discovered by the Porte, when it re-established its authority with the support of a British military expedition and reformed it through its policy of *Tanẓīmāt*? Since the beginning of Ottoman domination, the active centre of Syria had shifted from the east towards the west, Lebanese overtures towards Mediterranean Europe and the demographic growth which had enabled the Maronites to spread from the north to the south of the mountain had worked in favour of this orientation and had benefited from it. However, in this material, human and religious context, arboriculture, producing timber in commercial quantities, had been considerably developed to the detriment of edible crops; at the beginning of the 19th century, the cereals which the mountain people harvested from their soil were sufficient to feed them for only three or four months of the year, the remainder having to be bought. The need to guarantee their subsistence thus put them into still further dependence on the Turkish governors who controlled the fertile plains, although the *amīrs* attempted to remedy this necessity by a permanent extension of their influence over the Biḳaʿ; their efforts were in vain. On the other hand, commercial exchanges turned the mountain range into a zone of monetary circulation, and its economic development afforded favourably its population growth, but at the end of the 18th century and during the first four decades of the 19th, increasing pressure of taxation, linked to the effects of Ottoman monetary manipulations, had caused a massive depletion of financial resources and led to an impoverishment which was all the more powerfully felt because the cultivable areas of the mountain had reached a point of demographic saturation in terms of the development possibilities of the period. This in turn led to social tensions between, on the one hand, the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, themselves impoverished and weakened by the policies of *amīr* Bashīr II and by their own numbers and rivalries, and on the other, the tenant farmers who found it increasingly difficult to cope with increasing taxes and rents on contracting land space. On the Maronite side, the enfeeblement of the nobility (*aʿyān*) led to a regrouping in the framework of the community under the leadership of the clergy, with resulting profit to the latter's role. On the side of the Druzes, who had not experienced the same demographic increase, and who therefore were subjected to the continuing influx of Christian population simultaneously with the renewal of economic and political activity in Europe, there was a contrary regrouping behind the major traditional families, the social backbone of the community; a migratory movement also took place towards the Syrian interior, towards the Hawrān [q.v.]. Social tension thus also led to community confrontations in the "mixed areas" which were inhabited by Druzes and Christians; the clashes which ensued were a part of the general unrest which affected Syria in this period.

With the regulations of 1842 and 1845, the Porte imposed a new administrative system which gave preferential terms to the Christian population but retained the division of the mountain, the northern part being entrusted to a Christian *kāʾimakām* and the southern to a Druze *kāʾimakām*, both were functionaries placed under the authority of the Turkish governor who was now resident in Beirut, and were assisted by a council "like those which already exist at all points of the empire". It was the renewal imposed by changes in Europe that was manifested behind these modifications, behind new forms of intervention by representatives of European powers in Lebanon, especially behind the activities of the consuls of France and Great Britain posted to Beirut. This port was regularly visited by steamships after 1835, although the major cities of the interior underwent a crisis in their activities; it was the major regional beneficiary of the expansion in trade, especially after 1850, when its commercial affairs followed the rhythm of western economic trends and the changes in the laws of property ownership introduced into the Ottoman empire (confirmed by the *Khaṭṭ-i Hūmāyūn* of 18 February 1856) stimulated the development of new commercial and financial enterprises. Its population grew and diversified, especially in its Christian components (6,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century, 60,000 in 1860, 130,000 in 1914). In the mountain region, industrial initiative was introduced by the French, who installed new systems for the spinning of silk; they diverted deliveries of cocoons for the benefit of their establishments, thus breaking the links between the small-holders and the influential families and

thereby contributing further to the decline of the latter. These economic changes, while favouring the prosperity of those who were the intermediaries, chief among whom were the Christians, had an adverse effect on the disadvantaged communities and led to aggravation of social and religious tensions. In 1859, an agrarian revolt saw peasants in conflict with *shaykhs* in Maronite Kisrawān. However, the Christians benefited overall from these transformations, while Muslims and Druzes were, overall, prevented from playing any part; claiming the "equality" promised by the reforms, reinforcing the status of the community with the support of France and of the Roman Church, profiting from a European expansion which both rivalled and dominated the traditional economy of the Near East—all these activities on the part of the Christians were in the eyes of the Muslims crimes committed by a people whom they had never ceased to despise, in opposition to their past supremacy and to their present existence. An incident in May 1860 touched off conflict between Druzes and Christians, and was followed by massacres of Christians in the "mixed areas" and in Damascus. To limit intervention by the European powers, the Turks restored order in the most brutal fashion, however, this did not prevent the arrival in Beirut of a French expeditionary force, which Napoleon III had also sent for the purpose of furthering the Mediterranean and Arab aspects of his policy.

The result of these events, of the presence of French troops until June 1861, and of the negotiations held between the Porte, France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, was the creation of a province of Mount Lebanon. Administrative unity was thus confirmed by law. Although it was nothing more than a *sandjak sa mutaṣarrifiyya*, the agreement signed at Pera on 9 June 1861 made it clear that "The Lebanon will be administered by a Christian governor appointed by the Sublime Porte and responsible directly to it." The Porte laid down the condition that this Christian governor be chosen from among the non-Lebanese subjects of the Sultan. The majority of the population of the new province was Christian, order was maintained by its own police force and it was the beneficiary of a special fiscal system; it included neither Beirut, nor Tripoli, nor Sidon, but its links with Beirut developed continuously to their mutual enrichment in economic and human terms. Although its relatively autonomous status was guaranteed by the signature of five European powers, Mount Lebanon was none the less included in the general administrative modernisation of the Ottoman empire: the abolition of the ancient privileges of the *muḳāṭaʿadjīs*, the judicial equality of the Muslim and Christian communities, the representation of these communities on the *madjlis* which advised the governor, all these corresponded to the general conditions applied to the administration of provinces as laid down by the law of 1864.

Beirut and Mount Lebanon were the centres of important movements in terms of products, people and ideas. The economic expansion introduced from the West was most clearly marked by the development of sericulture under the control of the city of Lyons, the capital of the industry; French participation in companies formed for the construction from Beirut to Damascus of a carriageable highway (1863), later of a railway line (1895), the extension of the port of Beirut, the architectural improvement of this town, and the founding of banks and trading houses. The increase in population and social pressures led to waves of emigration towards Egypt and the Americas. The Arab literary renaissance, the *nahḍa* [q.v.], expressed awareness of these encounters, besides the education provided by the Syrian Protestant College, founded in 1866 under the auspices of the American Presbyterian Mission, and by the Jesuit University of St. Joseph (1881), the pedagogic and literary activities of the *muʿallim* Buṭrus al-Bustānī [see AL-BUSTĀNĪ in Suppl.] and of numerous other writers, journalists and scholars led to a crystallisation of consciousness in the confrontation with all the human, spiritual and geographical dimensions which had been brought into play, and in posing the problem of the affirmation of the personality amid all these transformations. But although for many of the initiators of this intellectual revival the fact of belonging to a common civilisation was something that must transcend religious differences, ambiguities none the less survived at all levels of cultural awareness, since the idea of nationhood proposed by Europe was balanced, on the one hand, by a "Lebanonist" conception, especially among the Maronites, an Arab ideal for a uniting of energies going beyond community distinctions, and on the other, by an Ottomanist faction for whom the Ottoman State was the guarantee of Islamic civilisation in the face of western domination. In 1911, Shakīb Arslān fought the Italians in Libya alongside the Turks, in June 1913, the Arab Congress, convened in Paris, proposed a decentralisation for the benefit of the different Arab provinces.

The war and the defeat of the Ottomans in 1918 gave an impetus to Lebanese development. Three Lebanese delegations, including one led by the Maronite patriarch, attended the Peace Conference to claim from it the maintenance and even the expansion of their territories. In 1920, the French military intervention against the Arab Kingdom of *amīr* Fayṣal permitted the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon which was placed under a mandate entrusted to France. This state was established around a Christian, mainly Maronite, nucleus, which constituted a majority, although all the other lands of Arab culture were populated predominantly by Muslims. But the former province of Mount Lebanon was expanded with the addition of Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli, ʿAkkār, the Biḳāʿ, the Wādī al-Taym and the Djabal ʿĀmil where Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims were present in large numbers. This situation aroused two principal attitudes: on the one hand, the Christians had no intention of accepting a position of inferiority in a Republic of which they considered themselves the architects; on the other, the Muslims speculated as to what their status was to be within a political entity which had not been founded according to their aspirations. Numerous factors came into play in this context, in particular: the nature of groupings and relationships in the community frameworks or the political parties, demography, increasingly favourable to the Muslims; the question of ability to cope with all the necessities of the modern world, and the economic role and the place of manual labour, not only in terms of the different social levels but also in terms of the communities. While some Shīʿī leaders were quite prepared to throw in their lot with the system, the ruling circles and the populace of the Sunnī community expressed strong reservations and they took the opportunity of showing where their feelings lay at the time of the 1925 revolt. However, a compromise was devised, one of its principal Sunnī initiators being Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ; in 1936 it was agreed, following Franco-Syrian

and Franco-Lebanese negotiations, that the Lebanon would continue to exist within its present frontiers and would retain the representation of the communities which had been confirmed by its parliamentary constitution. In 1943, the National Pact, already mentioned, was a decisive factor in the Muslim adhesion to the Lebanese identity. In March 1945, the Lebanon was among the founders of the League of Arab States.

Under all the presidents of the Republic who have succeeded one another since independence (Bishāra al-Khūrī 1943-52, Kamīl Shamʿūn 1952-8, Fuʾād Shihāb 1958-64, Charles Hilū 1964-70, Sulaymān Farangiyya 1970-6, Ilyās Sarkīs 1976-82), each serious crisis has renewed the fragmentation of the communities, but has also revealed the growth of a Lebanese consciousness among the majority of a population which has become accustomed to living in the framework of the Lebanese State. In February 1958, many Muslims greeted with enthusiasm news of the foundation of the United Arab Republic; but while bloody civil unrest engulfed the country between May and September of the same year and provoked, in the international and Arab context, the landing of American troops on 17 July in application of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the programme of reforms instituted under the presidency of General Fuʾād Shihāb was accompanied by the emergence of a genuine Muslim Lebanonism. At the same time, Kamāl Dumblāṭ, as much in his capacity as an aristocratic Druze of the Shūf as in his role as leader of a socialist movement, appealed to a fundamentally Lebanese patriotism in his effort to bring the country into the bosom of Arab solidarity. The Sunnī leaders and the Muslims as a whole were joined in the reality of the Lebanese state as a cadre for the future, but they demanded institutional reforms which would give greater recognition to their numbers and to their talents in the control of the Lebanon. In a state where all civil life is defined by the fact of belonging to a religious community, this claim was supported on the basis of modifications arising from the demographic separation. It is, in fact, the Muslim populations that have increased most rapidly, this development is most clearly marked within the Shīʿī Muslim community, the most disadvantaged in the country, which has become the most numerous. The Shīʿī labour force has therefore tended to leave the impoverished rural zones of eastern and southern Lebanon, the precise areas where Israeli raids have contributed to the acceleration of the migration, in mass, to work in the expanding industrial zones of the Beirut region. A social problem has thus prolonged the process of political demand and demographic change, this has been reflected in the actions of the political parties of the Left, who have also sought, in a similar manner, to channel the discontent of the peasants of the north whose agitation, since 1970, has been directed against the major landowners and has called into question the authority of the state. They have also acquired, through their new militancy, a stronger "Muslim aspect".

This evolution has come about in a period of economic growth whose profits have been most unevenly distributed. Since 1967, the ascending curve of the Lebanese economy has followed that of the increased wealth of the Near East as a whole; petro-dollars, "Arab" assets which are essentially the property of Muslims, have been invested in Lebanese banks, of which the majority are controlled by Christians. At the same time, the Lebanon has not only counted on the resources deriving from its "services", but also on those produced by its industry, which has undergone a vigorous expansion in the suburbs of Beirut and Tripoli, exporting 80% of its production to Arab markets. While Lebanese technicians and businessmen, including Christians at the higher echelons, have taken the opportunity of practising their skills in the developing Arab countries, the contracted labour force in the construction industry of Beirut is of Syrian origin, thus, through its recent economic development, the Lebanon has become still more integrated into the life and destiny of the Arab world.

Paradoxically, the situation has been cruelly underlined since 1973 by the internal consequences of the recession of the western economy, for the Lebanon has also remained closely linked to the latter, the extension of social malaise has rendered political demands more bitter and has accentuated the impact of the Palestinian presence. This dates from 1948 (the foundation of the State of Israel), but it has only begun to pose a real problem to the authority of the Lebanese State since 1967, when the Palestinians consolidated their political orientation and took on the role of an armed organisation. Now, while the Palestinians exist alongside other Lebanese groups in a structure consistent with the norms of Arab society, and while they have exploited the liberal Lebanese régime to act as independently as is possible, towards invoking the solidarity of the Arab nation, they have none the less remained very distinct from the remainder of the population, since they lay claim to a land which is not the Lebanon. The sovereignty of the Lebanese state has suffered as a result of their military activities in the frontier regions of the south and, consequently, as a result of repeated Israeli incursions, but, besides the members of the front of progressive parties, all Muslims have felt sympathetic to their cause and have often offered them support as internal political action.

The resentment at this situation felt by the Christians, and especially by their Maronite majority, has been channelled by the Lebanese Phalanges. Although of Arabic language and culture, the Christian population has developed and rediscovered an isolationist complex in an Arab world where the movement towards secularisation tends to work to the advantage of the institutions of the majority, i.e. the Muslims and where, equally, politically active movements have been mobilised in the name of Islamic ideals. This sense of insecurity has also been shared by those business circles which, while reaping the benefits of trading with the Arab countries, participated in the workings of the western economy. On the other hand, the movements of the Left have integrated their denunciation of the injustices of the system with revolutionary Arab perspectives. As a result of the origins of modern Lebanon as well as of present-day circumstances, the internal crisis has taken on Arab, Islamic and international dimensions, and is nourished by them.

After February 1975, the repression of political and social unrest at Sidon illustrated the limited capabilities of the Lebanese army, itself a multi-religious organisation. On 13 April 1975, a coach carrying Palestinians was machine-gunned by Phalangists near Beirut, twenty-seven passengers were killed. Since then, the authority of the government has progressively disintegrated. At the beginning of the 1970s, a whole generation of students had dreamed of a fraternal future for the Lebanon, to be achieved by the erosion of community divisions; this dream has been shattered. While the sovereignty of the state has been called into question, and the ancient

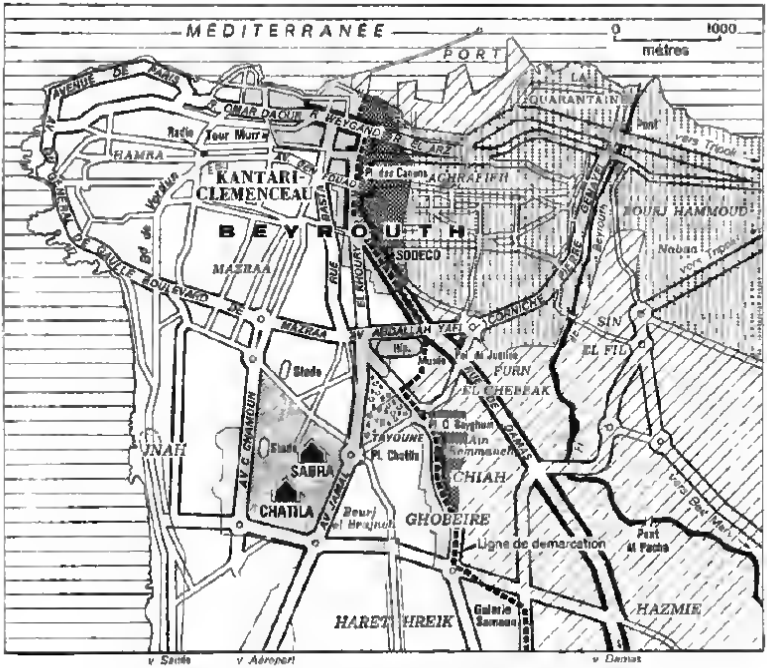

Fig. 3. Beirut in 1982 (after *Le Monde*, 19 May 1982)

structures of the familial group have been damaged by modern urbanisation and industrialisation, religious segregations have shown themselves to be all the more active at the level of collective consciousness, since they have remained the principal touchstone of identity and therefore the principal framework for community solidarity. In the agony of the civil war, political and social conflicts have been kept alive by the most ancient segregational structures of Near Eastern society; the polarisation of passions according to religious allegiances has been the most symptomatic expression of this at the conscious level. How is one to contemplate the idea of the partitioning of the Lebanon as envisaged by the minorities, the constitution of semi-autonomous fraternities of combatants, principally within the popular Muslim milieu, the conflicting claims of fragmentation and unitary ideologies, or the unequalled violence of the fighting since September 1975, without reference to this conglomeration of sociological and historical data?

The Lebanese crisis which began in 1975 owed its seriousness to internal causes which in their turn reflected the changes in the Arab world and the social, cultural and political tensions which had become acute throughout the Near East. At the beginning of the war, two powers with an interest in the existence of the modern Lebanon made official approaches to the different Lebanese parties: Syria, with repeated missions on the part of its Minister of Foreign Affairs, France with the fact-finding missions of Maurice Couve de Murville and Georges Gorse. In June 1976 Syria sent a massive force into the Lebanon under the cover of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force in order to restore calm. In spite of truces, the sound of gunfire is still to be heard, across alliances and the reversal of alliances (especially after the Camp David Accords), across struggles for hegemony within each politico-religious faction. The continuing prosperity of the banking sector has no doubt compensated for the massive destruction of property and the aggravation of social disparities. From 1840 to 1958, civil disorders in Lebanon had been resolved only by the intervention of western armies. Since 1976, the presence of the Arab Peace Keeping Force has shown that a

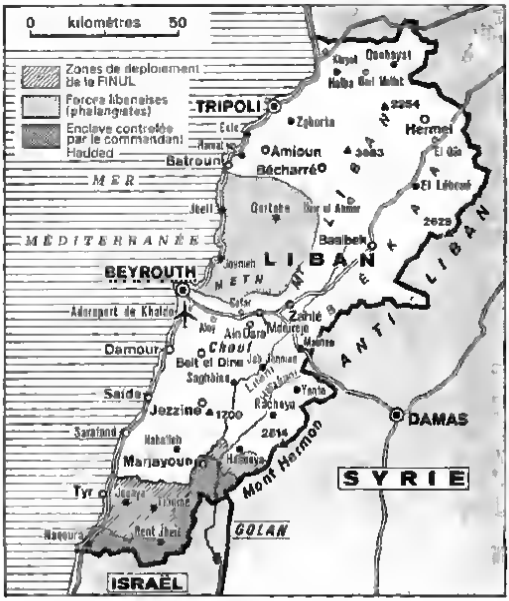

Fig. 4. Lebanon in 1981 (after *Le Monde*, 20 May 1981)

solution should be found through Arab negotiation, but having regard to international repercussions and to the conflict with Israel which led, in 1978, to the despatch of a United Nations Interim Force in the Lebanon (U.N.I.F.L.)

It is estimated that the Lebanon has close to three million inhabitants. It is they, residents or temporary emigrants, who ensure the existence of their country. Though each continues to feel part of a minority in relation to his compatriots, the adhesion of the majority of the Lebanese to the Lebanon is symbolically represented by the celebration of the Day of the Flag, but, while they are aware of belonging to the same entity and are determined to maintain it, they do not share the same national vision.

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(D CHEVALLIER)

LUBUD (pl of *libd*, *labad*), **felt** The production and craftsmanship of wool [see SUF] was very prosperous in the mediaeval Muslim world, and supplied a variety of articles not only for refined and wealthy customers but also for the popular market in the form of relatively inexpensive clothing In more recent times, local woollens have not managed to compete with European products (E Ashtor, *Les lainages dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Atti Inst F Datini* Florence 1976, 657-80) Felt was one of the less expensive products among the woollen articles manufactured locally (and probably not threatened by imports from Europe), but there were also felts of high quality which were dyed (see for their colours, below) or embellished (Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir*, 87 a royal cloak of Byzantine origin)

As elsewhere, felt was manufactured in the Muslim world at that time by pressing wool between pieces of wood, etc., a process often combined with moistening and binding by means of *samgh* (i e gum, for the Middle Ages, a description is supplied by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim*, 231, and for the beginning of the modern period, by al-Kāsimī, *Dict des métiers*, ii, 399 400)

The maker of felt was called the *labbād*, *labbādī* and *labbādī* (Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *loc cit*, al-Makrīzī *Khiṭaṭ* Beirut ed., i, 134 al-Kāsimī, *loc cit*) The names of a number of articles are derived from that of "felt" cap (*libda*), cloak, or piece of felt worn over the outer garment (*labbada*), mosquette (*libd*, *labad*), saddle, or a piece of felt put under the saddle, especially among the nomadic Arabs, etc. (al Nābigha and Imru' al-Kays, ed Ahlwardt, 7, 149 *Dīwān al Hudhaliyyin*, ed. Wellhausen, 86, Diarīr, ed Sāwī, 139, Ibn Kutayba, *al Ma'ānī*, 944 [but it is not known if this *libd* of the Arabs of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, was manufactured like the felt known in sedentary civilisation] al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 199 Ibn Hayyān, *Akhbār al-nabī*, Cairo 1939, 161; al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Beirut 1962, iv, 377 ff, Ibn al Zubayr, *op cit*, 60, 145-6, al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, Cairo 1960, 452, Idem, *Mukaddimāt*, Leipzig 1850, 63; al Maqrīzī, *op cit*, ii, 99, 156, 338, *LA*, Beirut 1955, iii, 386, 387; Lane, i, 2646; S Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 103; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 395, idem, *Suppl*, i e)

In fact, felt was also used for the manufacture of items whose names are not derived from it, such as clothing and hats (see some of the above sources and al-Dhahabī, according to Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i, 103 (*musūḥ* of felt); Ibn Hawkal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 123, Dozy, *Vêtements*, 114, 257, 267, 366, *balanswa*, *tarbūsh*, for example), linings of jackets (A Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii, 499—the case here in point is the equipping of a Muslim expedition, outside the Islamic world, with clothing manufactured in 'Irāq), blankets and mattresses (al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, Cairo 1955, 239; mattresses of less affluent people), ropes (possibly, see below). Felts were available in several colours, apart from the natural colour (red, al-Dhahabī, *op cit*, 158-9; al Shābushtī, *loc cit*,—black Ibn al-Zubayr, *op cit* 145-6)

The felts came from various regions and countries; from China (refined and rare felts, in the Muslim world, al-Dhahabī, *loc cit*, al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, tr. C E Bosworth, 142), from North Africa (al-Dhahabī, *loc cit*, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 153 Ibn Hawkal, *op cit*, 113; al-Tha'ālibī, *loc cit*, Ibn al Zubayr, *op cit*, 47), from Armenia and Khurāsān (al Dhahabī, *loc cit*, Ibn al-Zubayr, *op cit*, 60; al-Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 22) The Turks, in common with other peoples of Central Asia (A Miquel, *op cit*, ii, 136, 159, 234), used large quantities of felt, for clothing as well as for the making of tents, but there is no evidence to show that felt was exported from these regions to the centre of the Muslim world. Felt from Ṭalaḳān (in Khurāsān), strong and resilient was used possibly for the weaving of a kind of rope rescue-ladder (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 117 = § 2799) In Samarkand (Transoxania) and Damascus (Syria) there were specialised quarters in the suburbs or in the town, for the manufacture and sale of felt (Yāḳūt, iv, 345).

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(J SADAN)

LUCKNOW [see LAKHNAW]

LUDD the Arabic name of Lydda, the ancient Hebrew Lodd, a town in Palestine to the south-east of Jaffa (Yāfā) and 17 km. in direct line from the Mediterranean shore

Ancient history Ludd is extremely ancient, and its name is believed to appear as the list of towns conquered by the Egyptian King Thutmos III (ca 1468 1436 B C) (cf Ali, *Essays*, 138, Ahsrol, 149) The name of Lodd appears four times in the later books of the Bible (I Chron. viii, 12, the building of the city by several families belonging to the tribe of Benjamin Ezra, ii, 33; Neh. vii, 37, xi, 32-5). The Hebrew name was preserved in the New Testament (Λύδδα, Acts, ix, 32), and through it has entered, in the Latin form of Lydda, into the European languages. After the British occupation in 1917, the name of the city was given to the whole district, which was called "the District of Lydda". Early in the 3rd century A D., the Greek name Diospolis must have been given to the town by Emperor Septimus Severus, who visited the place in 200 C, when the town was given Roman city rights and coins were struck there (cf Smith, 121 n. 3) Although the name Diospolis survived until the Islamic conquest, the local Jewish and Samaritan population continued to use the original name of Lodd, which appears frequently in Talmudic literature (*e g Pal Talmud*, Shevi'it, 9, *Babylonian Talmud*, Megilla, 3b-4a, *Sanhedrin*, 32b, 74a, *Sukka*, 2b; *Hullin*, 56b; *The minor treatises of the Talmud*, London 1965, 127, 331, 341).

During the whole of the Second Temple period, the city was one of the major Jewish centres, although in the Hellenistic and Roman periods it occasionally remained outside Jewish domination. The Seleucids ceded it to Jonathan Maccabaeus in 145 B.C. and 83 years later, Pompey detached it from the Jewish state. In 48 B.C. Julius Caesar restored it to Jewish rule. In 44 B.C. after the murder of Caesar Cassius, who appeared in the country with a large Roman army, sold its population as slaves when the town failed to pay the high tribute imposed on it (Josephus, *Wars*, i, ch. xi, 2). The city revived and even flourished as a centre of Jewish learning and a haven for Jewish spiritual leadership after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (Smith, 121 and n. 2).

Once Christianity was proclaimed the state religion by Constantine, Ludd instantly assumed an important place in Christian thought, mainly because of the healing miracle which St. Peter performed on the paralytic Aeneas (Acts, ix, 32-5. Cf. Hieronimus, in Reland, *Palaestina*, 877), which is said to have been the cause of numerous converts to Christianity in the city and its environs. However, the real sanctity of Ludd and its major fame in the Christian world are due to the belief that it is the birthplace of St. George, who is probably the most venerated hero in Eastern Christianity and who rose from obscure origins to become "not only the virtual patron of Syrian Christendom and an object of Muslim reverence, but patron, as well, of the most Western of Christian peoples. St. George of Lydda is St. George of England ..." (Smith, 124). His fame must have been due to his martyrdom, on the eve of the triumph of Christianity, under Diocletian in Nicomedia in A.D. 303, after which his relics (or his head only) were brought to Ludd and buried there.

Early Christian travelers refer, therefore, to Ludd as the place where the saint is buried. At some time during the Byzantine period, probably under Justinian, a church was built over the burial place, the apse of which must have stood over the tomb itself, and a monastery which was also established in the city was dedicated to him. The church, however, appears not to have been dedicated to him, since travellers mention only the tomb and the monastery (Smith, *loc. cit.*). The archaeological survey in which the traces of the Byzantine church were discovered was carried out by Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological researches*, ii, 98-103, 341-6, cf. *SWP. Memoires*, ii, 267-8). The town became, already in the 4th century an episcopal see (despite partial destruction after an anti-Roman revolt in 351) and retained this position until modern times, even after its cathedral was destroyed and its Christian population reduced to a negligible number; there was even a Synod of Diospolis early in the 5th century. The signatures of several Bishops from Ludd appear on conciliar documents, Aetius Lydensis at the Council of Nicaea (325), Dionysius Diospolitanus at the Council of Constantinople (381), Photinus Diospolitanus (as well as Photinus episcopus Lydae) at the Council of Chalcedon (451) (Reland, *op. cit.*, 878-9. For other references concerning Ludd in classical literature, cf., Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, 75).

Topography. The town is located on the border between the coastal plain and the Shephela, in an extensive area of flat land, some 40-50 m. above sea level, which came to be known after it as "the Valley of Lod" (cf. *Tos. Talmud, loc. cit.*). The area enjoys a very good amount of winter rain (annual average of above 500 mm.), and its alluvial soil stores large quantities of excellent water which have rendered the environs of the city extremely fertile in all times, this, in addition to the rich soil and generally warm climate, made the town famous for its agriculture. It was always described by travellers as being encircled by olive groves and vineyards (and in modern times citrus plantations). Cotton grows very well in the area, and in the later Ottoman period it was cultivated extensively as a major cash crop. The cultivation of cotton ceased during the British Mandate, but was renewed in a most extensive form in Israel. Plants used in the dyeing industry, for which the town had also been very famous (until the building of Ramla), must have also been grown around the city. The virtually unlimited possibilities offered by the natural conditions explains the place's attraction for settlers, who repeatedly restored it after the frequent calamities, whether of human or natural nature, which befell it throughout its extremely long history.

Its position made Ludd from ancient times an important station on the eastern and more frequented branch of the *Via Maris* which runs from Gaza via Yavneh (Ar. Yubnā) and Ludd to Antipatris (Ra's al-'Ayn) and thence via Wādī 'Ara (ancient 'Iron) to the Valley of Jezreel. This route running along the eastern slopes of the hills of Samaria, though longer than the one running parallel to the coast, was deemed easier and safer. It attained especial importance in the post-Crusader period (mainly under the Mamlūks), and has since served as one of the major traffic routes in the country. The road connecting Jerusalem to Jaffa also passed via Ludd, thus making it into an important crossroads, a position which the city regained in modern times after the construction of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad at the end of the last century (see below).

Early Islamic history. According to al-Balādhurī's tradition, Ludd was conquered by 'Amr b. al-'Ās after the conquest of Nābulus and Samaria (*Futūḥ*, 138/13). Al-Ṭabarī relates that the city capitulated in 15 A.H. and quotes the agreement made with its inhabitants. It is the standard formula of capitulation treaty known from other places in Syria which were reportedly taken without war (*sulḥ*[an], and stipulates *amān* (protection) for the conquered inhabitants' life and property, guaranteeing the safety of the religious institutions in return for a payment of an unfixed sum of *djizya* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2406-7). Very soon after the Islamic conquest the town underwent a process of rapid deterioration, mainly due to the growth of Ramla as a major administrative, economic and cultural centre in the *Djund Filasṭīn* (the Byzantine *Palaestina Prima*).

Ramla was built by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik with the intention of serving as the capital of the province, after a long period in which the *Djund Filasṭīn* had been devoid of a proper administrative centre. Having discarded, for obvious reasons Caesarea, the Roman-Byzantine capital of Palaestina Prima, the Muslims made Ludd into the permanent seat of the administration. The city was, however, too Christian in ethos for the taste of the Umayyad rulers, especially after the inauguration of 'Abd al-Malik's Arab-Islamic reforms. When Sulaymān was nominated by his brother al-Walīd I as governor of Palestine, he took up residence in Ludd, but immediately embarked upon the grand scheme of the building of Ramla (*Futūḥ*, 143; Yāḳūt, s.v. "Ramla"). Once the new capital was established, Ludd almost instantly fell into oblivion. The Islamic traditions

unanimously confirm this by saying that the building of Ramla was the reason for the destruction of Ludd (*wa-kāna ẖirāb Ludd*, Yāḳūt, *loc cit*) Some traditions even say that Sulaymān destroyed the homes of the inhabitants of Ludd in order to force them to move to his new capital Al Ya'ḳūbī, who specifically mentions Sulaymān's destruction of Ludd, emphasises that in his own time it was already in ruins (*Buldān*, 308) The traditions relating to its deterioration are all intensified by the Islamic accounts of its past glory Thus Ibn al-Faḳīh speaks about the splendid buildings of Ludd, which impressed the Muslim beholders so much that they believed that they were built for Solomon by the djinn (*Mukhtaṣar*, 117). This tradition must refer to the Byzantine basilica of Ludd, which had been built over the tomb of St George It is believed to have been destroyed by al-Ḥākim in 393/1003 and rebuilt by King Stephen I (St Stephen) of Hungary (997-1038) However, by then the church of Ludd had already been celebrated in the Islamic eschatological traditions Al-Muḳaddasī in the second half of the 4th/10th century mentions the church as the most prominent feature of the city and adds that 'Īsā will kill the Antichrist or Dadjdjāl [*q v*] at its gate *In* his time the place had already undergone a process of Islamisation, for he refers to a large Friday mosque which served as a prayer place not only for the Muslims of Ludd but also for the inhabitants of its environs, including even those of the provincial capital Ramla (al-Muḳaddasī, 176, Le Strange, *Palestine*, 493)

The place which Ludd occupies in the Islamic eschatological tradition must have been born out of the popular adaptation of legends connected with the image of St George and the Jewish traditions about the false Messiah (or in Aramaic, *Meshiḥa dagala*, hence Arabic Dadjdjāl) Some of the Islamic traditions about the death of Dadjdjāl at the gate of the church of Ludd, or at the gate of the city, identify their Jewish origin According to these accounts, 'Umar used to show great interest in the subject, and persistently searched for information about it After the battle of Adjnādayn [*q v*], when Ludd was captured, a Jew told 'Umar that the Muslims would kill Dadjdjāl "a little more than ten cubits from the gate of Ludd" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2493, Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 388, 390, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 227). In a tradition attributed to al-Zuhrī, Jesus, at the head of the Muslims, would follow Dadjdjāl and kill him at the gate of Ludd (Ibn Kathīr, ii 99- al Bakrī 490) Similar eschatological traditions are numerous, and the whole theme has been elaborated upon in great detail by Ibn 'Asākir (ed Munadjdjid, i, 149-52, 254, 255-17, 228-9, 232, 256-7, 260, 294-5, 606-49 *Tahdhīb*, i, 48 105)

It is very possible that the tradition grew somehow out of the idea connecting St George and the dragon, which can be traced to the 6th century, when the legend of Perseus and Andromeda was transferred to St. George. There is no doubt that the magnificence of the Byzantine church and later the Crusaders' cathedral of Ludd, as well as those local legends woven around the image of St George, furnished the proper background for the development of the Islamic traditions concerning the church in particular and the city of Ludd in general The core of the traditions as which the false Messiah dies in Ludd is Jewish From this point of view, those Islamic accounts emphasising the Jewish connection with the tradition are correct. Clermont Ganneau suggests, however, that the Dadjdjāl in this case represents the dragon, while St George, who was transformed by the Islamic popular tradition, into al-Khiḍr (see AL KHADIR), kills it (Smith, 123)

The feast of St George on 23 April continued to be celebrated under Islam, and its ceremonies at the church were also attended by Muslims. Three verses by al-Mu'allā b Ṭarīf, the caliph al-Mahdī's poet-eager freedman, in which he talks about his "coming intentionally to Ludd on the feast at *mārī djirdjīs*" (*sic*), where he saw "ladies like gazelles in their covert", attest to the popularity of the feast, at least in the pre-Crusader period (Yāḳūt, s v "Ludd", *Aghānī*, xi, 46-7).

The Byzantine church is described by all the early Christian travellers. On the eve of the invasion of the Crusaders in 1099, the Muslims destroyed it again The Crusaders found Ludd and Ramla deserted, and thus were easily able to establish a corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem, whence they could mount their attack on the Holy City as well as widen their hold on central and southern Palestine In Ludd they built in 1150 a new cathedral with much splendour and magnificence, over the remains of the previous Byzantine church and the Saint's tomb They dedicated it to the Saint because of its location as well as because of the then prevalent belief in his intervention in their favour during the siege of Antioch The new cathedral "was a great pile, capable of use as a fortress" (Smith, 122). Toward the end of the 12th century, the cathedral attained even greater attention and significance when St George was adopted by Richard Cœur de Lion as the patron saint of England, in addition to the veneration he already enjoyed as the patron saint of Eastern Christianity (it was, however, only under King Edward III that St. George actually became the patron saint of England, *ibid*, 122 n 3) Moreover, under the Crusaders the name of St George replaced the name of the town so that during the whole of their period it came to be known as St George and pilgrims call it by this name until the 16th century (*ZDPV*, x, 225; xi, 195) Even the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela speaks about his visit to St George, erroneously identifying it with the Biblical Lus (*Early travels*, 81, 85)

In 583/1187, following the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q v*], Saladin conquered Ludd (Abū Shāma, ii, 89), but the effect on the town of this conquest was felt only three years later. In the framework of Saladin's policy of dismantling the main coastal fortresses, he demolished Ascalon ('Askalān) and proceeded to dismantle on 3 Ramaḍān 587/22 September 1191 the fortress of Ramla On this occasion he also demolished the Cathedral of Ludd (Abū Shāma, ii, 192- Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 47 Zettersteen, 235). Al-Yāfi'ī, iii, 462, erroneously speaks about the demolition of the whole town. Mudjīr al-Dīn, ii, 459, remarks that with the destruction of the church the town became "a village like the other villages" (cf Robinson, *Biblical researches*, ii, 54 f; De Vogüé, *Eglises*, 363) When peace negotiations began between Saladin and the Franks in 588/1192, the former suggested that the King of Jerusalem should receive Ludd to compensate him for his losses in the dismantled Ascalon (Abu Shāma, ii, 200). The strategic importance of Ludd as an inland station on the main route from Egypt to Syria (cf. Mudjīr al-Dīn, *loc cit*), which had, in the previous period, been lost to Ramla, must have been at least partly resumed during the Crusader-Ayyūbid period In 604/1204-5, during the negotiations between the Franks and al-Malik al-'Ādil, they demanded and received Jaffa as well as what amounted to the lease of Ludd, Ramla and their environs (al-Makrīzī,

Sulūk, ii, 164). The name of Ludd appears in the sources again in connection with the peace treaty of 626/1229 between al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick II. In this treaty, which provided for the cession of Jerusalem to the Franks, Ludd was also handed over to the Crusaders' sovereignty, together with some other villages which were part of the territorial corridor between Jaffa and Jerusalem, which came under Frankish domination (*Sulūk*, i/1, 230; al-Kalkashandī, iii, 429). In 666/1267-8 Ludd was conquered by Baybars, who must have dismantled whatever remained of the church (*Sulūk*, i/2, 565), the stones of which were later used to build the bridge to the north of the city in 671/1273.

The development of the inland branch of the Cairo-Damascus route (or the eastern branch of the *Via Maris*), in the course of which the great engineering enterprise of building the monumental bridge of Ludd was undertaken, was part of Baybars's policy to demolish completely the coast of Syria and Palestine. This policy began in fact, with Saladin and was later used by the subsequent Muslim rulers. In view of the Mamlūk weakness on the sea and their inability to prevent the free naval activity in the Mediterranean, Baybars and his successors followed the strategy of abandoning the demolished shore and erecting a strong line of inland fortresses. The unprecedented attention paid to the inland route to Damascus passing via Ludd was part of this overall Mamlūk strategy (cf. Ayalon, NAHRIYYA, ii and idem, *The Mamlūks and naval power*, 7-10).

Clermont-Ganneau, who studied the bridge as well as the church of Ludd, remarked that whole parts of the Crusaders' cathedral were used for building of the bridge (*RAO*, i, 270-1, cf. Prawer, ii, 424); modern Islamic art historians, however, doubt this theory. The bridge is known as Djisr Djindās, after the name of a neighbouring village, and has been in constant usage since the time of its building until this very day. Two almost identical inscriptions on both its façades commemorate its building, it was ordered by Baybars and executed by 'Alā'-al-Dīn 'Alī al-Sawwāk b. 'Umar in Ramaḍān 671/April 1273 (Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*). On both sides of the inscriptions Baybars famous heraldic symbol, the leopard, is carved in relief with its paw raised to strike a miserable animal resembling a mouse, believed to represent the king of Jerusalem or the Crusaders in general (cf. Prawer, ii, 461-2).

Ludd revived as a consequence of the development of this major traffic route, especially since the early Mamlūk sultans paid great attention to the orderly and secure movement of the royal postal services or *barīd* (q.v.) between the imperial capital of Cairo and the major provincial capital of Damascus. In the Mamlūk administrative division, Ludd was made into a centre of a subdistrict, *'amal Ludd* (al-Kalkashandī, iv, 120). Ibn al-Furāt (vii, 225) speaks in 680/1281 about *nāḥiyat al-Ludd wa 'l-Ramla*. After then, Ludd is mentioned as an important station on the road between Cairo and Damascus (e.g. in *Sulūk*, i/3, 824-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 412). Nevertheless, it did not regain its former splendour, for during the Mamlūk period also, it was overshadowed by Ramla. Mudjīr al-Dīn describes the place in this time, namely the very end of the Mamlūk period, as a pleasant village with an active Friday mosque. The singling-out of the mosque of Ludd is understandable in view of the fact that its monumental structure was far beyond the needs of the little village and served the population of the neighbouring villages as well. Mudjīr al-Dīn adds that to the east of the city there was a *mashhad* venerated as the tomb of the famous companion 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. There is no question that the *mashhad* and the local traditions around it were a post Crusader invention; (in actual fact, Ibn 'Awf died in Medina and was buried in the cemetery there of al-Baḳī' [q.v.], Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, ii, 830; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 429).

The Grand Mosque was also built at the order of Baybars, in part over the site of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral, with the building material taken from the ruins of both. On one of the columns of the mosque a 6th century Greek inscription which had belonged to the Byzantine church can still be seen. The mosque built by Baybars is called al-Djāmi' al-'Umarī. The long inscription in early Mamlūk *naskhī* script over its entrance is the only detailed source concerning its building. It runs as follows

> "ordered the building of this blessed Friday Mosque our lord the Sultān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, the associate of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his victories glorious and forgive him. This was done under the direction of the servant, yearning for the mercy of his (divine) Master, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Sawwāk al-Ṣāliḥī, may God forgive him, in the month of Ramaḍān 666 (began 15 May 1268)" [L. A. Mayer, *Muslim religious buildings*, 32]

This means that the mosque was built shortly after the conquest of the city. The work was executed by the same 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Sawwāk who was later charged also with the building of the bridge but of whom nothing else is known (Mayer, *loc. cit.*). Another inscription on the grand mosque hitherto unpublished, bearing the name of Ḳā'itbāy and dated 13 Ramaḍān 893/8 September 1487, commemorates the abolition of certain unjust taxes upon the inhabitants of Ludd. Of special interest is the fact that the name of the powerful local leader of Djabal Nābulus, Khalīl b. Ismā'īl, hitherto known from literary sources only, appears in this inscription as officially participating in the affairs of Ludd. This may be explained by the fact that a few months earlier in 891/1486, the *amīr* Akbirdī, the great *dawādār*, arrived in the environs of Ludd and Ramla, whence he set off to recruit warriors for the war against the Ottoman Bāyezīd II. Khalīl b. Ismā'īl was officially nominated to the *mashyakha* of Djabal Nābulus and took an active part in this recruiting activity, through which he must have widened his scope of influence (but clashing with the *nā'ib* of Jerusalem, Mudjīr al-Dīn, 666, 669).

The Bedouin element, which during the Fāṭimid period was predominant in the coastal plains of Palestine, and particularly around Ramla and Ludd, reappeared as a major factor in the history of the country in the post-Crusader period, again easily establishing itself around Gaza (Ghazza) on the one hand and around Ludd and Ramla on the other. These areas have always been within easy reach of the nomads, who took advantage of the weakness of the Mamlūk and later also Ottoman military and administrative hold on the country. The environs of Ludd in both periods were completely at the mercy of Bedouin tribes, mainly of the Sawālima, the Kushūk and the Sawtariyya, who replaced the Banū Djarrāḥ of Tayy[3]—the predominant tribe of the Fāṭimid period in Palestine.

According to Oppenheim, the Sawālima and the Kushūk arrived in the Ramla-Ludd region from Lower Egypt at the beginning of the 11th/17th century but the Sawālima, the leading tribe of the area,

definitely arrived earlier, for in 1622 they took part in a coalition (with Bedouins from the Nābulus area and others) which aided Aḥmad b. Turabāy, the Bedouin *emir* of Lajjūn (*q.v.*), in his war against Fakhr al-Dīn II (Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine* [...], 28-9)

The Ottoman period and modern times. Throughout most of the Ottoman period, Ludd was completely overshadowed by Ramla. It was a small village, which in judicial matters fell under the jurisdiction of the deputy *kāḍī* of Ramla (Heyd, 55 *ff*.) In spite of its small size, it retained some of its importance as being situated on the central postal route of the empire. When in 1558, Roxelana (Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*]), the favourite and later wife of Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent, established her famous endowment (*waḳf*) in Jerusalem, Ludd was one of the many villages which were made *waḳf* for it (*ibid.*, 143, n. 1, doc. 90, and n. 7; *QDAP* (1944), 170-94)

The European travellers who visited the town in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods are of little value for the history of Ludd until the 19th century, when the systematic research of the Holy Land began. They all repeat the same description of a small village in the midst of a fertile environment, emphasising the impressive ruins of the Crusader cathedral. At some time during these periods, an altar was built by the small Greek Orthodox community, who used to assemble at the place for regular prayers. In spite of Ludd's fertility and favourable location on a main commercial route, it was not until the second half of the 19th century that it began to revive. In the middle of the century the number of its population, according to the 1851 census, was only 1,345 (the number for the neighbouring villages being 4,400, *SWP*, ii, 279). The increased attention paid by the Ottomans to Syria and Palestine in the second half of the century, which entailed improvement in the internal security, mainly in the central parts of the country, and the keeping of the Bedouin in closer check, had an immediate influence on the fortunes of the town. The systematic European scholarly investigation of Ludd, which began with Edward Robinson in 1838 and continued particularly in 1852, and was followed by the Palestine Exploration Fund (Conder, Kitchener and others), drew European attention to Ludd and its past. In 1871 and again in 1873 a Clermont-Ganneau prepared a most detailed study of the town and its environs, which included a detailed study of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral. At this time work began on the rebuilding of the present church of St. George, partly on the ancient foundations not included in the mosque. Once completed (on a far smaller scale than the former edifices), the church became the focus of popular celebrations twice a year, on 24 April, the birthday of the Saint, and 16 November, the day in which his relics were brought to Ludd (*SWP*, *Memoirs*, ii, 366).

In spite of this steady growth of the town, its real development came with the building of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, which began in 1890 in accordance with a *firmān* granted by the Ottoman sultan to Joseph Navon Effendi. On 28 September 1892, the railway was inaugurated and Ludd was transformed almost overnight and began to overshadow Ramla.

When the First World War broke out it regained its significant strategic value, serving the logistic efforts of the Turks and Germans. On 15 November 1917 General Allenby's army entered Ramla, and dispersing a retreating Turkish column, took Ludd two days later.

Under the British administration, Ludd (now officially called Lydda) flourished very rapidly, mainly because of the wide-gauge railway (143.5 cm.) with which the British replaced the old narrow (105 cm.) Ottoman one, connecting Jaffa via Ludd not only to Jerusalem but also via Rafaḥ and Kantara to Cairo. Hence towards the end of the thirties of the present century Ludd became one of the most important rail junctions in the Middle East. In 1934, the first airstrip was built near the city which was developed into an international airport, inaugurated in 1937, and today the major international airport of Israel, Ben Gurion Airport. All this contributed to the population growth of Ludd. By 1922 it numbered 8,103 inhabitants, exceeding for the first time the population of Ramla (Barron, *Report... census of 1922*), and by 1947 it was about 19,000 (2,000 Greek Orthodox and the rest Muslims)

An earthquake on 11 July 1927 damaged the town very badly, destroying 500 homes and killing 40 people. Severe earthquakes had occurred formerly in 1033 and 1546 (*PEF, QS* [1927], 272).

On 11 July 1948, in the course of the Arab-Israeli War, Ludd was conquered by Israel. Out of its former Arab population, only 2,056 remained to the town. Very soon modern outskirts grew up around it, and by 1958 its population reached again the figure of 19,000, most of them Jews from the Arab countries. The rapid growth of the airport and the Israeli air industry have in the subsequent 20 years doubled its size and population (the latter standing at 40,000 in 1980).

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(M SHARON)

LŪDHIĀNA, a district and town in the Djālandhar division of the Pandjāb state of the Indian Union. The tract is an alluvial plain, covering 3,614 km.² and bounded on the north by the river Sutlej. Generally, it has been a frontier area. On the high road from Central Asia, it has been crossed by successive waves of conquest or raids, while over the last 250 years it has seen struggles for supremacy between the Durrānī Afghāns and the Mughals, between the Sikhs and the British, and recently between India and Pakistan. In 1809 Lūdhiāna town became a British frontier cantonment, and the district gained most of its present form after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1846. Since the partition of India in 1947 it has been close to the Pakistan frontier. Before partition, nearly 38% of the district's population were Muslims, now they form less than 1%, 300,000 Muslims having migrated to Pakistan.

The town of Lūdhiāna stands on the Grand Trunk Road and is an important junction on the Northern Railway. It appears to have been founded in the 9th/15th century by the Lōdī rulers of Dihlī, from whom it took its name. In the 19th century it was an important Wahhābī centre, and in the great uprising of 1857, Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, a prominent Wahhābī and friend of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī, took the lead against the British. In the 20th century ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's family remained prominent in the resistance to the British, a great grandson, Mawlānā Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān, leading the Khilāfat agitation of 1919-23 and, as President of the District Congress Committee, the civil disobedience movement of 1930. In the 1930s, the town was the centre of the Aḥrār, religious idealist Indian nationalists, and for a time the leading Muslim party in north-west India. Consequently, Lūdhiāna returned the only Muslim Congressman from the whole Pandjāb in the 1937 elections, although by the next elections of 1946 the Muslim League was able to capture the seat with ease. Since 1947 the area has seen striking industrial and agricultural growth; it is one of the most prosperous regions in India.

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(F. ROBINSON)

LUGHA (A.), "speech", "language" in current usage.

The term does not appear with this sense in the more ancient texts. In the Kur'ān it is exclusively *lisān* which is used to express the concept of "language" and not *lugha*, which is completely absent from the Kur'ānic text *bi-lisānⁱⁿ ʿarabiyyⁱⁿ mubīn* ("in clear Arabic language"), XXVI, 195, and *wa-mā arsalnā min rasūlⁱⁿ illā bi-lisāni ḳawmihī* ("all the messengers whom We have sent [to Mankind], We have made them speak in the language of their own people"), XIV, 4. According to J Fück and Nöldeke, it seems that this term is non-existent in the "ancient poetry of the Bedouin" (see Fück, *ʿArabiya*, French tr., 195) but this cannot be asserted because there is not yet available an exhaustive inventory of the vocabulary of those ancient poetic works which have survived. *Lugha* cannot have acquired the sense of "language" or "speech" until the end of the 2nd/8th century. Before this date, the term always appears with the very specialised sense of "manner of realising an element of language" particular to an ethnic group, a tribe or a locality, whence the meaning of regional or tribal "variant of realisation" which it possesses in the works of the grammarian Sībawayh (d. 180/795). It is appropriate to stress the fact that, in the writings of this author, and of his contemporaries, *lugha* does not denote the full range of linguistic particularities associated with an ethnic group, in other words a local patois or a dialect, but only a local variant. Thus in the common expression *lughat ahl al-Ḥidjāz* (*Ḳitāb*, i, 28, 36, 187, etc.), *lughat Hudhayl* (*ibid.*, ii, 191), it concerns the special "manner" of the Ḥidjāzians of treating the particle *mā* like the verb *laysa* ("not to be") and the "manner" of the Hudhaylites of forming the plural of words of the type *ḥamra* or *ḥamrāʾ*. This sense of "variant" or of "regional variety of realisation" is clearly illustrated in the use by Arab grammarians and lexicographers, of the dual or plural form of the word *lugha* in expressions such as *sawāʾ Maʿāshirⁱ fī-hā lughāt* ('as for the name of Maʿdī-karib, there exist several variants", *Ḳitāb*, ii, 52) and the lexicographical phrases *fīhi lughātāni* and *fīhi thalāthu lughāt*. In view of the fact that a "regional or tribal variant" is always regarded, by those whose own speech does not include this variant, as a deviation and often also as an incorrect expression in terms of their speech, it comes as no surprise to find that the word *lugha* is derived from a root *l gh-w* of which the essential meaning is precisely the idea of digression from a certain norm of expression, whence the very strong sense of a co-derivative of *lagha*, *laghw*, "inconsistent", "incomplete construction, *lapsus*", whence also, by transposition to the content alone—even if the form is "correct" "subject without point or interest" (see *LA*, art. *l gh-w*). This is confirmed, furthermore, by the eminent scholar and lexicographer Ibn al-Aʿrābī "the sense of *lugha* is derived from this idea [of deviation] in fact, [it is stated that] certain speakers produce locutions by which they *depart from* the manner of speaking [*lughāt*] of certain others" (*ibid.*). Another word, *luġa*, which already has in the works of the most ancient grammarians the very strong sense of "incorrectness" and of "solecism" (cf. *Ḳitāb*, i, 304), alternates with *lugha* in the texts collated by researchers into Bedouin culture (see LAHN AL-ʿĀMMA). For example, this remark reported by the disciples of the eminent Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, as made by one of his informants, Abū Mahdiyya. *laysa hādhā min lahnī wa-lā min luġatī hiyya* "this is not my manner of speaking nor that of my tribe", al-Ḳālī iii, 39, repeated by al-Zadjdjādjī in his *Madjālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, 9). In his *Amālī*, al-Ḳālī is quite explicit "*Luġa* also signifies *lugha* according to al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū Zayd, and it is in this sense that it is to be understood in the saying of the caliph ʿUmar "Study . . the *luġa* in the same fashion that you study the Kur'ān

(*ibid.*, i, 3). Ibn Abī Dāwūd, author of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (d. 316/429), uses *laḥn* in this sense in his article *Ikhtilāf alfāẓ al-ʿArab fī ʾl-maṣāḥif* "the divergences of *laḥn* specific to Arabs in texts of the Kurʾān," and at the very beginning of this article he asserts that "*al-alfāẓ* (pl. of *laḥn*) are the *lughāt*" (*ibid.*, see in this context the excellent studies devoted to the word *laḥn* by J. Fück in ʿArabīya, appendix). There is, however, the general sense of "manner of speaking' without reference to a particular element in the following passage: *kullunā bi-lisānihim wa-luġa[t]ihim ʾl-Kurʾān wa-luġatihim* "they are addressed in their own language and the Kurʾān has used their *luġa*" (*Kitāb*, i, 166-7). This general sense is also to be inferred from these expressions in the *Kitāb fī ḏamm luġāt al-ʿArab* "in all the manners of speaking (or linguistic usages) of the Arabs" (i, 218); *man kāna al-naṣb min lughatihi* "those whose habitual linguistic usage is to employ the accusative in this case" (*ibid.*, ii, 263), and *illā man lā yuʾbabihu bi-lughatihi*—"except those whose manner of speaking is not acceptable" (*ibid.*, ii, 264).

These variants and the different manners of realising the elements of *ʿArabīyya* constituted, in the period of the major "field-studies" made by Arab researchers (*al lughawīyūn*), especially in the 2nd and 3rd/8th and 9th centuries, the essential material towards which the analyses of the grammarians (*al-naḥawīyūn*) were directed. The term *naḥw* which came ultimately to denote "grammar" and which is to be opposed to *luġa* taken in this sense of "linguistic material" (compiled from the mouths of Arabic speakers) itself signified, initially, "a type of expression" (cf. *haḏā ʾl-naḥw min al-kalām*, *Kitāb*, i, 492). Thus the *naḥawīyūn* ("grammarians") were the individuals who studied the *naḥā*[1] (or *nuḥāwa*, pl. of *naḥw*, see *Kitāb*, ii, 381: "types of expression heard from the mouths of Arabic speakers") with the purpose of making an exhaustive examination and of formulating rules. It is nevertheless clear that the sense of *naḥw* in these usages does not contain the idea of deviation, which is the specific nature of the word *luġa* and of *laḥn*, the latter having a much stronger sense and ultimately taking on, in the 3rd/9th century, the meaning of "incorrectness".

When applied to pronunciation, the *lughāt al-ʿArab*, insofar as they constitute optional variants, are contrasted with variants conditioned and dictated by the physiological laws of articulation: there is talk in this case of *badal* (= variant) due to the *darūra* (constraint imposed by these factors; cf. Ibn Ḏjinnī, *Sirr al-ṣināʿa*, i, 78) or to the system of the language; it is then a matter of *sanʿa*, that is, of a formal process effected on an element of the language (cf. Ibn Ḏjinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 371). In the context of the oral reproduction of an existing and memorised text (in effect, the Kurʾān and poetry) these variants—both *lughāt* and conditioned variants—are called *wuḏūḥ al-ḥurūf wa-ʾl-ashkāl* by grammarians and by specialists in Kurʾānic diction alike (Ibn Kutayba, *Taʾwīl*, 33). *Luġa* was also contrasted with *luġġa*, in the period of the early grammarians, this latter term denoted a deviation in the pronunciation of a number of phonemes (not exclusively *ghayn*, as is often believed, cf. al-Ḍabbī, *Bayān*, i, 34), but this was a case of individual and not collective deviation. It was sometimes difficult at the first attempt to distinguish between a regional variety and a purely individual variety, as is shown by this statement from the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*: *samiʿnāhā fa-lā nadrī a-luġa hiya aw luthgha*—"we have heard it well, but we do not know if it is a regional variant or a [simple] individual pronunciation" (*ibid.*, i, 128).

The attitude of Arab lexicographers and grammarians towards linguistic data—the *lughāt*—has not always been properly understood by contemporary authors. The norm (the "norm" of the linguist E. Coseriu and the "idiom" of the linguist J. Gagnepain) is for them the result of a choice, but this involves the choice of the native locutors themselves (*fuṣḥāʾ al-ʿArab*, the "native speakers of *ʿArabīyya*"). When this choice emanates from the greater part of these speakers, Sībawayh refers to *kawl* or *ʿamma* "the way of speech of the majority" (*Kitāb*, i, 228, ii, 263); variants *kawl ʿāmmat al-nās*, *ibid.*, i, 263, 293, *kawl ʿāmmat al-ʿArab*, *kawl al-ʿArab kulluhum* "the manner of all Arabic speakers", *ibid.*, i, 477, ii, 363). Ibn Ḏjinnī, for his part, was to use the expression *lughāt al-kaṯra*—"the manners of speaking of the majority" (*Khaṣāʾiṣ* ii, 13). It could also be the case that this convergence of usages was lacking; each *luġa* was then considered a norm in itself. "All the *lughāt*", declares Ibn Ḏjinnī, "may be regarded as probative references (*ḥuǧǧa*—with regard to the norm), and when two different *lughāt* have the same range of usage and are equally accepted by the *fuṣḥā* (Ibn Ḏjinnī speaks in this context of two *fuṣḥā*, i.e. two different systems), it is not permitted to prefer one of them at the expense of the other" (*ibid.*, ii, 10). Attention should also be drawn to the remarkable insistence with which Sībawayh (in common with his masters and disciples) urges the reader to rely upon *samāʿ*, upon attested facts only and above all "to accept among these [types of expression which Sībawayh cites] only those which Arabic speakers have themselves accepted and to treat them in the same fashion (*istaḥsana mā ḥaddaṯa bihi al-ʿArab wa-aǧrāhā ʿalā aḥwālihā*, *Kitāb*, i, 252). Ibn Ḏjinnī also asserts (*Munṣif*, ii, 240), "*Samāʿ* can annul the action of *ḳiyās*". This assumes, as this author explicitly states, that "everything which *ḳiyās* permits is not necessarily actualised in reality" (*Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 117).

In fact, the only criterion of normalisation which has been retained by the Arab scholars is that of the maximum extension of usage with the domain of *ʿArabīyya* (the *kawl ʿāmmat al-ʿArab* cited above) and of the most widespread inter-comprehension. Whence the degrees of "clarity" applied to *lughāt faṣīḥa/faṣaḥa*. The *Kitāb* of Sībawayh is also full of these appraisals *hāḏihi ʿarabīya kaṯīra* "this is Arabic of widespread usage", *haḏihi akṯar* "this is more widespread", and *aḳṯar wa-aʿraf*—"more widespread and better known" (see *Kitāb*, i, 27, 43, 74, 78, 258, etc.). When two *luġāt*, or more, were in competition, some were described as being "Arabic" and *ḥasana* or *ḏjayyida* ("good"), others as *aḥsan* or *aǧwad* ("better") or *ḳabīḥa* or *radīʾa* ("bad"); here it is no longer a question of value judgements, but of acceptability applied solely to the subjects of speech and on the basis of the most widespread usage (cf. the expression *ʿarabī ḏjayyid kaṯīr, al-aṣl al-akṯar*, *ibid.*, i, 27, 60). The geographical recurrence of a *luġa* was assessed with the aid of the following scale: *muṭṭarid* = perfectly uniform, recurrent or general (100%); *ġālib* = predominant (66%), *kaṯīr* = widespread or frequent (65%); *ḳalīl* = less widespread or less frequent (33%), and *nādir* = rare or isolated (4%) (see *Muzhir*, i, 234). It may be noted that this scale is applied equally to the frequency of an element or linguistic form within one grouping, see in this context the contrast between *muṭṭarid fī ʾl-istiʿmāl* "general in usage" and

mutlaqā fī 'l-fuṣḥā "general in terms of *fuṣḥā*", in *Khaṣā'iṣ*, i, 96 ff and Hadj Salah, *Linguistique arabe et linguistique générale*

As opposed to *naḥw*, *lugha* is the very essence of language, in other words that part which is not constructed (by induction), inconsistent with the rules of grammar or non-predictable or non-deducible by means of these rules. It is primarily a matter of *asmā'*, that is of crude identifications. Thus the entire range of data recorded from the mouths of speakers of *'Arabiyya* constituted the *lugha* (taken as a collective: the ensemble of all the *lughāt* duly identified). Analysed in groups of items, it is vocabulary opposed to grammar, included in it, necessarily so, were not only the lexical unities effectively in use—along with their regional variants—but also colloquial expressions, in the form of idioms or *amthāl* (pl. of *mathal* in the very broad sense of "stereotyped figure of speech" or "cliché of widespread diffusion". Cf. the first compilations of *amthāl* which have survived to the present, comprising collections of idiomatic figures, and not only of maxims and proverbs, see e.g. *al-Fākhir* by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, Cairo 1960).

The non-predictable character of *lugha* (as crude fact and/or as vocabulary of a formal system, that of *naḥw*) has been well described by Ibn Djinnī: "the language of the Arabs comprises two sorts of elements, those elements that one is obliged to accept as such, with their configuration, for example, and not on the basis of a rule, such elements are: *ḥadjar* (stone), *dār* (house) ... and another type that may be apprehended through *ḥiyal*" (*Khaṣā'iṣ*, ii, 42). "*Ḥadjar* may be analysed in a root (ḥ-dj-r) and a system (C¹a C²a C³), but the fact that these unities combined in *ḥadjar* arrive at the meaning of "stone" is a fact of *samā'*, all that can be done is to memorise it (*yuḥfaẓ*). It is also in this sense that this remark of the lexicographer Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) is to be interpreted: *al-lugha lā ta'ḥudhu biḥiyal wa-innamā tuʾkhadhu samāʿan min al-ʿArab*—"the data of the languages cannot be obtained, as our era, as far as we are concerned, through *ḥiyal*" (*Ṣāḥibī*, 33).

Lugha, initially "regional variant of realisation" or "datum of the language", comes to designate the entire speech of an ethnic group and even to be identified with the word *luʿa* which signifies "tongue" and "language". This identification is however absolutely unknown to the first generations of grammarians (up to and including Sībawayh). It appears sporadically at the end of the 2nd/8th century (see the use of it made by the jurist and leader of the law-school al-Shāfiʿī in his *Risāla*, where he employs the word *lugha* with the sense of *luʿa* only once (p. 564) and *luʿa* in all other cases). It was probably in the period of the great controversies of the *ʿilm al kalām* that such a usage came into being. al-Djāḥiẓ in fact uses *lugha*, still as a manner of speaking, but enlarged to cover the entire language of an ethnic group (regional speech types *ʿArabiyya*, languages other than Arabic: see *Bayān*, i, 161-2 and *Ḥayawān*, v. 299). The sense of regional variant applied to a single linguistic element or item is, however, retained until a very late period.

The science of *lughāt*, which became the science of *lugha* or the *data* of the language, underwent a prodigious development following the major researches initiated by the very founder of this branch of science, Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ (154/770), that is, in the period when his immediate disciples such as al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/826), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/831) and the Kūfans al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī, Ibn al-Aʿrābī, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, etc., made immense journeys of investigation across the Arabian peninsula. This gigantic effort of collection and codification of data (which continued until the total disappearance of the spontaneous mastery of *ʿArabiyya — al fuṣḥa*, at the end of the 4th/10th century) resulted initially in the composition of innumerable monographs on the *lughāt al-bādiya* "the variants of realisation specific to the Arab tribes", on *amthāl* or "clichés", *nawādir* or "hapax legomena", toponymy, the vocabulary of flora and fauna, onomastic, types of verbs, *maṣādir*, the extension of use of schemes, etc. (on this subject, see H. Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1956). To this, there is added the collection and codification of variants in reproduction of the Kurʾānic text which were drawn from those who had belonged to the school of the *Tābiʿūn* or from their disciples. All Arabic lexicography of later centuries is based on these monographs.

Lugha as a datum constitutes for early grammarians as well as for philosophers, the product of a *waḍʿ*, that is of an *institution*. The same furthermore applies to the rules of grammar themselves because they are different from one language to another (cf. *Mushtabih*, i, 48) and, above all, because they do not result from the application of more primitive rules, but by induction from the acts of discourse of Arabic speakers (*makhāyiṣ mustanbaṭa min nuṭaq kalām al-ʿArab*, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, *al-Takmila*, Ital. 1). The difference as has just been observed, resides in the fact that *lugha* is the *non-predictive* ensemble of linguistic items. "By the *waḍʿ* of an articulated sound' declares al-Rāḍī, 'is meant the primitive assignation of an articulated sound (*lafẓ*) to a certain significance (*maʿnā*) with the intention of seeing this significance become the object of conventional usage within a community" (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 3). Thus everything which is not imposed by institution (*muwaḍḍaʿ*) as the symbol of something is outside the scope of *lugha*, outside *waḍʿ*. Among other examples of this are the following: *zayd*, *kalb*, *ḥadjar*, etc., which have not been retained by the founder of the language for reasons of phonetic incompatibility (*tanāfur al ḥurūf*, see *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 54). *Lugha* is, from this point of view, an *uṣṭilāḥ* or social institution tacitly accepted by its users; but a distinction is also drawn between these two terms, because it is considered that *lugha* is always a primitive institution, while *uṣṭilāḥ* can be an innovation, a technical neologism (cf. *Bayān*, i, 239-40), whence the pairs *aṣl al-waḍʿ* or *aṣl al-lugha*/*uṣṭilāḥ* language/metalanguage and *waḍʿ al-lugha*/*waḍʿ thānī* primary institution/secondary institution (cf. al-Rāḍī, *ibid.*, ii, 126, al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil*, 34, 193, 308; and al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, 148). It is also in this context that a distinction is drawn between *waḍʿ al-lugha* as an organisation and code established by social institution and *waḍʿ al-kalām*, which is the arrangements of discourse and the choice of its elements by the individual speaker (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 54, 69, 79, 81).

Waḍʿ constituted for the majority of the *Muʿtazilīs* a purely human convention (*muwāḍaʿa* = code), and for other thinkers, an institution which is divine, or at least inspired in men by God (*tawḳīf*, *ilhām*, see in this context *Mushtabih*, i, 8-28 and Loucel, *L'origine du langage d'après les grammairiens arabes*, in *Arabica*, x-xi). It does not seem, however, that these two positions were so clearly stated in the works of the major Arab linguists and philosophers. In fact, al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6), to whom is attri-

buted the idea of the divine institution of the language, has a rather inconclusive attitude to the subject, judging by the lukewarm opinions of his disciples. The same applies to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn and to al-Ghazālī (see *Muzhir*, i, 20). A similar position is adopted by the Muʿtazilī grammarians Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and Ibn Djinnī (who attributes to Sībawayh's pupil, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash, the same cautious attitude; see *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 42).

Considerably more interesting is the problem which the Muʿtazilīs raised towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, that is, the absolute arbitrariness of the linguistic symbol compared with the no less absolute immutability of the *lugha*. These two extreme positions were represented, the first by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī and the second by ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān al-Ṣaymarī (*ca.* 250/854; see the *Makālāt al al-Ashʿarī*, ii, 286, and i, 256). The argument of ʿAbbād was as follows. "If there existed no particular relationship between articulated sounds and the objects they signify, the assignation of each of these signifiers to a signified object would be tantamount to choosing a possibility of assignation without any motive (*tardjīḥ bi-dūn murādjiḥ*), which is absurd" (quoted by al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, i, 22). The other Muʿtazilīs did not follow ʿAbbād: "There is no necessary relationship", the *faḳīh* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*ca.* 415/1025) was to say, "between the expression (*al-ʿibāra*) and the content, such that one cannot exist without the other" (*Mughnī*, v, 20). For al-Ṣāliḥī, such arbitrariness has no limits since it is possible, he claimed, "to change today the names [of things] and the *lugha* as it presents itself to us at the present time" (*kalb al-lugha*; *Makālāt*, ii, 286). Later, these two opinions came to be reconciled. "As for those things which have become the object of a convention", the *faḳīh* ʿAbd al-Djabbār was to assert, "it is certain that they could have been established according to an entirely different system with the same validity. But the moment that these objects are fixed by a conventional system, they are assimilated, for the user, to that which could not be otherwise than it is" (*Mughnī*, xvi, 191). In the same period, Ibn Sīdā reproduces this dichotomic formula which summarises well the reconciliations of the two extremes. "Language is constraint (*iḍṭirāriyya*), although the conventional expressions of which it is composed have been (at the moment of *waḍʿ*) freely chosen (*iḵtiyāriyya*) (*Muḵaṣṣaṣ*, i, 3).

The expression *ʿilm al-lugha* (or *ʿulūm al-lugha*), has always denoted, as opposed to *ʿilm al-naḥw* (or *ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya*), lexicology or more exactly the science of the datum of the language (al. al-Zadjdjādjī, *Īḍāḥ*, 79, Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 32, Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ*, i, 4; al-Rāḍī, *Sharḥ*, i, 4; *Muzhir*, *passim*, etc.). Ibn Khaldūn defines *ʿilm al-lugha* as "the science of the *waḍʿiyya* elements of the language" (*ʿilmu 'l-ʿulūmi lisāniyyati 'l-mawḍūʿāti al-lughawiyya*, *Muḳaddima*, 1059), a science which he includes along with *ʿilm al-naḥw* and *ʿilm al-bayān* (style) among the *al-ʿulūm al-lisāniyya* (*ibid.*). Besides this expression, there was also another *fiḳh al-lugha* which functioned as a synonym of *ʿilm al-lugha*, but it seems likely that this was a more specialised branch of the same discipline, that is, the study of the semiological distinctions and affinities which exist between the elements of vocabulary (of the work of Ibn Fāris cited above, the *Fiḳh al-lugha* of al-Thaʿālibī and the *Muḵaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīdā, as well as the definitions of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, 1060-1). The very frequent modern usage of *lugha* with the sense of "language" has led certain of our contemporaries to attempt to employ the expression *ʿilm al-lugha* to represent the modern concept of "linguistics", which is not entirely appropriate because this signification has had and still has the sense of lexicology. A different term exists to denote this concept *ʿilm al-lisān* (often abridged into *lisāniyyāt*), which al-Fārābī employs in his works and in particular in his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, where he envisages in a very distinct fashion the possibility of constructing a general linguistics extending to all languages and no longer to one particular language (§ 23, 25).

Bibliography: Sībawayh, *al Kitāb*, Būlāḳ, i-ii, Cairo 1316-17; Kālī, *Amālī*, i-iii, Cairo 1344; Zadjdjādjī, *Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw*, Cairo 1959, idem, *Madjālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, Kuwayt 1962, Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, Cairo 1355, Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i-iv, Cairo 1960, Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i-iii, 1952-6, idem, *al-Munṣif*, i-iii, Cairo 1954-60; idem, *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, i, Cairo 1954, Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ed. Cairo n.d., i-ii; Ibn Kutayba, *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Kurʾān* Cairo 1973; al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, ed. Darwīsh, i, Cairo 1967; Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, *al-Talkhīṣ*, Escorial ms., 42, Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1333; Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, Beirut 1969, idem, *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, Madrid 1932; al-Rāḍī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, vii, xvi, Cairo 1962, 1960; Ibn Sīdā, *Muḵaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo 1316-21; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al Tafsīr al kabīr*, i xxv, Cairo, n.d.; al-Rāḍī al Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, Istanbul 1275; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, i-x, Cairo n.d., Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1967; Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1940; J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Fr. tr. Paris 1955, A. Hadj-Salah, *Linguistique arabe et linguistique générale*, typewritten thesis, Paris-Sorbonne 1970; *Al-Lisāniyyāt, Revue algérienne de linguistique* Institut de Linguistique et de Phonétique, Alger, i/1, 28-38, i/2, 55-6.

(A. Hadj-Salah)

LUGHA, ʿILM AL- [see LUGHA]

LUGHAT-NĀMA [see DEHKHUDĀ, in Supplement]

LUGHZ (A., pl. *alghāz*) "enigma", **MUʿAMMA** (pl. *muʿammayāt*) "word puzzle, verbal charade", **UḤDJIYYA** (pl. *aḥādjī*) "riddle, conundrum", three Arabic terms often used in a figurative sense, but basically referring to three kinds of literary plays upon words which are fairly close in type to each other.

The enigma is generally in verse, and characteristically is in an interrogative form. Thus for *falak* "heavenly firmament" *mā ʿadamun fī 'l-bāḍī, idhā tarā fī mā-hū mudjūdun bayḍumā ṣtabaḥah ||* [. .] *fa in baṭaʾnī raʾaḥā fahwa lah* "What is the thing which in reality has no existence, but never theless you see it in existence wherever you confront it [. . .] and if we cut off its head (= *fa*), it will be yours (= *lah*)?"

The *muʿammā* is to be distinguished from the *lugha* by the absence of the interrogatory element and by the fact that the sense of the passage, also in verse, had been made "blind" by various procedures. Thus it may be formed by designating one ex more words by various clues to the letters forming it or them or by allusions relating to the pronunciation: the alphabetic value, the numeral value of the letters, misreading or inversion (*laḥn*). Mostly, no account is taken of the vowels or of letters without phonetic value. Good taste is the rule.

The invention of the *muʿammā* is attributed to Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The following is an example of *mu'ammā* on the name Aḥmad *awwaluhu ḥāʾuhu tuffāḥatun // wa-rāʾuhu ʾl-tuffāḥu thāniyā // Wa awsaṭuhu ʾl-misku lākin thālithun // wa-ākhiru ʾl-ward la bākin* "The first is the third of [the word] *tuffāḥa* (apple) = A, and the fourth of [the word] *tuffāḥ* (apples) is its second = H, and the first of [the word] *misk* (musk) is its third = M, and the last of [the word] *ward* (roses) is the remainder of it = D"

The *muʿammā* was used by many poets (in particular by Abū Nuwās: see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 380-3)

As for the *uḥdiyya* this term denotes a simple guessing game (e.g. "Guess what I have in my hand"), but can also mean a type of enigma fairly close to the *lughz*. Thus for *iḏkubī* "weak" — *mā riḍīu bawīu ʾl-muḥibbi // in kāna ʿillatu ʿarīḍa* "What is the alternative sense meant by the person setting forth a riddle when he says ask (= *sāʾil*) the way (= *sabīl*)?"

Bibliography: Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *Kanz al-asmāʾ fī fann al muʿammā* (Brockelmann, II[1], 382); ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Aḥmad al-Bakkī[?], *al-Tuḥfa al-asnā ʿalā Kanz al muʿammā* (Brockelmann, II[1], 185, 382), anon. *Diyāʾ al-dayājī fī ʾl-muʿammayāt wa ʾl-aḥājī wa ʾl-abāḍīr*, Beirut 1882, Ṭāhir b. Ṣāliḥ al-Djazāʾirī, *Tasāhil al-maṭāyā fī fann al-muʿammā wa ʾl-aḥājī*, Beirut 1308, Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d., ii, 273 f., ʿAbd al-Hādī Nadjā al-Abyārī, *Ṣuʿūd al-mutāliʿ li-suʿūd al-maṭāliʿ*, Būlāḳ 1283, i, 3, Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, i, 224, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil min aʿyān al-masāʾil*, Cairo 1320, 108, Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī muʿāyir ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad and Browne, Leiden 1901, 397, al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s.vv., Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues des musul. de l'Or.*, Paris 1873, 165, Nāṣif al-Yāzidjī, *Madjmūʿ al-bahrayn*, Beirut 1382/1962, wrote two *maḥāmāt* about enigmas, no. 26, *al-maḥāma al-baghdādiyya*, 159-64, and no. 44, *al-maḥāma al-hilliyya* 249-52. In colloquial Arabic, riddles and conundrums have been collected by A. Giacobetti, *Recueil d'énigmes arabes populaires*, Algiers 1916; J. Quemeneur, *Enigmes tunisiennes*, Tunis 1937 (they have been made the subject of a paper by A. Hanūdou, *Devinettes populaires de Tlemcen*, in *RAfr.* 372-3 (1937), 357-72 and of a study in *IBLA* (1943), 191-213; numerous examples can be found in *Sirat*, 1937, 1038, 1939, 1941 *passim*, 1943, 214-62, and 1945, 420-9. For the riddle in Turkish see BILMECE.

(M. Bencheneb*)

AL-LUHAYYA (Ar. "small beard", Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat*, ii, 569 n. 3), a small port on the Red Sea coast in the Yemen Arab Republic (lat. 15° 42′ N., long. 42° 42′ E.), ca. 110 km. north of al-Ḥudaydа [*q.v.*; see the map accompanying ʿ*Asīr*], and situated at the northern end of a narrow and shallow bay formed between the mainland and a coral reef. The bay is continued northwards past the town by a narrow boat-channel, at the entrance of which small craft may moor. Larger vessels lie about 5 km. south-west of the town in an open roadstead between the mainland and the offshore island of al-Urmak. At very low tide, not even small boats can reach the town when loaded.

A Sprenger's identification of al-Luḥayya with Ptolemy's Μαμάλαν κώμη is not proved, nor is it certain that the port is identical with Νασκηγοῦς κώμη, Sambrachate or Lampa (Pliny), as proposed by E. Glaser.

When Affonso d'Albuquerque entered the Red Sea in 1513, he called at al-Luḥayya (Luya in the Portuguese sources). The port then belonged to the territory of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿā', to whom tribute was paid. Previous to the 10th/16th century, al-Luḥayya, like other ports on the Arabian coast such as al-Ḥudayda, Kamarān Island, al-Mukhā (Mocha) and Zabīd, had been in the power of the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], and their heirs the Banū Ṭāhir, whose last monarch, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was defeated in 1515 by the firearms of the Mamlūk forces under Salmān al-Rūmī and Ḥusayn Turkī (Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 29), sent by the sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*]. The ruler of al-Luḥayya, Fakīh Abū Bakr b. al Malkabūl al-Zayla'ī (of Zayla' [*q.v.*]), supported the Egyptians, made the *khuṭba* for al-Ghawrī and, after the Mamlūk forces had damaged the port of al-Ḥudayda, opened up the road leading inland. With one hundred men armed with muskets (*bunādiḳ*), he then advanced against Mawr. Abū Makhrama (Schumann, *Political history*, 19) and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (*Ghāyat*, ii, 644) remark that this was the first time fire arms were used in the Yemen, see however Schumann, *op. cit.*, nn. 18, 92. After Sultān Selīm I had conquered Egypt Ottoman suzerainty was quickly recognized by the Egyptian forces in the coastal towns. According to the *Taʾrīkh al Sinkrī* (Serjeant, *op. cit.*, 52, 170), the Portuguese, after an unsuccessful attack on Djudda (see, however, *EI*[1], ii, 572a) on 923/1517, turned back to Yemen, pursued by Salmān "or one of his men" who took a Portuguese *ghurāb* (Ar. *ghurāb* "brigantine") near al-Luḥayya. This story, confirmed by João de Barros (*Decadas*, iii, I, 6), refers to Lopo Soares de Albergaria's expedition in the Red Sea.

In 1635 the *Imām* al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] succeeded in expelling the Turks, and al-Luḥayya again came into the possession of the *Imāms* of Ṣanʿā'. Around 1650, ships sailing between Massawa and al-Mukhā on behalf of Banyans settled in the latter port apparently used to anchor at the port of al-Luḥayya (Van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, 134-6, 139). On his return from Ethiopia to Yemen, Aḥmad b. al Ḥaymī, the envoy of Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh (1054-87/1644-76) to the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (1632-67), disembarked at al-Luḥayya.

During his stay at al-Luḥayya between 29 December 1762 and 20 February 1763, C. Niebuhr was amicably received by *amīr* Farhān, a black African, appointed as governor (*ḥākim*) by the *Imām* of Ṣanʿā'. He was told that the town was not older than three hundred years and that its foundation, as is the case with Bayt al-Fakīh and al-Mukhā [*q.v.*], was connected with a local Muslim saint, *shaykh* Sālih (Ṣāliḥ), around whose cell and later tomb the original settlement grew. The descendants of the *shaykh* were still revered in al-Luḥayya in Niebuhr's days. The town had no circular wall then, but on the landward side there were some twelve towers, armed with a few cannon and lying at a distance of 120 double steps from each other. The highly placed entrances were accessible only by a ladder. The towers, however, were not worth much as defence works. The Ḥāshid and Bakīl tribes [see ḤĀSHID WA BAKĪL] (see also Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, 258 ff., and Robin, *Les hautes terres*) marched across them and burned the town, and on a rumour of another attack, the inhabitants fled to al-Urmak. Since the water was brackish, it had to be fetched at some distance. The people, among whom were some forty Banyans, lived off commerce and fish. Although the coffee was of inferior quality compared with that of Bayt

al-Fakīh, it was cheaper, since transport to the more important port of al-Ḥudayda was inexpensive. In al-Luḥayya merchants bought it for customers in al-Ḥudayda, Egypt and Turkey, and some Cairenes used to come over in order to acquire it in person. Lime was made by burning coral in the open air, and rock salt was cut in the neighbourhood. Although Niebuhr describes the town as rather poor, al-Luḥayya had to pay monthly 2,000 thalers to the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ, and during the *mawsim* (April-June) when Indian vessels were calling, 3,000 thalers, more than al-Ḥudayda had to bring in. The arrival of Indian vessels at al-Luḥayya around 1770 is confirmed by Bruce (*Travels*, i, 323). Niebuhr also relates that one of the rich merchants of al-Luḥayya had obtained several kinds of aphrodisiacs from "englandischen Wundärtzen" (*Reisebeschreibung*, i, 304, not "Wunderarzten" as in Th. Manson, *Reise*, 246, or "miracle doctors", idem, *Arabia Felix* 221), so English ships must have called at al-Luḥayya around 1760, at least occasionally.

In the 12th/18th century, the power of the *Imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ declined sharply, and many towns declared themselves independent, while the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh (*q.v.*) grew more powerful. In 1730 only the coastal land between al-Luḥayya and al-Mukhā remained in the *Imām*'s possession and by 1790 the coastline between al-Kunfudha [*q.v.*] and Bayt al-Faḳīh, including al-Luḥayya, was under the authority of the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh (Baldry, *Al Yaman*, 158). At that time, the monthly revenue of al-Luḥayya was roughly computed at £600 (Burr, *Arabia Infelix* 219).

The rise of Wahhābī power at the beginning of the 19th century forced Sharīf Ḥamūd Abū Mismār of Abū ʿArīsh to give allegiance to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abū Nukṭa, whom Saʿūd II had appointed governor of the Tihāma (Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, 13). When in 1809 he revoked his allegiance and restored the revenues of the coastal towns to Aḥmed b. Manṣūr ʿAlī, the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ (Sait, *A voyage* 125, Playfair, *A history*, 129), the Wahhābīs despatched an army by sea to Ḏiyaẓān (*q.v.*), from where it advanced southwards, looting and burning al-Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. Under Wahhābī rule, an attempt was made to develop the port of al-Luḥayya, and negotiations were opened with the English East India Company to start a factory (Lord Valentia, *Voyages*, ii, 385, quoted by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 884). When Ehrenberg visited the port in 1825 (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 192 n. 485) a Persian ship was blockading the harbour in order to force the *ḥākim* Fatḥ ʿAlīāh to pay a debt. By then the walled town had been deserted. Abū Mismār was forced to give allegiance again to the Wahhābīs, but shortly afterwards he associated himself with Muḥammad ʿAlī, the viceroy of Egypt, and in an agreement, authority in the Tihāma was surrendered to Muḥammad ʿAlī, who restored that territory to the *Imām* of Ṣanʿāʾ in return for a payment of 20,000 baḥars of coffee (Ḥ. Batrik, *Egyptian-Yemeni relations*, 282). When in 1832 the Ottomans rewarded the Albanian Mehmed Agha Türkés Bénes with the governorship of Ḥudayda for having mutinied in al-Ḥudayda against Muḥammad ʿAlī, he occupied several coastal towns, but by 1837 the whole of the eastern shore of the Red Sea was in Egyptian hands (Ḥ. Batrik, *op. cit.*, 286), although Ḥusayn Efendī from Belgrade was governor of al-Luḥayya when the French botanist Botta visited the port in 1836 (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 756). When the Egyptian troops moved southwards, Great Britain, having occupied Aden in 1837, exerted pressure on Muḥammad ʿAlī to evacuate the Arabian peninsula. The Egyptian forces accordingly left the coastal towns in 1840 and the territory was surrendered to Ḥusayn, the Sharīf of Abū ʿArīsh. In 1849 the latter admitted his dependence on the Ottoman Sultan and was created a Pasha and governor of the sea coast (al-Khazraǧī, *History of the Resūliyy dynasty of Yaman*, ed. Redhouse, i, Introd., 33). In 1844 the *Imām* Manṣūr ʿAlī tried to recover the territory, and after his deposition in 1848 his successor occupied several coastal towns and imprisoned Sharīf Ḥusayn. But the latter escaped and re-established his authority over the Tihāma (Redhouse, *op. cit.*, i, 36). In 1849 Ottoman troops under Tewfīḳ Pasha occupied the Yemen and after the latter's untimely death, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad ʿAwn of Mecca was appointed governor of the whole of the Tihāma. Opposition to Turkish rule continued, however, among successive Zaydī *Imāms*, Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh, tribal *shaykhs* and occasionally the Sharīfs of Mecca. After subduing the Sharīfs of Abū ʿArīsh, the Idrīsī family in Ṣabyā (*see* ʿAsīr, i, 709b) became fierce opponents to Turkish rule, so that the Ottoman forces were compelled to withdraw to the principal garrison towns. The opening of the Sues Canal in 1869 enabled the Ottomans to despatch troops rapidly to Yemen, and in 1871 they subdued ʿAsīr. In 1872 Ṣanʿāʾ became the centre of the Ottoman government in the *wilāyet* of Yaman, which was divided into four *sanǧaḳs*, each headed by a *mutaṣarrif*: Markaz, ʿAsīr, Taʿizz and al-Ḥudayda, al-Luḥayya being a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the latter (Wenner, *Modern Yemen*, 62, n. 5). Its population was estimated in 1882 at 2,000. In 1882 Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾid of the ʿĀʾiḍ family of the Banū Mughayd, who had been granted the hereditary chieftainship of the highland tribes of ʿAsīr by Fayṣal b. Saʿūd (*q.v.*), cut off the Turks in Abha (*q.v.*) from the coast, and the Banū Warwa, who inhabit the region between Maydī (Midī) and Ḥaraḍ, attacked al-Luḥayya. The coastal towns were the only Turkish strongholds amidst the "state of almost chronic rebellion" (Baldry, *op. cit.*, 169) in ʿAsīr and Ḥiḍāz, and served as bases for expeditions against the rebellious inland tribes. In 1899 even the garrison of al-Luḥayya came under attack. When a telegraph line was constructed between al-Luḥayya and al-Maydī, Turkish soldiers guarding the workmen were attacked. Al-Maydī, north of al-Luḥayya, was captured by tribesmen loyal to the *Imām* and became a centre for the illegal import of arms. In 1906 the Turkish troops once withdrawn from al-Luḥayya and al-Maydī, but not for long, because in the same year they marched from al-Luḥayya to Ḥūdaḍa, accompanied by Bonī Pasha, a *shaykh* of the pro-Turkish Banū Ḳays who inhabit the region east of al-Luḥayya. Shortly afterwards, Turkish soldiers of the al-Luḥayya garrison joined others from Ḏiyaẓān, Zabīd and al-Mukhā in their march on al-Ḥudayda in order to demand their discharge papers, many had served seven years as Yemen but had received less than one year's pay (Baldry, *op. cit.*, 178-9). In 1909 Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī of Ṣabyā came to the assistance of tribes living to the east of al-Luḥayya who had been forced to pay illegal taxes levied by Bonī Pasha. He occupied the port, but it was soon recaptured by the Turks, for in the same year two gunboats, two transports and nine battalions were sent from Istanbul to al-Ḥudayda and al-Luḥayya. The latter port became Rifʿat Pasha's base for launching attacks against the Idrīsī tribesmen. In 1911 the *Kāʾim-maḳām* of al-Luḥayya set out with 200 troops against the inhabitants of al-

Zuhra who had captured a caravan of eighty camels. He was, however, defeated and besieged in al-Zuhra. Later that year, the Banū ʿAbs seized the wells outside al-Luḥayya, but due to dissension among the Arabs, Ḥamdī Bey, arriving from Kamarān, was able to regain them. Shortly afterwards, however, Ḥamdī Bey suffered a severe reverse in al-Luḥayya itself. A new Turkish expedition was prepared against Sayyid Muḥammad, Ḥamdī Bey having 2,500 troops ready in the port. But the advance was postponed because of the outbreak of the Turkith-Italian war in 1911 (see Green, *Italian relations*). In 1912 the Italian navy bombarded al-Luḥayya and extended the blockade of the coast to a point 15 km. north of the port, while 6,000 followers of Sayyid Muḥammad moved against al-Luḥayya. The whole coast between al-Kunfudha and al-Luḥayya was now under the effective control of Sayyid Muḥammad.

On the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman government desired to settle the difficulties in Yemen. *Imām* Yaḥyā of Ṣanʿāʾ and Sayyid Muḥammad (see al-Kibsī, *Imām Yaḥyā*) agreed to observe a truce. Most of the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Yemen, only small garrisons remained in the main towns of the Tihāma. During the War, Sayyid Muḥammad signed a treaty with the British Resident at Aden (May 1915) and overran much of the northern Tihāma. He did not, however, succeed in taking al-Luḥayya because of the Turkish artillery (*Handbook*, i, 141-2, Philby, *Arabia*, 239, Rihani, *Around the coasts*, 166-71). After the War, the Turks evacuated Arabia. In 1339/1920 Sayyid Muḥammad concluded a treaty with Ibn Saʿūd (q.v.), but after his death *Imām* Yaḥyā in 1925 annexed the entire Tihāma and its ports as far north as al-Mayḥ. During the war with *Imām* Yaḥyā, Saʿūdī forces occupied the coast as far south as Bayt al-Faḳīh, including al-Luḥayya. The treaty of al-Ṭāʾif in 1353/1934, defining the frontier between Saʿūdī Arabia and the Yemen, led to the attachment of al-Luḥayya to Yemen.

In 1970 the population of al-Luḥayya was estimated at 5,000. At present, the port has no commercial significance and is only a small base for fishing boats (*sanbuk*), traffic being limited to coastal shipping. The seaborne trade is now centred at the modern facilities of Aḥmadī, the new harbour of al-Ḥudayda.

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LUḲAṬA (A.), as article found (more precisely: "picked up"). The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations. The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them. The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable. The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules. After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, has the right to take possession of the article and do what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, only if he is "poor"; but the use of the articles as religious alms (*ṣadaḳa*) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause by Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik. If the owner appears before the expiry of the period, he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder, but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī alone recognised no further claim by the loser in this case. The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (in al-Bukhārī also; cf. his superscription to *Luḳaṭa, bāb* 1). As regards the finding of domestic animals in the desert, there are special regulations which are less onerous for the finder in the case of in-

jured animals and more onerous when they are not injured. Al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal have similarly some special regulations for articles found in the *Ḥaram*, the sacred territory in Mecca, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allāh in the *Ḥaram* and articles found in it.

These prescriptions of the *fiḳh* are based on certain *ḥadīths* which have been handed down with several variants (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Luḳaṭa*, Muslim, Constantinople 1329 ff., v, 133) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials. But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two- or three-year period. In the conception of the primitive jurists, the article found is sometimes described as deposited (*wadīʿa*); further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the *ṣaḥāt*, finally, there is a *ḥadīth* which forbids the Mecca pilgrim (*ḥādjdj*) to pick up articles found at all. From the superscription by Bukhārī to *Luḳaṭa*, *bāb* 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over, or used in be handed over, to a government office; but their retention in the finder's care is justified by quoting a special tradition.

None of these traditions can be considered historical; at most, the prohibition by the Prophet in his oration after the occupation of Mecca from keeping articles found in the *Ḥaram* without advertising them (cf. above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology. *Luḳaṭa* is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: In addition to the pertinent sections in the *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* collections, cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*, 385, E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 639 ff.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, 328-9.

(J. SCHACHT)

AL-LUKKĀM, DJABAL, the name which the mediaeval Arabic geographers give to the mountain chain which is situated in the northern part of Syria and for long formed the frontier between the Islamic and the Byzantine lands. In classical times it was known as the Amanos/Amanus (Khamana in the cuneiform inscriptions), but by the Turks as Alma Dāghī (Elma Dagh in modern Turkish), since it has not been treated under ELMA DAGH, it has seemed useful to consider it here, even though the Djabal al Lukkām does not correspond exactly to these ramifications of the Taurus Mountains, which detaches itself from the dolomite massif of the Karadede Dagh in the region of Marʿash, to the south of the Pyramus (Djayhān), running parallel to the chains of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, surrounding with its eastern ridge the Gulf of Alexandretta, and falling steeply into the sea to the south of Raʾs al-Khanzīr (5,100 ft.), together with the Djabal Mūsā or Djabal Almar (5,750 ft.).

The deep transverse valley of the Orontes and the morasses of al-ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*] separate the Alma Dagh from the Lebanon chains, which differ also in their geological formation (mostly limestone) from that of the Taurus system. With its off shoots, the Alma Dagh cuts off Cilicia entirely from Syria and the Mesopotamian hinterland, apart from a few passes that are mere mule-tracks, the pass of Bayḏān [*q.v.*] is the only connection between Asia Minor and Syria and has always been much frequented. The heights of the several mountains are not yet accurately known, the average height is said to be 3,650 ft., and some peaks reach 7,300 ft. or more, as the highest point, Dorneyer gives the Mandur, 7,450 ft. In the northern part, jagged and steep peaks prevail, in the south, more rounded outlines. The Alma Dagh with its fresh verdure is an attractive sight, for its sides are thickly overgrown with trees, out of which the bare dolomite peaks project. The ridge of the Alma Dagh north of Iskandarūn formed in Ottoman times, together with the sides sloping to east and west, as administrative unit, the Sandjak Djabal Barakat; cf. Sachau in *SBPr. Ak. W.* (1892), 314.

Locally, no one common name is used for the whole of the Amanus, in the reports of European travellers and in the maps based on these, this fact has caused considerable confusion as to the nomenclature, because the same name is sometimes used for a part, sometimes for the whole. For the northern part of the Amanus we find the name Gʷawr Dagh or Djawur Dagh, i.e. the mountains of the infidels, H. Kiepert in his *Carte générale de l'empire Ottoman* (Berlin 1892) makes the Alma Dagh reach about as far as Iṣlāḥiyya (Nicopolis, lat. 37° N.), the continuation of this mountain-chain as far as the neighbourhood of Marʿash he takes as Gʷawr Dagh et also H. Kiepert's map for Sachau's *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig 1883). In R. Kiepert's map (or von Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900), Alma Dagh only appears as the name of one single mountain massif in the north of Bayḏān; the name Gʷawr Dagh does not appear at all on it, in its stead we find Sur Dagh, Adje Dagh and Göydje Dagh as names of single peaks between Marʿash and Iṣlāḥiyye. The northern Gʷawr Dagh is connected, according to E. Reclus, with the southern mountains by a mountain plateau in the depth of which is situated the Gʷawr Göl (i.e. lake of the infidels). The name of Gʷawr Dagh is occasionally extended to the whole of the Amanus (e.g. on the map of Favre and Mandrot) Reclus does not call the southern Amanus Alma Dagh, but, in accordance with a number of travellers, Akma Dagh. Benzinger is evidently mistaken in calling the southern part of the Amanus Gʷawr Dagh and the northern part Akma Dagh Czernik seems to stand quite alone in calling the Amanus Kara Dagh, this name is evidently the Turkish translation of Djabal al-Lukkām (also al Ukkām), the "black mountains" (*ukkāma*, Arabicised from the Syriac *ukkāmā* = "black") of the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages, the μαῦρον ὄρος of the Byzantines for the name al-Lukkām designating nearly the same as Amanus, cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, 325. By a misnomer, the Alma or Akma Dagh in its more limited sense (north of Bayḏān) is also often called Nawṭa Dagh by travellers, which name according to Kotschy (cf. also the map by R. Kiepert, mentioned above) belongs only to the northeastern part of the Djabal Arḳūs (south of Bayḏān).

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(M. Streck *)

LUḲMĀN, a legendary hero and sage of pre-Islamic Arabia. He appears in the Ḳur'ān as a monotheist and a wise father giving pious admonitions to his son. In later Islamic lore he became the creator of fables par excellence and a striking parallel of Aesop.

1. Luḳmān in Old Arab tradition. The Arabs of the Djāhiliyya knew of a certain Luḳmān b. 'Ād. The connection with the long lost tribe of 'Ād [*q.v.*] places him in the dimmest recesses of the Arab past. The two attributes upon which his fame apparently rested were his wisdom and his longevity. Many early poets, including Imru' al-Ḳays, al-Nābigha, al-A'shā and Tarafa, celebrate his wisdom (Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 133-5). To be "as wise as" or even "wiser than Luḳmān" are standard compliments in panegyrics. Because of his proverbial wisdom, Luḳmān was credited with being the architect, or one of the architects, of the famous Ma'rib [*q.v.*] dam (e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 366).

In ancient Arabian legend, Luḳmān was *al-Ma'sūr mar* ("the Long-lived"). He is granted a long life (According to later Muslim tradition, this was a reward for his piety, in contradistinction to the wickedness of his people.) From among several choices offered him, he chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures, the vulture (*nasr*) being the most popular symbol of longevity among the Arabs (Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabisch. Philol.*, Leiden 1899, ii, pp. 1-3; cf. Pa chi, 5, where the Ḥimyar cognate *nesher*, meaning "eagle", has the same significance). Luḳmān nurtures and protects each of his seven vultures in turn. The last one is named Lubad which means "enduring" or "remaining" (*LA* and *TA*, s.v.). He finally dies, however, and with him Luḳmān. This story is cited in explanation of the old Arab proverb "eternity (*al-abad*) outlasts Lubad" (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl al-'Arab*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, i, 290-1). According to the different versions of the tale, Luḳmān lived 360, 1,000, 3,000, or 3,500 years. In Islamic times, he is considered second in longevity only to al Khiḍr (al-Sidjistānī, *Ḳ. al-Mu'ammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur arabisch. Philol.*, ii, 2).

It is difficult to know what details beyond this essential ancient are of pre-Islamic origin and what are the creations of later Muslim narrators. It is possible, for example, that the tradition that includes Luḳmān among the ambassadors sent by the drought-stricken 'Ādites to pray for rain at the Ka'ba may have its roots in pagan Meccan lore (al-Ṭabarī, i, 235). Already in its pre-Islamic form, the Luḳmān legend exhibits motifs found elsewhere. R. Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, pp. xxvii-xxix) finds a remarkable parallel in the interpretation given by Sidonius Apollinaris of Romulus's watching for twelve birds. The birds turn out to be twelve vultures, signifying that Rome will endure for twelve centuries.

2. Luḳmān in the Ḳur'ān and the Islamic tradition. Sūra XXXI, which belongs to the Third Meccan period, bears the name of Luḳmān. No allusion is made to either his 'Ādite origin or his longevity. Likewise, there is no mention of Luḳmān in connection with the various references to 'Ād and its prophet Hūd throughout the Ḳur'ān.

The Ḳur'ānic Luḳmān is a sage who is found only in the sūra that bears his name. His first appears in v. 12, where it is stated that God gave him wisdom or, perhaps as has been recently suggested, a book of maxims (see D. Gutas, *Arabic wisdom literature: nature and scope*, in *JAOS*, ci [1981], 49-54, 57-8). In vv. 13 and 16-19, Luḳmān offers pious counsel to his son. The admonitions bear the unmistakable stamp of ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Three times, he begins with the formula 'O my dear son" (*yā bunayya*) that prefaces so many of the aphorisms of Aḥikar (Ar. Ḥaykār). R. Harris has pointed out the parallel between v. 18 "Be modest in thy gait and lower thy voice, for the most hateful of voices is that of the ass", and Aḥikar's maxim: "Incline thy head downward, soften thy voice, and be courteous. For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build many houses each day" (Harris *et alii*, *The story of Ahikar*, p. lxxvi; cf. Ar. text in *ibid.*, 4, 11). Even though vv. 20-34 no longer cite Luḳmān, they partially reflect the same genre. Thus v. 27: "If all the trees on the earth were pens and the sea were replenished after it with seven seas [of ink], the words of God would not be exhausted" can be traced back to Jewish wisdom literature, where it is found in numerous variations (R. Köhler, *Und wenn der Himmel wär Papier*, in *Orient u. Occident*, ii, 546-59; idem, in *Ethnolog. Mitteil. aus Ungarn*, i, 321-23, 441-53; H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich 1956, ii, 587). However, this verse is later than the rest of the sūra and was revealed in Medina during a dispute with the Jews. Its inclusion indicates that it was considered appropriate to the general tone of the sūra.

Once the Ḳur'ān had consecrated Luḳmān as the wise utterer of proverbs, everything that was thought pious or sensible could be attributed to him. Wahb b. Munabbih is credited with saying that he had read 10,000 chapters (*bāb*) of Luḳmān's wisdom (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850, 27). The Arabic collections of proverbs (notably that of al-Maydānī) attribute much to Luḳmān (see Basset, *op. cit.*, pp. xliv-liv). Al-Tha'labī devotes a chapter of his *Ḳiṣaṣ al anbiyā'* (Būlāḳ 1286/1869, 275-7) to the wisdom of Luḳmān. Many sayings seem to link up with the Sūra of Luḳmān. v. 14 advises reverence for parents, but warns against being led astray by them to worship false gods. Al-Tha'labī's authority makes Luḳmān say: "Be amenable to your friends, but never so far as to act against God's laws". There is much that is reminiscent of Aḥikar. For example, Luḳmān teaches: "A father's beating his son is like water for a crop." The parallel maxim in Aḥikar states: "Spare not thy son, for strokes of the rod are to a boy like dung to the garden." Luḳmān says: "When thou seest people who remember God, join them: if thou hast knowledge, it will be useful to you with them, and they will increase it; if thou hast none, they will teach thee; and when thou seest people who do not remember God, do not join them, for if thou hast knowledge, it will not avail thee with them, and if thou art ignorant they will increase your ignorance".

Ahīkar says "Join the wise man, then thou wilt become as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babbler, lest thou become associated with him" Lukmān gives excellent advice for one going on a journey, and also adds that he should be armed So too does Ahīkar. Al-Maydānī (*Amthāl*, i, 97) attributes to Lukmān the dictum "Consult the physician before thou fallest ill!' This corresponds to the advice of Ben Sira "Honour the physician before thou hast need of him" (*Ecclesiasticus*, xxxiii, 1).

It may be that many of these proverbs that belong to the general treasury of Near Eastern wisdom literature had already begun to penetrate into the Arabian Peninsula in the Djāhilī period The Christian Arab poet ʿAdī b Zayd (*q v*) of al-Hīra knew of Ahīkar, whom he calls al-Haykār (see Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, 25, also Goitein, *The present-day Arabic proverb*, in idem, *Studies*, 371, 378 ff). Already at this early time, the dicta of foreign sages may have begun to accrue to the indigenous Lukmān al-Hakīm.

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets. But since the Kurʾān merely says that Lukmān received wisdom from God, all of the traditional scholars with the sole exception of ʿIkrima agree that he was not a prophet (al-Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 275). Nevertheless, he receives mention in most of books of the *kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* genre (*q v*) Most accounts tell that God offered Lukmān the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage, and that he chose the latter He even becomes vizier to King David, who tells him "Blessed art thou, O Lukmān. You have been given wisdom and spared tribulation, while David has been given authority and has suffered trials and rebellion' (*ibid*.). Most of the traditions give him a biblical genealogy connected variously with Abraham, Job and even Balaam (see 4. below) He is said to have lived down to the time of the prophet Jonah. He is also called judge of the Jews (*ibid*., 275, citing al-Wākidī) Some accounts make Lukmān the author of a book Supposedly, Muhammad was shown the scroll (*maṣḥafa*) of Lukmān and asked if the book in his possession was comparable to it, to which the Prophet replied, "These are indeed fine words, but what I have is better, namely the Kurʾān revealed by God' (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 427; also al-Ṭabarī, i 1208).

3. Lukmān the writer of fables. At some time during the Middle Ages, Lukmān came to be regarded as the author of fables as well This is perhaps due in part to the fact that *amthāl* means both proverbs and fables in Arabic Lukmān thus became the Aesop of the Arabs. Much was transferred to Lukmān that was told in Europe of Aesop The tendencies to this can be traced quite early. The Kurʾānic commentators already relate traditions that he was a "thick-lipped, flat footed black slave" of Ethioplan or Nubian origin (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Būlāk 1328/1910, xvi, 43) He is also said to have been an Egyptian, a carpenter, a shepherd, and to have had deformed legs These features are obviously modelled on the story of Aesop So too are several of the anecdotes about Lukmān. For example, Lukmān's master orders him to butcher a sheep and set the choicest parts before him Lukmān gives him the tongue and the heart. His master then orders him to slaughter another sheep and bring him the worst parts Once again Lukmān sets a heart and a tongue before him, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good heart and nothing worse than evil ones (in Maximus Planudes, *Vita Aesopi*, only the tongue is mentioned and not the heart; see Eberhardt, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, Leipzig 1872, 259) On another occasion, Lukmān's fellow slaves eat their master's figs and accuse Lukmān. At Lukmān's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water Lukmān vomits only water, the other slaves figs and water. Once, Lukmān's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea. Sobered, he asks Lukmān's advice The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam up all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries This last motif is widely disseminated in folk tales of the type of the Emperor and the Abbot (Aarne-Thomson Type no 922; the folktale and its parallels are discussed at length in W. Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt*, FCC no 42, Helsinki 1923, especially p 238, where reference is made to Lukmān; also Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii 80-2). These anecdotes are also found in the biography of Aesop by the 14th century monk Planudes, who drew upon older material. The story of the wages to drink the sea is known as early as Plutarch's *Dinner of the seven wise men* (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 152D-E) and the Midrash (*Leviticus Rabba*, 33)

The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Lukmān. They first appear in the later Middle Ages The Paris manuscript published by J Derenbourg is dated 1299 and is from Christian circles It contains 41 fables These fables have been published frequently and discussed in detail, especially by Derenbourg, Basset and Chauvin. Out of the 41 fables, only no 22 has as clear parallels the thorn bush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits; the gardener waters it twice a day, and the thorn bush overruns the whole garden Basset (*Loqmân Berbère*, 98, n. 2) posits a possible connection with Jotham's parable in Judges, ix, 8-15, while H Schwartzbaum has suggested a link with the talmudic proverb-fable about the thorn and the cabbage (*The Mishle Shuʿalim of Rabbi Berechiah ha-Nakdan*, Kiron 1979, p. xlvi, n. 80, citing BT *Baba Qama*, 92a-b) All the other Lukmān fables with the exception of the thirteenth (the goat and the bull) are found in the Syriac fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by J Landsberger (*Die Fabeln des Sophos*, Posen 1859) The only fables of Lukmān not found in the Greek Aesop are no 9 (the gazelle in the well), no 22 (the thornbush), an 24 (the wasp and the bee) and No 40 (the man and the snakes) It has further been observed that as these fables, a number of important animals that were indigenous among the Arabs, such as the ostrich, the hyena, the jackal and the camel, play no part As these fables first appear in the later Middle Ages, and on the basis of other evidence, there can be no doubt that we have here a translation and adaptation of the Syriac version of Aesop originating in Christian circles in Mamlūk Syria

4. Lukmān and related legendary figures. Lukmān is a composite, and hence a many-sided figure; he is a *muʿammar*, hero, sage, maker of proverbs and author of fables. It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with other legendary heroes, such as Prometheus, Alkmaion, Lucius and Solomon. Muhammad b ʿAlī al-Zawzanī makes Lukmān the teacher of Empedocles (*Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, in M. Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo Sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 614). Those of these equations deserve closer examination: (1) with Balaam, (2) with Ahīkar

and (3) with Aesop. The identification with Balaam is old. Al-Ṯaʿlabī and al-Bayḍāwī (although not al-Ṭabarī apparently) give the following genealogy: LuḲmān b. Baʿūr b. Nāḥūr b. Tārikh. It would seem that some Muslim exegetes sought for something corresponding to LuḲmān in the Bible. They found this in Balaam, as the roots *l-ḳ-ḥ* and *b-l-ʿ* both mean "to swallow". This identification may have been reinforced by the talmudic tradition that Balaam (and also Job) was one of the seven gentile prophets who preached to the nations of the world (BT *Baba Batra*, 15b). This became a Muslim tradition which entered the Hebrew *Mashal Sendebar*, where LuḲmān is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed. and tr. M. Epstein, Philadelphia 1967, 54-5), and also the *Disciplina clericalis* of the Spanish Jewish apostate Petrus Alfonsi (ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm, Heidelberg 1911, 3), where it specifically states "Balaam qui lingua arabica vocatur Lucamman". It is clear that for Muḥammad and his contemporaries, there was no confusion between LuḲmān and Balaam. Neither is there any confusion in al-Ṭabarī, who does not make LuḲmān the son of Beor and who relates the story of Baʿūra b. Bāʿūr in its proper place and with the correct details (al-Ṭabarī, i, 308 10). On the other hand, al-Ṯaʿlabī makes LuḲmān Beor's son, while at the same time devoting a full narrative to Bāʿūra b. Baʿūrā (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 286 9). Al-Ṯaʿlabī and others like him were probably aware of the inconsistency, but wished to connect LuḲmān with the Bible at any cost. Horovitz has suggested that perhaps early Muslim traditionalists' Jewish informants connected LuḲmān with the Edomite king Bela son of Beor in Gen. xxxvi, 32 (*Jewish proper names and derivations in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii (1925), 173 f.), and that this was the source of the confusion.

LuḲmān's similarity to Aḥīḳar was also noticed long ago, but it was only in the early 20th century that the identification found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes chs. vii of his *Story of Aḥiḳar* to it. He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra XXXI, 18, with Aḥīḳar's warning about the vice of the ass, the formulaic "O my son" in both, and the Arab hypotheses which compare LuḲmān with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of LuḲmān, Aḥīḳar and Aesop. The arguments, however, are not convincing. The Aḥīḳar legend was known in the Arab world, and a considerable number of Arabic and Karshūnī manuscripts have survived. Many of the aphorisms attributed to Aḥīḳar, like those attributed to LuḲmān, were part of the common stock of Near Eastern lore and may be found in the Bible, the Apocrypha and elsewhere. The use of the introductory formula "O my son" was standard in admonitory literature of this sort, and is found in *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira*, to mention only the most outstanding examples.

Any real relation between the personalities of LuḲmān and Aḥīḳar comes through Aesop. The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Aḥīḳar. The later legend of LuḲmān has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus becomes obliquely like the Aḥīḳar story, but in reality LuḲmān is not directly connected with Aḥīḳar but with Aesop.

5. LuḲmān in Persian and Turkish literature and lore. LuḲmān was a fairly popular figure in Persian literature. A lengthy chapter is devoted to him in the 5th/11th-century Persian *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of al-Nīsābūrī (ed. H. Yaghmāʾī, Tehran 1340/1961, 333-8), which contains anecdotes found in the Arabic *ḳiṣaṣ* as well as some new material. Rūmī devotes several stories to LuḲmān in the *Maṯnawī*. In addition to the well-known anecdote of LuḲmān's innocence proven by drinking warm water (*Maṯnawī*, ed. Nicholson GMS iv/1, London 1925, 220-1), LuḲmān appears as an idealised ascetic who is a pure slave (*banda-yi pāk*) to his earthly and heavenly masters and thus is master of himself and free from sensual passion (*khwāǧa-yi ū ast ān ke ḥawā ū rā bād*). In this story, LuḲmān is the true master and his master the slave. He exchanges clothes and roles with LuḲmān when they travel. He would gladly let him free, but knows that LuḲmān has found true freedom in servitude (*ibid.*, 346-9). In another anecdote, LuḲmān's master will only eat food from which LuḲmān has partaken and is enraptured even with the scraps. One day upon receiving a gift of a melon, he gives LuḲmān slice after slice. The latter eats it as if it were honey. When the master himself tastes the final slice his mouth is blistered by the sourness. He asks LuḲmān how he could eat such poison. LuḲmān replies that he had received such bounty from him that he could not do otherwise. The love of the giver makes the bitter sweet (*ibid.*, 329-32). Saʿdī relates a story in which LuḲmān is once again an idealised ascetic in the Persian mould. By mistake, he is pinned into cruel slavery for a year, bearing all in silence. When the mistake is realised, he harbours no grudge and says that he has learned compassion from the experience (*Būstān*, in *Kulliyyāt-i Saʿdī*, ed. M. ʿAlī Furūghī, Teheran 1964, 328).

LuḲmān was known to the Turks from both Arabic and Persian literature. In addition to his standard roles, he also appears in Turkish folklore as an Arab physician by extension of his title *ḥakīm* (see W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 346). In one tale, LuḲmān teaches the adventurer Meḥmed the Mad how to cure the wife and daughter of the king and the wife of the grand vizier, all three of whom had grown horns (W. S. Walker and A. E. Uysal, *Tales alive in Turkey*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 33).

Bibliography in addition to the works cited in the text, see C. H. Toy, The Luḳmān-legend, in *JAOS*, xiii (1889), pp. clxiii-clxxvi; L. Leroy, *Vie, préceptes et testament de Lokman*, in *ROC*, xiv (1909), 225-55, where some very important texts are given; H. Schwartzbaum, *Jewish and World folklore*, Berlin 1968, contains many references and parallels to LuḲmān; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīliyya*, Wiesbaden 1978, 34 ff., for LuḲmān's place in the esoteric doctrines of the Seveners. Still very useful for the fables of LuḲmān and their many relationships is V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liege 1892-1922, iii. 1-82. For Aḥīḳar, see T. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman*, in *AGW Gott.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., N.F. xiv/4, Berlin 1913; F. C. Conybeare, J. R. Harris and A. S. Lewis, *The Story of Aḥiḳar*², Cambridge 1913; R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1913, 715-84. (B. Heller-[N. A. Stillman])

LUḲMĀN b. SAYYID ḤUSAYN al-ʿĀṣūṣī al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī originated from Urmiya in western Persia. It is not known when he, or perhaps already his family before him, migrated to the Ottoman empire. Nor do we know much about his studies and career. He was apparently a protégé of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Sōḳollu (d. 987/1579) and of the influential Khōdja Seʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] whom he

praised as his benefactor in one of his works (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, 53b, and H Sohrweide in *Der Islam*, xlvi (1970), 292). In 1569 Selīm II appointed him as *Shāhnāmedjī* (official historian-panegyrist; for this office, see Babinger, 163-4), in such he was the successor of Ḥāfiẓūn Shirwānī and Fetḥullāh ʿĀrif. In his works LuḲmān gives two different dates for this appointment. Shawwāl 976/March 1569 (N. ʿĀṣim, in *TOEM*, 430) and the end of Muḥarram 977/middle of July 1569 (A. Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, 107, and Rieu, *Catalogue*, 53b; see also Babinger, 164-5). To this office was attached a *tashrīf* which yielded yearly between 30,000 and 34,000 *akčes* (*TOEM*, 430-1). As *Shāhnāmedjī*, LuḲmān was mainly active during the reign of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95), he is said to have been deposed soon after the latter's death and appointed as *Defterdār* [*q.v.*]. He died in 1010/1601-2 (*ʿOṯmanlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 156) or later (*TOEM*, 432, Babinger, 169)

As was the case with his predecessors, LuḲmān's literary gifts were under discussion. It is noteworthy that contemporary biographers of poets and learned men do not consecrate a section to him in their works. The well-known historian ʿĀlī (d. 1007/1599), on the other hand, criticises him caustically (*TOEM*, 431 and Sohrweide, *op cit*, 290-2, but see Rieu, *Catalogue*, 53b) Until now, LuḲmān's extensive literary production has been into account mainly by art historians because of the costly presentation of several manuscripts and because of the miniatures by well-known painters which they contain. The pictures are a culminating point of historical Ottoman miniature-painting (I Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, I, Paris 1966, and N. Atasoy and F Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974). From a literary and historical point of view, LuḲmān's works have hardly been evaluated; because of his office as court poet, whose task was to extol the ruling dynasty, the choice of his themes was limited. Inevitably, many themes had to be repeated and were partly treated in the various works almost at the same time

LuḲmān's works, written in Persian and Turkish, in both poetry and prose, are the following: 1 *Ẓafarnāma*, known as the *History of Sulṭān Sulaymān*, deals with the final years of the sultan (1561-6). Brought to an end in 986/1578-9, it is an epic Persian poem, written in the same metre (*mutaḳārib*) as Firdawsī's famous work It was described by V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin 1958, no 413 2 *Kıṣṣa-i al-tawārīkh-i fī shamāʾil al-ʿoṯmāniyya*, also known as *Shamāʾil-i ʿoṯmaniyya* or *Shamāʾil nāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṯmān*, describes the first twelve Ottoman sultans and gives, besides their portraits, short pieces of information on their reigns It was probably finished in 987/1579-80 (Atasoy and Çağman, *op cit*, 39) Rieu, *Catalogue*, 54a, gives the year 927, but this is likely to be an error since the Munich manuscript, which he quotes as evidence, contains another of LuḲmān's works. 3 *Shāh-nāma-yi Selīm Khān*, an epic Persian poem on the reign of Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). According to the colophon of the illuminated manuscript in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, which was prepared for the benefit of the sultan, the poem was finished in Dhu ʾl Ḥiḍdja 982/January 1582 (Atasoy and Çağman, *op cit*, 34). The signature of the manuscript must read A. 3595, Table 16 and p 80, 27, see also Karatay, *Farsça yazmalar kataloğu*, no. 788, where no date of the work in m of the manuscript is indicated. 4. *Hunar-nāma*, a Turkish work in prose in two volumes The first volume, composed between 987/1579 and 992/1584, describes the appearance, the qualities and the virtues of the Ottoman sultans as far as Selīm I (918-26/1512-20), together with the most important events of their reign. The second volume was finished in 996/1587-8 and deals with the reign of Sultan Süleymān (926-74/1520-66) The work is written in simple Turkish Originally, two other volumes were planned on Selīm II and Murād III, see TOEM, 103-12, and further, Karatay, *Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, no. 668-9, Atasoy and Çağman, *op cit*., 44-6. 5. *Shāhanshāh-nāma*, an epic poem in Persian on the reign of Murād III in two volumes. The first volume comprises the period until 985/1577 or 986/1581 In the *Hunar-nāma*, LuḲmān says that he presented the work, consequently this first volume, to the sultan in the middle of Ramaḍān 985/end of November 1577 (*TOEM*, 107-8), probably for it to be checked beforehand, as was usual in such cases. Atasoy and Çağman, *op cit*., 36, 50, take the year 989/1581 from the colophon of the manuscript Karatay, *Farsça yazm*., no. 792, attributes the first volume not to LuḲmān, but to an unknown predecessor in the office named ʿAlī ʾal Dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī However, only the above-mentioned Fetḥullāh and ʿĀrif are known as LuḲmān's predecessors. Volume ii deals with the period 990/1582 to 996/1587. The text was finished in 1021/1592-3, but since the making and the finishing of of the manuscript stretched out until 1026/1597 8, the finished work could only be presented to Meḥammed III (1003-12/1595 1603). 6 *Zubdat al tawārīkh*, a universal history in Turkish prose, arranged genealogically, in four sections 1 The creation of the world. 2 the Prophets 3 the life of Muḥammad, the caliphs and the Islamic dynasties. 4. the principalities in Anatolia and the Ottomans until the year 991/1583. The work was possibly finished after the death of Murād III (1003/1595), whom the Dabbe manuscript mentions as having died Minorsky, *op cit*, no 414, suggested *Nāmā-nāma* as another possible title Karatay, *Türkçe yazm*., no. 678, calls it *Silsilanāma*; the *Zubdat* which he ascribes to LuḲmān in no 733 seems to be another work 7 *Muḳtaṭaf al-fatāwīr*, a history of the Ottoman dynasty until 992/1584, in Turkish prose Only the sultans Süleymān, Selīm II and Murād III are dealt with in detail, and the two last mentioned in a purely annalistic way; see Rieu, *op cit*, 54-5 8 *Shāh-nāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṯmān*, a rhymed chronicle in Turkish of the Ottoman sultans, covering the beginning of the dynasty until 999/1590-1, and written in the same year, see Rieu, *op cit*, 186 7

Besides these principal works, LuḲmān is said to have left some other writings or translations (*TOEM*, 107 Babinger, 165). The *Sūr-nāma*, famous for its illustrations and composed by an unknown Dīwān secretary, was erroneously ascribed to LuḲmān by R Ettinghausen (*Turkische Miniaturen vom 13 bis 18. Jahrhundert*, UNESCO Taschenbücher der Kunst, Tafel-Verzeichnis 18-21), see Karatay, *Türkçe yazm*., no 703, Atasoy and Çağman 39-42.

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LUḲMĀNDJI B ḤABĪB ALLĀH B MULLĀ KĀDIRKHĀN RĀMPŪRĪ, was a great Mustaʿlī-Ismāʿīlī savant of India and was given the title *bāb al ʿilm* ("the gate of knowledge") by the thirty-ninth *dāʿī*, Ibrāhīm Waḥīh al-Dīn He was the teacher of Ismāʿīl b ʿAbd al-Rasūl al Maḥallātī, the author of the *Fihrist* He died in 8

Djumādā II 1173/27 January 1760. His works, very few of which seem to have been preserved, deal with the history of the *da'wa* in India, biographies of *da'wa* dignitaries, Ismā'īlī doctrine, and the refutation of dissident groups.

His son Walībhā'ī (or Walī Muḥammad) was also a distinguished scholar, while his grandson Hibat Allāh, the mentor of the forty third *dā'ī*, 'Abd-i 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn, was considered one of two learned men of his time, the other being 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Ḥamdānī. For a while, Hibat Allāh supported the son of al-Madjdū', who had claimed to be *al-hudjdja al-khafī* of the hidden *imām* with whom he was in contact. In 1202/1786-7 he was honoured in the *da'wa* by the forty second *dā'ī*, Yūsuf Nadjm al-Dīn. He died probably after 1214/1799-1800.

Bibliography. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Madjdū', *Fihrist*, ed. 'Alī Nakī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 54 s, 57-9, 201-3, 207-9, 117-18; Muḥammad 'Alī b. Mullā Dīwānbhā'ī, *Mansim-i bakīr*, Bombay 1301-11/1883-94, iii, 404, 480, 486-91, 498-9, 520-6, 556-9, 584, 589, 610-12; I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 202-4, 206-7, 220-11. (I. POONAWALA)

LÜLEBURGAZ (in old texts variously written as Birghos, Bārghūs, Borghus, Catal Burghaz, etc.; the form "Lüleburgaz" is of recent date and related to the industry of pipe-making), a town of more than 25,000 inhabitants in Turkish Thrace and a minor administrative and agricultural centre on the highway from Edirne to Istanbul, 75 km. south-east of Edirne. It is situated on level ground in a wide valley on the southern bank of a tributary of the Ergene River. In the past it was one of the largest caravan halting-places on the Belgrade-Edirne-Istanbul highway, the chief artery of Ottoman Europe. In addition, it was an administrative centre; in the 15th century, a *sandjak*, and from the 16th century, the seat of a *kādī* in the *liwā'* of the Pasha Hadjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 20) mentions it as a *pasa'* of the *sandjak* of Vize, Ewliyā Celebī as belonging to Kirk kilise. In the 18th century, it belonged (once again?) to Vize. In the second half of the last century, it belonged at first to the *sandjak* of Tekfūrdaghī (Tekirdaghī, in which Vize was incorporated (*Sālnāmes* of the Edirne *wilāyet* of 1281/1864-76). Later, it was incorporated in the *sandjak* of Kirk kilise (cf. *Sālnāme* for Edirne 1320/1892-3). Today it is a part of the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Kirklareli.

Lüleburgaz goes back to a Byzantine stronghold, Arkadiopolis (Tomaschek, *Histoire-Halbrossi*, 324, Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, 139). The name Burgas is a corruption of the Greek Pyrgos "tower", thus giving a hint of the use of this castle.

The Ottoman chroniclers (Oruç, 'Āshik-pasha-zāde, Anonymus-Giese, Neshrī, Sa'd al-Dīn) unanimously place its conquest between 759/1358 and 761/1360, and all of them noted that the castle was deserted when the Ottoman *ghāzīs* took it. They burnt it down, according to the first three sources, demolished it from one side to the other according to Sa'd al-Dīn, and levelled it according to Neshrī. When Bertrandon de la Broquière passed through it in 1433, he noted "a town which they call Pirgas which has also torn-down walls and where no others reside but Turks". The accounts of 16th century Western and Ottoman travellers, as well as the extant monuments, allow us to reconstruct the resurrection of Lüleburgaz. Arnold von Harff, passing through it in 1499, is still silent about it. De Schepper called it in 1533 already "la ville de Bosgais", but had to pass the night on a local school. By then it must have been a small borough with a Friday mosque and a *hammām*. The latter is mentioned by Mehmed-i 'Āshik. The mosque the Eski Djāmi', or Kādī Djāmi'i, is still extant and situated near the bridge. It is a work of the early classical phase of Ottoman architecture, from the time of Bāyezīd II or from a few years later. When Hans Dernschwam (ed. Babinger, 242) passed through "Borgas" in 1555, he still saw the gate and walls of the old castle and noted a stone bridge over the river but he still had to spend the night in Karishtiran, a settlement 10 km. to the south-east of Lüleburgaz, which possessed three caravanserais. A few years after Dernschwam's visit, the Beglerbegi of Rumeli and later Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, laid the foundations for the total reconstruction of the town and its transformation into a caravan halting-place of the first order. A new stop between Karishtiran and Baba eski was a necessity because the distance between the two was far too great (43 km.) to cover in one day. In 967/1559-60 he completed his exquisite domed mosque and vast *medrese* with 24 student cells. A long inscription, still preserved, gives the date in the form of a chronogram. Seven years later he completed the erection of two spacious caravanserais, with separate stables for camels and horses, separate rooms for female travellers and state officials, an *imāret*, a double *hammām*, a school and street lined with 85 stone-vaulted shops between the *medrese* and the caravanseras. The whole complex covers an area of 270 × 150 metres and is one of the most harmonious civic centres ever erected by the Ottomans. The works were designed by the famous architect Sinān and appear in various places on the lists of his works drawn up by his friends and contemporaries. The date of completion of the two caravanserais is given in the extant inscription in the form of a chronogram, whose numerical value gives 973/1565-6, the first year of Sokollu's Grand Vizierate. The chronogram also found its way to the work of Ewliyā Celebī (iii, 301, of the printed edition). This date is further corroborated by the notes of the Italian traveller Marc Antonio Pigafetta, who saw the workmen still active in 1567. Since that time a host of travellers have mentioned the buildings, either with a few words or with a detailed description.

Melchior Besold called "Pregasch" or "Burgasch" in 1584 a "städtlin" and described the buildings in detail. He mentions the "fine new stone bridge", also built by 'Mechemed Bassche', who likewise laid out a stone paved road half-a-mile long. Mehmed-i 'Āshik remained some time in ' Birghos" in 986/1578-9 and 998/90 and called it "a small town without walls'. He mentions a ruined and uninhabited castle and noted that the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha "constructed in Birghus a pleasant mosque, having within the circuit of its enclosure a lofty *medrese* and for the overnight stay of the sons of the road a large *ribāt* and a public kitchen. It was ordained that for all guests a plate of food from the kitchen was placed before every fireplace of this *ribāt*. A *hammām* and a small market street were built next to the mosque. In Birghos is further an unpretentious old *hammām*. The environs of Birghos comprise well-cultivated land which yields excellent grain". The account of Mehmed-i 'Āshik passed in a shortened form into the work of Hadjdjī Khalīfa, see *Rumeli und Bosna*. Reinhold Lubenau, travelling in 1587-8, called Lüleburgaz a "feiner Marckt", and adds the detail that the buildings were partly situated in "schoner, groser Garthin". All buildings were covered with lead. Lubenau found the mosque especially beautiful,

and adds that all travellers, Turk, Jew or Christian, received three times a day a dish of rice and mutton, this for three days in succession. The most detailed description of this Turkish "Grand Hotel" is from Evliyā Čelebi who visited the town in 1061/1651. It was then a *kāżālik* in the *sanǧak* of Kirk kilise; a township of 700 houses, divided into six *maḥalles*. It had five places of prayer, of which three were Friday mosques, 300 shops and seven *mekteb*s. All travellers, regardless of their religion, received twice daily a dish of soup, a loaf of bread, a candle and fodder for their horses. On Fridays they got stewed rice with meat and onions and sweetened saffron rice (*serde*). A number of other travellers mention the buildings and the free distribution of food, but add hardly any new details.

Lüleburgaz continued to function as a caravan halt throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but it seems to have remained a relatively small place. This period of prosperity ended abruptly in 1214/1799-1800 when a gang of *Kırǧalı*s under the robber baron Kara Feyżī captured it and burnt it down, together with the two caravanserais. When, under Maḥmūd II, order was restored in Thrace, the caravanserais had to be rebuilt from their foundations. An inscription with a long eulogy on the good works of Maḥmūd, placed above the old inscription of 967/1559-60, still reminds us of this work. The vaulted shopping street and the two caravanserais, as they appeared just before the fire, are depicted in two very accurate drawings by Luigi Mayer. Lüleburgaz remained a small place throughout the 19th century. The *Sāl-nāme* of the Edirne *wilāyet* of 1287/1870-1 calls it the centre of a *ḳażā*[2] with 53 villages, and with 6056 male Muslim inhabitants and 3,429 male non-Muslim inhabitants. The town itself numbered according to the *Sāl-nāme*s of 1291/1874-5, 984 houses with 834 male Muslim inhabitants and 1,528 male non-Muslim inhabitants. There were three Friday mosques, two *meṣāǧid*, one church, one synagogue, 282 shops and one *ḥammām*. The size and shape of the town had then remained basically the same as in the time of Evliyā Čelebi.

With the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, all territories beyond Edirne were lost and the caravan road suffered an eclipse. The two caravanserais of Lüleburgaz and the *Ḳıṣlar* were taken by the army and transformed into a barracks for the cavalry and the fourth battery of gunners. The old Ḳādī Dāmiʿī was turned into an ammunition store. The *Sāl-nāme* of 1330/1892-3 gives the same number of buildings in the town, but adds the name of two *tekke*s, one of the Gülshaniyya [see GULSHANI, below] and one of the Naḳshbandiyya [q.v.] order. This source also gives detailed information about the composition of the population of the district of Lüleburgaz. The total number of inhabitants had augmented considerably, from about 10,000 in 1870 to 15,313 in 1893. The Muslim population had grown faster than the non-Muslim element. The Muslims now numbered 7,079 males and females altogether, and there were 6,450 Greeks (Rūm), 720 Bulgars, 240 Jews, 662 Gypsies (largely Muslim), and 38 Armenians, besides some non-permanent residents, also largely Muslim.

During the First Balkan War, Lüleburgaz was occupied by the Bulgarian army, but the Turks took it back in 1913. From 1918 till 1923 she town and all of Thrace were occupied by the Greeks. After Thrace had returned to Turkey and the Greek population had been exchanged for Turks from the now Greek Macedonia by the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, Lüleburgaz recovered slowly from the blows which it had received. The town was to profit greatly from the decay of Edirne in the forties and fifties, and did not cease to develop when Edirne recovered. In 1958 Lüleburgaz numbered 13,000 inhabitants; today this has passed the 25,000 mark. It is at present a prosperous and relatively well-built town, almost entirely Muslim Turkish. The two caravanserais and the *Ḳıṣlar* of Sokollu Mehmed Paṭha disappeared in the troubled times around World War I; but the mosque, *madrasa*, *ḥammām*, shopping street and *mekteb* are still standing, and rank among the best of all extant monuments of Muslim architecture in European Turkey outside Edirne.

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LŪLĪ, one of the names for gipsies in Persia; parallel terms are: in Persian, *lūrī*, *lōrī* (*Farhang-i Djahāngīrī*), in Balūčī, *lōṛī* (Denys Bray, *Census of Baluchistan*, 1911, iv, 245), gives the popular etymology from *lōṛ* = "lot, share").

The name *lūlī* is first found in a legend relating to the reign of Bahrām Gūr (420-38 A.D.). At the request of this Sāsānid King, who wished to amuse his subjects, the Indian king Shangal (?) sent to Persia 4,000 (12,000) Indian musicians. Hamza (356/967), ed. Berlin-Kaviani, 38, calls them al-Zuṭṭ [q.v.], Firdawsī (Mohl, vi, 76-7), Lūriyān; Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar* (*ca.* 429/1037), ed. Zotenberg, 567, says that from them are descended the black Lūrī (*al-Lūriyān al-sūdān*), skilful players of the flute; the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* (*ca.* 520/1126), tr. Mohl, in *JA*, xii (1841),

525, 534, confirms this origin of the Lūrī. The Lūlī (plur. *Lūliyān*) are often mentioned by Persian poets. Mas'ūdī Dāmghānī Dhurūh Ghaznī, 5th/11th century), Djamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāk (d. 588/1192, Isfāhān), Kamāl Ismā'īl (d. 635/1237, Isfāhān), Hāfiz (d. 791/1389, Shīrāz) say that the *lūlīs* are "black" (like night), petulant (*shūkh*) and elegant (*shengūl*), that they play the flute, that their way of living (*banagūh* "baggage") is irregular. The Persian dictionaries explain *lūrī-bāzī* as "shameless, gay, sweet, musician, woman of light morals", etc.; cf. Vullers (the quotation from Amīr Khusraw (d. in 725/1325 in India), s.v. Lor, refers rather to the inhabitants of Luristān).

The origin of the name *lūlī* has not yet been investigated. The term seems to be applied to the inhabitants of the town of Sīwī which the Arab authors call Arūr or al-Rūr (cf. Arab. > al-Rūs, Alān > al Lān). This town has been conquered by Muhammad b. al-Kāsim before 93/714 (al-Baladhurī, 439, 440, 445). According to al-Birūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, 100, 130, the town of Arūr (Aror) lay 30 *farsakhs* south-west of Multān and 20 *farsakhs* above al-Mansūra. In Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, London 1867, i. 81, 363, the town is called Alor. This town, the old capital of the Hindū *rādjās* of Sind, is now in ruins (on the Indus, in the *Mīsāh* of Rohrī in the district of Sukkur, cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 4 and xxi, 308. Aror and Rohrī). The change of **Arūrī/Rūrī* into Lōrī/Lūlī is readily explained by the phonetic law of dissimilation of the two *r*s especially after the change from Aror (Indian) to al-Rūr (Arabic). The descendants of the Indian musicians of Bahrām Gūr (i.e. the gipsies) seem to have been called after the most important town that the Arab invaders had known, and perhaps before there, the Sīsānids. This explanation would locate quite precisely the original home of the *lūlī-lūrī*, without in any way prejudicing the ethnic relationship of that tribe.

The term *lūlī lūrī* (unknown in Khurāsān, Ivanow 1924) is particularly found in the south-east of Persia, in Kirmān and in Balūčistān. *Lūlī* or *lūlī* is also found in Turkestan: Bābur, ed. Ilminsky, 338, 457, uses "Lūlī" in the sense of "player". Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 242, 256, 276, 289, mentions in the 9th/15th century a Shaybānid prince of Marw and Ahlward, son of a Lūlī woman. Mayev, *Istoriya Ross. Georg. Obshč.*, xii/4, 349, and *Geogr. Magazine* (1876), 306-30. Lūlī in Eastern Bukhārā; Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *Miss. scient. dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898, ii, 308. Lūlī and Āghā in Chinese Turkestan; Valikhanov, *Sočinenija*, in *Zapiski Ross. Geogr. Obšč. po Etnografii*, xxiv (St Petersburg 1904), 43: Lulu (sic) and Multānī in Kāshghar. Lastly, it has been suggested that the name of the gipsy tribe in Syria, Nūrī, pl. Nawara, is derived from Lūlī (cf. Père Anastase, in *Machriq*, v [1902], tr. in *Journ. of the Gipsy Lore Soc.* [1913-14], 298-319).

The Lorī/Lūlī gipsies (cf. the reference above to their dark skin) must be clearly distinguished from the Lur [*q.v.*] highlanders who live in the southwest of Persia, have a fair skin and speak an Iranian dialect with no trace of Indian elements. The situation is, however, slightly complicated by certain minor points. In the first place, the use of the terms Lūlī, Lurī, Lur, etc., is not always quite clear. In the confederation of Arab tribes of Fārs there is a Lur clan; Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, 330. Rittich, *Poyezdka v Beludžistān*, in *Izv. Ross. Geogr. Obšč.* xxxvii/1 (1902), 69, speaks of a Lorī section (Persian pronunciation of Lūrī?) among the Lūlī of Kirmān. Edmonds notes the existence of a Lurī (?) clan in Luristān in the Dashtānān division of the Bayrānwand group. In Kurdistān, there is a clan Lurr i Kulāhgar (see SENNA).

Still more confusing is the fact that some Lurs follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, rope-dancers (cf. Čirikov, 277). As early as the 8th/14th century, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umarī mentions the talent of the Lors in these directions, and in our own day we find wandering troops of Lurs as far north as Tabrīz, where there is a permanent colony of Karačī gipsies, professional actors and singers. It is possible that the special qualifications of the Lur and gipsy players differ somewhat; the Sūzmānī of Kurdistān (cf. BARDUL, ROMĀN and SENNA), who excel in singing and dancing are not acrobats. But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering Lur artistes belong.

There is nothing impossible in a gipsy infiltration into Luristān. Whatever was the ethnic entity covered by the name Zuṭṭ (on the confusion of the Zuṭṭ with the Lūrī, see above), Hamza, Pseudo-Tha'ālibī) the existence of Zuṭṭ colonies in Khūzistān is known as early as the time of al-Hadīdī (*q.v.*) (cf. Hawmat al-Zuṭṭ between Arradjān and Rām Hurmuz; the modern town of Hindiyān ["the Indians"] may have a similar origin). According to al-Baladhurī, 382, when in the second quarter of the 1st century A.H. the Zuṭṭ had apostasised from Islam, they were joined by the local Kurds, which provoked the punitive expedition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir b. Kurayz (*q.v.*) to Idhadj (*q.v.*) (= Mīlamīr, the future capital of Lur i Buzurg). The alliance of the Zuṭṭ and Kurds (= Lurs (*q.v.*)) at so early a date is curious. Under al-Rūr, Yākūt, ii, 833, mentions two places in Sind and a small district (*nāhiya*) under Ahwāz in Khūzistān. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, v, 665 identifies this Rūr with the district of al-Lūr [cf. LURISTĀN]. In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in al-Lūr of a very ancient Indian colony. But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis (according to Ibn Hawkal[1], 176, the "Kurds" were predominant in al-Lūr), the questions of the origin of the name al-Kūr in Khūzistān, of the identity of this al-Kūr with al-Lūr and of the remoter origin of the name Lur must for the present be left open. In any case, even if the name Lur came from the town of al-Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnic origin of this people.

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūčistān were in the early years of this century:

in Khurāsān: Kirishmāl (in which a fantastic popular etymology *nem ghayr-i shumar*, interpreted as "innumerable", in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects *birighmal* means "rascal", cf. the comedies of Fath 'Alī Akhundov (see AKHUND-ZĀDA);

in Astarābād and Māzandarān: Djūgī and Ghodārī;

in Ādharbāydjān: Karačī (which in Čaghatay Turkish means "faithful servant, person near the throne", Abu 'l-Ghāzī, 145, and Bugadov, ii, 43),

in Fārs (and elsewhere): Kāolī (= Kābulī).

The names mentioned may have corresponded to slight local distinctions not yet fully known. Gobineau collected the following names of particular tribes leading a nomadic life in the north of Persia: Sanīd (?), Kūsa tarāsh, "cup-makers", Budāghī, Adenesīr [Adjharuarsē?], Zargar-i Kirmānī, "goldsmiths of Kirmān", Shahriyārī (winter at Hamadān, summer

nam Damāwand), Karṣī, To'ār-tablīb (*dawar* + *tablīb* "sheep-doctor"?), Gāobāz, Bīsh-kāpān (in Turkish *taṣ* 'head' + *kapan* "he who seizes"?), Gādōdārī (bold hunters in Māzandarān cf. de Morgan), Kāshī and Badjumbūn. According to Newbold, the Persian gipsies fall into two classes: Kāshī (or Ghurbatī) and Gādōbāz.

As names applied to Persian gipsies in general, de Gobineau gives Beshāwān/Peshāwān (cf. the name of the Armenian and Transcaucasian gipsies, the Beşho) and Odjāḳī (?). The following names have a general and neutral character: Ghurbatī, "living in a foreign land" (according to Ivanow, the Persians, who confuse *ġ* and *ḳ*, see in *ḳurbat* an offensive allusion to the promiscuity (*ḳurbat*, "relationship, consanguinity") of which isolated communities in all ages have been accused; the name is sometimes transcribed *ḳurbati* and *ḳurbātī*). Fīyādī (from the Arabic, *fayyāḍī*, "tourniers"), Ustākār, Āghā, Gharbāī-bāad "sieve-makers".

The number of gipsies in Persia was in the early years of this century estimated at 20 000 families, or 100,000 souls, of whom 5,000 families were in Ādharbāidjān and 300-500 families in Kirmān (Sykes). The gipsies had an organisation of their own, at the head of which was the chief of the Shāh's runners (*ghulām-bāshī*) under whom were the provincial deputies (*beshāntar*). In eastern Persia, the gipsies were very little different from the Persian peasantry (Sykes, Ivanow). In Khurāsān they played a considerable part in the life of the rural community as artisans, making and repairing sieves, chains combs etc. In Astarābād, the Gādōdārī were coppersmiths, carders of wool and cotton (de Morgan). Throughout Persia one sees the black tents of the nameless *lūlī* who must be gipsies. It remains to be seen also whether the Kurd tribes bearing names like Kharrāt ('turners'), Lurr-i Kulāhgar ('hatters") are not of gipsy origin (see KERMA). In the towns, such as Shīrāwār, Nīshāpūr and Tabrīz, the gipsies had quarters of their own. There were troops of gipsy dancers and musicians in Persia, but they did not seem to be very popular. Ouseley gives a description of the comic performances and of the marionette theatres of the Karačī (Tabrīz). The dancing and singing girls of the Sūmāmī tribe in Kurdistān were often described by travellers, cf. notably, T. M. Chevalier Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse ... pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, Paris 1872-4, iv, 30-70, Čirikov, *Putnoe zhurnal*, 282, 295, 330; Khurshīd Efendī, *Seyāḥat-nāma-yi Ḥudūd*, Kazaan tr., 119, cf. T. Thomson, *The Soomanee: are they Gypsies?* in *Journ. Gipsy Lore Soc.*, ii (1909), 275-6.

The language of the gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan, Ivanow) has taken its morphology from modern Persian, its vocabulary also is full of Persian words (cf. the lists in de Morgan). Indian elements seem to be rarer than in the Romani of Europe, the language of Kirmān and Khurāsān (Sykes, Ivanow) contains a large number of unrecognisable elements. Longworth Dames out of 96 words in Sykes's vocabulary found 12 Indian, 4 Arabic, 28 Persian and 52 of unknown origin. He preferred to regard that dialect rather as an artificial secret jargon. Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any case confirmed the fact that the Lōrī of Balūčistān is learned by the children as a separate language ("in at any rate acquired naturally by Lōrī children, as a language for the home circle").

The Sūmāmī used Kurdish mainly. According to Čirikov, they were called Dumanī, which must correspond to Dūmān (= Dōm the name of a low caste in India, from which comes the well-known name for gipsies *Rom*). The vocabulary of the Dūmān (Baghdād, Aleppo ?) as collected by Newbold, *JRAS* (1856) 303, from an informant from Altun-köprü, is full of Kurdish words: *kāwar*, "stone", *khōn*, "salt", *kūrak*, "boy". A Kurd tribe in the east of Bohtān bears the suggestive name of Sindī/Sindiyān (the "Sindīs"). According to the *Sharaf nāma*, the chief of the Kurdhān clan (of the Zrāḳī) had married a gipsy woman. In discussing the relationship of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220/835 a section of the Zutt settled in Khānḳīn (i.e. at the gates of Kurdish territory, cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 30, Ṭabarī, iii, 1168).

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished, according to the fate of the primitive Indian aspirated *mediae*: the one changes them into aspirated *tenues*, i.e. Prākrit, *bhāsa* > *phās* (Armenia, Europe); the other deprives them of aspiration, *bhāsā* < *bās* (Persia, Syria, Egypt). The interest of the Persian dialects lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sāsānid period). In the gipsy dialects of Persia, as yet very insufficiently studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system. Ouseley, for example, found among the Karačī of Tabrīz the word *bōn* "sister" which must be older than *phen* as *bas* (cf. also *ghord* in Gobineau).

Literary references to the Lōlīyān or Lūrīyān are to be found in many classical Persian authors, including Badī', Mus'abī, Firdawsī, Mantīḳhirī, Ḥāfiẓ and 'Ubayd Zākānī, who variously describe them as musicians and dancers, vagabonds, thieves and prostitutes.

In modern times, the general term for the gipsies in Iran is *kawlī*, but a wide variety of names are used locally. Apart from those listed earlier, the following may be mentioned: *abedī*, *ghurbatī*, *gilānī*, *harāmī*, *kulliānī* (Zandjān) *lawand*, *tūḥmāl*, *yāt* and *zangana*. No up-to-date population statistics are available, but such information as there is suggests that the figures quoted by Sykes must by now be considerably reduced. The main centres are still Fārs, Arāk and Ādharbāydjān. Dhukā' quotes some notes by Firūz Bākirzāda on a group of *kawlīs* settled in Kūt 'Abd Allāh (10 km. south of Ahwāz) since the turn of the century. According to Mughdam, the *ghurbats* of the Walāsna (between Hamadān and Arāk) spend five months on the land and seven travelling (*dawra-gardī*). They do not give their daughters in marriage outside the tribe, but apparently may take non-*kawlī* wives. The main present-day occupations of the gipsies of Iran, as elsewhere, include basket-making, tinkering, singing and dancing, magic, fortune-telling and making of spells and charms.

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(V. MINORSKY — [L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON])

LU'LU' (pls. *la'ālī'*, *la'ālin*, the pearl. The word is often used as a synonym of AL-DURR [*q.v.*], and the difference in meaning between the two cannot be defined with precision. With coral and amber, however—as is still the case in our days—with the precious stones (*djawāhir*), and thus with the minerals (*ma'ādin*). Yet the difference between the pearl and the real minerals was well-known: the former changes quickly because it is of animal origin (al-Akfānī, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 843). In the same way, the Jews in antiquity had considered the pearl as belonging to the minerals, but since the Tannaitic period to animal products (I. Löw, *Faune und Mineralien der Juden* ed. A. Scheiber, Hildesheim 1969, 227). Ibn Māsawayh, *Djawāhir*, 24 f., enumerates 27 varieties of precious stones, among which come the *la'la'* as the first, the *yākūt* (ruby) the *zumurrud* (emerald), the *mās* (diamond), etc. Al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 82, declares that there were "originally" (*fī 'l-asl*) only three precious stones, namely the *yākūt*, *zumurrud* and *la'la'*. Elsewhere (105) he says that the *la'la'* consists of two kinds of pearls, a bigger one (*durr*) and a smaller one (*mardjān*). Likewise al-Ḥāfiẓī, *Akhbār*, 242, who adds that *djawhar*, *djumān* and *ṣadaf* are synonyms of the pearl in general, while *durr*, *habb* and *khāraza* indicate the engraved pearl and *la'la'* the pierced one. Terminology is, however, fluctuating, for further details, see the *Bibl.*

The authors mentioned above also describe in fair detail the various kinds of *la'la'* according to colour (white, yellow, lead- or ivory-coloured), form (globular, oblong, olive- or turnip-shaped, conical, flattened, almond-shaped, notched), size, structure (various shells), compactness, consistency, weight and value, its changes by means of external influences (oils, all acid reagents, in particular still lemonade, and further, the heat of fire and friction against coarse objects), and finally, the plume of its discovery, pearl-fishing and trade. Al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 234-7, moreover, has an interesting chapter on causes and elimination of worthlessness or faultiness of pearls. On the innermost layer of the pearl-oyster's shell, the so-called mother-of-pearl, see ṢADAF. All those qualities of the pearl have their own very specific nomenclature, based on close observation. The calculation of the specific gravity of the pearl was amazingly accurate (according to al-Khāzinī in Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 123). Even the formation of the pearl is explained correctly, namely by the infiltration of parasitic foreign bodies, bringing about growths which then solidify into pearls. At the same time, however, the curious fable held currency according to which pearls originate in the pearl-oyster from rain: every year the Southern Sea—the Indian Ocean—is agitated by heavy storms which force the pearl-oyster to emerge at the surface, where its two valves open and take in the rain. After that, the oyster snaps the two halves closed and dives to the bottom of the sea, from the rain water, a precious stone grows like an embryo in the womb (al-Tamīmī, *Murāḥil*, 33-8, *Das Steinbuch* nas *der Kosmographie des . . . al-Kazwīnī*, tr. J. Ruska, *Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1895/96 der prov. Oberrealschule Heidelberg*, 22 f., s.v. *durr*), or, according to the majority of the scientists, like the egg in oviparous animals (al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-dhakhā'ir fī aḥwāl al-djawāhir*, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 843).

For the finding places of pearls and their recovery, see AL-DURR. Plentiful material is also to be found in the extensive lemma *la'la'* in *WKAS*, ii, 48-56, containing a well-arranged synopsis of pieces of evidence for the metaphorical use of the word the pearl is compared with teeth, tears, dew- and rain-drops, small bubbles, with the goblet, with words and poems, letters, wisdom, boys, girls or women, with a face, with gazelles, flowers or blossoms, stars, currants, etc. The word appears also extraordinarily often in book-titles with an ornamental, metaphorical or metonymic meaning, mostly as "head title" before the real title, which is introduced with *fī*, see *GAL*, S III, 929 (*'ikd al-la'ālī*), 944 (*la'ālī*), 949 (*la'la'*), 1083 f. (*simt*); the indexes to the separate volumes of Sezgin, *GAS*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya, ii, 1534 f., 1570 f.; Ismā'īl Bāshā, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, 396 f., 416 f.

Apparently a word for pearl trader cannot be derived from *durr*, but only from *la'la'*, *la'ā'* or *la'a'*? (*WKAS*, ii, 52).

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LU'LU' ("pearl"), a noun often gone as proper name to a person of servile origin, a guard or an officer or a leader of a special body of *ghulāms* (*q.v.*) in the service of a prince. Thus a Lu'lu' was the *ghulām* of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, viii, 69 = § 3198), a Lu'lu' was chief of police in Baghdād in 324/935-6 (Miskawayh, i, 552), another was governor of Ḥims for the Ikhshīd, and it was he who was to capture al-Mutanabbī when the latter proclaimed himself a prophet and attracted a numerous following of partisans in the Syrian desert (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāḳ, 1299, i, 99)

Lu'lu' al-Kabīr ("the elder" or "the senior") **al-Ḥarrālī al-Sayfī** played an important role at the court of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. The *nisba* al-Sayfī indicates that he was in the service of Sayf al-Dawla, and in fact he is seen, during the reign of the latter, in 355/965, participating with the *ghilmān* (*q.v.*) of Khurāsān in an expedition mounted from Antioch against the town of Misīsa (Mopsuestia); the *nisba* al-Ḥarrālī suggests that he also served, before the Ḥamdānid prince, one of the marshals of the family of Ḥarrāḥids (*q.v.*), but the historians give us no information on this point.

As chamberlain (*ḥāǧib*) of the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿīd al-Dawla, who on his death-bed (381/991) committed his son Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil to his care (cf. Bar Hebraeus, ed. Sālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 309, and *Chronography*, 179), Lu'lu' played his part, with other *ghulāms*, in having Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil recognised as successor to the emirate of Abu 'l-Maʿālī. He subsequently acquired a position of even greater importance through his daughter's marriage to Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil.

In the difficult situation facing the *amīr* of Aleppo, threatened by the commander of the Fāṭimid troops, Banǧūtekīn (Manǧūtekīn) and by Fāṭimid ambitions, Lu'lu' followed a policy of caution, recalling the troops which Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil had sent to the south and avoiding further conflict with the Fāṭimids. When Banǧūtekīn came, in Rabīʿ II 383/May June 993 and laid siege to Aleppo, Saʿīd al-Dawla and Lu'lu' appealed for help to Byzantium, which, since the treaty of 359/996, had exercised a kind of protectorate over the emirate of Aleppo. As Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī expressed it (*PO*, xxiii/3, 442) they "threw themselves at the feet" of the Byzantines. The emperor sent the governor of Antioch, Bourtzes (Burǧān) with troops, but Banǧūtekīn drove them away and continued the siege which lasted until the beginning of 995. Lu'lu' sent another appeal in person to the emperor Basil II, who arrived in person with 13,000 men and forced Banǧūtekīn to raise the siege. Generously, the emperor excused Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil from the payment of the tribute which the emirate had been giving to the Byzantines since the treaty of 359/969. In confrontation with Banǧūtekīn, to whom Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil was prepared to surrender Aleppo, Lu'lu' showed himself more resolute than his master. He played an increasingly influential role in the conduct of affairs

In 388/998, he persuaded Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil to deal severely with the rebel governor of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, who subsequently went over to the Fāṭimid camp. In 388/998-9, Lu'lu' and Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil made an attempt at capturing Apamea, which was relieved by the Duke of Antioch Damian Dalassenos (Yaḥyā, *PO*, xxiii, 435-6). In Ṣafar 392/December-January 1002 Saʿīd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil died, and Lu'lu' assumed full power, not hesitating to rid himself of the two sons of Saʿīd al-Dawla, whom he banished to Egypt, and destroying some fortresses in the territory of Aleppo to prevent his enemies from installing themselves there. Furthermore, in order to maintain good relations with Byzantium, he ordered the imprisonment in the citadel of Aleppo of an adventurer named al-Aṣfar who dreamed of renewing the holy war against Byzantium, which was a prospect deeply worrying the emperor. Al-Aṣfar had been a fugitive in Dvazra, but the governor of this province, al-Walīd, handed him over to Lu'lu', thus putting an end to his activities (see Yaḥyā, *PO*, xxiii/3, 466-7). Lu'lu' continued to pay tribute to Byzantium and died in 399/1009. His son of Manṣūr exercised power in Aleppo, but he was little more than a governor under the Fāṭimids.

The character of Lu'lu' presents some favourable aspects, some which are less so. Loyal and courageous, he saved the life of Saʿīd al-Dawla in the battle which the latter was obliged to fight against Bahdūr, his rebellious *ḥāǧib* who had ambitions to take over control of Aleppo. Taking the place of Saʿīd al-Dawla sent to the standard, and accepting the blows intended for the prince, he assured his victory. But according to a tradition related by Kamāl al-Dīn, Saʿīd al-Dawla was poisoned by one of his concubines of the instigation of Lu'lu'. Lu'lu' presents the image of a slave (*ghulām*) who, by his energy and ability, and favoured by external events, succeeds in hoisting himself up to a position of supremacy over an emirate, admittedly an emirate of secondary importance. It could be said that he prefigures in the 8th/14th century what various of the Mamlūks of Egypt were later to become on a larger scale.

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LU'LU', BADR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌĀ'IL AL-MALIK AL-RAḤĪM, a freedman, possibly black, of the last Zangids of Mosul, whose régime he prolonged. Designated by Arslān Shāh I on his death in 607/1210-1 as regent of the principality for his young son al-Kāhir, then by the latter (d. 615/1218) for his infant son, Arslān Shāh II, he was officially designated, with a caliphal diploma, as lord in 629/1232. The chronicles mention him especially for his interminable minor clashes with the lesser surviving Zangids and their Mupafiarid allies from Irbil, he had, on the other hand, the support of the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf, all this interfering with the intrigues of the Khwārazm-Shāhs and first Mongol detachments. Later, he fought with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in Djazira and then with al-Nāṣir of Aleppo. In all these clashes, he appears far less as a successful military leader than as an astute diplomat. This ability and his longevity resulted in his being regarded as a power. It is for having wanted to marry his daughter that the first Mamlūk Sultan, al-Mu'izz, was assassinated by his wife, Shadjar al-Durr. The last days of Lu'lu' were clouded, however, by the Mongol invasion, after the fall of Baghdād and the caliphate he succeeded in keeping Mosul as a vassal of Hulāgū. He died in 657/1259, aged about 80. His sons soon had to renounce the succession and flee to Baybars in Egypt.

The chronicles tell us nothing of Lu'lu''s internal administration. We know, however, that Mosul attained in this period a notable rôle as a craft (copperwork), commercial and cultural centre. The people from Mosul who are several times mentioned in Acre under Latin domination are possibly Christians, a large number of whom survived in Upper Mesopotamia. 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (q.v.) may have written his history of the Atabeks with the encouragement of Lu'lu'.

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LUR (in Persian *Lor* with *o* short), an Iranian people living in the mountains in south-western Persia. As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlū'ī, Bakhtiyārī and Lurs proper) is that of language. The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was Iranicised from Persia and not from Media. On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become Iranicised or absorbed in different parts of Luristān, see LURISTĀN.

The name. Local tradition (*Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the district of Mān-rūd. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lūr mentioned by the early Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 195, etc.), the name of which survives in Shahr-i Lur (to the north of Dizfūl). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Lir, a district of Dīnaday-Sābūr (Schwarz, *from im Mittelalter*, 666, cf. the Kāhgīlū'ī tribe Lirāwī), which may be in Lur what *pūl* in Lurī is to *pul* "money" in Persian; Lurdjān (Yāḳūt Lurdadjān, now Lurdagān) according to Iṣṭakhrī, capital of the canton of Sardān (between Kūh-Gīlū and the Bakhtiyārīs) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Lort) near Saymarra.

Al Mas'ūdī alone, in his list of "Kurd" tribes speaks of the Lurriyya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt uses the names Lūr, Lurz, to mean the "Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khūzistān and Iṣfahān"; he calls the country inhabited by it *bilād al-Lur*, or Luristān.

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Iranian) into an ethnic name. If however we seek an Iranian etymology for the name Lūr, its connection with the first element in Lurh-asp (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself. According to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 183, Lurh is explained by "*rudhra* 'red'." The place-name Rūr in Yāḳūt may supply an intermediary form. The *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* gives a popular etymology *Lur* = *lar* 'wooded hill' in Lurī.

Ethnology. If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fārs, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mān-rūd. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 539, 547, there is in the *wilāyat* of Mān-rūd a village called Kurd, near which there is a defile. The place called Lur is situated in this *kal* (the word means in Lurī a "little ravine", cf. D. Mann). The name Mān-rūd much resembles that of Mādiyān-rūd (the word *mādiyān* is found as *mān/mūn* in Lurī, Zhukovski, iii, 156) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Māngarra-Mūngarra (cf. *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 548, on the place lying between Mān-rūd, Samīra and Māngarra). The clans (*gurūh*) of the natives of Kūh-i Mān-rūd were later called after the places where they had settled, like the Djangrūī (Cangrūī, Djangardī) and the Ūtarī (Aztarī). The governing family of the Atābegs of Little Lur belonged to the Djangrawī (the name of their clan is Salbūr, Salghūr); the names Salwīrī in *'Alam-ārā*, 369, Salkwarī in 'Ālī Ḥazīn, *Tadhkira*, 135, and Salawarī in Houtum Schindler are to be corrected). The *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (*shi'ba*) of the two principal *gurūh* and the 16 other tribes (*ahudm*) of the Lurs.

A few names (Māngarra, Aṣārakī, Dūdākī) correspond to modern names. Finally, four clans are mentioned: Sāhī (Sāmī), Arkān (Asbān, Asān), Arkī and Bihī, who, although speaking Lurī, are not Lurs, the people of the other villages of Māndīl were peasants (*rūsā'ī*).

In ca. 500/1106, a hundred (or 400) Faḍlawī Kurd families arrived from Syria. They came by the north (Shuturān-Kūh) and settled at first on the lands of the Khurshīdī *wazīrs* (see LUR-I BUZURG); and of *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 70, under the word *gardīsīr*). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, new tribes flocked to the standards of Hazārasp of the Great Lur. Among them were two Arab tribes, 'Ukayl ('Akīl, of the place of this name below Shūshtar), a Hāshimī one, and 28 different tribes (*mudafarriba*), among whom we find the Bakhtiyārī (Mukhtārī), the Dīwānkī (Marāsīlī), the Gōtwand (cf. the village near Shūshtar), the Dīākī, the Lirāwī, the Mamāsanī (Mamāsanī?), etc. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 26), all these tribes also came from Syria. These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnic composition of the Great Lur,

It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 21-30) found at the beginning of the 8th/14th century near Bahbahān and Rām Hurmuz when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur. There has long been a village of Kardistān on the Djarrāḥī and it had even given its name to this river. Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 330-2) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Saladin (564-89/1169-93), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in [? return to] Luristān about 600 A.H. of numerous Iranian tribes.

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of Karkha (cf. LAK), just to the north of Sūs in the *dar-i Bādī*, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurd tribe of Dumbkān, celebrated in the history of the Hasanwayhids (*q.v.*). cf. Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 246, 279) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf. the desperate fighting of the Atābegs of the Lur-i Kūčik against the Bayāt and Aywa [= Bahārlū?] Turks).

In the Ṣafawid period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristān from the direction of the Kūh-Gīlū (where traces of them still exist), and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the Bakhtiyārī country. On the movements of the population under Nādir, the Zands and Kādjārs, *see* below. The ethnic situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the 19th century.

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well-known, and as we have lists going from 1836 to 1922, a comparison enables us to note the changes that have taken place meanwhile. Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds, but the general framework of the tribal grouping remains essentially the same.

In 1881 (Curzon, ii, 274), there were 401,000 Lurs, of whom 170,000 were Bakhtiyārī, 41,000 Kūh-Gīlū, and 210,000 Feylī. According to Rabino, the last section numbered in 1904 31,650 tents (or 130,000 individuals) in Pish-Kuh, and 10,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in Pusht-i Kuh (this last figure seems too low).

The Mamāsanī (Mamassani) group includes 6 main tribes: the Bakush, Djāwīdī (Djāwī), Dushmanziyārī and Rustamī (see SHULISTĀN in *EI*[1]). The Kūh-Gīlū group (Kūh-Gīlū) includes three large tribes (Akādjarī, Bawī and Djābirī). The first of these tribes (of the name of the old Turkish tribe of Aḥmadlū) is of a composite character, for of its nine clans four (Afshar, Begdīlī, Čoghaṭay and Kara-Bāghlī) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the Shāh-Sewen, to whom the government of Kūh-Gīlū had been given under the Ṣafawīs) and a fifth clan (Tilukūhī) bears the name of a district in Kurdistān of Senna [*q.v.*]. Concerning the second tribe, Bawī, O. Mann notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of Ahwāz, but there is also a mountain called Bawī to the south of Khurramābād. The third tribe, Djābirī, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections: Čārbunāka and Līrāwī with very many subdivisions. This threefold composition of the Kūh-Gīlū group is typical of many of the Lur tribes.

As in the Bakhtiyārī, Sawyar as long ago as 1899 said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, everything appertaining to the Bakhtiārs may now be said to be known". But Curzon's tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student. Of the two Bakhtiyārī groups, Čahār lang and Haft lang, the latter is the more important at the present day. The Čahār-lang, who used to be in the south, are now mainly on the outskirts in the district north of the northern barrier (between Burūdjird and Gulpāyagān).

The main groups of Lur are: Tarhān, Dīfān, Silsila (cf. LAK) and Bālā-girīwa. The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions. Dirfgwand, Sagwand etc. It is possible that the Dirfgwand are the real nucleus of the Lur race. Their chiefs are called *mīr*.

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (Bālā-girīwa) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling. The power of the hereditary families of *khāns* is based on their "guard" (*kayṭal*), but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (*duḵmāl*). The *khāns* are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (Edmonds: "uncouth headmen"), the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours, and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place.

Little is known of the ethnology of the Lurs. The notes of Duhousset (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1850), *Études sur la population de la Perse*, 23, of Khanikoff, *Mém. sur l'ethnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866, 15, 110, 138 and of Dandlov, only touch the surface of the subject. Duhousset particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs. Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Lurs and the Laks, the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses. Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs. The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut-coloured; very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs (the Persians call Luristān *mamlakat-i rīsh*, "mine of beards"). The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Lurs as among the Kurds. According to Edmonds, there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes. But von Hammer (II, 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Wālī ʿAlī Mardān Khān.

The domestic life and manners of the Bakhtiyāris have found enthusiastic panegyrists in Layard, Mrs. Bishop and Cooper in his *Grass Now York* 1923. On the other hand, the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf. Edmonds, in *Geogr. Journ.* (1922) (that, the speech of General Douglas, who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904).

Bibliography for the Mamāsanī (cf. SHULISTĀN in *EI*[1]) and the Kūh-Gīlū, of especially Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs nāma ya Nāṣirī*, on which are based Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *BMM*, XXII (1913), and B. Miller, *Kočevye plemena Farsa*, in *Vost. Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, II (1916), 213-28. Cf. also the lists in Bode, Layard, Sheil, Baring etc. (summed up in Curzon, *Persia*, II, 317) and these of O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur Stämme*, pp. XV-XVI. For the Bakhtiyārī: H. Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, 102-5 (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, 210-15), A. H. Layard, *Description of Khuzistan*, and especially *Early adventures*; Curzon, *Persia*, II, 286-8. For the Lurs the lists of Rawlinson (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IV, 215-29), Bode, Layard, Čirikov, Houtum Schindler, O. Mann, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII, and especially the articles by Rabino, in

RMM (1916), and C. J. Edmonds, in *Geogr. Jnal.* (1922)

Religion The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf. the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Karkhā since the Sāsānid period may have left some traces in the country. A very curious tradition is the story of the conversion of the Bakhtiyāris to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great (?) (Hanway, ii, 188). A mention in the *Ta'rīkh i Dyakān-guzīdā*, GMS, xvii/2, 216, shows that in 650/1252 the *malāhida* (Ismā'īlīs) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh. The Ḥurūfī heresy had probably also a following in Luristān, for the *murīd* of its founder Faḍl Allāh, who attempted the life of Sulṭān Shāhrukh in 830/1427, was called Aḥmad Lur (Browne, *Lit hist of Persia*, iii, 586). In the Safawid period, the *walīs* of the Little Lur claimed descent from 'Abbās, son of the caliph 'Alī, whose tomb is shown near Sīrwān (Māsabadhān), cf. Rawlinson, in Ritter, ix, 402. The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shī'a are widespread in Luristān. The great majority of the Lak are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] ('Alī-Ilāhī). The Sagwand, Pāpī and Badrā'ī tribes are also followers of this secret religion. In the belief of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Luristān is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine manifestation who is called Bābā Khōshīn and numbers among his "angels" Bābā Tāhir [*q.v.*]. An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāhzāda Aḥmad (the alleged son of the *imām* Mūsā Kāẓim), is in the district of Kūs near Bi-āw (territory of Kalawand) and is kept by Sayyids of the Pāpī tribe, these Sayyids wear red the old Muḥammira = Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], whose flags were of this colour

The religion of the Lurs was so little orthodox, even from the Shī'a point of view, that at the beginning of the 19th century prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā had to send for a *mudjtahid* to convert the tribes to Islām (Rabino, 24). All the Lur and Lak tribes are ethically Shī'īs (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunnī orthodoxy).

Language Down to the beginning of the 20th century, our knowledge of the Lur dialects was confined to 88 words collected by Rich, to four Bakhtiyārī verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler. As late as the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii/2, 1898-1901, 249, we find the thesis stated that Luri is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects. The materials of Zhukovski (collected in 1883-6) were finally published the day after the death of the author (d. 4 December 1918). The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Luri are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Scheidung des Kurdischen vom Luri") is due to O. Mann. This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristān [see LAK], the true Lurs speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the south-western Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the north-western group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects).

The Luri dialects which have none of the asperithes of Kurdish [see KURDS] fall into two categories. To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lur, Mamāsanī, Kūhgīlū and Bakhtiyārī (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own); to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lur, i.e. of the Faylī Lurs.

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian. From the point of view of phonetics: *-am* at the end of a word becomes *-em* ~ *-im* (*mīhamdim/khunem, adīna/adhem*), a changes into *i* before *y* (*pāl/pīl*); intervocalic *d* gives *đ* (*y*): *mīdidam/mīđīam*; the combination *-kht -ft* give *-ḵḵ* and *-ht* (*t*) *dukhtār/duḵḵār, rāft/rāht*, initial *kh* becomes *h*: *khānah/hona*, etc. Peculiar to Bakhtiyārī are the change of intervocalic *m* to *v*: *dīmā* > *đīvā* and the occasional change of *th* to *s*: *sāh* > *sāsh*. It is remarkable that some of these phonetical peculiarities were long ago noted by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Ta'rīkh i guzīda*, 537 8). He says that Luri (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like *ḥ, ḥ, ʿ, ḳ, f* and *ḵ*. Inflection. Plural in *-gil, -yal, -ūl*, e.g. *drahā, ängāl*, accusative in *-ā, -ed* instead of *rā yārān got* = *turā-gufī*, formation of the present *s-* instead of Persian *mī-*, first Persian plural ending in *-imā(n) khārīmā(n)* = *mīkhārīm*. Luri usually forms the preterite of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which give the preterite a passive construction. **Vocabulary** In the present and preterite stems, Luri usually follows Persian, but we find stems and words unknown in Persian: *īwānum, wānūm*, "to throw"; *tār-, tārom*, "to be able"; *ten*, "eye", etc. From the Mongol period, Luri has kept several expressions like *tashmīl*, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, *tushīmel*, "official", *bayūl*, "guard of the khān", in Eastern Turkī "camp, laager", cf. Budagov, ii, 202, *kūrān*, "encampment", in Mongol, *kuren*, "camp, tent".

As to the Faylī group, their dialect differs very little from ordinary Persian (Mann: "enter nichts als ein stark abgeschliffenes Persisch")

There are in Luristān a few islands of Kurds of some importance. Such are in the north the Lak tribes [*q.v.*]. Among the Faylī, the Mahālī group (on the frontier of Kirmānshāh, at Hulayilān, and farther south) speaks a southern Kurdish dialect like that of the Kalhur. The Kurdi-ghūkān group (to the south of Pushti Kūh) speaks a "Kurmandjī" Kurdish. Linguistic conditions in the Push-t-i Kūh still require further study.

Bibliography. P. Lerch, *Isslědowanija*, iii, pp. xi-xiv (German tr., *Forschungen*, ii), O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze der Lurdialecte*, in *SB Pr AW* (1904), 1173-93, O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme im süd west. Persien*, in *Kurd.-Persische Forschungen* Berlin 1910, ii (bibliography, list of tribes, Mamāsanī, Kūh-gīlū?), Bakhtiyārī and Faylī texts), D. L. R. Lorimer, *The phonology of the Bakhtiari*, London 1922. V. A. Zhukovski, *Materiali dl'a izuč'enī persidskich narečīi*, iii: dialects of the Bakhtiyārī Čārlung and Haftlang, Petrograd 1922 (texts collected in 1883-6, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī), K. Hadank, in the preface to O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1926, ii/x. On the Mamāsanī and Kūh gīlū? materials of Romaskevič, cf. *Bull. Acad. de Russie* (1919), 452.

Literature. The Lur tribes and especially the Bakhtiyārīs have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments, celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Čar-Lang and Ḥādidjī Ilkhānī Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (*wāsūkht*) and cradle-songs (*lālā*). These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment; cf. the collections by O. Mann and Zhukovski (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyārī folklore in the *Zhurn. Min. Narodn Prosvqšč* [Jan. 1889]); D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian*

tales, London 1919, 197-251, *idem*, *Bakhtiari tales* (translations only).

There are also Luri poets writing in the established literary forms: Hosayn Kuli Khān Hait-Lang (killed in 1882), Nadjmā Mamāsani, Daftari, Fāyid (still alive in 1908), Izadi (d. 1905), ʿAli Asghar Khān Nihāwandi (cf. O Mann). A *Muʾnis-nāma-yi Bakhtiyāri* by Shaykh ʿAli Akbar Muʿammam was lithographed at Tehran in 1314. A *ghazal* by Mullā Zulf ʿAli Korrāni was published by N. Y. Marr in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de l'U.R.S.S.* (1922), 55-8, according to Marr, a *takhlīs* of Bakhtiyāri poets compiled by ʿUmmān-i Sāmāni is in the library of Sālār-i Fātih. Another similar *takhlīs* comes from the pen of Ahmadi-yi Bakhtiyāri.

History. On the participation of the tribes of Khūzistān and Fārs in the fighting between Arabs and Persians in the early centuries of the Hidjra, see GURRE. The caliphs interfered directly in the affairs of the country, *especially in Luristān* [*q.v.*]. The fortunes of the Lurs were more closely associated with the Iranian dynasties ruling in Khūzistān, at Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, Hamadān and in the Zagros, as the Ṣaffārids, Būyids, Kākwayhids, Hasanwayhids and their successors of the family of Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS].

We have coins of the Būyids struck at Idhadj (Codrington). In 323/935 the Būyid army marched through Luristān (Sūr-Shāpūr Khʷāst-Karadj). The Hasanwayhid Kurds, whose capital was at Sarmādj (south of Būstān), extended their dominions into the valley of the Karkhā. Shāpūr-Khʷāst (= Khurramābad) formed part of their possessions about 400/1009 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 89, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ed. Amedroz, ii 291, iii, 452). The Kākwayhid Garshāsp sustained a siege by the Saldjūks in Shāpūr-Khʷāst (434/1042). The *umarā* of this last dynasty later settled in northern Luristān, the family of Zangī b. Bursuk in Shāpūr-Khʷāst before 499/1105 Husām al-Dīn Atp-Kush at Dizh-i Māhid on the Karkhā before 548/1154 (*Rāhat al-sadr*, ed. Iqbāl, 285). A Turk Husām al-Dīn Shīrdil or Aksarī is mentioned as lord of Luristān and of a part of Khūzistān between 547/1152 and 570/1174-5. A long inscription (Kūfic?) on a stele near Khurramābād is still undeciphered (of a copy in von Bode, ii, 298; Rawlinson thought he recognized in it the name of the Atābeg Shudjāʿ al-Dīn, but according to Curzon it has an exotic date (517/1123).

In any case, all attempts from outside to subdue Luristān or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atābegs.

The principal source for the domestic history of the country is the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (730/1330) based in turn on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī (of which the Prussische Staatsbibliothek only has the first volume, no. 368 of Pertsch's *Catalogue*). The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (*ca.* 743/1342-3) is based on independent oral tradition, but is less accurate. The *Diyārbakriyya*, although late (its author, Kādī Ahmad, died in 975/1567-8), uses unpublished data. The *Sharaf-nāma* (1005/1596) is based on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* or perhaps a good copy of the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*. According to these sources, which supplement the statements of the Arab geographers, the situation in Luristān about 300/912 was as follows:

The Shūl (see SHŪLISTĀN)—who are not mentioned by the Arabs before the Mongol epoch—occupied a part ("half") of Luristān. The *wilāyat* of Shūlistān proper (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 537, 539, 15) had a governor named Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* the title Nadjm al-Dīn was hereditary among the Shūl), while the Lur territory under the Shūl (probably Kūh-Gīlū) had a *pishkūh* Sayf al-Dīn Mākān whose family had been prominent in the country since the Sāsānid period; he was of the Kūzhīkānī tribe, which the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* mentions among the Lur tribes. The rest of Luristān was ruled by a family of Lur princes (independent of the Shūl), of whom Badr ruled in the Great Lur and his brother Mansūr in the Little Lur. Their dates are uncertain. Badr's successor was his grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad b. Khalīl b. Badr (according to the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, Nāṣir al-Dīn was a nephew of Awrang [Rang] b. Muhammad b. Hilāl). Nāṣir al-Dīn was deposed by the Fadjlawī Kurds, who founded the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur and relied for support on tribes who came from outside Luristān (cf. above, under Ethnology). The same Fadjlawī drove the Shūl *out of their settlements*.

We know nothing of Mansūr, brother of the above-mentioned Badr. The tribes of Little Lur were directly under the caliphs, and in the north were subjected to the invaders. The founder (in ca. 580/1184) of the native dynasty of the Atābegs of Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*] had to dispose of a rival Surkhāb b. ʿAyyār (probably a scion of the dynasty of Abu 'l-Shawk which was called ʿAyyārī/ʿAnnāz, see ʿANNĀZIDS). The history of the two dynasties of the Atābegs is filled with feuds, murders and executions, but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous. The Atābegs built bridges and *madrasas* (Ibn Baṭṭāṭa) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 550). The revenues of each of the two Atābegs were estimated at a million *dīnārs*, while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 *dīnārs* only (*Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 70).

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of Timūr, the two Atābegs were vassals of the Muzaffarids. In 788/1386 and 795/1393 Timūr ravaged Little Lur, but treated the Lurs of Great Lur more kindly. In 795/1393 Timūr passed through Kūh-Gīlū and Shūlistān. The Timūrids consolidated their power in Luristān, and in 857/1453-4 the last Atābeg of the Great Lur disappeared.

Ṣafawid period. The lords of the Little Lur maintained their position, and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of Pushte-i Kūh. After the execution of Shāh-wardī Khān, Shāh ʿAbbās installed in his place a *wālī* descended from a lateral line of the old family. The possessions of this *wālī*, Husayn Khān, were, however, somewhat reduced.

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Lur, the power had passed to the chiefs of the tribes composing this federation. Under Shāh Tahmāsp we find the title of *Sardār* of the local *ulūs* conferred on Tādj-Mīr, chief of the principal clan, the Astaraki. Tādj-Mīr, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by Mīr Diahāngīr Bakhtiyāri (the Astaraki and Bakhtiyāri had come in Luristān after 600/1203-4, cf. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*). Diahāngīr, under the guarantee of Shāh Rustam of the Little Lur, pledged himself to supply annually to the Ṣafawid treasury 20,000 mules. In 974/1566-7 the governor of Hamadān was sent to remind him of his obligation (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 48). Henceforth, the Bakhtiyāri tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation.

As to the Kūh-Gīlū territory, it was governed by

Khāns of the Turkoman tribe (Shāh-Sewan) of Alishār settled among the Lurs. In 1138/1726 a dervish imposter claiming to be Shāh Ismā'īl II had a considerable success among the Dīkkī, Dawdmīrī and Bandīnī tribes, who killed several Afghān governors. In 1205/1790-7, as a result of the excesses committed by the Afghān as well as by the Lurs, the governor of Fārs, Allāh wardī Khān, established the direct centre of his government in Kūh-Gīlū (*Ta'rīkh-i 'Alam-ārā*, 198, 356).

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the Safawid dynasty (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*) the group of Mamāsanī tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600/1203-4) occupied the ancient Shūlistān [*q.v.*]

After the Safawids: During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the Afghāns before Iṣfahān, the *wālī* of Luristān, 'Alī Mardān Khān Fayli (a descendant of the Ḥusayn Khān appointed by Shāh 'Abbās), played a considerable part. With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1135/1722-3 in the defence of the capital. He was even appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, but the other Khāns refused to take orders from him. When the Turks invaded Persia in 1137/1725, 'Alī Mardān Khān abandoned Khurramābād (which was occupied by Aḥmad Pasha) and retired to Khūzistān, from which he undertook a diversion against Baghdād. The Turks who had gone through the Bakhtiyārī country and reached Dizfūlān had to retire. Cf. 'Alī Ḥazīn, *Ta'rīkh-i aḥwāl*, ed. Balfour, London 1831, 115, 134, 137, 148, who was an eye-witness of the events, Hanway, *The revolutions of Persia*, ii 135, 159, 168, 238; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 60-2; von Bode, *Travels*, ii, 281-3; Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 227

About the same time, several Bakhtiyārī *khāns* (Kāsim Khān, Ṣafī Khān) are mentioned as resisting the Afghān and Ottoman invaders, but they did not agree well with 'Alī Mardān Fayli. In 1137/1724 'Alī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Bakhtiyārī recognised as his suzerain a certain pretender who claimed to be prince Ṣafī Mīrzā. The latter's headquarters were in Kūh-Gīlū, he was not taken till 1140/1727-8 (Hanway, ii, 168, 238, Mahdī-Khān, *Ta'rīkh-i ghalzā-yi Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, French tr. Jones, London 1770, p. xxvii). The Afghāns do not seem to have penetrated into the Bakhtiyārī country, and their expedition in 1136/1724 against Kūh-Gīlū was a fiasco (Von Hammer, ii, 220, Malcolm, *op cit*, ii, 449). By the treaty of 1140/1727-8, the Afghān Ashraf ceded Luristān to Turkey with other western provinces. The Turks kept it (nominally) till 1249/1736, when Nādir re-established the status quo (Hanway, ii, 254, 347, Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 235, 327).

Under Nādir, a certain Turkoman chief named Bānd Khān Capuchlu (Cawushlu) was appointed *beglerbeg* of Luristān-i Fayli. On the other hand, 'Alī Mardān II Fayli was entrusted by Nādir with diplomatic negotiations in Istanbul. Nādir in 1145/1732 passed through Kūh-Gīlū with his troops, where Muḥammad Khān Balūch (the claimant to Shīrāz) was defeated. The local Afshārs had to support Nādir, who was one of their tribe. Several expeditions were sent against the Bakhtiyārī, among whom a new chief 'Alī Murād Mamīwand (Cahār Lang) had collected together the malcontents. In 1145/1732 Bābā-Khān Capuchlu was sent against him for the first time. In 1209/1736-7 Nādir Shāh took the field against him in person, going via Dizfūlān and Burbuṛūd. The Bakhtiyārī country was several times invaded, but the main blow was directed against the little-explored country south of Shuturān-kūh. 'Alī Murād was captured and executed. The Bakhtiyārī were decimated and deported to Dizfūl and Langar (in Khurāsān). A little later, a Bakhtiyārī detachment distinguished itself in the assault on Kandahār (Mahdī Khān, *op cit.*, 226, 234, contains interesting geographical details; tr. Jones, i, 185, ii, 18, 'Alī Ḥazīn, 231, 233, Malcolm, ii, 22).

The deported Bakhtiyārī returned from Khurāsān immediately after the death of Nādir (*Ta'rīkh-i ba'd Nādiriyya*, ed. Mann, 26), and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished, the Bakhtiyārī chief 'Alī Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two *walīs* of Luristān-i Fayli) attempted to play a big part. In 1165/1750, along with Karīm Khān Zand, he set up at Iṣfahān a scion of the lateral line of the Ṣafawids (Abū Dāwūd, under the name of Ismā'īl III). The career of "guardian of the sovereign," acted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also, but Karīm Khān gained the upper hand; the troops of 'Alī Mardān, who included Lak of the tribes of Kalhur and Zangana, were defeated in 1165/1752, he escaped to Baghdād, but died there by the hand of an assassin, cf. Mīrzā Ṣādiq, *Ta'rīkh-i gīti-gushā*, quoted by Malcolm, ii, 61 and note *r*, Von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 275, 277. R. S. Poole, *The coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. xxxv, Curzon, ii, 289.

Karīm Khān [*q.v.*], who had disposed of his Bakhtiyārī rival, was himself a Lak of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristān-i Fayli. On the movements of population in his time see KURDS and LAK. In 1200/1785, when Dja'far Khān Zand had to fall back on Shīrāz, a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Iṣfahān under former partisans of 'Alī Murād Khān, but the town was soon occupied by Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, who had nothing better to do than attack the Bakhtiyārīs ('Abd al-Karīm Shīrāzī, *Ta'rīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, 29, Malcolm, *op cit*, ii, 279 ff.), which injured his popularity among the tribes.

The Lur Bakhtiyārī country was never completely assimilated during the century-and-a-half which the Ḳādjārs reigned. A résumé of the history of the Bakhtiyārīs in the 19th century has been given by Curzon in ch. xxiv of his *Persia and the Persian question*. At first the Kamarzī family, descended from the brother of 'Alī Mardān Khān (see above), came to the front, but the expedition of the governor of Iṣfahān, Manūčihr Khān Mu'tamid al-Dawla (whose real name was Yenikolopov, he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1842 put an end to the career of the Ilkhānī Muḥammad Taḳī Khān of the Cahār Lang group, and the family did not recover. In or 1846 the Bakhtiyārwand (or Baydarwand, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Pāpī) rose to prominence in the Haft-lang group, and in spite of the assassination in 1858 of its chief Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān (Hādjdjī Ilkhānī) by order of the governor of Iṣfahān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's eldest son Mas'ūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān, under whose jurisdiction the Bakhtiyārī country fell, the family held on to its wealth and importance. The tribal khāns did, however, now fall into a period of prolonged dispute over the leadership, with two factions of the Ilkhānīs and Hādjdjī Ilkhānīs on one side versus the Ilbegī family on the other. Eventually, a basic principle of power-sharing between the two families was established which was to endure until 1936, when Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī placed the Bakhtiyārī country under standard Persian civil jurisdiction; until this time, the country enjoyed virtual autonomy under the

rule at the Ilkhāns and the Ilbegi The Ilkhānī-Hājjīlī Ilkhānī group in fact enjoyed a superior financial and political position, in part because from 1899 onwards they drew on investment income from Messrs. Lynch Bros, when the Bakhtiyārī Road, connecting Ahwāz, Shushtar and Iṣfahān, was opened, and then after 1905 from oil concessions, whilst both families received subsidies from the British government during the First World War in return for Bakhtiyārī support. The Bakhtiyāris also played a considerable rôle in the Persian Constitutional period, in alliance with the Sh^cī *'ulamā'* and the urban based constitutionalist reformers, achieving prominence in national as well as local affairs, by 1912 Bakhtyārī khāns held the governorship of seven cities in Persia, including Kirmān, Iṣfahān and Kāshān, and one was Prime Minister (Samṣām al-Salṭana) and another Minister of War (Sardār Asad).

The centralising efforts of the Ḳādjārs had some effect in Luristān-i Fayli (formerly Lur-i Kūčik) as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmānshāh of the energetic prince Muḥammad ^cAlī at the beginning of the 19th century, the old family of the *wālīs* of Luristān found its rights reduced simply to the possession of Pushte-i Kūh (see Čirikov, 227). The Pish-Kūh formed the Persian province of Luristān. Muḥammad ^cAlī Mīrzā with troops and artillery marched through this province in 1836 Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gūrānī regiment After the famous expedition of Manučihr Khān (1841), his nephew Sulaymān Khān Sahām al-Dawla, governor of Khūzistān, maintained order in Luristān, but for the second part of the 19th century Luristān was plunged more or less into a state of anarchy It was not till 1900 that prince ^cAyn al-Dawla was able to restore order in Luristān, and at this time several explorers travelled freely in the disturbed province But in November 1904 two British officers (Col. Douglas and Capt Lorimer) on their way to Khurramābād were attacked and wounded by Lurs A considerable agitation was stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia generally) by the appearance among them of the rebel prince Salār al-Dawla (several times after 1905) In spite of the efforts of the Persian government, Luristān remained closed till 1917, when with the help of foreign representatives several caravans went from Dizful to Burūdjird. About the same time, the Persian government conferred the rank of *wālī* of Pish-Kūh on Naṣar ^cAlī Khān Amīrī [see 1 AK]; cf. Edmonds in *Geogr. Journ* (1922)

The advent of Riḍā Khān, later (1925) Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, meant a declared policy by the central government of bringing the Bakhtiyārī country into the normal framework of administration in Persia, part of which involved the forcible sedentarisation of semi-nomadic tribesmen, but with Riḍā Shāh's deposition in 1941 and the period of weaker rule during the earlier years of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh's reign, many Bakhtiyāris and Lurs reverted to the semi-nomadic way of life they had been accustomed to, and this last still prevails amongst an appreciable section of the estimated 500,000 Lurs and Bakhtiyāris.

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LUR-i BUZURG, a dynasty of Atābegs [see ATABAK] which flourished in eastern and southern Luristān between 550/1155 and 827/1425, the capital of which was Idhadj (*q.v.*) or Malamīr.

The eponymous founder of the dynasty, also known as Faḍlawī, was a Kurd chief of Syria named Faḍlūya. His descendants (the *Dhikr-nāma* mentions 9 predecessors of Abū Ṭāhir) migrated from Syria, and passing through Mayyafāriḳīn and Ādharbāydjān (where they made an alliance with the Amīra Dībādj [?] of Gīlān), they arrived about 500/1006 in the plains north of Ushturān-Kūh (Luristān).

Their (1) chief Abū Ṭāhir (b. ^cAlī) b. Muḥammad distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunkur (543-56/1148-61) in an expedition against the Shabānkāra (*q.v.*). As a reward, Sunkur gave him Kūh-Gīlūya and agreed to send him to conquer Luristān He succeeded in this. Abū Ṭāhir assumed the title of Atābeg, and later quarrelled with Sunkur and made himself independent (ca. 550/1155). (The *Madjmū^c al-ansāb* seems to confuse several individuals under the name Ḳā'id ^cAlī, to whom it attributes the following successes the defeat of the Shūl (*q.v.*), the deposition of Nāṣir al-Dīn, last descendant of Badr, ruler of Luristān, and the defeat of the Khūzistān troops commanded by the Turk Eshek.)

Under the son of Abū Ṭāhir, (2) Malik (*sic*) Hazārasp (600-26 or 630/1204-29 or 1232?), Luristān prospered, and new Arab and Iranian tribes flocked into it Hazārasp drove out of Luristān the last remnants of the Shūl and invaded Luristān proper The Shūl migrated to Fārs Hazārasp disputed with the Salghurids the possession of the fortress of Mandishāh (Mungasht, south-west of Malamīr) The possessions of Hazārasp were extended up to a distance of 4 *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān The caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) confirmed to Hazārasp the title of Atābeg On the other side, Hazārasp maintained friendly relations with the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 382-3, 472) (The *Dhikr-nāma* mentions two sons of Hazārasp ^cImād al-Dīn (d. 646/1248-9) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalba (d. in 649/1252?) the former bought Zarda Kūh, where several members of the family were afterwards interred.)

(3) Tīkla (ca. 645-6/1247-8), son of Hazārasp and his Salghurid wife, successfully withstood four attacks on him by the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, who was indignant among other things at the expulsion of the Shūl from Luristān. Tīkla took from Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl (d. 640/1242-3?) certain districts of Lur-i Kūčik He defeated the generals sent against him from Khūzistān by the caliph During the Baghdād campaign of Hülägü Khān (653-6/1257-8), Tīkla accompanied him in Kitbuḳa Noyan's division (*kurasu*) He did not, however, conceal his feelings about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and Muslims Hülägü took umbrage at this, and Tīkla fled to Luristān and shut himself up in Mandjusht Hülägü pardoned him, but later changed his mind and had him executed in Tabrīz Tīkla was buried at Zarda Kūh.

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn succeeded to his executed brother and ruled for 15 years. He led a nomadic life. His winter residence was at Idhadj and at Sūs (probably Sūsan on the Karūn above Shūshtar) and his summer one at Dīzy-i sard (on the upper waters of the Zanda-rūd) and at Bāzuft (source of the Karūn).

His son (5) Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with

Abaḳa Khān (663-80/1265-82) and even after being appointed in his father's stead, remained at the Mongol court with 300 horsemen. He took part in the war against Burāḳ Khān [q.v.], and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Dayluṃīs. To the possessions of Yūsuf Shāh, Abaḳa added Khūzistān, the region of Kūh Gilūya and the towns of Firūzān (? *farāshāh* above Iṣfahān) and Djurbādhaḳān (Gulpāyagān). Yūsuf Shāh went to Kūh Gilūya and attacked the Shūl settled on the modern Mamāsanī country west of Kūh-Gilūya. After the death of Abaḳa, Yūsuf Shāh was forced against his will to go with 1,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot to the help of Aḥmad Takūdar The latter was defeated (683/1284), and the Lurs retreated from Ṭabas to Nāṭanz across the desert, where the majority died of thirst. After the accession of Arghūn, Yūsuf Shāh went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier Khwādja Shams al-Dīn, who had taken refuge in Luristān (cf. d'Ohsson, iv, 5)

His son (6) Afrāsiyāb sent his brother Aḥmad to the court of Arghūn while he himself remained in Luristān, where he put to death the members of the former vizier's family Their relatives having taken refuge in Iṣfahān Afrāsiyāb sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them. At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghūn (690/1291). The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Iṣfahān Afrāsiyāb appointed members of his family to govern in Ḥamadān, Fārs and in its territories reaching to the Persian Gulf, and even began to march on the capital The Mongol general Amīr Turaḳ was defeated at Kūhrūd or Ḳahrūd [q.v.] near Kāshān. Gaykhatu Khān sent Mongol troops against Afrāsiyāb and troops from Lur-i Kūčik. Afrāsiyāb shut himself in Mādjdasht, but after some time went to Gaykhatu who pardoned him. *Returning to Luristān, Afrāsiyāb massacred his own relatives* and a number of the notables. Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) at first showed himself favourable to Afrāsiyāb, but in 696/1297, on the complaint of the Amīr Ḥurḳudaḳ of Fārs, Afrāsiyāb was tried and executed at Maḥāwand (?) of Farāhān.

The rank of Atābeg was next conferred on his brother (7) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad (695-730/1296-1330 or 733/1333), who had spent most of his life at the court of the Il-Khāns. According to the *Madjma' al-ansāb* he introduced Mongol institutions (*ṭōra-i maghūl*) into Luristān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī praises his able and prudent administration, which repaired the damage done by Afrāsiyāb He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *Ta'rīkh Mu'djam fī aḥwāl muluk al-'Adjam* of Faḍl Allāh Ḳazwīnī The *Madjma' al-ansāb* gives him the title of *pīr*. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Rihla*, ii, 29-30, tr Gibb, ii, 287-8), he built 180 *madrasas* (here = "hermitages"), of which 44 were at Idhadj, and he had roads cut through the mountains.

His son and successor (8) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh II (733-40/1333-40) was also a just ruler His lands, according to the *Madjma' al-ansāb*, extended from Baṣra and Khūzistān to Lālamūstān (?) and Firūzān He was buried in the *madrasa* of Ruknābād

His successor was his son (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, his brother) (9) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling via Mādjūl-Ḳāmuz-Tustar, visited the capital Idhadj [q.v.] or Mālamīr He found the prince addicted to wine The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs, which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the "sulṭān" The latter's possessions included Tustar (Shūshtar) and extended to Gariwā' al-Rukh (the modern Kahyarukh in Ḳarnabīl west of Firūzān) During the ten days the Arab traveller took to cover this distance, he found shelter every night in a *madrasa*. At the same time (740) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions among the possessions of the Great Lur Dābaḳāk (apparently the district to the north-east of Luristān and west of Gulpayagān).

Next follows an obscure period. According to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar, the successor of Afrāsiyāb was his son (10) Nawr al-Ward (*"rose-bud"), who ruled "from 738/1335-8 (?) to 756/1355* and dissipated the treasures of his ancestors. According to the *Dustūr-nāma*, Muḥammad Muẓaffar of Fārs (713 60/1313-59), learning of his dealings with Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū, had him blinded at Sus in 756/1355 His cousin, (the *Dustūr nāma* has "nephew") (11) Sharaf al-Dīn Pashang b Yūsuf Shāh II (?) succeeded him and ruled from 756/1355 to 780/1378. At this time, Luristān became involved in the civil wars of the Muẓaffarids (*q.v.*) When Shāh Manṣūr, making Shūshtar his headquarters, began a series of raids on the lands of Pashang, Shāh Shudjā' (elder brother and rival of Manṣūr, d 786/1384) came to the help of Pashang We have coins of 762/1361 and 764/1362-3 struck at Idhadj in the name of Shudjā' (S Lane-Poole, *Cat of oriental coins in the Brit Mus*, vi [London 1881], 235, 237) After the death of Pashang, a struggle began between his two sons, (12) Malik Pīr Aḥmad and his younger brother (12bis) Malik Hūshang, in which the latter was killed (According to the anonymous historian of Iskandar, if he has been rightly understood by Howorth, Aḥmad and Hūshang were sons of Nawr al-Ward and the former was the immediate successor of his father) Shāh Manṣūr drove out Pīr Aḥmad and appointed in his stead a notable named *Malik Uways When Timūr passed through Luristān in* 795 Pīr Aḥmad came to meet him at Rām-Hurmuz Timūr later received him graciously at Shīrāz, confirmed him by a decree (*al tamgha*) in his hereditary possessions and allowed him to repatriate 2,000 families of Lurs deported by Shāh Manṣūr In spite of this, in 798/1395-6 Timūr took as hostages to Samarḳand the brothers of Pīr Aḥmad and Afrāsiyāb After the death of Timūr, Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad imprisoned Pīr Aḥmad in Kabandar He was restored in 811/1408-9, but met his end in a popular rising The son of Pīr Aḥmad (13) Abū Sa'īd, kept for two years a hostage at the court of Mīrzā Iskandar at Shīrāz, succeeded his father and died in 820/1417 His son (14) Shāh Ḥusayn died in 827/1424 by the hand of his relative (15) Ghiyāth al-Dīn b Kāwūs b Hūshang (12bis). The latter seized power, but the Timūrid Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b Shāhrukh sent troops to expel him and thus ended the rule of the Faḍlawī family. Later, the power passed into the hands of local notables of the Bakhtiyārī tribes (*Sharaf nāma*, i, 48)

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Dhikrā-dil (m 972/1564-5), British Museum, Or 141, fols. 137-140 contains some useful information; *Sharaf nāma*, i, 23-32, based at the beginning on a good text of the *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, Khusraw Abarķūhī, *Firdaus al-tawārīkh*, passage on the Great Lur in the tr of the *Sharaf nāma* of Charmoy, ii/a, 328 37; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Dhikān-numā*, 286 (cf. Charmoy, ibid., ii/1, 100-16); Mūnedjdjim-bashī, ii, 597-8, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 24, 28, 230, 259, 600, 655, 569 iv, 5, 12, 62, 94, 114, 169-70, 580, Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 140, 407, 732-4, which uses the statements of the anonymous history of the grandson of Tīmūr Mīrzā Iskandar, written in 815, ms. British Museum, Or. 1566, ms. Asiatic Museum of Leningrad, 566 b, c. (V. MINORSKY)

LUR-I KŪČIK, a dynasty of Atābegs [see ATABAK] which ruled in northern and western Luristān between 580/1184 and 1006/1597 with Khurramābād as their capital. The Atābegs were descended from the Lur tribe of Diangrūī (Djangardī?). The dynasty is also known by the name of Khursh̲īdīs from the name of the first Atābeg (It remains to be seen if this name is connected with that of Muḥammad Khurshīd, vizier of the former rulers of Luristān, before the rise of the Atābegs of Lur-i Buzurg.) After 730/1330, the power passed to another line which later claimed to be of ʿAlīd descent at this time also, the title *malik* succeeded that of *atābeg*.

The ancestors of the Khurshīdīs had entered the service of Ḥusām al-Dīn (of the Turk tribe of Shūhlī or Shuklā), who ruled Luristān and Khūzistān about the end of the Saldjūk period (*ca.* 550-80/1155-84?).

(1) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Khurshīd b Abī Bakr b Muḥammad b Khurshīd was at first Shiḥna of a part of Luristān on behalf of Ḥusām al-Dīn, but after the death of the latter (in 570/1174-5 or 580/1184-5) became independent lord of the whole of Lur-i Kūčik. He waged war on the Diangrawī (the tribe in which he had originated, but which was then being ruled by his rival Surkhāb b. ʿAyyāṣ) and besieged their stronghold Dih-i Siyāh (in the district of Māndūd and in the *wilāyat* of Samāh?). The inhabitants handed al-Māndūd over to him, but the caliph ordered Shudjāʿ al-Dīn to deliver up to himself the stronghold of Māngarra (Māngarra north of Kilāh). In compensation, Shudjāʿ received the district of Tarkhāb in Khūzistān. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn drove back the Bayāt Turks who were ravaging Luristān. He led a nomadic life and spent the summer at Rūīt (in Bālā-Girīwa) and the winter at Dūfur (Fīh-i Lōsān in Pushṭ-i Kūh?) and at Malāh (?) He died a centenarian in 622/1224 and his tomb was venerated by the Lurs. His son Badr was killed by his nephew (2) Sayf al-Dīn Rustam b. Nūr al-Dīn, who became Atābeg and was a good ruler. Rustam was succeeded by his brothers first (3) Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr and next (4) ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshāsp. The latter married the widow of Abū Bakr, Malīka Khātūn, who was the sister of Sulaymān Shāh Aywa, later commander-in-chief of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (*Abūh* should be altered to *Aywa*, name of a tribe or a district in the time of the last Saldjūks; cf. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* ed Iḳbāl, 346; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 421-2; *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 107; Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *JA* [1847], 177) When (5) Ḥusāma al-Dīn Khalīl b. Badr b Shudjāʿ killed Garshāsp, a struggle ensued between him and Sulaymān Shāh (Shihāb al-Dīn?). The Lurs took Bahār (near Hamadān), but finally Khalīl was defeated and killed near Shāpūr-Khwāst in 640/1242.

His brother (6) Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd went to the court of Mangū and returned in the train of Hūlāgū. This devout man, an authority on Shāfiʿī law, ruled till 658/1260 He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaymān Shāh when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghdād The sons of Masʿūd were executed by Abaka, who appointed as Atabeg (7) Tāḥ al-Dīn b. Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl, also executed by Abaka in 677/1278-9.

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Masʿūd of whom (8) Falak al-Dīn Ḥasan ruled a part of Luristān (*ḥākim, wālī*) and (8 bis) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn ruled the crown domains (*malīk*) The number of their troops was 17,000 They chastised the Bayāt and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadān and Shūshtar and between Iṣfahān and the Arab lands Both died in 693/1293

Gaykhātū appointed as their successor (9) Djamāl al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Tāḥ al-Dīn, who was killed in 693 near Khurramābād by (10) Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Shams al-Dīn "Darmakī" b Sharaf al-Dīn b Taharatan b Badr b Shudjāʿ, who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled on the lands adjoining Luristān. The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Samsām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshāsp, who slew a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Ilyās and in turn was executed by Ghāzān in 695/1296.

(12) ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿIzz al-Dīn (8 bis) was a minor, and his cousin Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd (son of 8) obtained from Öldjeytü the title Atābeg and ruled over a part of Luristān (*dār*) but later ʿIzz al-Dīn fully established his authority. After his death (716/1316 or 720/1320 his widow (13) Dawlat Khātūn retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols Such was the state of affairs when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing his *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda* (*ca.* 730/1329 30) Later, the *malika* (who according to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar became the wife of Yūsuf Shāh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn who received investiture from Abū Saʿīd and ruled for 14 years His son and successor (15) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Maḥmūd was killed by his subjects in 750/1349-50

(16) The Malik ʿIzz al-Dīn b Shudjāʿ al-Dīn was only 12 when his father died The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the *Ẓafar-nāma*. In 785/1383 the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ with his army visited Khurramābād and married the daughter of ʿIzz al-Dīn Another of his daughters was married to Aḥmad b Uways Djalāʾir When Tīmūr arrived in Persia in 788/1386, he was told of the depredations of the Lurs of ʿIzz al Dīn. Setting out from Firūz kūh, Tīmūr by forced marches reached Luristān. Burūdjird was laid waste, and the fortress of Khurramābād razed to the ground. The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of the cliffs. The fate of ʿIzz al-Dīn is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atabegs of Luristān to whom in 789/1387 Tīmūr granted an audience at Shīrāz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mīrzā Iskandar, ʿIzz al-Dīn was captured in 790/1388 in the fortress of Rūmiyān (Armiyān, Wāmiyān, situated near Burudjird) and deported with his son to Turkestān. At the end of three years both father and son were released. In 793/1391 ʿIzz al-Dīn played a part in the aggrandisement of the Muẓaffarid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, son of his old suzerain Shāh Shudjāʿ. When in 795/1393 Tīmūr returned to Persia, he went

from Burūdjird to Shūshtar. Luristān was overrun piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mīrzā ʿUmar, but ʿIzz al-Dīn escaped his pursuers. In 798/1395-6 prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, extended his authority over all Luristān and Khūzistān. In 805/1402-3, we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Azmyān (?) near Burūdjird ordered by Timūr and under 806/1403-4 the *Ẓafar-nāma* mentions the arrival in Baylakān from Nihāwand of a courier bearing the head of ʿIzz al-Dīn, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed. His son (17) Sīdī Aḥmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Timūr in 807/1405 and ruled till 815/1412-13 (or 825/1422) (18) Shāh Ḥusayn ("Abbasī", i.e. descendant of ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), another son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, took advantage of the decline of the Timūrids to extend his territory. He plundered Hamadān, Gulpāygān, Iṣfahān and even undertook an expedition to Shahrazūr, where the Bahārlū Turks slew him in 872/1468-9 (or 873/1468-9). His son (19) Shāh Rustam supported Ismāʿīl I; at this period, the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of ʿAlīd descent. The son of Rustam (20) Oghuz (or Oghūz) accompanied Shāh Ṭahmāsp on his campaign of 940/1533-4 against ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, and during his absence his brother (21) Diahāngīr seized power. He was executed in 948/1542-3. The governor (*lala*) of his son (22) Rustam Shāh handed over the latter to Ṭahmāsp Shāh, who imprisoned him in Alamūt while Muḥammadī, another son of Diahāngīr, was holden by the Lurs at Čangula. An impostor in Luristān gave himself out to be Shāh Rustam Ṭahmāsp, then released the true Rustam, who recovered his fief but had to hand over a third of it (*do dāng*) to his brother (22 bis) Muḥammadī. At the instigation of the wife of Shāh Rustam, the governor of Hamadān seized Muḥammadī, who was shut up in Alamūt. The sons of Muḥammadī plunged Luristān and the adjoining provinces into great disorder. Ten years later Muḥammadī escaped, and conquered Luristān while Shāh Rustam took refuge at the court of the Shāh. Muḥammadī established good relations with Ṭahmāsp and Ismāʿīl II, but after their death submitted to the Ottoman Sulṭān Murād III (982-1003/1574-95), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kūh. Handalī, Diezān, Badrāʾī and Tursak. But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained, and Muḥammadī became reconciled with the Ṣafawids.

(24) Shāhwardī b. Muḥammadī, who had escaped from Baghdād where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda after his father's death. At the time of the occupation of Nihāwand by the Turks, Shāhwardī showed some signs of independence. In 1000/1591-2 good relations with Shāh ʿAbbās were re-established, with whom Shāhwardī made the most of his alleged descent from ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī and his Shīʿism (*taḥayyuʿ* as *ʿAbbāsgirī*). Shāh ʿAbbās married his sister and gave him a Ṣafawid princess in marriage. In 1002/1593-4 Shāhwardī in a pitched battle killed the governor of Hamadān, Oghurlu Sulṭān Bayāt, who was trying to levy taxes in Burūdjird. Shāh ʿAbbās, filled with wrath, left the Khurāsān front and hastened to Khurramābād. Shāhwardī crossed the Saymara (Karkhā) and escaped to Baghdād. Luristān was given to Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Sīth Rustam. In 1009/1594-5 Shāhwardī was pardoned and restored, but he was not long in relapsing. In 1006/1597-8 Shāh ʿAbbās took the field against him a second time. Shāhwardī was besieged and slain in the fortress of Čangula (in Pusht-i Kūh). Ḥusayn Khān b. Manṣūr Beg Salwīd (?) was given Luristān, except Saymara, Hindmān (?) and Pushti-Kūh, which were given to Ṭahmāsp Kull Inānlū. This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of *walīs* of Luristān (later of Pusht-i Kūh) claims descent from Ḥusayn Khān, who was a cousin of Shāhwardī.

Bibliography: Muntaẓam, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, facs. text, Leiden-London 1910, 347-57, 700; *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 305, 438, 587-8, 594, 788, 811; ii, 515, 555, anonymous history of Mīrzā Iskandar, grandson of Timūr (utilized by Howorth); Kādī Aḥmad Ghaffārī, *Diahān-ārā*, *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 38-55; *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1314, 320, 342, 367-70, *Diahān-numā*, Mamdūḥiyān bashī, ii, 598-600; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 230-61; iv, 171; Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchane*, i, 161-3, Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 140, 496, 754.

(V. Minorsky)

LURISTĀN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the south-west of Persia. In the Mongol period the terms "Great Lur" and "Little Lur" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lur tribes. Since the Ṣafawid period, the lands of the Great Lur have been distinguished by the names of Kūh-Gīlū and Bakhtiyārī. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Mamāsanī confederation occupied the old Shūlistān [*q.v.*] and thus created a third Lur territory between Kūh-Gīlū and Shīrāz.

It is however only since the 16th century that Lur-i Kūčik [*q.v.*] has been known as Luristān (for greater precision it was called Luristān-i Fayfī). In the 19th century, Luristān was divided into two parts: 1. Pīsh-Kūh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i.e. east of Kabīr-Kūh) and 2. Pusht-i Kūh (country beyond the mountains), *i.e.* west of Kabīr-kūh. At the present day, the term Luristān usually means Pīsh-kūh, while Pusht i Kūh means the Fayfī country.

The Mamāsanī territory and the Kūh-Gīlū form part of the province of Fārs. The capital of the Mamāsanī is at Fahliyān. Kūh-Gīlū (Kūh-Dilāya, Kūh-Gīlū) stretches from Ēsht (west of Fahliyān) to Behbahān, this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kūh-Gīlū. To the south, the Kūh Gīlūʾī tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf. The mountains of Kūh-Gīlū and the frontier between its tribes and the Bakhtiyārī are not yet well known. The chief rivers of Kūh-Gīlū are the Āb-i Shīrīn which is formed by the junction of the Khayrābād and the Zohra, and in its lower course runs via Zaydān and Hindiyān, and the Āb-i Kurdistān or Diarrāhī, one branch of which later runs into the Karūn [*q.v.*] and the other towards Dawrak. On Kūh-Gīlū, are the valuable *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* of Ḥasan Fasāʾī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the itineraries of Stocqueler, Haushknecht (*Routes in Orient*, Map iv), Wells and Herefeld, and the general account in Bode, i, 252-89, ii, 327-98; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 232-44, is now very much out of date.

The Bakhtiyārī lands stretch from Čahārmahāl (west of Iṣfahān) to Shūshtar, to the south, the Bakhtiyārī march with the Kūh-Gīlū, and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristān (Shuturān-kūh, etc.). They are found at Farāydan, Burburūd, Diilapagh, and in the cantons around Burūdjird (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muḥammad Taḳī Khān

Čahār-Lang). Roughly speaking, the Bakhtiyāri occupy the upper basin of the Zanda-rūd and of the Karūn above Shūshtar. The works of Layard, Sawyer, Mrs. Bishop, Curzon etc. give a very accurate picture of this mountainous country, in the centre of which rises the Kūh-i Rang (12,800 feet high) which forms the watershed between the Persian Gulf and the central Persian plateau. (It may be asked if the name Kūh-i Rang is not the Mongol *kūran*, "encampment, laager", found in Luristān?)

The frontier between the Bakhtiyāri and the Lurs proper follows the western branch of the Āb-i Diz, an important tributary of the Karūn. Luristān (Pish-kūh) is bounded on the east and west by the convergent streams of the Āb-i Diz and the Kakhrā, while to the north the range of the Čihil-nil-bāligh-ān, Garrū, etc. separates Luristān from Nihāwand and Silākhor (district of Burūdjird). To the west of Karkhā, Pūsht-i Kūh begins. In the northwest, the frontier of Luristān runs to the southwest of the districts of Hulaylān and Harsīn, which belongs to the province of Kirmānshāh.

The chief left bank tributary of the Karkhā is the Kashgān (Rawlinson: Kashgān) which is formed by two arms. The northern arm with its tributaries drains the beautiful plains of Hūr-rūd, Alfshtar and Khāwa. The southern arm, separated from the northern one by the Yāfta-kūh range, takes the name of the town of Khurramābād [*q.v.*] near which it passes. After the confluence of the two arms, the Kashgān, running south-westwards, receives on the left bank the combined waters of the Kāwgūn and Tāyin, which flow from Kūh i Safīd Pahlā (south of Khurramābād) and the northern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. These two ranges are at right angles to the mountains which follow the right bank of the Āb i Diz, which they separate from the valley of the Karkhā. On the right bank the Kashgān receives the Mādyān rūd, "river of the mare". Above Kashgān, the Karkhā receives on its left bank several tributaries of less importance still little known (Rābār, etc.). Below Kāshgān and also on the left bank, the Karkhā receives the Fārī, Laytum (Lohlum) and Āb-i Zāl. This last river with its tributaries, Anārak, etc., rises to the southern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. The topography of the right bank of the Ab-i Diz is not well-known. The sources of the Haladrūd and its right-bank tributary the Kīr Āb lie a considerable distance to the north. The Haladrūd flows into the Āb-i Diz between Dizfūl and Susa. The Kīr-āb receives on its right bank the waters of the Kal-i-Āb which come down from the high valley of Mungarra, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of natural location and separate the basin of the Haladrūd from that of the Āb-i Zāl. The Sabrā-yi Lur plain, formerly well-irrigated, lies north of Dizfūl and south of Kīr Āb ("pitch-water"), whose naphta spring has been known since ancient times. It was probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks (Ritter, ix, 802).

The interior of Luristān presents a series of mountain ranges, which stretch north-westwards to south-eastwards, the direction usual in Persia, and rise one behind the other between the plain of Susiana and the northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet).

Ancient history. The lands now occupied by the Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period before the arrival of Iranians in them. This region, being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was mainly under the influence of Elam; Susa, where there have been found traces of occupation going back to the third millenium B.C., was just at the entrance to the mountains of the Little Lar. The purest traces of the local culture and of this alone are found more to the south-east. Just as the Atābegs of the Great Lur had for their capital Tūbadī [*q.v.*] or Malāmīr, so in very early times, the lords of this district, the kings of Alapir (Hapirti?), whatever were their relations with the rulers of Susa, had control at least of the Karūn valley. The site of Malāmīr (cf. de Bode, Layard, Jéquier in de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, 1902, iii, 133-43, and Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker*, Leipzig 1908, 49-50), with its purely indigenous (Elamite, non-Semitic) inscriptions and bas-reliefs, is an important point. The discovery by E. Herzfeld (*Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG* (1926), 259) in the Mamāsanī region of a bas-relief and bricks bearing Elamite characters (1,500-1,000 B.C.) is valuable as indicating the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains. Kūh-Gīlū lying between Susiana and Persis may correspond to the still unknown region of Anshan (Anzan), out of which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great. On the survival of this name near Shushtar, cf. *Grundr der iran. Phil.*, ii, 418 (according to Rawlinson, Asān).

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Karūn (the two Sūsan, Lurdagān, the mounds of Sīha, Tīr and Irādjī) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer). According to Sawyer, the higher Bakhtiyāri lands are "singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks".

Mention should be made of the great importance of Luristān, from at least the later fourth millenium B.C., as a centre for metal-working, with an industry distinguished from other local ones by its greatly-varied and richly decorated range of bronzework, made by the cire-perdue process. This bronzework has some sub-human decoration, but is especially notable for animal motifs. This zoomorphic decoration probably stemmed originally from Elam, which much influenced Luristān till the destruction of Elamite political power by Nebuchadnezzar I (ca. 1124-1103 B.C.) of Babylon, after Babylonian influence is visible in Luristān art. The bronze industry continued until the 7th century B.C., in association with equally fine ironwork; see P. R. S. Moorey, *Prehistoric copper and bronze metallurgy in Western Iran (with special reference to Luristān)*, in *Iran, Jnal of the BIPS*, vii (1969), 131-53.

The western part of Luristān in the strict sense of the word is known as Māsabadhān and Pusht-i Kūh. No monuments of very great antiquity have yet been discovered in Pish-kūh except the caves (Median?) of Se-darān between Mungarra and Khurramābād, see Čirikov, 129. The early inhabitants of Luristān were the Kashshū = Κοσσαῖοι, who imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and 1630 B.C. The Achaemenids paid the Kossaioi for the right of passage by the Babylon-Echatana route. These highlanders were temporarily subdued by Alexander the Great. Antigonus, pursued by Eumenes, traversed the heart of the Kossaian country, according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i-tang-Kaylān pass Khurramābād (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 333). The Kossaians (who should perhaps be distinguished from the Κίσσιοι = Οὐξίοι = Uwadja = Khūs) spoke a language different from that of their neighbours, but in it we already find proper nouns borrowed from Indo-European. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, ii/2, Berlin 1913, § 455, Hüsing, *Der Zagros*, 24, and Autran in *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1925, 283. (The name Kashshū has perhaps survived in that of the river Kashgān.)

It is also probable that northern Luristān was more or less dependent on the land of Ellipi, often

mentioned by the Assyrians This region, which was considerably influenced by Media, is now located in the province of Kirmānshāh. Cf. Andreas, *Almes*, in Pauly-Wissowa[2], Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 379, *Cambridge ancient history*, 1924, ii, cf. map

We know very little about the Ματτιηνοί, a people who (Herodotus, v, 49) were bounded on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Susians (Reinach, *Un peuple oublié: les Mattènes*, in *Revue des Études Grecques*, vii (1894), 383 ff)

Here we can only call attention to these various ethnic elements buried in the later strata of Iranian invasions. In the name of Faraydan, a canton in the northeast of Bakhtiyārī, we have a reminiscence of the Median tribe of Paratakenoi (Herodotus, i, 110) and of the province of Παραιτακηνή (Strabo, i, 80) which lay between Media and Persia (in Assyrian Partakka, Partukka, cf Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 363). The Iranicisation must have been accelerated by the formation of the great empires, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Parthian and lastly Sāsānid There are many Sāsānid towns in the valley of the Karkhā Manv Sāsānid buildings are attributed by the natives to the Atabegs of Luristān, who were certainly nothing more than the restorers. The complicated system of bridges is very remarkable (cf the photographs in de Morgan, *Études géogr.*, ii, and *Études archéol.*, Paris 1896-7, 360-74), and the roads which may still be traced on the upper courses of the rivers of Susiana The remains of roads, paved or hewn out of the rock, may be seen at Tang i Sawlak (between Bihbahān and Mālamīr) near the Sāsānian bas-reliefs (de Bode, i, 353, 364), to the east and west of Mālamīr (de Bode i, 390, ii, 820, *ghādda-yi ādbahān*), between Dizfūl and Karāb (Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, 92), to the south of Khāwa (*ghādda-yi Khawra*, Cirikov, 216-22) All these works are evidence of a systematic and continuous penetration. But since at the end of the 4th/10th century the inhabitants of the plain of Khūzistān had not yet forgotten the Hōz language (al-Mukaddasī, 418), colonies of the ancient stocks may have survived in isolated corners of the mountains The Lur highlands only received their present ethnic character under the Atābegs

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary, although they describe the routes between Khūzistān and Fārs (cf Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 173-80, Arrajān-Shīrāz, 190, Arrajān-Sumayram) between Khūzistān and Isfahān (the road started from Jāhadī, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 57, al-Muhallabī, 401) and lastly, between Khūzistān and Dīnawar As to these last routes al-Istakhrī, 196, reckons from al-Lur to Shāpūr Khwāst 30 *farsakhs*, from there to Lāshtar (= Alīshtar) 12 *farsakhs*, from there to Nihāwand 10 *farsakhs* (the road must be that which follows the upper waters of the Saladrūd) A few details of this route are cleared up by al-Mukaddasī, 401, who gives the following eight stages Karadī (ق ر د)—Wafrawand—Dārkān—Khurādh (certainly = Hūrūd, Hūrūd, north of Khurramābād)—Sābūr Khuwās (= Shāpūr Khwāst = Khurramābād)—Krikūysh (?)—al-Khān—Razmān—al Lur. Al-Mukaddasī, 418, also makes one suspect the existence of a road along the Āb-i Diz, from al-Lur to al-Diz, two stages, from there to Rāyaghn one stage, from there to Gōlgīyaghn 40 *farsakhs* through uninhabited country (*mafāza*)

Among the inhabited places in modern Luristān may be noted the following the town of al-Lūr, 2 *farsakhs* north of Dizfūl (Kantarat Andamish), the site of which should be sought in the plain of Sahrā-yi Lur near Shāhābād; the town of Lāshtar, now disappeared, was certainly in the plain of Alīshtar and the town of Shāpūr-Khwāst The exact location of the latter is important for the comprehension of certain events in the 4th/11th century (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 89, 146, 211; x, 166, *Ta'rīkh i guzīda*, 557) Rawlinson had identified Khurramābād with Shāpūr-Khwāst (cf Le Strange, *Lands*, 202) The combined evidence of al-Istakhrī, 196, 201, of the *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 70, 176, and particularly of the itinerary of al-Mukaddasī, 401, fully justify Rawlinson's identification (against Le Strange) The change of name, or moving of the site (cf. Schwarz) must have taken place in the 7th/13th century The *Nuzhat al-kulūb* (740/1340), which does not include Shāpūr-Khwāst in its enumeration of the towns of the Little Lur, is the first source to mention Khurramābād (a town in ruins) It is, on the other hand, not at all probable that the *wilāyat* of Mān-rūd, the alleged ancestral home of the Lurs, is near Khurramābād It should be sought to the north of the town of al-Lur near Mān-garra (= Mūngarra) Samīra, mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, 548, was in Mān-rūd, its fortress Diz i Sīyāh must correspond to the fort of Diz which defends the entrance to Mūngarra and was destroyed by the *wālī* of Pusht i Kūh in 1895 (Manu, *Des Mundarien des Luristanme*, 117) Finally, the stronghold of Girīt (*Ta'rīkh i guzīda*, 549, 552) is mentioned by Cirikov, 233, among the encampments of the tribe of Pāpī (to the south of Khurramābād).

Economic conditions Apart from the Bakhtiyārī districts near Isfahān, where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads only export the products of their cattle-rearing But the fortunes of the part of Luristān lying along the northern rim of the Ahwāz plain have been transformed by the development of the oilfields of Lāli, Masjid-i Sulaymān, Naft Safīd and Haft Kel from the time of William Knox D'Arcy's oil discoveries at Masjid-i Sulaymān in 1908 and the subsequent development of these oilfields by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (see *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, 518 ff.). Also, Luristān is now crossed by the Trans Iranian Railway, which follows the Āb-i Diz valley northwards to Arak (Sultānābād), Kum and Tehran. Already before 1914, surveys were begun by the Persian Railways Syndicate for the Muhammara (later Bandar Shāpūr)—Dizfūl—Khurramābād section of what was to be a Trans-Persian Railway, and by the end of 1929 the southern section from Bandar Shāpūr to Andīmishk had been completed, that one through Luristān being completed in the 1930s Luristān has thus continued to play a significant role, as it did in ancient times, as a region crossed by routes connecting the main urban centres of western Persia.

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LŌRKA, Lorca, a town of Eastern Spain living between Granada and Murcia and having a population at present of 58,600 It is the ancient *Ilura* or *Helioruna* of the Romans in the Islamic period, it formed part of the Kūra of Tudmīr (q.v.), and was famous both for the richness of its soil and subsoil and for its strategic position Its Kūra was one of the most substantial in Andalusia. It is situated at 1,200 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Sierra del Cano, and dominates the course of the river Guadalentin. Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia, and reverted to Christian rule in 1266.

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LŪRĪ [see LŪLī]

LŪṬ, the Biblical Lot (*Genesis*, xiii, 5-13, xvii-xix) The Kurʾān, whose his story is told in passages belonging to the second and third Meccan periods, places Lūṭ among the "envoys" whose career prefigures that of Muḥammad as a man in conflict with his compatriots, those at whom his message is directly aimed, the crimes of the "people of Lūṭ" were, besides the refusal to believe, their persistence in vices such as lack of hospitality and homosexual practices, a misconduct punished, in spite of intercession by Ibrāhīm (q.v.), by the dispatch of angels of destruction who utterly devastated the sinful city, which is not identified by name, simply described as *al-mu'tafika* (pl. *al-mu'tafikāt*), a translation of the Hebrew word *mahpeka* ("overturning"), used in the Bible in reference to the

(destruction of Sodom and of its three sister cities. The city was buried under a shower of marked stones (*siǧǧīl*). Lūṭ and his family were saved, with the exception of his wife, who disobeyed the prohibition and turned round during the flight. The relevant Kur'ānic data have been collected by H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931; repr. Hildesheim 1961, 132-8, and by R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, major edition, iii, Paris 1951, index, 1203, single-vol. edition, Paris 1957, index, 721, see also R. Paret, *Der Koran. Übersetzung*, Stuttgart 1966, 130, n. *Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1970, 163, W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh 1970, 130 ff. and index, 227. D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran*, Paris 1933, 46-8 (presentation in apologetic form by the Muslim scholar ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Naǧǧār (ca. 1278-1350/1862-1941; see *Ziriklī, Aʿlām*, iv, 333), *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908, 95, 112-18.

The 'traditions' passed on by Kur'ānic commentators, historians and compilers of cautionary tales, rely for the most part on Biblical details which are not found in the Revealed Book, on elements borrowed from the Jewish *Aggada* or freely invented; the iniquitous judgments of the people of Uṣdūm (Sodom), the theme of the bed of Procrustes, emphasis on the wickedness of Lūṭ's wife, names attributed to anonymous characters in the Scriptural account, for details, see the article by B. Heller in *EI*[1], summary of Jewish legends, with sources, in Ginzberg's *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909-38 (and re-impression), i, 243 ff., v, 241, n. 275, not forgetting M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 132-41. We set forth here only a few references: *al-*Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, original edn., viii, 164-6, new edn. Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1957, xii, 547-55; idem, *Annales*, i, 266 ff., 321, 325-43; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, ed. Houtsma, 22-4, Naǧaf 1384/1964, 27-19, see Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, Leiden 1907, 30-2; a later version which (like al-Yaʿḳūbī) follows the Biblical text quite closely, by Rashīd al-Dīn, tr. K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels*, Vienna 1973, 35, 36, 38. Popular and cautionary versions: al-Ṯaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325/1907, 65-7, Cairo 1373/1952, 84-6, al-Kisāʾī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. I. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, i, 245-9. In *ḥadīth* as properly defined, Lūṭ appears in reference to Kur'ān, XI, 82/80, in a context giving evidence of the modesty of Muḥammad; al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Anbiyāʾ*, 11 (ed. Krehl, ii, 347; *sulṭānī* edition, repr. Cairo 1378/1958, iv, 179), Ibn Māǧa, *Sunan, K. al-Fitan*, 23, ed. M. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1373/1953, no. 4062, 1335 ff., see Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 265 ff.

On the basis of the proper noun Lūṭ, and by association with the authentic Arabic root *l-w-ṭ* (with the sense of "sticking", "adhering"), a group of words was formed to indicate unnatural vice [see LIWĀṬ].

In common with other "prophets" of the Kur'ān the figure of Lūṭ was invested with a mystical significance by Ibn ʿArabī [q.v.], who considered him the symbol of the spiritual force that subdues the passions of the concupiscent soul (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 13, ed. Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī, Beirut 1365/1946, 226-32 and editor's commentary, 258-62). In the same spirit are the collections of the Indian Ṣūfī Shāh Walī Allāh (1703-62) in his *Taʾwīl al-aḥādīṯ fī rumūz ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, abridged tr. J. M. S. Baljon, *A mystical interpretation of Prophetic tales by an Indian Muslim*, Leiden 1973, 20-2.

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(B. Heller — [G. Vajda])

LŪṬ b. YAḤYĀ [see ABŪ NUWWĀS].

LUTE [see AL-ʿŪD].

LUṬF (A.), the opposite of *Sḫṭ/Ḳahr* [q.v.]. Derivatives of the root *l-ṭ-f* are used in the Kur'ān in two senses, as (a) kind (e.g., XLII, 18) and (b) subtle (XXXI, 15, 16, 19; XXXIII, 34, LXVII, 14; XXII, 62). Senses (a) and (b) are linked by the idea of God organising matters in such a way as to bring about a beneficial state of affairs. It is this religious notion which is applied in the Arabic translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias *Fī maḥiyyat al-ʿināya* to refer to teleological direction in nature (265), and by Mūsā b. Maymūn to refer to God's stratagem in the hardships which he obliges his creatures to endure (iii 32, 528). The term is applied theologically to the notion of divine grace, favour or help, being developed by the Muʿtazila to deal with the aspect of human freedom and its relation to divine omnipotence. Divine favour makes it possible for man to act well and avoid evil (ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Sharḥ*, 529). It is not granted to the sinner, whom God neither prevents from acting well nor directs to commit evil. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, who provides the most systematic treatment of *luṭf* in the volume of his encyclopaedia of that name (*Muḡnī*, xiii), says that for the Muʿtazila, divine grace is all that is capable of helping the agent carry out the duties set for him without interfering with his freedom. If a person believes only because he has received a *luṭf*, he is not as deserving as if he did not require it. A person who will do the right thing does not require a *luṭf*, which is then not necessary. It cannot be true that God necessarily helps all men, since otherwise it would not be possible to sin (*Sharḥ*, 520) and there would be no free will. But if man acts well, he is rewarded and helped by God as a consequence; if he sins, he is deprived of God's help (*Sharḥ*, 520).

Taken more broadly, the description *luṭf* may be applied to many aspects of human well-being, *e.g.* health (*Maǧālis*, xiii, 11), wisdom, the use of reason, prophecy and the provision of holy books (*Nihāya*, 422). These all help to direct man in the right direction without compelling him (*Muḡnī/Ḥkm*, ii, 734). Hence a rationale is provided also for punishment. God could turn unbelievers into believers, but His favours do not interfere with voluntary belief and so God does not grant favours which directly convert unbelievers into believers (*Mukhtaṣar*, 247, 275; a list of *alṭāf* is provided in Shahrastānī, 33).

Another sense in which *luṭf* is obligatory (*wāǧib*) is that where God is "obliged" to provide as much *luṭf* as possible to whomever is responsible for his actions. This doctrine was of course strenuously opposed by the Ashʿariyya, who apply the term *luṭf* to all God's acts, bad as well as good (*Irshād*, 173-4, 265). But for the Muʿtazila, God is morally obliged to send to earth prophets and to arrange for the laws which man ought to follow to be communicated to them. Similarly for the Shīʿī al-Ḥillī, the institution of the *imām*, like prophecy, is a "necessary grace" which is imposed on God. Since God has created the world only in the interests of man, he is obliged by a *luṭf wāǧib* to guide his creatures by sending them on occasion mediators to make plain His will. The Muʿtazila thought that man would be capable of social existence without the gift of a prophet or *imām*—nevertheless, they held that God is obliged to

organise the world well, hence due to a *luṭf waḥdāṇī*, has to provide mankind with guidance.

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LUṬF ʿALĪ BEG b. Āḳā Khān, Persian anthologist and poet, who is also known by his pen-name Āẕur which he adopted after having used the names Wālih and Nakhat previously. He was descended from a prominent Turcoman family belonging to the Begdilī tribe of Syria (Begdilī-i Shāmlū) which had joined the Ḳizilbāsh movement [*q.v.*] in the 9th/15th century. Afterwards, the family settled down in Iṣfahān. Many of his relatives served the later Ṣafawids and Nādir Shāh as administrators and diplomats. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg was born on Saturday 20 Rabīʿ I 1134/7 February 1722 (the date mentioned in the two Bombay lithographs of the *Ātashkada* is erroneous). The invasion of the Afghāns occurring in the same year forced his parents to flee to Kum, where they lived till his father was appointed to the post of governor of Lār and the coast of Fārs on ca. 1148/1735-6, and they moved on to Shīrāz. When his father died at Bandar ʿAbbās two years later, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg undertook the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz and to the holy shrines in ʿIrāḳ. During a subsequent journey to Mashhad he entered the service of Nādir Shāh, whom he accompanied on a campaign in northern Iran. He continued to work for Nādir's successors, but retired in the early years of the Zand period to a life of study and literary pursuits, subsisting on the rescenus of a small estate near Kum and living at Iṣfahān, where peace had been restored by Karīm Khān Zand. However, in 1188/1774-5, he and some of his fellow poets had to leave the city on account of the oppressive rule of the Zand governor Muḥammad Rūnizī. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg died in 1195/1781 according to the chronograms which his friends Hātif and Ṣabāḥī wrote for him (see of *Dhayl*'a, in, Tehran 1332/1953, 5).

Luṭf ʿAlī Beg's fame rests on particular on the anthology *Ātashkada*, on which he continued to work from about 1174/1760-1 almost till the time of his death. The work is divided into two parts, styled "censers" (*mudjmara*). The first part, on the poets of previous times, opens with a section (*shuʿla*) devoted to royal poets. Three further chapters (called *dhikr*) and subdivided into *ṣarāʾir*) deal with the poets of Irān, Tūrān and Hindūstān according to the districts and towns of their provenance. An appendix on female poets (*furūgh*) has been added to it. The main source for this part of the *Ātashkada* was the *Khulāṣat al-aṣʿār wa-nukhat al-afkār* of Takī al-Dīn Kāshānī. The second *mudjmara*, divided into two *parīsaw*, contains the lives of contemporary poets, many of whom were personal friends of the author. It is preceded by a dedication to Karīm Khān Zand and a sketch of the troubled history of Irān from the time of the Afghān invasion onwards. A short autobiography followed by a selection from Āẕur's own poetry concludes the work.

The *Ātashkada* was often copied in the early 13th/19th century. Lithographs appeared at Calcutta 1249/1833-4, and at Bombay 1277/1860-1 (reprinted Tehran 1337/1958) and 1299/1881-2. An annotated edition by Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī of which three volumes were published at Tehran (1336/1957, 1338/1959 and 1340/1961), has remained unfinished. N. Bland edited the opening section, the *shuʿla* on royal poets (London 1841), and gave an account of the entire work in *JRAS*, xiv (1843), 345-92. An abridged version, the *Taḏkhira-yi Ātashī*, containing the poems only in the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was made by a brother of the author, Ishāḳ Beg ʿUdjrī (cf. A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Taʾrīkh-i taḏkiraha*, i, 182 f.). The existence of a Turkish translation, mentioned by J. H. Kramers (*EI*[1], s.v. *Luṭf ʿAlī Beg*), has been questioned by Tahsīn Yazıcı. For a complete inventory of the biographies occurring in the *Ātashkada*, see E. Sachau - H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, cols. 361-93.

As a poet, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg was also held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Much of his early work was lost when the Bakhtyārī chief ʿAlī Mardān sacked Iṣfahān in 1164/1750. He became a pupil of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Mushtāḳ (d. 1172/1757-8), who was one of the initiators of the "literary return" (*bāzgasht-i adabī*) to the stylistic standards of early Persian poetry which manifested itself among the poets of Iṣfahān and Shīrāz during the Zand period (cf. M. T. Bahār, in *Armaghān*, xiii [1331/1952-3], 713 ff.). Apart from a *Dīwān* (cf. *Bankipore catalogue*, iii, Calcutta 1912, 219-21; Storey, *iii*, 870; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahāyi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, 2206 *f.*), four *maṯnawīs* are known: 1. *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, fragments of which are contained in the *Ātashkada* (for separate manuscripts, see Munzawī, iv, 3332); 2. a short poem, known as *maṯnawī-i Āḏūr*, which he wrote in imitation of a *maṯnawī* entitled *Ātashkada*, or *Sāz-u gudāz*, by Āḳā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Tafrishī, which seems to have inspired him also in the choice of a title for his anthology (cf. A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī, in *Maḳālāt-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Mashhad*, iii [1346/1967-8], 23 55; Munzawī, iv, 3217), 3. a *Sāḳīnāma* (cf. Munzawī, iv, 2857); 4. a *Mukhammas nāma* (*cf. ibid.*, 3225). Less certain is the attribution to the author of two other works: a prose-work, *Gandjīnat al-ḥabb*, composed in the manner of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* (mentioned in the *Taḏkhira Āḏurnawa-i Khāksār*, cf. Ibn ʿ Yūsuf Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār*, ii, Tehran 1318/1933, 453) and a *taḏkhira* on contemporary poets entitled *Daftar-i nak Ṣanān* (mentioned by Āḳā Buzurg of Tihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, vii, Nadjaf Tehran 1329/1950, 226; cf., however, Gulčīn-i maʿānī, *Taʾrīkh-i taḏkiraha*, i, 48 note). As it seems, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg wrote some poems in Turkish as well (cf. M. F. Köprülü, *IA*, s.v. *Āzerī*, 139b).

Bibliography. Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, ed. M. Bākir, Lahore 1968, 254-6, Muḥammad Mihdī Kādjār, *Sufūnat al-Maḥmūd*, ed. A. Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1346/1968, i, 132-6; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Beg Dunbulī Maftūn, *Taḏkirat al-aḥzān wa-tasliyat al-aḥzān*, ed. H. Ḳādī Tabātabāʾī, Tabrīz 1346/1970, i, 267-94 and passim; idem, *Nigāristān-i Dārā*, Tabrīz 1342/1963, ed. A. Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1342/1963, i, 154-62. See further Storey, *i/2*, 868-73, 1337. Āḳā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1355/1937, 4, Tahsīn Yazıcı, in *IA*, s.v. *Luṭf Alī Bey*; J. Aščārī, *Fihrist-i maḳālāt-i fārsī*, i, Tehrān 1340/1961, 795; A. Gulčīn-i maʿānī,

Taʾrīḫ-i taḏkiraha yi ʿāṣrī, Tehran 1348/1969, 3-17 (J. H. Kramers - [J. T. P. de Bruijn])

LUṬF ʿALĪ ḴĀN, the last ruler of the Zand dynasty of Iran. He was born in 1183/1769, the son of Ḏjaʿfar Ḵẖān, son of Ṣādiḳ, younger brother of the founder of the dynasty, Karīm Ḵẖān [*q.v.*] During his father's reign, when the Ḳāǧār armies had overrun most of northern Iran, Luṭf ʿAlī subjugated Lār and Kirmān and for the last time retook Iṣfahān, but was soon forced back to Shīrāz. When his father was killed at 1204/1789 in a coup led by Sayd Murād Ḵẖān Zand, Luṭf ʿAlī fled to Bushire (Būshahr), where he was assisted by the governor Shaykh Nāṣir, long a loyal vassal of the Zands. Thus reinforced he marched on Shīrāz, where a fifth column led by the *ḥākimtar* [*q.v.*] (mayor), Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm, aided him to overthrow the rebels.

A brave and likeable youth, in contrast to his cruel and treacherous father, Luṭf ʿAlī was genuinely welcomed by the populace. Though defeated in the field, he held Shīrāz against a Ḳāǧār assault, the following year he unsuccessfully besieged Kirmān, then in 1205/1791 set out to recapture Iṣfahān. However, since his accession he had become openly suspicious of the influential Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm, and was induced by whispers of his disloyalty to take with him the *ḥākimtar*'s young son as a hostage. Acting perhaps in self-preservation Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm arrested the Zand officers left in Shīrāz and took over the garrison; his brother, who was with Luṭf ʿAlī's army, fomented a mutiny from which the young Zand leader and three hundred men fled to Shīrāz. Here he found the gates closed against him and was deserted by all but four of his followers. Fleeing again to Bushire, he found that Shaykh Naṣr's son and successor had elected to support the *ḥākimtar*. Nevertheless, he recruited some local support and successively defeated both Zand and Ḳāǧār forces sent against him. Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm's appeal to the Ḳāǧār leader to occupy Shīrāz was answered by Āḡā Muḥammad Ḵẖān in person with an army of 40,000. Luṭf ʿAlī's small cavalry force defeated the Ḳāǧār vanguard and that night came within a hair's breadth of capturing the main camp. In 1207/1792 Āḡā Muḥammad entered Shīrāz, and Luṭf ʿAlī was henceforth a fugitive, still mounting guerilla attacks from temporary bases all over south eastern Iran. Supported successively by chiefs of Ṭabas and Narmāshīr, he twice held the city of Kirmān, in 1209/1794, after a four month siege, the Ḳāǧār army was admitted to the town by treachery and Luṭf ʿAlī barely escaped to Bam. For their support of his rival, Āḡā Muḥammad wrought a terrible revenge on the people of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. The governor of Bam, fearing a similar fate, betrayed Luṭf ʿAlī to the Ḳāǧār leader, who blinded and tortured him before taking him to Tehran for execution as Rabīʿ II 1209/November 1794.

As the gallant underdog, Luṭf ʿAlī inspired admiration in contemporaries both Iranian and European, though the Persian chronicles, written under Ḳāǧār patronage, are of necessity more circumspect. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, who accompanied him during part of his time as a fugitive, and Sir John Malcolm, to whom Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm later tried to justify his tergiversation praise the youth's daring and resilience, which indeed imparted a certain nobility to the largely self-inflicted death throes of the Zand dynasty. His alienation of Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm, however, was symptomatic of the dynasty's failure to live up to its early promise. Karīm Ḵẖān had been careful to cultivate the trust of the rural and urban classes in addition to that of his tribal army, whereas his successors, including Luṭf ʿAlī, were too intent on feuding among themselves and feuding off the Ḳāǧārs to promote or even protect the benefits which the bureaucracy, merchants, artisans and peasantry had obtained from Karīm Ḵẖān. Having lost the support of the towns, Luṭf ʿAlī's nomad forces disintegrated in the face of a Ḳāǧār army which was, if not militarily, certainly politically and logistically stronger.

Bibliography: *Das Tārīḫ-i Zandīya*, ed. Beer, Leiden 1888, *Dhayl-i Mirʾāt-i ʿAbd al-Karīm*, 324 ff. and *Dhayl-i Ḥabīb Muḥammad Riḍā*, 374 ff., in Nāmī, *Taʾrīḫ-i Gītīgushā*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1317, J. Malcolm, *The history of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 174 ff., London 1829, ii, 106 ff., H. J. Brydges, *The dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, pp. cxx ff. of the introduction (translated into Persian as *Ḥālhāʾi-yi rūzhā-yi Luṭf ʿAlī Ḵẖān-i Zand* by H. Nātiḳ and J. Gurney, Tehran 1353/1974), ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Aḥwāl-i Luṭf ʿAlī Ḵẖān-i Zand*, in *Yaḡmā*, xii, no. 5, 26-37.

(J. R. Perry)

LUṬFĪ, 14th and 15th century poet in Čaḡhatay Turkish, and the greatest master of the *ḡhazal* before ʿAlī Šīr Nawāʾī (845-906/1441-1501). The little that is known about his life comes mainly from 15th and 16th century works, especially those of Nawāʾī. Luṭfī was born in Harāt, and died and was buried at his home in the asarby suburb of Dih i Kanar at the age of 99 (Muslim) years. Modern scholarly conjecture suggests ca. 768-867/1367-1463 (J. Eckmann); or d. 870/1465-6 or even later (H. F. Hofman). He lived quietly, but some contact with the Timūrid court is indicated by his dedications of a few poems to princes from Šāh Rukh to Ḥusayn Bayḳara. Nawāʾī, who knew him personally, reports that after studying the secular sciences, Luṭfī was initiated into Ṣūfī mysticism by Šihāb al-Dīn Ḵẖiyābānī, that the poet was a saintly person and was a close friend of Ḏjāmī, the great Persian poet and mystic of Harāt.

Luṭfī's poetry has been highly esteemed since his own lifetime. There has been general agreement with the judgement of Nawāʾī who said he was "the Master and King of Speech of his people" (*Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān*), "the King of Speech of his time", peerless in Persian and Turkish, but better known for his Turkish poetry (*Maḥākim al-luġhatayn*), and the single Turkish poet comparable to the greatest Persian poets (*Muḥākamat al-luġhatayn*). Nawāʾī even incorporated five complete *ḡhazal*s of Luṭfī into his own poems (*muḵẖammas* and *musaddas*).

While Luṭfī wrote some *ḳaṣīdas* and two major *maṯnawī*s, his poetic gifts and originality were best displayed in the *ḡhazal* and *tarǧīʿ*. In combining the classical Persian lyric tradition with elements of Turkish popular poetry, he produced *ḡhazal*s of graceful simplicity which concealed a subtle sophistication, while yet retaining some flavour of Turkish folksong. This results in part from his preference for those *ʿarūḍ* metres which corresponded approximately with Turkish syllabic metres, but also from his use of specifically Turkish features, such as proverbs and folk sayings reflecting ancient Turkish customs and beliefs, and of imagery which was often more realistic than that of classical Persian poetry. His verse seems to contain proportionately more words of Turkish origin and less Arabic and Persian loan words than any of his contemporaries or successors in classical Čaḡhatay. The musicality he achieved is due not only to his exquisite word choice

and sequence, but also to his technical skill in developing such features as the extended *radīf* [*q.v.*]. The wit and humour displayed in new uses of old images, the enjoyable puns and wordplays in both *ghazal* and *mesnewī*, were also not negligible factors in ensuring his continuous popularity for five centuries. His influence is visible in the works of such contemporaries as Sakkākī, Aṭāyī and Gadā'ī and of later poets directly, and even more, indirectly, by way of his influence on Nawā'ī's poetry, which was universally admired. Echoes of Luṭfī are heard even in poets from other linguistic areas, such as the Azeri and Ottoman ones, particularly Fuḍūlī (d. 1556) and the Turkmen ones, especially Makhdūm-Kulī (18th century). Verses by Luṭfī are frequently cited in Čaghatay-Ottoman and Čaghatay-Persian dictionaries from the 16th century onwards, and are plentiful in anthologies of the same period.

Literary Works. All Luṭfī's known works are in Čaghatay Turkish, except no. 4 (2) *Dīwān*. At least 42 mss. are extant, belonging in five major recensions, but each group contains some material lacking in the others. The total number of poems is not less than 548, of which 378 are *ghazals* and 122 are *mukhammas*. (Further research may yield more poems.) Of the recensions, the most reliable is group (a), consisting of 2 mss.: ms. Birnbaum (Toronto) TCr iii (late 15th–early 16th century) and British Library, Add. 7914 vi (Harāt 914/1509). The former contains 361 poems (1 *munāẓara*, 1 *mo'ammā*, 297 *ghazals*, 62 *mukhammas*) and is the longest *Dīwān* of all Luṭfī mss. The latter lacks the last 107 *ghazals*. The other groups are (b) Paris, Suppl. Turc 981 and (c) Gotha T211 (both 16th century, with some similarities) (d) Bursa, Müze 113/156 (16th–17th century) Group (e) comprises all other known mss. (i) all the mss. in the USSR: Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences (5 mss.), Navoi Museum (1 ms.), Dushanbe, Tajik Academy of Sciences (4 mss.), Leningrad (2 mss., nos. A109, C1912—the one numbered B1182 is an Ottoman poet Luṭfī), (ii) Istanbul, University Library, T5432, (iii) Tehran, Sipahsālār 274 Group (e) mss. (which may be further subdivided) were all copied in the 18th-20th centuries and show many Uzbek and other local influences. The state of their text is markedly inferior to groups (a)-(d). Hundreds of verses attributed to Luṭfī appear in mss. anthologies in major libraries, especially in the Uzbek and Tajik academies. Most are quotations from *ghazals* known from his *Dīwān*. Uyghur script copies of 13 *ghazals* are found in 3 mss. from the 9th/15th century. A number of verses from Luṭfī's *Dīwān* appear with minor differences in Sakkākī's *Dīwān* (2) *Gul u Nawrūz*. An allegorical romantic epic in 2,400 *maṯnawī* verses. Composed in 814/1411, it is a free version in simple Čaghatay, based on the Persian work of this name by Djalāl Ṭabīb (composed 734/1334). Seven mss. extant (see Hofman, *TL*). (3) *Ẓafar-nāma* (not extant). Described by Nawā'ī as being a *maṯnawī* "translation" of more than 10,000 verses, which never got beyond the draft stage. It was presumably about the exploits of Timūr, whose son Shāh Rukh commissioned its writing; it was probably based on Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's Persian *Ẓafar-nāma*. (4) *Dīwān* in Persian, including *kaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. Apparently not extant, but citations appear in biographical *taḏkiras* and ms. anthologies.

Editions: (1) Facsimile edition of Bursa ms., *Luṭfī's Dīwān* [with introd. by] Ismail H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1960 (incomplete, unfoliated); (2) the *Dīwān of Luṭfī*, including facsimile of Birnbaum ms. TCr iii, ed. E. Birnbaum (in preparation); (3) Luṭfiy, *Devon; Gul on Nawruz* (selections, in Cyrillic script, by S. Erkinov), Tashkent 1963.

Bibliography: General description and major references in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (= *PTF*) ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 307-14 and index (J. Eckmann), xxxix, xli, xliii, l, liv, lxii (A. Bombaci), A. Bombaci, *Historia de la literature turque*, tr. I. Mélikoff, Paris 1968, 170-16, 405 and index, ii F. Hofman, *Turkish literature* (= *TL*) Section 3, Pt. i, Utrecht 1969, vol. iv, 63-74, vol. ii, 126, 220, vol. iii, 211; vol. v, 154. Corrections to this, and further details and references in review of Hofman's *TL* by E. Birnbaum, in *JAOS*, xciii/3 (1973), 240-1. The two best detailed studies of Luṭfī's literary work are in L. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannie trudi: Nizami i Dekhlavi*, Moscow 1965, esp. 49-59; and with more examples, Ē. E. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka* (Uzbek poetry in the first half of the 15th century), Moscow 1963. References to literature later than *PTF* and *TL*: *Vostochnīk Rukopisey Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, Tashkent 1932- (indexes to individual volumes s.v. Luṭfī, because general indexes to vols. i-vii, appended to vol. x (1975), are incomplete), *Katalog Vostochnīk Rukopisey Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, tom ii, iv, v, Dushanbe, 1968-74, (indexes). References by Nawā'ī to Luṭfī in: Alisher Navoiy, *Asarlar*, Onbesh tomlik (in Cyrillic characters), 15 vols., Tashkent 1963-8 (tom 12, *Madjālis*, 61-2, tom 14, *Hilāl-i ... Basan*, 78, *Hilāl-i Pahlawān*, 98, *Mizān*, 179, tom 15, *Nasā'im*, 180-2), and *Ali Şīr Nawā'ī*, (ed.) Agāh Sirri Levend, Istanbul 1965-68, cilt i 69-70 (*Dīwān*, *Dībāǧa*), iv, 73-4 (*Madjālis*), 122 (*Hilāl-i Pahlawān*), 213 (*Muḥākamat*), Nawā'ī, *Dīwān* (facsimile ed. L. V. Dmitrieva), Moscow 1964, fol. 6b, O. F. Sertkaya, *Uygur harfleri ile yazılmış bazı mensur parçalar*, i-ii, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi* (= *TDED*), xx (1972), 137-84 and *TDED*, xxi (1973), 275-95; idem, *Some new documents written in the Uigur script in Anatolia*, in *CAJ*, xxvii/3 (1974), 180-92, E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xxi/3 (1976), 164-174. (E. BIRNBAUM)

LUṬFĪ EFENDI, Aḥmad, Ottoman court historiographer (*waḳ'a-nüwīsī*). Life. He was born the son of Meḥmed Agha, a master shalal maker, in 1232/1816-17 in the Aladja Hamamlu quarter of Istanbul. He attended the local Kur'ān school and became a *ḥāfiẓ*, and also practised music regularly at the house of Zeyn al-'Ābidīn Efendi, Sultan Maḥmūd II's chief *imām*. In 1244/1828-9 he was enrolled in the Mathematical College (*Hendese-khāne-yi berrī*), but left it after a year for the *medrese* of 'Amūdjazāde Ḥüseyin Pasha, where he studied Arabic, Persian, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*. In 1247/1831-2 he embarked on a scholarly career, and in 1252/1836-7 he became head of the body of religious teachers or *müderrisler* in Istanbul. The following year, he was charged with collating documents for the official records office (*Tahwīm Khāne*) and with lecturing before the sultan on selected days in Ramaḍān. He translated al-Ghazālī's *Ta'līm al muta'allim* into Turkish, with some additions of his own, as the *Ta'līm al-mu'allim* and presented it to the sultan, now 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I. He then took up a job in the secretarial office of the Grand Vizier (1258/1842), where he worked as a Persian translator, until Rabī' II 1266/February 1850, when he was appointed to the itinerant clerkship of the Buildings Council (*Emāne meǧlisi*) in the districts of Vidin and Nish in Rumelia. He returned to Istanbul after a

year and was appointed first to the head clerkship of the Police Council (*Dabṭiyye meǧlisi*) and then to the *Takwīm-khāne* once more, and was charged with the regular and weekly preparation and publication of the official gazette, the *Takwīm-i waḳāyi'*.

In 1265/1849 he was sent temporarily to Philippopolis (Filibe) in Bulgaria for a period of nine months, in order to collect arrears (*bḳāyā*) of taxation. Meanwhile, he also held the clerkship of the Investigation Committee (*Taftīsh ḥey'eti*) of Anatolia for two years. When this latter post was abolished, he again returned to the *Takwīm-khāne* (1267/1850-3). Eventually, in 1278/1861-2, he became a member of the Medical Council (*Ṭibbiyye meǧlisi*) and taught official composition in Turkish (*inshā'* [*q.v.*]) at the Medical School. Soon afterwards in addition to becoming a member of the Education Council (*Maʿārif meǧlisi*) and continuing to edit the *Takwīm-i waḳāyiʿ*, he was entrusted with the supervision of government printing. At the end of 1281/beginning of 1865 he became *Wāḳiʿa-nüwīs* and remained in this job, in which he achieved fame, for many years. However, in 1293/1876 he again returned to the scholarly field, and his *mülāzeyye* rank was changed to the status of the *müdāfil* of Istanbul. The following year he was appointed a member of the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi dewlet*); in Muharram 1297/December 1879-January 1880 he was promoted to the *müfīt-i askerīs* of Anatolia, and on 21 Muharram 1299/5 December 1881 to that of Rumelia. In 1304/1887, despite his occupying this latter post, one of the highest ranks in the learned institution, he returned to his previous post in the Council of State.

Luṭfī Efendi died at his *yalı* at Boyaǧlıköy near Istanbul on 2 Ṣafar 1325/17 March 1907 and was buried in the Sofular Mosque cemetery in the vicinity of Aksaray. Highly literate in Arabic and Persian and skilled in poetry and composition, he had also been an adherent of the Mevlevī dervish order.

2. Works His most famous work was the continuation of the history of Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], known accordingly as the *Luṭfī Taʾrīkh*, written in a straightforward style, and utilising information from the *Takwīm-i waḳāyiʿ* and some official documents. It is in 25 volumes covering the events from the beginning of Muharram 1241/16 August 1825 to the middle of 1293/middle of 1876; the first seven volumes were published between 1290/1873 and 1306/1889 at the Government Press and the Maḥmūd Bey Press during his own lifetime, and volume viii was published posthumously in 1328/1910 at the Ṣabāḥ Press by the court historiographer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref Efendi with some additions. The manuscripts of vols. ix-xv, which were presented to the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, were transferred from the Yıldız Library to the Türk Taʾrīkh Endjümeni Library and thence placed in the Türk Tarih Kurumu Library in Ankara; they remain unpublished. The original manuscripts of the first volumes of the *Taʾrīkh*, together with some other rough drafts of the author's, are in the former Imperial Museum (now Archaeological Museum) Library in Istanbul.

His book *Dīwānče ya Wāḳiʿa-nüwīs Aḥmad Luṭfī* contains some of his poetry and some history in poetic form, it was printed at Istanbul in 1302/1884-5 and comprises 120 pages. The original manuscript of his *Luǧat-i ḥāmīs*, a dictionary of 53,000 words, arranged by him alphabetically from a Turkish translation of the Arabic *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* made by the court historiographer ʿĀṣim [see ʿĀṣım, ʿAlıyyu'l-Ḥalīm, and vol. 3, Turkish lexicography], is in the Archaeological Museum Library; only the first two parts of it, covering the letters *alif* and *bā'*, have been published (in 1282/1865-6 and 1286/1869-70 respectively).

Bibliography: Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1-8, viii, 2-6, xv (= TTK Ankara ms. no. 5 532-7), f. 65a; idem, *Dīwānče*, 33, 40; İ.M.K. İnal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1969, 896-99, Djemal al-Dīn Efendi, *ʿOṯmānlī taʾrīkh ve müverrikleri*, Istanbul 1324/1896-7, 120-5; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯmānlī müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1343/1913-4, iii, 236-7, ed. Ismail Özen, Istanbul 1975, iii, 96, İ.A. Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, 230, idem, *Meşhur adamlar*, Istanbul 1933-5, iii, 376, *Meydan Larousse*, i, 176. (M. Mümtaz Atsız)

LUṬFĪ PASHA b. ʿĀṣɪf al-Muʿīn, Ottoman statesman and Grand Vizier, probably an Albanian by origin, born *ca.* 903/1498 (see M.T. Gökbilgin, *TA*, art. *Luṭfī Paşa*).

As a *devshirme* [*q.v.*] youth, he entered Bāyezīd II's [*q.v.*] *ḥaram-i ḫāṣṣ*, where he received a thorough education in the Islamic sciences. He held the post of *ṭuḳaddir* before the accession of Selīm I [*q.v.*], when he graduated (*ḫurūdj*) to a *müteferriḳa* with 30 *akčes* [*q.v.*] daily, and then held in turn the posts of *ṭaḳımlıgir bāshī* [*q.v.*], *ḫaṣṣaḳī bāshī* and *mīr-i ʿalem*. His first appointment to service outside the Palace was as *sanǧaḳ beg* [*q.v.*] of Kastamuni, and he subsequently became *beglerbegi* of Karamān. Luṭfī Pasha himself gives these details of his life in the introduction to his *Āṣaf nāme* (*ms.* with translation and introduction by R. Tschudi, *Das Aşafnâme des Lutfi Pascha*, Berlin 1910, ed. Shūkrī Bey, with introduction by ʿAlī Emīrī, Istanbul 1326/1908). However, he does not give the dates of his appointments and omits all details of his life before entering the Palace. He may also have served as *sanǧaḳ beg* first of Aydın and then of Vanya (Ioánnina), since Feridūn Beg [*q.v.*] mentions a Luṭfī Beg who served at the siege of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) in 928-9/1522 as *sanǧaḳ beg* of Aydın (Feridūn Beg, *Münšeʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 539), and a Luṭfī Beg who served at the siege of Vienna in 936/1529 as *sanǧaḳ beg* of Vanya (*ibid.*, i, 573). These references may well be to Luṭfī Pasha, the future Grand Vizier, since he himself claimed to have participated in both these campaigns (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tevārīḫ-i ʾāl-i ʿOṯmān*, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1341/1922-3, 3). In 941/1534-5 he became Third Vizier. By this time he had, by his own account, served in Selīm I's wars against the Ṣafawids in eastern Anatolia, and against the Mamlūks in Syria and Egypt. Under Süleymān I [*q.v.*], he took part in the campaigns of Belgrade in 927/1521, Rhodes in 928-9/1522, Mohács in 932/1526, Buda and Vienna in 935-6/1529, Güns in 936/1532 and against the Ṣafawids in 940-2/1533-6. In the latter campaign he served probably as *beglerbegi* of Karamān, commanding the rearguard of the Ottoman army at Tabrīz in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 941/September-October 1534 (Feridūn Beg, *op. cit.*, i, 587). During the same campaign he was active in operations around Lake Van, when he commanded the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] to construct a fleet at Tatvan (Šāʿī, *Taḏkirat al-bunyān*, Istanbul 1313/1897-8, quoted in M. Fuad Köprülü, *Luṭfī Paşa*, in *Türkiyyāt Meǧmūʿası*, i [1925], 229-30).

As Third Vizier, Luṭfī Pasha commanded the fleet which left Istanbul on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja 943/12 May 1537 to join forces at Avlonya (Valona, Vlorë) with the army under the Sultan, which had travelled overland. While the *Kapudan Pasha* Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] sailed to Egypt to collect provisions, forces under Luṭfī Pasha raided the coasts of Apulia. On

the return of Khayr al-Dīn, Andrea Doria's attack on two galleys in the command of the *kethüdā* of Gallipoli [Gelibolu [q.v.]], and a second attack on a galley which Luṭfī Pasha had sent with messages to Corfu [Korfuz [q.v.]], furnished a pretext to attack this island. On 18 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 944/25 August 1537, Otteman forces under Luṭfī Pasha landed and overran the island, but were unable to take the fortress. On the command of the Sultan, and despite Luṭfī and Khayr al-Dīn Pashas' objections, Ottoman troops began to withdraw on 2 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 944/7 September 1537. Luṭfī Pasha returned to Istanbul with a section of the fleet (see Kātib Çelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 48-50).

On the death of Muṣṭafā Pasha on 1 Muḥarram 945/30 May 1538, Luṭfī Pasha replaced him as Second Vizier. In this capacity, he accompanied the army on the campaign to Meldavia (Kara Boghdan [see BOGHDAN]). The army left Istanbul on 11 Ṣafar 945/9 July 1538, and crossed the River Prut on a bridge which Sinān had constructed on Luṭfī Pasha's orders (Sāʿī, *loc. cit.*).

When Ayās Pasha [q.v.] died on 20 Ṣafar 946/7 July 1539, Luṭfī Pasha succeeded to the Grand Vizierate. In this position he led the negotiations which ended the war with Venice. By the terms of the peace concluded on 20 Rajab 947/20 November 1540, Venice ceded Monemvasia and Nāvplion, in addition to all places lost in the war, and paid an indemnity of 300,000 ducats (200,000 according to Luṭfī Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 384). Luṭfī Pasha himself received a payment of 10,000 ducats from the Venetians (E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i, Paris 1848, 472). He also headed negotiations with the Habsburgs over Ferdinand's claim to territory in Hungary which Janós Zapolyai had ruled as an Ottoman vassal. The issue eventually led to war, and an Ottoman army left for Hungary in Muharram 948/May 1541. At this moment, however, the Sultan dismissed his Grand Vizier. Although Luṭfī Pasha himself represents his removal from office on voluntary retirement to be "secure from the wiles of women" (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 3), it appears to have followed a violent quarrel with his wife, Dewlet Shāhī Sulṭān, the Sultan's sister, whom he had married in 945/1538-9. According to ʿĀlī (*Künh al-akhbār*, quoted by Köprülü, in *op. cit.*), the quarrel followed his wife's objection to his grisly punishment of a prostitute. After his dismissal, Luṭfī Pasha retired on his *çiftlik* [q.v.] in Dimetoka.

Luṭfī Pasha obviously regarded his administrative activities as the greatest achievement of his vizierate. His *Āṣaf-nāme* summarises his views on the principles of sound administration, at the same time enactioning his own reforms. The greatest of these he regarded as the abolition, except in cases of extreme urgency, of the *sūlah ḥākimī*, whereby state coursers (*ulāgh*) could arbitrarily expropriate horses from the populace for their own and their retinues' use. Instead, he established a system of regular staging posts with their own horses (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 10-12). Luṭfī Pasha, *op. cit.*, 371-82, see also C. J. Heywood, *Some Turkish archival sources for the history of the mercilunate network in Rumeli during the eighteenth century*, in *Belleten Üniversitesi Dergisi*, iv-v [1976-7], 50 n. 9). In the financial sphere, he claimed to have reduced state expenditure by, among other things, limiting the number of *kapıkulu* troops to 15,000, so that income exceeded expenditure. This had not been the case at the time of his appointment (R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, Turkish text, 55-40). Evidently to prevent oppressive taxation, he advised against the regular levy of *tawāriʾ* [q.v.] (*ibid.*, 42 2), and recommended that tax-farms (*maḥṣūl*) be exploited by salaried officials (*emīn* [q.v.]) rather than by tax farmers (*mültezim*) (*ibid.*, 39). Further to protect individuals against the claims of the state, he ensured that the Treasury did not appropriate inheritances until seven years had elapsed without an heir appearing (*ibid.*, 11-12) in strategic matters he rightly stressed the importance of the Ottoman fleet since the time of Selīm I, and claimed responsibility for establishing a number of squadrons outside Istanbul and an *emīn* to supervise naval expenditure (*ibid.*, 33, see also C. H Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi [1974], 211 ff.)

An independent witness to Luṭfī Pasha's reforms is Moses Almosnino of Salonica (ca. 1515-ca. 1580), who reported that he had protected miners against the exploitation of mining concessionaires, and cattle-raisers against drovers and butchers (Moses ben Baruch Almosnino, *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*, Madrid 1638, 130-3) Luṭfī Pasha's vizierate may also have seen the promulgation of the *Kānūn-nāme* [q.v.] of Süleymān I (U. Heyd, ed. V. L. Ménage, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 26-7).

Shortly after his retirement, Luṭfī Pasha returned to Istanbul to request the Sultan's permission to go on the Pilgrimage, which he performed eventually in 949/1542, before returning again to Dimetoka, where he spent the rest of his life in retirement, he devoted himself to writing works on morals, *fiḳh* and theology. He also wrote verse (Sāḥī, *Ḥeşt bihisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 25, quoted by M. Fuad Köprülü, *op. cit.*). He himself lists thirteen works in Arabic and six in Turkish (Luṭfī Pasha *op. cit.*, 3-4; R. Tschudi, *op. cit.*, pp. XV-XVIII). He does not include the *Āṣaf-nāme*, which he may therefore have completed after his *History*, which dates from after 961/1554. He died probably in 970/1562-3 in Dimetoka (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, quoted by M. Fuad Köprülü, *op. cit.*)

In Istanbul he endowed a fountain; in the village of Müslim near Edirne, he endowed a mosque and a *muʿallim-khāne* with 100,000 *akçes* and the income from twenty shops in Edirne (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Pāşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 506-7).

Bibliography in addition to the works cited in the text, see J. H. Mordtmann's valuable review of R. Tschudi's edition of the *Āṣaf-nāme* in *ZDMG*, lvi (1902), 599-603. (C. H. IMBER)

LUṬFĪ AL-SAYYID, AḤMAD, Egyptian scholar, statesman and writer, born in the village of Barḳayn, Dakahṭiyya Province, on 15 January 1872 and died in Cairo on 5 March 1963. His family were rural gentry (*aʿyān*), and both his father, al-Sayyid Abū ʿAlī, and his grandfather were *ʿumdas*. He was educated in the traditional *kuttāb*, the government school in al-Mansūra, the Khedivial Secondary School in Cairo and the School of Law in Cairo. The most significant intellectual contacts which he made at the School of Law were with Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Ḥasūna al-Nawāwī. Having graduated in 1894, he entered the legal department of the government service, where he worked until 1905. In 1907, he became editor-in-chief of a new newspaper, *al-Djarīda*, which voiced the views of a number of enlightened and liberal *aʿyān* and the party which they founded later in 1907, the Ḥizb al-Umma ("National Party"). Luṭfī's writings in *al-Djarīda* from 1907-14 comprise his most important and influential body of work. From 1915-18 he was director of the National

Library, but resigned to act as secretary to the original *Wafd* of 1918 headed by Saʿd Zaghlūl. He soon returned to the National Library, where he began his second substantial series of works, his translations from Aristotle via the French versions of Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire. From 1925 to 42 he was Chancellor of the Egyptian (later Cairo) University, with intermissions as Minister of Education (1928-9) and Minister of the Interior (1929). In his later years, he was a member of the Senate, and on retiring from politics, was president of the Academy of Arabic Language until his death. His liberal philosophy was largely the product of his readings in Western philosophers and sociologists from Aristotle to Locke and Bentham Mill, Spencer, Rousseau, Comte and Le Bon. He saw Egyptian nationality as the result of historical and environmental factors which Egyptianised all who resided permanently in Egypt and committed their destinies to her. Hence he campaigned tirelessly against Pan-Islamic, Pan-Arab and Pan-Ottoman ideologies in *al-Djarīda*, but granted equal worth to Egypt's Pharaonic and Islamic heritages. Rejecting religion as a basis for nationhood, he insisted that utility was the foundation of all political and social unity. He proclaimed freedom as the right of both the individual and the nation, and followed Muḥammad ʿAbduh's advocacy of a gradualist approach towards a constitutional régime through universal education. By his middle years, he was already called *ustādh al djīl* ("teacher of the generation"), and his writings are considered a notable contribution in the formation of modern literary Arabic. His autobiography appeared first in *al-Muṣawwar*, Cairo September-December 1950, and in book form as *Ayyām ḥayātī*, Cairo 1962. Selected editorials from *al-Djarīda* have been published in the following collections edited by Ismāʿīl Maẓhar: *al-Muntakhabāt*, 2 vols, Cairo 1945; *Safaḥāt maṭwiyya*, Cairo 1946, and *Taʾammulāt fī ʾl-falsafa wa ʾl-adab wa ʾl-siyāsa wa ʾl-idjtimāʿ*, Cairo 1946. His translations from Aristotle comprise *ʿUlūm al-akhlāḳ* (*Nikomachean ethics*), Cairo 1924; *al-Kawn wa ʾl-fasād* (*Generation and corruption*), Cairo 1932, *ʿUlūm al-ṭabīʿa* (*Physics*), Cairo 1935, *al-Siyāsa* (*Aristotelis Politica*), Cairo 1948.

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(C. WENDELL)

LUṬFIYYA [see SHĀDHILIYYA].

LŪṬĪ (also Lāṭī, Lawāṭa-kār), in current Persian strictly speaking an itinerant entertainer accompanied by a monkey, bear or goat, which dances to the sound of a drum and coarse songs. This however appears to have been a late restriction of the meaning of the term, deriving perhaps from its earlier use to describe a jester attached to a royal or princely court. In other contexts, it is equivalent to a loose liver, gambler, wine-bibber, and more especially, a pederast. The last meaning lends colour to the generally accepted derivation, through Arabic *lāṭī*, *lawṭī*, from the Prophet Lot, though this has been questioned by some scholars. Another less likely source is the Persian word *lūt*, meaning "victuals", whence *lūtī* — "greedy".

One of the earliest recorded uses of the term in Persian is by the 4th/10th century poet Kisāʾī, who associates it with the words *lūṭ* and *mahyār*, both meaning "catamite". Nāṣir-i Khusraw, writing in the 5th/11th century, uses the term as equivalent to "wine-drinker, thief, whoremonger", while Sūzanī (6th/12th century) warns against commercial dealings with *lūṭīs*, which suggests that the word was by then acquiring its later meaning of "vagabond, wastrel". Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (7th/13th century) and ʿUbayd Zākānī (8th/14th century), however, use it primarily in the sense of "pederast".

Probably as a result of the association in certain aspects of Ṣūfī thought between loose living and the following of the Ṣūfī path [see MALĀMATIYYA], expressions such as *lāṭī-yi Allāhī*, *lāṭī-yi Khudāʾī*, are found with the significance of "generous, manly". In current parlance, *lūṭ* also means "rascal, vagabond", *lūṭī-bāzī* or *lūṭī-gārī* "cheating", particularly in financial matters, *lūṭī-khīrat bardan* "improvidence, wastefulness". On the other hand, *lūṭī-garī* implies "generosity".

Bibliography: Amīr Kull Aminī, *Dāstānhā-yi amthāl*, Iṣfahān 1972, 301-3; idem, *Farhang-i ʿawāmm*, Iṣfahān 1974, 690-1; ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā *et alia*, *Lughat-nāma*, vol. *lām*, 334; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Menouchehri, poète persan du onzième siècle de notre ère*, Paris 1886, 309; W. M. Floor, *The Lūṭīs — a social phenomenon in Qādjār Persia*, in *WI*, xvi (1972), 103-21; idem, *The political role of the lūṭīs in Qādjār Iran*, in *Internationales Iran-Forschung*, Wiesbaden 1979, 279-89.

(L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

LUWĀTA [see LAWĀTA].

LUXOR [see AL UKṢUR].

LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM, "observing rules that are not prescribed", term commonly used for the adoption of a second, or even a third or fourth, invariable consonant preceding the rhyme consonant (*rawī*) which, at least in classical poetry, remains itself invariable [see QĀFIYA, iv, 472a, middle]. The term is also used in dealing with rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) [q.v.]. In later Arabic and Persian literary theory the term covers not only the classical *luzūm*, but also a variety of other devices which have nothing to do with the end rhyme. Common synonyms of *luzūm* are *tʿnīt* and *tʿlīzm*, and several authors insist that one finds the forms *taḏmīn*, *taḥdīd*, and *taḳyīd* in the sense of *luzūm*.

Scholars occupied with rhyme theory point out that the introduction of a second invariable rhyme consonant is rare among the ancient poets, they justify the practice by arguing that some poets chose to regard the suffix *-at* of the third person feminine of the verb in the perfect, the pronominal suffixes, *-ka*, *-ki*, *-kum*, *-kumā* (implicitly, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, v, 302), *-hum*, and *-humā* as *wasl* [see QĀFIYA, iv, 472a, middle] which meant that the preceding consonant became *rawī* and as such had to be invariable in addition to these suffixes themselves (cf. the explicit statement by the poet Kuthayyir quoted by Akhfash, *Kawāfī*, 18-19); it also meant that a line ending in the demonstrative *dhā* should prefer-

ably be followed by lines ending in *-ishā e.g., hundishā*, and not, for instance, in *-bā*. They mention that adoption of a second invariable consonant was sometimes achieved by reduplication of the rhyme consonant, and that sometimes the second invariable consonant (or the reduplication) was maintained in part of the poem only. They do not offer an explanation for this last phenomenon and seem to be unaware of the fact that *-ā', -īm*, and *-ūn* (less often *-īn*) appear at times to be interchangeable, *e.g., djamāliki/hirahi* (Tarafa, *Diwān*, ed. D. al-Khatīb and L. al-Ṣakkā[(Damascus 1395/1975), 86 ß), *kal laṭī/fa-dammalā* (Kuthayyir, *Dīwān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās [Beirut 1391/1971], 95 ß, and the lines on p. 147; see also A. Blech, in *AO*, xxi [1953], 230 and n. 31). Poems or fragments of poems ending on *-lā(ā), -rnā(ā)*, and *-rnā(ā)* are quoted with special frequency. The question of the origin of the figure thus appears complex. The literary theorists beginning with Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), *Badīʿ*, 74-5, who lists the *ʿinā'* (= *ḥashw*) as one of the ornaments of style (*maḥāsin*, see BADīʿ and IBN AL-MUʿTAZZ and cf. *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90), made no serious attempt to clarify the history of the figure or to explain to what extent the *luzūm* as practised by the poets of their own time was related to the technique of the ancient poets as recorded by the rhyme theorists. This is true also of Abū 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058), even though in the introduction to his *Luzūmiyyāt* (a work intended to demonstrate the possibilities of the figure and a curious exposition of the author's views on religion and ethics, see AL-MAʿARRī) he offers a thorough review of rhyme theory. Abū 'l-ʿAlā' seems to suggest that the *luzūm* of later poets was largely independent of these earlier examples (37, ll. 1-3) and implicitly denies that the suffix *-hmm* can be taken as *wasl* (51, ll. 2-7). Ibn 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256), *Taḥrīr*, 529, goes so far as to claim that the *luzūm* in the works of the ancients was unintentional.

At a later stage, the literary theorists discovered examples of *luzūm* in the Kurʾān, but these do not involve doubling of consonants or the repetition of suffixes, except in one case (VII, 86, *mn* tha Abī 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 528; idem, *Badīʿ al-Kurʾān*, 489) which is not valid, since it does not appear at the end of the verse and cannot be considered a rhyme. However, the examples from the *ḥadīth* and the sayings of ʿAlī quoted by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 747/1346 or 749/1348), *Ṭirāz*, ii, 400-1, contain some instances of *saǧʿ* with identical consonants preceding pronominal suffixes.

For a while after its first appearance in Ibn al-Muʿtazz's *Badīʿ* as *ʿinā al-shiʿr* the figure received little attention from the literary theorists. Kurʾānic examples and one example from poetry appear in Bāḳillānī's (d. 403/1013) *Iʿdjāz al-Kurʾān* (ed. A. Ṣaḳr [Cairo 1374/1954], 145-6) in a chapter on *al-tarṣīʿ wa'l-taḍmīn*, but Bāḳillānī does not mention the term *ʿinā* which one would expect in this context. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khaʿālrazmī (*flor.* second half of the 4th/10th century) in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. G. van Vloten [Leiden 1895]), defines *ʿinā* as the poet's following self-imposed rules and does not offer any examples. The term seems even to have been forgotten for some time, as appears from the unpublished *Maʿnāā al-bayān* of ʿAlī b. Khalaf (5th/11th century) (see *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 301 and note, and also I. Kratchkovsky in *AIEO*, xx [1962], 34, 108-9): The definition which ʿAlī b. Khalaf offers is correct, but as a result of a graphic error *ʿilāb* had by this time been substituted for *ʿinā*, this resulted later in the introduction of a new figure, *ʿilāb al-shiʿr/nafsihi* which found its way into several handbooks (see, for instance, Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 266-7).

The *Kharāʾiṭ* of Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) has a chapter on the *taḥāwur bi'l-ḥurūf* which stands apart from the treatment of the *luzūm* in other grammatical and rhetorical studies: it offers a wide variety of examples, mostly from older poets and mostly in the *radjaz* metre. Ibn Djinnī disregards (or does not recognise) some of the rules adopted by others. He accepts the *nūn* of the second energetic form of the verb as *rawī* (see KĀFIYA, iv, 412a second half) and ignores the tendency of ancient poets to consider the *hāʾ* of *-humā* as part of the *waṣl* (ii, 249); he points to unique instances of the *luzūm* in a poem by ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ where all first hemistichs but one end with the article and in a *radjaz* poem by a certain Ghaylān [b. Hurayth] al-Rabaʿī (M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Raǧazpoesie* [Wiesbaden 1966], index), where all lines but one end on a word in the genitive case which cannot be recognised as such because the *kāfiya* is not a *kāfiya mushāka* (see KĀFIYA, iv, 412a first half, with a view to the case ending being pronounced in singing [?], cf. H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen* [Oslo 1940], 12-3). Ibn Djinnī also notes (ii, 264-3) that Ibn al-Rūmī (d. ca. 280/893) distinguished himself as a *luzūm* poet (see also Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī [d. 384/993], *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. F. Krenkow [Cairo 1354/1935], 289, ll. 9-10), even though he sometimes did no more than maintain the same vowel before the *rawī* when this was not necessary, or not strictly necessary, in this context he makes a case, though not a well-documented one, for seeing in the *luzūm* of *muwalladī* poets (the term generally refers to early ʿAbbāsid poets, but is also used specifically for 4th/10th century poets) a continuation of tendencies which existed in ancient poetry. He is perhaps the first to accept as a form of *luzūm* the use of diminutives in the rhyme. Ibn Djinnī's views may not have been widely known; his observations on Ibn al-Rūmī and on the use of the diminutive are also found in later authors, but are worded differently.

In several works inspired by al-Ḳazwīnī's (d. 739/1338) *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* [see AL-ḲAZWĪNī (KHAṬīB DIMASHḲ)] and in didactic poems on the *badīʿ* (*badīʿiyyāt*) composed between the 8th/14th and 12th/18th centuries, the term is applied in a wider sense than before: one speaks of *luzūm* even if only two lines of a poem show an additional invariable consonant (some of the examples quoted by earlier rhyme theorists are from poems that do not show the *luzūm* throughout). The same is true, of course, of the *saǧʿ*, where often there are no more than two rhyming clauses. There is also question of *luzūm* in internal rhyme, *e.g., wa-mā 'ahlāna 'l-ʿasala bema 'bāra 'l-ḥasala*. ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), *Maʿāhid*, iii, 306, mentions a collection of *malāmāt luzūmiyya*, apparently based on the figure, by Al Ashtarkūwī (see MAKĀMA, and H. Namaḥ, in *JAL*, v, 88-92), who died in 538/1143 and quotes some poetry from this author. Moreover, the figure is no longer limited to the rhyme, but involves different kinds of rhetorical games and artifices, such as the avoidance of pointed or unpointed letters or alternating such letters from word to word, the avoidance of labials, the inclusion of a certain letter in every word of the line, the use of all letters of the alphabet in one line, and even graphic devices, such as the omission of connected letters. Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) credits himself with having

invented the term *taḏyīl* for such devices. The first example he mentions, however, is a device which involves the rhyme. The rhyme consonant may be, for instance, the *hāʾ*, but the poet imposes upon himself to avoid using the pronominal suffixes of the third person singular (presumably even in cases where this would be permissible, *see* KĀFIYA, iv, 413a middle). Others do not seem to be aware of Suyūṭī's definition and use *taḏyīl* as a simple synonym of the other terms listed at the beginning of this article.

In Persian rhetoric and prosody the terms *ʿināyat* and *luzūm wa lā yalzam* are used, as in Arabic for the adoption of a second invariable consonant in prose and in poetry, and the reduplication of the rhyme consonant in addition, however, the two terms are used for the repetition of two or more words in each hemistich or line of poetry, and for the use of internal rhyme. Rādūyānī (middle of the 5th/11th century) denotes the latter use specifically as *ʿināyat al-ṣarāyaʿ* Rāzī (beginning of the 7th/13th century), *al-Muʿdjam*, 386, also applies the term *ʿināyat* to the use of double *ḳāfiyas* (*e.g.*, *ḏjahān khabar-dār-am ziyar*) and points out that most Persian poets adopt an invariable consonant before the *hāʾ* of the feminine ending of Arabic words without considering this convention as *ʿināyat* or *luzūm* (216-27). Some later poets however disregard this rule, especially in cases where the *ḳāfiya* proper is followed by a *radīf*, i.e., a word or particle recurring at the end of each line (see *EI*², s.v. RADĪF for a more accurate description which includes the *radīf* in Turkish poetry, see also L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres* [Cambridge 1976], 225-6, 230). Another case of *luzūm*, according to Rāzī (262-3), occurs when the poet maintains the *taʾsīs*, i.e., a long *ā* separated from the *rawī* by a variable vowelled letter, throughout his poem (see Elwell Sutton, 229-30, 233). Dīdārgarnī (*q.v.* in Suppl.) (*flor.* early 8th/14th century) has collected a number of poems to which forms of *luzūm* have been applied under the heading *malzūmāt* in the 10th chapter of his anthology *Maʿāyir al-abrār wa-dakāʾik al-aḥrār* (ed. Mīr Ṣāliḥ Ṭabībī, 2, Tehran 1337/1958, *passim*).

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LYDDA [*see* LUDD].

M

MĀ BAʿD AL-ṬABĪʿA, or MA BAʿD AL-ṬABĪʿIYYĀT, a translation of the Greek τα μετὰ τα φυσικά "the things which come after physical things", i.e. metaphysics, an expression which can have two meanings, each of which envisages a particular conception of that science (*ʿilm* or *ṣināʿa*). It can either be a discipline which one embarks upon after physics, utilising the results of the natural sciences, or else it can be one whose goal lies beyond the apprehendable objects which are the concern of physics. The two meanings are not mutually self-exclusive, but the first tends to put the accent on the role of experience and of knowledge of physical things in the search for metaphysical realities, whilst the second invites one to enter immediately into the domain of supramantic principles in order to deduce from them the nature and laws governing beings of the material world.

One should note at the outset the two synonyms of this expression which denote metaphysics in

Arabic on one side *al-ilāhiyyat*, "the divine things", and on the other *al-falsafa al-ūlā*, "the first philosophy", a title which al-Kindī gave to one of his *Rasā'il* (cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1953, i). These two terms were borrowed from the Greeks. In Plato, the word θεολογία normally denotes metaphysics; in his view, there exists a sphere of the divine (τὸ θεῖον), a term taken up by Aristotle, who identifies theology, the first philosophy and what we call metaphysics (*Metaphysics*, 1026, a 17-18). The translation into the current turn of phrase *'ilm al-ashyā' al ilāhiyyāt al kaul* "science of divine things in regard to definition", in which *kaul* seems to correspond to the element λογική in θεολογική (*kaul* normally translating λόγος in its sense of definition). Ibn Rushd comments in these terms: "Just as the things of nature are those in the definition of which nature is involved, so are the divine things those in the definition of which God is involved" (*Tafsīr Mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, ed. Bouyges, ii, 712). Nevertheless, there does not follow from this that God is the object of metaphysics, neither for Ibn Rushd, who connects this science not with God but with the existence of an incorporeal and immobile substance, this substance being for him *al-mawǧūd fī 'l-ḥaqīqa ḥaqq 'l-ǧawhar* "the being in reality" (*ibid*., 750), nor for Ibn Sīnā, who thinks that God is not a datum, but can be demonstrated starting from the Necessary Being. Ibn Rushd further follows Aristotle, who brought forward the possibility of a first philosophy (ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία) in 1026 a 23, saying that if there exists no other substance except those constituted by nature, then it is physics which should be the first philosophy, concerning which Ibn Rushd comments thus: "It is equally clear that if there is there a certain substance distinct from the moving substance, this substance which has existence will be the first, and the science which one builds upon it will be the primordial science (*al-'ilm al-aḳdam*), it will be the universal science and the first philosophy (*Tafsīr*, ii, 714). Moreover, for Aristotle, beyond the general idea of the divine there are only the gods of the ancient poets (Hesiod) who come into mythological cosmologies remote from demonstrative philosophy. Commenting on the term θεολόγοι (*Met*., 1000 a 9), Ibn Rushd writes (*Tafsīr*, i, 251), "Those who speak of divine things (*al umūr al-ilāhiyya*) are those who hold forth upon a discourse beyond what man can intelligibly understand (*kalāmᵃⁿ ḫārigᵃⁿ ʿammā yaʿqiluhu al-insān*)". In other words, before speaking philosophically of God, one must make an intelligible conception, and this is the role of metaphysics.

But how should one understand the expression "primordial science" which Ibn Rushd uses? All the question is included there. Indeed, metaphysics comes *before* the other sciences because it is universal and is concerned with the cause of everything which exists; should one therefore place it in front of the others in research and teaching, or on the contrary keep it back till the end? One may see here merely a difference of method, that of an expository procedure starting from principles and causes, and of a process of discovery starting from concrete and apprehensible experiences. This is al-Fārābī's approach, who tries by this means to reduce the divergencies separating Plato and Aristotle. He accordingly remarks in his *Kitāb al-Ǧamʿ bayn raʾyay al-ḥakīmayn* (ed. A. Nader, Beirut 1968, 86) that for Plato, the most noble primordial substances are those which are near to the intellect and the soul, whilst for Aristotle, the most worthy substances of this name, by anteriorness and by their value (*bi 'l-taqdīm wa 'l-ṭabʿ*), are the first substances, i.e. the individual substances (*al-ǧawāhir al-uwal allatī hiya al-aškhāṣ*). But the difference arises from what Aristotle then says from the point of view of the logical and physical sciences, whilst Plato speaks from the point of view of metaphysics (*fī mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*) and theological doctrines (*wa-aḫāwīthī al ilāhiyya*). Consequently, one can set oneself within a certain science or within another, or start from one or start from another, as a matter of indifference, according to one's intention. In his *Falsafat Arisṭāṭālīs* (ed. Muḥsin Mahdī, Beirut 1961), al-Fārābī sets forth the Stagirite's thought, following the progressive order of his enquiry as he sees it. After the questions of logic, and with the intention of discovering what makes for perfection in man, Aristotle studies the various questions which concern nature (*ṭabīʿa*), the soul (*nafs*) and the intellect (*ʿaql*). "He must also examine profoundly the substances of the heavenly bodies; are they nature, soul or intellect, or are they indeed some other, more perfect (*akmal*) thing, also, are these substances things which are outside physical speculation? The point is that physical speculation only includes what the categories include. Now it is clear that there are other beings outside the categories: the Intellect acting as Agent and the Thing (*šayʾ*), which give to the heavenly bodies a perpetual circular movement. This being so, one has to make speculations about the beings which have a more universal (aʿamm) field than those about physics" (*ibid*., 130). "This is why Aristotle explains in the book called *Mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa* it was that he is making speculations and conducting a deep enquiry into beings in a way which differs from physical speculation" (*ibid*., 132). One notes that al-Fārābī admits that one can begin by physics, which does not however prevent him from thinking (in fact, wrongly) that Aristotle recognises the existence of a domain of the being which is external and superior to the categories which, according to him, only concern the physical domain. Elsewhere he speaks clearly (133) of a penetrating enquiry into the beings which are above the natural things in the hierarchy of being (*fī 'l-mawǧūdāt allatī fawq al-ṭabīʿiyyāt fī rutbat al mawǧūd*).

Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd take up the Aristotelian definition of metaphysics as being the science of the *being as such* (*al-mawǧūd bi-mā huwa mawǧūd*). But what is meant to be understood by this?

1. Ibn Sīnā's viewpoint. The basic principle is that "the object (*mawḍūʿ*) of all science is something whose existence is admitted (or conceded: *wuǧūduhu al musallam al mawḍūʿ*) in that science" (Šifāʾ, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1380, i, 3). It is drawn from the *Posterior analytics* of Aristotle (72 a 20): "If I say that a thing exists or does not exist, it is a hypothesis." Hence if one says that the object of metaphysics is God or the Prime cause (*Mutabbāʾ al-asbāb*), this is only an hypothesis which must be verified by means of another science. Now there is no other science, necessarily more particular than metaphysics, which is able to guarantee the existence of such and such an object. The *mawḍūʿ* of a science is the object concerning which this science conducts an enquiry (*al-mabḥūṯ ʿanhu*). But since God or the Prime cause are not data, they are on the contrary the goal of a metaphysical enquiry (*maṭlūb*). Ibn Sīnā concludes that the object of metaphysics is the being as such which is implied by every science, by every

question, by every thought and by every speech utterance (*ibid.*, 30). It is the *quid* (*mā*), the "that which" (*allaḏī*) and the thing (*shay'*). It does not have to be vouched for, since it is the thing itself which vouches for everything, or it is by means of it that one vouches for what one vouches for. This being as such can be divided, without one needing recourse to any category, in several ways: these divisions of it are like intrinsic accidents (*ka 'l-ʿaraḍiyāt al-ḫāṣṣa*), whilst divisions according to categories are *like* kinds (*ka 'l-nawāʿ*). It can thus be divided in one and in multiples (*al-wāḥid - al-kaṯīr*), in force and in action (*bi-'l-quwwa - bi-'l-fiʿl*), in universal and particular (*kulli - juzʾī*), in what is eternal and what arises from a temporal origin (*ḥadīṯ - muḥdaṯ*), in what is completed and what is incomplete (*tāmm - nāqiṣ*), in cause and effect (*ʿilla - maʿlūl*) and in possible and necessary (*mumkin - wāǧib*). This list has been made up from the metaphysics of the *Shifāʾ* (i, 23) and from the *Kitāb al-Naǧāt* (ed. Sabrī al-Kurdī, 1938, 199). The last pair of oppositions in this division will mark out the Avicennan ontology through the distinction of the Being necessary by itself (*wāǧib al-wuǧūd bi-ḏātihi*), which is to be identified with God, and the being possible by itself (*mumkin al-wuǧūd bi-ḏātihi*) necessary by something outside of itself, i.e. the being of the universe. Consequently starting from this general ontology, Ibn Sīnā explains the origins of various beings, first of all the heavenly ones (intellects, spheres, souls of the spheres) by a process of emanation (*fayḍ*), so far as the Intellect acting as Agent, the intellect of the sphere of the moon, and then of the sublunary world, which is made out of material elements by a progression from minerals to man, thanks to the shapes received from the Intellect acting as Agent which is *Wāhib al-ṣuwar* (*Dator formarum*). Thanks to reason, man is capable of returning to God, to such a point that God is, as the Kurʾān says (LVII, 3), the First and the Last. From the domain of metaphysics, one passes on to that of connection with the heavens, then with physics, by a descending movement, then, beginning with connection with minerals, one passes on to that with plants, and from animals to that with the soul, as far as the rational soul, by means of an upward movement which ends up by a mysticism of the mind which corresponds to its point of arrival with that which was metaphysics at its departure point. For Ibn Sīnā, as for Plato, all reality is legitimately deducible from metaphysical principles, even though the imperfect nature of the human understanding does not in fact allow an integral deduction of the universe.

2. Ibn Rushd's viewpoint. This is a case of recovering the pure Aristotelianism, stripped of all Platonic or Neoplatonic influence. Since being is not a generic concept, it cannot be defined and apprehended in itself, but only by means of categories. Thus for Ibn Rushd, the problem is to know what one can say about it and how one can speak of it. "Aristotle's aim in this book (Δ) is to distinguish the details of the significations to which the names (*al-asmāʾ*) refer, significations which one thinks about in that science (metaphysics) and which hold there the position of the subject of an art (*manzilat mawḍūʿ ṣināʿa*) in relationship to that art. These names are those which are uttered in regard to a single thing according to different points of view (*bi-ǧihāt muḫtalifa*). This is why he makes out of speculation on the meaning of these names one section of that science (*Tafsīr*, ii, 475). It is thus that one calls everything connected with health "healthy": balanced temperament, exercise, remedial measures, "the same thing is valid for the name of the being (*mawǧūd*) in relationship to substance and other categories" (*ibid.*, i, 303-4). It is possible therefore to have a single science of all the diverse beings, on condition that one understands the names designating them analogically. This is what has been called the analogy of proportionality; being in regard to substance is what being is in regard to quantity, etc. "Just as the things which are connected (*tanāsub*) with the curative arts fall, no examinations into one and the same science, i.e. medicine, likewise all the things which are connected with being are the object of speculation in a single science (*ibid.*, i, 307). But metaphysics can also be justified by relying on the analogy of attribution, substance being the first analogue of being. "Thus the name of being (*huwiyya*), a synonym of *mawǧūd*, although it is used of different species of being, is only used for each of them through the fact of the connection which it enjoys with the prime being (*al-huwiyya al-ūlā*) which is substance". To be first accordingly means here to be the first analogue. "The categories are connected with the substance, not in that they are considered to be their agentive cause any more than their ultimate one, but in the sense that they subsist in it (*bi-ʾanna hāḏā*) and that the substance is for them a subject (*mawḍūʿ*)" (*ibid.*, 305). Now substance is a basic concept and in the measure that one accordingly brings together the study of being with the study of substance, "since it has been posited that for every unique concept there is a unique science ... there results necessarily that there is a unique science of being" (*ibid.*, 309). Metaphysics, being the study of being as such (Ibn Rushd who prefers *huwiyya* to *mawǧūd*, often remarks that its object is *al-huwiyya bi-mā hiya huwiyya*), ought probably to contain within itself all the aspects of being. Nevertheless being in the shape of the accident (*bi-'l-ʿaraḍ*) and being in thought (*fi 'l-fikr*) are two defective entities (*naqīṣatān*). The aim of metaphysics is to examine "the real being which exists outside the soul" and it is "the substance which is the basic principle of this being" (*al-ǧawhar huwa mabdaʾ hāḏihi 'l-huwiyya*). This conforms to the importance which the substance assumes basically in metaphysical speculation (cf. *ibid.*, iii, 1401). Beginning by the study of substances which are apprehendable by the sense and are mobile and corruptible, and then of substances which have these same characteristics except that they are incorruptible (the heavens), Ibn Rushd hopes to arrive, with Aristotle, at a substance which is not apprehendable by the senses, is incorruptible and is immobile, the Prime Mover, the cause of all the movements of the universe.

Ibn Rushd thus carries beyond the apprehendable world an idea of substance which he has drawn from physics and which seems to him to be the basis of all existence: all that exists is substance, an exact correspondence here below. Ibn Sīnā, on the contrary, thinks that substance, like all other categories, must receive the quality of existence in order to exist, and that it can only receive existence by acquiring quantity, quality and all the other categories, for a substance which had neither quantity, quality and so forth, would be nothing. So it cannot in itself be taken as the first analogue or the representative of being conceived as existence. For Ibn Sīnā, the Necessary being is not a substance since it exists by itself, the *Kayyūm* of the Kurʾān

(II, 255, III, 2) On the other side, we have seen that the problem for the metaphysician is to know who established the existence of its object. Ibn Sīnā behaves that this object, being implied in all sciences, does not need be to vouched for by one of them. Moreover, it is for metaphysics to provide the *role of* supplying the other sciences with the basis of their object. Ibn Rushd criticises this viewpoint, but by relying on his own one, namely that the first philosophy poses the question to itself about substance as the first analogue of being. "Ibn Sīnā, believing in the truth of the doctrine which does not want any of the sciences to set forth its own principles, and taking that *simpliciter*, believes that it is the task of the person who concerns himself with the first philosophy to give a clear exposition of the existence of substance apprehendable by the senses, eternal or not. He say that the natural scientist posits by hypothesis that nature exists (*yaḍaʿu wujūdan ṭabīʿiyyan mawjūdan*) and that the scholar of divine science is the one who gives the demonstrable proof of its existence" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 1423 4) Ibn Rushd then replies: "Yes, the specialist in the first philosophy seeks for the principles of substance as substance and sets forth clearly that the separateness of substances is the principle of the physical substance. But in making clear this search, he constantly calls for (*yuḍṭarru*) what physics clearly sets forth, whether in regard to the substance which can be generated and is corruptible in the first book of the *Physics* (189 B 30-191 b 34), where it is demonstrated that it is made up of matter and form, or whether in regard to the eternal substance, in Book viii (260 a 26 ff), where it is set forth that the driving force of that substance is stripped of all matter. Thus he clearly lays down that the principles of the substance which are neither the Universal ideas (*al-kulliyyāt*) nor the Numbers (*al-aʿdād*) [of Plato]" (*ibid.*, 1424-5) One should mention a final divergence between the two philosophers. Ibn Rushd notes that Aristotle, in the tenth book of the *Metaphysics*, has an enquiry into the unit, the multiple, the identical (*huwa huwa*), the similar, the opposite and into still further notions "which bring out the general concomitants (*al-lawāḥiq al-ʿāmma*) of the being as such" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 1403). In effect, metaphysics is a speculation about the being as such and about the "things" which are concomitant with it" (*al-umūr allāḥiqa lahu*) (*ibid.*, iii, 1395) Now we have seen that what is concomitant with being for Ibn Rushd is the division of being for Ibn Sīnā. It seems that this fundamental divergence holds good for all the other oppositions.

Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics is consequently open to a region beyond the world, the earth and the heavens; it makes a mystical system possible. For Ibn Rushd, on the contrary, although metaphysics studies the principles of beings which are objects of other sciences, it is not the foundation of those sciences, but their completion. He writes in his *Tafsīr*, ii, 701, "Since . . each science only concerns itself with studying a certain being which is its special object, it is clear that there must necessarily exist a science which studies the absolute being (*al-kawniyya al-muṭlaqa*), if there were not, our knowledge of things would not be completely exhaustive (*lam tatimmu maʿrifat al-aškyāʾ*)" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 701) Furthermore, whilst Ibn Rushd seeks for the first cause of the movements of substances apprehendable by the senses, corruptible or incorruptible, and finds it in the immobile Prime Mover, Ibn Sīnā sets himself the task of "making an enquiry into the first cause from which every being is brought about by causality (*bulūg mawǧūd mā bi-l-ʿilla*) in so much as it has been the result of causality, and not simply in as much as it is a mobile being (*mawǧūd mutaḥarrik*) or a quantifiable being (*mawǧūd mutakammim*) (*Šifāʾ, Ilāhiyyāt*, i, 14). But there is a problem there, it is not possible for metaphysics to speculate on causes in so much as they are causes *simpliciter* (*al-asbāb bi-mā hiya asbāb muṭlaqa*), in the first place because this science treats of notions" "which do not raise the question of proper accidents owed to these causes as such, such as the notions of universal and particular, of act and capability, of possibility and necessity" (*ibid.*, 7), and then because the science of causes taken *simpliciter* presupposes that the existence of causes has been established for the things which have a cause (*thābit al-asbāb li-l-umūr ḏawāt al-asbāb*) Ibn Sīnā adopts here a very clear view of the problem of causality: it is not sufficient for the existence of a cause to be demonstrated in the eyes of reason. The existence of causes and effects is not proved by an intuition of causality, it comes from the division of being into the necessary and the possible. The first cause is thus the being necessary by itself. This is why there exists a being necessary to that all other beings have causes, since these exist even at the time when they are only possibilities. Now it one adopts as the point of departure experience of things apprehendable by the senses, all the causes that one will find are at the same time effects. One would not therefore be able, by tracing back the series of cause-effects, to reach the first cause, whether one went back infinitely or whether one came to a stop, as did Aristotle in his search for the Prime Mover, by an arbitrary decision: ἀνάγκη στῆναι On this point, Ibn Sīnā has set forth a highly original idea in his *Išārāt* (ed Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1958, iii, 454-5). It concerns the position of the cause which is not an effect, in relation to the series of cause-effects. If it forms part of their ensemble (*ḍamma*), it is necessarily an extreme limit (*ṭaraf*). But if one takes a series made into a hierarchical chain (*silsila murattiba*) of causes and effects which is made up only of cause-effects, "there is a need for an external cause for the ensemble, but undoubtedly in continuity with it in regard to limit (*bi-ittiṣāl min ḥaiṯu ḥudūduhu ʿāmm, lākinnahū tatanāhā bihā . . . ṭarafun*)". Ibn Sīnā envisages the case where this succession is infinite, and then the cause-efforts would form an infinitely limited ensemble. This ensemble in the universe; God is an "limit", but He is exterior to it. On the contrary, Ibn Rushd's Prime Mover is probably at the peak of the hierarchy of substance, but it is a substance and forms part of the world of substances. Just as metaphysics finishes off the sciences, likewise God supports the universe like the keystone of an arch.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

MA CHUNG-YING (*Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4320, 2505, 7489), also known as GA SSU-LUNG, or "Little Commander" (*Ge* is an affectionate diminutive used in colloquial Kansu Chinese—see the *Hsin-Hua tzu-tien*, Peking 1971, 124; Su-lin's use *Matthews'*, nos. 5585, 4043), the youngest and best known of the five Chinese Muslim warlords comprising the "Wu Ma" clique [q.v.] which controlled much of Northwest China during the latter half of the Republican period (1911-49).

Little is known of Ma Chung-ying's early years,

He was born at Linhsia (formerly Hochow) in south-eastern Kansu, *ca.* 1910 (there is a contradiction in the *Biographical dictionary of Republican China*, which holds that Ma was born in 1911, but that he became a junior officer in 1924 "at the age of seventeen"; *op cit*, 463, col 1). Little is known of Ma's immediate family, but it is clear that he shared the same paternal grandfather as the Kansu-Chinghai warlords Ma Pu-ch'ing (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5363, 11168) and Ma Pu-fang (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5363, 11813) and that he was thus a scion of the powerful Ma family of Pieh-tsang, a small village some 30 km west of Linhsia (Mei, *op cit*. In Bibl, 666). Ma Chung-ying was also distantly related to the Kansu-Ninghsia warlords Ma Hung-k'uei (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5386, 3631) and Ma Hung-pin (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 5386, 3459), the most powerful representatives of the Ma family of Han-chia-chi, a large village some 25 km. south west of Linhsia. Together these five Hui warlords were to become famous—or infamous—as the "Wu Ma" Northwestern Muslim clique.

Ma Chung-ying first entered military service during 1924 when, at about the age of fourteen, he joined the local Muslim militia. One year later, in August 1925, troops of the "Christian General", Feng Yü-hsiang, invaded Kansu. The invading forces, under the command of Feng's subordinate Liu Yü-fen, formed a part of the Northwest Army, more commonly known as the First *Kuomunchün* ("National People's Army"), a vast rabble which is estimated to have numbered in excess of 200,000 men during the late summer of 1925. Feng intended, through his subordinates Liu, to colonise large tracts of Kansu with Kuomunchün soldiers, he also intended to finance his struggle against the Northeastern warlord Chang Tso-lin with taxes raised and opium cultivated in the Northwest. Not unnaturally, these aims found little favour with the people of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, nor were the local warlords much inclined to support Feng Yü-hsiang.

In 1926, one year after the Kuomunchün invasion of Kansu, Ma Chung-ying received his first commission as an officer in the forces commanded by one of his uncles, Ma Ku-chung (Boorman and Howard, *op. cit*, in *Bibl*., 463). During the same year, Liu Yü-fen, who was in occupation of the provincial capital at Lanchow, was attacked by a combination of local warlords from eastern Kansu (Sheridan, *op cit*. in *Bibl*., 195-6). Fighting was prolonged and severe but the Muslim warlords of western Kansu seem to have remained aloof from the struggle, and Liu eventually succeeded in reimposing Kuomintchün rule on the province. During his conflict, Ma Chung-ying, still only sixteen or seventeen years of age, is said to have "laid siege to and captured Linhsia on his own initiative" (Boorman and Howard, *ibid*.) Liu Yü-fen ordered troops under the command of Ma Lin (a great-uncle of Ma Chung-ying) to recapture Linhsia but the young soldier easily defeated them, winning for himself a reputation as a military strategist and the nickname "Little Commander". Ma Chung-ying's triumph was short-lived, however, for his uncle and commanding officer Ma Ku-chung had not ordered the occupation of Linhsia, and he dismissed his nephew for insubordination. The "Little Commander" learned this lesson well: he withdrew to the Sining area of Chinghai and began to build up his own forces.

The Kuomintchün "pacification" of Kansu left large areas of the province devastated, but failed to break the rebellious spirit of its people. In 1927 north-western Kansu was racked by a violent earthquake, this, combined with the increased use of good arable land for the cultivation of the opium poppy and arbitrary tax increases imposed by Liu Yü-fen, caused widespread famine. Early in the spring of 1928 the patience of the Northwestern Muslims ran out, and the standard of revolt was raised against the Kuomintchün by the Muslim leader Ma T'ing-hsiang (*Matthews'*, nos. 4310, 6404, 5076, see Sheridan, 250). Ma Chung-ying (who according to one source had fled to Sining, together with a group of his followers, because of an illicit affair with a young Muslim girl from a strictly orthodox family; see Ekvall, *op cit*. In *Bibl*., 946) rapidly became involved in this revolt against the Kuomintchün. The city of Linhsia, which remained in Kuomintchün hands, was besieged three times by Muslim forces. Robert Ekvall, an American who travelled through south-eastern Kansu at this time, records that "The revolt had by this time assumed all the aspects of a holy war. Chanting prayers, forty or fifty thousand fighters went into battle with fanatical zeal . . . the young rebel leader Ma Chung-ing (*sic*) seemed to bear a charmed life and by his reckless courage gained the utmost in obedience and devotion from his ruffian troops. The Chinese (i.e. the Kuomintchün) were panic-stricken at the desperate courage of the Moslems, but eventually, by machine-gun fire and light artillery, proved superior" (Ekvall, 946-7). The Kuomintchün was unable, however, to crush the Muslim revolt entirely, no sooner had the rebellion been suppressed in one area, than it broke out afresh in another. By September 1928 over 120,000 people had died (Sheridan *loc cit*.). Anti-Kuomintchün feeling amongst the Muslims gradually gave way to racial hostility against all Han Chinese. On 14 February 1929, about 20,000 Muslims forced their way into Tangar, a city of some 5,000 families in western Kansu. An American eyewitness described the scene as follows: "[The Muslims] forced an entrance by ladder over the north wall. Immediately by they began as murder the Chinese in the most brutal way, cutting over the head with swords . . . The Muslims were in the city only about two hours, but during that time the official figures show more than 2,000 killed, 300 wounded, and $ 2,000,000 damage" (Sheridan, 231). Kuomintchün reprisals against the Muslims were equally bloody. According to American diplomatic reports (see Sheridan, *ibid*.), the ravages of war and famine reduced people to cannibalism, between 1926 and 1929 as many a 2,000,000 people may have died. One casualty was Ma Chung-ying's father, who was executed on the orders of Liu Yü-fen in the winter of 1929 (Boorman and Howard, *ibid*.)

In 1929 Ma Chung-ying, his position strengthened by several victories over the forces of the Kuomintchün, approached the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek with a request that his private army should be recognised as a Kuomintang frontier unit. At about this time, Feng Yü-hsiang declared himself independent of the National Government at Nanking, as a result of this, Ma Chung-ying's distant relative Ma Hung-k'uei, the strongest of the "Wu Ma" clique, declared in favour of the nationalist cause. Ma Chung-ying went to Nanking, where he enrolled briefly at the military academy. In 1930 he returned to Kansu where he was appointed garrison commander at Kanchow (Changyeh) in the far north-west, near the frontier of Sinkiang (q.v.), from here he controlled a small fief, including the towns of Suchow and An-hsi, which "freed him from any financial

worry and allowed him to prepare his army for an expedition to Sinkiang" (Nyman, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 101). Before striking out into Singkiang, however, Ma seems to have made another bid to extend his personal power base in Kansu. Once again he met with failure, this time at the hands of his uncle Ma Pu-fang (Norins, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 42).

In 1930 Sinkiang, China's largest province, was under the control of Chin Shu-jen, an avaricious and incompetent warlord from Kansu over 90% of Chin's subjects were Muslims, but the Han Chinese warlord seems to have nurtured a fierce hatred for all Muslims, whether of Hui or Turkic ethnic origin. Chin's anti-Muslim sentiment once well have derived from the various Hui risings in Kansu, certainly, when a combination of famine and war drove starving Han Chinese refugees in flee from his native Kansu to Sinkiang in the late 1920s Chin welcomed them with open arms. Less than 200 km from the north-western frontier of Ma Chung-ying's fief in Kansu lay the ancient oasis city of Komul (Komul [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). When Chin Shu-jen seized power in Sinkiang during 1928, Komul (Chinese name Hami) was still a semi-independent state, ruled by the aged monarch Maksūd Shāh, the last autonomous Khānate in Central Asia. When Maksūd died of old age in 1930, Chin Shu-jen, who held the heir apparent hostage in Urumchi, the provincial capital, announced the abolition of the Khānate and its full absorption within China. Chinese officials took over the administration of Komul, and Chin began to settle Han Chinese refugees from his native Kansu on arable land expropriated from the indigenous Uyghur [*q.v.*] farmers. Local unrest grew rapidly, and in 1931, following the abduction of a local Muslim girl by a Han Chinese tax collector, open rebellion broke out.

One of the leaders of the Komul revolt, a Uyghur called Yulbars Khān [*q.v.*] travelled to Suchow in north-eastern Kansu where he met Ma Chung-ying (now officially Commander of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang, though Yulbars remembers that there were as many Mas in the force that it was commonly called the *Ma chia-chün*, or "Ma Household Army", see Yulbars, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 87-8). Ma agreed to enter the fray, ostensibly to help his Uyghur co-religionists and in 1931 he led his troops into Sinkiang in an open challenge to Chin Shu-jen. Ma was wounded during the autumn, and withdrew temporarily to Kansu to recuperate. In August 1932 Ma's troops again entered Sinkiang. Initially, they cooperated with the Uyghurs in their struggle against Chin Shu-jen. Ma's crack cavalry units, generally considered to have been amongst the best troops in China, fought their way to the outskirts of Urumchi before being repulsed by White Russian mercenaries under the command of Chin Shu-jen (see Wu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 73 100), meanwhile, Uyghur forces under Yulbars Khān and Khōdja Niyāz Hādjidjī took control of the greater part of southern Sinkiang, and on "East Turkestan Republic" was proclaimed at Kāshghar [*q.v.*].

In April 1933 the incompetent Chin Shu-jen was ousted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, his Chief-of-Staff. The new warlord, whose home province was Liaoning in the far Northeast, enjoyed the support of a group of some 3,000 battle-hardened Manchurian troops who had been driven into Siberia by the invading Japanese and repatriated to Sinkiang by the Soviet authorities. During the remainder of 1933, Ma Chung-ying's forces made two further attempts to take Urumchi, and despite judicious use of his White Russian and Manchurian troops, Sheng was forced to appeal to the Soviet Union for aid. In January 1934, Soviet military units entered Sinkiang and attacked Ma Chung-ying's cavalry with aeroplanes and, apparently, poison gas. The Muslim warlord was forced to fall back on Turfan, but instead of withdrawing to his old base in north-eastern Kansu he took the decision in try and hold southern Sinkiang.

This decision brought the Kansu Muslims into direct conflict with the Uyghur Muslims of Sinkiang, their erstwhile allies. There had been indications of such a split for some time, as soon as fighting on the northern front had become bogged down before Urumchi, units of Ma's forces had advanced into the Tarim Basin where his troops "aroused the antagonism of the Turki natives by looting and plundering" (Boorman and Howard 464). It rapidly became clear to most of the Uyghur population (though notably not to Yulbars) that Ma was just another Kansu warlord, and not the saviour of the Muslims of Sinkiang they had hoped for. (There was never any question of Ma being viewed as a *mahdī*, and there seems to be no reason for assuming that he considered himself as such. Nyman, 101-3, is certainly mistaken in suggesting this.) The retreating Ma Chung-ying fell back on Kāshghar, where he destroyed the nascent Islamic "East Turkestan Republic"; he then transferred command of his forces to his brother in-law, Ma Hu-shan (*Matthaus*', nos 4320, 2161, 5630), and, in a move which still remains shrouded in mystery, crossed the frontier into the Soviet Union during July 1934. His brother-in-law, Ma Hu-shan, went on to occupy the whole of the southern rim of the Tarim Basin, here, as the "Commander-in-Chief of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang", Ma established a strange Hui-ruled fief on the borders of Tibet. Ma Hu-shan's statelet, "Tunganistan" [*q.v.*] was to endure until 1937, when his forces melted away and he took refuge in British India.

It is not clear why Ma Chung-ying should have deliberately chosen to enter the Soviet Union when his military position was far from hopeless—after all, he had been driven back from Urumchi by Soviet forces. Ma's eventual fate is uncertain, an article published anonymously in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* during 1935 states that he "died on arrival at Moscow", however, it is more likely that he was held by Stalin as a weapon in reserve against Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet puppet in Sinkiang. Ma may have been executed by Stalin at Sheng's request when the latter visited Moscow in 1938, certainly, he was never seen again, though for many years stories of his imminent return circulated amongst both the Uyghurs of Sinkiang and the Hui of Kansu.

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group"), in *Keikyo Jiho*, i/1 (1938), 11 pp ; anon., *Durchbruchsgeschichte in Zentralasien*, in *Berichte des Asien Afrikawerkes* (Vienna-Peking), i (1939), 3-30, Wu, Aitchen K (Wu Ai-chen) *Turkestan tumult*, London 1940; Y. P. Mei, *Stronghold of Muslim China*, in *Asia*, xl (1940), 658-60, M Norins, *Gateway to Asia : Sinkiang*, New York 1944, see esp 41-5; O Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia: Sinkiang and the Inner Asian frontiers of China*, Boston 1950, see esp 69-72; An Ning, *Hsin-chiang nei-mu* ("The inside story of Sinkiang"), n. p. 1952, Chang Ta-chün, *Hsin-chiang chin san-shih nien pien-luan chih-lüeh* ("A brief account of forty years' turmoil in Sinkiang"), Taipei 1954, idem, *San shi nien lung-luan Hsin-chiang* ("Forty years of turmoil in Sinkiang"), Hong Kong 1956 (the Hong Kong edition of Chang's work is considerably more extensive than the earlier Taipei edition) A. S Whiting and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, *Sinkiang pawn or pivot?*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1958, J. F. Sheridan *Chinese warlord: the career of Feng Yü-hsiang*, Stanford 1966. H. L. Boorman and R. C. Howard *Biographical dictionary of Republican China*, New York and London 1967, see "Ma Chung-ying", also "Chin Shu-jen", "Sheng Shih-ts'ai", etc ; Yao Ie po-shih (Yulbars Khān), *Yao-lo-po-shih hui-i lu* ("A record of the memories of Yulbars"), Taipei 1969; Chan Fook-lam (Gilbert), *The road to power: Sheng Shih ts'ai's early years in Sinkiang, 1930-34*, in *Journal of Oriental Studies* (Hong Kong), vii (1969), 224 ff., Bayanzya Heyit, *Turkestan zwischen Russland und China*, Amsterdam 1971, also published in Turkish at Ankara in the same year, L. E. Nyman, *Great Britain and Chinese, Russian and Japanese interests in Sinkiang, 1918-34*, Lund 1977. J. Chen, *The Sinkiang story*, New York 1977. (A. D. W. Forbes)

MA HUA-LUNG (*Matthews' Chinese English dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos 4320, 2211, 4258), also known as Ma Ch'ao-chün (*Matthews'*, nos. 4320, 233, 1171), a Chinese Muslim leader and exponent of the "New Teaching" who played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim risings against the Ch'ing dynasty.

Ma Hua-lung was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 13th/19th century, probably at Ch'in-chi-p'u (Hartmann, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 14), a walled city in Ninghsia [*q.v.*] province situated on the right bank of the Yellow River some 80 Km south of Ninghsia city (the modern Yinchwan). We know little of Ma's personal background. Po Ching-wei, a member of the Shensi gentry who participated in the struggle against Ma (and therefore a hostile source), states that "Ma Hua-lung's family lived at Chin chi-p'u for generations", seemingly, Ma came from a well-to-do family background, for he was "the leading rich man in the area, as well as a person with a military title which he earned by substantial contributions to the government" Furthermore, he was a man of considerable political and religious significance, for Po tells us that he was "very much *respected and trusted* by the *Moslems in Ninghsia* .. [and] ... he was a sweeping influence over the Moslems of the other provinces too" (Po Ching-wei, *Feng-hsi-ts'ao-t'ang-chi* hü, 7-11, cited in Chu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 546-7)

In Ma Hua-lung's time, Chin-chi-p'u, said to have been a Muslim centre "for more than a thousand years" (Bales, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 278), and described as the "Medina of Chinese Islam" (Wright, *op. cit.* in *BiM.*, 111), indicating a significance secondary only to that of Hochow (often described as the "Mecca of Chinese Islam"), was a prosperous trading centre which thrived on the tea and salt trade with Mongolia. Bales, 243, notes that "it was a purely Muslim city and no Chinese official was resident there. The officials lived at Lingchow" (a small city some 30 km. to the north)

Ma Hua-lung's lineage is unclear He does not appear to have been directly related by blood to Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*] of An-ting, but he was certainly a spiritual descendant of the latter Muhammad Tawādī' (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 117) states that he was the sixth *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* founded by Ma Ming-hsin *ca.* 1175/1761 near Lanchow Ma Hua-lung's father, Ma Erh (*Matthews'*, nos. 4320, 1752), the fifth *shaykh* in Ma Ming-hsin's *silsila*, is said to have died "a lingering death" (Wright, 109) at the hands of the Chinese, Ma Hua-lung was thus both a spiritual and a direct blood descendant of Ma Erh, the fifth head of the Naḳshbandiyya-Dihqāniyya order in Northwest China (see, however, Israeli's 1974 thesis, 273-324, for an alternative analysis)

It seems that, after the harsh suppression of "New Teaching" adherents in the Kansu-Chinghai borderlands resulting from the defeat of the 1196/1782 and 1218/1783 Muslim risings, the surviving "New Teaching" leaders moved eastwards towards Ninghsia. According to Fletcher (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 77), it was Ma Hua-lung who made Chin-chi-p'u into the foremost "New Teaching" centre in all of China. From this position he was able to exercise an influence on the Chinese *umma* far in excess of that wielded by Ma Ming-hsin during his prime, for during the three-quarters of a century following the death of the latter, the "New Teaching" had spread from the Kansu-Chinghai border area across much of China. Seemingly, Ma Hua-lung played an important part in this process of proselytisation, for in a memorial addressed to the Imperial authorities at Peking requesting the prohibition of the "New Teaching", Tso Tsung-t'ang, the Ch'ing commander who eventually crushed the 1862-78 Muslim rebellion in Northwest China, complained that Ma, who styled himself the *Tsung-ta A-hung* ("General Grand *Mullā*", *Matthews'*, nos. 6932, 5963, 1, 4932), had "sent out people to spread this evil religion everywhere". According to Tso, these missionaries, known as *ha-li-fei* [*Matthews'*, nos. 2014, 5865, 1850, possibly a corruption of the Arabic Ṣāfī term *khalīfa*, see Israeli, *op. cit.*, 1974, 258), were "disguised as businessmen" (Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Memorials*, cited in Chu, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 1966, 136-8). In fact, Muslim merchants dominated the North China caravan trade, and it is more than probable that many of the "New Teaching" *ha-li-fei* were also legitimate merchants. Tso continued: "According to the testimony of lately captured Muslim rebels, there are missionaries of the New Teaching in Peking, Tientsin, Hsüanhuating, Kirin, Shansi and Hupeh" (Tso, *Memorials*, *ibid.*); it is also probable that the "New Teaching" had spread across Szechwan (where it was definitely established) to *Yunnan [q.v.]* where it may have played some part in the "Panthay" [*q.v.*] Muslim rebellion of Tu Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*].

During the great Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 [see AL-ṢĪN], four main centres of Muslim power were to emerge in Northwest China (excluding only the Turkic areas of Sinkiang which were either to pass under the rule of Ya'ḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Ḳāshghar [*q.v.*], or to maintain a precarious independence under incompetent local leadership in Dzungaria

(see Bales, 224, "Sketch map of main Muslim centres"). These were, (1) Ma Hua-lung's base at Chin-chi-p'u, the chief centre of the "New Teaching", (2) Hochow and the surrounding area, a predominantly "Old Teaching" centre under the leadership of Ma Chan-ao (*Matthews'*, nos. 4320, 125, 39), (3) Hsining and the surrounding area, a region of mixed "Old" and "New Teaching" allegiances under the leadership of Ma Kuei-yüan (*Matthews'*, nos. 4320, 3820, 7728), and (4) a region centering upon Suchow, described by Bales, 224, as "non-sectarian", under the leadership of Ma Wen-yu (*Matthews'*, nos. 4320, 7229, 4298) (Note, however, that elsewhere [227], Bales describes both the Hsining and Suchow Muslims as being "mostly inclined to the New Sect".) In marked contrast to these Kansu and Chinghai Muslim leaders, Pai Yen-hu (*q.v.*), the most important of the Shensi Muslim leaders, was a guerilla fighter with no permanent base. Of the plethora of Muslim leaders, however, it is interesting to note that in the opinion of Tso Tsung-t'ang "only one man ... could command followers from Heilungkiang to Sinkiang, and he was Ma Hua-lung" (Tso *Memorials*, cited in Chu, 1955, 343).

The initial Northwestern Muslim challenge to the Ch'ing Empire came in Shensi, where between 1862 and 1864 Pai Yen-hu and other local Muslim leaders conducted a fast-moving cavalry campaign against the Manchu general To-lung-a. The Ch'ing forces scored some early successes in southern Shensi, but in 1864 To-lung-a was killed, and during the following months the Muslim revolt spread with great rapidity across the whole of Northwest China.

During the early years of the revolt, Ma Hua-lung whose base at Chin-chi-p'u was situated well behind the main battle front in southern Shensi, succeeded in maintaining a precarious neutrality (at least in the eyes of some local Ch'ing officials, see Chu, 1955, 343), whilst simultaneously increasing the fortifications around Chin-chi-p'u and building up the armed forces at his command. It was widely rumoured that Ma Hua-lung had masterminded the capture of Ninghsia city by rebel forces in 1785, but some Ch'ing officials still remained unconvinced of Ma's complicity. Tso Tsung-t'ang, the military veteran who was appointed Governor-General of Shensi and Kansu in 1868, with specific orders to crush the Muslim revolt, had no such doubts. Tso "regarded the Chin-chi-p'u centre as one of first importance and determined to concentrate upon the reduction of the Muslims in that area. He had no illusions whatever about Ma Hua-lung, but was certain that he was the ringleader among all the Kansu Muslims, and he determined to proceed on that basis" (Chu, 1955, 346).

Tso estimated that he would require five years to reconquer Shensi and Kansu, he launched his attack in November 1868, aiming primarily to capture Chin-chi-p'u, with Hochow as a secondary target. It was a savage campaign, with little quarter given or asked. Tso played upon the traditional rivalries between adherents of the "Old" and "New" teachings by giving amnesty to followers of the "Old Teaching" who surrendered (a policy which paid off, for in 1872 Ma Chan-ao, commander of the "Old Teaching" centre based on Hochow, surrendered to Tso shortly after inflicting a crushing defeat on the Imperial forces; for his pains he was made a general in Tso's army and went on to play an important part in the "pacification" of Kansu), in marked contrast Tso "never treated with a single 'New Sect' leader, but executed every one that fell into his hands" (Bales, 280).

Throughout 1869, Tso's armies advanced slowly across Shensi and into eastern Kansu, driving the highly mobile Muslim cavalry of Shensi before them. In early 1870 the Imperial forces arrived before Chin-chi-p'u, the assault was to be long and hard, for "over the whole plain was a network of canals, all the villages were fortified, and the Moslems had erected numberless stockades covering every approach to Chinchipu" (Bales, 243; for details of the campaign, see 231-55). Tso built a huge mount and accompanying rampart around Chin-ch'i-p'u, and set about reducing the Muslims through a combination of bombardment and starvation. Ma Hua-lung's position was made critical by his earlier decision to send a large force of his followers into Shensi in a bid to draw off Tso's armies from Chin-chi-p'u, an action which caused Bales, Tso's biographer to comment: "Had Ma Hua-lung enjoyed a reasonable talent for generalship along with his many other endowments, he could have driven Tso Tsung-t'ang out of Kansu, perhaps from Shensi as well, and delivered an irreparable blow to the Imperial cause" (247).

By January 1871 the population of Chin-chi-p'u was starving, the defenders had been reduced to eating human flesh. On 5 January Ma Hua-lung left his stronghold behind the city walls and presented himself, accompanied by a single servant, at the headquarters of Liu Chin-t'ang, the Imperial commander. Ma asked that all blame for the resistance at Chin-chi-p'u be laid on him, and that his followers should be spared. After prolonged interrogation by the victorious Ch'ing commanders, Ma was executed, together with twelve members of his immediate family, by the "slicing process", some eighty of the lesser Muslim leaders were beheaded. Chin-chi-p'u was depopulated, and the surviving Muslims were exiled, *en masse*, into exile or slavery. Tso Tsung-t'ang went on to reconquer western Kansu, and by 1878, ten years after the commencement of his offensive in Shensi he succeeded in reconquering Kāshghar, the last major town of Northwest China.

After his execution on 2 March 1871, Ma Hua-lung became a martyr for followers of the "New Teaching". The victorious Ch'ing forces made strenuous attempts to stamp out Ma's adherents (it has been estimated that between 1862 and 1878 the Muslim revolt and the Ch'ing reconquest resulted in over 10 million deaths; see Chu, 1966, p. vii), but to no avail. According to W. A. Saunders, a Christian missionary who was active in Kansu during the Republican period, Ma's body was buried at Chen-chi-p'u, but his head was taken, presumably in secret, to Hsüan hua kang, near Chang-shih-ch'uan in south-eastern Kansu. When Saunders visited Hsüan hua kang in 1934 he found Ma's tomb to be "quite an imposing affair of carved brick with a kind of 'Li Pai Se' (temple) as an entrance" (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 70). Saunders records that "worship" was made at the tomb every year on Ma Hua-lung's birthday, a practice strongly denounced by local Muslims belonging to the "Old Teaching". It is not known whether Ma's tomb at Hsüan-hua-kang still exists.

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mullā who lived through the great rebellion as a child is to be found in Shan Hua-p'u's *Shan Kao Chieh-yü-lu*. In Pai Shou-i's 1952 collection, iv, 303 *ff*; this source, based partially on personal experience and partially on hearsay, is indicative of the paucity of Muslim sources for this period. A further useful contemporaneous Chinese source is Po Ching-wei's *Feng hsi-t'ao-i ang-ch'i*, Nanking 1924, the collected works of a member of the Shensi gentry who served with the imperial forces and was present during the siege of Chin-chi-p'u. An interesting, but not always reliable, contemporaneous western source is F. von Richthofen's *Baron Richthofen's letters (1870-1872)*, Peking 1941. See also: R. M. d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, Paris 1911, esp. 273-4; Wu Tseng-ch'i, *Ch'eng shih hang-yao* ("A summary of Ch'ing history"), Shanghai 1933, esp. *chüan* 12; M. Hartmann, *Zur Geschichte des Islam in China*, Leipzig 1922; W. A. Saeeders, *Hsüan Hua Kung*, in *Friends of Moslems in China* (Hankow), viii/4 (1 October 1934), 69-71, W. L. Bales, *Tso Tsung-T'ang. soldier and statesman of Old China*, Shanghai 1937, esp. 231-65; Muḥammad Tawādu', *al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1945; Ma Hsiao-shih, *Hui-tzu Hsüeh-tsu ko-ming shih-shih* ("A short history of the revolutions of the Northwestern Muslim people"), Shanghai 1951, esp. 1-15 (Ma Hsiao-shih, a Hui Muslim, emphasises links between the Muslim rebellion in Shensi and the Taiping rebels); Pai Shou-i, *Hui-hui min-tsu ti hsin-sheng* ("The rebirth of the Muslim people"), Shanghai 1951, esp. 65-70; Pai Shou-i, *Hui-min ch'i-i* ("The righteous uprisings of the Muslim people"), 4 vols, Shanghai 1952, see vols. iii and iv for the Northwest China rebellions; Chu Wen-djang, *The Policy of the Manchu government in the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in Shensi, Kansu and Sinkiang from 1862 to 1878*, Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Washington 1953 (the greater part of this thesis was later published [see Chu, 1966], but several important appendices were omitted from the published version, most notably supplement IV, "Ma Hua-lung and the New Sect", which may be found at 343 ff. of the unpublished thesis), Mary C. Wright, *The last stand of Chinese conservatism. the T'ung-Chih restoration, 1862-1874*, Stanford 1957, repr. New York 1969, see esp. 107-113 of the 1969 edition; Saguchi Tōru, *Jūhachi-jūkyū seiki Higashi Toruki-sutan shakaishi kenkyū* ("The social history of Eastern Turkestan in the 18th/19th centuries"), Tokyo 1963, Chu Wen-djang, *The Moslem rebellion in Northwest China, 1862-1878*, The Hague-Paris 1966, R. Israeli, *Chinese versus Muslims: a study of cultural confrontation*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of California, Berkeley 1974, J. Fletcher, *Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-hsin's New Teaching*, publication unknown, 1976 (?), 75-96; A. Forbes, *The Muslim national minorities of China*, in *Religion*, vi/2 (1976), 67-87; R. Israeli, *Established Islam and marginal Islam in China: from eclecticism to syncretism*, in *JESHO*, xxxi (1978), 99-109. (A. D. W. FORBES)

MA HUAN (*Matthews' Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters no. 4310, 2266), Chinese Muslim interpreter and traveller who flourished during the 9th/15th century and who was the author of *Ying-yai sheng-lan* ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores"), the best-known account of the early and mid-9th/15th century Ming Chinese maritime expeditions to South-east Asia, South Asia, the Arabian Peninsula and *East Africa*.

Ma Huan was born *ca.* 782/1380 in Kuai-chi, a district of Shao-hsing city, Chekiang Province. His home was about 24 miles south-east of Hang-chou, and a mere 7 miles from the southern shore of Hang-chou bay, one of the principal centres of navigation in 9th/15th century China (Mills, *Ma Huan* [see *Bibl.*], 34). Ma Huan probably came from a poor background, though "his derogatory description of himself as a 'mountain-woodcutter' could not be taken literally" (Mills, *loc. cit.*). Seemingly, Ma Huan did not belong to a Muslim family, but chose to adopt Islam when a young man—thus his surname "Ma", so common amongst Chinese Muslims, must have been purely coincidental. He must have received a good education in Chinese, for "there are classicisms in his book, and he was acquainted with the contents of Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao-i chih-lüeh* ["A synoptical account of the Islands and their Barbarians", 751/1350], of certain Chinese classics, and of 'Buddhist books'" (Mills, *op. cit.*, 70). On the other hand Duyvendak, in his *Ma Huan re-examined*, 9, describes *Ying yai sheng lan* as being "written in an almost colloquial style by an unlearned Mohammedan".)

During his youth Ma Huan seems to have adopted Islam, and to have assumed the *tzu* [courtesy-name] of Tsung-tao (*Matthews'*, nos. 6696, 6236), possibly as a result of becoming a Muslim he began a study of Arabic and/or Persian, enabling him to become proficient as a translator and interpreter. As a result of the acquisition of these skills he was appointed to the staff of the great Chinese Muslim admiral Cheng Ho in 815/1422. It is interesting to note that Ma Huan's appointment came one year before the fourth of Cheng Ho's voyages (816-18/1413-15), the first to sail beyond South Asia to the Persian Gulf.

Ma Huan accompanied Cheng Ho on this fourth voyage—as with the latter's three previous voyages a "maritime expedition" in every sense of the word; the Chinese Muslim admiral had under his command a fleet of 63 ships bearing 28,560 men. The expedition visited various parts of the Malay Archipelago, Sri Lanka, Bengal, South India, the Maldive Islands and Hormuz in Persia. The young Ma Huan must have been greatly interested in the various lands he saw, for together with his colleague and life-long collaborator Kuo Ch'ang-li (*Matthews'*, nos. 3746, 1528, 3886), he made local journeys in the various countries he visited, and recorded details of his impressions.

On his return to China in 818/1415, Ma began work on a book based on the notes made by Kuo Ch'ang-li and himself. In 819/1416 he completed the first version of his book (he was to make numerous additions and corrections over the years), and wrote a foreword and a commemorative poem. In the 819/1416 foreword he notes that

"I collected [notes about] the appearance of the people in each country, the variations of the local customs, the differences in the natural products and the boundary limits. I arranged (my notes) in order so as to make a book, which I have entitled *The overall survey of the Ocean's shores*" (Mills, *op. cit.*, 70).

Ma Huan did not accompany Cheng Ho on his fifth expedition of 820-2/1417-19, he does not explain why. In 824/1421, however, he once again voyaged with Cheng Ho on his sixth expedition, returning in 825/1422. In addition to returning to most of those countries visited during the fourth expedition, Cheng Ho's sixth expedition took Ma Huan to Zufār and Aden; a part of the great Chinese fleet (which comprised 41 ships and an unknown number of men) visited Mogadishu and Brava in Somalia, but Ma Huan does not seem to have accompanied

this branch expedition. Mills notes that Ma Huan probably added sections on Zufār and Aden to his book after his return in China in 823/1422 (*op. cit.*, 33).

Ma Huan, although still a relatively young man, probably accepted that his journeys to the Indian Ocean were over when the emperor Jen Tsung forbade further expeditions to that remote region in 826/1424, however, when the Hsüan-te emperor revoked this edict in 834/1430 and ordered the aging Cheng Ho to undertake his seventh and final expedition to the "Western regions", Ma Huan was once again employed as an interpreter.

Cheng Ho's seventh expedition is better documented than any of the preceding six. We know that more than 100 large ships took part in the voyage, and that a total of 27,550 men sailed with him. The fleet left Nanking in 835/1431, and returned to China in 837/1433. Once again, Cheng Ho and/or his emissaries visited Southeast Asia, Bengal, Southern India, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. On this voyage we know that Ma Huan sailed with a branch of the main fleet to Bengal, and thence to Kozhikode (Calicut) in South India. It seems very likely that from Kozhikode Ma Huan was sent, with six other Muslim emissaries, to Mecca. Mills has calculated that Ma Huan left Kozhikode about mid-836/1432, and arrived in Mecca about three months later; he then spent a further three months in Mecca before rejoining Cheng Ho's main fleet at Kozhikode in 837/1433.

On his return to China, Ma Huan added a lengthy and accurate account of Mecca to his *Ying-yai sheng-lan*. He notes that the inhabitants of *T'ien fang* ("the Heavenly Square", a clear reference to the Ka'ba) are "stalwart and fine looking", they "bind up their heads", whilst their womenfolk "wear a covering over their hands, and you cannot see their faces". He describes the *Haram* and the Ka'ba in detail, noting that the pilgrims tear pieces from the *kiswa* (sc. the mantle used to cover the Ka'ba) as souvenirs, just as occurs today. He also mentions the Prophet's tomb at Medina, though his error in situating the well Zamzam near the latter rather than at Mecca causes Duyvendak to question whether Ma Huan did, in fact, ever visit the Ḥijāz (*Ma Huan re-examined*, 73). An excellent translation of Ma Huan's account of Mecca may be found in Mills, 173-8.

To the best of our knowledge, Ma Huan never again left China. He continued working on the *Ying yai sheng-lan*, in collaboration with Kuo Ch'ung-li, and the completed work was eventually published *ca.* 855/1451. Ma Huan is thought to have died some nine years later. Unfortunately, the 1451 edition of Ma Huan's book has long been lost, and our present knowledge of the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* rests on three later editions, all dating from the latter half of the Ming dynasty (Mills, 37-42).

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

MA MING-HSIN [*Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 4534, 2733] also known as **Muḥammad Amīn**, a Chinese Muslim leader of the mid-12th/18th century who was instrumental in the development and spread of the "New Teaching", a neo-orthodox reformist movement in Chinese Islam which swept Northwest China in the latter half of the 12th/18th century, and which played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim revolt of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

Ma Ming-hsin was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 12th/18th century at An-t'ung, a small town some 90 km. south-east of Lanchow, the capital of the Chinese province of Kansu [*q.v.*]. The site of Ma's birthplace makes it probable that he was a Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, though his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (*op. cit.* in Bibl., 28, n. 1) to describe him as a native of that region, whilst his rôle as a religious reformer amongst the Sairi Turks [*q.v.*] of southwestern Kansu and eastern Chinghai has also led to his identification as a Salar (see Mary C. Wright, *op. cit.*, in Bibl., 108). Confusion over Ma's ethnic origins may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic *nasbūrīyat*, a practice common amongst the Hui.

Ma Ming-hsin seems to have first come to the attention of the Chinese authorities in 1175/1761, when he returned to Kansu after a prolonged period of travel and study in Central Asia and Arabia. During the course of these travels Ma made the pilgrimage to Mecca and visited the Yemen, where he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* (Ṭawāḍi', *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 125). It seems probable that he returned to Kansu via the major Naḳshbandī centre of Bukhārā, as well as through the lesser Naḳshbandī centres of Kāshghar [*q.v.*] and Yarkand. On his return, Ma proclaimed himself the "Possessor of the True Teaching" (Hartmann, in *Bibl.*, 123, n. 128), and armed with a "magnetic personality" (Ford, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 154) and the prestige naturally accruing to *khalīfa* on this distant periphery of the Muslim World, he began to expound a heterodox form of Islam with the avowed aim of reforming the Chinese *umma*.

Within a short period of time, Ma was expelled from his native An-ting for "causing trouble" (Ford, *ibid.*) He went next to preach amongst the Salars, a Turkic people with a reputation for fierceness and independence who inhabit the hills to the south of the Yellow River in the Ch'inghai-Kansu borderlands. In the Salar hills, Ma gained the support of two local *mullas* Su-ssu-shih-san and Ha-ma-lu-hu. His teaching, which rapidly gained widespread popular support, became known as the "New Teaching" (*hsin chiao*, *Matthews*, nos. 2737, 712) to differentiate it from the various forms of established Islamic practice in Kansu, which in turn became known as the "Old Teaching" (*lao chiao*, *Matthews*, nos. 3833, 719, or *chiu chiao*, nos. 1205, 719). According to Hsü (in *Bibl.*, 23), Ma Ming-hsin's "New Teaching" was distinguished by the following characteristics (1) loud chanting of the scriptures, as opposed to the soft chanting of the old sect (i.e. followers of the "Old Teaching"), (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in dance-like manner, or foot-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven, (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits, and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) the worship of saints or their tombs.

Until recently, the identity of the "New Teaching", though obviously Sufi in inspiration, remained unclear (see Wright, 106, together with relevant footnotes) Recent research undertaken by Saguchi and Fletcher, however, indicates that Ma Ming-hsin introduced to Kansu a sub-group of the Naḳshbandī *tarīḳa* which practised *dhikr djahrī* (vocal recollection) as opposed to the *dhikr khafī* more usually associated with the Naḳshbandiyya. This sub-group, which is generally known as the Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya, can be traced back to Khōdja Muḥammad Anḍidjānī Faghnawī, who introduced the "*dhikr* of those who act publicly" (*dhikr 'alaniyya*) to the Naḳshbandī *tarīḳa* in ca 715/1315 (Fletcher, *Central Asian Sufism*, 79-80). The "New Teaching", or Kansu form of Naḳshbandiyya-Djahriyya, seems to have laid great emphasis on *karāmāt* (thaumaturgic and charismatic gifts [see KARĀMA]), thus Ma Ming-hsin came to be *regarded as a saint by his followers*

The followers of the "New Teaching" seem to have adopted as agressively militant attitude towards other Muslims An anonymous government official who participated in the defense of Lanchow during the Muslim rebellion of 1196/1782 notes of the adherents of the "New Teaching" that 'When anyone hesitated to join them, they would all rise to attack him, threatening him with sword and spear until he gave way. Even if the rejector were the father and the believers were the sons, the sons would kill the father" (*P'ing Hui chi lüeh*, *Hui min chi* i, iii, 9-10) As a result of this militancy, relations between the 'Old' and 'New' factions grew to be extremely bitter

The Chinese authorities first seem to have become aware of these sectarian tensions during 1176/1762, when leaders of the rival factions in the Salar region laid charges against each other before the Chinese magistrate The leaders of both groups were found guilty and banished from the area. In 1183/1769 the charges were renewed, and this time the penalties incurred were heavier against the 'New Teaching" (Wright, 106). It is not clear whether Ma Ming-hsin was personally involved in either of these incidents.

During this period, the town of Hsin-hua, located in the Salar hills on the right bank of the Yellow River some 95 km. upstream from Hochow, (the modern Linsia), emerged as the centre of the "New Teaching". In 1196/1782 sectarian tension in Hsin-hua boiled over, and followers of the "New Teaching" leader Su-ssu-shi-san attacked and killed at least forty adherents of the "Old Teaching" (Schram, *op cit.* in *Bibl.*, 64). Government troops despatched from Lanchow to quell the disturbances were defeated by Su-ssu shi-san's followers, and the successful rebels occupied the city of Hochow.

The provincial authorities in Lanchow responded by mading a force of five hundred men to occupy Tietao, a small town on the right bank of the Tao River some 85 km. south-east of Hochow. In this action, the provincial forces scored their first real success by capturing Ma Ming hsin, the founder and spiritual leader of the "New Teaching". Ma was taken to Lanchow, where he was incarcerated; shortly thereafter rebel forces from Hochow, believed to number upwards of 2,000 men, crossed the Tao River and besieged Lanchow. They succeeded in cutting the floating bridge across the Yellow River, thus isolating relief forces from Northern Kansu, and demanded the release of Ma Ming-hsin. The Chinese commandant refused to hand Ma over, but took him to the city walls whence he might address the besieging forces (de Groot, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 312-13). The anonymous government official who witnessed this scene records that "When Ma Ming-hsin was taken to appear on top of the city walls, all the Muslims who saw him from below rolled down from their horses and prostrated themselves on the ground. They called him a saint and wept" (*P'ing-Hui chi-lüeh*, *ibid.*). This display seems to have made an adverse impression on the Chinese commandant, who "had him killed at once, in order to keep down sedition within the walls" (de Groot, 314). Ma's son was seemingly killed with him (Schram, *ibid.*).

Ma's death did not bring about the end of the rebellion, but served only to increase the bitterness of his followers. The Chinese troops stationed in Kansu proved incapable of suppressing the rebels, a task which fell initially to Salar followers of the "Old Teaching", later assisted by Mongol troops from Alashan and Chinese troops from Szechwan. *Some three months after the murder of Ma Ming-hsin*, Ch'ing troops surrounded the foremost of the surviving "New Teaching" leaders, the Salar *mullā* Su-ssu shi san, at his stronghold in the Hua-lin mountains Su was captured and executed, and with his death the rebellion came to an end. The Chinese authorities banned the "New Teaching" and instituted a series of bloody reprisals against its surviving adherents An edict issued by Ch'ien lung after the imperial victory in the Hua-lin mountains exhorts his officials as follows "Of these rebels not a trace, however slight, must remain All insurgents yet at liberty shall be hunted out . . . and their wives, daughters and babies now incarcerated in the provincial capital, in Hochow, in Hsin-hua and other places, shall be thoroughly examined for the better realisation of this object; and finally, the transports to the pestilential places of banishment shall start with all possible speed" (de Groot, 315) The Ch'ing authorities massacred whole families and clans with "New Teaching" affiliations, but to no avail. The "New Teaching" leaders went underground, and within three years a still bloodier *Hsin-chiao* rising, under the leadership of T'ien Wu [*q.v.*] broke out in the Kansu-Chinghai region. The "New Teaching" or Ma Ming-hsin was also to prove instrumental in the great mid-13th/19th century rebellion of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

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MĀ WARĀ' al-NAHR (A.) "the land which lies beyond the river", i.e. beyond the Oxus or Amū-Daryā [*q.v.*], the classical Transoxiana or Transoxania, so called by the conquering Arabs of the 1st/7th century and after in contrast to Mā dūn al-Nahr, the lands of Khurāsān [*q.v.*] this side of the Oxus, although the term Khurāsān was not infrequently used vaguely to designate all the eastern Islamic lands beyond western Persia.

1. THE NAME

The frontiers of Mā warā' al-nahr on the north and east were where the power of Islam ceased and depended on political conditions of the statements of the Arab geographers on Mā warā' al-nahr in G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 433-4. W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 64 ff. The phrase Mā warā' al-nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian. As late as the 9th/15th century, Hāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*] devotes a special chapter (the last) to Mā warā' al-nahr in his geographical work. Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase Mā warā' al-nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (e.g. by Bābur, in his *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, see index, by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt later in the 10th/16th century in his Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī, tr. Elias and Ross, *A history of the Moghuls*, London 1895, 79, 95 ff., 150, etc., and by the Uzbek Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, cf. *Spom. husikha Samarkandskhi oblasti*, v, 240 and *passim*), although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river. (W. BARTHOLD)

2. HISTORY

Pre-Islamic Transoxania comprised, in the widest sense, Sogdia (Arabic *Ṣughd* [*q.v.*]), essentially the basin of the Zarafshān river) and the lands as far as the Sīr Daryā basin, northwestwards to Khwārazm [*q.v.*] and eastwards to Farghāna [*q.v.*] and across the Tien Shan Mountains into Eastern or Chinese Turkestan (on the general concept of "Turkestan", Eastern and Western, see TURKISTĀN). For these regions in classical times, see W. Tomaschek, in *PW*, ii, cols. 2804-23 (Baktra, Baktriane, Baktrianoi), iii, cols. 2406-8 (Chorasmia). All this was still largely an Iranian region, with such Middle Iranian languages flourishing there as Khwārazmian and Sogdian, both written in scripts going back to the Aramaic alphabet; Bactrian in the upper Oxus provinces of Tukhāristān, Caghāniyān, Khuttal(ān) and Wakhsh [*q.vv.*], written in a modified Greek alphabet; and Khotanese and Tokharian dialects in the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan, written in scripts of Indian origin. In Sogdia, however, its strong cultural influence of Sāsānid Persia may have given Persian a foothold in the main cities at least. Narshakhī states that just after the time of the conquest of Bukhārā by Kutayba b. Muslim (sc. in ca. 94/712-13), the people there used Persian (*Pārsī*) for reciting the Kur'ān, though no doubt Sogdian remained for some time to come the main language of daily intercourse (*Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran 1939, 57, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 48). Just over two-and-a-half centuries later, al-Muḳaddasī, 335, calls the speech of Bukhārā *darī*, i.e. Persian; this must nevertheless still refer to urban speech patterns only, for Sogdian lasted much longer in the countryside.

In regard to religion, no single faith was dominant. Buddhism was still in full bloom to Eastern Turkestan and still strong in the upper Oxus provinces where it was the faith of the northern branch of the Hephthalites [see KAVĀṬA I.] who put up such a strenuous resistance to the Arabs in the later 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th centuries, and where Balkh [q.v.] was still a major Buddhist centre; but it had, for some time, been waning in Soghdia. When the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang arrived in Samarkand in ca 630, he found the Zoroastrians completely to the ascendant there and the Buddhist monasteries deserted; the restorative measures which he took can only have arrested this decline temporarily. For as in the linguistic field, cultural pressures from Sāsānid Persia must have given Zoroastrianism an access of prestige and power in Transoxania, even though direct Sāsānid military authority did not extend beyond Marw (cf. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1943, 33-5). Manichaism and other dualist faiths were tolerated, and their adherents found an especially sympathetic haven in Eastern Turkestan and among the Uyghur Turks, as numerous surviving religious texts from the Turfan basin attest, as late as ca 372/982 the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* tr Minorsky, London 1937, 113, § 25.13, records the presence in Samarkand of a conventual house of the Manichaeans, *khānagāh-i Mānawiyān*, with *mubtaras* or *nigūshāk* Mazdakites are mentioned also in Samarkand, and if the followers of the late 2nd/8th century heretic al-Muḳanna', the "wearers of white" (see below) were Mazdakites (or Manichaeans?), their adherents still persisted at Kish and Nakhshab in the time of the continuator of Narshakhī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b Naṣr (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, 88-9, tr 73). The Christian presence was strong. A bishop is mentioned at Marw in 334 A.D. and there was probably one in Samarkand by the 6th century. Nestorians, Jacobites and Melkites were all represented in Transoxania. When the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [q.v.] conquered Talas in 280/893, a "great church" was transformed into a mosque (*ibid*., 102, tr 86-7). The absence of any one preponderant faith meant that there did not exist in Transoxania a dominant priesthood as there was in Sāsānid Persia, though religious scholars (*akhbār* al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1237) are mentioned in Khwārazm at the time of Kutayba's incursions of 93/712, perhaps Zoroastrian priests; but resistance there to the Arabs was on grounds of local patriotism rather than on a religious basis.

Socially, there was an influential class of merchants in such Soghdian towns as Bukhārā, Paykand and Samarkand, which was involved in long-distance trade operations with the Turkish peoples of the Siberian steppes and with the Chinese. The Arab invasions would not seriously hamper these trade movements, and indeed, the Soghdian merchants eventually found new markets within the Islamic caliphate for the goods which they imported from Inner Asia. The landed aristocracy of *dihkāns* was dominant in the countryside and smaller towns, and the pattern of large estates in Khwārazm, along the Oxus channels and their canals, revealed by Soviet archaeology, was probably repeated in the irrigated lands of the Zarafshān valley and the upper Oxus ones. The local Iranian princes of Transoxania mentioned in the sources, such as those in rural Īlāḳ [q.v. in Suppl.], Shāsh [q.v.] and Farghāna, and in cities like Samarkand and Bukhārā, comprised the more powerful members of the *dihkān* class and bore Iranian regnal titles such as *ikhshīd* [q.v.] from Old Persian *khshāyathiya*-"king, ruler"), e.g. in Soghdia and Farghāna. Such a land-owning class (which may be called, not anachronistically, one of feudal magnates) of *dihkāns* was the backbone of resistance to the Arabs, and continued to play a leading social role—eventually as an Islamised caste—in Transoxania till the end of the Sāmānid period, during which political authority was still to a considerably extent decentralised; its decline only came with the influx of Turkish steppe peoples in the 5th/11th century and after.

The Arabs who had invaded Persia and overthrown the Sāsānid empire penetrated to Tukhāristān in ʿUthmān's caliphate, during the governorship in Khurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b ʿĀmir [q.v.], and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 406, records, on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda, a plunder raid across the Oxus to Mīlymurgh near Samarkand in 33/653-4. It would have been obviously unwise to commit major Arab forces across the river until more progress had been made against the resistance of the Hephthalites in Ceoxania and until a key point like Balkh had been captured (first raided in 32/653, but not fully secured till the time of Kutayba, see BALKH) and the Oxus crossing-points of Amul-i Shaṭṭ [q.v.] and Zamm taken.

In the spring of 54/674 Muʿāwiya's general ʿUbayd Allāh b Ziyād [q.v.] crossed the Oxus, attacked Paykand and defeated the army of the local Soghdian ruler of Bukhārā, the Bukhār-Khudā Yazīd I's governor, Salm b Ziyād (61-4/681-3) was the first Arab commander actually to winter across the river. Any hopes of Arab progress in Transoxania were dashed by the civil wars which broke out in the heart of the caliphate on Yazīd's death and the protracted resistance to the Umayyad government in Damascus of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubayr, even though the Soghdian cities remained disunited and their nominal suzerain the Chinese emperor was unable, despite embassies despatched to Peking and appeals for help, to supply any assistance.

It was the great Kutayba b Muslim al-Bāhilī [q.v.] who was the first Arab general to establish a firmer Arab hold over Transoxania. Appointed governor of the east by al-Ḥajjāj in 86/705, he was to enjoy a ten years' tenure of power, spanning the caliphate of al-Walīd b ʿAbd al-Malik, a reign particularly significant for the extension of Muslim power in both east and west. Kutayba first campaigned successfully in the Upper Oxus provinces at the invitation of the ruler of Caghāniyān, who sought aid against local rivals (86/705). Between 87/706 and 90/709 he conquered Paykand and Bukhārā, installing in the latter city a local prince Tughshāda as his vassal, and received the submission of Tarkhān of Samarkand and his successor Ghūrak. Mosques were now built in Bukhārā Samarkand, etc., in order to encourage the implantation of Islam and the inhabitants of Bukhāra were forced to give up half the houses of the *nuzūl* or *shahristān* as billets for the incoming Arab garrison but according to Narshakhī, 57, tr 58, Kutayba had to pay the local inhabitants two *dirhams* a time to attend the Friday prayers. It was first in 88/707 that Kutayba had to repel Turkish forces which appeared in Transoxania when the people of Bukhārā appealed to the powerful Kaghan of the Eastern Turks, whose name is known only in the Chinese transcription of Mo-čʾo, and a further Turkish invasion into Soghdia in 93/712, at the invitation of the people of Samarkand, repulsed by Kutayba in the following year, may be that mentioned in the early Turkish Orkhon inscriptions (Khočo-Tsaidam, Kultigin I 8 39) as the one undertaken by

the prince Küttigin which penetrated as far as *Tömen Kapïgh*, the "Iron Gate" (so the present Buzgala defile between Kish and Tirmidh), "in order to organize the Soghdian people" (the connection of these seems fairly certain, as proposed by Marquart and Barthold; cf. E. Giraud, *L'empire des Turcs célestes, les régnes d'Elterich, Qapghan et Bilgä (680-734)*, Paris 1960, 44, 162-3, who also notes that this same inscription (Küttigin I, E 31) mentions an earlier expedition to the Iron Gate under Tonyukuk in 703). Kotayba further sent two expeditions against Khwārazm in 93/712, when the Khwārazm-Shāh was killed, although it was long before Islam became firmly implanted there (see KHWĀRAZM). His forces also campaigned in the Sir Daryā valley in Ushrūsana (*q.v.*) and Shāsh, meeting no resistance from the Turks, although the brief report in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, of a raid by one of his commanders as far as Kāshghar, on the other side of the Tien Shan, seems improbable (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 467-74).

The Turks' ability to intervene once more in Transoxonian affairs was for a while hampered by internal disputes between the Eastern and Western Turks, but after 726, a forceful ruler, Su lu, made himself leader of the Western Turks or Türgesh. In 106/724 he inflicted a sharp defeat, the so-called "Day of thirst", on the Arab commander Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī who had invaded Farghāna, in the Sir Daryā basin, and this reduced aggressive activity on the part of the Arabs for a decade or two. It is from these years, immediately after the fall of Kutayba, that there dates the important cache of documents in Soghdian, the archives of Divāstič, prince of Pandjikent on the upper reaches of the Zarafshān, kept at his stronghold on Mount Mugh, sacked in 204/722-3 by the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1447-8; cf. A. L. Mongait, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1959, 289-95). In the ensuing years, the Arabs, saw as the defensive, were pushed back by the joint efforts of the Soghdian princes and the Turks, so that by 110/728 the Arabs only held Samarkand and Dabūsiyya. The Arabs themselves were *divided after 112/734, when the rebellion of* al-Ḥārith b. Surayḥ al-Mudhāḥī (*q.v.*) broke out, first in Tukhāristān and then in Transoxania (where al-Ḥārith allied with the Kaghan of the Türgesh, Su-lu), lasting for several years. There was also much discontent amongst that part of the indigenous Transoxanian population which had been converted to Islam but which nevertheless found itself still liable to pay the poll-tax for the benefit of the Arab treasury.

Arab fortunes only revived under the energetic and experienced—he had fought under Kutayba—governor Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kināni (*q.v.*) (120-30/738-48), who made a generous financial settlement for the new converts and for those inhabitants who had apostasized from Islam when Arab military control had been relaxed and looked like disappearing altogether, and who brought al-Ḥārith b. Surayḥ to terms in 120/744. He carried Arab arms into Farghāna again, but spent most of his efforts in pacifying Soghdia and in conciliating its people. Arab embassies to the Chinese court were resumed by Naṣr after an hiatus in the period 115-23/733-41, and the regulation of commercial contacts may have been one of the motives involved (see Gibb, *Chinese records of the embassies of the Arabs to Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 619-22).

Naṣr was forced to abandon both Transoxania and Khurāsān by the growing menace of the 'Abbāsid da'wa under Abū Muslim (*q.v.*), and pro-'Abbāsid governors were installed in the East from 130/748 onwards. This internal revolution amongst the Arabs must have been welcomed by the *dihkāns* of Transoxania, disturbed at the waning of their political and social influence through the increased momentum of conversions to Islam. In 133/750-1 there was, moreover, a pro-'Alid rising among the Arab garrison of Bukhārā, bloodily suppressed by the new 'Abbāsid governor Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzā'ī (*q.v.*). Although the Bukhār-Khudā had co-operated with the Arab authorities against the insurgents, he was afterwards executed on Abū Muslim's orders.

Meanwhile, the dissensions into which the Türgesh steppe confederation had fallen in 738 with Su-lu's defeat in battle at the hands of the Chinese and his assassination by a rival Turkish chief, permitted a reconfederacy, now on a scale much more threatening than ever before to the Arabs, of Chinese activity in Central Asia. In 748 Chinese forces captured the Turgesh capital of Sūyāb, in the Čū river valley to the north-east of Farghāna, and in 749 executed the local ruler of Shāsh for "the non-fulfilment of his duties as a vassal". For several decades, virtually since the first coming of the Arabs, the Soghdian rulers and the princes of Tukhāristān (including among the latter the Yabghu, Arabic Djabbūya) had been sending embassies to China appealing for help against the invaders. Now in 750-1 the Korean general Kao-hsien-chih was sent by the Chinese governor of Kuča in Eastern Turkestan, firstly against rebels in the Pamirs region of Gilgit (*q.v.* in Suppl.), and then into Farghāna. Here the Chinese army, assisted by the Turkish Karluk (*q.v.*), met an Arab force under Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ at Aṭlākh or Aṭlāḳh near Talas in 133/751, and was soundly defeated, with heavy losses of killed and captured (see D. M. Dunlop, *A new source of information on the Battle of Talas or Atlakh*, in *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi [1965], 326-30). Amongst the prisoners-of-war were Chinese artisans who are supposed to have taught the people of Samarkand the art of paper-making (al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al ma'ārif*, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 240, and KAGHAD). This marked the end of Chinese attempts to assert their hegemony west of the Tien-Shan, to the subsequent entreaties of the Iranian princes of Transoxania and Khwārazm for help against the Arabs, the T'ang emperors, pre-occupied by succession quarrels 755-63, were compelled to return non-committal answers. Arab authority was thus made reasonable firm in Transoxania for the first time, since the local potentates no longer had any strong allies either in the Turkish steppes (the Eastern Turkish confederation had collapsed with the death of the Kaghan Mo-ki-lien in 744, to be replaced by that of the Uyghurs, who were essentially concerned with Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) or in the Far East. That the masses of population in Transoxania were as yet far from wholly reconciled to Arab political and social domination was to be demonstrated by various outbreaks of religio-political protest in the early 'Abbāsid period (see further on these, below), but Arab authority was by that time never seriously jeopardised.

For the detailed history of this first century or so of Arab domination in Transoxania, see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 34-89; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923; Barthold *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 47 ff.,

idem, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², London 1968, 180-96, R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*⁴, Paris 1952, 250-72; A. D. H. Bivar in G. Harehby *et alii*, *Central Asia*, London 1969, 63-8

Under the first ʿAbbāsids, Transoxania gradually became integrated politically as a province of the caliphate as a whole. The first governors appointed there by the victorious Abū Muslim speedily began intriguing against their patron at the instigation of the caliph Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, who became deeply suspicious of his ever mighty subject. Abū Muslim accordingly executed Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Azdī in 135/752-3 at Āmul, whilst the fugitive Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ was executed, to Abū Muslim's satisfaction, by the Iranian *dihkān* of Bākeṯh, on the route from Samarkand to Ushrūsana. Discontent among Abū Muslim's own followers after his death at the caliph al-Manṣūr's hands in 137/755, discontent which came to regard the murdered leader as a semi-divine, messianic figure who would return and establish a reign of justice (cf. G.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 134 ff.), united sectarian Islamic and non-Islamic religious dissent with politico-social resentment at Arab domination; these combined strands made Transoxania a much-troubled region in the ensuing decades. The rapidly-changing series of Arab governors sent out to govern Khurāsān and Transoxania (see the list in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 48) were mostly intent on lining their own pothets during their expectedly brief tenure of power there rather than on trying to bring about a community of interest between the Arab central government representatives and the local populations. Several governors debased the local silver currency, although it is favourably recorded by Narshakhī that the governor Ghuṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], appointed in Khurāsān in 175/791 by his own nephew Hārūn al-Rashīd, introduced the capital reform of alloy *dutḥums*, called *Ghuṭrīfī*, to replace the old, largely-vanished coinage of the Bukhār-Khudās (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203-6).

Most of what we know about Transoxania's specific history in this period from the advent of the ʿAbbāsids to the rise of the Sāmānids is concerned with various rebellious there, in the caliphate of al-Mahdī, ca. 159-60/776-7 and during the governorships of Humayd b. Kaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī and Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malīk b. Yazīd, there occurred the outbreak of the Khāridjī *mawlā* Yūsuf al-Barm al-Ṭhakafī at Bukhārā and in the countryside of Bādghīs, and later, in the time of al-Maʾmūn, Yūsuf's grandson Manṣūr b. ʿAbd Allāh also rebelled; such Khāridjī activity was an aspect of the general vitality of Khāridjī doctrines in Khurāsān and Sīstān at this period. More serious at the time and with a protracted aftermath was the movement of the "wearers of white garments" (*al-muḥayyiḍa*, *aṣḥāb-i ḍāmagān*), followers of the "veiled prophet" al-Mukanna[ʿ] [*q.v.*], whose real name was Hāshim b. Ḥakīm or ʿAṭāʾ, a former partisan of Abū Muslim's. The revolt, erupting during Humayd's governorship, is treated at length by Narshakhī (77-89, tr. 65-76; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 198 note, Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 183-86, B. S. Amoretti, *Sects and heresies*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran. iv. From the Arab invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. R. N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 493-503). It attracted widespread support in Soghdia, at Kish and at Nakhshab or Nasaf, whilst in Bukhārā, the son of the Bukhār-Khudā Tughshada, Bunyāt, renounced official Islam and joined the movement. It is not easy to discern from the sources the exact nature of al-Mukanna[ʿ]'s religious doctrines. He himself may have been originally a Zoroastrian, but his ideas may have come to include neo-Mazdakite elements and perhaps even Manichaean ones; and certainly, Abū Muslim, whose avatar al-Mukanna[ʿ] claimed to be, was accorded an exalted, almost divine position. The outbreak was suppressed during the governorship of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (163-6/780-3), but the "wearers of white garments" persisted in the rural areas of Transoxania and Khurāsān for at least two centuries after this. The years 192-4/808-9 were characterised by the revolt centred on Transoxania, but with partisans joining his standard from the upper Oxos provinces of Ṭukhāristān and Ghuṭṭal and from Khwārazm, of Rāfiʿ b. Layth, the grandson of Nasr b. Sayyār. The motive behind this seems to have been purely personal, without any religious or ideological impulse, and doubtless the prestige of Rāfiʿ's descent from the popular Nasr b. Sayyār brought him support. The Arab governor of Samarkand was killed, and Rāfiʿ secured help from the Iranian prince of Shāsh from the Karluk and the Toghuz-Oghuz Turks of the steppes and from Tibet before he submitted voluntarily to al-Maʾmūn and secured pardon (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200-1).

Thus intervention by the Turks in Transoxanian affairs continued during the early ʿAbbāsid period, but not on the same scale as during the Umayyad one. The disintegration of Türgesh power in the Western Turkestan steppes was followed by the ascendancy of the Toghuz-Oghuz, precursors of the Oghuz or Ghuzz [*q.v.*] who are mentioned in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century Islamic sources as harrying the borders of Sāmānid Transoxania and then emerging to form the tribal backing of the Saldjūks [*q.v.*] when they overthrew Ghaznawid power in Khurāsān and entered northern Persia and the central lands of the Middle East. In the early ʿAbbāsid period, the Toghuz-Oghuz had their pasture grounds on the confines of Khwārazm and also along the lower Sīr Daryā. The Karluk, possibly the ancestors of the later Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*] or Karakhānids, took over the eastern Sīr Daryā basin and Semirech'ye (Turkish Yeti Su, "the land of the seven rivers"), acquiring in 766 Sūyāb, the former capital of the Türgesh. Islamic Transoxania suffered sporadically from their incursions, and these Turks continued also to give help on occasion to insurgent local Iranian princes and to rebels like Rāfiʿ b. Layth. To protect the settled agricultural lands, walls were built to the north of Bukhārā and in Shāsh; in Ilāk, in the great southern bend of the Sīr Daryā, the construction of a wall from the mountains to the river is ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Humayd b. Kaḥṭaba, governor of Khurāsān in 159/776 after his father's death. As shows of strength, the Arabs periodically sent expeditions into Farghāna. Ghuṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ sent thither an army to drive out the forces of the Yabghu of the Karluk, and Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (177-9/793-5) exacted the submission of the Afshīn or prince of Ushrūsana, who according to Gardīzī, had never before acknowledged the suzerainty of any outside ruler. The caliph al-Mahdī received at one point the homage of various Central Asian rulers, amongst whom are mentioned the Ikhshīd of Soghdia, the Afshīn of Ushrūsana, the prince of Farghāna, the Yabghu of the Karluk, the Kaghan of the Toghuz-Oghuz, etc., but this cannot have meant much in practice. This was also a period when, because of the early ʿAbbāsids' dependence on their Khurāsānian guards, Transoxanian fighting men entered the caliphal army in considerable numbers; in the reign

of al-Mu'taṣim, the Afshīn of Ushrūsana, Haydar, was to play a leading role in suppressing the revolt of Bābak al-Khurramī [q.v.] in northwestern Persia until his own spectacular fall in 226/841 [see ARMENIA].

Of special concern to us here is the contemporary rise to power, under the overlordship of the Ṭāhirids, of the Sāmānids, who had the foundations for what became a powerful amirate, at first in Transoxania and then also, in the 4th/10th century, in Khurāsān (204-395/819-1005). Whether the semi-mythical ancestor of the Sāmānids, the person given the title of Sāmān-Khudā was really a scion of the Sāsānids or not [see Bosworth, *The heritage of rulership in early Islamic Iran and the search for dynastic connections with the past* in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, xi [1973], 59-9) is impossible to decide, but the family was clearly a typical Iranian *dihkān* one hailing from Ṭukhāristān. A Sāmān-Khudā of the late Umayyad period is said to have accepted Islam at the hands of the governor Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasrī (105-9/723-7), and in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, his four grandsons, Nūḥ, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā and Ilyās received, as rewards for their fidelity to al-Ma'mūn's interests, the governorships of Samarkand, Farghāna, Shāsh and Harāt respectively. The Harāt branch was unable to maintain power south of the Oxus, and the Sāmānids developed essentially as the dominant power in Transoxania, being designated governors, in effect independent rulers there, by the caliph in 261/875 after the downfall of the Ṭāhirids at the hands of the Ṣaffārids Ya'ḳūb and 'Amr b. Layth [q.vv.]. For a detailed consideration of the Sāmānid dynasty and its history, see SĀMĀNIDS, and for the present, a useful general survey by Frye, *The Sāmānids*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 136-61.

Here it may merely be noted that it was a cardinal feature of Sāmānid policy, from the time of the real founder of the dynasty's fortunes, Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907) [q.v.], onwards, to maintain those frontiers of Transoxania which faced the steppes against the pagan Turks and thereby to provide a bastion against nomadic pressure from Inner Asia. Ismā'īl in 280/893 led a punitive expedition against the Karluk, taking an immense plunder (presumably of beasts and slaves) from these at Talas (modern Dzhambul), and he also brought to heel the prince of Usrūshana. Other outlying Iranian principalities were however normally allowed to subsist as vassals, sending tribute and/or presents to the *amīrs*, of the Sāmānids. This was the case with the Afrīghid Khā'iṭarān-Shāhs, the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān, the Farighūnids in Gūrgān, the Abū Dāwūdids in Balkh, the Muḥtājids in Caghāniyān, etc., and whilst the *amīrs* remained vigorous and incisive, this was no source of weakness. Contemporary geographers describe the fringes of Transoxania as dotted with *ribāṭs* [q.v.] against the pagan Karluk, Oghuz and Kimāk [q.v.], where *ghāzīs* or enthusiasts for the faith, from the Transoxanian towns, could work off their energies in the defence of Islam in Isfīdjāb [q.v. in Suppl.], on the northernmost frontier of Islam, as many as 1,700 *ribāṭs* are mentioned, partly manned by volunteers from Nakshab, Bukhārā and Samarkand. Even when some of these Turks had been nominally converted to Islam, *ribāṭs* as centres for offensive and defensive operations were still necessary; al-Mukaddasī, 274, tells how two pieces on the middle Sīr Daryā, in the district of Isfīdjāb, were frontier points (*thaghūr*) against the Türkmens (*al-Turkmāniyyūn*) who had only become Muslims "out of fear". It was also from these frontier-posts that Ṣūfīs and other zealots set off into the *terra incognita* of the steppes as evangelists, such as the missionary from Nīshāpūr, one Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Kalīnāṭī, who worked amongst the Karluk in the middle years of the 4th/10th century and who played some part in the conversion of the founder of the Karakhānid line, Satuk Bughrā Khān, the Islamic 'Abd al-Karīm (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 173-8, 254-6).

Transoxania flourished under the Sāmānids, and there was a dying down of sectarian religious and socio-political protest movements during their time, compared with the previous period, although these did not entirely disappear. The geographers and travellers praise the ease of life there, the plentifulness of provisions, the comparatively light hand of government and incidence of taxation and tolls. There was quite a complex central administration in the capital Bukhārā, known to us from the accounts of Narshakhī and of the encyclopaedist of the sciences Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khwārazmī [q.v.], with a cluster of *dīwāns* or government departments adjacent to the palace built in Bukhārā by Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43); the model for these was doubtless the 'Abbāsid bureaucracy in Baghdād (see Narshakhī, 32-9, tr. 25-7; Bosworth, *Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xi [1969], 113-64). Because of the province's frontier position, the people of Transoxania are described as tough, bellicose and self reliant; also, perhaps because of the continued social influence of the *dihkān* class, the ancient Iranian virtues of hospitality and liberality were kept up (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 949-1040* Edinburgh 1963, 27-34). Culturally, both the Sāmānids themselves and the local, petty courts of the empire encouraged the persistance of Iranian oral and literary traditions, seen in the birth and florescence of New Persian lyrical and heroic poetry (by Shahīd Balkhī, Rūdakī, Daḳīḳī, etc.) which characterised the 4th/10th century and prepared the way in the early part of the following century for such figures as Firdawsī and the Ghaznawid lyric poets (see G. Lazard, *The rise of the New Persian language*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 595-632). At the same time, Transoxania shared to the full in the Arab-Islamic heritage of the caliphate as a whole. Several of the compilers of the canonical collections of *ḥadīths*, the *sunan*, were from Transoxania and Khurāsān, and their scholars played a large role in the consolidation and elaboration of orthodox Sunnī theology (*kalām*) and law (*fiḳh*). Similarly, the fourth section of al-Tha'ālibī's literary anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, shows how brilliantly Arabic poetry and artistic prose were cultivated in Khurāsān, Transoxania and Khwārazm (see V. Danner, *Arabic literature in Iran*, in *Cambr. Hist. of Iran*, iv, 566-94, Bosworth, *The interaction of Arabic and Persian culture in the 10th and early 11th centuries*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxvii [1978-9], 60, 68 ff.).

As in other fields, during the period 750-1000 Transoxania acquired strong economic and commercial links with the heartlands of the caliphate, including with the supreme centre of consumption, 'Irāḳ and its capital Baghdād. Instead of the old military systems of the Arab *mukātila* and then of the early 'Abbāsids' Khurāsānian guards, the caliphs began in the 3rd/9th century to surround themselves with Turkish slave troops [see MAWĀLĪ and GHULĀM i]. Hence the trade in Turkish slaves, who passed from the Inner Asian steppes through Transoxania to the slave markets there, became highly important, Turkish slaves were an integral part of the annual

tribute which the Tāhirids, whose governorate involved responsibility for Transoxania, forwarded to Baghdād, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 28, 20,000 were sent each year, their value amounting to 600,000 *dirhams*. In the Sāmānid period, a century or so later, al-Makdisī, 340, states that the Sāmānid government issued special licenses (*sufūsa*) for the transit across their lands of Turkish slave boys and collected dues for them at the Oxus crossings. The detailed list of the products of the Inner Asian steppes, the Siberian forest zone and the Volga basin given by idem, 323-6, has been conveniently translated by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 253-6. Transoxania and Khwārazm processed and sewed together the furs of the forest lands, these being highly-prized, luxury articles in Islam [see FARW], and were important centres for the manufacture of cotton and other textiles. Particularly mentioned are the silks and satin brocades of Samarkand; the towels of Karmīniya; the cloth of the village of Zandana, near Bukhārā used for the livery of the Sāmānid palace guards; the cottons of Tawwāsī, also near Bukhārā, and the cotton garments of Wajkhār near Samarkand. Narshakhī, 24, tr. 19-20, mentions a *firāz* [*q.v.*] factory (*kārgāh*) in Bukhārā, where carpets, cloth, etc. were woven for the caliphs and which were also exported as far as Syria, Egypt and Byzantium; it may have been founded when al-Maʾmūn was governor in Marw, but by Narshakhī's time (or by that of his continuator?) was no longer in use (see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 92-106). Another luxury item which came into the caliphate, certainly by sea but also probably overland through Central Asia and Transoxania, was Chinese porcelain, including the "imperial" variety, *Ẓaw faghfūr* as the Ghaznawid historian Abu ʾl-Fadl Bayhakī calls it, imported in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see P. Kahle, *Chinesse porzellan in the lands of Islam*, in *Opera minora*, Leiden 1956, 354) whilst from Khwārazm, the local *bārandj* melons were so coveted as to be exported for al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiḳ in baskets containers packed with snow (al-Thaʿālibī, tr., *The book of curious and interesting information*, 142). The direct interest of the caliphs and their ministers in Central Asia, as well as being seen in the *bayt al-māl* at Bukhārā, to which the caliphs' tax-collectors came each year to collect the stipulated taxation of the city in textiles, is paralleled by the fact, mentioned by Ibn Fadlān, that in the opening years of the 4th/10th century, the caliph al-Muḳtadir's vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] had an extensive estate at Artakhushmithan in Khwārazm, administered by a local Christian steward as *ḳaṭīʿa* (*Risāla*, ed. A. Z. V. Togan, Leipzig 1939, § 1, text 3-4, tr. 2-3, and Excursus 5a, 110-11).

The increasingly acute internal dissensions within the Sāmānid amirate of the later 4th/10th century, when powerful Turkish commanders like the Simdjūrīs, Fāʾiḳ and Begtuzun secured an ascendancy in the state, making and unmaking *amīrs* at will, and when an internal financial crisis, bringing sharp increases in taxation, manifested itself, heralded the fall of the dynasty. The decisive factor here was the appearance on the northern frontiers of Transoxania, now unguarded, of the Ḳarluḳ. The Ḳarluḳ were converted to Islam in ca. 349/960, and from their centres at Knāghar and Balāsāghūn [*q.vv.*] (the latter in the Čū valley, perhaps near modern Frunze) began to take advantage of the amirate's weakness. Apparently with some encouragement—as, in former times, against the Arab governors—from the local Iranian dihḳāns, the Ḳarluḳ temporarily occupied the capital Bukhārā in 382/992. Further incursions followed, and in the end, the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek/Ilig Khāns, as the ruling family of the Ḳarluḳ begins to be called, divided up the Sāmānid dominions with Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], the Ḳarakhānids taking Transoxania and the Ghaznawids Khurāsān (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 246-71; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 59 ff.; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 198-203).

For a detailed account of the political and dynastic changes in Transoxania over the next two centuries or so before the coming of the Mongols, see ILEK-KHĀNS and for the next wave of Inner Asian peoples to enter Semireč'e and Transoxania, the Kitai (Chinese Khi-tan or Liao) from the Mongolian fringes of northern China, see QARĀ KHiTĀY, and since the history of the Great Saldjūḳs, successors of Transoxania in the sultanates of Malik-Shāh and Sandjar [*q.vv.*], impinges on that of Transoxania, see further SALDJŪḲIDS.

The long-term political, social and ethnic effects of the installation of Turkish and Mongol peoples like these in Transoxania were profound. The pastoralisation of the land outside the oases and irrigated river valleys may have begun in the Ḳarakhānid period, since we know about royal hunting-grounds (*ḳhurūsh*) being set up. The process certainly took effect under the Mongol Čaghatayids and the Timūrids, when urban life declined in the provinces after the savage sackings of towns by the Mongols in the 7th/13th century. Political authority was now decentralised, with tribally-organised nomadic confederations, often without firmly fixed capitals, directing affairs, instead of the centralising states and autocratic rulers of the Perso-Islamic tradition. This is, indeed, one aspect of the fact that, with the fall of the Sāmānids, the ancient bastion which had for centuries protected the Iranian and Middle Eastern heartlands from the incursions of steppe people was now removed. Transoxania became a corridor of entry for these hordes—Ḳarakhānids, Saldjūḳs, Mongols, etc.—until the advent of the Ṣafawids in Persia, who, though themselves of Türkmen stock, constituted a powerful and resolute barrier state which increasingly had the advantages of better firearms and military techniques [see BĀRŪD, v] and could accordingly withstand the assaults of the Shaybānid Uzbeks or Özbegs and others from across the Oxus and the Atrek.

But by this time, in the 10th/16th century, the passing of the previous five or six centuries had almost completely accomplished the process of ethnic and linguistic Turkicisation in Transoxania and Khwārazm, the old "Iran extérieur". The continued influx of Turks gradually swamped the Iranians or Tādjīks [*q.v.*], as the Turks called them in distinction from themselves, and the population became mixed, with the Turkish element among the uppermost, as it also did eventually at the other end of the modern Turkish world, i.e. in Āḏharbāydjān and Anatolia. It was the same in regard to language. It is unclear exactly when Soghdian died out, but this must have been roughly contemporaneous with the fall of the Sāmānids, and the New Persian which had been replacing Soghdian during the Sāmānid period subsequently vanished also from most of Transoxania. In Khwārazm, Turkicisation began in Saldjūḳ times, although the indigenous Iranian language persisted until the 8th/14th century (see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 109-10). Only in the upper Oxus regions of what were the

mediaeval provinces of Čaghāniyān, Khuttal and Wakhsh did an Iranian-speaking population persist now speaking the form of New Persian known as Tādjīk/Tadzhik (see IRAN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.), and living in what is now the Tadzhik SSR. their numbers amounting to under 1 3/4 millions (1970 census). It is also during these centuries of the Turkicisation of Transoxania that the region becomes known, at least in popular parlance, as Turkistān (*q.v.*).

Transoxania and Eastern Turkestan or Kāshgharia were of course the first Islamic lands which Čingiz Khān encountered when he came westwards with the Mongol hordes. Balāsāghūn (*q.v.*), the main urban centre of Semirečye, was occupied after it had already suffered a severe plundering by the Karā Khitāy. Bukhārā was ravaged in 616/1220, and soon afterwards, Otrār or Utrār (*q.v.*), the former Fārāb (*q.v.*), in the Sīr Daryā basin, and Samarkand were attacked before Čingiz pushed on into Khurāsān in pursuit of the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS). Gurgāndj (*q.v.*) in Khʷārazm was bravely defended, but fell to the Mongols (618/1221) and was later named Urgenč. The Great Khān Ögedey (1227-41) appointed governors in Transoxania for Nakhshab, Bukhārā and Samarkand, and the sedentary indigenous population was at the beginning of his reign ruled by his representative Maḥmūd Yalawač Khʷārazmī (*q.v.*), appointed to collect the taxation there. Djuwaynī praises Maḥmūd Yalawač's just rule and that also of his son Masʿūd Beg (*q.v.*), stating that Bukhārā reached its former level of prosperity (the latter governor was, for instance, the founder of the Masʿūdiyya *madrasa* in Bukhārā), though in fact there was a popular, anti-Mongol rebellion there led by one Maḥmūd Tārābī, only ended by the appearance of a large Mongol army (636/1238-9) (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 382-529, Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 295 ff., 324 ff., Hambly, *The career of Chingiz Khan* and *The Mongol empire in its zenith*, in *Central Asia*, 86-123).

Transoxania, together with those steppe lands to the north henceforth to be known as Moghōlistān (*q.v.*) or Mughulistān, came within the *ulus* or patrimony of Čingiz's second son Čaghatay, together with Eastern Turkestan (Khʷārazm came within the *ulus* of Djōčī, the eldest son, together with western Siberia and South Russia), but the Čaghatay khānate was not properly constituted till some time after Čaghatay's own death in ca. 1242. Čaghatay and his descendants took little interest in the sedentary and urban life of Transoxania. Pre-Mongol Turkish landowners and chiefs, the successors of the Iranian *dihkāns*, remained influential to the countryside; the descendants of the Karakhānids remained in power in Farghāna, it seems (Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 228-39). In Moghōlistān to the north of the Ili river, there was a distinct decline of urban life in favour of pastoralisation (see *ibid.*, 249-53). Urban traditions in Transoxania were much stronger, and especially notable in the towns there is the prominent role, from Karakhānid times onwards, of local Hanafī religious leaders functioning as headmen (*raʾīs*, sing. *raʾīs*), usually with the title of *sadr* or *sadr-i djahān*. Leaders with this title are found in Bukhārā, Samarkand, Khudjand, Urgenč, Shāsh and Almalīgh; the best-known of these were the Āl-i Burhān in Bukhārā (till the revolt of Maḥmūd Tārābī in 636/1238) and their successors, the Āl-i Maḥbūbī (till the mid-8th/14th century) (see O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān, in Isl.*, XXX [1952], 81-96, and SADR). Because of this lack of interest in the settled lands on the part of the Čaghatayid khāns, the nomadic traditions of the Mongols lasted longer amongst them, as also amongst the Golden Horde in South Russia and the Kipčak steppes (see DASHT-I KIPČAK in Suppl.), than in the Persia of the Il-Khānids or the northern China of the Great Khāns. The Čaghatayid khāns' favoured encampments were in Semirečye, in the Ili basin, with the town of Almalīgh (*q.v.*), between the Tien-Shan and Lake Balkash, as their administrative centre, this town flourished and is luminously described by western travellers to the Great Khāns' court until it was destroyed in the civil strife amongst the Mongols in the 8th/14th century. Kebek (ca. 1318-26), though still, like the previous khāns, resistant to Islam, moved his capital to Transoxania proper and built a palace near Nakhshab in the Kashka Daryā valley, although this did not entail renunciation of the nomadic life, from the Mongol term for "palace", *ordū*, the nearby town of Nakhshab came to receive the name which it still bears today, that of Karshī/Karshi (see KARSHI). Kebek's move must nevertheless have favoured the eventual conversion of the Čaghatay khāns to Islam, from the time of Tarmashīrīn (1326-34) Čaghatayid rule lasted in Transoxania till the rise of Timūr (see below), and in other parts of Central Asia till after then, but Timūr's successes were facilitated by increased disunity amongst the Čaghatayid family, with Čaghatayid puppet rulers placed on the throne by Turkish *amīrs*. For an account of the khānate, see ČAGHATAY KHĀN and ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 253 ff., 269-72; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 397-420, Hambly, *The Chaghatai khanate*, in *Central Asia*, 127 ff.

Timūr, a Barlas Turk from Kesh in Transoxania, succeeded by force of arms to the Čaghatayid heritage there. In 771/1370 he became *de facto* ruler of Transoxania, ruling in the name of fainéant descendants of Ögedey, sc. Soyurghatmish (771-90/1370-88) and then his son Maḥmūd (770-7[8]16/1368-[7]1413). He baked himself by marriage to the Čaghatayid royal house, including to a daughter of Khiḍr Khōdja (d. 801/1399) of Moghōlistān, who was reputedly a son of the last significant Čaghatayid khan Tughluk Timūr (760-72/1359-70). Under the rule of Timūr's descendants, above all, that of Shāhrukh (807-50/1405-47), Transoxania enjoyed much cultural prosperity, with Samarkand and Bukhārā becoming lively centres of artistic and literary life, of painting and book production, and of poetry in both Persian and in Eastern Turkish or Čaghatay. Samarkand was the city which Timūr preferred to all others as his main capital. European travellers like the Spanish envoy Clavijo (1403) describe the splendour of his court, and fine buildings in Samarkand, of which the Gūr Amīr mausoleum and the Bībī Khānum mosque survive, attest the high aesthetic level of early Timūrid architecture. The reign of Timūr's grandson Ulugh Beg (*q.v.*) (ruler in Transoxania from 814/1411, at first as Shāhrukh's deputy, to 853/1449) is associated with his foundation of a short-lived observatory in Samarkand and the compilation of astronomical tables (see Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, tr. V and T Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 129-34). As his second capital, Timūr developed Shahr-i Sabz in the Kashka Darya valley, in the heart of the area of the Barlas Turks and near his own birthplace, starting there the construction of impressive buildings, including his own tomb (see Barthold, *Shahr-i*

Saḥa from Timūr to Ulūgh Beg, tr. J. M. Rogers, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, xvi [1978], 103-26, xvii [1980], 121-43). Popular Islam, in the form of a cultivation of Ṣūfī mysticism and the growth of a network of dervish orders, especially flourished in Transoxania during Čaghatayid and Timūrid times, and the *shaykhs* and their orders enjoyed the patronage of the Timūrid rulers. Thus the Naḳshbandī *shaykh* Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (806-95/1404-90) strengthened the ascendant *farīḳa* in Transoxania, benefiting particularly from the favours of Timūr's great-grandson Abū Saʿīd and his son Sulṭān Aḥmad, the Naḳshbandiyya were henceforth to play a major role in the history of Islam in Central Asia [see AḤRĀR, KHWĀDJA, in Suppl.) Meanwhile, the Čaghatayids managed to survive during these years in the lands beyond Transoxania, and under Esen Būḳa II (833-67/1429-62) flourished in Mogholistān and Eastern Turkestan, being hostile however to the later Timūrids For the detailed history of this period, see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 165-84 Grousset, *op. cit*, 486-546, 568-80, Mahin Hajianpur, *The Timurid empire*, in *Central Asia*, 150-62, TIMŪR and TIMŪRIDS.

In 906/1500, Muḥammad Shaybānī, the scion of a line of Mongol khāns, the descendant of Djočī's youngest son Shiban (one part of whom had remained in Siberia as khāns and another part of whom had moved southwards late Transoxania, forming the horde of the Uzbeks [*q.v.*] or Özbegs), seized power in Transoxania from the last Timurids. Transoxania was, indeed, to become the permanent home of the Shaybānids and the Uzbeks, this last Turkish people giving their name to the modern Uzbek SSR, in which they probably form some 70% of the present population. The Shaybānids brought into Transoxania a Turkish following amongst whom the nomadic steppe traditions remained strong and who were virtually untouched by Iranian cultural and religious influences, as had been most of their predecessors there II was the strength of popular religion, that of the dervishes and Ṣūfīs, already notable in Timūrid times (see above), rather than that of the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, which characterised Islam there to the time of the Uzbeks. Like Timūr, they exalted the cult of the Ṣūfī saint Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], whose tomb in the lower Syr Daryā valley at Yasī had long been a popular pilgrimage place for Turks from all over Inner Asia. The Shaybānids in fact made Yasī their capital for a while, and under them it received its new name of Turkistān, indicative of its importance to the Central Asian Turks in general.

Politically and diplomatically, Sunnī Transoxania under the Uzbeks was in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries frequently involved in warfare with the powerful and aggressive Shīʿī monarchy of Ṣafawid Persia. As so many earlier Turco-Mongol dynasties had done, the Shaybānids coveted the rich province of Khurāsān, and invaded it on several occasions. But Muḥammad Shaybānī (905-16/1500-10) and successors of his like Abu 'l-Ghāzī ʿUbayd Allāh (940-6/1534-6) failed to overcome the experienced troops of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who had a greater appreciation of the value of the modern weapon of firearms and who had seasoned troops in their Ḳizilbāsh Türkmens and then in their Georgian, Armenian, etc., slave guards The long-term result of the warfare was the virtual sealing-off of Transoxania from the rest of the Islamic world through the erection by the Ṣafawids of this bulwark on their northeastern frontier Although Turks from Central Asia and Afghāns streamed into Muslim India as mercenaries, adventurers, etc., the traffic was largely one-way. Hence Transoxania became culturally introverted and impoverished, since the steppelands of South Russia and western Siberia were by the 17th century beginning to come under Russian, Christian control, and the popular Islam of such orders as the Yasawiyya, the Čishtiyya and the Naḳshbandiyya, though intense in religious fervour and emotion, was weak in intellectual content Only in the sphere of Eastern Turkish or Čaghatay literature may it be said that Transoxania made a significant contribution to the cultural stock of Eastern Islam at this time. It was a flexible and expressive enough language for Bābur [*q.v.*] to write his memoirs in it, to produce a lively folk-poetry, seen e.g. in the verses of the 18th century Göklen Türkmen bard Makhdūm Kulī; and to give rise to a genre of historiography amongst the Shaybānids, the Djānids or Ashtarkhānids and the Mangits of Bukhārā and the ʿArabshāhids of Khīwa in the former Khwārazm, although such outstanding figures as the 10th/16th century Shaybānid historian Hāfiẓ Tanīsh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] continued to write for preference in Persian For the detailed history of the Shaybānids, see Hambly, *The Shaybanids*, in *Central Asia*, 163-74, Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 185 *ff*., and SHAYBĀNIDS

In the course of the 10th/16th century, Bukhārā and Khīwa formed themselves into separate, often mutually hostile khānates, and then in the early 18th century, a third Uzbek khānate arose in the Farghāna valley, that of Khokand. The three principalities were to have separate existences, punctuated by much squabbling and internecine warfare, till the Russian occupation of Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century, Bukhāra and Khīwa remaining, however, as virtual protectorates of Russia until the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution

The history of these khānates can be followed under BUKHĀRA, KHWĀRAZM, KHĪWA, KHOḲAND, see further DJĀNIDS, KUNGRAT, MANGITS, and also INAK in Suppl

Bibliography Given in the article

(C. F. Bosworth)

MĀʾ (A.) "water". The present article covers the religio magical and the Islamic legal aspects of water, together with irrigation techniques, as follows

1 Hydromancy
2 Water in classical Islamic law
3 Hydraulic machines
4 Pre-10th century irrigation in Egypt
5 Irrigation in Mesopotamia
6 Irrigation in Persia
7 Irrigation in North Africa and Spain
8 Irrigation in the Ottoman empire
9 Irrigation in pre-20th century Muslim India
10 Irrigation in Transoxania
11 Economic aspects of modern irrigation
12. Ornamental uses in Muslim India

1. Hydromancy

As a vehicle for the sacred, water has been employed for various techniques of divination, and in particular, for potamomancy (sc. divination by means of the colour of the waters of a river and their ebbing and flowing, cf. Fr. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, 250 *ff*., notably on the purification power of the Euphrates, consulted for divinatory reasons), for pegomancy (sc omens given by rivers, springs, floods, a feature of Babylonian divination, cf

A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination babylonienne*, Geneva 1905-6, i, 235-50, Fr Nötscher, in *Orientalia*, Serie prior, li-liv (1930), 121 ff., 237 ff., 246 ff., 231 ff., 241) hydromancy (called *istimāl*, according to Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 389) lecanomancy (sc. divination from the waves set up in any shiny, liquid surface, such as water, blood, milk, honey, oil or petroleum, cf. Nötscher, *loc. cit.*, 110-11, 118-19); and crystallomancy and catoptromancy (sc. omens drawn from the features appearing upon any polished, reflecting surface, cf. J. Hunger, *Beschwörungen bei den Babyloner*, in *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, v/1, Leipzig 1903; G. Furlani, in *Aegyptus* [1927], 287-92).

The lack of perennial water courses in Arabia and the infrequency of springs prevented the development of such divinatory techniques as these amongst the Arabs. We have nothing to confirm that the reflective surfaces of waters in oases were ever used for these. Water, like perfume, was used in the rituals over the making of pacts and alliances [see LA'ĀBAT AL-DAM], but these procedures had no divinatory character at all.

Bibliography In addition to references given in the article, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 405-6. (T. FAHD)

2. Water in Classical Islamic Law

In Islamic law there are seven kinds of water which it is lawful to use for drinking or ablution: water from rain, snow, hail, springs, wells, rivers and the sea. These sources may, however, be rendered impure by the presence in them of unclean objects.

Questions of ownership and the right to take water depend on the nature of its source, whether natural or artificial watercourses, wells or springs (freshwater lakes are not generally discussed in the sources owing to their scarcity in the Islamic lands). Ownership of a source of water implies ownership of its *ḥarīm* (reserved area) consisting of that portion of land adjacent to the water source sufficient to enable the source to be used. One *ḥadīth* defines the extent of the *ḥarīm* of a well as 40 cubits on every side, but other measurements are also given.

The *Sharī'a* distinguishes three types of water source which may be the subject of use or ownership:

1. Water from rivers, which may be (a) great rivers, such as the Tigris and Euphrates, which are of such a size that they can be used by all for drinking and irrigation to any extent, (b) lesser rivers, in which case two possibilities may be distinguished:

(i) where there is generally enough water for all users but where it is possible to cause shortage to other users by e.g. digging a canal to take water from higher up the river than other users (whether this is allowed or not must be decided after inquiry into the consequences); or

(ii) where damming or the allocation of fixed times is necessary to provide enough water for irrigation. In such cases, the river is normally regarded as the joint property of the riparian cultivators, and the question of how much water may be retained by the highest riparian cultivator depends on differing circumstances, such as the season of the year, the type of crop irrigated, etc. (c) canals. These are the property of the landowner or landowners in whose property they are situated when they are the common property of several landowners, none of them may make unilateral changes in arrangements for sharing the water, or by building a mill or bridge over it, etc.

2. Wells: (a) Wells dug for the public benefit, here the water is freely available to all, the digger merely having the right of first comer. (b) Wells dug by persons for their own use, e.g. wells dug in the desert by tribesmen. Such persons have first right to the water while they are living in the vicinity, but are obliged to give water to persons suffering from thirst. After they move away, the water becomes freely available to all. (c) Wells dug by persons intending them to be their own property. Ownership, however, cannot be claimed until water has actually been found, and if the well needs lining, until it has been lined. The owner of the well has a duty to give water to anyone suffering from thirst. This is illustrated by a tradition which records that 'Umar made some owners of water pay the *diya* for a man who died of thirst after they had refused his request for water.

3. Springs: (a) Natural springs: these are treated as analogous to permanently flowing rivers. If the water supply is limited, the first person to undertake irrigation in the area has priority, otherwise the water has to be shared equally. (b) Springs opened up by digging: the person who does this becomes the owner, together with the surrounding *ḥarīm*. (c) Springs opened up by persons on their own property: in such cases, the only claim against the owner is that of persons suffering from thirst. If the owner has a surplus of water, he may be obliged to give it gratis to other men's cattle, but not for irrigating crops.

A person who possesses water in a vessel is its sole owner, and he is not obliged to give it to others gratis, he is, however, obliged to relieve someone suffering from thirst in return for a recompense.

Bibliography. A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, 72-7, ii, 60-2, Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ch. 15, T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. *Water*, *Lexikon der Islamischen Welt*, 1974, s.v. *Brunnenrecht* (H. Gaube), and bibl. there cited; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischen Lehre*, Berlin 1897, 589-97, D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 476-20, J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 142-3, and bibl. cited on p. 273, for the exercise of water rights in practice, see Cl. Cahen, in *BÉtO*, xiii (1949-51), 117-43; A. M. A. Maktari, *Water rights and irrigation practices in Lahj*, Cambridge 1971. See also BIR. (M. J. L. YOUNG)

3. Hydraulic Machines

There is ample evidence from written and archaeological sources for the widespread use in pre-Islamic times of all the main hydraulic machines, described below, in all the areas that were to form part of the Muslim world. The *shādūf* was known in ancient times. The *sāqiya*, although it did not become fully effective before the introduction of the pawl in the 4th or 5th century A.D., was known in Roman times. Both machines are still in use today. The noria (*nā'ūra*) and the vertical undershot mill-wheel are both described by Vitruvius, without any claim to originality (*On architecture*, Loeb Classics, ed. F. Granger, 1970, ii, 303-7). Vertical mill-wheels were sometimes mounted on boats moored to the banks of rivers (N. Smith, *Man and water*, London 1975, 140). The origins of the horizontal, vaned mill-wheel are still obscure. It may have been referred to by a Greek writer of the 1st century B.C., and it was in use in Ireland in the 7th century A.D. (Smith, *op. cit.*, 142). It is described in a Byzantine treatise, probably of the 7th century A.D., extant only in Arabic versions (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 50-6, and

Bibl.). Hand-operated force pumps were used by the Greeks and Romans, these had single vertical cylinders that were placed directly in the water without suction pipes (Vitruvius, xii 12, quoting Ctesibius, who lived ca. 200 B.C.) The problem of the origins and diffusion of these machines is largely unresolved, but our chief concern here is that they were all in existence in the 1st/7th century.

The *shādūf* is a simple machine consisting of a wooden beam pivoted on a raised (ukrum At one end of the beam is a bucket, at the other end a counterweight. The bucket is dipped into the water, then the beam is rotated by means of the counterweight and the contents of the bucket are emptied into a cistern or supply channel. The flume-beam swape is a development of the *shādūf* Instead of a solid beam, a channel is connected rigidly to the bucket; when this is raised the water runs through it into the outlet.

The *sāqiya* is more complex, and indeed has over two hundred components parts. It consists essentially of a large vertical wheel erected over the water supply on a horizontal axle This wheel carries a chain-of-pots or a bucket chain On the other end of its axle is a gear wheel that engages a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving bar is attached. The animal is harnessed to the free end of this bar, and as it walks in a circular path, the gears and the wheel carrying the chain-of-pots rotate The pots dip in succession into the water and when they reach the top of their travel they empty into a channel The norias (sometimes confused with the *sāqiyas*) is a large wheel driven by water. It is mounted on a horizontal axle over a flowing stream so that the water strikes the paddles that are set around its perimeter. The water is raised in pots attached to its rim or in bucket-like compartments set into the rim. The large norias at Ḥamāt in Syria can still be seen today, the first known mention of norias at Ḥamāt is by Abūnasl b. al-Tayyib in 271/884-5 (Suter, 33)

The Vitruvian mill-wheel turns a vertical gear-wheel that meshes with a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving shaft is attached The horizontal *vaned mill-wheel is fixed directly to the driving* shaft there are no gears It cannot be mounted directly in the stream since the water must be directed on to its vanes from a pipe or channel

There can be no doubt that all these machines were in continuous use in Islam from the early conquests until the introduction of modern technology. (As mentioned above, the *shādūf* and the *sāqiya* are still in use, they are cheaper and more easily maintained than motor-driven pumps.) The evidence comes from treatises on machines, references in the works of historians and geographers, and archaeological investigations For a selection of the available evidence, the reader is referred to the *Bibl* under Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*; Schuster; Hill 1 and 2. The remaining discussion will be confined to developments of particular importance in the history of technology

Mills were used in Islam for other purposes beside the grinding of corn and other seeds, e.g. for crushing sugar cane and for sawing timber (A. Y. Hassan, *Taqi al-Din and Arabic mechanical engineering* (in Arabic), Aleppo 1976, 52, quoting al-Nuwayrī and Ibn ʿAshīq) This suggests that rotary motion was converted to reciprocating, probably by means of trip-hammers More examples of similar applications may be discovered when a systematic study of the historical and geographical works is undertaken.

Another area of interest is the use of the overshot mill-wheel, in which the water is conducted through a channel to the top of the wheel, which has bucket-like compartments around its rim. The overshot wheel works mainly by the weight of the water, whereas the Vitruvian one is operated by its force. In many conditions, the former is the more efficient of the two. Its use is recommended by a certain al-Murādī in a treatise composed in Andalusia in the 5th/11th century (D. R. Hill, *A treatise on machines*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 1/1 [Aleppo 1977], 32-46. In this paper the treatise was wrongly attributed to the well known astronomer Ibn Muʿādh) Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashkī, d. 727/1327, describes a similar wheel in operation near Tabriz (ed. M. A. F. Mehren, 188). The overshot wheel did not come into general use in the West until about the 8th/14th century Al-Djazarī (q.v. in Suppl.) often uses small overshot wheels in his devices, but these are usually scoop-wheels, a kind of primitive Pelton wheel, the scoops being fixed to the ends of spokes that radiate from a solid disc

It is reasonable to infer that the scoop-wheels used by al-Djazarī were miniature versions of wheels in full-size machines, an inference that is strengthened by the fact that he uses such a wheel in one of his water-raising machines (Category V, Ch. 3). The visible part of this is a *sāqiya*, which is provided with a model cow to give the impression that this is the source of motive power. The actual power, however, is provided in a lower, concealed chamber and consists of a scoop-wheel and two gear wheels. This system drives the vertical axle that passes up into the main chamber, where two further gear-wheels transmit the power to the chain-of-pots wheel. Such devices (without the model cow) were in everyday use A similar machine was in continuous use on the River Yazīd above Damascus from the 7th/13th century until about 1960 for water supply and irrigation. It was restored to working order by the staff and students of Aleppo University (Hassan, *op. cit.*, 58-9)

Al-Djazarī describes four other water-raising machines in Category V, Chs. 1, 2 and 4 deal with *flume-beam swapes operated by animal* power through gear trains. The first two of these incorporate segmental gears. The earliest known occurrence of these gears in Europe is in the astronomical clock completed by Giovanni de' Dondi in 1365 The fifth machine is a slot-rod pump, driven through gears from a paddle wheel. It is remarkable for having two horizontally opposed cylinders and true suction pipes. Taqī al-Dīn (10th/16th century) describes a similar pump, but equally remarkable is his are-cylinder "Meregbloc" pump (Hassan, *op. cit.*, 47-50). The vertical cylinders are fitted into a single wooden block which runs in the water Delivery pipes lead out from the sides of the cylinders, near their tops, and are brought together into a single outlet. Each cylinder has a clack-valve at the bottom. The pistons are provided with weights at the top and lever arms at the sides. The lever arms are supported at fulcrums and their free ends extend inside the perimeter of a scoop-wheel. As the water strikes the scoop-wheel it rotates, the scoops bear down in succession on the lever arms and the pistons rise and fall in continuous succession.

It should be apparent from the foregoing brief discussion that Islamic engineers were active in the construction and development of hydraulic machines for water-raising and power supply throughout the mediaeval period and beyond. Similar activity took

place in Europe, India and East Asia. Each region used the machines that were best suited to its needs, to the local hydraulic conditions, and to the available constructional materials.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text) two treatises are available in annotated English translations by D. R. Hill, *The Book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices by al-Jazarī*, Dordrecht 1974, see esp. 32, 95-6, 279-88, 275; and *The Book of ingenious devices by the Banū Mūsā*, (fl. Baghdād mid-3rd/9th century), Dordrecht 1979, see 228, 256, for horizontal water-wheels; there is an Arabic-English glossary that includes many terms used in hydraulic engineering, an Arabic edition of al-Jazarī, also with Arabic-English glossary, is now available, ed. A. Y. Hassan, Aleppo 1979; Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 246-55 (this section contains definitions and brief descriptions of parts used in hydraulic and other machines), E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim-New York 1970, see index under *rafʿ*, *nāʿūra*; Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über Vorrichtungen zum Heben von Wasser in der islamischen Welt*, in *Jahrbuch des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieure*, viii (1918), 121-54. T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic water-lifting wheels*, Odense 1973 (deals mainly with the *sāqiya*), useful discussions on hydraulic machines in various regions, including Islam, occur in J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/3, Cambridge 1965 (see index under "mills", "water-raising devices", "water-wheel", etc.), Lynn White Jr., *Medieval technology and social change*, Oxford 1962, ch. 3, R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden 1955-64, ii. 79-9, N. Smith *op. cit.*, ch. 12.

(D. R. Hill)

4. Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt

Until the 20th century, irrigation in Egypt remained much as it had been in Pharaonic times. The continuity of practice stemmed from the dependence on the annual Nile floods, which provided Egypt not only with water for irrigation but also with the alluvial soil deposits to renew the fertility of the cultivated lands. The great river, however, does not only bestow its gifts, but may also be the cause of misfortune to the country. Up to modern times and before major dams and irrigation projects were undertaken, a high Nile promised the richest increase to the fields, while with a low Nile came the inevitable dread of a year of famine.

ʿAbd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1232) discussed this phenomenon and the rôle of the Nile in the irrigation and the agricultural situation in mediaeval Egypt. He states that after the water of the Nile overflowed and covered the soil for several days, it receded to let the peasants plough and sow the fields. No further irrigation was needed until the crops were ready to be harvested. If the Nile exceeded some fingers beyond 20 cubits (*dhirāʿ*), some areas became submerged like lakes for a long time and the proper time for sowing passed without calculation being possible. Also, lands could not be cultivated if the Nile did not rise sufficiently to reach the minimum of the necessary flood (16 cubits). In such cases, the amount of land covered with water was insufficient, the size of the crop did not meet the needs of one year and there was a scarcity of food more or less great in direct ratio to the water level above or below sixteen cubits.

No one in pre-20th century Egypt felt secure before the flood reached the height of 16 cubits and when all necessary land had been naturally irrigated by the Nile. Until it reached that level, the news of its height was kept secret from the common people. It seems that this was a custom introduced by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Muʿizz in 362/973, when he prohibited the announcement in the streets of Cairo of the exact rising of the Nile before it had reached 16 *dhirāʿs*. This was to prevent tension, fear and financial crises among the inhabitants, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853, i, 62. The person who was in charge of the Nilometer (*ṣāḥib al-miḳyās* [see MIḲYĀS]) used to call the increasing level of the Nile water in fingers without telling the exact cubit. Only when the water level reached the height of 16 cubits, normally in the Coptic month Misrā (July-August), could the *ṣāḥib al-miḳyās* proclaim it to the people in Cairo, and the sultan then had the right to impose the *kharādj* on the cultivated land, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Cairo 1914, iii, 293-4, 297, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923, i, 264; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 80, 273, H. M. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 73 and the sources cited therein.

Pre-20th century irrigation in Egypt did not rely only on the floods, but also on the yearly digging and cleaning of the irrigation canals and the maintenance of the irrigation dams. Both al-Nuwayrī (i, 263) and al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 62) state that without such maintenance there would be little benefit from the Nile. Al-Maḳrīzī (i, 74-5) traces the importance of canals and irrigation dams in controlling the Nile in pre- and early Islamic periods. It was one of the most important functions of both the sultans and the holders of the *iḳṭāʿs* [q.v.] under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks to dig and clean the canals and to maintain the irrigation dams (the *djusūr*). The sources provide us with ample information about the efforts of the sultans in Egypt in digging and cleaning canals. The irrigation dams (the *djusūr*), which were of paramount importance for the irrigation of the fields, were classified into two types in mediaeval Egypt: the small irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-balad̲iyya*) and the great irrigation dams (*al-djusūr al-sulṭāniyya*). The first were important for conveying water from one field to another in the village. Each *mukṭaʿ* (holder of an *iḳṭāʿ*) with his clerks was responsible for the upkeep of these irrigation dams within the confines of his *iḳṭāʿ*. As for the great irrigation dams which were constructed for the benefit of the provinces, the sultan was responsible for them, at least in theory. In practice, especially under the Mamlūk sultans, the *mukṭaʿs* assisted the sultan in the construction of this type of dam by supplying peasants, oxen, barrows and tools, cf. Ibn Mammātī, *Kawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 232-3, 344; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ*, iii, 449, al-Maḳrīzī *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 101.

Because of the importance of the great irrigation dams, both the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk sultans used to select distinguished and able *umarāʾ* and officials to supervise the work of their maintenance. Al-Nābulusī (d. 660/1262) states in the *Kitāb Lumaʿ al-ḥawādith al-mudjiyya* (*ed.* C. H. Becker and C. Cahen in *Bulletin d'études orientales*, xvi [1958-62], 39-40) that every year the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil used to send him with 3 or 4 *umarāʾ* to the Djīza province during the flood period in order to keep the dams of that province in good condition. It seems that the Ayyūbid sultans sent officials like al-Nābulusī to other Egyptian provinces for the same purpose. Under the Mamlūks there was an office called *ḥasb̲ al-djusūr*

(office of inspection of irrigation dams) for each province in Egypt. The holder of this office called *kāshif al-ǧusūr*, was an *amīr* who was aided by assistants in the construction and maintenance of the irrigation dams in the province under his charge, cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 448-9

Each year before the advent of the Nile flood, not only had the canals to be dug and the irrigation dams to be constructed and repaired, but also the land to be cultivated had to be prepared. The methods of that preparatory work as well as the tools used were more or less the same traditional ones known to have been used by the Egyptian peasants for thousands of years. As for irrigation, al-Nuwayrī and al-Maḳrīzī state that when the Nile rose during the flood period, the water covered all cultivated lands. One could only reach the villages, which were established on hills and mounds, by boat or on the great irrigation dams. When the soil had had sufficient water, the *khawlīs* (stewards) and the *shawāyis* (village headmen) supervised the cutting off of the irrigation dams from specified places at certain times in order to draw off water from the fields, thus letting it flow benefit other places, cf. al-Nuwayrī, i, 264-5, al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 61; see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ al-dhahab*, Beirut 1965, i, 575; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nama*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, 39, tr. 118. al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283), *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, 96 Wustenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 175, mentions that when the water of the Nile receded gradually after being on soil for forty days, the peasants began sowing

The crops which were cultivated after the Nile flood season in mediaeval Egypt did not need any more irrigation than their inundation during the flood period, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 97, al Iṣṭakhrī[1], 49 This was the most common method of irrigation, called *bi ʾl-nayḍ* by al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1899, 63, and *mā al-rīḥa* by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 102. The last term is still used by the contemporary *fallāḥ* to denote irrigation without artificial implements. Crops watered in this manner were called "winter crops" in order to distinguish them from the summer ones which the peasants began sowing during the Coptic month Baramhāt (February-March) and which relied on irrigation by artificial means such as water-wheel, shadoof, etc., cf. Ibn Mammātī, 148

Al Makhzūmī in the *Minhādj* and al-Maḳrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ* distinguish between the winter and summer crops when discussing the times of sowing and harvesting al Makhzūmī states that the winter crops were wheat (*ḥinṭa*), barley (*shaʿīr*), beans (*fūl*), bitter-vetch (*ḥulbān*), lentils (*ʿadas*) and flax (*kattān*) al-Maḳrīzī adds to al-Makhzūmī's list of winter crops chick peas (*ḥummaṣ*), clover (*ḥurt*), onions (*baṣal*), garlic (*thūm*) and lupin (*turmus*). For summer crops al-Makhzūmī mentions unripe melons (*faḳūs*) watermelons (*biṭṭīkh*) kidney beans (*lūbiya*), sesame (*simsim* or *sumsum*), cotton (*ḳuṭn* or *ʿaṭāb*), sugar cane (*ḳaṣab al-sukkar*) and colocasia antiquorum (*ḳulḳās*). Although al-Maḳrīzī lists the same for summer crops, he adds aubergines (*bādhinǧān*), indigo (*nīla*), radishes (*fuǧl*), turnips (*lift*), lettuce (*khass*) and cabbage (*kurunb*), and puts both the unripe melon and watermelon under the one name *biṭṭīkh*, cf. al-Makhzūmī, *Kitāb al-Minhādj fī ʿilm kharādj Miṣr*, ms. B M London Add. 23463, ff. 30b-33b, al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 101-2.

There were many methods known in pre-20th century Egypt to irrigate the soil under the summer crops They were inherited from older times and continue until today, with the exception of one which was very primitive and arduous. This was the transportation *al water* to the fields in buckets, jars, etc., hung from the necks of the oxen. This method was mentioned by al-Nābulusī as the means of irrigation for the two villages Dimashkīn al-Baḥal and Damūh, known as Kūm Darī, in the Fayyūm province, cf. *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*, 99, 101 This method, which was a continuation of a Pharaonic technique, seems to have been known in other Egyptian villages.

The other methods of irrigation used by the mediaeval Egyptian peasant employed any one of four artificial irrigation contrivances, namely, the *naʿūra*, the *dālīya*, the *sāḳiya* and the *shādūf*. These four contrivances were used in Egypt before the advent of the Arabs and are still in current use.

There is no mention of what was known as the *naʿūra* in the available classical sources, but the existence of such a device in Ancient Egypt, as well as its depiction in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, Planches, Tome deuxième, Paris 1817, *Arts et métiers*, Pl vi (4), proves its existence in pre-20th century Egypt. It is still in use in Egypt, as well as in many African countries Two men stand face to face, each holding two cords of palm-fibre ropes to which is attached a wide, shallow waterproof basket. This basket, made from twisted palm leaves or leather, is known in Egypt by the name *ḥafna*. The two men holding the ropes bend slightly toward the water, dip the basket and fill it Then they straighten while turning to the field, thus raising the basket which is emptied into the mouth of the irrigation canal, cf. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1871, ii, 27.

The *dālīya* or shadoof is a kind of draw-well which was used in Pharaonic Egypt and in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ, and is still used in Egypt and other eastern countries for raising water for irrigation. It usually consists of two posts, beams of the acacia tree or shafts of cane, about five feet in height. These posts are seated with mud and clay and then placed less than three feet apart. The two beams are joined at the top by a horizontal piece of wood, in the centre of which a lever is balanced. The shorter arm of the lever is weighted with a heavy rock or dried mud, while at the end of the longer arm hangs a rope carrying a leather pail. The peasant stands on a platform on the river bank and pulls down the balanced pole until the pail dips into the water and is filled. A slight upward push, which is helped by the pendent weight, raises the bucket above the irrigation canal, into which it is emptied.

As for water-wheels, al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) states that there were many *dawālīb* (pl. of *dālīb*, a Persian word which denotes a water-wheel) on the banks of the Nile for irrigating orchards during the low waters. He also says that the *dalw* was the bucket of the *dālīb*, cf. *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 208 In the next century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions in his *Safar-nama*, 39, French tr 118, that "up the Nile there are different cities and villages, and they have established so many *dālībs* that they are difficult to count"

In mediaeval Egypt, there were two words used to denote wooden water-wheels, i.e the *sāqiya* (sing. *sāḳiya*) and the *nāʿūra* (sing. *naʿūra*), al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh al Fayyūm*, 11, 27, 32, 48, 52, 54, 63, 94, 126, mentions that some villages in the Fayyūm province had *nawāḍiḥ* to raise irrigation water In Bāǧa, for example, he states that there were *nawāḍiḥ* which were running day and night In the *Kitāb Lumaʿ al-fawāʾid*, 48-9, al-Nābulusī warns the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of the negligence and dis-

honesty of officials with which his own long experience of the work of offices had made him conversant. Specifically, he reports that acacia trees, which were a state monopoly, have been illegally cut down to construct *sawāḳī*, presses and other instruments.

Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, viii, 253-4, writing in the Mamlūk period, states that wells were dug in the land, apparently supplied by water from the underground bed of the Nile. At the mouth of these wells the *sawāḳī*, made from acacia or other trees, were installed. Al-Nuwayrī also states that these irrigation wheels were called *al-mahāl* in Egypt, while at Ḥamā in Syria they were called *al-nawāʿūr* (sing. *nāʿūra*). He differentiates as does al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 80, 140, in a later period, between the two kinds by stating that the *nawāʿūr* were run by water current, while the *mahāl* by oxen.

The Arabic word *mahāl* (sing. *mahāla*) denotes the huge pulley which is used for raising water from wells, cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *L.A.*, Beirut 1958, xi, 600-1. However al-Makrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 102, uses it to refer to the water-wheel. When discussing the irrigation of sugar-cane when the Nile water is low, al-Makrīzī says that each of these *mahāl* can raise the water to irrigate eight *faddāns* of sugar-cane providing that the waterwheel is installed close to the Nile and that eight excellent beasts are available to work it. When the wells are established at a distance from the Nile, each of the *mahāl* cannot irrigate more than 4 to 6 *faddāns*. Al-Makrīzī also refers to the *ḥiḍās*, whith al-Mukaddasī earlier explained as the bucket of the water-wheel.

It is apparent that the ordinary, contemporary Egyptian water-wheel is more or less the same as the mediaeval one, since it does not differ appreciably from the one depicted in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, II, i 501 ff; *Planches*, Tome deuxième *Arts et métiers*, Pl. v. The flat horizontal wheel of the *sāḳiya* is turned counter-clockwise by a single beast or pair of oxen. The flat wheel's rough cogs engage a vertical wheel whith carries a long chain of earthen pots (*ḥuwaḍī*). These clay pots are suspended from ropes and are lowered, mouthdowaward into the water. Following the path of the wheel, the pots scoop up water which they spill out into the irrigation channel as they arrive at the top of the wheel on their circular journey. The work of the peasant or his son is to goad the beast, an wench the turning wheel, and to avoid wasting water on the way to the field.

As for the *tābūt* (water-screw), it was apparently invented by the Greek mathematician and inventor Archimedes (*ca.* 287-212 B.C.) while studying in Egypt. Observing the difficulty in raising water from the Nile, he is said to have designed this screw to facilitate the irrigation of the fields.

The water screw has been continuously in use in Egypt when the level of water is not very low, from the times of the Ptolemys until the present. It consists of a wooden cylinder (about 6-9 feet in length) hooped with iron. While the spiral pipe is fixed between the inside wall of the *tābūt* and an iron axis, its upper extremity is bent into a crank and its lower and turns on a stake set under the water. One or two peasants crouch at the water's edge, endlessly turning the crank handle. The water rises from bend to bend in the spiral pipe until it flows out at the mouth of the canal.

However, using the primitive implements of the *nāʿūra*, the *dālya*, the *sāḳiya* and the *ṭābūt*, the pre-20th century peasant in Egypt irrigated the land and managed to produce the necessary crops to maintain the economy of the country. Many of the techniques and implements that he devised or used have proved so be efficacious to such a degree that they are still extant.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): for Pharaonic implements and techniques cf. F. Hartmann, *L'agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1923; A. Erman, *Life in ancient Egypt*, tr. H. M. Tirard, London 1894. See for later periods, al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār* facsimile by K. H. Zand and others, Cairo-London 1964, 200-2, French tr. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte, par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 320-30, ʿAlī Mubārak, *Nukhbat al-fikr fī tadrīr Nīl Miṣr*, Cairo 1297/1879-80, 151-2; T. Sato, *Irrigation in rural Egypt*, in *Orient*, Tokyo 1972. For the maintenance of the irrigation dams in the later Mamlūk period, cf. al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, Paris 1894 repr; for supplying labour for irrigation dams and canals during the Ottoman period and later, cf. G. Baer, *The dissolution of the Egyptian village community*, in *MW*, N.S., vi (1959-61), 60-1, 64. See also Tayḥughā al-Ḏjarkalmush, (8th/14th century), *Kitāb al-Fāḍila al-muntakhaba*, ms. Dār al-Kutub Cairo, no. 229 *taʾrīkh*; Yūsuf al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), *Mabāhij al-fikar wa-manāhij al-ʿibar* (*al-qism al-rābiʿ*), ms., Dār al-Kutub Cairo, no. 339 *ʿulūm ṭabīʿiyya*, for the *dālya* or shadoof, cf., al-Shurbāṣī, *Ḥuzz al-khāṭir fī khabr hadīd Abī Shādūf*, ed. M. K. Bakī, Cairo n.d., latrod. dated July 1963, 262, Girard, *Mémoire*, in *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, II, 1, 500 f.; *Planches*, Tome deuxième, Pl. vi (2); Lane, *Manners and customs*, ii, 25-6; al-Ḥifnī, *Taʾrīkh al-Zaraʿa al-Miṣriyya fī ʿahd Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1950, 26 idem, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr al-iḳtiṣādī fī ʿIṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1958, 8; H. A. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961, 245 ff., 356 n. 7, for the *dālya* in ʿIrāḳ, cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au début du XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-52), 118-9, 130 f.; for the Egyptian water-wheel, cf. Lane, *Manners and customs*, ii, 26-7, H. H. Ayrouth, *Mœurs et coutumes des fellahs*, Paris 1938, 66, Eng. tr. H. Weyment, *The fellaheen*, Cairo 1945, 37-8. Arabic tr. M. al-Labbān and D. Murkus, *al-Fallāḥūn*, Cairo 1968, 107 ff., al-Ḥifnī, *Taʾrīkh al-Zaraʿa al-Miṣriyya*, 23-6, for the water-screw cf. T. L. Heath, *Archimedes*, London 1920, 1-2, idem, *The works of Archimedes*, New York n.d., pp. xx-xxi, Rivlin, *op. cit.*, 269, 295, 247; Ayrout, *op. cit.*, 64, Eng. tr., 56, Arabic tr. 107, the water-screw is known in Egypt now by the names *tābūt* or *ṭambūr*.

(HASSANEIN RABIE)

3. Irrigation in ʿIrāḳ

Since it is impossible here to look at the use of water in all its aspects and in regard to all the problems which it raises, the present section merely deals with irrigation in the same way as is done for other regions of the Islamic world.

Taken as a whole, ʿIrāḳ is a flat plain irrigated by two great rivers, whose risings and fallings lack however the comparative regularness of the Nile. Since the Euphrates (al-Furāt [q.v.]) flows at a higher level than that of the Tigris (Didjla [q.v.]), the canals which, from ancient times, have connected them run at an oblique angle in relationship to them. Aerial photography, together with other sources of information, has allowed Adams to supplement and complete, for the left bank of the Tigris,

the information of the mediaeval authors and, especially, of Ibn Sarafyūn (Serapion). In regard to the zone between the two great rivers, periods of neglect before and after the coming of Islām have transformed part of central ʿIrāḳ into a marshland (the Baṭīḥa [q.v.]) the drainage of which has not been possible. The rivers and the great canals constructed and maintained by the state, were important routes for communication, which were not impeded by the bridges of boats across them or by the mills. The upkeep of the smaller canals was the responsibility of local people. An ancient system of customary law regulated the amount and the periods of water used amongst the holders of land along the banks, and specially appointed officials had the task, through the manipulation of sluices and water-gates, of securing this regulation. The interest shown about irrigation questions by mediaeval authors arises from the fact that, both for the land-tax and for local dues, irrigated land was distinguished from non-irrigated land.

The anonymous author of the *Kitāb al Ḥiyal* (5th/xith century) has provided us, in the shape of mathematical problems, with some interesting details about the administration of the canals and about hydraulic machinery in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ. He describes various kinds of waterwheels, *dawlāb*, *ghurrāfa*, *shādūf*, giving their capacity for drawing up water and then spreading it for irrigation purposes, according to the season, and the numbers of men and animals required to work them. Then he moves on to the "balancing out of ground" intended to fix the levels of canals which have to be dug out (see F. Wiedemann, *EI¹*, art. MĪZĀN). Finally, he raises the question of the construction and upkeep of the raised canal banks, which he calls *ḥawāḍ*, a pre-Islamic term not listed in the classical dictionaries, hence often wrongly read. It is necessary to know the volume of earth, reeds and brushwood which has to be transported, which is summed according to a special unit, the *asala* = 100 cubic cubits "of balance", and it is to be understood that an *asala* is procured by 33 "spade loads", handled by two men, one digging and the other transporting the earth, etc. in sacks. The purveyance of materials and the labour, which seem never to have been done by slaves, are paid according to an official tariff.

Bibliography. In addition to AṢṬAḴRĪ, DIMIŠḲĪ, al-FURĀT and ʿIRĀḲ see on the Ḵ *al-Ḥiyal*, Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Irak au XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-52), 127-43; R. McC. Adams, *Land beyond Baghdad*; K. Wittfogel, *Oriental despotism, a comparative study of total power*, New Haven 1957 (based according to the author on the control of water resources; cf. the preface by Vidal-Naquet to the French tr., *Le despotisme oriental*); X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire musulmane*, Paris 1968; T. Fahd, *Matériaux pour une histoire de l'agriculture en Irak* (= based on Ibn Waḥshiyya), in *Handbuch der Or.*, Leiden-Cologne 1978; L. Bolens, *Les agronomes andalous du Moyen Âge*, Geneva 1981, ch. iv; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, iii. *Le milieu naturel*, Paris 1980, chs. ii-v.

(Cl. Cahen)

6. Irrigation in Persia

The distribution and density of population and the development of agriculture in Persia throughout history have been closely dependent upon the availability of water, and the nature of the irrigation systems has influenced both the siting of settlements and the pattern of society. Precipitation is scanty and seasonal, it is concentrated on the periphery of the country, as also are the major perennial rivers.

As a general rule, rainfall, which occurs between October and May, decreases from the north to the south of the country and from west to east, but in a number of areas the high relief of the Alburz and the Zagros mountains has modified this pattern. Along the Caspian Sea coast and the northern flanks of the Alburz, precipitation reaches more than 1,800 mm. near the mouth of the Safīd Rūd; annual totals fall to less than 500 mm. on the east side of the Caspian near Gunbadi-Ḳābūs. Along the western flanks and summits of the Zagros Mountains, precipitation amounts are thought to exceed 800 mm. on some of the higher peaks, and large areas to the west of Shīrāz receive more than 400 mm. In the north-western highlands, between the two belts of high precipitation, there is a zone of moderate precipitation of 250-400 mm. In the centre of the country occupied by the Dasht-i Kawīr and the Dasht-i Lūṭ, great sterile deserts, precipitation totals almost everywhere less than 100 mm., though a higher precipitation is found on the eastern borders of the *kawīr* in the highlands around Birdjand and Zāhidān. Everywhere, with the exception of the Caspian littoral, low and episodic rainfall is a major constraint on agriculture, hence the importance of artificial irrigation.

Dependable supplies of surface water exist only in isolated districts around the margins of the country, but there is nowhere an annual surplus of water, and seasonal surpluses, except in the north and west, are insignificant. Run-off is episodic, and occurs only because precipitation momentarily exceeds the infiltration capacity of the surface. The flow of water in streams and rivers throughout the country is seasonal and highly variable from year to year. Peak flows are too rain for water crops and the minimum discharge occurs when summer crops are in greatest need of moisture. The control of water by artificial irrigation is therefore immensely important for agricultural production and prosperity. Without artificial irrigation the cultivation of plants native to regions where summer rainfall is normal, such as cotton, millet, rice and sugar would not be possible.

There are few great rivers in Persia—the great hydraulic civilisations have no place there. The largest are the Kārūn and the Karkha [q.vv.] which flow into the Persian Gulf, draining almost all the area between Ābadān and Kirmānshāh. Further south are the basins of the Mand [q.v.] and the Shūr, which also drain into the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman respectively. The Safīd Rūd flows into the Caspian, as also do the Aras [see AL-RASS] and the Atrek [q.v.]. The water of the two last named, which flow along the modern Russo-Persian border in the north-west and the north-east respectively, is shared with Russia. The central zone of Persia, covering the largest part of the country, is an area of internal drainage. Small rivers flow into the closed basins of Lake Urumiyya (Riḍāʾiyya) in Ādharbāydjān, into the Hāmūn in Sīstān and into dry lakes and salina marshes in structural basins to the East Zagros, the depression between the Zagros and the volcanic axis extending from Kumm to Kirmān, the Dasht Muriyān basin, the southern Lūṭ, Baluchistān, the eastern highlands north of Birdjand and in the frontier zone with modern Afghānistān. South-west of the central desert is the basin of the Zāyanda Rūd, which supports Iṣfahān and to the south of this, the basin of the Kur. The discharge

of most streams in the central zone is small. Many of the larger streams, gathering in high mountains, have steep and irregular profiles. Leaving the mountains, they dwindle quickly as a result of evaporation, seepage and diversion for irrigation, leaving dry channels, the underflow of which now and then supports an exotic agricultural efflorescence. From ancient times, the water of these rivers and streams has been used for irrigation and has formed the basis on which flourishing civilisations have been established in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. The history of the water use of the Kur in the Marwdasht plain illustrates the importance of the role played by irrigation in the establishment of the early Persian empires in that region and the changes in the prosperity of the region and the density of settlement which took place over the centuries as a result of fluctuations in the upkeep of dams and irrigation channels (*see further*, G. Kortum, *Der Marwdasht-Ebene-Fars*, Kiel 1976). For the most part, the rivers flowing into the southern and of the Caspian Sea, apart from the Oxus (*see* ĀMŪ DARYĀ) appear to have been less used for irrigation in early and mediaeval times than the rivers in central, southern and eastern Persia. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that little of the water of the Djurdjān River was used for irrigation and most of it ran to waste (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, 124). Similarly, hardly any of the water of the Safīd Rūd was used for irrigation, except for that little which watered the lands lying immediately along its bed, most of it was wasted (*ibid.*, 127), and the same, he alleges, was true of its tributary, the Shāhrūd (*ibid*, 118), though this was not so in the case of the rivers of the two Tārums, which also flowed into the Safīd Rud in summer most of their waters were used for irrigation and little flowed into the Safīd Rūd (*ibid.*, 121).

The smaller basins of the arid centre of Persia and the south-east, together with the fringes of the *kawīr*, receive incoming water mainly by piedmont seepage of many small ephemeral streams. The traditional method of tapping this water is by *kanāt* [*q.v.*], which, with its associated network of canals, is characteristic of irrigation on the Persian plateau, hence too the frequent siting of settlements on gentle slopes some distances from the foot of the hills that feed the *kanāts*. From earliest times the material basis of the population on the Persian plateau has been provided by *kanāt* water (H. Goblot, *Essai d'une histoire des techniques de l'eau sur le plateau Iranien*, in *Persica*, viii [1979] 120). The various systems of irrigation—by river, *kanāt*, spring or storage dam—are not mutually exclusive, many districts use more than one.

The configuration of settlements has been decided in many cases by the nature of the water supply. Where water is scarce, villages tend to be concentrated; elsewhere they may be more scattered. They frequently flank water courses and cluster about the outlet of *kanāts* or round springs. The area immediately round a town or village is usually intensively cultivated with irrigation—even in the dry farming regions there is often a small irrigated area in or near a town or village. Beyond the cultivated land there is sometimes a periphery of marginal land which may be cultivated in years when the water supply is extraordinarily plentiful. Similarly, mountain villages in regions where the rainfall is sufficient for cultivation usually have an irrigated area, however small. In mountain valleys, the villages tend to be situated on rocky slopes rising above the intensely cultivated valley floors or to straggle along the mountain streams. Mountain slopes are often skilfully terraced, and much time and labour is expended on the construction and repair of dry stone retaining walls for the cultivated plots (cf. X. de Planhol, *Geography of settlement*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, 419-20). The need for regular attention to the upkeep of irrigation works has, further, been an important factor in making the village, rather than the isolated farmstead, the typical form of settlement throughout most of Persia.

Artificial irrigation may already have existed in late Neolithic times. By the Achaemenid period, there was an extensive network of *kanāts*, and with the extension of irrigation there was an expansion of agriculture. It is probable that drainage schemes were also undertaken in different parts of the empire. Later, the Seleucids brought more land under cultivation by clearance and drainage and applied new techniques to irrigation (R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic conquest*, Harmondsworth 1954, 259). In Islamic times, control of water for irrigation remained crucial to prosperity and settlement.

Such control is a highly complex matter, and requires for its successful implementation not only technical skill but also political stability. The heavy load of silicis carried by streams in spate makes storage and control both difficult and costly. Flash floods often destroy irrigation works, especially those connected with *kanāts*, while spring floods may also cause much damage in lowland districts. On the plateau, the lowering of the stream beds through normal erosion results in the lowering of the water table itself and leaves irrigation canal intakes above the new water level. In modern times, the lowering of the water table by the extraction of water by pump operation connected with the sinking of semi-deep wells has led to many *kanāts* falling into disuse, especially round the central desert but also in other regions. Inadequate drainage, on the other hand, often leads to a rising water-table under irrigated lands, water-logging, salinisation and alkalinisation, which result in considerable loss of output. These processes vary widely in different districts and different years. In some regions, notably Khūzistān and Sīstān, deterioration of the soil because of a change in the water-table due to over-lavish irrigation and inadequate drainage, or both, has been a major problem. Another problem is that ground water in some districts may be heavily charged with soluble salts and be too saline for use in irrigation. This is the case in many districts on the borders of the central desert and in the Persian Gulf littoral.

Natural conditions and agricultural practices cannot alone, however, explain the fluctuation in the history of irrigation in Persia. The shifting of centres of political authority which accompanied dynastic changes and demographic changes resulting from invasion and the increase in dead lands because of the slaughter or flight of their inhabitants have also played a part. A breakdown in the control of water, for whatever reason or reasons, was inevitably followed by a decline in prosperity. The decay of Khūzistān, which culminated under the ʿAbbāsids, is an illustration of this. Under the Sāsānids, the waters of the Karkha, Dīz and Kārūn had been utilised by an elaborate system of barrages, tunnels, inverted syphons, lifting devices and canals (see below). Cereals, sugar cane, rice and dates were produced in abundance. In the last fifty years or so

of Sāsānid rule, irrigation was neglected. Under the rule of the Orthodox Caliphs and the Umayyads, adequate attention was not paid to artificial drainage of the irrigated land, and under the ʿAbbāsids the province declined—rising water tables under irrigated land may have been responsible for the attempts of the ʿAbbāsids to irrigate new lands of poorer quality. Water-logging, alkalination and salinisation, and the hazards of flood, all contributed to the decline of the region which occurred in post-ʿAbbāsid times (see further R. McC. Adams, *Agriculture and urban life in early southwestern Iran*, in *Science*, CXXXVI, 3511 [1962], 109-22). Changes in prosperity in other regions brought about by a failure to control irrigation have been, perhaps, less spectacular but none the less important. The decay of irrigation and drainage not only resulted in an increase of waste and unproductive land, but may also have led to the spread of malaria [see MALARIA], thus contributing to a decline in population and output.

Water utilisation: technical features. Irrigation works, plain take offs, dams [see BAND], weirs, lifting devices, artificial reservoirs and *kanāts*, supplemented by principal and secondary canals, are to be found all over the country; and some are ancient structures.

(i) *Dams*. Several large dams existed in Khūzistān in Sāsānid times, including the bridge dams at Shūshtar and Dizful, built by Shāpūr I and Shāpūr II or Ardashīr II respectively, the dam on the Darrāhī near Khalafābād, and the dam on the Marūn at Arrajān (on the last, see H. Gaube, *Die südpersische Provinz Arrağān/Kuh Gīlūyeh*, Vienna 1973, 189-90). They continued in use for varying periods after the fall of the Sāsānids. Repairs and reconstructions were numerous, and the Roman-Sāsānid work at Shūshtar and Dizful was partially replaced by pointed-arch bridges. The dam at Shūshtar, known as the Band-i Nīzām, had a length of 1,700 ft. and raised the water to the level of the city at Shushtar, which was situated on a rocky outcrop on the east bank at the Karūn. The dam was built partly by Roman prisoners of war taken in Shāpur I's victory over Valerian in A.D. 260. It had a rubble masonry core set in hydraulic mortar, the facing was of large, cut masonry blocks, held in place by both mortar and iron clamps set in lead. It was pierced by numerous sluices for the purpose of releasing water at time of excessive flow. It took three years to build, during which time the Karūn River was diverted through two by-pass channels. One of these, the Āb-i Gargar, winds its way south for some twenty five miles and then rejoins the Karūn. When the work of the dam was completed, the entrance to the Āb-i Gargar was closed by a second dam, the Kayṣar dam. This was made of large stone blocks mortared and clamped together, and six sluices were provided to control the flow of water into the Āb-i Gargar. Part of the bridge at Shūshtar and the Band were swept away by floods several times during the 19th century. Muhammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, when governor of Kirmānshāh, undertook repairs to it in the early 19th century (J. M. Kinneir, *Geographical memoirs of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 98-9). When Curzon visited Shūshtar in 1889, there was a gap of over seventy yards in width in the middle of the bridge, which had been swept away by a flood in 1885. The efforts of Niẓām al-Salṭana, the governor of ʿArabistān, to repair it proved abortive (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 374-5). A further canal, the Miyāo Āb canal, was cut apparently to divert water through a tunnel made in the face of the castle rock in order to irrigate the high-lying lands to the south of the city, the level of the water of which was regulated by dams. As a result of the rupture in the Band-i Mīān and the bridge, the river bed was lowered at the point where it formerly fed the canal and the land which is was intended to irrigate became derelict (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 376).

The Dizful dam, a replica of the Shūshtar dam, was 1,250 ft. long. When Curzon visited Dizful, the dam was to a dilapidated condition, two of its arches having recently fallen in (*op cit.*, ii, 303). After it fell into decay, all local irrigation depended upon rough dams of stone and brush-wood, which were reconstructed after every flood (H. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Chicago 1967, 248, N. Smith, *A history of dams*, London 1971, 59, 81, 82; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia* repr. Oxford 1969, 216).

South of Shūshtar, where the Āb-i Dīz and the Āb-i Gargar flow into the Āb-i Shutayt, the main channel of the Karūn, another Sāsānid dam, the Band-i Kīr, of which only the name survives, was located. The name is of interest because it suggests that bitumen (*kīr*) may have been used to make the dam watertight and solid. Another dam on the Āb-i Gargar, called the Pul i Bulayṭī, was added to the Shūshtar system in Islamic times. This was a power dam; mills were installed in tunnels cut through the rock of each side of the channel, the dam providing the necessary head of water to drive the mill wheels (see Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 372-6). A third bridge dam was built, also in Sāsānid times, over the Karkha at Pīl-yi Pul. It fell out of use when it burst in 1837. Its remains were seen by Sir Aurel Stein in 1938 (Sir Aurel Stein, *An archaeological journey to Western Iran*, in *Geogr. J.* [October 1938], 327).

At Ahwāz [*q.v.*], there was another great dam (but not a bridge dam), probably over 3,000 ft. long and about 25 ft. thick. Its remains were to be seen until recently. Al-Muḳaddasī describes the dam as being wonderfully constructed from blocks of rock behind which the water was held back. He states that the water was divided into three canals, which watered the fields of the estates of the people of the city, and that without the dam Ahwāz would not have been populous and that its canals could not have been used (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 411; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 347 ff). The collapse of the dam in the 9th/13th century brought ruin to the city.

Numerous storage dams and their remains are to be found in many parts of Persia. Although their overall contribution to irrigation was not as great as that of *kanāts*, or of the dams in Khūzistān, they were of considerable local importance and enabled land which could not otherwise have been cultivated to become productive. One of the most interesting systems is that on the Kur River in Fārs, which has provided irrigation for the Kurbāl district to a greater or lesser extent for some 2,000 years. The most famous dam of this complex is the Band-i Amīr, built about 349/960 by the Buyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], probably on earlier, possibly Achaemenid, foundations. Prior to its reconstruction, the water of the Kur could not be raised to irrigate Upper Kurbāl. Al-Muḳaddasī, who wrote soon after the dam was built, and Ibn al-Balkhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who wrote rather under 150 years later, describe the dam in similar terms. The latter states that ʿAḍud al-Dawla brought engineers and workmen to the place in order to build the dam and spent much money on its construction. The dam was made of

stone set in mortar, reinforced by iron anchors, which were set in lead. Upstream and downstream the river-bed was paved for several miles, and the supply canals extended for over ten miles, serving 300 villages in the Marwdasht plain. Ten water mills were built close to the dam, the crest of which was wide enough to allow two horsemen abreast to ride across it (al-Muḳaddasī, 444; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1921, 151-2, see also G. Le Strange, *Description of the provinces of Fārs in Persia at the beginning of the xiith century A.D.*, London 1912). Upstream from the Band-i Amīr there were five other major dams for the irrigation of Lower Kurbāl. These included the Rāmdjird dam, built on Achaemenid foundations, which was almost as large as the Band-i Amīr, and five downstream, the last of which, the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār, was only a few miles from Lake Bakhtegān into which the Kur flows (A. Houtum-Schindler, *A note on the Kur River in Fārs, its sources and dams and the districts it irrigates*, in *Proc. Royal Geogr. Soc.* [1892], 287-92; see also N. Smith, *op. cit.*, 83-3, and Kortum, *op. cit.*) By the 6th/12th century, the Band-i Amīr, the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār and the Rāmdjird dam had fallen into a state of decay and were repaired by the Saldūḳ governor of Fārs, the Atābeg Djalāl al-Dīn Cawlī Sakāw (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 277-8). The Rāmdjird dam was again rebuilt towards the end of the 6th / beginning of the 13th century, and there were several reconstructions after that date (Smith, *op. cit.*, 85).

In the eastern provinces of Persia there were also a number of dams and irrigation works on the Oxus or Āmū Daryā [q.v.] and on other great rivers and lesser streams. Some of these were repaired, and others constructed by the Muslims. Sīstān was dependent almost wholly upon the control of the water of the Hīrmand (Helmand) River [see HILMAND]. Zarandj, the capital of the province under the ʿAbbāsids, was situated near the original capital of Rām Shahristān (Abraschahryār), which according to tradition, had been abandoned when a dam across the Hīrmand had burst and the water had been permanently diverted from the Rām Shāhestān canal (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 335-40). From the works of the Muslim geographers, it would appear that Zarandj was irrigated by six dams on the Hīrmand near where it enters Lake Zarah. Some of these may have been of Sāsānid origin. The Muslims added various water-wheels to the system. In 765/1363 Zarandj and its irrigation works were destroyed by Tīmūr, as was also the Band-i Rustam on the Hīrmand River near Bust, the water of which had served to irrigate all the western lands of Sīstān. Failure to repair and maintain the elaborate system of canals and dams on the Hīrmand River resulted in much of the land formerly irrigated and drained being converted into reed beds and swamps. The headwaters of the Hīrmand and the main stream are at the present day in Afghānistān. After entering Persian Sīstān, the river divides into two branches, the Pariyān and the Sīstān rivers. The former flows in a northerly direction, and with its tributaries waters northern Sīstān. The latter flows through southern and south-western Sīstān. Near the Afghān frontier, the Kahak dam diverts water into the Pariyān, while another dam lower down, the Band-i Zahāk, divests more water for irrigation. The use of the water of the Hīrmand and the construction of new dams has been the subject of bitter controversy between Persia and Afghanistān. The first award of the river waters between them was made in 1872. In 1950 the Helmand River Delta Commission was set up (though subsequently disbanded).

The water of the Murghāb River in Khurāsān was diverted by numerous dams and canals for irrigation. Al-Iṣṭakhrī relates that the march south of Marw, its bed was artificially dyked with embankments faced by wooden works which kept the river bed from changing. Under the Saldūḳs, the number of dams and dykes on the Murghāb was increased. These were later destroyed by the Mongols and the oasis of Marw converted into a desert swamp, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 397, 402). He states that after Tīmūr's conquest of Khurāsān, various of the *sudūd* and pillars of the state each made a canal leading off from the Murghāb, in order to irrigate the land, and that when he was writing, i.e. at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, twenty of these were in existence. He describes the city as being in a flourishing condition (*Dughrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, basmat-i rabʿ-i Khurāsān*. *Ḥarīt*, ed. Māyil Harawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349/1970-1, 34).

One of the most important periods in mediaeval Persia in the construction of dams appears in have been the Ilkhān period, when, in the late 7th/13th century and early 8th/14th centuries, several dams were constructed. The great achievement of this period was the construction of a number of arch dams. One at Kīsar (Kīvar), some 15 miles south of Kumm, is the oldest surviving example of this type of structure so far located. Built in a V-shaped gorge, which narrows about halfway down to a deep gully, the dam is 85 ft. high and 180 ft. long at the crest, the thickness of which is between 15 and 16½ ft. The surface, the radius of curvature of which is 125 ft., is vertical except near the face where there is a slight slope to the downstream direction. The dam has a core of rubble masonry set in mortar (*sārūdj*) made from lime crushed with the ash of some desert plant, which makes it hydraulic and results in a strong, hard and highly impervious mortar ideal for dams. The dam has a vertical series of openings on the water-face connected by shafts and galleries to provide passage for the water through the dam walls (though their precise function is uncertain). Two other arch dams, probably also belonging to the Ilkhān period are situated near Tabas, the Shāh ʿAbbāsī, east-north-east of Tabas, so called because it was repaired in the Ṣafawid period, presumably by Shāh ʿAbbās I or Shāh ʿAbbās II, and the Kurīt dam, to the south of Tabas. The latter is remarkable for its height of some 220 ft. (H. Goblet, *Du nouveau sur les barrages-voûtes de l'époque mongole*, in *Arts et Manufactures*, no. 239 [April 1973], 15-20; *idem*, *Kébar au Iran sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes*, in *Science-Progrès*, no. 3338 (February 1965); idem, *Sur quelques barrages anciens et la genèse des barrages-voûtes*, in *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences*, cahier no. 6; Smith, *op. cit.*, 65 f.) Another dam, a large gravity dam at Sāwa, was also built in the Ilkhān period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it was constructed on the orders of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib-Dīwān [see SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD] (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 121). It was situated in a valley south-east of Sāwa and east of the point where the Ḳarāčāy (Gāvrūdkha) joins two streams from Sāwa and Āwa respectively. Although the limestone rock at the side of the valley was sound (as far as is known), the base of the dam was built on river alluvium consisting of sands and gravel, which go down 90 ft., before bed-rock is reached. Consequently, as soon as the reservoir began to fill, the pressure above the foundations drove the

water through the alluvium and the water established a permanent outlet for itself. The dam was abandoned, but the structure survived (Smith, *op. cit.*, 64-5). It is not without interest that a number of dams and irrigation works were constructed about the same time in Yünnan by Sa'd Allāh, who apparently became governor of Yünnan in A.D 1274 (J. Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/3, Cambridge 1971, 297).

The dating of the gravity dams at Kuhrūd and Kamsar near Kāshān and at Farīmān and Turūk in Khurāsān is uncertain. The Kuhrūd dam is attributed to Shāh ʿAbbās and the Kamsar dam to Djalāl al-Dīn b. Muhammad Khān-i Shāh (ʿAbd al-Rahmān Darrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, ed. Iradj Afshār, Tehran A.H.S 1333/1956, 8, 40-1, 42, 43). The Gulistān dam in Khurāsān was made by the Timūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā (855-72/1452-67) (*Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīkhī-yi Irān az Timūr tā Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. ʿAbd al-Husayn Nawāʾī, Tehran A.H.S. 1341/1962, 313). The Salāmī Dam in Khurāsān was constructed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kurt (706-25/1306-24) (N. M. Clevenger, *Dams in Horāsān, some preliminary observations*, in *East and West*, N.S., xix [1969], 393). These dams were still in use in the 1960s, but most of them furnished very little water because their reservoirs were heavily silted up.

Under the Safawids, there was renewed activity in dam-building and other constructions for irrigation. Shāh Tahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) attempted to divert the water of the Kārūn into the Zāyanda Rūd by a connecting tunnel through the mountain ridge which separates them. The work was abandoned owing, it was said, to the foul atmosphere of the workings. Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1587-1629) revived the project, but abandoned the idea of a tunnel in favour of an open cutting. It is reported that at times he employed 200,000 men on this undertaking, but the scheme came to naught. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67) made another attempt, in which he was advised by a French engineer named Genest. A dam, 300 ft. long and about 100 ft. high was built across the Kārūn to divert the water of the river while the channel was cut. Smith thinks that Genest may have had in mind more than a mere diversion of the river and that he may have hoped to reduce the amount of excavation through the mountains by raising the level of the river. The scheme, however, was also abandoned after 1/10 th of the connecting channel between the two rivers had been cut. The idea was revived during the reign of Rida Shāh Pahlawī. Work was begun on the cutting of a tunnel connecting the two rivers. Known as the Kūhrang tunnel, it was finished in 1953 (Smith, *op. cit.*, 72-3). The increase in the flow of water in the Zāyanda Rūd which resulted has enabled more land to be cultivated in the districts through which the river flows. Shāh ʿAbbās II also built, on the foundations of an earlier weir, the Khwādju Bridge over the Zāyanda Rūd in Isfahān. It is a combination of a weir with sluice gates and flood arches above these, with a permanent roadway on the top (Wulff, *op. cit.*, 248, Smith, *op. cit.*, 73-4).

(ii) *Wells and lifting devices.* A variety of lifting devices operated by man and animals to raise water from rivers, streams and wells have been widely used in the past, especially in Khūzistān, the Persian Gulf littoral, Fārs, in the neighbourhood of Isfahān, in some districts to eastern Persia and on the shores of Lake Urumiyya (Rīdāʾiyya). They are still used, but have been largely superseded by power-operated wells. Man-operated wells consist of a windlass set over the well with a large leather bag attached to it. Those operated by draught animals are worked by one or more draught animals such as oxen, mules and, less frequently, buffaloes, each draught animal having one or more men working with it. The constructing of these devices varies slightly in different regions but the general principle is the same. Their operation is both laborious and inefficient. A wooden wheel is set in two brick or stone built pillars, or two heavy upright posts, above the well, connected by a wooden scaffold. Two pulleys are run on axles attached to the scaffold, over which a main and an auxiliary rope run into the well, the wheel end of the main rope is attached to a hook and a ring carrying a wooden cross from which a large leather bag is suspended. This runs out into a narrow spout to which the auxiliary rope is attached. The draught animal is harnessed to the ropes and sets the wheel in motion by walking up and down a runway beginning at the well head and descending at an angle of about 20 degrees. By this action, the bag is let into the well. When it is full, it is lifted to the surface and empties itself in front of the well into a trough which carries the water into the irrigation channel. In some wells, a big wooden horizontal cog-wheel, geared to a vertical wheel which turns a bucket-carrying wheel set on the same axle as the water is set in motion by an ox or mule walking round and round a circular runway made about the well (see further Wulff, *op. cit.*, 236-8, and Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 227-8, and also C. Cahen, *Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au début du XIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xiii [1949-50], 118-19). Curzon describes how water was lifted for irrigation from the Kārūn above Ahwāz, where the river was confined within banks from 20 to 30 ft. high. Pools were hollowed in the river bank and water was drawn up by means of leather skins and a pulley worked by oxen pacing up and down an inclined plane on the top of the bank (*op. cit.*, ii, 356-7).

(iii) *Cisterns, water tanks and ponds.* These are to be found in regions in which water supplies are scarce and are especially common in districts on the edge of the central desert, though they are also to be found elsewhere, notably in Fārmād. They are supplied by water from *kanāts*, underground springs or rain-water. Some are made with stones or bricks and cement and are often of a considerable size. ʿAbd al-Rahīm Darrābī states that almost all the villages and hamlets in Kāshān had small cisterns (*sing. sihrīdj*), that of Niyāsar was 100 *dhirāʿ* by 30 *dhirāʿ* and 2/2 *dhirāʿ* deep. He describes the purpose of no *sihrīdj* as follows "In some hamlets (*mazāriʿ*) the water is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (*kardār*) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. As a result, it takes a long time for the plot to be inundated, because when the quantity of water is small, as soon as it enters the land it sinks in and the plot will not be inundated. Accordingly, water is held back in a cistern (*sihrīdj*). When the latter is full, it is emptied, or whatever amount is needed for the land is let into the irrigation channel until the desired result is achieved. Or it may be that the water of a hamlet is sufficient for the first rotation period but it is desired to lead the water to a piece of land (*kardār*) or fields (*mazāriʿ*) which are distant, and so half or more of the water will be lost in the channel between the mouth of the *kanāt* and the land to be irrigated, with the result that the plot will not be inundated (unless a greater head of water is first held back in a cistern). Or it may be that a village

has [sufficient water] in the first rotation period for three or four pieces of land, and it wishes to divide the water into three or four irrigation channels, some giving more water and some less. A cistern is therefore necessary, so that the requisite amount can be let into each irrigation channel, or so that water from two or three sources can be let into different channels and then divided (*sarǧīa-yamāʾī sumūyand*)" (*Tārīḫ-i Kāšān*, 66 f). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes how small earthbowls were made on the edge of the cultivated area round Tūn to catch rain water which was used for grain cultivation (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 143-4).

Irrigation practices and water distribution and measurements. Irrigation practices range from heavy perennial irrigation, land watered less heavily through the year or parts of the year, to land watered once or twice a season through the capture of flash floods or water stored in a cistern. The usual method of irrigation is by inundation; for some crops, trench irrigation is used. In the case of rivers, the water is diverted into canals and sub-canals and cross-canals, whence it is led into the fields to be irrigated. The division is made according to established rights of priority, usually (but not always) starting upstream and ending downstream. The water of other sources, if it is prolific, is also divided into various channels and led to different users simultaneously. The division of the water between several users is assured by a variety of mechanical devices, distributors, or runnels with inlets of a fixed size or by the allocation of fixed periods of time. Where water is divided by a weir between a number of villages or users, the size of the orifices at the rim of the weir varies according to the share of the water permanently allocated to the different users. Water is led into individual fields, plots or gardens by breaching the banks of the canals (usually with a spade) for the appropriate length of time.

The rotation period of the water (*dawr-i āb*) normally begins in early October with the start of the agricultural year and is fixed at so and-so many days. Within that period, so many shares, defined in days, hours, or minutes, are allocated to the different districts, villages, fields, or plots of land watered by the source in question. A common way of measuring the unit of time is by a kind of hour-glass, the time-unit being the time it takes for a small copper bowl with a hole at the bottom to fill and sink in another large basin (see further al-Māwardī, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 389-90; E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 264 ff.; Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 212-13, 218-20, 408, Wulff, *op. cit.*, 254-6; Darrāḥī, *op. cit.*, 53-4, B. Montazami, *Irrigation en Iran: dimensions pour une approche matérialiste*, in *Zaman*, i [1979], 58 ff.). Stack mentions that in some of the villages of Fīrūzābād the water distribution was regulated in the daytime by the length of a man's shadow and at night by the stars (*op. cit.*, ii, 269).

Since the water of rivers is subject to diminution at certain seasons of the year, and in both rivers and *ḳanāts* may be reduced in a series of dry years, much care is exercised over the division and allocation of the water in order to satisfy cropping needs. In the case of *ḳanāts*, the rotation period may be lengthened in periods of water shortage and the amount of water per share reduced. In general, the scarcer the water, the more detailed and complicated the distribution of water, and the greater the fragmentation of the ownership of the water, the more meticulous and elaborate the organisation in its distribution.

Water laws and water rights. So far as the *sharīʿa* is concerned, water laws belong to *muʿāmalāt* as opposed to *ʿibādāt* and are based on *ʿurf* or custom enshrined in the traditions and given sanction as the practice, or supposed practice, of the Prophet and his companions and their immediate successors and, in the case of the Shīʿa, of the *imāms*. These practices reflect not only the conditions and needs of Arabia at the time of the Prophet, but also those of other regions into which the Muslims later penetrated. They do not, therefore, present a coherent and uniform basis for a body of water laws, but rather a series of unrelated decisions, sometimes in conflict with each other. In general terms, irrigation was governed in theory by the *sharīʿa*, but in practice and in matters of detail local custom prevailed and was extremely varied. In the law books, there are references to irrigation in the books on *ṣalāt*, *ʿušr khums* and *kharāǧ* (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* (the revivification of dead lands), *ḥarīm* ("borders"), *muštarakāt* (things held in common), *buyūʿ* (sale), *makāsib* ("earnings"), *ġaṣb* (usurpation), *muzāraʿa* [*q.v.*] (crop-sharing agreements) and *musāqāt* [*q.v.*] (agreements for the sharing of fruit and other trees). The general principles concerning water laws are accepted by both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, but there are differences on matters of detail between them and between the different law schools which, in view of the fact that water laws are based on custom, is not surprising.

(i) *The right of thirst* (*shafe*). By virtue of the *ḥadīth* which states that Muslims are partners in water, fire, and grass, the use of water is considered as common (*mubāḥ*) to all men, but it may be appropriated by "occupation" (*iḥrāz*), e.g. by collecting rain water in a vessel placed outdoors to that end. It cannot, however, be "occupied" until it has ceased to run, i.e. until it is placed in a vessel or water-tight well or basin (Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, Lahore 1961, 515. See also Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī, *Rawḍat al-bahiyya fī šarḥ lumʿat al-Dimašqiyya*, lith. 1297/1654-5, 267). Water in rivers, *ḥiyāḍs*, walls and basins which are not water tight is, therefore, considered to be *mubāḥ*, even if the rivers, *ḥiyāḍs*, walls and basins should be private property. Everyone is entitled to use such water for drinking purposes for himself and for his animals, provided that the animals do not exhaust the whole supply. The sale of the water of privately-owned rivers, *ḥiyāḍs*, walls and basins (for drinking purposes) is permitted by some jurists, though all appear to consider it better to give such water than to sell it (Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 516, and see also Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya fī ʿl-fiḳh wa ʾl-fatāwī*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Baḥrulʿulūm, Sabzawār, Tehran 1333-41/1954-9, 2 vols., ii, 282). The right of all man to use water is confined to drinking purposes and does not extend to its use for irrigation.

(ii) *The right to use irrigation water*. According to the Sunnī *fuḳahāʾ*, the water of the great rivers belongs to the Muslims in common (Abū Yūsuf, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 148) and according to the Shīʿī *fuḳahāʾ*, to the *imām*. Their water may be used by anyone for irrigation and power provided its use in this way does not harm the community, and anyone may divert water from the great rivers by means of a canal, unless such diversion is prejudicial to interests already acquired. In the case of the lesser rivers, the water of which is sufficient to irrigate the land along its banks without

the construction of dams, anyone may lead off water in a canal to irrigate other land, provided such action is not prejudicial to existing interests. If the water of a *nahr* cannot be used for irrigation without the construction of dams, lands higher up have, according to most authorities, Sunnī and Shīʿī, a prior right to those situated lower down (cf. al-Māwardī, 386 ff and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya*, ii, 283). The Ḥanafīs, on the contrary, hold that lands situated lower down the river have a prior right over those situated higher up, while the Mālikīs lay down that land situated higher up has the prior right of irrigation until the water reaches as high as the ankles, but if the land lower down has been developed earlier and there is a danger of its crops being destroyed it has a prior right over land higher upstream. These various views are reflected in existing practice. As to the amount of water that may be drawn off, the Prophet is said to have allowed a level as high as the ankle, and this tradition is widely followed. Al-Māwardī, whose exposition is concerned with the practice of water management rather than the theory, holds that the amount varies with the nature of the land, the kind crop, the time of sowing, the season and whether the flow of the river is permanent or intermittent (*op. cit.*, 381; see further Aghnides, 317, Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 210-11).

The right to use water flowing in artificial beds, such as the water of a canal dug by the people of a village, belongs exclusively to the owners of the land of the canal, and others may not use the water for irrigation. The manner of use is established by the agreement of the co-owners. The construction of mills and bridges, etc., requires the consent of all the co-owners (if a mill has been legally built on the stream of a third party, the owner of the stream cannot divert the water except with the permission of the owner of the mill (al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Tehran A.H.S. 1343/1964, 306). The use of the water of wells and artificial reservoirs belongs exclusively to those who made them, and others may not use their water for irrigation. The use of the water of springs is also the exclusive right of the owner of the land in which the spring lies. The general view of the Shīʿī *fuḳahāʾ* appears to be that *ḥarīms*, springs and wells situated in private property, or made in dead land with the intention of reclaiming the land belong to the person or persons who made them and that they can be transmitted by sale and inheritance and can be constituted into *waḳf*. There was not, however, unanimity of opinion on this. Some, including Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, maintain that the water of a well, *ḥanāt* or canal does not become the property of whoever dug the well or made the *ḥanāt* or canal, and that such actions only give a right of priority to the use of the water.

Transmission and sale of water rights and water sources. Most jurists permit the transmission of water rights and water sources, so far as they are private property. From this, it follows that water rights often become highly fragmented. The jurists also permit the constitution of water rights and water sources, so far as they are on private property, into *waḳf*. Many *ḥanāt*s and canals and rights to a share of the use of various sources of water have been so constituted. The Yazd region is particularly illustrative of this practice. From the number of shares into which many of the *ḥanāt*s of Yazd were divided, it would seem that their ownership was highly fragmented (cf. *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh and Ḥaḍj Afshār, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, ix [1345/1966-7], *passim*). Their constitution into *waḳf* prevented further fragmentation.

Dead lands. The revivification of dead lands (*iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*) normally involves the irrigation of the land. Thus al-Māwardī states that land to be revivified for cultivation must be irrigated if it is dry, and drained if it is marshy (*op. cit.*, 380, 382; Aghnides, 320 n.; see further Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *op. cit.*, 265-7). Revivification confers ownership, and canals dug to bring water to dead lands belong to those who dug them (al-Māwardī, 389), and walls or *bandh*s made in dead lands in order to revivify them belong to those who made them. If irrigated with *ʿushr* water, revivified land paid *ʿushr*, and if reclaimed with *kharādj* water, *kharādj* (al-Māwardī, 382 ff.). Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, discussing the conditions for the revivification of dead lands, states that there is no *sharʿī* text governing these and that reference is to be had to custom. If the intention is the cultivation of the land, ownership is established either by *taḥdjīr*, or by bringing water to the land by a water-wheel or some similar method (*Sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAlī, Nadjaf 1389/1969, 4 vols., iii, 275-6). New canals and *bandh*s to bring irrigation water to dead lands are subject to the laws governing *ḥarīm*.

Ḥarīm. The ownership of landed property involves also a right over the land which borders it, where this is necessary for the full enjoyment of the property. So far as irrigation is concerned, this is of vital importance in respect of springs, streams, *bandh*s and water channels. Accordingly, "borders" are laid down for such forms of property, within which a third party may not undertake new irrigation works, though some jurists lay down that "borders" can only exist in land to which no one has a prior right. The extent of the "borders" varies according to the nature of the water source and according to the nature of the soil (al-Māwardī, 390, 392, 395; Abū Yūsuf, 152-3; al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Sharāʾiʿ*, iii, 278-3). Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ permits 2,000 cubits (*arsh*) for a *ḥanāt* if the soil is soft and 500 cubits if it is firm (of *Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 306).

Muzāraʿa and musāḳāt (*q.vv.*). The first is a crop-sharing agreement and the second an agreement for the exploitation of fruit trees and other trees, under which the two parties each have a share to the proceeds. Agreements of this type were known in pre-Islamic Persia. Under the former, water is traditionally regarded as one of the five elements (the other four being land, draught animals, seed and labour) affecting the proportion in which the crop is divided between the two parties to the agreement, the landlord and the peasant. In theory, one share went to each of the five elements, but in practice there was much variation in the shares going to either party, though the ownership or provision of water always played an important part in the division of the crop in the case of irrigated land. *Musāḳāt* was an agreement made between the owner of a garden and another party, who would undertake to irrigate the trees and who would receive in return a specified share of their fruit. It could also be concluded for trees or plants which did not bear fruit, but the produce of which was capable of exploitation, such as the henna or tea plant. It could also be concluded for newly-planted trees which would not bear fruit for some years. The responsibility for cleaning *bandh*s and irrigation channels under a *muzāraʿa* or

mushāʿ varied according to local custom. The digging of new wells and canals was normally done at the expense of the landowner. These agreements might be written agreements, but were probably often oral agreements based on local custom. They might be for one or more years. In some quarters there appear to have been a prejudice against long-term agreements. Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Niẓām (d. 732/1331-2), who constituted much property—also in *ḥadīṭs*, real estate and landed estates—into *awḳāf* in Yazd, laid down that no *muzāraʿa* or *musāḳāt* should be concluded for more than one year (*Dastūr al-khayrāt*, 174). A similar stipulation is made in the *waḳfiyya* of the Shaykh al-Islām Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kadkadjī, dated 782/1380-1 (*Waḳfiyya-yi Kadkadjī*, in *FIZ*, xxi [1334/1976], 8).

Taxation. It is difficult to lay down the connection between the provision of irrigation and taxation, because no general principle prevailed. Probably in most districts, tax was assessed on the land (together with its water), though in the case of land watered by the great rivers and some of the lesser rivers, water dues were paid to the state. Apart from the source from which it comes, water is also divided by the jurists into *ʿushr* water and *kharādj* water, according to whether it is found in *ʿushr* or *kharādj* land. There is, however, some difference of opinion among the jurists over the status of the water of the great rivers and the implications of its status for tax purposes (see further al-Māwardī, 182-3, Aghnides, 359, 366-7). Land reclaimed with *ʿushr* water paid *ʿushr* and with *kharādj* water, *kharādj* (see above, s.v. Dead lands). When in the course of time the distinction between *ʿushr* land and *kharādj* land became blurred, the distinction between *ʿushr* water and *kharādj* water also ceased to be of practical effect. What was crucial in assessing the tax-bearing capacity of the land was not the hypothetical status of the water, but the method by which it was irrigated (cf. al-Māwardī, 325 ff.). Crops irrigated by water carried on the back of a beast or raised by a lifting device paid half-*ʿushr*, while lands watered by river, spring or *ḳanāt* water or rain paid full *ʿushr* (Abū Yūsuf, 82-3, al-Muḥaḳḳik, *Muḥtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 71). In the later centuries, when tax was often assessed on the crop, not on the area of land, many authorities permitted the deduction of expenses, which included those on irrigation, before the *kharādj* of the government was reckoned. In some districts, notably Yazd, where the ownership of land and water was often in separate hands, the revenue assessment was based on a calculation of the water supply only. In its simplest form, a certain rate was imposed per unit of water (*lāt*, *tasht*, *dīwʿa nabo*, *sarsīla*). The rate varied from village to village, reassessments were seldom made, but the incidence of taxation might be increased by the imposition of additional quotas. Wells in some districts in southern Persia in the 19th century paid a wheel tax (*sar čarkhī*) (Stack, *op. cit.*, ii, 259). In the case of the reclamation of dead lands, the concessions related to the nature of the water supply even from time to time recorded. The Ilkhānid Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304), who attempted to bring about a revival of agricultural prosperity, classified dead lands into three groups according to the labour required on irrigation works, and gave them tax concessions for three years (see *Landlord and peasant*, 91).

Water rights and the religious officials: the settlement of disputes. Water, perhaps because it is closely associated with *ʿushr* and *kharādj*, which we among the *fuḳahāʾ Aḥlāf*, generally speaking came within the purview of the religious officials. The regulation of the water of the Harī Rūd in the 8th/14th century is said to have been carried out by the Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khāfī, and that of the Zāyanda Rūd in the 11th/17th century is attributed to Shaykh Bahāʾ (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī) (see below). So far, however, as the religious officials gave decisions and issued *fatāwā* for the settlement of disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāhir (213-30/828-44) found that there was no body of laws on *ḥadīṭs*, he assembled the *fuḳahāʾ* of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ (not the *ʿummāl-i ʿurf*) to write a book on laws governing *ḥadīṭs* [see ḲANĀT]. Similarly, from a letter preserved in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, probably written just before or just after the fall of Sandjar in 552/1157, it would appear that the assessment of water rates (*tamīn-i āb*) was the concern of the officials of the religious institution in the person of the local judge (*ḥākim*) (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 96-7, and also *Landlord and peasant*, 74). An undated letter in the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, which is dedicated to Sulṭān Uways b. Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg (737-77/1336-74), mentions the *fatwā* of the *ʿulamāʾ* concerning the destruction of a dam on the Mihrān Rūd at Tabrīz. This had been built to divert water to a newly-founded village and had resulted in the river-bed becoming silted up so that flooding took place in Tabrīz. The answer to the letter states "Let action be taken in accordance with the *fatwā* of the *muʾmins* of religion and let these not be transgressed or altered" (ed. A. A. Alizade, *Iz.*, Moscow 1971, 488-3). Whether the letter actually existed or was composed by Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, it can be taken as a typical example of contemporary practice (as it should be rather than as it was). In some cases, royal *farmāns* were issued for the settlement of water disputes—and not necessarily always those of a major nature. A short *farmān*, dated Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 952/Jan.-Feb. 1546 issued by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, regulates a dispute over water rights between Kharānik and Sulṭānābād, two villages in Ādharbāydjān. It orders the peasants and crop-sharers of Kharānik to act towards the peasants of Sulṭānābād in accordance with the *sharṭ-nāmaʾa* concerning their water rights as fixed by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Maʿṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, the *mutawallī* of the holy shrine (? of Ardabīl) (B. G. Martin, *Some Ṣafawid documents from Azarbayjan*, in S. M. Stern, ed., *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 185 ff.). In this case, it would seem likely that one or both of the villages may have been *waḳf* since Maʿṣūm Beg, the *mutawallī*, had been called in to regulate their shares, and if they were Ṣafawid *awḳāf*, this would explain why a royal *farmān* was issued to decide a dispute between two small and unimportant villages. In the case of the great rivers, the decision of water disputes was in the hands of *mīrāb*, who was an official of the State and those of the *ʿummāl-i ʿurf* (see below).

The upkeep of rivers. The *mīrāb*. The responsibility for the upkeep of the great rivers was vested in the *muʾmin*. Cleaning or dredging and repair of their banks was carried out by the *muʾmin* and paid for by the public treasury. If there were no funds available for such work, he could compel the Muslims to give

their services for the purpose. The cleaning and repair of canals from the great rivers leading water to individual villages was the responsibility of the owners of the canals. If they refused to carry out the necessary work, they could be compelled to undertake it, since neglect of their duty might result in injury to the community and might diminish the supply of water to those who had a right to it (Abū Yūsuf, 144, 148, see also N. B. E. Baillie, *The land tax of India, according to the Mohummudan law, translated from the Futuwa Alumgeeree* London 1873, 49-50). In the provinces, responsibility for the control of the waters of the great rivers was in practice delegated to the provincial governor. With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of local dynasties, this responsibility passed to those who held power locally. There was, therefore, no uniformity of system and information concerning water control and irrigation is patchy. It was presumably the theory that the *imām* had the right to compel the Muslims to give time services for the repair and cleaning of the great rivers which gave sanction to the practice of levying *corvées* for irrigation works, either of a seasonal nature, as in Sīstān (though it would appear that in the early centuries an allocation was made on the *kharādj* for irrigation works, see *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Bahār, Tehran A.H.S. 1314/1935-6, 30-1), or of an occasional nature. Thus when ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḳaddam made plans to restore prosperity in Harāt in 653/1237-8 after the depredations of the Mongols, he held a meeting in the Friday mosque and assembled the mass of Harāt to work in corvées (*bagār*) on the irrigation channels which had silted up (Ḥāfiẓ-Abrū, *Zubda al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehran A.H.S. 1339/1960-1, ii, 110-11; cf. also Sayf b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Harawī, *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, Calcutta 1944, 111). Some centuries later, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī (d. 927/1521), while still taking the view that expenditure on irrigation works came under the heading of *maṣāliḥ al-muslimīn* and was therefore a legitimate charge on the *kharādj* revenue, nevertheless sought to legitimise the raising of special taxes (*awāriḍ*) for such expenditure. He writes, "What is taken in Khwārazm from the generality of men for the repair of dams on the Oxus or for the building of walls round the kingdom or other such matters of public interest is a debt which must be paid and a claim which is rightly due, and refusal to pay is not permissible; such taxes are not unjust" (*Sulūk al-mulūk*, B.L. mss. Or. 253 (microfilm copy), 119).

There are from time to time references to special departments in charge of irrigation, but, on the whole, it would seem that their existence was the exception rather than the rule. In western Persia, there appears to have been a *dīwān-i āb* in the 4th/10th century at the time of the rise of the Būyids. The *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm* states that when the Gīlānīs and Daylamīs conquered Kumm they abolished the *dīwān-i āb* (Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malīk, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1313/1934, 53). The only Būyid who appears to have been concerned to foster agricultural prosperity and hence to have paid attention to the upkeep of irrigation works was ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/982), the builder of the Band-i Amīr. Ibn Miskawayh states that he cleaned canals which were silted up, built mills on them, and mended dams (*Taḏjārib al-umam*, ed. L. Caetani, Leiden 1909-17, vi, 509 ff.). About the same time, there was in the eastern provinces an extensive water administration for the Murghāb River, which was under the jurisdiction of the rulers of Ghardjistān. A specially appointed *amīr* was in charge of the upkeep of dykes on the river and the regulation of the water supply. He had 10,000 workmen and horse guards under him. Al-Iṣṭakhrī states that he enjoyed greater respect than the *wālī* (*Masālik al-mamālik*, 261-2, Le Strange, *Lands*, 397-8). Under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in Sīstān, there appears to have been a *mīrāb*, who was a government official. Cases against him, in the event of his abusing his power, were heard in the *dīwān-i maẓālim* (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 266). Under later dynasties, such as the Saldjūḳs, Khwārazm-Shāhs, Ilkhāns and Tīmūrids, control was, no doubt, exercised over the great rivers by the government, though the sources contain very little information on this subject (see *Madjmūʿa-yi munshaʾāt-i ʿahd-i Saldjūḳiyān* on *Khwārazmshāhiyān va maʿāṣir-i ʿahd-i Mughul*, mss., photo-copy in the National Library, Tehran, 80b-81b for a diploma from Il Arslān for the *mīrāb* of Bukhārā, and see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung des Grossseldjuqen und Ḫorazm-Šāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 137). So far, however, as agriculture was fostered by individual rulers, this implied some degree of water control.

Information on the division of the Harī Rūd in the 10th/16th century is contained in an essay written by Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf al-Harawī, who wrote the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* in 921/1515-16. He mentions in this essay on earlier division of part of the river made by the Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khafafī, who had been entrusted with this matter after complaints of alleged inequalities and illicit diversions of the water were made to Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Kart (d. 771/1369), the local ruler of Harāt (*Risāla-yi tarīkh-i ḥukmrānī-yi āl-i kurt*, ed. Māyil Harawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1347/1968-9, 22 ff.). This division was apparently revised about one hundred years later in the reign of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, and it seems that it is this revision which was followed by the *mīrābs* when Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf was writing and which he describes in his essay (*ibid.*, 15). He gives the regulation of the water in each *bulūk* or district, and the water rights of the villages and gardens watered by the canals of the *bulūk* and the dues of the *mīrāb*. He also records the number of men (*nafar*) to be provided by each *bulūk*, presumably for work on the upkeep of the canals.

Thanks to two late Ṣafawid administrative handbooks and a *tūmār* on the regulation of the water of the Zāyanda Rūd, attributed to Shaykh Bahāʾī (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī), who died in 1031/1622, we know something of the irrigation system of the Zāyanda Rūd and the work of the *mīrāb* in Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid times. As in the case of other rivers, the division is based on ancient custom. Traditionally, the waṭīr of the Zāyanda Rūd is supposed to have been regulated by Ardashīr b. Bābak and there were also, no doubt, various later divisions (cf. Husayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʾl-Riḍā Āwī, *Tardjuma-yi Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1328/1949-50, 48). Shaykh Bahāʾī's *tūmār* mentions an earlier allocation of the water. The *tūmār* was in force until 1936, though it is doubtful whether it was in uninterrupted operation from Ṣafawid times onwards. Under the *tūmār*, the water was allocated to the *bulūks* or districts watered by the river according to a fixed rotation, which varied at different periods of the year, having regard to the cropping needs of each *bulūk*. Within the *bulūks*, the water was led off in canals to the villages.

and lands in the *buluk*, each portion of the village lands having the right to the water for a fixed period of time (Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda, Rūd* in *BSOS* IX (1939), 663-73) within the rotation period. The *mīrāb* in charge of the water was an important official, ranking among the higher officials of the bureaucracy and the court. That he enjoyed such pre-eminence was due in part to the fact that Iṣfahān was the capital of the empire and the land watered by the Zāyanda Rūd, or most of it, came under the *khāṣṣa* administration, which was in charge of the *maḥāll*, those districts round Iṣfahān which were directly administered by the central government and in which were to be found also land and water resources which had been constituted into *awḳāf* or which were the private property (*khāliṣa*) of the shah. The duty of the *mīrāb* was to order the peasants, on the eve of the Naw Rūz, to clean the *mādis* (as the major canals in Iṣfahān were called), lesser canals (*anhār*) and channels (*jadāwil*) which belonged to them, according to established custom. He was to see that the water of the Zāyanda Rūd reached all the districts round Iṣfahān which had a water right (*ḥaḳḳ āba*) in turn and according to the share customarily allocated to them from ancient times. The appointment and dismissal of those in charge of the *mādis* (*mādiyālārs*) was his responsibility. He was also charged with the decision of disputes and claims concerning the water of the river, though certain disputes of a general nature affecting all the landowners and peasants were referred, according to the royal order, to the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān*, in such cases, the *ḥākimān*, *mustawfī* and *wazīr* of Iṣfahān would go with the *mīrāb* and the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* to the districts, examine the *mādis*, canals, channels and runnels and decide the *ḥaḳḳ āba* of each district on the basis of the *dawāṭir* registers and settle any claims according to common sense, custom and the practice of former years. In accordance with this practice, many orders and decrees (*nawishtahā wa aḥkām*) had apparently been issued and had become customary practice. Apart from the customary dues (*rasūmāt*) which the *mīrāb* received in each district on account of the first water given to wheat (*ḥaḳḳ āb*) and the water given to wheat when it was nearly ripe (*dān āb*), a small amount (*ḥadrī*) was allocated to him by the *khāṣṣa* administration (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) in cash and kind, which he received annually (Muḥammad Ṭāḳī Dānish-pazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa Taḳḳārat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Tehran University, Rev. Fac. des lettres et sciences humaines*, XVI/4 [A.H.S 1348/1969], 432-3, see also *Taḳḳārat al-mulūk*, facs. text, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, Leiden 1943, 82a-b). The accounts of European travellers who visited the Ṣafawid court also show the *mīrāb* to have been an important official. Tavernier states that his office was one of the best offices of the court and much sought after, and he who obtained it was obliged to give large presents (*Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1970, 67, 236). Chardin writes that his emoluments amount to 4,000 *tūmāns* per annum (*Voyages*, iv, 100). Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Taḥwīldār, writing in 1877, states that the office of *mīrāb* and that of bailiff (*mubāshir*) of the royal *ḥadīḳa* (*ḥadīḳa-i khāṣṣa*) existed, but that "at the present time there is no-one (holding these offices). Authority lies with the officials of the *bulūkāt* (i.e. the districts watered by the river) and it is not necessary for there to be someone holding these offices as a special charge" (*Diyārāt-i-yek-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. Manoochehr Sotoodeh, Tehran, A.H.S 1342/1963-4, 128).

The *mīrāb* in other large cities was also often a person of considerable local importance and influence. In Shīrāz in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, there was a hereditary tendency in the office (as there was in many other local offices), the office of *mīrāb* of Shīrāz having been held for many generations in the same family (Fāsā'ī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, lith., 1313/1895-6, 2 vols in one, ii, 74-5).

Apart from the great rivers, water management was carried out by small-scale local efforts. In the case of the lesser rivers, *ḳanāts* and springs, the administration and control of the water was normally in the hands of the users. They might or might not appoint a *mīrāb* who might also have assistants whose duty was to supervise the allocation of the water to the users served by the individual canals. In some districts a *mīrāb* was appointed only when water was abnormally scarce. He and his assistants were paid by dues collected locally or sometimes by a share of the crop (see further Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 222 ff.). In *arbāb* districts (districts in which large landowners predominated) the *mīrāb* was commonly the servant of the *arbāb*.

Modern developments. Land and water were sensitive issues, and under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī fundamental changes were not, on the whole, introduced. The administration of rivers and the collection of water dues, the basis and rate of which varied on the different rivers, was under the Department of Irrigation of the Ministry of Agriculture. The civil code, various parts of which were promulgated between 1925 and 1935, is largely based, so far as land and water are concerned, upon Shī'ī law. A number of other laws concerning the use of water, some based on *sharʿ* practice and custom, others of a more innovative nature, were passed. Provision for the registration of water rights was made in 1929 and, in 1937, the *ḳānūn-i ʿumrān* of 25 Āḏar 1316 (the law for agricultural development) was passed. This defined *ʿumrān* as the greatest possible agricultural development by means of, *inter alia*, the making and repair of *ḳanāts*, the reclaiming of waste lands, the maintenance of irrigation channels and the drainage of marshes. Although on the statute book, this law was never put into operation because of the opposition some of its provisions were likely to create among those who held land (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 192-3). The law of 29 Urdībihisht 1322 (1943) authorised the establishment of an irrigation institute under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and contained provisions for a widespread control of irrigation by the state. These were put into operation somewhat erratically. A number of dams and barrages were planned, and some constructed by the government and by private enterprise, notably at Sīmnān, Rawānsar, Shāhsākāra, Āhū Dasht and Ḥamīdiyya. Little real progress was made and no hydrographic survey, which was a prerequisite to the efficient management of water by the state, was undertaken (see Lambton, *op. cit.*, 187, 192-3, 196 ff., 225-6). There was also some forcible diversion of water to Tehran from neighbouring villages by Riḍā Shāh (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-yi man*, Tehran A.H.S 1324-5/1945-6, 3 vols., iii, 328 ff.). After the Second World War, there was heavy investment by the government in irrigation under the various development plans, especially dams, mainly for energy but also for irrigation, among them the Dīz dam (the Riḍā Shāh Kabīr dam), the Sefīd Rūd dam (the Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh dam) and the Karaj dam (see further H. Bobek, *Untersuchungen über Landes alter Kultur*, Frankfurt am Main-

Berlin-Bonn 1964). The land reform of 1962 laid down special provisions for the transfer of water rights and the upkeep of irrigation works. These provisions were also put into operation somewhat erratically, and there were conflicts of interest between the land reform administration and various ministries, especially the Ministry of Water and Power, which was set up in 1964. A water nationalization law was passed in September 1968, which attempted to alter the system of water control radically (see further Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-66*, Oxford 1969, 275 ff.; C. Salmanzadeh, *Agricultural change and rural society in southern Iran*, Menas Press Ltd 1980; D. A. Caponera, *Water laws in Moslem countries*, FAO, Rome 1973, 74 ff.)

Irrigation and society. Although it is difficult to generalise on the subject of irrigation in Persia, some few observations can be made on the influence which irrigation has had on society. It was possible through irrigation to introduce new crops and to intensify and diversify agriculture. The agricultural specialisation became the basis of the flourishing civilisations which developed at different periods in the history of Persia. But this process was not uniform over the whole country. Generally speaking, the exploitation of water resources on the plateau would seem to have been more intensive than in the periphery or in regions with a concentration of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. The early centuries of Islam were marked by the growth of cities and towns, round which there was, in many cases, an expanding area of irrigated land, the agricultural surplus of which provisioned the cities and towns. The list of the crops grown in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries given in the work of the Muslim geographers bears witness to a highly developed agriculture, which depended on irrigation. In the later centuries also, agriculture flourished from time to time, though seldom over the whole of the country at the same time. Periods of expansion alternated with periods of recession which were the result of natural calamities or political vicissitudes. With the neglect or destruction of irrigation works, land went out of cultivation and the area under grain crops expanded relative to that under cash crops, as appears to have happened in the early period of Mongol domination. Be that as it may, agriculture up to modern times was the major source of the revenue of the state. It was also the basis of the wealth of the ruling classes and of the livelihood of the majority of the population. The well-being of the state and the people was thus dependent upon a well-maintained irrigation system, and prudence, if nothing else, demanded that attention should be given to the upkeep of irrigation. *Sharīʿa* law recognises this, and permits the expenditure of *kharādj* on the upkeep of irrigation works (even if, in practice, funds were often not available, or not made available, and the work was done by corvées). Treatises on the theory of government recognise, in general, that the economic foundation of the state was a flourishing agriculture and that the upkeep of irrigation works was therefore incumbent upon the ruler. The sources do, in fact, frequently mention, in general terms, the efforts of individual rulers and their ministers to spread and foster agriculture, to make *kanāts* and to repair irrigation channels, and they also mention the decay and destruction of irrigation works in time of war and insecurity.

This dependence of the state and society upon agriculture and of agricultural prosperity upon an irrigation system which was inherently fragile had certain consequences. In the first place, it produced a certain caution towards experiment and change (whether in the political or the economic field) among those whose income and livelihood depended upon agriculture. The maintenance of irrigation works demanded regular care. This could only be given in conditions of political security. Canals, if not cleaned, silted up and dykes, if not repaired, were breached by flood-water. If the destruction brought by flash floods and storms was not immediately made good, irrigation water decreased. Similarly, without some degree of political security there was no investment in *kanāts*, the digging of which was a highly skilled operation and the upkeep of which demanded constant attention. There was thus a general tendency to seek security to stable and orderly government backed by coercive force. Secondly, the rotation system of the water, fixed in advance and determined by rules observed by the users, imposed the acceptance of a common discipline. Usurpation and the illicit diversion of water brought strife into the life of the local community and disaster to those who were deprived of their due turn and share of the water. This, too, led to an appreciation of order, and since the responsibility for the distribution of water, except in the case of the great rivers (which were controlled by the state), rested upon the local community, who appointed their own water officials, it fostered the cohesion of local groups and communities and encouraged local particularism.

Drinking water. The right to use water for drinking purposes according to the *Sharīʿa* has been set out above under the right of thirst. The drinking water of villages and towns comes mainly from springs, *kanāts* and wells in the villages, springs are the main source, and from them water is fetched by the users in skins and earthenware water-pots. In the towns, as for example Iṣfahān, many houses had their own wells from which drinking water was drawn. Large houses in many towns had a storage tank (*āb-anbār*), built of fired bricks and lined with water-proofed mortar (*sarūdj*), in the basement and an open tank (*ḥawḍ*) in the courtyard. These were filled whenever the householder's turn to water from the *kanāt* or other sources came. Their water was used for household purposes but not primarily for drinking. In districts where water was short or brackish drinking water might be brought from a distance on the backs of animals (cf. Curzon's description of the water supply of Bushire, *op. cit.*, ii, 234). Covered cisterns (*āb-anbārs*) are common in towns and villages where water is short, especially on the borders of the central desert. They are also to be found along the roads, sometimes associated with caravanserais. Some have their own springs, but more usually *kanāt* water or rain water is stored in them. Domed circular structures, some 50-70 ft. in diameter, reaching 15-20 ft. or more below the surface of the ground, they are a characteristic feature of local architecture (see Wulff, *op. cit.*, 258-59).

Many, perhaps most, towns on the plateau, especially as they grew in size, were supplied by *kanāts*. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the water of Kazwīn was originally from wells. The first *kanāt* was made, he states, by Hamza b. Ilyās[ī], who became governor of the town under Muḥammad b. Sebüktigin. The water of this *kanāt* reached most of the quarters of the town. Subsequently, a number of other *kanāts* were made to serve various quarters of the town. Ḥamd Allāh lists eight (all of which

were *waḳf*) and states that according to the conditions laid down by their founders (*wāḳifūn*), their water was to be used for drinking purposes *and* for *ḥammāms* and was not to be let into gardens or cultivated land (*Tārīḫ i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339/1960, 781). In some places, notably Yazd, *ḳanāts* flow through the houses and the householders have the right to use the water for drinking purposes. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions that some of the houses in Arrad̲j̲ān also had a *ḳanāt* running through them (*Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text 61, Gaube, *op. cit.*, 44). This was also the case in Shūshtar (ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūr al-Dīn al-Shūshtarī, ed. Khan Bahadur Mawlāḥakhsh, *Taḏkira-yi Shūshtar*, Tehran repr. n. d., 10-11).

The provision of drinking water was considered a meritorious action. Many individuals made *ḳanāts* and constituted them into *awḳāf* for the drinking water of a town or one of its quarters. For example, a *waḳfiyya*, dated 942/1534, constitutes part of the water of the river of Astarābād into a *waḳf*. The founder (*wāḳif*) had down that the water, when it reached the town, should be let into the houses and cisterns (*ḥawḍ*s) and *ḥammāms* and that as soon as one place had taken water, the remainder should be let into the next place, and that in times when water was scarce, no one should use more than was necessary. The founder also stipulated that rice should not be cultivated with the water of the *waḳf*, which was to flow into the town (*Astarabad-nāma*, ed. Masīh Dhabīḥī, publications of *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, no. 12 [1348/1969], 269). Many *ab-anbār*s were also constituted into *waḳf* by those who built them. There are also many drinking fountains (*saḳḳā ḫāna*) in the bazaars and streets of the towns similarly constituted into *waḳf* (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipihrī, *Tārīḫ-i awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, A.H.S. 1346/1967, 360).

A shortage of drinking water in many villages and towns, especially in southern Persia, was a common occurrence (cf. Gaube, *op. cit.*, 54, 80). Dihbidān, for example, appears to have been short of water in the middle of the 17th century, the people relying on rain-water for two months in winter and spring (*ibid.*, 109). In Dihdasht, snow was brought from nearby mountains to supplement the drinking water supply (*ibid.*, 105). In modern times, with the increase in urbanization, water shortages have been a serious problem in many towns. In the middle of the 19th century, Ḥād̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, Muḥammad Shāh's first minister, wished to investigate the possibility of sinking wells with a view to securing the water supply of Tehran, which was then supplied almost entirely by *ḳanāts*, but nothing came of this (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/115, Sheil to Aberdeen, no. 106, Tehran, 20 September 1845). In recent years, the water supply of Tehran has been supplemented by water stored in reservoirs behind dams on rivers flowing from the mountains to the north of the city (see further, Planhol, *op. cit.*, 451 ff.).

Drinking water in the towns came under the general supervision of the *muḥtasib*. If water conduits were in a state of disrepair, it was his duty to repair them, or, if there was no money in the public treasury, to order the townspeople to do so. Similarly, if the source of drinking water was fouled, he could order them to rectify the matter (al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 524; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 337). In modern times, the regulation of the water supply of the towns has been under the municipalities, and in recent years there has been canalisation in most of the towns.

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

7. Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain

Since the purely geographical aspect of the topic of water (amount of rainfall, hydrography, etc.) has been or will be treated in the articles on Muslim Spain or al-Andalus [q.v.], Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, the present article is limited to a consideration of the supplying of drinking water to the towns and villages, as it appears from the mediaeval texts, in addition to a consideration of the customary rules concerning the ownership, use and repartition of water used for irrigating gardens. The topic of modern irrigation, one especially involving the construction of large dams begun during the colonial period of North Africa, will not be examined, but a few words will be said about prayers for obtaining rain, since the procedures followed in the Maghrib were neglected in the article istisḳāʾ.

The works of the mediaeval historians and geographers give hardly any information on the system adopted in the rural areas, but for al-Andalus, there exists a rich geoponic literature [see filāḥa] which has been recently utilized by Mme L. Bolens (*Agronomes andalous du Moyen-Âge*, Geneva and Paris 1980, 144-82 in regard to irrigation; see also Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 278-82). Following the latter authority Mme Bolens notes that irrigation in Spain bears the stamp of the Islamic period and that, in particular, a large part of the relevant technical vocabulary is Arabic or modelled on Arabic expressions, even if the very characteristic irrigation pattern still remaining in the *huerta* of Valencia does not stem from the Arabs, as J. Ribera showed (*El sistema de riegos en la huerta valenciana no es obra de los árabes*, in *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, ii, 305-13).

In regard to the towns and the places of some importance, a geographer like al-Mukaddasī (ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950) rarely neglects to mention the source of the local inhabitants' drinking water (*shurb*): springs, wells or cisterns in which rain water was collected and, less frequently, rivers, streams or simple perennial watercourses. Women who did not have either a tank or a private well (equipped with a water-raising apparatus in a more or less developed form) had to have recourse to one of these sources for drinking water, filling there their pitcher, unless some charitable soul had constructed, as a work of piety, a public fountain (*sabīl*) in front of a *masdjid*.

In general, gardens within the urban boundaries were irrigated by means of canals (*sāḳiya*, pl. *sawāḳī*) led off the watercourses or, when there were only wells, by means of simple channels leading from basins filled with water by means of norias [see naʿūra] or more simple water-raising contrivances [see supp. iii]. It is surprising that al-Mukaddasī, usually so meticulous, does not speak about the installations and arrangements of Fās, remarkable as they are. This capital city had indeed not merely a large number of springs (Leo Africanus [q.v.], tr. A. Épaulard, i, 210, numbers them at 600, whose water was "distributed for various requirements and led to the houses, places of worship, colleges and hostelries"), but also a river, the Oued (*wādī*) Fās, where "the Fāsīs have taken off water which they need for driving mills, carrying away their rubbish, filling their fountains and basins, and irrigating their gardens. To achieve this end, they undertook considerable construction works, whose ancient date does not allow us to get an exact idea about them" (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 232-9). It is a fact that the town has long had a network of water channels, some above ground and some below, which take the water as far as individual houses, as well as drains crossing the various quarters. Inevitably, disputes often took place between the people of Fās and the country dwellers on the river banks upstream from the town, since the latter had no right theoretically to take off water. There existed a special legal structure to regulate these conflicts, whilst, for the upkeep of these water channels, special workers (the *bwādiyya*, from *bādūa* "pipe", pl. *bwādīn*) were placed under the authority of an *amīn al-māʾ al-huḍūr* for the drinking water and an *amīn al-māʾ al-mudjāf* for the drains (see I. S. Allouche, *Un plan des canalisations de Fès ...*, in *Hespéris*, xviii [1934], 49-73).

Although the town's population had at its disposal an unusual abundance of water, the water brought into the houses was not generally drinkable. Hence at Fās, as in other Moroccan towns, one used to see going around a picturesque class of water-carriers (*ḳarrāba*, pl. of *ḳirrāb*, from *ḳirba* < *ḳirba* "water skin"), who attracted attention by their eye-catching appearance, the tinkling of their little bells and the copper vessels in which they handed out drinking water from their dripping water skin to thirsty passers-by without asking the slightest return, in order to make a living, they had a regular clientèle to whom homes they delivered drinking water. The installation of a modern water distribution system had reduced the activities of these *ḳarrāba*, who have now become largely a tourist attraction.

In Spain, Muslim travellers were able to note the Roman aqueducts which brought water from quite considerable distances, but the Arabs in turn did not fail to construct water channels, in particular to bring water from the sierra to the mosque of Cordova. (On underground channels, known in Spain, and especially at Madrid, as well as to certain regions of North Africa, see ḳanāt ii.)

However, the most original installations, it seems, are in the region of al-Ḳayrawān, in Byzacena (Tunisia), and are attributable not to the Phoenicians or Romans, as has been thought, but to the Arabs, who developed an earlier-existing system by practising, during the four centuries before the Hilālian invasion (mid-5th/11th century), a real policy for water. We have here in one part water channels open to the sky, and in another, reservoirs meant for "storing up streams of running water and, in some cases, water from certain springs and certain underground water-levels". These reservoirs have as a feature two basins, one for decantation, one as a reserve, and sometimes, a third one for drawing water from it (see A. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VIIe au XIe siècle (J.-C.)*, in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 5-273).

Water gathered up in this fashion was used extensively for irrigation, which has always been the great care of peasants in regions where the scarcity of rain and of perennial running streams has compelled them to make do with unwatered cultivated lands [see baʿl] and to lavish all their attention on gardens and orchards outside the towns and villages, where, thanks to a more or less thick network of canals and channels, they ended up by making a real oasis (see e.g. G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 76 ff.; A. Bochraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès (Tunisie)*, Tunis 1980, 69-86).

In general, water is so important in the eyes of the peasant that ownership of it is sometimes independent of that of the soil. Two main ways of acquisition are in effect possible (a) personal ownership acquired by purchase or inheritance of the piece of land where there is a spring, well, etc., of which the owner can dispose at his own will, subject to his respecting certain rights of use; and (b) collective ownership, to which one part is appropriated to each patch of land which can be irrigated by water belonging to the community. The sale or lease of the estate implicitly includes the disposal of a corresponding part of the water, but the land's owner can also sell or lease out the land whilst reserving to himself a right of usage which he can then dispose of how he likes, compelling the buyer or lessee to obtain by some other means the water which he needs.

The customary law which governs the utilisation of the water has very precise provisions which often go back to the period before the arrival of Islam, indeed, the provisions regarding, in particular, the rights of usage affecting the land owners and the water supply, are clearly similar to those of classical Islamic law, which in fact only confirmed those of the customary regulations (see e.g. A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*², Paris 1893, ii, 249-53, 278-9).

The division of the individual shares is also subject to strict rules, which nevertheless do not always ensure absolute equality between the participants and which do not sufficiently guard against wastage which might well be avoided. The measuring-out is done in various ways. E.g. a copper vessel with a hole pierced in it may be placed in a tank, etc., filled with water, when the vessel itself is full and sinks to the bottom of the tank, a stipulated fraction of the time-share in the water is finished. When the water comes from a basin with vertical sides, one may use a rule whose length is equal to the basin's depth and which is graduated, i.e. it bears notches whose spacing corresponds to a given volume of water. Other methods are still in use. When the share of water supply, whose duration and periodicity vary according to the differing regions and, of course, according to the amount of water available, comes to an end, the arrival channel is blocked up with a mere clod of earth, or a rudimentary sluice-valve, under the control of a person responsible, who may be a child (see e.g. E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 409-38 for the Berbers, whose customs here hardly differ from those of the Arabs).

Given the fact that periods of persistent drought are far from rare and often take on catastrophic proportions when the wells and springs become totally dried up, the people are driven to perform a certain number of ceremonies of a sympathetic magical character in the hope of getting rain. The most widespread, with variations, comprises the soaking of a kind of doll out of the wooden scoop normally used for lading water and the parading of it round the villages suffering from drought, whilst pronouncing incantations and sprinkling the doll with water. In Berber regions, the ceremony ends with a prayer in which the name of Allāh is associated with a personnage who may be an ancient god, one of whose names, *aghanǧa* (and vare.) is patently derived from that of the scoop, *aghanǧa*, the doll is also called *tislit uzzar*, "the rain's bride" with *uzzar* possibly the name of a male fertility god (see for Morocco, E. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 205-53), where, in addition, are discussed rites meant to drive away rain, hail, etc.) Numerous other studies have been made of these rites in North Africa in general, in which the mannikin or image carried round the villages bears differing names; see A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de sécheresse*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 49-58, E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, Paris 1905, 383-90; idem, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 584-96, E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and beliefs ... in Morocco*, 205-26, W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1925, 297-225.

Bibliography : summary references have been given to the article; the basic work remains that of J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation ... dans la péninsule Ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1902. See also MAʾ and RIYĀḌ in Suppl. (Ed.)

8. Irrigation in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottomans followed the detailed provisions of the Islamic law according to the Hanafī school, as exemplified mainly in the *Kitāb ʿAyn al-mamālik* and the *Ḥakk al-ghurb* (see *Mawḳūfāt gharbī*, ii, Istanbul 1328, 271-22, and *Mağalla*, 1262 §, 1270-91, and 1024 §§ also). The basic notion is that water, like wild vegetation and fire, is *mubāḥ*, that is, open to the use of the public at large. Seas, large-size lakes, great rivers, and subterranean waters are considered to belong absolutely to this category. Everyone is free to make use of these waters so long as no harm is entailed for anyone else. In this case, the individuals had to bear all the necessary labour and expense. But usually the state was responsible for large-scale waterworks on the great rivers. For that purpose it was permitted to make use of public revenues except for *ṣadaḳa* (q.v.). If the state treasury was unable to finance such works, which were considered essential to the public good, the state could appoint a superintendent (*nāẓir*), who was authorised to employ the local population, if necessary by force, to construct them (*Mawḳūfāt*, ii, 220).

Proprietorship was recognised over certain types of waters which were regulated and protected. *Mamlūk* or privately owned waters were distinguished as either *naḥr ʿinnī*, in which the waters remaining after use by the owners were free for public use, and *naḥr ḫāṣṣ*, where the water was exclusively for the use of the owners. *Shufʿa* (q.v.), pre-emptive right, is in effect in the second case. The reclamation of waste land was legally recognised for individuals. Muslims or *dhimmīs* who might dig out water-channels (*ḫarḳ* or *ḳāḍūwal*) or wells, or who might find a spring or drained flooded land. In the Hanafī school, such ownership is established only with the permission of the *imām* or sultan, with the condition that the reclamation process be completed within three years. In the Ottoman Empire possession rights were recognised to those who reclaimed waste land without permission. Reclamation projects were given prior approval by the sultan by special diplomas called *temlīk-nāmes* which recognised proprietary rights on waste land as well as on running water and springs within the area delimited by the document. A prescribed amount of land, called *ḥarīm*, and surrounding newly-constructed water conduits, springs, as wells, was recognised as the legal property of the owner of the water.

Water in the *ḫarīs* and *ḥavḍs* (q.v.) was subject to private ownership, and no one could make use of it without previous permission of the owner. In the case of those waters under joint ownership of a number of partners, none of the partners could open new water channels, construct mills, or change the

sequence or direction of water-use without the consent of the other partners. When given, such permission could be revoked at any time. Water was divided between the partners according to the size of their respective land holdings. Partners on the upper reaches of the river were not allowed to dam up the water and thereby cause shortage on the lower reaches. If a dam had to be constructed, water rights were distributed starting at the lower reaches and working upstream from there. The owner of a body of running water had certain rights when it flowed through somebody else's land. The owner of the land was forbidden to obstruct the flow of the water and had to permit the owner of the water to carry out necessary repair work on his land. *Ḥaḳḳ-i sh̲urb*, the right to make use of water at a given interval, could be the subject of inheritance or devise, but could not be either sold, bequeathed, rented, or given away as charity. However, in Ottoman practice we find examples of owners of water, of individuals or of a *wakf* foundation, where the water might be sold for use in irrigation. What the state was concerned about was to prevent speculation in the price of water and to prevent the depriving of those who had *ḥaḳḳ-i sh̲urb* in favour of those paying higher prices (*Erzerum kānūn-nāmesi*, dated 1540, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 70).

In addition to the prescription on water use in Islamic law, the Ottomans continued practices and regulations which they found in the conquered lands and enacted new legislation. These concerned the water supply for cities, water distribution, especially in areas with water shortages, and rice growing, which became a major state enterprise involving water use on a large scale. General Ottoman policy regarding water use and water works was determined to a great extent by the Ottoman land tenure system, which left the direct exploitation of agricultural land primarily to the *re'āyā* farming small units. The state did not participate directly in large scale water or land reclamation projects or in agricultural production, except for the water supply in the cities and for rice growing. Such projects were usually initiated and carried out in the form of *wakf* endowments by members of the Ottoman house or of the upper echelons of the ruling class. There was no government agency responsible for water projects or regulations for water use. The construction of aqueducts and maintenance of water ways was under the supervision of the *ser-mi'mārān-i kh̲āṣṣa*, head architect in charge of public works. Under his authority, and directly under a *nāẓir* or superintendent, were the *su yolḏjuları*, technicians in charge of the maintenance of water pipe system in Istanbul.

Rice cultivation as a major irrigation activity. Here one can see how the Ottomans realised large-scale irrigation projects. In rice growing, abundant water supply and maintenance of water courses for constant watering of the rice paddies were crucial so that the real object of possession or assignment was not so much the land but rather the use of the water. In the surveys, the possession or assignment of the *kh̲arḳ* > *arḳ* or *nahr*, the channel for irrigation, was granted by the government to individuals as *mulk* or *tīmār* [q.v.]. Often the possession of a *kh̲arḳ* determined who would possess a certain land (cf. *Kanunlar*, ed. Barkan, 12). Since the water was distributed in limited quantities, the government strictly regulated the amount of rice seed to be planted, and it recorded in the survey books the amount for each *kh̲arḳ*. Many channels for the irrigation of rice paddies, *anhār-i čeltük* (*čeltik*), were named either after the person responsible for their opening or after their possessors. Because of the unusually large consumption of rice, the Ottomans encouraged from the beginning the extension of rice growing, either by establishing direct government control over water-courses, or by granting possession or proprietorship of waste (*mawāt*) lands, particularly in the flooded areas. Official sources conclusively show that rice was widely cultivated in the Maritsa, Mesta (Karasu) and Vardar valleys in the 9th/15th century. The growth of government revenues from rice growing in various regions in the Balkans is shown in Table 1 based on the *muḳāṭa'a* [q.v.] registers from this period (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 125-53).

The principal rice growing areas in Anatolia and their respective revenues in 1045/1636 are shown in Table 2 (see R. Murphey, *The functioning of the Ottoman army under Murad IV*, unpubl. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago 1979).

An Italian source of 880/1475 (F. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis* ..., Munich 1957, 65) estimated at 15,000 gold ducats the revenues from rice production. Idris-i Bidlisi (*Hasht bihisht*, the conquest of Filibe, Murād I's reign) states that the sultan's share of the rice production in the Maritsa valley amounted to *ca.* 80,000 gold ducats in the time of Bāyezīd II. Besides those mentioned above, there were other important rice-growing areas in the Sakarya river valley and its tributaries in the provinces of Khudāwendigār, Sulṭān-önü, Bolu, Ankara and Kutahya. Archival

TABLE 1

Estimated revenue for three-year period in Ottoman *aḳčas* (50 *aḳčas* = approx. 1 Venetian ducat)

	866/1461-2	885/1480-1	895/1490	903/1497-8
Maritsa valley and its tributaries (Filibe, Tavuslu, Yanbolu, Aḳča Kisanlik, Burgas, Čorlu, Ergene, etc.)	1,679,900	2,650,000	2,750,000	
The Struma (Serres, Drama, etc.) and the Vardar (Veria with the Trikkala plain added by 887/1482) district	8,000,000	9,000,000 (in 887/1477-8)		1,040,000
Menlik and Temir-hiṣār in the Vardar valley		220,000 (in 882/1477-8)		
The village of Aḳch̲ani on the Struma river		105,000 (in 889/1484)		

TABLE 2

Estimated annual revenue in *akçes* (340 *akçes* = approx. 1 ducat)

Upper Cilicia (Sis, and its environs)	69,650
The Kelkit river valley (Niksar)	180,000
The Sonisa area	140,000
The Kızılırmak delta (Boyabat)	1,333,547
The Devres river valley (Tosya)	333,333
The upper Gediz river valley	983,333
The Meodares river valley and its tributaries (Aydın, Çine, etc.)	198,332
The Bakır river valley (Bergama)	133,333
The Gediz river valley (Demirci, Adala, etc.)	160,000

sources (*Hüdâvendigâr vakıf defteri*, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müd., Ankara no. 585) prove that already under Orkhan (726-63/1326-62) the Ottoman state was concerned in extending rice-growing in the conquered areas, and either a part or all of the inhabitants of many villages were made *çeltükçü*, these of rice growers endowed with a special status. From the earliest surviving survey of Albania dated 835/1431 a (*Sûret-i defter-i sancak-ı Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954, 32, 80, 75, 245), we know that some water *arks* designed for rice-growing were by that time assigned as *timâr* to the *sancakbeg* and to *sı-begler*. Rice-growing was introduced or extended in the lands conquered by subsequent Ottoman sultans. In his efforts to expand state revenues, Mehemmed II [*q.v.*] greatly extended rice cultivation in the Balkans and took under the direct control of the central treasury most of the rice-growing lands in Rumeli as well as in Anatolia (see for order about rice-growing areas made *beyâz*, i.e. state-owned, in İnalcık, *Fâtih Mehmed'in formanları*, in *Belleten*, xliv, 697, doc. 20 a dated Shaʿbân 883/October-November 1478, and also the regulation in *Kânûnnâme-i sultânî ber mûceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmânî*, ed. R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, Ankara 1956, 81-2). Despite his general policy of returning lands seized under his father, Bâyazid II did not completely relinquish state control over such rice-growing lands.

In extending the area of rice cultivation, which involved primarily the construction of irrigation works, there were two main methods: state enterprise and private initiative. In order to create state rice fields, the government assigned a group of ordinary *reʿâyâ* to a permanent status as *hâssa çeltükçüler* (*çeltükçüyân*), labourers of the sultan on the state's rice fields in the surveys, they are listed also under the names of *hürrekiyân* or *ortakçıyân*. Once recorded as *çeltükçüler* in the surveys, neither these labourers nor their offspring could change their status (see the *İʿ-lâ Kânûn-nâme*, ed. Barkan, 34, *Kânûn-name*, Süleymaniye Library Reisülkuttab no. 1004, 24). They are also included under similar groups which served in the mines, on the salt-beds or as guardians of the mountain passes in return for exemption from certain taxes, principally the *ʿamelegî-i dîvâniyye* or extraordinary impositions. In other words, they constituted a labour force under the direct control of the state. In the province of Anatolia alone, one-seventh of the population was included in this tax-exempt category. The condition of a *çeltükçü* was quite onerous, since apart from the hardships borne by him in irrigating and cultivating the rice, he had to surrender half of his production to the state treasury. The seed was supplied by the state and taken back at the time of harvest. State proprietorship of water channels was considered to be the justification for the exploitation of their labour. This organisation seems to have reached its final form in a later period in the Ottoman empire, since in the early records labourers in rice cultivation were often state-owned slaves, the *khâṣṣa ortakçıları*. In the eastern provinces, forced labour was imposed upon the *reʿâyâ* household to work in the rice fields and repair canals for a fixed number of days every year (usually three or four days, see the *Kânûn-names* of Diyârbekir and Malatya, ed. Barkan 213, 147). This practice, apparently retained from pre Ottoman times, caused widespread discontent among the *reʿâyâ*, free peasants. Upon the complaint of the Christian *reʿâyâ* in the province of Trebizond and in other places against such services (*salgun*), the Ottomans introduced the system of registered *çeltükçis* or *hürrekçis* as described above. In need of labour forces for extended rice fields in the marginal lands, as in Cilicia or in the lowlands of the Aegean or Pamphylian plains, the state also tried to use the labour of tribal groups by settling them in the vicinity. In any event, some nomadic groups had already been occupied for some time in growing rice in the flooded lands, and sought to retain this profitable source of income for themselves (see the *Kânûn-nâme* of Sis, ed. Barkan, 202; *Kânûn-nâme*, Istanbul University Library no. T.Y. 6941, 78). In Rumeli, some nomadic groups were simply registered as *çeltükçis* (ed. Barkan, 363). Thus the concern of the state in converting flooded lands into rice-growing fields by preparing irrigation canals gave rise to groups whose status was quite different from that of the rural population of the Ottoman Empire in general.

When the conduits or *kharks* of harnessed waters were assigned as *timâr* to members of the military class, they were entitled to get a tithe of the rice production. But in addition, many of them, imitating the state system, took half of the rice production when they supplied the seed and other expenses for irrigation. Since this widespread practice often caused abuse of the peasant's labour, and shortages to the limited water supply, the state tried to regulate and control this kind of cultivation.

Also, rice cultivation and connected irrigation works were extensively applied in the *mevât* lands reclaimed by members of the ruling class and *vakf* founders, both large and small. The state, granting absolute proprietary rights, encouraged such land reclamation projects, which mostly involved the discovery and harnessing of water sources. In such cases, the *kharks* were made the property of the individual. But all such projects had to be submitted and approved by the sultan, not only in order to comply with the *sharʿî* law, but also for such practical considerations as the protection of the *reʿâyâ* against exploitation of their labour and of their water sources. The large-scale irrigation projects initiated by the members of the ruling class in the abandoned flooded areas in the Sakarya river valley are particularly interesting in this respect (the main source for this is the above-mentioned *vakf*-register of Khudâvendigâr) in one such project (see the same register published in part by Barkan in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii [1942], 364-5), the promoters proposed and asked the approval of the sultan for constructing a dam on the Sakarya river, and to excavate canals 27,000 *dhirâʿs* (11.65 km) in length, and estimated that the irrigated land would take 75 *mud* (approx. 38.3 tons) of seed to plant. The labour was expected to be supplied by the free peasants of the area in exchange for a half-share in the harvest, excluding the tithe

due to the *timār* holders. Cotton and other crops were also expected to be cultivated on the reclaimed land. Apart from the tithe to be paid to the *timār* holders, and the profit accruing to the *re'āyā*, the promoters promised to undertake the expenses of repairing the caravan highway passing through this flooded area and to construct a caravanserai and five fountains. The sultan gave his approval to this project, subject to the willingness of the *re'āyā* of the area to work on the reclaimed land.

We find numerous examples of such irrigation and land reclamation projects in the Ottoman empire, always made subject to the approval of the sultan, and made conditional on the consent of the local population and *timār* holders to co-operate. Such projects, with large potential yields, were almost always proposed and realised as *waḳf* endowments. This method was the predominant form of land reclamation and irrigation in the Ottoman Empire. Except for rice cultivation, the state seldom took a direct part in organising such irrigation projects. Such irrigation projects were undertaken more extensively in the period of the rise of the *ʿAyān* and the local dynasties in the 18th century. Under the impact of European commercial expansion during the period, they made efforts to put into cultivation previously unused swampy lands. It was during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period that, under the influence of current ideas from Europe, the state became systematically interested in land improvement and in the extension of agriculture. A Council for Agricultural and Industrial Affairs, the Zirāʿat wa Ṣanāʿi Meǧlisi, had already been created in 1234/1838. In a questionnaire distributed in 1259/1843, the state attempted to find out the amount of land left out of cultivation due to flooding, and European experts were sent to the Dobrudja, Cyprus, and other parts of the empire, and reports were submitted with suggestions for the improvement of agriculture. The increased European demand for cotton from the Levant during the American Civil War spurred the Ottoman government to introduce broad measures to increase cotton production in the watery plains in Cilicia, the Aegean coasts, and in Macedonia. This development caused shrinkage in rice cultivation in these areas. Apart from the extensive irrigation works in the Konya plain which were open for use in 1331/1913, no substantial drainage or irrigation project was accomplished by the state until the Republican period. As late as 1945, the area of irrigated land in Turkey was limited to 25,000 hectares.

Regulations on water distribution. In Anatolia and Rumeli, where water supply was generally adequate for agriculture for 9-10 months out of the year, fixed regulations for water distribution as in Iran and in the Fertile Crescent were not common. In the dry regions of the central and eastern Anatolian plateau, and during the summer months starting from July, certain regulations were worked out for the distribution of available water sources among individuals. Such arrangements, stemming from pre-Ottoman times, were particularly common in the neighbourhood of large towns where numerous orchards and gardens were to be found. According to the observations of modern geographers, in certain parts of Anatolia where traditional methods survived, the organisation of water distribution was dictated by shortages of water both regionally and seasonally, by the extension of irrigated agriculture, or by aggregation of population (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 146, 303-8). As to sharing of spring water between several villages, there was usually no formal regulation, unless recurrent disputes forced the government to intervene as an arbiter and to work out regulations. Such disputes usually appeared as arguments over the use of pasture lands, and it was the *ḳāḍī*'s court which was responsible for settling them in accordance with the *sharʿ*'s rules, as was the case with all matters involving water distribution. This explains the lack of universally-applied regulations enacted by the government.

As a general policy, the Ottomans avoided imposing regulations on water use, and abolished pre-existing taxes and dues on water (see the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Maniṭya, Barkan, 123). In some districts, the Ottomans retained older regulations for distribution of water, for irrigating gardens and fields, and for water supply to the city. In the province of Karaman, where the Ottomans found the most developed system of water distribution for urban areas, a *mir-āb* or superintendent of water was chosen to supervise the application of these regulations. To distribute water according to the provisions of the *sharʿ*'a regarding the *ḥaḳḳ-i shurb*, right in the use of water, and *shufʿa*, or pre-emptive right, was the *mir-āb*'s responsibility. To ensure complete equity, the *mir-āb* appointed, with the approval of the community, several *muḥtesibs* who oversaw the distribution of the shares. He was also assisted by *ʿaǧazis* who performed the work during the actual irrigation process. The regulations tried to prevent various abuses, such as taking water out of turn by bribing the *mir-āb* and others, which reflect the acute competition between the users of water during the summer months. Each user of distributed water paid a fixed *fee* to the *mir-āb* (for the rates see the *ḳānūn nāme* published in *JESHO*, xi/1, 126), who acted as tax-farmer for the government. The revenue deriving from *mir-āb-lyye*, together with certain connected dues for Konya, amounted to 90 000 *akčes* in 907/1501 (see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu no. 40) and to 150 000 *akčes* in 1046/1636 (see R. Murphey, *op. cit.*). The function of *mir-āb*, apparently originally a Persian institution (see Iṣṭaḫrī, Persian transl. I. Afshar, Tehran 1347, 206-7; *Ṭadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 24) was performed in other parts of Anatolia sometimes under the name of *su aġhast* (see Evliyā Çelebi, *ii*, 397, *iii*, 29). Evliyā Çelebi made the remark that, if it were not for the *su aġhast* the populace would have murdered one another. (For the organisation of water use within the village, see X. de Planhol, *op. cit.*, 305 f.)

As to the techniques used in harnessing water, the Anatolian peasant usually used the simple method of channelling water from the rivers through *ḳanāt*s or *arḳs*, but the methods of drawing up water by means of animal-powered wheels as *dōlāb*s and small dams were used. (For an interesting example of building dams for irrigation in the Karaman province, see *JESHO*, xi/1, 123.)

City water systems. The supply of water to the towns was the second main area of concern for the Ottomans. The Ottoman water system in the towns before 857/1453 has not been studied. However, it is known that after the conquest of Istanbul the Ottomans developed quite a sophisticated water system for the city, and applied this system too in other cities in the empire, notably in Jerusalem and Mecca. In Istanbul, the most complex and best-studied example, we see that the system consisted of collecting in reservoirs or *bends* (Pers. *band*) the waters from the two hilly areas in the outskirts

of the city, namely the Khalkali valley and the Belgrad forest, and then bringing this water underground in huge pipes and over aqueducts to high points in the city. Water towers or *su terāzisi* were constructed to keep the water at a high level and water depots, *maṣlaḥs* and *maḥsems*, distributed the water in different directions. In order to construct and maintain the system, an extensive organisation grew up under the chief architect or *khāṣṣa muʿmārbāghi* and the superintendent of the water conduit workers or the *su yoldjulari nāẓiri*. The construction and maintenance of the water works was financed and organised by *awḳāf*, either of individuals or of sultans. The main water conduits and aqueducts came into being to bring water to the completes surrounding the great mosques which, as we know, served as the nuclei for the development of the city (see ISTANBUL). The mainstay of this water system was created through efforts under two sultans, Mehemmed II and Süleymān I. In the winter of 861/1456 Mehemmed II gave orders "to bring into the city from the countryside as abundance of water through aqueducts" (Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, tr. Riggs, Princeton 1954, 103). The Byzantine water works, pipes and aqueducts which had been left to fall into ruin during the last centuries of the empire, were re-discovered and used by the Conqueror to create the first Ottoman water system (see Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehemmed the Conqueror*, ed. Inalcık and Murphey, Chicago 1978, 55-6). Dalman and Wittek (*Der Valens-Aquadukt*, 12) *maintain that these works were* concentrated on those areas of the Khalkali valley closest to the city. The Kirk-Česhme or forty fountains constructed by the Conqueror at the Valens aqueduct or Bozdoghan-Kemeri received its water from this conduit. The rapid increase in the city's population, first under Bāyezīd II and then under Süleymān I (see ISTANBUL), together with the construction of major mosques under these sultans, led to a search for water sources at a greater distance. It was under Süleymān I that the second major water project was carried out, this time collecting mainly the waters of the Kāghidkhāne valley which also had been used for the water supply of Byzantium up until 1204 (Dalman and Wittek, 1-9). Dalman and Wittek (14-25) show that the main aqueducts or *su-kemerleri* on this line were the work of the architect Sinān, who built them first in 961/1554 and then a second time in 972/1564 after heavy rains had destroyed them. In constructing their water works, the Ottomans made use of the remains of the Byzantine water conduits and aqueducts as well as employing native Greek experts (a certain master called Kirz Nicola is mentioned by Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, 5) among the *su yoldjulari*. It may be suggested at this point that the Ottomans borrowed from the Roman-Byzantine system some hydrological techniques and, combining them with their own traditions evolved quite a complex organisation to supply water for their huge capital city. Sultan Süleymān's extensive water pipeline brought to the city and to his newly-constructed mosque abundant water, which was distributed to a number of new fountains. A report by Sinān himself of Safar 976/August 1568 (Atıf Efendi Library, ms. 1734, fols. 256b 267b) gives the following details about the situation at that date. The water newly supplied by both the Kāghidkhāne and Kirk-Česhme water pipelines amounted to 81 *lūle* (one *lūle* is traditionally defined as the amount of water passing through a pipe of given dimensions in 24 hours, or approximately 60 m³, see Dalman and Wittek, 20-1). At the time of low water level, out of 93 private and public fountains existing at this date, 64 had been recently constructed. The 93 fountains took up 38 *lūle* of the total water supply (in 1945, I. Tanışık found in Istanbul alone 219 public fountains of Ottoman times). In addition, Istanbul had 15 *maṣlaḥ* using 5 *lūle* and 1 *ḥawḍ* (one-fourth of a *lūle*), 28 wells using 5 *lūle* and 1 *masura* (one-eighth of a *lūle*). The remainder of the water went to the Palaces and gardens of the Sultan and grandees in the city, as well as to the public bath houses. The basic system was expanded upon by succeeding sultans, particularly in connection with newly-constructed mosques (see for an example, *Taʾrīkh-i djāmiʿ-i sharīf-i Nūr-i ʿOthmānī*, in *TOEM* Suppl., Istanbul 1335-7/1917-29, 26-31). They constructed new reservoirs and water lines, extending those already in existence in the two main areas of Kāghidkhāne and Khalkali.

Water sources found and brought to the city through government initiative belonged to the *mīrī waḳf* or state-controlled endowments and were placed under the control of the relevant *waḳf*'s administration, which was also responsible for meeting repair expenses. Fearing lest the water supply specified for the use of imperial mosques, palaces and public fountains be cut short, *mīrī waḳf* waters were not allowed to be used for any other purpose. Constant inspection to ensure their proper use was carried out by the *su yoldjulari*, who even had the authority to enter homes for investigation. When a new *charitable institution, a mosque, bath or fountain* was to be built, its founder was first required to find a water source outside the city. This water was brought to the city by means of a device called *ḳaima*, that is, the adding of newly-discovered water to the main water conduits of the *mīrī waḳf*. The *ḳaima* water could be taken from the main conduits only at certain specified points. Upon application, the sultān gave his formal permission for the use of *ḳaima* and recognised ownership rights over this water in a special *firmān*. The *sharīʿat* principles required that such a procedure be followed. Many wells were dug in order to exploit underground water as a further addition to the city's water supply. Such waters became the property of the individuals who discovered them. Despite the close watch kept over the *mīrī waḳf* waters, there were many instances of diverting of water by individuals for private use. The government therefore closed a strip of land adjacent to the water line to new construction and assigned the populace of twelve villages as guardians and repairers of the water lines outside the city. To meet the water needs of the city population, water from the public fountains was distributed in waterbags by *saḳas* or *saḳḳās*. The *saḳḳās* were organised in two corporations, the *urta saḳalari* or human water-carriers, and the *at saḳalari* or horse water-carriers, who were in competition with one another.

In repairing and enlarging the water system of Mecca dating from ʿAbbāsid times, the Ottomans made use of the organisation which they evolved in Istanbul. They sent a team of experts to carry out the construction, and using black slaves and others organised a maintenance crew along the lines of the *su yoldjulari* organisation of Istanbul.

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9. IRRIGATION IN PRE-20TH CENTURY MUSLIM INDIA

Lakes, tanks, wells and artificial canals have supplemented rain water in the subcontinent since ancient times With the establishment of the Dihlī Sultanate in the beginning of the 7th/13th century, traditional irrigation technology began to undergo a change, owing to the arrival of skilled architects from Central Asia, in particular, the construction of wells with Persian wheels and of large canals provides a clue to the introduction of certain mechanical devices and the progress of civil engineering in India during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries This section of the article is divided into three parts: the first on lakes and tanks, the second on wells, and the third on artificial canals.

The Turkish conquerors were the first dividers of the water from the land in the districts of innumerable rivers and boundless swamps in Bengal They built dykes, roads and tanks and, consequent upon it, the reclamation of vast tracts of land was possible in Deltaic Bengal. According to Djūzdjānī, the dykes made the movement of people and cattle possible during the rainy season, while the water flowing through the channels could be diverted to the paddy fields, in case failure of the monsoon caused scarcity.

The first lake built by Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36 [*q.v.*]) outside the capital city of Dihlī was called the *Hawḍ-i Sulṭānī* (also *Hawḍ-i Shamsī*) The mediaeval Indo-Persian writers mention it as a reservoir constructed for supplying drinking water to the city of Dihlī, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's reference to the cultivation of the seasonal fruits and vegetables at its sides during the summer shows that the water was used for irrigation also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also informs as that it was two miles long by half that breadth. 'Iṣāmī alludes to the *Čashmā-yi āftāb* ("sun spring", i.e. the famous Sīrāzī Kūnd near Dihlī) as its source of water. The details furnished by Sultan Firūz-Shāh and the compiler of the *Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī* about its repair contain reference to the original channels that were led off from the river Djamunā to the lake. These channels supplemented the rain water which sufficed for the whole year

Like Iltutmish, his nobles also evinced keen interest in public utility works. Evidence from contemporary epigraphic sources shows that during his and his successors reigns, a number of lakes and tanks were constructed in the provinces In Palwal (in Haryāna State) a tank was excavated in 608/1211. Another inscription found at Bārī Khātū (in the District of Nāgawr in Radjasthān) mentions the construction of a lake by the officer Mas'ūd, son of Aḥmad Khaldjī, in 629/1232 It must have provided relief both to the cultivators and travellers in the torrid climate of the desert.

Little information is available about the excavation of lakes and tanks in Dihlī as well as in provinces during the Khaldjī and the Tughlukid periods. Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī is credited with having taken an interest in developing irrigation in his empire for the progress of agriculture By the time he occupied the throne of Dihlī (695/1296), the *Hawḍ-i Shamsī* had silted up and the city had expanded considerably Therefore, he had the *Hawḍ*

cleared of silt and its embankments repaired. Moreover, he ordered the construction of a new lake, larger in area than the *Hawḍ-i Shamsī*, outside the wall of his new capital of Sīrī (near Dihlī), and this came to be known as the *Hawḍ-i khāṣṣ*. Barānī's reference to the *bilā band-i Sīrī*, contained in his account of the construction of the beautiful buildings by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh (752-90/1351-88) thereon, tends to suggest that the dam was built with lofty embankments for the storage of rain water in the nearby area. The construction of these royal lakes considerably raised the water level in the area, and thus reduced the depth of the irrigation wells in the area around.

The Tughlukid period is marked by much improvement in irrigation facilities in the empire. The number of lakes and tanks increased, not only in Dihlī but in the provincial towns also. The contemporary Persian epigraphs mention the construction of lakes in Bihār Sharīf (Bihār State), Garh Mukhtasar (Distr. Ghāzīābād, U.P.) and Mangłore (Distr. Sahāranpūr, U.P.). An inscription at Nagawr informs us that the *muḥṣil*ʿ (governor), Malik Fīrūz b. Muḥammad, constructed a large lake in Nāgawr and named it *Fīrūz Sāgar* (Hindī *sagar* "sea").

The lakes constructed in Dihlī are important as reflecting the progress being made in civil engineering on the one hand, and the concern of the succeeding sultans in causing to be constructed more beautiful lakes and tanks than those built earlier on the other hand. For instance, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk constructed aqueducts over the lake in Tughlukābād, whose traces can still be seen. References are also found to the lakes built during the reigns of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk and Sultan Fīrūz Shāh. The anonymous author of the official history, *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, and hagiographies, mention the famous lakes of Dihlī such as the *Ḥawḍ-i Tughluk Shāh*, *Ḥawḍ-i Kuṭlugh Khān*, *Ḥawḍ-i Shaḥnada Fath Khān* and *Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda Mubārak Khān*. In the provinces, the lakes constructed in Dawlatābād and Ḥiṣār Fīrūza are worth mentioning. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk's *Ḥawḍ*, built on a considerable height in the fort of Dawlatābād, can be seen today. In Ḥiṣār Fīrūza, Sultan Fīrūz Shāh also had a cistern built in 754/1353 on a raised platform. It was originally constructed for supplying water to the ditch excavated around the fort, but after water from the newly-constructed canals became available, its water was used in the gardens and flower beds inside the fort.

In the 9th/15th century, cisterns appear to have been constructed by the rulers of the regional kingdoms that arose in the wake of Timūr's invasion of India (800/1398). The construction of fountains in Jhawnpūr, Gudjarāt and other cities in the plains led to the construction of cisterns, as their water, flowing through narrow channels from a height, could make the fountains work. Bābur's description of lakes in the Pandjāb also testifies to the fact that old lakes were kept under repair, while new ones were excavated in the new towns. As the *iḳṭāʿ*s assigned by the king to nobles in lieu of cash salary and allowances were hereditary, at least in practice during the pre-Mughal times, the assignees constructed tanks in their lands for the extension of cultivation and horticulture. For instance, Yūsuf b. Mullā Dihakan, the *munṣif* or judge of the *pargana* of Cawad, in 958/1545 constructed a beautifully-patterned tank in his administrative charge during the reign of Shīr Shāh Sūr.

Later on, the Mughal emperors, and the Dakanī sultans of Bīdar, Golkondā, Bidjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, established reservoirs. Allusions to these reservoirs in contemporary inscriptions provide insights into the skill employed in their construction. The Muḥammad-Nād, a reservoir built at Bidjāpūr in 1165/1751-2 by Aidal Khān, is a great feat of engineering. Similarly, the huge tank like well with rooms was built with the money of Tādj Sulṭān, the wife of Sulṭān ʿĀdil Shāh in Bidjāpūr. The Panī-Mahall (water-palace) at Nādrug and the tank of Mahāpūbha at Haydarābād are notable examples.

In the 12th/18th century, the *amīrs* of Sind and the two rulers Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*] of Mysore maintained the traditions of the early rulers. Tīpū Sulṭān took special interest in irrigation questions, building new tanks and repairing old ones. The huge tank built by him in Doradjī possesses a huge embankment about 2½ miles long, and at places is 45 feet high. He also rewarded other people who constructed tanks. The *ʿāmils* (revenue collectors) were entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining the tanks in the kingdom. All these lakes and tanks from mediaeval times existed till the beginning of the 20th century, but with the modern expansion of the towns and cities many of them have been filled in and the land used for residential purposes. In South India, however, they still survive and are used as picnic spots.

As for the construction of wells, they are mentioned in our sources either as *čāh* or *baʾīr* or *bāʾolī*. The *baʾīr* and *bāʾolī* [*q.vv.*] are step-wells, meant for the use of men and animals. Evidence available about the *čāh* is interesting in so far as it reflects on the use of the Persian wheel to lift water from the deep wells in areas around Dihlī during the early Sultanate period, indicating, from its comparative costliness, considerable local prosperity. Only fairly opulent farmers could afford the installation of this water-lifting machine.

Sources from the 8th/14th century refer to the *sāḳiya* and the *čarkh* set up on the wells that were owned both by the state and by the cultivators. Al-ʿUmarī in his *Masālik l-abṣar* was informed by an Indian traveller in Arabia, Shaykh Mubārak of Cambay (Gudjarāt), at some time in the beginning of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk's reign (725-52/1325-51), that people in and around Dihlī set up Persian wheels on the wells to water their fields and gardens. The writer refers to the Persian wheels as *sanāḳī*, whereas the contemporary Indo-Persian writers use rather the term *čarkh*. An interesting anecdote related in the *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim* about Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ suggests the presence of the Persian wheel in Dihlī in the preceding century. It tells us that Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn once came across a *čarkh* set up on a well. The cultivator who was driving the bullocks for lifting water, exhorted the animals, saying *āge barh, āge barh* ("speed up, speed up!") in a melodious tone. The sound produced by the motion of the wheels and the voice of the peasant had such an effect on the Shaykh that he immediately passed into a state of ecstasy.

The anonymous author of the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* states that *čarkh*s were set on wells around the newly-constructed *Ḥawḍ-i Shahzāda-yn Mubārak-Shāh* outside the capital Fīrūzābād. The *Ḥawḍ* was filled with the water lifted from the wells in the summer when the rain water was exhausted. He further informs us that the income from the lake was endowed by Sultan Fīrūz-Shāh for the benefit of the poor. The work also contains references to the buckets (*dalw*) made of metal (iron) instead of *kūza*

(pitchers or pottery vessels), hanging down the wheel by means of chain of ropes. The Persian term *dalw* also occurs in the same passage, signifying the surface wheel which was used to lift water from the *baoli*. The *dalw* was used to lift water from the open surface of tanks or rivers, the pitchers or buckets being fixed on the rim of the wheel, which was revolved by the hand.

Later sources reveal that the use of the Persian wheel was quite widespread in North India. Kabīr, who flourished during the 9th/15th and the first decades of the 10th/16th century, refers to it in his verses when he likens the rosary used by the extremists to the garland of vessels attached to a *rahaṭ* (Hindi equivalent of the Persian wheel). As Kabīr lived most of his life in Benares, we may assume that he found the Persian wheel being used in the region of modern eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Like Indo-Persian writers, Shaykh Zayn, the *mīr* or minister of Bābur, mentions, the *ḥarkh* in 925/1519 when Bābur crossed the Dihelum river and occupied Bherā (Sargodhā District in Pakistan), he found Persian wheels as a common means of irrigation there. The orchards and the sugar cane and paddy fields were irrigated with the water of wells lifted thus. Later on, when he occupied the territories of Lāhawr, Dipālpūr and Sirhind (932/1525-6), he found everywhere the peasants irrigating their fields by means of the Persian wheel, and he describes its structure thus: "They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well; hx strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one and of the wheel axle, a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns, its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, so that the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set up where the water empties from the pitchers, and from this the water is conveyed everywhere" Shaykh Zayn says however that in India, other methods of irrigation are used, including the leather bucket (*charas*) lifted out of water by yoked oxen, whilst *dhenkli*, based on the lever system, which is still in use, was most common.

Gradually, one of the Persian wheel seems to have spread everywhere during the Mughal period, but they were especially numerous in the Panjāb, the most prosperous region. Even an average cultivator there could afford to set up a Persian wheel on his well, which had been built of bricks and plastered with lime, despite the expenditure. Mughal historians like Abū 'l-Faḍl, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Lāhōrī, Yūsuf Mīrak and Sujān Rāʾī Bhandārī, mention it as one of the commonest means of irrigation in North India, but since the turn of the 19th century, it have been generally replaced by tube-wells.

As for the harnessing of rivers for irrigation purposes, the construction of large artificial canals began in the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1315) towards the close of the 8th/13th century. Amīr Khusraw refers to a deep and wide canal built by Ghāzī Malik in the territory of Multān when he describes the revolt of the army and people of Multān against the governor Mughultāy. Besides this, Ghāzī Malik seems to have constructed canals in Multān and Dipālpūr units. Barānī adds that in every territory where Ghāzī Malik served as governor, he constructed canals for the progress of agriculture there. The *Tughlaḳ-nāma* contains a *nishān* (official document) issued by the governor of Multān, Māhrū, in the reign of Fīrūz-Shāh, to an official, Kamāl Tādī, asking the latter to carry on the repair work of the old canals. Three canals, *Dīb-yi Nāṣirwāh*, *Dīb-yi Kuhwāh* and *Dīb-yi Khiḍirwāh*, are mentioned, and must *have* been constructed by Ghāzī Malik before his accession to the throne in 720/1320.

The credit for constructing a number of canals in the region between the river Sutlej and Dihlī goes to Fīrūz-Shāh. First, the vast arid tract of Haryānā, where only one crop was raised during the rainy season in a year, attracted the royal attention. In 755/1354 he laid down the foundations of the city of Hiṣār Fīrūza (modern Hiṣār) and then constructed a double system of canals, the head-waters of which were drawn both from the Sutlej and the Djamuna rivers. The Sutlej canal, named Ulugh-Khānī, flowing through Rupar and Sirhind town, met the Djamuna canal called Rādjbāh near the new city of Hiṣār Fīrūza. Both of them passed via Karnal. At Hiṣār Fīrūza, they discharged their water through a single channel into the ditch around the city. Yaḥyā Sirhindī supplements Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf when he informs us that the construction of canals started in 756/1355. Besides the Djamuna and Sutlej canals, he mentions another canal cut from the Sutlej, the waters of which were conducted up to Dihadjhar (a town in Rohtak Distr.), irrigating a vast arid tract of 96 sq. miles. In 757/1356, another canal was excavated from the Ghaggar river. This flowed past the fort of Sirsuti (town) and reached Hansi Khera. The most important canal was the Djamuna canal (later called western Djamuna canal) that was also cut from the Djamuna and conducted to the capital city of Fīrūzābād. Besides, the Salīmī canal (later *Khāḍir ba sālī*) was dug in the Siwālik hills and the waters of Sursūtī and Salīmī were diverted into it. It flowed past Shāhābād town (to the south of Ambālā). Like their master, some of Firuz Shāh's nobles also appear to have excavated irrigation channels in their *iḳṭāʿs*, e.g. the *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* informs us that Khān-i Djahān Makbūl planted gardens and constructed canals, serais and bazars in his *iḳṭāʿ*.

All these canals were kept under repair by the later Sultans of Dihlī. Though Bābur complains that there were no artificial canals in India, although they could easily be constructed at a number of places even in the plains, Shaykh Zayn refers to the canal of Fīrūz-Shāh flowing via Dihadjhar, as well as the canal in the *iḳṭāʿ* held by Dilāwar Khān Lōdī's maternal uncle in the foothills of the Panjāb (Djayswal *pargana*). Bābur's description of the territorial unit of Čandarī also contradicts him, for he found there much running water through channels. We find allusions in the *Āʾīn-i-yi Shāhān* to the dams and canals in Orissa, and these appear to have existed there before the Afghān conquest of the region in 980/1572.

Likewise, the Mughal historians furnish information about the repair of the old and the construction of new canals. According to Abū 'l-Faḍl, first Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān repaired the Fīrūz-Shāh's Djamuna canal, as it had silted during the early years of Akbar's reign. Later another officer of Akbar, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān, had the same canal repaired a second time. The reign of Shāh Djahān witnessed the digging of new canals in different territories. Shāh Djahān also increased the length of Fīrūz-Shāh's Djamuna canal by re-opening it in the hills at Khiḍrābād, and brought its water up to Shāh Djahānābād (Dihlī). This came to be known both as *Nahr i bihisht* and the *Nahr i fayḍ*.

Shīh Djahān's noble, Asālat Khān, built a dam on the Karnāl stream and made its water flow into a channel so that the land around might be irrigated.

During the same reign, a number of small canals were built in the upper Bārī Dōʾāb (Pandjāb), the best-known of which was the *Shāh-nāhr*. It was brought from the Ravi in the hills near Radjpur. It flowed as far as Lāhawr, covering 84 miles. Two other canals were led off from the same point, one to Pathānkōt and the other to Baṭālā. ʿAlī Mardān Khān is also credited with the construction of a canal from the Tavi river for watering his gardens at Sodhrā near Wazīrābād in the upper Rāčna Dōʾāb which was 30 miles long. The canals were constructed in the regions of Multān and Sind also during the same reign.

In South India as well, the canals seem to have been a common means of irrigation since ancient times. Evidence available suggests that brick embankments were built to protect them from inundation. But the general practice in the South was that of water-storage. For instance, there were thousands of canals in Baghlānā cut from the river, and they supplied water to every village and town during the 12th/18th century. Tīpū Sulṭān, however, built a large canal in the tradition of the Muslim rulers of North India. In 1797 he constructed a dam across the Kāvarī, a few miles west of Srīngapatam, with an embankment 70 feet high.

This irrigation system survived till the close of the 19th century, when the modern canal system began. The Persian wheel also became obsolete, owing to the introduction of tube-well technology, so that in the Pandjāb and western Uttar Pradesh they have almost disappeared.

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(I. H. Siddiqui)

20. Irrigation in Transoxiana. (see Supplement).

21 Economic aspects of modern irrigation

The use of water for irrigation in agricultural production is widely practised in the cultivated areas of the Muslim world where constraints of low and episodic natural precipitation limit yields on existing new crops or inhibit the introduction of a wider range of crops. Such areas include the desert lands of north Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent, the semi-arid zones generally lying adjacent to the deserts, the Mediterranean zone and, in South Asia and Asia proper, the dry tropical climatic regions. The greater part of the Muslim world is encompassed by this definition. It should be added that there is scientific evidence that a process of desertification is affecting the semi-desert margins over wide areas. In consequence, it is possible that the surface area where irrigation is essential to agriculture is gradually extending, not least in the Sahel of Africa. In all except the dry tropical zones, the use of irrigation permits stabilisation of output of staple winter grain crops by offsetting fluctuations in annual rainfall and allows cultivation of summer vegetable and other cash cropping which would otherwise be difficult or impossible. In the dry tropics, where hot and wet summers alternate with hot but dry winters, irrigation mainly functions as an aid to cultivation in the winter months.

Irrigation has taken on a special significance in recent decades as population growth has tended to accelerate and as the need has increased for states to provide reliable and augmenting food supplies from domestic sources. While some success has been achieved in encouraging greater use of dryland areas under mechanised systems and with new improved seed varieties, most governments have attempted to reduce the growing and adverse imbalance between domestic supply and consumption of foodstuffs through expansion of the area under irrigated cultivation and better use of existing water supplies in traditional areas. Governments have played the major role in a drive common throughout the Muslim territories to increase the volume of irrigation water at the disposal of their agricultural sectors. Irrigation budgets have often dominated financial allocations to agricultural development, especially in countries such as ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Egypt. In the latter country, the continued engineering of the River Nile, culminating with the completion of the Aswān High Dam in 1970, was the main economic preoccupation of the state for much of the modern period. For ʿIrāḳ, too, hydraulic works on the Tigris and Euphrates for flood control, water-storage and generation of hydro-electric power made a large and important claim on national resources, beginning with the first financial allocations of the Iraq Development Board in the 1951-2 fiscal year. The second Iranian development plan (1334/1955-6 to 1341/1962)

was above all concerned with the construction of storage dams on the main river systems of the country, including the *Diz*, Safīd Kūh and Karadj structures.

Rapid and expensive adoption of irrigation projects has not always been accomplished with regional co-operation or with a critical appreciation of the appropriateness of irrigation technology borrowed from the industrialised states of the world. Exploitation of the irrigation potential of the Euphrates in the period since the Second World War has brought conflicts between riparian states on the division of waters, as storage facilities in Turkey, Syria and ʿIrāḳ have been constructed without co-ordination. In 1974 and 1975 the flow of the Euphrates at Hīt in ʿIrāḳ fell to unprecedented levels (9 or milliard cubic metres in 1974 and 9·42 milliard cubic metres in 1975) as a result of new water storage reservoirs built in the states upstream. In contrast, close liaison was maintained between Egypt and Sudan during the course of the creation of Lake Nasser behind the Aswan High Dam both to ensure agreement on the division of waters and to provide for the settlement of communities displaced from the lands submerged beneath water level.

A slow response by traditional agricultural areas to the demands of a larger and often higher consuming population led to increasing state intervention in irrigation affairs with perceptible effect from 1952, though particularly from 1958 in Arab countries and from 1962 in Iran. With few exceptions, governments favoured centrally financed and controlled irrigation projects, which demanded imported technology and sophisticated management of land, water and farmers by the national bureaucracy. Irrigation developments in the Muslim world have witnessed damaging failures in selecting techniques of an appropriate type by scale and technology. In Iran, the Diz irrigation scheme foundered in part, since large farming units created to work the area proved unmanageable. The Libyan government-controlled Kufra irrigation scheme in the south of the country, a show-piece designed to demonstrate Libya's ability to utilise oil revenues to set up permanent non-oil assets, is one of the many high technology irrigatern projects established in the oil-exporting states of the Middle East and north Africa which have out-stripped indigenous economic and technical resources and have added little to the sum of domestic food production.

Sources of irrigation water have changed only insignificantly in recent years. Surface and ground water are the mainstays for irrigation water provision, though a number of richer states, notably Saʿūdī Arabia and Kuwayt, have made use of desalinised sea water on a very small scale at extremely high cost. Pumping of irrigation water from deep aquifers, of which the Kufra scheme is an example, has increased in importance, though in many cases water extraction is faster than replenishment rates or comes from fossil water reservoirs, with clear implications for the longevity of these sources. Considerable scope remains in the area for more efficient use of existing water resources, rather than the expensive creation of new ones.

The total area of irrigated land in the Muslim world has grown very slowly, despite large allocations of resources for the construction of reservoirs and irrigation schemes. In the Middle Eastern heartland of the Muslim world, the proportion of agricultural land under irrigation has remained more or less unchanged at a quarter of the total. Individual states have improved their positions somewhat, above all Egypt, where the Aswan dam has increased both the total area under irrigation and the area under perennial cropping. Estimates of relative reliance on irrigation for the main Muslim states are shown in Table 1, including both traditional and modern systems.

The strength of traditional systems has been much eroded in recent years. Underground water channels, *kanāt*, *falādj* or *kārez*, have been generally neglected and many have fallen into disuse. The diesel pump has widely replaced other manual and animal-powered water lifting systems. Meanwhile, the addition of new irrigated areas served by modern systems of water storage has been offset by losses of irrigated land rendered infertile through growing alkalinity and salinity as a result of bad water management, inadequate provision of drainage facilities and inappropriate cropping patterns. Most countries of the arid and semi-arid zone are affected by this problem, though none worse than ʿIrāḳ, where it is estimated that more land is lost annually through the effects of soil salinity than is reclaimed by developments projects.

Despite the expenditure of considerable funds on, and the economic dedication of governments to the expansion of the irrigated area in the recent past, results expressed in real gains in land under cultivation and crop production have been disappointing in most areas of the Muslim world.

Table 1

Percentage of cultivated land under irrigation in the Middle East

Bahrayn	8
Cyprus	16
Egypt	100
Iran	20
ʿIrāḳ	50
Jordan	7
Kaṭar (Qatar)	100
Kuwayt	100
Lebanon	20
Libya	8
Saudi Arabia	80
Syria	20
Turkey	7
United Arab Emirates	100
Yemen (North)	20
Yemen (South)	80

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(K. S. McLachlan)

12 Ornamental uses of water in Muslim India

In a land so dependent generally on the summer monsoon, where there are few permanent sources of water away from the great rivers and their surrounding terrain where the water-table is high, human settlement depends on artificial means of conserving water from one rainy season to the next. These means, which apply to the domestic water supply as well as to agriculture, have been described in FILĀJA, v; for canals see also NAHR. Many of these utilitarian works, however, are frequently ornamented and decorated beyond the call of functionalism, and are consequently described here.

Many water monuments were constructed before the coming of the Muslims, who continued not only their function and form (except for the elimination of figural ornament and the introduction of the arch) but also their maintenance through civil or *waḳf* funds. The simplest examples are large open reservoirs in and around towns (commonly called "tanks" in India; see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., for etymologies; also BIRKA, *ḥiyāḍ*, and in the case of Muslim constructions also *ḥawḍ*), of all shapes but commonly rectangular, sometimes with masonry surrounds and steps leading well below the average water-level; as the water was used or dried up more steps would be exposed, the shelves being convenient for personal ablutions or for washing clothes; pavilions (*bārahs*, *Ḥadīḳ*) may be added mainly for ornament (see further on these, above, 9). Similar masonry surrounds (*ghāṭ*) may be provided on river banks or on artificial lakes caused by damming a valley (e.g. the Anāsāgar at Adjmīr, the Pichola at Udaypur [*q.v.*]). Since open expanses of water cause a perceptible change in the microclimate, buildings might be sited to take advantage of the cooling effects of evaporation (e.g. Firūz Shāh's *madrasa* and other structures on two sides of the Ḥawz Khāṣṣ of Dihlī [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd Shāh's palace, the tombs and the mosque at Sarkhēdj [see GUDJARAT and HIND, vii. indo-Muslim architecture]; and many pleasances may be sited in the *middle* of an *artificial tank* (e.g. Djahāngīr's Hiran Mīnār complex at Shaykhūpūra, the tombs of Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh at Sasarām [*q.v.*], Mughal kiosks at Nārnawl [*q.v.*], the Zafar Maḥall in the Hayāt Bakhsh garden in the Dihlī fort (see plan, Vol. II, 266 above), the tombs would have been used as pleasant retreats during the owners' lifetime.

Tanks and artificial lakes fed from constant sources naturally need provision to be made for the escape of surplus water, overflow tunnels and sluices may occasionally be sumptuously decorated, as at Sarkhēdj in Gudjarāt, but the simpler structures in the local quartzite of Dihlī have a monumental beauty of their own, e.g. that on a water-channel off the Nadjafgarh canal at Wazīrābād, with an included silt (and fish?) trap, those on the head connecting Tughlukābād with ʿAdilābād (see plan, Vol. II, 257 above), whereby the low-lying fields to the south of Tughlukābād could be flooded to a depth of some 2 m. to create an artificial lake for the defence of the citadel and leaving Ghiyāth al-Dīn's tomb as an isolated outpost; and, more complex, a two-storeyed sluiced dam, called Sāt pula, built into the south wall of Muḥammad b. Tughlukʾs Djahānpanāh to regulate the storage of water within the city, analyses, photographs and measured drawing of all these in Yamamoto *et alii*, *Delhi*, iii.

The simple well does not much lend itself to ornamentation, but may form part of a complex, such as Djahāngīr caused to be constructed at day's march intervals along the road to Kashmīr, of *sarāʾī* + mosque + well, water from the latter being taken up by *ḳanāts* [see FILĀJA, v] to irrigate a small flower-garden. The step-well (*baʾōlī* [*q.v.*]), however, is most frequently decorative as well as functional, providing chambers at various levels close to the water's edge to provide cool retreats in summer, e.g. in Dihlī the Gaudhalā ki bāʾōlī, *ca.* 630/1233; the circular *bāʾōlī* in Fīrūz Shāh's *kōṭla*, *ca.* 753/1352; and the superb Rādjōn ki bāʾōlī, incor. 912/1506, all analysed in Yamamoto *et alii*, *Delhi*, iii, with photographs and measured drawings. Analogous structures in Gudjarāt, called *ōṭa*, have the entire well covered at surface level, comprehensive study, including other water monuments, in Yasmin Amirali Shariff, *Water monuments of Gujarat...*, University of London M. A. Archaeology thesis 1981 (unpublished).

Water was a necessary adjunct to palaces and gardens, and might be provided, when either of these two was beside or close to a river or lake, by a Persian wheel (*nāʿūra*) a further Persian wheel, or series of wheels, housed in a tower, might be used to raise the water to a greater height when it was necessary to provide a sufficient head of water to operate fountains. The water was led through palace courtyards and gardens by stone channels, often with intermediate cisterns which could be highly ornamental, as that in the Laʿl bāgh at Bīdar (plan in Yazdani, *Bidar*, 33), in Bidjāpur, where all the centre of the city was supplied by underground channels from the Čānd and Tādj bāʾolis, a special outer-pavilion, *djal-mandir*, in the elaborate later ʿĀdil Shāhī style discharged water from jets into a large stone surrounding tank to make a visual focal point in the city scheme. Under the Mughals, however, the garden was developed more than ever before as a new art form [see ĀBĀDĪ, ii]. The ideal garden shape was a fourfold plan, *čahār-bāgh* (the name *ārām bagh* persists in many Indian towns as the name of a locality even where no traces of gardens remain), as in e.g. the garden surrounding Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī (see plan, Vol. II, 265, above), where the divisions are marked by water-channels with cisterns at or seats over the intersections, the pattern was followed and augmented in later tomb complexes, notably Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the tomb of Iʿtimād al Dawla and the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*] at Āgrā, the tomb at Awrangzīb's queen ("Bībī kā makbara") at Awrangābād, and that of Safdar Djang at Dihlī, where the principal channels are often expanded into stone—often marble—basins 3 or 4 m. wide with a central rank of fountains, terminating on the cross axes in *bārādarīs*. Similar gardens exist apart from tombs and palaces, e.g. Rām bāgh, Zahrā bāgh, Wazīr Khān kā bāgh, Mihtar Khān kā bāgh, Adīnak bāgh, all at Āgra (*ASI*, iv [1871-2], 104 ff.); in his suggestive (but sometimes naïve) *Early garden-palaces of the great Mughals*, in *Oriental Art*, NS, iv/2 (1958), 3 ff., R. A. Jairazbhoy proposes the latter as the site of Bābur's original *čahār-bāgh* in India.

Mughal gardens reached their peak of perfection in Kashmīr, where at Shrīnagar, Akbar's Nasīm Bāgh, Āṣaf Khān's Fīshat Bāgh and Djahāngīr's Shālīmār took advantage of the copious natural water supply, ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal from the

Rāwī made possible Shāhdjahān's Shālimār at Lāhawr. These make use of *shāhr*, water-chute, an oblique bed of flat or scalloped marble, and *dīhardī*, cascade, with water flowing in a sheet over a straight edge to fall over a vertical bank of small niches, each intended to hold a small lamp with a shade of coloured glass. Other Mughal gardens are mentioned above s.v. AUSTĀN. A curious late Mughal water monument is the Pān čakkī, water mill, in the shrine of Bābā Shāh Muẓaffar Čishtī, a spiritual preceptor of Awrangzīb, outside the city walls of Awrangābād; water brought from a distance falls through some 7 m. to operate a small mill, and the water then flows through two large tanks. Mughal water monuments and gardens were much imitated by Hindū rulers in Rādjasthān. The Sahēlīyon kī bāgh in Udaypur offers a number of fountains of different designs fed by water under high pressure from one of the city lakes, in a more extravagant taste than any Mughal conception. The small palace at Dīg, near Mathurā, is more refined in its elegant tanks and channels, and water is led in copper pipes over the openings of the buildings in order to flow over screens of *khas* grass, to cool and perfume the air passing through.

The devices of water decoration embodied in the gardens are found also in Mughal forts and palaces (see especially MUGHAL, v, 2). These sometimes involved bringing water from considerable distances (e.g. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal which supplied the Red Fort at Shāhdjahānābād, Dihlī, tapped the Djamnā over 100 km. away, see W. H. Baker, *Memoranda on the western Jumna canal*, London 1849. Some of the aqueducts involved are themselves works of art). In the Red fort of Shāhdjahānābād, the water is further raised to the Shāh burdj, from an open pavilion in front of which, with *shāhr* and *dīhardī*, water flows through a marble channel, the Nahr i bihisht, which not only supplies the Hayāt Bakhsh and other gardens but also flows through all the palaces on the east wall [buildings marked e, a, f, g, h in the plan in Vol. II, 256 above] at a depth of some 15 cms., whose supreme achievement is a shallow basin 3 m. square in the Rang mahall, carved into the shape of an open lotus flower; this was of one piece of the finest Makrāna marble and inlaid with semi-precious stones. When the water flows over it the petals of the flower appear to move and ripple (the channels are now normally dry, but the author of this article had the privilege of seeing them in operation at the end of 1942). The Hayāt Bakhsh garden has additionally two marble pavilions with *ḳurnās*, called Sāwan and Bhadon after the first two months of the rainy season in the Hindū calendar, with a fine central tank with scalloped red sandstone borders which again are intended to be barely covered with water to produce a ripple effect. Comparable works in the Āgra fort, of the time of Shāhdjahān's additions, include a very deep *dōghār* outside the *Mahall-i khāṣ and an elegant fountain* in the Muthamman Burdj.

Bridges may be included in ornamental works. One near the tomb of Sikandar Lōdī in Dihlī, but of Mughal date, is rather a pleasant spot for strollers to catch the water-cooled breeze than a work of strict necessity for transport, although the Mughals brought as elegance to bridges of greater functional necessity. Outstanding is the bridge at Dhawnpur [q.v.], whose two parts are provided with kiosks with carved marble screens to take advantage of the breezes along the river.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Bibl. to AUSTĀN, II and Dhalī T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tashirowa, *Delhi: architectural remains of the Delhi sultanate period*, I, Tokyo 1967 (section W covers 52 watermonuments of different kinds, text in Japanese, excellent photographs; idem, II, Tokyo 1970, 62 plates in depth selected water-monuments); Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its neighbourhood*, New Delhi 1964; G. Sanderson, *A guide to the buildings and gardens, Delhi Fort*, Delhi 1937; G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; H. Cousens, *Bijāpūr and its architectural remains* (= *ASI, NIS*, XXXVII), Bombay 1916; J. Burgess, *Muhammadan architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, ...*, London 1896, idem, *The Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad*, I, London 1900, II, London 1903; J. Jain-Neubauer, *The step-wells of Gujarat*, Delhi 1981; Y. Crowe, S. Haywood and P. Jellicoe, *The gardens of Mughal India*, Delhi 1973; N. M. Tilley, *Plants and gardens in Persian, Mughal and Turkish art*, London 1979, Creswell, *Bibl.*, 190-2, and *Supp.*, 34. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĀʾ AL-ʿAYNAYN AL-ḴALḲAMĪ is the name consistently given in Mauritania and Morocco to the greatest scholar and religious and political leader of the Western Sahara during the latter half of the 19th century. Uncertainty remains as to the significance of his sobriquet Mā' al-ʿAynayn, "water of both eyes", but it is not unlike *barrat al-ʿayn*, "coolness of the eye". Mā' al-ʿAynayn was born on the day of the death of his brother, Abū 'l-Fatḥ, and of his paternal grandmother Khadīdja. His father Muḥammad Fāḍil regarded his birth as a blessed consolation at a time of family distress. His mother, Mawna bint al-Maʾmūn al-Idjaydjbiyya, cherished the name because the infant was her only son at that time; if she were to lose him it would be as grievous to her as the loss of her sight.

1. Life. Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā was the twelfth son of Muḥammad Fāḍil b. Māmīn al-Ḳalḳamī, the founder of the Fāḍiliyya *ṭarīḳa*. This was an offshoot of the Kuntu Bakkāʾiyya branch of the Ḳādiriyya order [see KUNTA]. Muḥammad Fāḍil came from the family of the Ahl al-Tālib al-Mukhtār who were centred at Dār al-Salām north of Goumbou on the border between Mali and the Mauritanian Ḥawḍ. He was born about 1780, and his Fāḍiliyya order was pan-Ṣūfī in its aspirations. His ideal envisaged the unification of all other Ṣūfī orders by a recognition of equal worth and by acceptance of his independent counsel. His *wird* and *dhikr* encouraged a high-pitched, shrieked and ecstatic repetition of the *shahāda*, and his religious acts were accompanied by charms, spells, magic numbers and thaumaturgy. The family claimed Sharīfian descent from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib through Yaḥyā b. Idrīs al-Saghīr. It also claimed ideal relationship to the Lamtūna [q.v.] who were the aristocracy of the Almoravid Ṣanhādja.

Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Mā' al-ʿAynayn was born *on 27th Shaʿbān 1247/30th January 1831*. *He* was taught by his father, and as a gifted pupil, he later became a devoted adherent of the doctrines of the Fāḍiliyya. He was to found his own order, the ʿAynlyya, but it differed little from the Fāḍiliyya on basic principles. His outlook was conservative and eclectic. His book, *Iḍāʾat al-nūrī fī asmāʾ al-mukhtār*, argues the case for a pan-Islamic rapprochement, theological and political, and within and beyond the Ṣūfī orders. He followed this path from his earliest years, and it became a political obsession towards the end of his life.

When still young he left home. When he was

16 years old he visited Marrākush in order to study, and for some time he lived with the Aghlāl on the border of the Ḥawḍ. In 1858 he performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca. On his way he paid his respects and requested support from the Moroccan sultan, Mawlay ʿAbd al Raḥmān, and from the heir to the throne, Sīdī Muḥammad. He returned to Morocco in 1859, and on his route to the Ḥawḍ he stayed at the caravan town of Tindūf. It was then a centre for slave traffic, and was dominated by the Idaw Bālī and the Tādjakānt. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn acquired a reputation for miracles, and he enjoyed the favour of a noted scholar, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Makhtār b. Aʿmash al-Djakānī. He had access to his library and taught and wrote, but he declined an offer to remain as a teacher in Tindūf. In 1881 he returned to the Ḥawḍ. In 1865 or 1867 he left the Ḥawḍ definitively on a journey to the Adrār town of Shinḳīṭ and to Tīrīs.

In 1869 his father, Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil, died in the Ḥawḍ His legacy was divided between his four principal sons Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was held in the highest esteem and wielded most political power. After 1873 he chose the barren regions of the Rio de Oro and the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ as a permanent headquarters for his growing company of novices (*talāmīḏ*) whose life style owed much to the example of the Kunta *shaykhs* [*q.v.*], and their successors. These northern districts of the Western Sahara facilitated closer contact with the Moroccan sultans, who were regularly visited by Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and who supplied them with slaves Meanwhile, he combatted European encroachment on the Atlantic coast of the Sahara. He married into the principal tribal groups of the region and enjoyed wide support from the Awlād Dulay, the ʿArīsiyyīn, Tādjakānt, Awlād Bū Sbāʿ and Ahl Bārikalla. He dominated the Western Sahara caravan routes, and his power grew so great that, according to his son, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbīh Rāḥḥūh, Mawlay al-Ḥasan (1873-94) entrusted Māʾ al-ʿAynayn with the guarding of the frontier between al-Dākhila (Villa Cisneros) and al-Tarfāya (Cape Juby), or almost the entire coast of the former Spanish Sahara During this period, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn had neither village nor town. He lived in his tents in the Tīrīs, al-Karīḥī, Aswam, al-Djaḳība and Tawrīk, but, as the pull towards the north increased, he commenced the construction of a *ribāṭ* at Dār Ḥamrāʾ in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ, a fortress, and a small settlement at Maḥbas in the same region.

After 1896, ties with the Sultanate were particularly close The growing influence of France to the north and the south strengthened the amity and coordination of political and religious policies. In 1897 Māʾ al-ʿAynayn was received in triumph by the stripling sultan, Mawlay ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had ascended the throne in 1894. The sultan received the *wird* of the ʿAynayya and religious instruction from Māʾ al-ʿAynayn *Zāwiyas* were founded in Marrākush, Fās and Salā, and lands and estates were bestowed on the Shaykh and his family. He became an *éminence grise* at court, and he was feared at court on account of his magic power and his fanatical followers. The *ʿulamāʾ* of Fās gave him the title of *Ḳuṭb* [see ḲUṬB. 2. In mysticism]. With financial aid from the sultan, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn commenced his most ambitious project in 1898 This was the building of a *ḳaṣaba*, *ribāṭ*, mosque, library, political and commercial headquarters at the reed beds of Smāra on the banks of the Wayn Sīwān in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ The site was close to a route which linked the Wād Nūn to the Adrār and Tīrīs. It was not far from the port of al-Tarfāya, and the terrain was suitable for pasturage, some agriculture and the planting of date palms

Smāra was, and still is, a complex of low buildings designed in a style which blends the brown dry-stone walling of the Adrār and Tīshīt with the decadent urban Hispano-Moresque of Morocco. Building stone was locally quarried or brought by steamer from Mogador and the Canary Islands. Moroccan stone masons and architects were employed in the task of constructing a compound to which buildings were annexed Some were private dwellings for the four wives and many concubines of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. Others belonged to his sons or accommodated guests, artisans and *talāmīḏ* Work commenced on a large mosque and a *ḳubba* Space was allowed to house Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's library of 300 books and his collection of at least 500 manuscripts. Other buildings were store-houses, granaries and arsenals. The design was a compromise between the desert and the town. Certain private quarters were hardly more than walled enclosures inside which tents were pitched and animals were penned

The work was never completed. In 1903 the French declared the Trārza district of south-west Mauritania a French protectorate In 1905 the *Commissaire général français*, Xavier Coppolani, was assassinated at Tidjikdja by anti-European Saharans who had the backing of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. In 1906, France occupied the Tagant. As Smāra was indefensible, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn withdrew to his *ḳaṣaba* at Tīzīt in the Sūs. In 1907 he made it the base for his *ḥiḍāḍ* [*q.v.*], and he appealed to the sultan for maximum assistance. Events worked against his interests, however. The ineffective Mawlay ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz relinquished the throne to his brother, Mawlay al-Ḥafīẓ, to whom Māʾ al-ʿAynayn swore allegiance (*bayʿa*) in 1907 The latter sultan was anxious to achieve an accommodation with the French, so that Māʾ al-ʿAynayn quickly lost faith in him. In 1910 he arrived in Marrākush with an army of tribesmen of the Anti-Atlas and the Sūs. Accompanied by this show of strength, it was alleged that he announced his claim to the throne of Morocco as *Mahdī* [*q.v.*] of the hour, but some authorities doubt the historicity of this reported claim The religious influence of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn in Morocco was formidable, but it should be remembered that he was 79 years old and was approaching senility His son, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Imām, and a brother of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, Shaykh Saʿīd Aḥbīb (Saad Būh)—who cooperated with the French—both discount such reports as unfounded. Evidence suggests that Māʾ al-ʿAynayn's eldest son, his successor (*khalīfa*), Aḥmad al-Hība or Hayba [*q.v.* in Suppl.] directed the policy of his father A major reverse took place at Kasbat Tadla on the 23rd June 1910 In September Māʾ al-ʿAynayn retired to Tīzīt, and he died there on 29 Shawwāl 1328/28 October 1910 His tomb in Tīzīt has remained a family shrine Smāra had been abandoned and was occupied by a French force under Colonel Mouret in 1913. The dome of its *ḳaṣaba*, the symbol of Māʾ al ʿAynayn's authority, was severely damaged, and the library of several hundred books on mysticism, astronomy and theology was burnt.

According to Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn married 116 wives He fathered at least 25 sons and 30 daughters, and some sources give the total number of his offspring as 55. His most noted descendants, among them his *khalīfa*s, were seven sons by his wife, Maymūna bint Aḥmad ʿAlīyyūn, who was born into a lettered household

among the Barābiš of the Ḥawḍ. She was the mother of Aḥmad al-Hība (d. 1919), Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbih Rabbuh (d. 1924), al-Ṭāhir Ḫayr, Muḥammad al-Imām and Muḥammad al-Aġdaf (d. 1972 ?). These noted sons, together with brothers from other marriages, continued the family tradition of scholarship and sanctity in the Maghrib and the Sahara. Several of them were poets and authors of weighty works on theological and legal subjects and on the ideas of their father. Some of them co-operated with the Spaniards in the then Spanish Sahara, others became exiles in Morocco and Mauritania or lived a pastoral life in the Ḥawḍ. They strove to maintain the influence and status of the family and to combat European domination of the Western Sahara. In the main, they showed solidarity with the Moroccan royal house and followed the example set by Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn himself. The extended family represented, and represents, a conservative force in the radically-changing Western Sahara.

2. Character and achievements. The closing years of the life of Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn, his activities in Morocco and the building of Smāra have disproportionately overshadowed the life he led between 1870 and 1890 when he ruled from his palatial tent in the Rio de Oro and the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ and set down the bulk of his writings. In 1887 the captive explorer, Camille Douls, was brought to Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn who subsequently released him. Douls was impressed by the physical stamina and awesome appearance of his captor. Due to his miracles, his many marriages and formidable learning he acquired a semi-divine power over the Saharans. He combined the roles of doctor, teacher, arbitrator and avenger with fire. In organising a desert community he put into effect his dream of unifying Islamic sects in pan-Islamic loyalties, as outlined in several of his books. These total some 300 titles. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā Murabbih Rabbuh in his own *Kurrat al-ʿaynayn* lists 140 titles. He adds, however, that his list is incomplete and that sundry opuscules were not included. Several of these were written as early as 1867 when his father was in Tindūf. Forty of his most important works were lithographed in Fās at his own expense. Here is the list of these as it was compiled by E. Lévi-Provençal in his *EI*¹ article:

1 *Adab al-mutaḥaḍḍa min ʿl-yatīm*, on the margin of *Mufīd al-ṭamī*, no. 20 1321, 2 *al-Aḥdāṯ ʿala ʾl-sanjaṭ* commentary on the *Waraḳāt* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, 1320; 3 *Dalīl al-ṣifāṯ ʿalā thamn al-tilyāṯ*, 1311, 3 vols; 4 *Dīwān* of mystical poetry, 1310; 5 *Diyāwīḥ al-mubāḥaṯa fī aḥkām al-ḥiraba*, 1308, 6 *Kitāb Fatḥ al-raḥīm ʿalā rāḥ al-faṭīḥ*, 1296, and ed. in 1939, 7 *Hidāyat al-mubtadiʾīn wa-nafʿat al-mutanabbihīn*, *waʿẓ* on *nafs*, 1322, 8 *Hidāyat al-murīd fī ʾl-ḏikr bi ʾl-jahr ʿala ʾl-rāʾid*, 1321; 9 *Ibraz al-laʾāli ʾl-maknūna fī ʾl-aḥādīṯ ʿl-ṣaḥīḥa wa ʾl-mudmara*, 1322; 10 *Iḍhār al-ḥaḳ al-mughtaḥir ʿala "ismā" wa-la taḥtaṣir*, 1321; 11 *al-Khaliṣ fī ḥaḳīḳat al-ikhlāṣ*, 1320, 12 *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar*, also printed at Fās in 1324; 13. *Kurrat al-ʿaynayn fī ʾl-kalām ʿala ʾl-ruʾya fī ʾl-dārayn*, 1321, on the margin of no. 10; 14 *Mā yataʿallaḳ bi ʾl-ḥasad*, on the margin of no. 36, 1320; 15. *Maḍmaʿat al-durar fī ʾl-tawaṣṣul bi ʾl-asmāʾ* on *ʾl-ḏikr wa ʾl-ṣuwar*, 1309, 16 *al-Mahdiyya al-mīrāniyya*, 1306, no the margin of no. 29, and ed. in 1320, 17. *Mubīr al-mutashawwif ʿalā muntaḥilāt al-taṣawwuf*, 1314, 2 vols, 18 *Mufīd al-bidʿa wa ʾl-ḥādiṯa bi sharḥ ḥāl al-ahyāl al-thamāniya*, 1326, 19. *Mufīd al-rāʾī ʿalā anna mukhāṭir*, 1309, 20 *Mufīd al-ṭamī* on *ʾl-mutakallim fī aḥkām al-tayammum* on *ʾl-mutayammim*, 1321; 21. *Mughīr ʾl-ḥāḍir* on *ʾl-ṣiwāk ʿala taʿallum al-ʿilm al-nāfiʿ*, 1294 22. *Munīl al-ḥaḍāra fī man yuqtaḍā Allāh bi-qtl al-ʿāriḍ*, 1309; 23 *Munīl al-maʿārib ʿala ʾl-ḥamdu li ʾllāh ḥiḍʾ al-wājib*, 1309, 24. *Muntaḳhab al-taṣawwuf*, printed 1325, 25 *Muʿīr al-ikhlāṣ al-mabsūṭa fī alfāẓ al-taḥiyyāt*, 1321, 26. *Muʿīnat al-nāhaḍ ʿammun lā yuḥsib al-ḥasad*, on margin of no 11; 27 *Nuṣḥat al-nisāʾ*, 1321; 28. *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tanqīḥ al nihāyāt*, 1311, also published in Cairo in 1324; 29. *Sahl al-murtaḳā fī ʾl-ḥadīṯ ʿala ʾl luḥā*, 1306, 30. *al-Sayf* on *ʾl-nuṣṣ fī baḍyyat al Ḳundr* on *Mālik*, 1320; 32 *Sayf al muḥādil li ʾl ḥuṣb al-ḥāmil*, n.d ; 32. *Sayf al-ṣaḥt li ʾl-mutaʿarriḍ lamā fī awwal al-waḳt*, n.d.; 33 *al-Silāḥ fī faḍāʾil baʿḍ al-ṣalawāt*, 1321; 34. *Silāt al-mutarajjim ʿalā jilāt al-raḥīm*, 1323; 35 *Tabyīn al-ghumūd ʿalā man aʿraḍa*, 1320; 36 *Takyīd yataʿallaḳ bi ḥadīth "innamā ʾl-aʿmāl bi ʾl-niyyāt"*, 1302; 37 *Tanbīh muʿāṣir al murīdīn ʿalā ḥaqīqatihim li ʾl-ṣidḳ al-yaḳīn*, 1321; 38 *Taswīr al-saʿīd fī ʾl-ʿāmm an ʾl khayr*, 1320; 39. *Thamīr al-mushar*, collection of poems, printed 1324, 40 *Tibyān al-ḥabb alladhī* in *ʾl-kāfī sakk*, 1321.

According to the *Kurrat al-ʿaynayn* (fol. 72), Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn mastered all the disciplines, language, grammar, syntax, elocution, logic, mathematics, the dating of seasons and feasts, the system of ʾAdjamī Sahnūn cryptology, jurisprudence, prosody and medicine (Arabian and Saharan Hassānīyya). Alongside these studies he gained experience in several branches of the occult.

Supernatural power was accepted as part of his personality. Its manifestation could not be separated from his involvement in mundane matters which concerned the day-to-day life of his *taʿalmīḏh* or Saharawīs. They sometimes found contradictions between their *nafs* and the *Sharīʿa*. Similar problems had been faced by earlier Kunta *shaykhs* and by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī (d. 1865) of the Tiris Ahl Barīkalla. The Ahl Barīkalla of Inārīdī were devoted followers of Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn. They were familiar with attempts by Saharan teachers to resolve these questions. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī's book on tribal law and custom, *Kitāb al-Badīya*, can be matched, though not surpassed, by opuscules of Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn, and likewise his mathematical and astrological theories. Pamphlets by the latter on *tayammum*, prayer, fasting, hospitality, divorce and xerology were widely quoted, and several of these were appended to other works and lithographed. A major work, *Fatḥ al-raḥīm ʿala nāṣir al-faṭīḥ*, forcefully argues the case for humane treatment of women, slaves, beggars and orphans, and for respect and deference towards kings and sultans.

Supernatural revelation accompanied the study of Arabic grammar, phonetics, and prosody. The *Kurrat al-ʿaynayn* (fol. 74) records that "when he composed a book about prosody one day he left with his mind preoccupied by certain obscurities. He sat facing a tree, and he began to beat the rhythm of the metres on the ground using a stick which he held in his hand. While thus engaged a burnt brick appeared before him. He raised it with his stick and discovered a treasure beneath it. He shunned it. He returned the brick to its former position and said, 'I do not want it.' Then he arose and sat opposite another tree, and God enlightened him in the matter he sought."

At least 30 of Mā ʾl-ʿAynayn's major works are about Šāfiʿism. *Naʿt al-bidāyāt wa-tanqīḥ al-nihāyāt*, lithographed in Fās and twice published in Cairo, is still widely read in the Sahara and is possibly his

masterpiece. In its pages, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn argued that all Ṣūfī brotherhoods display only trivial divergencies. All brotherhoods were of equal merit and ought to combine. His arguments were carried a stage further in his book *Mubṭil al-mulaṭṭamūf ʿalā munkkhāb al-tanawwuf*, which is outspokenly pro-Ottoman in its sentiments. To the author, the Ottoman state exhibited pan-Islamic eclecticism and was the last to precede the appearance of the *Mahdī* who would unite Jews, Christians and Muslims after cataclysmic events.

Mention has been made of the license allowed by the Fāḍiliyya and the ʿAyniyya for the use of spells and secret scripts for religious purposes. Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, an avowed thaumaturge, displayed an interest in the occult and paranormal. Those unsympathetic to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn have dismissed him as a sorcerer posing as a scholar and have argued that his mysticism was an example of Ṣūfism in decadence. It is clear from the works which he wrote, for example *Maṭāliʿ al-masāʾil fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf*, where prayers are computed by letters of the alphabet, magic squares and numbers worn as amulets, that the system he used was highly complex and derived from mediaeval systems invented in the Maghrib. The Ḥawḍ is adjacent to Black Africa and has its own tradition of secret scripts. Eleven secret alphabets have been recorded in the Ḥawḍ. Some characters in these scripts represent the numerological value, or a graphic deformation of, corresponding Arabic letters, or are based on the skeletal forms of complete Arabic words. Other characters are non-Arabic, possibly Lybico-Berber, and are lunette in shape. One Ḥawḍ script which is particularly rich in Non-Arabic characters is the *al-Yasīnī* alphabet, which relates either to Yāsīn, its inventor (ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn the Almoravid?) or to the letters Yāsīn which open Sūra XXXVI in the Kurʾān. Characters from these Ḥawḍ scripts appear in several lithographical works of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, especially lunette letters. In the Rio de Oro, two of these scripts, the *sueyhmiyya* and the *ʿbrāneyya*, are known among the Ahl Bārikalla. Like Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī, Māʾ al ʿAynayn found it natural to employ such scripts and alphabets for religious purposes.

Over one hundred miracles are attributed to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn in the *Kurrat al-ʿaynayn*. They range from the rescue of his books and novices from the flooding of the Sāqiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in 1890 to the exorcism of one of his wives, punishment of robbers by fire and the illumination of a room by his clothing. Certain of these happenings are patterned on miracles attributed to the Prophet. Nonetheless, they are far too varied to be unconnected with the psychic powers of Māʾ al ʿAynayn, which were acknowledged even by his most bitter opponents. His powers of psychological persuasion were employed to dominate the minds of the Saharawis and to instil a fanatical zeal in the ʿAynayya and its allies.

3. Al-Shinkiṭī's portrayal. One of the most objective portraits of Māʾ al ʿAynayn towards the end of his life is offered by Aḥmad b. ʿAmīn al-Shinkiṭī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ* who passed through Smāra on his way to Mecca and wrote his description, first published in 1911, a year after the death of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. This author confirms that the Sāqiya al-Ḥamrāʾ owed its habitations and date groves to Māʾ al-ʿAynayn. He remarks (pp 365-6 of the 1958 edition) that the latter was learned in the *Sharīʿa*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiḳh*, and that he was the only worthy successor to Shaykh Sidiyya al-Kabīr (1780-1869). He thought highly of the moral qualities and character of Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, and speaks glowingly of him.

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(H. T. Norris)

MAʿĀD (A.), place of return, a technical term in religious and philosophical vocabulary.

The verb *ʿādā*, *yaʿūdu* signifies "to return to a place". Al-Ḍiawhari treats it as a synonym of *raǧaʿa*. The action of *ʿaud* is the movement whereby one returns to the point of departure: *raǧaʿa ʿalā badʾihi* or *ilā bayānihi*, either through a continuous progress, to describing a circle for example, or stopping at a certain point and retracing one's steps (cf. Sibawayh, cited by *LA*), whence the idea of a return to the origin, to the source. The verb *raǧaʿa* is used in many Kurʾānic verses to indicate return to God: "Then He will make you die, then He will make you live; then you will be brought back to Him" (*thumma ilayhi turǧaʿūna*, II, 28). This return takes place after the Resurrection. In the 4th verbal form, *aʿāda* denotes "to recommence, reiterate". This is the sense which it has in the verses where this root is associated with that of *raǧaʿa*, for example (XXX, 11) "God begins (*yabdaʾu*) creation, then He repeats it (*yuʿīduhu*), then you will be brought back to Him". Subsequently, God is qualified by the titles *al-Mubdiʾ* and *al-Muʿīd*. These terms are not reserved for God. The Prophet said: "God loves

the *nāḳa* mounted on a *nāḳa*". He was asked the meaning of *nāḳa*. He replies "It is a strong and skilled man who is *mubdi'* and *mu'īd*, mounted on a strong and reliable horse which is *mubdi'* and *mu'īd*". Abū 'Ubayda explains that the reference is to a man who volunteers for successive military expeditions and returns ceaselessly to the attack. The well trained and obedient horse earns the same distinctions. It is the notion of this 4th form which is dominant in the Kur'ān: resurrection is a recommencement. Theologians in fact mainly speak of *i'āda* in the sense of a second creation. The idea of return is only implied, to the extent that there must be a return to the point of departure before there can be a recommencement. Thus al-Djuwaynī (*Irshād*, Arabic text, 317, ed. J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938) quotes Kur'ān, XXXVI, 78-81, from which he concludes: "That which has been brought back into existence (*al-mu'ād*), is the same as that which has been created for the first time". We leave aside the question as to whether substances only, or both substances and accidents are the objects of *i'āda*. In the *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Istanbul 1928, 232-3, 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī shows that the return to existence of something which has been annihilated is possible, and he expresses himself in the same terms as those used by al-Djuwaynī. Consequently, if *i'āda* is a second creation following death and annihilation, *ma'ād* is the place reached by resurrected persons.

But the word *ma'ād* is used only once in the Kur'ān (*XXVIIII*, 85): "Yes, He who endows you with the gift of Prophecy, it is He who brings you back to a place of return". The term is variously interpreted: some treat it as a synonym of *maṣīr* (place at which one arrives), as in III, 28: "And inwards God is the place of arrival"; for others, it is the equivalent of *mardjiʿ* (place to which one returns), as in V, 18: "Towards God is your place of return for all", or it is identified purely and simply as the Next Life (*al-ākhira*). It should however be noted that the term has been understood in a much more concrete sense: it could denote, according to some, Mecca, whither the Prophet was to return, having conquered the town according to God's promise, in a more general sense, it could be the country where he was born (al-ḥarrā') or his homeland (Thaʿlab). Finally, the word *ma'ād* has been interpreted in terms of the verse II, 125: "And when We made the House (sc. the Kaʿba) a place where one returns (*mathāba*)"; consequently, *mathāba* = *ma'ād* = place of Pilgrimage = *ḥadjdj*. In fact, al-Ḳurṭubī explains, a large number of pilgrims and visitors make their way each year to the holy places, and moreover, each one, having left them, desires to return there. Ibn Sīdah retains the two meanings of Pilgrimage and the Last Life. It may be noted that they conform perfectly, since *ḥadjdj* is a departure from the home, involving the leaving of country, goods, family, in order to go to the House of God, which, as al-Ghazālī explains it, prefigures the departure from this earth in order to go to Paradise to see God Himself: seeing the House of God inspires the wish to see the Master of the House. Thus, *ma'ād*, etymologically linked to *i'āda*, taken in the symbolic connection *ḥadjdj-ākhira*, came to refer primarily to the place of return of resurrected persons in the presence of God. It is in this sense that al-Tahānawī associates it with *ḥashr* and *baʿth*, the Assembly for the Last Judgment and the Resurrection. He distinguishes between a physical *ma'ād* (*djismānī*), which is the return to life of bodies leaving their tombs, and a spiritual *ma'ād* (*rūḥānī*), which consists of the return of spirits restored to their bodies (*iʿādat al-arwāḥ ilā abdānihā*). There can be as many as five doctrines on this subject. The first affirms only the reality of the physical *ma'ād*, this, says al-Tahānawī is the approach of the theologians who deny the existence of a rational soul. He is no doubt referring to certain Ḥanbalīs, of whom Ibn Baṭṭa is an example, for whom the words *nafs* and *rūḥ* retained their ancient Semitic sense of vital principle, breath, even blood. Ibn Baṭṭa writes: "We must believe in the call which Isrāfīl will utter to make the dead rise from their tombs". H. Laoust mentions in a note a passage of Ibn Taymiyya: "Man will rise from their tombs and appear before their Master, without shoes, all naked and uncircumcised. The sun will approach them and they will bathe in their sweat" (*La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 94). In regard to the angel of death, Laoust quotes a passage from the *ʿAḳīda*, vi, attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal where it is said "He catches the souls (*arwāḥ*) which are then restored to the bodies in their tombs". This point of view may be related to that of al-Nazzām, as revealed by 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī in the *Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 145: "The twentieth of these disgraceful doctrines is that which concerns *ma'ād*, whereby scorpions, snakes, beetles, flies, ravens, dung-beetles, dogs, pigs, wild beasts, insects will be gathered (*tuḥsharu*) on the way to Paradise". In fact, these animals do not have a rational soul, but this does not prevent al-Nazzām believing in their *ma'ād*.

The second doctrine listed by al-Tahānawī is that which asserts exclusively the spiritual *ma'ād*; it is that of the philosophers. It is known that al-Ghazālī was opposed to the idea of survival of the rational soul only. Nevertheless, Ibn Sīnā did attempt to understand in what sense the presence of a sensible human reality in the other life could be philosophically admitted. On this subject, we refer to the thesis of Jean Michot, presented at Louvain-la-Neuve in 1981 (still in manuscript) on *ma'ād* in Avicennan thought, where there are to be found minute analyses of the metaphysics and psychology of Ibn Sīnā, based on numerous texts. But it was not only the philosophers who maintained that man is a spirit of which the body is only a "sequel" (*tābi'*). The Muʿtazilī al-Muʿammar, although he is counted al-Tahānawī among the adherents of the third doctrine, thought, according to al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 154, that "man is something other than this sensible body, something living, something knowing, something powerful, which is neither at rest, nor in motion, which is not localised anywhere ..." When asked if he meant that man is in this body, or in Paradise, or in Hell, he replied "I say that *he* is in the body insofar as he controls it; in Paradise insofar as he enjoys heavenly gifts, in Hell, insofar as he is punished". Al Nazzām also reckoned that man is spirit (*rūḥ*), but by spirit he meant "a rarified body which penetrates (*mutadākhil*) the compact body, the life (*ḥayāt*) cutting[63] in this body" (*Farḳ*, 135). He is therefore closer to the preceding doctrine.

The third doctrine is that which affirms both the resurrection of the body and of the soul when man is restored to life. It is that which is taught by the Ash'arīs as well as al-Ghazālī, numerous Ṣūfīs and certain Imāmīs for whom man is "two things", the body which is inanimate (*mawtā*) and the spirit which is active, endowed with sensibility and with perception; this is the thesis of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 1, 125; *Farḳ*, 68). Al-Tahānawī places among the adherents of this doctrine

those who consider that man is "in reality" (*bi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*) the rational soul, for it is the latter which bears the responsibility of prescribed acts, which obeys or disobeys, which is rewarded or punished. But this soul is linked to a body, also, "when God wills the gathering together of His creatures, He creates for each of the spirits a body (*badan*) to which it is linked and in which it acts freely, as was the case here below. But this is not a question of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*), since it is a case of return (*ʿawd*) to the fundamental parts of the body (*ilā aṣlihi aʿnyya 'l-badan*), although this is not in itself the first body, as is made clear in the Word of God (IV, 56) "As often as their skins are burned, We shall give them other skins in exchange".

The last two doctrines are that which denies *maʿād* and that which remains in doubt on the subject. Those who deny it are the "physical philosophers" (*al-falāsifa al-ṭabīʿyyūn*). Galen is mentioned as a representative of the last doctrine. It is clear that the question of *maʿād* is linked to the problem of the nature of man and of the relationship between the soul and the body.

Among the sufis, the idea of *maʿād* is connected to that of ascension and return towards God rather than to that of resurrection and re-creation. Al-Tahānawī quotes the *Kashf al-laṭāʾif*: "For the Ṣūfīs, the *maʿād*, they say, are the universal divine names (*asmāʾ-i ilāhī-yi kullī*), like the beginning (*mabdaʾ*), they are the universal names relating to beings in development (*asmāʾ-i kullī-yi nāmī*)."

The arrival in this world of *homo viator* (*sālik*) is accomplished by the route of these second names, his return (*rudjūʿ*) by the route of the first. This definition relates to the concepts of Ibn ʿArabī, for whom the names have two faces, one turned towards God (*wadjh al-tanzīh*), the other towards the creatures of which they are the "patrons" (*wadjh al-taʿalluḳ*). Similarly, the arrival and the return evoke the journey from God (*safar min Allāh*) and the journey towards God (*ilā 'llāh*) which concludes, in the view of Ibn ʿArabī, with the journey into God (*fi 'llāh*). Here we have the most profound conception of *maʿād*.

Ismāʿīlī thought also considered *maʿād* an ascension and an elevation (*ṣuʿūd, irtifāʿ*). A detailed treatment of this subject is to be found in the book by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, entitled *Kanz al-walad* (ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Wiesbaden 1971, ch. 12, 163-205). The concept of *maʿād* is here linked to that of the hierarchies which characterise this type of thought. It involves an ascent towards the spheres of the religious path, (*al-afʿāl al-dīnyya*), sphere after sphere and from hierarchical degree to hierarchical degree (*ḥadd*) on far as the final stage, where the government of the world resides. The conditions for salvation are, along with the affirmation of the divine unity, the recognition of the *ḥudūd* and of the service (*ḫidma*) which is owed to them, obedience to the *Imām*. Al-Ḥāmidī quotes al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī: "Every *ḥadd* is a paradise for the man whose *ḥadd* it is (*li-man ḥaddāhu*), if the latter obeys it; it is his punishment, if he disobeys it". *Maʿād* is primarily a cosmic process in which the individual *maʿād* of the Believers is included. "Thus proceeds the progression (*tadarruǧ*) in the *maʿād* until the end of time and of seons" (172) (For more details, see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, iv, 893 b, 894 b.) We limit ourselves to pointing out a curious passage (174), where the different degrees of ascension are compared with the successive stages of gestation, as enumerated in the Kurʾān (XXII, 5; XXIII, 14).

The notion of *maʿād* is very important in the view of Ibn Sīnā, not only in terms of the destiny of man after death, but also in terms of his life on earth. In fact, God teaches that He "has prepared for those who obey Him a place of return which gives them good fortune (*al-maʿād al-musʿad*, *Shifāʾ, Ilāhīyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 449), which poses the problem of eternal beatitude (*ibid*., 445). But in this world men are in need of regulation: "It is therefore inevitable that the Prophet took important measures which have remained in the form of usages and laws which he established concerning good things and evil to them. On this point there is no doubt, the foundation on which everything rests is that men persist in the knowledge of the Creator and of the *maʿād*, the suppression of this knowledge was the cause which led to forgetfulness of these matters at the expiration of the century following the [life of the] Prophet". For this reason, it is necessary that the acts prescribed by the Law are repeated and follow one another in time and that "they be, when recourse is made to them, linked with certainty to God and the *maʿād*."

It may be recalled finally that the root *ʿāda* is only used, in religious language, to express a return to a place from which one does not come again. This is how it differs from the root *radjaʿa*. In a mystical perspective, Ibn ʿArabī writes most elegantly: "Such is the attainment of lasting beatitude . And he who has attained it does not come back (*lam yardjiʿ*), for a return (*rudjūʿ*) to the place of the beginning of the voyage would be impossible once the sails have been unfurled" (*Futūḥāt*, iii, 556). This is the doctrine of all Sunnīs, in contrast to that of the Rāfiḍī extremists, such as the disciples of Abū Kāmil or Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī, who held belief in the return (*radjʿa*) of the dead to this world before the Resurrection (*Farḳ*, 54, 59). To conclude, it may be noted that the idea of cyclical return, as is found expressed by, for example, al-Bīrūnī in the *Āthār* (ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1923, 177) in connection with the cycle of the Jubilee (*dawr Yōbil*) which recommences every fifty years following seven sabbatical years, is rendered by the word *radjʿa*. To summarise, the form *maʿād* brings together the two senses of return and recommencement: return to the source of being which is God, and a second creation which is the Resurrection.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

MAʿADD is a collective name for the northern Arab tribes (see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB (vi) = i, 544b). According to the standard genealogy, Maʿadd was a son of ʿAdnān (*q.v.*). His son Nizār (*q.v.*) had three sons, Muḍar, Iyād and Rabīʿa, from the first and third of whom most of the northern Arabs claimed descent.

Maʿadd and his descendants are said to have lived for a time in the neighbourhood of Mecca and to have intermarried with Djurhum (*q.v.*). The name Maʿadd is found in pre-Islamic poets, e.g. in verses of Imruʾ al-Kays (ed. Ahlwardt, no. 42, l. 3) and al-Nābigha (ed. Ahlwardt, no. 18, l. 1, a), but according to Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 90 n., Eng. tr. i, 89 n.), in such verses this may not always be the original reading. The name is also used of some of the tribesmen who had come to settle in Medina towards the end of Muḥammad's life (who are also referred to as Nizār and Muḍar), and in several verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Maʿadd is contrasted with the Anṣār (e.g. in the Ḥiǧām, 859, 17; further references in Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 94 n. Eng. tr. i, 92 n.). Variant

genealogies of ancestors of Ma'add are given in Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif* (18/34, 30 f/63 f), Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (5-7), and al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 115-18). Muhammad is said to have forbidden the tracing of genealogies beyond Ma'add (*Ibid*., iv 112, 118 f). In a *hadīth* Muhammad commended *al-Ma'addiyya*, which is said to be the rough clothing (or the way of life) of Ma'add (Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, i, 43 Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *'-d-d*, *al-libās al-Ma'addiyya*)

Bibliography given in the article, but see also Tabarī, i, 671 ff; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, index (evidence of genealogical disputes).

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

MA'ĀFIR (or AL-MA'ĀFIR), the name of a South Arabian tribe, the genealogy of which is given as Ya'fur b. Malik b. al Hareth b. Murra b. Udad b. Humaysa' b. 'Amr b. Yashdjub b. 'Arib b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'; they are included among the Himyar.

The name was also given to the territory which the tribe inhabited and this corresponded roughly with the Turkish *kadā'* of Ta'izziyya and the present Yemen Arab Republic province (*kadā'*) of al-Hudjariyya (pronounced locally al-Hugariyya), itself part of the administrative area (*liwā'*) of Ta'izz. In early and mediaeval times it is described as a *mikhlāf*. The Yemeni geographer al-Hamdānī has a great deal of information on the area of al-Ma'āfir and lists the following places in it:

(1) al-Djuwwa (the modern Sūk al-Djuma between Djabal Şalw and Djabal Badu) which was ruled by the family of Dhu 'l-Mughallis belonging to the tribe of Hamdān, who had control of the citadel of the town which had to be ascended by a ladder. At a later date it was under the Marrānids, descendants of 'Umayr Dhū Marrān, a *sayl* of Hamdān, with whom the Prophet was in communication by letter; (2) Djabal in the plain of the same name between Djabal Şabir and Djabal Dhakhir. In ancient times, Djabal was the capital of the Ma'āfir territory and the residence of the reigning dynasty of the Āl al-Karandal; (3) Harāza, (4) Şuhārā. Here according to Maslama b. Yūsuf al-Khaywānī were the palaces of the Ma'āfir, the ruins of which are mentioned by al-Hamdānī in Book 8 of the *Iklīl*; (5) 'Azāza; (6) al-Dumāma; (7) Birdhā, which belongs to Bilād Şabir and lies between Djabal Şabir and Djabal Habash, which corresponds to Djabal Dhakhir in al-Hamdānī; (8) Djizla, (9) al-'Ansiyaya; (10) Djabal Şabir; and (11) Djabal Dhakhir (the modern Habash).

The lands of the Ma'āfir therefore lay between the Wādī Nakhla and the Wādī Harhara and included a considerable part of the Ta'izziyya. The Ma'āfir, however, did not form a compact body, but, especially in the Djabal Şabir and Djabal Dhakhir, were much mixed with members of other tribes. From the earliest times the Ma'āfir enjoyed a certain reputation as weavers. The Tubba' As'ad Kāmil, who according to legend was the first to cover the Ka'ba, is said to have hung it with Ma'āfirī cloth. Muhammad's body is also said to have been wrapped in Ma'āfirī cloth. The tribe has a reputation too for saddle-making.

The history of al-Ma'āfir can be traced far back into the pre-Islamic period. A Sabaean inscription from Şirwāh dated about 500 B.C., which records the founding of the great Sabaean kingdom, mentions the tribe of Ma'āfir. We know too that an embassy was sent from the town of Sawwā to the Sabaean king at a later date to make submission to him and to beg for peace. Sawwā must at this time have been on the side of Ma'āfir and its prince Shamir Dhū Daydān on the side of the Habashāt, the enemies of Saba'. In 68/630 the Ma'āfir with Dhū Ru'ayn and Hamdān adopted Islam and received a letter from the Prophet Muhammad with detailed instructions regarding their obligations. At quite an early date in their Islamic history, many of the Ma'āfir migrated to Egypt, where with other South Arabians they played an important part in the building-up of the country. A Ma'āfirī was, for example, put in charge of the planning of al-Fustāt by 'Amr b. al-'Ās. This migration probably explains the infrequent mention of both the tribe and the area in mediaeval Yemeni historiography. Certainly, the area was controlled by the Ziyādids, the dynasty of Muhammad b. Ziyād centred on Zabīd, in the 3rd/9th century. The Zuraydids too in the 6th/12th century reckoned al-Ma'āfir as part of their territory, but it was wrested from them by the Mahdids. It must have fallen to the Ayyūbid conqueror of the Yemen, Türkān Shāh, the brother of Saladin, who won over Tihāma and the south of the country in the years 569-71/1173-6. The Ayyūbids' successors, the Rasūlids, built military establishments in al-Ma'āfir in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, and we hear of a rebellion led by the Ma'āfirī tribal leader against the Turkish occupation forces of the Yemen in 802/1161.

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(A. GROHMANN - [G. R. SMITH])

AL-MA'ĀFIRĪ, ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. DJABIR B. SA'D AL-DĪN, an Andalusian Mālikī scholar who settled in Jerusalem and died there in 805/1208. Born and educated in Malaga, al-Ma'āfirī left his native town early in his life and, like many of his compatriots at the time, travelled east for the dual purpose of performing the pilgrimage and acquiring knowledge. Though the sources mention that al-Ma'āfirī did some writing, they do not name any of his works. We know of only one extant work, a unique untitled manuscript in his own handwriting, found at present in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin and listed in the catalogue (ms. 3916) under the title *Biographies of famous women*. The manuscript has eleven chapters, of which the first two and the last two deal with biblical figures. The rest of the chapters (now published in Libya-Tunis 1978, ed. 'Ā'isha al-Ḥādī, under the title *al-Ḥadā'iḳ al-ghannā' fī akhbār al-nisā'*), which form the main body of the manuscript, deal with post-Islamic women, mainly from the Umayyad period.

Bearing in mind the general paucity of biographical material about women in mediaeval Arabic literature and, in particular, the limited number of works devoted exclusively to them, this manuscript, with its diverse information, colourful anecdotes and copious verse quotations is, without doubt, especially significant. The overall picture it presents

of the character and status of women in early Islam is unexpectedly refreshing: it is an image of a proud, courageous woman with a keen sense of moral values and a high evaluation of her own worth, a woman who had not as yet succumbed to the disastrous consequences of being segregated from the world of men.

In his manuscript, al-Maʿāfirī mentions that he spent the year 582/1186-6 in Damascus collecting material for this work, his main source being Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim (d. 600/1203), son of the illustrious Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir. In 583/1187, when Jerusalem was regained from the Crusaders, al-Maʿāfirī must have been among the numerous Muslims who then flocked to the city, for we are told that he was appointed resident preacher of the Aḳṣā Mosque by Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Muḍīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī (*al-Uns al-ǧalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa ʾl-Ḫalīl*, Najāf 1968, *ii*, 135) puts him second on the list of those who preached in the Aḳṣā Mosque after the *fatḥ*. Al-Maʿāfirī spent the rest of his life in Jerusalem, where he became known as al-Ḥadīdī al-Mālaḳī. There he achieved fame as a scholar and lecturer, and attained a position of wealth and power, but remained none the less devout and given to charitable works. He certainly made a strong impression on the inhabitants of his adopted city, for when he died large numbers followed his cortège. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (*al-Ḏayl wa ʾl-takmila*, Beirut 1965, v/1, 326) relates that "no worthy person was absent from his funeral and even the Christians who were in the church there joined the procession: they threw some of their garments on his coffin and then began to pass them to each other and to hold them in their faces in the hope of being blessed."

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MAʿALTHĀYĀ, Maʿalthā (Syriac "gate, entrance", Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, col. 2881), modern Malthai, the name given to two villages in the former *ḳaḍāʾ* of Dehōk (Duhūk) in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil in Ottoman times, now in the Autonomous Region of Dehōk in Republican ʿIrāḳ. The second of these two villages was formerly distinguished as Maʿalthā al-Masīḥā "M. of the Christians", but has recently become largely Kurdish and Muslim, like its fellow-village Maʿalthāyā lies on a small affluent of the Tigris, the Nahr Dehōk, 60 km northwards along the road from Mawṣil to Zākhō and at the southern end of the Djabal Abyaḍ. It owes its historic fame to its strategic position as the "entrance" from the plains of northern ʿIrāḳ into the mountains of Kurdistān and the lands south of Lake Van, the modern Turkish *vilayet* of Hakkārī.

Its importance in ancient times is signalled by its famous rock-reliefs, carved at 300 m above the valley a short distance from Maʿalthāyā. These comprise four similar panels, each showing twice an Assyrian emperor, in an attitude of worship and on either side of a procession of gods mounted on beasts. There are an inscription, but the reliefs are evidently connected with similar reliefs at Bāzyān some 45 km to the north-east of Mawṣil and to the east of Maʿalthāyā, and it is now generally accepted that the ruler responsible was the Sargonid Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), the reliefs probably dating from the early 680s; the basic publications on them are F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les sculptures rupestres de Maltaï*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxi (1924), 185-97, and W. Bachmann, *Felsenreliefs in Assyrien* (*Bawian, Maltaï und Gundük*), Wiss. Veröff. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, iii, Berlin 1927, repr. 1969, 23-7, Pls. 25-32. It has recently been suggested by J. Reade (following a previous suggestion by R. M. Boehmer), *Studies in Assyrian Geography. Part I: Sennacherib and the waters of Nineveh*, in *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, lxxii (1978), 163-6, that the Maʿalthāyā carvings, with their depicted deities, obviously relate to some important event or project, and are possibly to be connected with the construction of watercourses and canals conveying perennial water to the plain of Nineveh.

Maʿalthāyā early became an important centre of Eastern Christianity, and the birthplace of Narsai or Narsai (399-7502), founder of the Nestorian school of Nisibis, was in the village of ʿAyn Dulbē near Maʿalthāyā (E. Tisserant, art. *Narsai*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, xi, cols. 26-30). It was the seat of an episcopal diocese known as either Maʿalthāyā or as Bēṯ/Bā-Nūhadrā. The line of Nestorian bishops begins in 410 with Isaac and continues till 1265 with Makīkhō[6], apparently the last, whilst the Jacobite line begins with Zakai at the end of the 6th century and continues until Yōḥannā Yōb in 1884 (J. B. Chabot, ed. and tr., *Synodicon orientale*, in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvii, Paris 1902, index s.v.; J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1965-8, *ii*, 340-53). The Assyrian Christian community and its church in Maʿalthāyā of Mār Zīʿā must have suffered during the massacres by the Kurds of Christians and Yezīdīs [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 19th century, and the village seems to have been abandoned by its Christian community ca. 1906-7, and the service books and manuscripts of the church transferred to Dehōk (Fiey, *op. cit.*, *ii*, 675-82).

It had nevertheless been a flourishing place in early Islamic and pre-Mongol times. Al-Balādhurī, 332, records that al-Mʿlṯa (? Maʿalthā) was one of the places, together with Bā Ḥadhrā, etc., overrun by ʿUmar's general ʿUtba b. Farḳad al-Sulamī in 20/641. The Arabic geographers expatiate on the fertility and agricultural richness of the district of Maʿalthāyā and Fayshābūr (= originally, Fīrūzshābūr of Bā Nūhadrā, see Fiey, *op. cit.*, *ii*, 636 ff.). According to al-Muḳaddasī, it was small but rich in gardens, and at least a Friday mosque (hence already a Muslim community) on a tell, its specialities included dairy products, coal, grapes and fruit, hemp seed and flax, and dried, salted sweet (al-Muḳaddasī, 139, 145; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 217-18, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 211-12; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 93, 124). For Yāḳūt, iv, 578, Maʿalthāyā was a "little town" (*bulaiza*), but it is possible that this information was already anachronistic by the 7th/13th century.

Maʿalthāyā's position on the route into Kurdistān gave it a certain rôle in mediaeval Islamic history, and it is mentioned several times by *e.g.* Ibn al-Athīr. It was a centre for local chiefs and for the Khārijī leader Hārūn in 466-7/1079-81 in their squabbles with the Turkish caliphal governors of Mawṣil (ed. Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, vii, 355, 559). In 369/979-80 the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] launched an expedition via this route against the Hakkārī Kurds, and crucified their chiefs along the road from Mawṣil to Maʿalthāyā (viii, 705). In 442/1049-50, during the warfare between the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil Muʿtamid al-Dawla Kirwāsh b. al-Muḳallid and his brother Zaʿīm al-Dawla Abū Kāmil Baraka, the former's Kurdish allies marched on Maʿalthāyā and sacked it (ix, 553).

Thereafter, Ma'ālthāyā sinks into obscurity on the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1841-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil C. Rouet (1845) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only an Assyrian Christian families

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(C. E. Bosworth)

MA'ĀN, Mo'ān, a town of the south of Jordan, lying in lat. 30° 12' N. and long 35° 44' E. at an altitude of 3,523 ft./1,074 m., and the chef-lieu of the governorate which is to the south of the Karak [q.v.] one and to the east of the Wādī 'Araba. The name is said to come from Ma'ān, son of Lot.

The town is surrounded by gardens which form an oasis of the western fringe of the desert plain; to its east are the slopes of the al-Sharāt mountain chain of granite and porphyry which rise to 5,665 ft./1,727 m. in Ma'ān itself and the neighbourhood are many springs, the nearest of these being 'Ayn al-Dawāwī, whose water reaches Ma'ān through an underground conduit, whilst a second conduit carries water from 'Ayn al-Diṭṭa as far al Hamrāṭm to the north of Ma'ān

In the prehistoric period there were people in the region, as Palaeolithic remains attest. When nomadism and international trade developed, Ma'ān became an important meeting place for communications, through which the leading natural route from south-western Arabia to Damascus and the ports of Phoenicia passed, i.e. the route for Sabaean trade. A track connected the Gulf of 'Aḳaba with Ma'ān, whence routes went northwards to Moab. The caravan route of al Nawaṭa went to the west in the direction of Gharza and northern Egypt, and another track went south-eastwards via the Dūmat al Djandal oasis to Babylonia and the Persian Gulf.

The Syrian route of the Islamic Pilgrimage followed towards Mecca the old Tabūkiyya track, hence twice a year, on the outward and the return journeys, Ma'ān was a privileged halt for pilgrims, who could stock up there with provisions. In the 19th century, it became a station on the Ḥiḏjāz railway. Its place as a crossroads and its abundant water supply have meant that Ma'ān has always remained a vigorous centre of heroes settlement despite numerables attacks from nomads. It was, as Jaussen noted "le rendez vous des caravanes sortant de l'Arabie". During the 1st millennium B.C., the oasis apparently, according to Musil, 244, was controlled by the powers dominating the great trade routes, and had a South Arabian colony, Sabaean or Minaean, with a South Arabian governor who watched lest the local chiefs adopt measures hostile to the Sabaean or Minaean rulers; Musil further notes that in the second half of the 8th century B.C., an Assyrian army penetrated beyond the Ma'ān oasis.

Classical sources hardly mention Ma'ān, probably because the great international trade was concentrated on the emporium of Petra. In the Byzantine period, Ma'ān formed part of the territory of the South Arabian tribe of Djudhām (q.v.) Al-Bakrī, cited by Musil, 247, narrates that Farwa b. 'Amr of Djudhām governed Ma'ān on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor, but became a Muslim, rallying to the Prophet and presenting him with a white mule; in retaliation, the Byzantines threw him into prison and then killed him by crucifixion

At the time of the expansion of Islam, Ma'ān acquired a certain importance as a strong point of the al-Sharāt district in the *djund* of al-Urdunn, at the eastern end of the road which linked it to the sea via Petra, the *manāzil* of al Sharāt, Sughār, Arīḥā, al Kuds and Ramla in a six days' journey. At this time it was inhabited by the Banū Umayya and their freedmen, from whom travellers could obtain provisions. In Mamlūk times, it became the chef-lieu of a *niyāba* and one a lively market for slaves; according to various authors, it formed a *manzil* (Ibn Khurradādhbih), a *mankal* (al Muḳaddasī) or a *markaz* along the Pilgrimage route. In the 18th century, at the time of the return of the Pilgrimage, the *ḥādjdj al ḥadjdj* was sent from Ma'ān to Damascus to reassure the inhabitants about the safety of the pilgrims.

The modern town of Ma'ān is still made up of two distinct, adjacent settlies. To the north, Ma'ān al Ṣaghīra or al Shāmiyya, sometimes called al Maghāra, had in 1910 110 families. To the south, Ma'ān al Makhra or al-Miḳiyya, also called al-Ḥidjāziyya, had, according to Musil, 180 families. It was also called Mo'ān al-Mudīriyya when it became the seat of a governor, who resided in a palace allegedly built by Sultan Sulaymān; there is there a residence for the *kaymakām*, who in Ottoman times depended on the governor of Bilād al-Shām

A certain amount of agricultural production has long been a feature of Ma'ān, thanks to the oasis's permanent irrigation system, grown there are vegetables and fruit, amongst which are most prized apricots, pomegranates and peaches; date palms and poplars also grow there. To the southeast of Ma'ān, in the sparse wadis of the uncultivated steppe lands, strewn with blocks of lava and basalt, a few acacias (*ṭalḥ*) grow, these being known as *sawn 'ayyāṣ*, with their wood used for making various household utensils. This species of tree is not found north of Ma'ān

At present, the town forms the chef-lieu of the governorate of Ma'ān, 688 km.² in extent, whose population in 1961 was 47,000, in 1967 58,000, and in 1973 62,000. The town itself, with its fired and mud-brick houses, its narrow streets with infrequent and low doorways, its decayed railway station and its airport meant for tourists travelling to Petra, is of no archaeological interest. Its population was estimated in 1912 at 3,000 (Baedeker), in 1932 at 3,000 still (*Guide Bleu*) It was 4,500 in 1956, and in 1973 reached 9,500

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(N. ELISSEEFF)

AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA ʾL-BAYĀN, two of the three categories into which, since the time of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), the study of rhetoric has often been divided.

I. In Arabic. The *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* by al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*], where the two terms appear for the first time, was too confusing in its arrangement, and too obscure and at times self-contradictory to be of practical use to most students of rhetoric. It consisted of a section on grammar, a section on syntax, a section on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān*, and two supplements to its *maʿānī* section, one on demonstration (*istidlāl*), and one on the definition of the forms, aspects of poetry and on metre and rhyme. The section on grammar included a chapter on phonetics and the supplement on the *istidlāl* ended with a discussion of the inimitability of the Kurʾān. Probably for this reason, the digest of the third section of the *Miftāḥ* by al-Kazwīnī (also known as the Khaṭīb Dimashḳ, d. 739/1338), entitled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* and, to a lesser extent, its companion volume, the *Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha* by the same scholar, became the standard works on the subject. These two books, both compendia on rhetoric only, received wide circulation and it is through them that the study of the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* can be most profitably approached. The main differences between al-Kazwīnī and al-Sakkākī have been explained in the article AL-KAZWĪNĪ, here it should be pointed out that the addition of a section on the *badīʿ* to replace al-Sakkākī's remarks on the "special methods frequently used for the purpose of embellishing a literary composition" does not go back to al-Kazwīnī, but to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) (see Maṭlūb, *al-Kazwīnī*, 205), whose books were earlier, apparently less successful attempts to present al-Sakkākī's theories in a more readable form (see below). Whereas these "embellishments" received no more than a brief and superficial treatment in al-Sakkākī, they soon became in the hands of his followers a separate branch of rhetoric which was raised to the same level as the *maʿānī* and the *bayān*.

The present article aims at providing a few practical hints by way of introduction to the vast and little-known literature on the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* which is represented chiefly by commentaries and supra-commentaries on al-Kazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ*. The *badīʿ* section cannot be discussed here. This section continues the older tradition of rhetorical studies initiated by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Kudāma [*q.vv.*], but does not include those figures of speech, tropes, and stylistic devices which al-Sakkākī and al-Kazwīnī had already discussed under *maʿānī* or *bayān*, e.g. simile, metaphor, analogy, metonymy, epiphrasis (*iṭnāb*) and apostrophe (*iltifāt*) (the last of which is listed by al-Sakkākī both as an "embellishment" and as one of the subjects that come under the *maʿānī*, see *Miftāḥ*, 93, 202, see also Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 242-7, 259, 263, for the possible relation between this "embellishment" section and the *Kitāb Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr* by the Persian scholar, Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, d. 578/1182-3). Nor does it include the *istiʿāra* [*q.v.*], the *tajnīs* [*q.v.*], the *muḥāḍara* [*q.v.*], and the *sariḳāt* [*q.v.*] which al-Kazwīnī discusses in two supplements (see Mehren, 142-54), though many authors belonging to the older school would have classified them as *badīʿ*. It should be noted, however, that the practice of separating some of these figures from the corpus of the *badīʿ* dates back at least till the 5th/11th century (see S. A. Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, XXVII [1977], 310-12) and may have been initiated by al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), though the latter when he speaks of metaphor and simile as part of the *balāgha* [*q.v.*] does not state explicitly that these are not to be considered *badīʿ* figures (see al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-Kurʾān*, in *Thalāth rasāʾil*, ed. M. Khalaf Allāh and M. Z. Salām, Cairo n.d., 70, ll. 3-4, and the quotation in Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 214). It should also be noted that it is not correct to think of the history of rhetorical studies since the time of al-Kazwīnī as being completely dominated by the system he had introduced: works continuing the older tradition which brought all figures of speech under the heading of *badīʿ* and devoted a separate chapter to each figure [see BADĪʿ] continued to be written (they were especially popular in North Africa and Spain, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 292-3 = Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, and ed. 1967, iii, 336-8), even though these authors were aware of, and probably influenced by, the new trend represented by the *Talkhīṣ* (Ibn Khaldūn suggests that the *Miftāḥ* was the basic text). In many respects, the later history of Arabic rhetoric presents essential, but still unanswered, questions.

Finding adequate translations of the terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* is made complicated by the fact that the relation between grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and between literary theory and literary criticism, is not apparent at first sight. Moreover, the borderline separating the disciplines dealing with these two categories, the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān*, is not always clear. In the *Miftāḥ*, the definitions overlap, and al-Sakkākī himself seems in regard the *ʿilm al-bayān* as a branch of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (see *Miftāḥ*, 77, 156-7, and cf. 77, lines 4-3 from bottom; see also Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī in *Shurūḥ*, iii, 262 and Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 232-5). It is not surprising that al-Kazwīnī felt the need to criticise and reword these definitions and rearrange some of the material. Considering the etymology of the term *bayān* and the definition which al-Kazwīnī gives of the *ʿilm al-bayān* as "the science through which one knows how to express one and the same concept in ways which differ as in the degree of clarity achieved in indicating this concept" (*huwa* ʿ*ilmun ya*ʿ*rafu bihi ḥāla* ʾ*l-maʿnā* ʾ*l-wāḥidi bi-turuḳin mukhtalifatin fī wuḍūḥi* ʾ*l-dalālati ʿalayhi*, *Talkhīṣ*, 66 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 257 ff.; see Mehren, 28-20, 93-4 and BAYĀN, i, 1116a bottom) and its association with the *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*] which involves, among other things, avoiding obscurity (*taʿḳīd*) in sentence structure (*naẓm*) and in the relation between statement and theme (*intiḳāl*, *Talkhīṣ*, 5, 7 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 103 ff., 150; see Mehren, 15-18), the translation "Science of exposition" (Mehren, see "Darstellungslehre") seems justified, but if one keeps in mind that the *ʿilm al-bayān* deals only with the simile (*tashbīh*) (as an introduction to the discussion of the metaphor), the metaphor (*istiʿāra*) [*q.v.*], the analogy (*tamthīl*), the metonymy (*kināya*) [*q.v.*] and the allusion, statement by implication (*taʿrīḍ*), the translation "Science of figurative expression" seems more appropriate.

Even more confusing is the term *maʿānī*, since what is meant is not the study of subjects and themes in poetry (as found in such works as the *Kitāb al-*

Maʿānī al-shiʿr of Ibn Kutayba (*q.v.*) or the *Dīwān al Maʿānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. *ca* 400/1009)), nor a study of lexicography, but essentially a study of those rules of syntax which have a bearing on the theory of functional, appropriate style, or as al Kazwīnī puts it, "finding the proper expression to meet what is required in a given situation" (the full definition of the *ʿilm al maʿānī* is "the science through which one knows the various existing patterns of Arabic speech by means of which it meets the requirements of each situation", *huwa "ʿilmun yuʿrafu bihi aḥwālu 'l-lafẓi 'l-ʿarabiyyi 'llatī bihā yuṭābiqu muqtaḍā 'l ḥāl*); the translation "Semantics of syntax" suggests itself (cf BAYĀN, i, 22a6a "the different kinds of sentence and their use").

The awkwardness of the terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* and the difficulty of finding proper definitions for the two disciplines, *ʿilm al maʿānī* and *ʿilm al bayān*, particularly in their relationship to lexicography and grammar, has not escaped the mediaeval critics (see the interesting observations in Yaḥyā b Ḥamza's *Ṭirāz*, i, 6 18), and one wonders what determined the choice of these terms. The *maʿānī* and *bayān* sections in the *Miftāḥ* were based respectively on the *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz* and the *Asrār al balāgha* by ʿAbd al Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [see AL-DJURDJĀNĪ in Suppl.], and it is in these two works that one would first try to find an answer to this question. On p 64 of the *Dalāʾil*, al Djurdjānī makes clear that sentence composition (*naẓm*) depends on obeying the rules of syntax (which he briefly enumerates), and on p. 65 he declares that determining a correct or faulty *naẓm* always involves a principle of syntax (*maʿnan min maʿānī 'l-naḥw*). On p. 222, ll. 4-5 of the *Asrār* (Ritter's tr., 261 bottom) he qualifies the simile as *maʿnan min al-maʿānī*, apparently meaning a way of formulating a common syntactic construction. It is possible that al-Sakkākī derived the term from al-Djurdjānī's definition of the *naẓm* as essentially a matter of correct syntax, the more so since the chapter on the *maʿānī* in the *Miftāḥ* immediately follows the section on syntax, so that the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* could be seen as an extension of syntax into the realm of rhetoric. It is also possible that he based himself on an earlier model. The term *maʿānī al-naḥw* appears in the famous discussion between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus al-Ḳunnāʾī which took place in 320/932 (see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Muḥāḍarāt*, ed H al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1347/1929, iii, 16119, and *Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed A Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 121, Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii 217, D S. Margoliouth in *JRAS* [1905], 122), but seems to be used there for grammar in its widest sense. Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) in his *al-Ṣāḥibī* (ed M el-Chouémi, Beirut 1382/1964, 179) uses the term *maʿānī al-kalām* for the following categories *khabar*, *istikhbār*, *amr*, *nahy*, *duʿāʾ*, *talab*, *ʿarḍ*, *mukāṭaba*, *tamannī*, and *taʿajjub*, nearly all of which appear also in the *maʿānī* chapters of al-Sakkākī and al-Kazwīnī. The term *naẓm* may have been abandoned because it was too general and had to be associated, as al-Djurdjānī states clearly on pp 300-2 of the *Dalāʾil*, with the use of the *istiʿāra*, the *kināya*, and the *tamthīl* as well as other tropes (*šāʾir ḍurūb al-majāz*). It should be noted, however, that al-Ḳazwīnī (*Īḍāḥ*, i, 57-8) and al-Taftāzānī (*al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, 27) quote a *definition* which gives the term a narrow sense and which was based on al-Djurdjānī (cf *Dalāʾil*, 67 9). However that may be, one cannot deny that there is a certain logic in the new arrangement introduced by al-Sakkākī and al Kazwīnī as long as one sees the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* as a set of rather strict rules governing the art of correct sentence structure, the purpose of which was to demonstrate that changes in word order almost invariably lead to changes in meaning, the *ʿilm al-bayān* as an analysis of figurative expressions which, one might argue, the writer is free to use but which, since they are the product of his creativity and often lend clarity and distinction to his style are by necessity part of any theory of style, and the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* as a list of "embellishments" which are not essential criteria of a good style, but which are nevertheless applied quite frequently. It is conceivable that al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī tried to programme the study of rhetoric in such a way that the reader would become familiar first with the elementary skills of composition, then with the characteristics of literature as a form of art, and finally with some stylistic devices used by accomplished poets and writers. It is true that much of what comes under the heading of *ʿilm al-maʿānī* is syntax or formal logic; but very often one finds that these statements of rules and principles explain how the speaker ought to convey a certain mood which requires him to emphasise, exaggerate, play on the hearer's imagination, or conform to a given situation by making tacit assumptions about what is known or acceptable to his audience, etc. This unquestionably draws the *ʿilm al maʿānī* into the sphere of rhetoric and oratory. The use of the term *bayān* may reflect the view that metaphors should be used since they are sometimes more effective than terms used in their proper sense. Or the term may have been chosen simply because it was often associated with this aspect of *balāgha* (see BAYĀN, i, 1121a, see also al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat*, 79, l 12 and cf. *A Fatimid manual*, 313-19 al-Rummānī speaks of the metaphor as leading to a *balāgha bayān* not possible if the proper terms were used). One could suggest that al-Sakkākī had in mind the formulation of a concept in an unconventional, artful manner (and as such different from the common methods described in the *maʿānī* chapter) (cf BAYĀN, i, 1116a bottom, cf. also *al-Nukat*, 98, ll. 2-15, and *A Fatimid manual*, 317, l 12—318, l. 11), but no other examples of *bayān* being used specifically as a term for figurative expressions are known to exist. The terms *maʿānī* and *bayān* appear in al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) *al-Kashshāf* and in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) *Nihāyat al-iʿjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿjāz*. Al-Zamakhsharī made frequent use of al-Djurdjānī, and al-Rāzī's *Nihāya* is actually a digest of al-Djurdjānī. But both authors use the terms in too vague a way to justify any conclusions, and, consequently, al-Sakkākī, who knew both the *Kashshāf* and the *Nihāya* cannot have derived his definitions from these two books. He speaks however of "scholars" or "leaders" in the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* without specifying who they are (*Miftāḥ* 95, 119, 121, see *khiṭāb*, *al-Sakkākī*, 119-20), and thus could of course be taken as an indication that he was not the first to introduce *maʿānī* as a term for a more or less clearly defined category of rhetorical studies.

How difficult it is to keep the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* completely separated appears from the treatment of the *majāz* as part of the chapter on attribution (*isnād*) in the *maʿānī* section of the *Talkhīṣ* (60-73 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 224 72, cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār*, 342-5 = 399 4oa of the translation): al Kazwīnī discusses sentences such as "The springtime made the herbage come forth" for "God made the herbage come forth" where there is a "trope of the intellect"

(*maḥṣūr aḥū*), i.e. the hearer's realisation that it is the Creator who makes the herbage come forth, while the terms "springtime" and "made [the herbage] come forth" are used in their original sense, and "The springtime made the earth come to life" where there is not only a trope of the intellect in the relation between subject and predicate, but also a tropical use of "made [the earth] come to life" for "covered [the earth] with herbage". Al-Kazwīnī points out that the hearer cannot do without a "frame of reference" (*ḥarīna*) supplied by an element in the context or the result of logical reflection which enables him to understand that the sentences are not to be taken in their literal meaning (see Maṭlūb, *al-Kazwīnī*, 355-72, for views on this point by al-Kazwīnī's predecessors and followers; see also Mehren, 30-1, 75-6). However, al-Kazwīnī gives no further attention in this section to the association that makes it possible to use "come to life" in the sense of "come forth", since this is a question that belongs to the *ʿilm al-bayān*. It would be wrong, however, to see the *ʿilm al-bayān* or a science that is exclusively concerned with individual words used metaphorically in a certain context (involving, of course, once some a discussion of the *ḥarīna*) and of the associations which make such metaphors acceptable (cf. *Miftāḥ*, 157, ll. 5-9) in phrases such as "I see you advancing one foot while at the same time moving backwards with the other", which are intended as analogies (*tamṯīl*), the words are used in their original, proper meaning, though the sentence as a whole is used metaphorically to describe someone who is reluctant to commit himself (*Talḫīṣ*, 86 = *Shurūḥ*, iv, 143 ff., see Mehren, 38-9), and in the metonymy "He has many ashes [around his hearth]" there is no need to attribute a (tropical sense to any term in the sentence in order to conclude that what the speaker wants to say is that the man often prepares meals and therefore must be a generous person who entertains many guests (*Talḫīṣ*, 92 = *Shurūḥ*, iv, 256 ff., see Mehren, 41-2). Moreover, al-Kazwīnī considers the *tašbīh* as essentially a form of simile (*taṯbīh*) (67 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 287 ff., see Mehren, 53-4 this theory may go back to al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat*, 79 ll. 5-10, see Heinrichs, *The hand*, 14, 42, and Bonebakker *A Fatimid manual*, 313-14 and was adopted by al-Sakkākī's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213), see Yaḥyā b Ḥamza, *Ṭarāz*, i, 260-1 and Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 275, as well as by al-Sakkākī himself, *Miftāḥ*, 157, ll. 22 ff.), and therefore introduces a detailed chapter on the *taṯbīh* in the *bayān* section before dealing with the *tašbīh*. The *maʿānī* chapter, however, also deals briefly with the simile when it analyses the *ʿuṣūl* (*kalb*) which, if applied to the simile, results in a hyperbole (*Talḫīṣ*, 27 = *Shurūḥ*, i, 488 ff., and the *taṯbīh maḥṣūr* chapter in *Talḫīṣ*, 74 = *Shurūḥ*, iii, 407 ff., see Mehren, 24-5, 68-9). Finally, as mentioned earlier, the *maʿānī* chapter includes figures (e.g. *iltifāt*, *tawziʿ*, *iʿtirāḍ*, *taḏyīl*, *takmīl* or *tatmīm* and *ʿirṣād*) which scholars following the older schools would have identified as *badīʿ*. In making these figures part of the *maʿānī* chapter, al-Kazwīnī may have been the first to separate them from the corpus of the *badīʿ* (see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 138; idem, *al-Kazwīnī*, 316).

The works by al-Sakkākī and al-Kazwīnī and their school cannot stand comparison with the two books by ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Djurdjānī on which they were based. On the surface, the chapters on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* appear as nothing more than digests of al-Djurdjānī, the *maʿānī* sections, generally speaking, corresponding to the *Dalāʾil* and the *bayān* sections to the *Asrār*. Whereas in al-Djurdjānī the relation of his theories to the practice of literary criticism is always clear, his followers seem to be interested only in presenting a skeleton of these theories and in finding convenient means of recognising and classifying patterns of syntax and figurative expressions, and in offering concise definitions. It is easy to see that al-Djurdjānī's attention to detail, and his method of discussing the same problem in different contexts and handling it from different angles, should have invited attempts to offer his arguments and conclusions in a more convenient form. Still, the foundations laid by al-Djurdjānī and his psychological and logical analysis of literature as a work of art were not entirely obscured, and this is no doubt the reason why al-Sakkākī's unsuccessful attempt to subject the two works to a rigid system of classification and al-Kazwīnī's subsequent effort to make an intelligible, though extremely concise, revision and digest of al-Sakkākī gave rise to an extensive literature of commentaries and supra-commentaries (al-Kazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ* did not go far enough to clarify his *Talḫīṣ*). One admires the critical acumen and profound learning that characterise this literature and its concern to do full justice in every point of view, in spite of much casuistry in the classification of categories and the chains of technical terms. Outstanding examples are the two commentaries on the *Talḫīṣ* by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), the *Sharḥ muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* (see *EI*[1], art. AL-TAFTAZĀNĪ for other titles used for the same works).

In the prefaces to the *Talḫīṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ*, al-Kazwīnī informs us that he has changed the arrangement of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*, had recourse to al-Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil* and to his *Asrār* (both quoted to the *Talḫīṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ*), as well as to other texts which he does not specify, and included some of his own ideas. According to Maṭlūb (*al-Kazwīnī*, 198-228), he used Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1002), Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1073) (on al-Khafādjī's *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, see FASĀWA, ii, 824b-825b), al-Zamakhsharī, Diyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) (q.v.), Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256), Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and he may have used al-Rummānī. Other digests of the *Miftāḥ* which, if we may believe Ibn Khaldūn (see the passage quoted above), included a digest of the rhetorical section of the *Miftāḥ* by al-Sakkākī himself, apparently did not meet with the same measure of success. The same al-Taftāzānī who composed the *Sharḥ muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* wrote his own commentary on the *Miftāḥ* which survives in manuscript (Selheim, 307). Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik wrote a *Miṣbāḥ fī ʿIlmayʾ al-miftāḥ* which should not be confused with his *Miṣbāḥ fī 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* (Selheim, 315, 333, correcting Brockelmann). The latter work has been recognised by Ahlwardt (no 7249, pp. 394b-396a) and Selheim (316) as an independent system of rhetoric, though it may have been influenced by the "standardisation" established by al-Sakkākī. Maṭlūb (*al-Sakkākī*, 382) goes farther and finds that the *Miṣbāḥ* is no more than a "reduced size copy" of the *Miftāḥ*, though in his book on al-Kazwīnī (30-1, cf. also 180, 229) he points out some important differences between the two texts. In addition, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik wrote a book with the title *Rawḥ al-adhhān fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān* which was used by Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 773/1372) (q.v.) in his *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ fī*

sharḥ talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ (see *Sharḥ*, i, 30, 259, 376 and elsewhere) and is preserved in a manuscript in Leiden (see Maṭlūb, *al-Kawnīyāt*, 92, 684). According to Maṭlūb, it was written before the (second) *Miftāḥ* and was like its companion volume essentially a digest of the *Miftāḥ*, the first such text to reach Egypt. The substantial agreement between the *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Miftāḥ* appears clearly from a comparison of the definitions of the *maʿānī* and the *bayān* and, to a lesser extent, from a comparison of the tables of contents. Where the two books show an important difference is in the use of the term *badīʿ* (see above) and to the detailed treatment which the *badīʿ* receives in the *Miftāḥ* (which falls outside the scope of this article).

Much more interesting as an independent study of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and the *ʿilm al-bayān* than Badr al-Dīn the Mālikī's *Miṣbāḥ* is another little known work, the *Tuḥfa al-muṭaʿammim li-asrār al-balāgha wa-ʿulūm balāgh* al-ʿIrāḳī of al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī (d. 747/1346; see Brockelmann II, 188, S II, 242). A curious aspect of this book is that the author apparently knew neither the two books by al-Ḳazwīnī nor al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ* and that it cannot be precisely determined where he found the quotations from the *Miftāḥ* which as much influenced his thinking (see Maṭlūb, *al-Sakkākī*, 359-60). In the preface (i, 3-4), he acknowledges that he used the *Maṯal al-sāʾir* by [Diyāʾ al-Dīn] Ibn al-Aṯīr, "the *Tuḥfa* by the shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm", the *Nihāyat [al-īgāz fī dirāyat al-iʿjāz]* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (which, as mentioned earlier, was a compendium of the *Dalāʾil* and the *Asrār*), and the *Miṣbāḥ* of Ibn Sinān (*sic*) al-Mālikī Maṭlūb (*al-Sakkākī*, 358-9) does not seem to be in any doubt that this last work is identical with the *Miṣbāḥ fī ʿIlmayʾ al-miftāḥ* of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and believes that it was from this abridged version of the *Miftāḥ* that Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza derived his knowledge of al-Sakkākī. He apparently also feels certain that the work by ʿAbd al-Karīm is the *Tuḥfa* of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Zamlakānī (d. 651/1253; see also Maṭlūb's ed. of this work [Baghdād 1385/1965], 17). Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza quotes several other important authors, such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim?) al-Āmidī (d. 370/980-1), al-Rummānī, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, al-Muṭarrizī, and al-Khafājī, of whose works, however, he may not have had direct knowledge. He must also have been thoroughly familiar with al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* (a work that gives much attention to the stylistic excellence of the Kurʾān and made use of al-Jurjānī), since the *Tuḥfa* was intended as an introduction to the author's lectures on the *Kashshāf* (i, 3). The work has a much wider scope than the works by al-Sakkākī, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, and al-Ḥanwīnī. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza explains his views in great detail and offers copious examples. That the *Tuḥfa* was not an imitation of any of these earlier texts is clear also from its arrangement. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza divides his work into three lengthy "subjects" or chapters (*funūn*), a series of introductory remarks (i, 3), a chapter dealing with the *bayān*, the *maʿānī*, and the *badīʿ* (i, 183), and a third chapter dealing with the inimitability of the Kurʾān (iii, 213). The second chapter, which interests us here, deals first with the *istiʿāra*, the *tashbīh* (which Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza considers a subject far more complicated than the *istiʿāra*), the *kināya*, the *taʿrīḍ*, and the *tamthīl*. Next come two sections qualified as belonging to the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (cf. i, 196), the first of which deals with the semantics (*dalāla*) of individual words and sentences (ii, 9), and the second with matters of style (ii, 221) as far as these two can be kept apart (cf. ii, 221-2). The chapter ends with a discussion of the *badīʿ* (ii, 353).

As noted earlier, there are numerous commentaries on the *Talkhīṣ*, as well as supra-commentaries and glosses. An authoritative and informative list of many of these, with valuable information on manuscripts, appears in Sellheim, 310-15. A collection of commentaries which comprises not only al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ* and al-Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar*, but also the *Maʿārib al-fuṭūṭ* of Ibn Yaʿḳūb al-Maghribī (wrote 1108/1696; see Brockelmann, S I, 518, m) the *ʿArāʾis al-afrāḥ* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (see above), and the *Ḥāshiya* of the *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ʿArafa al-Dasūḳī (d. 1230/1815; see Brockelmann, II, 84, S II, 98 and Maṭlūb, *al-Kawnīyāt*, 592-7) was published in Cairo in 1937 (and earlier in Būlāḳ in 1318/1900-1, according to Brockelmann, S I, 516, 34) in four volumes. Mention should also be made of the *Sharḥ ʿuḳūd al-jumān fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa ʾl-bayān* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) [*q.v.*], a versification of the *Talkhīṣ* to which the author himself wrote a commentary, and the well-known commentary on the verses quoted in the *Talkhīṣ* known as the *Maʿāhid al-tansīṣ ʿalā* (*or fī sharḥ*) *shawāhid al-talkhīṣ* by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), both of which were printed in several editions (see Brockelmann, I, 296, S I, 519).

The popularity which the system of al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī has enjoyed to this day is shown by such works as the edition by M. ʿA. Khafājī of al-Ḳazwīnī's *Īḍāḥ*, Cairo 1368-70/1949-51, which contains extensive notes on the interpretation of the text and the history of the genre, and by modern works on the *sec'dal* and the *bayān* such as the *Bughyat al-īḍāḥ li-talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* of ʿA. al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1380/1960-2, in four volumes and the *Djawāhir al-balāgha fī ʿIlmay'l-bayān wa-'l-badīʿ* by A. al-Hāshimī, Cairo 1379/1960, a work intended for school use. Other works are listed by Maṭlūb in his book on al-Ḳazwīnī (613-17). A complete survey of literature based directly or indirectly on al-Sakkākī and al-Ḳazwīnī remains to be written; it should include such interesting works as the unpublished *Badīʿiyyat al-tawshīḥ* by Ibn Djābir (d. 780/1378), a didactic poem based on the *badīʿ* section of the *Īḍāḥ* with a commentary by Ibn Djābir's friend, al-Ruʿaynī (d. 779/1377, see Brockelmann, II, 131, 122, S II, 6, 138), the *Badīʿiyya* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. around 750/1349, see Brockelmann, II, 259, S II, 199) which tests, among the works consulted by the author, the *Miftāḥ* and works based on the *Miftāḥ*, and *badīʿiyyas* by other authors that might contain elements of the same tradition.

An excellent summary of the *ʿilm al-bayān* and the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* is found in Mehren's *Rhetorik*. Mehren *based his use of the Talkhīṣ, the two commentaries* by al-Taftāzānī, and the *ʿUḳūd* by al-Suyūṭī. Other texts were known to the author and occasionally used by him (see pp. iv-v and 3-13). Mehren also dealt briefly with the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (18-29), but apparently gave up his place to deal with this discipline in a separate publication (p. v). However, the technical terms in the *sec'dal* chapters, as far as they pertain to rhetoric, are sometimes the same as those of the *bayān* which are adequately explained in Mehren, or they are common *badīʿ* terms which can be identified in handbooks composed by authors who followed the "older" school, such as the *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr* of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, ed. Ḥ. M. Sharaf, Cairo 1383/1963

Another useful introduction is the article by M Weisweiler, *ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī's Werk über die Unnachahmlichkeit des Koranes und seine syntaktisch-stilistischen Lehren*, in *Orient*, xiii 2 (1958), 77-102, which, though intended as a summary of the *Dalāʾil*, can be used on a study of the *ʿIlm al-maʿānī* and thus makes up in a large measure for the omission of this section from Mehren's book.

Bibliography (for more detailed information on existing editions of Arabic texts listed in the article or in this bibliography, see Brockelmann and the relevant articles in *EI*[1] and *EI*[2]). ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1367/1947-8; idem, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed H Ritter, Istanbul 1954; idem, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, übersetzt von H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959, al-Sakkākī, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī ʿilm al-maʿānī wa ʾl-bayān wa ʾl-badīʿ*, Cairo 1342/1923, al-Ḳazwīnī, Djalāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḵaṭīb Dimashḳ, *Matn al-talḵīṣ fī ʿilm al-balāgha*, Cairo n.d (Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī) Tashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, ed. K. K. Bakrī and ʿA. Abu ʾl-Nūr, Cairo 1968, i. 200-14; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 473-9, 1762-8 (= Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flugel, ii, 402-13, vi, 25-28), A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853 (repr. Hildesheim-New York 1970); J Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873 (repr Amsterdam 1970); W Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XVIII Bd = *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, VI Bd, Berlin 1894, 363-412 (tables of contents of texts mentioned in this article and of other texts belonging to the same tradition); Brockelmann, I, 294-6, II, 22, S I, 525-29, 965, S II, 25-28; A. Maṭlūb, *al-Balāgha ʿind al-Sakkākī*, Baghdād 1384/1964; idem *al-Kawfiyyūn wa-shurūḥ al-talḵīṣ*, Baghdād 1387/1967; idem, *Mustalaḥāt balāghiyya*, Baghdād 1392/1972 (useful summary of the two preceding works), R Sellheim, *Materialen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Teil I (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd xvii, Reihe A *Arabische Handschriften*), Wiesbaden 1976, W. Heinrichs, *The kasā of the Northwind: openness on metaphor and the early meaning of Istiʿāra in Arabic poetics*, in *Abh K.M.*, Bd xliv/2, Wiesbaden 1977 (the term *istiʿāra* with observations on al Sakkākī's use of this term). (S A. BONEBAKKER)

2. In Persian. The rhetorical system innovated by al Sakkākī and his school did not meet with particular attention in the field of Persian rhetoric. One of the few books written in Persian and following his system of devices is contained in the ms Madjlis 4366 (cf. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i Kitābḵāna-yi Shūrā-yi milī*, xiii, Tehran 1968, 3034). It seems, however, that no attempt has been undertaken, so far, to look for a creative adaptation of the above-mentioned system to the exigences of Persian language and literature. Even one of the latest treatments of this scheme of ideas, the *Muʿīnu al-balāgha dar ʿilm-i maʿānī wa-bayān wa-badīʿ*, by M. Kh Radjāʾī, Shīrāz 1962 and ʿ1975, contents itself with illustrating the two rhetorical categories by means of the well-known Arabic quotations, just complementing them by some Persian examples for clearer reference.

Persian scholars of rhetoric, at all times, were mainly interested in rhetorical figures and the rhetorical art (*ṣanāʿāt*). These are assigned by al-Sakkākī to the third rhetorical category (*badīʿ*), as far as they are not simile, metaphor, metonymy, analogy, etc The basis work dealing with this subject is, however, not the *Miftāḥ* written by him, but the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (see also the foreword by A Iḳbāl to his edition of this work, Tehran 1308 ʿsh.).

To understand this phenomenon, we have to bear in mind that al-Sakkākī based himself on the study of Kurʾānic modes of expression, whereas in Persian literature such a sacrosanct linguistic monument was non-existent, and with it the motive for analogous considerations. Al Sakkākī himself was a Persian, as was his famous predecessor al-Djurdjānī and as were some of his commentators, for instance al-Taftāzānī. They all wrote in Arabic about an essentially Arabic subject, so that whoever wanted to deal with the material, had to have a good knowledge of Arabic. Persian elaborations of the above theory, therefore became quite superfluous Not surprisingly, a number of manuscripts of the Arabic commentaries and supra-commentaries are at present to be found in Persian libraries. (B. EMBER)

MAʿĀRIF (*a.*), education, public instruction. The word is the pl. of *maʿrifa* "knowledge". The term was already used in mediaeval times to denote the secular subjects of knowledge or culture in general (e.g to the title of Ibn Ḳutayba's *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*), in opposition to the religious sciences (*ʿulūm*, pl. of *ʿilm*)

1. In the Ottoman Empire and the central and eastern Arab lands

It seems that the official use of the term appears for the first time in the Ottoman Empire in 1838, when a school for educating government officials was established in Istanbul and was named *Maḥfil-i Maʿārif-i ʿAdliyye* After that, the term was frequently used in Turkish to indicate education Thus the first governmental body charged with the administration and supervision of the budding system of state schools which was created in 1845 was called *Muvaḳḳatat Maʿārif Meclisi*, Provisional Council of Education This was the forerunner of the Ministry of Public Instruction, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmumiyye-i Neẓāreti*, established in 1857 It is noteworthy that the first directorate of the new state schools, which had been created in 1839, was called *Mekātib-i Rüshdiyye Neẓareti* and did not include the new term *maʿārif*, perhaps because it was a department within the Ministry of Pious Foundations under the *Shaykh al-Islām*. The Ministry of Education was renamed in 1920 by the Kemalists *Maʿārif Vekaleti* In 1933, with the language reform in Turkey, the former Arabic-Ottoman Turkish-sounding term was replaced by a purely Turkish one, and the Ministry was renamed *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*, Ministry of National Education, which has remained the official term, although *maarif* is still a common word in Turkish for education, along with the neologism *eğitim*.

The use of the word *maʿārif* for public education became current in Egypt and Iran in the 19th century, almost certainly under the influence of the Ottoman term Both in Egypt and in Iran the official use of the term to designate the system of education was avoided for about half a century When the first Ministry of Education was formed in Egypt in 1837, it was simply called *Dīwān al-Madāris* (*Meḥāris Dīvānī* in Turkish), the Department of Schools. Only since the Khedive Ismāʿīl's rule (1863-79) was the Ministry of Public Instruction

called *naẓāral* (later, in 1915, *wizārat*) *al-maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*. The term *maʿārif* was universally used for "education" in the Ministries of Education of the Arab successor-states of the Ottoman Empire and until the mid-1930s, also in Iran. Only after the Egyptian Revolution, at the beginning of the school year 1954-5, was the Ministry of Public Instruction renamed *Wizārat al-tarbiya wa 'l-taʿlīm*, literally "Ministry of Education and Instruction". The Minister of Education explained that the change aimed to emphasise the shift from the static and passive "knowledge" to the dynamic process of education and the teaching of various skills. It may be suggested that additional reasons were behind the decision to do away with the term *maʿārif*. Although the word is of an Arabic origin, Arabic was less comfortable with it in the sense of education than Ottoman and even modern Turkish. The expression *daʾīrat al-maʿārif*, for example, has the double meaning of "Department of Education" and "encyclopaedia". The dropping of the old and, from the Arabic point of view, the somewhat clumsy term *maʿārif* should be also viewed against the background of the Arabisation after the Egyptian revolution of 1952 of the official nomenclature, which had still retained many Turkish terms in the civil administration and in the Army. Following the Egyptian example, the other Arab countries replaced in the fifties the term *maʿārif* with *tarbiya* or *tarbiya wa-taʿlīm* for their Ministries of Education. It further seems that the word *maʿārif* in the sense of education is dying out in Arabic in the non-official usage also.

1. The Ottoman Empire and Turkey

The beginning of modern education in the Ottoman Empire. — Islamic society had traditionally the highest regard for the pursuit of knowledge, *ʿilm*, but education was considered as a religious or communal matter of no concern to the state. Muslim children were taught the Kurʾān and the basics of religion in the Kurʾān schools, the *mekteb* (Arabic *maktab* or *kuttāb* [q.v.]). Higher religious studies were given in the *madrasa* [q.v.] (Turkish pronunciation, *medrese*). The traditional educational institutions were financed by private donations, but mainly by the *waḳfs*, pious foundations. The religious educational system was entirely within the jurisdiction of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The traditional religious education had not changed substantially for centuries and was quite uniform, some local variations notwithstanding. The modernised, state directed, and at least partially secularised education which was called *maʿārif* emerged only in the 19th century, although there were some hesitant beginnings in the 18th century. These had been prompted by the Ottoman defeats at the hands of the European powers. The Ottoman government realised that it had to improve the training of its officers and that this could be accomplished only by borrowing European training methods and techniques.

As early as 1734 a school of engineering, *Heudesekhāne*, was established in Üsküdar. This first institution was to be shortlived, but in the last quarter of the 18th century more successful efforts to found military schools were made. After the Ottoman navy was burned by the Russians, the Ottomans established in 1776 a new Imperial Naval Engineering School, *Mühendis-khāne-yi Bahri-yi Hümayūn*. In order to train army artillery officers, an Imperial Land Engineering School, *Mühendis khāne-yi Berri-yi Hümayūn* was founded in 1794 (or in 1796). These military schools were staffed largely by French officers, and European textbooks, especially translated for the cadets, were used there.

Maḥmūd II. — Yet the first real educational beginning in the Ottoman Empire belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd II (1801-39), who was following the example of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Egypt's modernising Pasha. Maḥmūd's first significant step in the field of education was issuing an edict which stated that "the majority of people lately avoid sending their children to school and prefer to give them to a trade as novices to artisans when they reach the age of five or six because of their ambition to earn money immediately. This condition is the cause not only of widespread illiteracy but also of ignorance of religion . . . No man henceforth shall prevent his children from attending school until they have reached the age of adulthood . . ." This edict cannot be considered as a compulsory education law, and it contained nothing to change the traditional aims and structure of elementary education, but it did mark a departure from the past by declaring the direct involvement of the state as such in the education of children. Maḥmūd realised that in order to reform the army, the reactionary forces should be eliminated. Therefore he destroyed the Janissaries in 1826, as Muḥammad ʿAlī had massacred the *mamlūks* in 1811. It is no coincidence that the greater part of Maḥmūd's educational activity took place after that date. It was to be typical of educational development in the Middle East that reform in the school system started from the top, by establishing modern specialised schools to train officers, doctors, engineers and administrators for the army and the civil bureaucracy. The higher, specialised schools were unrelated to the traditional educational system, the elementary schools especially saw very little change until the 1908 revolution. Because of this, students of engineering and medicine in the first higher schools had to study such elementary subjects as arithmetic, Turkish grammar and French. Eventually, the higher institutions of learning had to form their own preparatory sections, until the state gradually developed the higher-elementary and secondary stages of the educational system. An impressive number of higher schools were founded during the reign of Maḥmūd II. In 1827 Maḥmūd opened a medical school in Istanbul to train doctors for the army, less than a month after the opening of Muḥammad ʿAlī's medical school in Cairo. The Imperial Music School was inaugurated in 1831. In 1832 the *Djerrāḥ khāne*, another medical school for the training of surgeons, was founded. In 1834 the *Harbiyye*, the Military Academy was opened. It was modelled on St. Cyr, and indeed the French influence was dominant at this school. In 1838 a Law School was opened. Among the educational achievements of Maḥmūd's reign should be mentioned the first students' mission to European capitals, which started in 1834 (according to one source in 1827), also by following Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, who was the first Middle Eastern ruler to adopt his method of training specialists for his army and administration. Another method to raise the educational standards of his army was to establish training units within the military corps (1832).

Toward the end of the reign of Maḥmūd II, two schools of a new kind were created, the *Mekteb-i Maʿārif-i ʿAdliyye*, the so-called *ʿAdlī* (after a title of Maḥmūd II) School of Science, a school designed specifically to train employees for government offices (1838), and the *Mekteb-i ʿUlūm-i Edebiyye*

School of Literary Sciences, to train translators and interpreters (1839). These schools taught, among other things, modern subjects such as French, geography and mathematics. Mahmūd's educational system created a new type of school, the *rüshdiyye*, higher elementary school (from *rüshd*, meaning "adolescence"), which was to serve throughout the 19th century as an important link between the elementary schools and the higher stages, which were somewhat modernised and secularised, although lip-service to religion was always paid. As has already been mentioned, Mahmūd's reign also initiated the first government offices which were charged with administering and supervising the new schools: the forerunners of the Ministry of Education. One of them was the *Meğlis-i Umūr-i Nāfi'a*, the Board of Useful Affairs, established in 1838, which among other things constructed schools. Another body was the Department of the *rüshdiyye*, *Mekātib-i Rüshdiyye Nezāreti* (1839). Despite the impressive record of Mahmūd's period, one must remember that the number of students exposed to the new education was severely hampered by lack of teachers and by difficulties of language and terminology.

The Tanzīmāt — The period of the Ottoman Reforms, the *Tanzīmāt* (*q.v.*) (1839-76), brought about a real breakthrough in all the spheres of education organisation, legislation and development. In 1845 the *Muvakkat-i Ma'ārif Meğlisi*, Provisional Board of Education was formed, in the next year it became *Mekātib-i 'Umūmiyye Nezāreti*, Ministry of Public Schools, and was replaced in 1857 by the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1852 the Society of the Learned, *Encümen-i Dānish*, was formed with the purpose of sponsoring Ottoman culture and contributing to education. It was active only for a few years and did not accomplish much. In 1868 a Council of State was set up. The Council had five sections, after the French model, one of which was in charge of agriculture and public instruction. A Higher Council for general education was formed in 1869 within the Ministry of Education, on which representatives of the non-Muslim communities (*millets* (*q.v.*)) also served. Subordinate to this central council, provincial councils were established in each province as part of the local government. During the *Tanzīmāt* era, important innovations were introduced. For the first time programmes and regulations were issued to all the elementary schools of the empire (1847). In 1870 a similar set of regulations concerning the *rüshdiyye* schools was circulated. In 1846 'Alī and Fu'ād, two of the chief reformers, prepared an ambitious but unrealistic scheme to reorganise the entire educational ladder from the *sibyān* elementary schools up to the university. With the foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1857, another scheme for the organisation of the school system was prepared, which provided for an elementary school (*mekteb-i sibyān*) of 4 grades (ages 7-10), secondary school (*rüshdiyye*) of 3 grades (ages 11-13), from which the graduate could continue in various higher institutions of learning, including the *Mülkiyye*, a school which was actually founded only in 1859 to prepare civil servants.

In 1286/1869 a comprehensive law of reorganisation of the state school system was issued. This time the scheme was more thorough than previous attempts aiming at the rationalisation of the school system and integrating all that which had been achieved till that date. The Ottoman Education Law was inspired by the European legislation of the day, and perhaps also followed the Egyptian Education Law of 1867. The Ottoman law classified schools in the empire into public (*'umūmiyye*) and private (*khususiyye*). The former were graded as elementary (*sibyāniyye*) higher elementary (*rüshdiyye*), lower secondary (*'idādiyye*) and higher secondary (*sultāniyye*). At the top there were higher institutions of learning, technical, agricultural, and teacher training, and the state university (*Dār al-Fünūn*). Already in 1868 a compulsory education law had been issued, according to which all boys aged 7-11 and all girls aged 6-10 had to go to school. The 1869 law provided for a *sibyān* school in every village or town quarter, a *rüshdiyye* in towns with 500 or more families, and an *'idādiyye* in communities with 1,000 families or more. A *sultāniyye* secondary school was to be established in every provincial capital. The actual development of Ottoman education, however, lagged behind the scheme, for lack of funds, teachers and facilities. By 1876 there were only 362 *rüshdiyyes*, and only one *sultāniyye* school was opened for a long time to come. As for the University, the first public lectures were held in 1863, but it was soon closed down. In 1870 another attempt to open the *Dār al-Fünūn* was short-lived. Only in 1900 was the university finally organised.

The *Tanzīmāt* period began with the promulgation of the famous *Khatt-i Sherīf* ("Noble Rescript") of 1839 which proclaimed, at least implicitly, the principles of the equality of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of creed, and which opened the new state schools to non-Muslim children. The *Khatt-i Hümayūn* of 1856 made these promises explicit. Generally, the *Tanzīmāt* period witnessed some genuine attempts to integrate the non-Muslim elements in Ottoman society, and it was realised that this could best be achieved through education. Midhat Pasha (*q.v.*), the famous reformer and administrator, established integrated schools while he was the governor of the *wilāyet* of the Danube. The first major breach in religious barriers against mixed education occurred in September 1868 with the establishment of the *Lycée* of Ghalata-sarāy, which was to be a conscious copy of the French *lycée*. The school offered a European-style curriculum in a five-year course and religious education for students of the main Ottoman millets, the Muslim children constituted about one-half of the student body. In its first years, the administration and the staff were mainly French. But in the seventies the French influence decreased and the school became increasingly Turkish in character. Robert College, the Protestant counterpart of Ghalata-sarāy, had already been in existence since 1863.

The *Tanzīmāt* period is also to be credited with the first institutes of teachers' training. The idea of state supervision of the teachers belongs to the time of Mahmūd II, but nothing had been done before the *Tanzīmāt* to train teachers formally, *medrese* graduates were considered as qualified teachers. The first college of teacher training (*dār al-mu'allimīn*) for the *rüshdiyyes* was opened in 1848 in Istanbul. The first normal school for girls (*dār al-mu'allimāt*) was founded in 1870, and by 1908 there were 33 teachers' training institutes throughout the empire.

The *Tanzīmāt* period saw a determined effort to spread education to the provinces. The *wilāyet* Law of 1871 made provisions for provincial educational administration. In 1872 a decree for reform in the elementary schools in the provinces was issued.

Perhaps most important, the organised under-

taking of female education was original to the *Tanẓīmāt*. Coeducation was practised in the elementary *mektebs*, but was impossible in the *rüshdiyye*. Around 1862, separate schools for girls were established. The educational scheme of 1869 provided for the first time for education for girls, where such subjects as sewing and cooking were taught, and the first female teachers for girls' trade schools were appointed in 1873.

To sum up, the educational efforts of the *Tanẓīmāt* meant that new forms emerged, a network of military and civilian schools developed, pioneer work in the fields of education of girls and teacher training was started, contacts with Europe continued, including consultations with European education experts, student missions were sent, and the Ottoman School in Paris (1857-74) became a centre for the Ottoman students in that city. During the *Tanẓīmāt*, the gap between the secular and the religious in Ottoman society widened considerably.

The Constitutional, Hamidian and Young Turk periods. — The Constitution of 1876 reiterated the principle of compulsory and free primary education and the concept of a centralised and somewhat secularised school system. The state did not interfere with religious education in the elementary schools and in the *medreses* which remained the province of the *'ulamā'*.

Although the long reign of sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) was a time of despotism and political reaction, the sultan carried on his predecessors' educational activities. He imposed strict censorship on curricula and textbooks and his spies bedevilled the lives of teachers, students and intellectuals. Yet during his rule the literacy rate tripled, many schools were opened, new types of higher institutions of learning were established and the first modern university in the Muslim world was finally founded (1900). During the period 1879-99 the number of the *rüshdiyyes* rose from 253 to 389. The network of military schools was developed there were 29 military *rüshdiyyes* in 1897. In accordance with his overall Islamic and Arab policy, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II paid more attention to education in the Arab and other Muslim non-Turkish provinces than had been done previously. A typical example of this policy was the *'Ashīret Mektebi*, School of the Tribes, which was opened in Beşiktāsh in 1894 and lasted until 1907. This school trained teachers, officers and administrators from the Arab, Kurdish and Albanian provinces. In 1885 the sultan decreed that every provincial capital should have its own teacher training college. In the same year he imposed an 'assistance tax', a share of which was set apart for education. A medical school was opened in Damascus in 1903. It was then transferred to Beirut in 1916, and finally closed down in 1918. The network of military schools was extended, and in 1904 military schools were opened in Damascus, Baghdād, Erzurum, Edirne, and Monastir. Law schools were established in 1907 in Konya, Selonika and Baghdād.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd sponsored the opening of schools of finance (1878), fine arts (1879), commerce (1882), engineering (1884) a school for the blind and deaf (1889), veterinary services (1889), police (1891) and customs (1892). Generally, vocational and technical education was emphasised, and courses to train telegraphic operators and steamboat mechanics were given. The institutions of higher learning developed vigorously under 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's rule, although the sultan realised that these could endanger his régime. Indeed, the first revolutionary group was organised in the military medical school in 1889. Similar circles were eventually successful in bringing about the 1908 revolution, which ushered in the period of the Young Turks, or the 'Second Constitution', which lasted until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The turbulent last ten years of the empire witnessed some basic changes in the approach to education. It can be stated that in this short period the educational system was transformed through modernisation and secularisation, preparing the road for the future Kemalist reforms. Besides the institutional and legal reforms in Turkish education, which will be presently discussed, new concepts about education came to the fore. As N. Berkes has aptly put it, "If the word *maarif* symbolises the era opened by Mahmud II, the term *terbiye* will represents the Meşrutiyet era, and signifies an important improvement over the first". Thus, to the concept of knowledge, the idea of education was now added. This era saw the emergence of the first professional Ottoman pedagogues, such as Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥiṣrī (who would be later better known as an Arab educator and nationalist), Riḍā Tewfīk, Selīm Sırrī and Ismā'īl Ḥakkī, who promoted the publication of psychological and pedagogical literature. While the educational model during the *Tanẓīmāt* was the French system, the educators of the *Meşrūtiyyet* turned to the Anglo-Saxon education system for inspiration.

There were significant beginnings of secularisation. The first teachers' organisations appeared. The struggle between the *Müdjia* (clerical teacher) and the *mu'allim* (secular teacher) became more pronounced in the Young Turk period. The ideologues of the ruling Union and Progress Committee (*Ittiḥād ve Terakkī Djem'iyyeti* (q.v.), headed by Diyā' (Ziya) Gökalp, demanded that the state, not the *'ulamā'*, should control and supervise public instruction. As a result of a resolution adopted at its 1916 convention, the Union and Progress Committee transferred the elementary schools, which had been previously under the Ministry of *Evḳāf*, to the Ministry of Education. The *medreses* were merely transferred from the Ministry of *Evḳāf* to another religious authority, the *Bāb-ı Meshīkhat*, the Department of the *Shaykh al-Islām*.

In the legislative field, the 1329/1913 Provisional Law of Elementary Education, the most important law since the Ottoman Education Law of 1286/1869, was promulgated. The law created education committees at the level of districts and sub-districts, thus delegating administrative, financial and pedagogical responsibility to local authorities. The law placed all the financial burden of maintaining the schools, namely establishing a school, acquiring the land, constructing the building, paying the teachers' salaries and all current expenses, on the people of the *sanādjiks* and districts. This meant in practice that universal elementary education could not be achieved for a long time to come.

In the "Second Constitutional" period, progress was achieved in the sphere of women's education. Educational opportunities for women were extended to the secondary school in 1911 the first *'Ālīdjyye* and in 1913 the first *lycée* for girls were opened in Istanbul. Trade schools for girls were established, not only for cooking and sewing, but to train nurses and secretaries. In 1915, women were admitted to the University, although in separate classes, to be trained as secondary school teachers. After 1918, women were allowed to work as elementary school teachers.

After the 1908 Revolution, the University was reorganised and the curriculum now included history, philosophy and sociology, which had been banned under 'Abd ül-Hamīd

Education in the Turkish Republic — The educational developments in the Turkish Republic in the twenties and thirties are closely linked with the reforms of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, the future Kamal Atatürk [*q.v.*], the first president of the Republic. The Kemalists, committed as they were to drastic cultural change, rightly understood the utmost importance of education for their objects. The revolutionary government in Ankara established its own Ministry of Education in May 1920, while still fighting against the Allied-supported Ottoman government in Istanbul

The Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tawḥīd-i Tedrīsāt*) of 1924 ended the century-long dichotomy between secular and religious education in Turkey and created a fully secular and integrated school system All educational institutions were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education The *medreses*, 479 in all, with a total enrollment of 18,000 (only a third of whom were genuine students) were closed down To provide alternative higher Islamic education, the Faculty of Theology was opened at the University of Istanbul and 26 secondary schools for training *imāms* and *khaṭībs* were established The anti-clerical atmosphere of the period did not encourage the development of these institutions The Theological Faculty was closed in 1934 and the last *imam-hatip mektepleri* were closed down in 1932-3, after their enrolment had been continuously dwindling As for the religious education in regular schools, this too was adversely affected by the secularising ethos of the Atatürk era In 1928 Islam ceased to be the state religion and the principle of laicism was accepted. In the same year, the Latin script was adopted for the Turkish language Atatürk himself went out to the people to teach the new script. In the next year Arabic and Persian were eliminated from the curriculum In 1933 religious instruction in the secondary schools was finally stopped There is no agreement as to when religious instruction in the elementary schools was discontinued some sources date it as early as 1924, others mention 1928, a date which seems more accurate. It seems that religious instruction was simply phased out, although it continued in many village schools Toward the end of the forties, the public mood became definitely favourable to the reintroduction of religious instruction in schools The issue came up in the National Assembly at the end of 1947 In January 1949 the Ministry of Education issued a circular, according to which two hours of religious instruction would be given in the fourth and fifth grades of elementary schools to pupils whose parents might ask for it The coming to power of the Democratic Party in 1950 was a turning-point in the attitude of the government toward religion generally and religious instruction in particular. After 1950, religious education became compulsory for all, parents were required to opt out instead of in as before. At the beginning of the school year of 1956-7, religious instruction was introduced to the middle schools, or junior high schools (*orta okullar*), as well. In 1932 new *imam-hatip okullari* were established. In contradistinction from the early version, these institutions have been successful Higher religious instruction have been offered in institutes in Istanbul and Konya, but the most important faculty which teaches Islam at the university level is the Faculty of Theology (*Ilāhiyat Fakültesi*) at Ankara University which was founded in 1949-50.

It is not surprising that, due to the administrative traditions of the Ottoman Empire, which had been influenced by the French model, the Ministry of Education of the Turkish Republic was centralistic from the start. This was also justified in part by the determination of the government to create a unified, modernised and secularised education in a country which was fragmented into numerous regions and tribes and which was far from enjoying linguistic and cultural homogeneity Centralistic educational administration was also needed to overcome the indifference or even hostility of the conservative elements, particularly in the countryside, towards the Kemalist Revolution and its educational goals In 1926 the Ministry of Education was reorganised. The country was divided into twelve regional directorates of education, each being headed by a superintendent of education (*müfettiş emini*), directly responsible to the Ministry in Ankara Since 1949, the organisation of the educational system has been somewhat more flexible, each governor being responsible for the education in his district. He is assisted by an educational council and a director of education, who is more responsive to local needs. In spite of these reforms, the educational system of Turkey, like most countries in the Middle East, is quite centralised, and the state controls the whole educational system pedagogically, administratively and financially. The Ministry of Education is helped by a National Educational Council (*Milli Eğitim Şurası*) which consists of educators and administrators and has wide powers in drawing up educational policies concerning curricula, textbooks and school regulations. The Council meets once every few years The Tenth Educational Council convened in 1981. The Ministry of Education has a virtual monopoly of textbooks The government controls higher education as well, and inspects private and minority schools closely Private institutions have been declining in comparison with state schools Scores of higher institutes which train students in such fields as economy, commerce, engineering and architecture were nationalised at the beginning of the school year 1972-2 after the important education law no 1472 had been promulgated Education in all state schools at all levels is free of charge.

The most difficult task which the education authorities had to face was to raise educational standards and to combat illiteracy in the nation generally and in the countryside in particular The formal school system was complemented by the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*), a network of a kind of clubs founded in 1912 to promote Turkish culture and economic welfare through lectures publishing books and opening schools. The Turkish Hearths were closed down in 1931 and replaced by a network of People's Houses and People's Rooms (*Halkevi* and *Halkodası* [see VII.2.(xvi)]), community centres established to diffuse Turkish culture and closely associated with the ruling Republican People's Party. Teachers were encouraged by their Ministry to participate in the activities of these centres

The Ministry of Education devised several programmes to train teachers for the village schools. One of them was to send soldiers of rural origin and having some education on short pedagogical courses. Since 1930, young villagers who had finished primary school were sent on courses of six months to prepare them to teach in their villages. According to the Village Educators' Law of 1937, special centres to

train teachers were initiated. In 1940 the law of 1937 was supplemented by the Village Institute Law. Subsequently, the two programmes were united. In addition to his regular teaching assignments, the village educator was expected to teach adults and to help in the social and economic development of the village. The Village Institutes were merged with the regular teacher training colleges in 1954.

All these efforts have produced positive results, and the gap between school attendance rates in villages and in the cities is not nearly as wide as is the case in most Middle Eastern countries. This applies even to education of girls. In the school year 1973-4, for instance, the proportion of girls in state elementary schools in the cities was 46%, while in the villages the percentage was only 37%, lower. National schooling rates for children between the ages of seven and twelve, who are obliged to go to school according to the compulsory education law, were 90% already in 1972-3, again a much higher rate than in most countries of the region. The school attendance rates have been on the rise in all educational levels. Consequently, literacy rates rose from 19.2% in 1935 (29.3% for men and 9.8% for women) up to 52.67% in 1970 (69% for men and 36% for women). The progress in the education of women is especially impressive. Coeducation has been a principle in Turkish education since 1927, only when there are special circumstances or professional needs are separate schools for girls established.

The basic structure of the Turkish educational ladder is 5-3-3, i.e. primary school (*ibtidāʾī*) of five grades (ages 7-11) followed by a junior high school or "middle school" (*ortaokul*) of three grades (ages 12-14) and leading to the secondary or high school, *lycée* (*lise*) of three grades (ages 15-17) or a vocational or a trade school. The *ilkokul* and the *ortaokul* comprise the two stages of the "basic education" (*temel eğitim*). At the *orta* level, the student may already start at a teacher training school, which continues four more years at the secondary level. Other courses which last four years after the *ortaokul*, that is up to the twelfth grade are the *imam-hatip mektepleri* and technicians' schools. In addition to regular schools, there are evening schools for working youth. Special mention should be made of the state schools which teach in foreign languages. These institutions teach the "national" subjects in Turkish, but the language of instruction of all other subjects is English, French or German, according to the particular school.

Despite the impressive achievements, education in Turkey has yet to overcome many serious difficulties. Teachers' status and salaries are quite low. There is considerable shortage of teachers, since the teacher training schools at the secondary and university level do not keep up with the rapid growth of the student population. In 1972-3 the teacher-student ratio was 1:33 in the state primary schools, in the state *ortaokul* 1:43 and in the *lise* 1:39.7. Another structural weakness of the educational system is the small proportion of students in vocational and trade schools at the secondary level, which is well beneath 20% of the secondary school student population. One result of this is that each year, increasing numbers of the *lise* graduates cannot be admitted to the universities and other higher institutes of learning for lack of space, although the higher educational system is also expanding very quickly.

ii. Egypt

Educational development under Muḥammad ʿAlī — The foundations of modern education in Egypt were laid by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, the virtually independent viceroy of Egypt from 1805 until 1848. His ambitions were personal and dynastic, yet he was aware that if he was to establish a powerful state, he had to build a modern, European-style army and an efficient administration and economy. This he could accomplish only with Western methods and advice, since education and learning in Egypt even more than in the centre of the Ottoman Empire, were wholly traditional and were confined to religious instruction at the *kuttābs* and the *madrasas*, the most important one being al-Azhar (*q.v.*). So it happened that although Muḥammad ʿAlī had little interest in raising the educational standards of the Egyptian people, his dynamic reign made Egypt the forerunner of modern education in the Arab-speaking world, and a model for the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt was nominally only an outlying province.

After having destroyed the Mamlūks [*q.v.*] in 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī set out to establish the *Niẓām Djadīd*, his new army. For this purpose he started to send student missions to Europe to study various technical subjects, and on the other hand began to found new state schools, bypassing the traditional system of education. France and Frenchmen enjoyed a predominant influence in the modernisation of Egyptian education, at least until the British occupation in 1882. Therefore it is of interest to note that the first student missions, in 1809 and 1819, were sent to Italy (to Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome) in order to study military science, shipbuilding, printing and engineering. The foreign language which was taught in the first state school established by Muḥammad ʿAlī was Italian. Since about 1820, however, Italian influence was replaced by the French, and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muḥammad ʿAlī's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Sève, who as a convert to Islām became known as Sulaymān Pasha. Sève organised the new army and the military schools. Indeed, the next missions were sent, mainly though not exclusively, to France. Thus the first large mission went to Paris in 1826, with the famous educator and writer Shaykh Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (*q.v.*) on its *imām* and preacher. This mission included other members who later rose to prominence in the educational and administrative services of the Pasha. By the mid-1830s the first Egyptian graduates of the student missions were teaching in Egypt at the professional school and replacing the European teachers and instructors.

In 1816 Muḥammad ʿAlī opened a school in the Citadel of Cairo where some 80 students began to study military subjects, arithmetic and Italian. Four years later the school was moved to Aswān. It is significant that the students were sons of *Mamlūks* and other boys of Circassian, Turkish, Albanian and Armenian origin, who were believed to be superior in martial qualities to the native, Arabic speaking Egyptians. Turkish was the language of instruction.

The beginning of secondary education was also connected with the army. Since the *kuttāb* schools could not prepare students for the higher schools, a preparatory (*taghīzī*) school was established in 1825 at Kaṣr al-ʿAynī with 500 students between 8 and 12 years of age. By 1833 the school had 1,400 students. The discipline and organisation of the prepar

atory school, as indeed in the whole of Muḥammad ʿAlī's educational system, was military. The students were trained to join the naval, infantry, cavalry and engineering schools which were opened in the 1820s and the 1830s.

The first important institute of higher learning in Egypt was the Medical School, opened in 1827 at the hospital of Abū Zaʿbal, its director for the next 22 years was Clot Bey, another Frenchman, who was in charge of public health and medicine in Egypt. It was again typical that although the Medical School was mainly intended to serve the army, its students were native Egyptians, who had studied at al-Azhar, unlike the students of the military schools properly speaking. Other schools of civilian character were opened in 1829—the School of Agriculture, the School of Pharmaceutics and the Veterinary School. All these schools fell within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army, *dīwān al-ǧihādiyya*, but already in 1826 a *Commission d'Instruction*, a consultative body for the new schools was set up within the *dīwān al-ǧihādiyya*.

The 1830s were the zenith of Muḥammad ʿAlī's career. His army became a huge fighting force which won victories and successfully challenged and threatened the Ottoman Empire itself. The growth and development of the army further stimulated the development of the school system. In that decade, the most important schools were founded and patterns for educational organisation and supervision were laid down. An impressive number of specialised, technical and industrial schools were founded. Among them were the short-lived School of Government Administration (1834), the Staff College (1836), the School of Chemistry (1832), School of Minerals (1834) and an industrial workshop (1839). The most important ones were undoubtedly the School of Engineering, *Muhandis-ḫāna* (1834), and the School of Languages and Translation, *Madrasat al-alsun wa 'l-tarǧama* (1835). After a modest and apparently unsuccessful attempt to open a school of engineering in 1820, the *Muhandis-ḫāna* at Būlāq was opened. The engineering school, modelled after the École Polytechnique of Paris, trained engineers and supplied mathematics and science teachers to the secondary and higher schools. The School of Languages was founded by al-Ṭahṭāwī and directed by him for many years. The students spent there five or six years studying French, Islamic jurisprudence and mathematics, among other subjects. This institute became an important translation centre, where many textbooks were prepared or translated from European languages.

The 1830s were also the period of laying the foundations for the modernised primary education. Muḥammad ʿAlī ignored the *kuttāb* schools; he actually weakened the traditional system by confiscating the *waḳf* foundations which financed it. From 1833 state primary schools (*maktabiyāt*) were opened in the capital and the provinces, and within three years were over 50 of them. The pupils, who were from 7 to 12 years of age, learned besides the usual religious instruction secular subjects also such as geography and arithmetic. The people were reluctant to send their sons into these schools, which they rightly regarded as an integral part of Muḥammad ʿAlī's system of recruitment into the army.

The administration of the schools was separated from the army, but it took some time to reach that decision. Colonel Sève was appointed in 1834 as an inspector general of the schools within the *dīwān al-ǧihādiyya*, but later he had to devote all his time to his military duties. In 1839 the *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique*, which in Arabic was inaccurately known as *maǧlis šūrā 'l-maʿārif*, was established. It was a pedagogical body which was expected to coordinate the schools and the *dīwān al-ǧihādiyya*. A committee was formed, and it prepared a comprehensive scheme for education in Egypt, providing for primary schools, two preparatory schools (one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria) and special schools. Finally, in February 1837, a separate department, independent of the *dīwān al-ǧihādiyya*, and in charge of the schools, was founded. It was called the *dīwān al-madāris*, the Council of Schools, a term which was more correct than the bombastic French term by which the department became known, *Ministère de l'instruction publique*. It is true, however, that the *dīwān al-madāris* was the core of the future Ministry of Education. At first, the *dīwān al-madāris* suffered from mismanagement, inefficiency and intrigues. In addition to its pedagogical functions, it was charged with construction (for a time it was called the Council of Schools and Construction) and with the publication of the Official Gazette (*al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*). Initially, the *dīwān al-madāris* was divided into three sections—Arabic, Turkish and engineering. The Delta Barrage and the engineering services were also attached to the *dīwān* on account of their dependence on the *Muhandis-ḫāna*.

The setback to Muḥammad ʿAlī's imperialistic ambitions by the Treaty of London in 1840 drastically curtailed the extent of the Egyptian army and caused the breakdown of the school system in the 1840s. In 1842, only 5 state primary schools remained. The special schools were affected too. The student missions abroad continued, however, and in 1844 a large mission which included several princes (and was called thereafter *baʿṯat al-anǧāl*) was sent to France. In 1847, toward the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, a programme to establish popular elementary schools, or reformed *kuttāb*s, called *maktab al-milla* (in contradiction from the government primary schools, the *maktabiyāt*) was brought forward. It is probable that Ibrāhīm Pasha, Muḥammad ʿAlī's son and successor, took an interest in the project, but his reign was too short to accomplish much and the reforms in the elementary education had to wait until the accession of Ismāʿīl.

Education under ʿAbbās I (1849-54) and Saʿīd (1854-63).—Educational development suffered a serious slowdown during the reigns of ʿAbbās I and Saʿīd. Although ʿAbbās was no more interested than Muḥammad ʿAlī in educating the Egyptian people, the training of army officers and bureaucrats continued on a modest scale. ʿAbbās sent some 40 students abroad this time mainly to central Europe. ʿAbbās exiled al-Ṭahṭāwī to Khartūm to organise an Egyptian school there. On the other hand, he favoured and promoted ʿAlī Mubārak [q.v.], an able administrator, reformer, and writer, who was to become a key figure in the development of education in the next three decades. ʿAbbās weakened the Council of Schools and the educational system in general, but he was interested in the army and founded in 1849 the élite military school, *al Madrasa al ḥarbiyya al-nafīsa*. Of the special schools, only the medical school and the school of engineering remained.

It is generally agreed that Saʿīd's educational policy was erratic and that he aimed at reversing his predecessor's decisions. Upon his accession to the vice-regal throne he abolished the *dīwān al-*

madāris and closed down all the schools within its jurisdiction. Shaykh al-Ṭahṭāwī was recalled from the Sudan, whereas ʿAlī Mubārak was sent by the ruler to the Crimean War. Egyptian students were sent to France again. Saʿīd's short reign was favourable to the development of foreign and missionary schools, by the end of his reign their number reached approximately 60.

The period of Ismāʿīl (1863-79) — During Ismāʿīl's reign, educational activity was vigorously renewed under the able direction of the European-educated administrators Ibrāhīm Adham and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak. For the first time, education in Egypt was becoming "public" in the true sense of the word, not limited to the task of training experts and technicians for the army and the state machinery. Unlike Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ismāʿīl made the *kuttābs* the basis of the elementary education, and the *wakf* funds were used to finance them. Immediately after assuming power in 1863, Ismāʿīl reactivated the Council of Schools (*dīwān al-madāris*) which became in 1875 the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Naẓārat al-maʿārif al-ʿumūmiyya*), with ʿAlī Mubārak as Minister. Ismāʿīl gave full support throughout his reign to the initiative of Mubārak and other progressive educators. In November 1867 ʿAlī Mubārak presented a document which he had prepared with a committee of administrators and notables. This was the Raḏjab Regulation of 1284 *lāʾiḥat Raḏjab*, which aimed at promoting elementary education by establishing provincial primary schools, which would be under government inspection and would be financed by *wakf* and private contributions. The new regulations provided for the first time for a sort of pedagogical supervision of teachers. The curriculum of the elementary schools was to be somewhat modernised. Of course, many reforms remained on paper only for a long time to come, but scores of elementary schools were nevertheless opened and the principle of state control over all elementary schools was established. Mubārak also put an end to the confusion between civil and military schools and confined the authority of the *dīwān al-madāris* to civilian schools, freeing them from their military character. The provisions of the *lāʾiḥat Raḏjab* were complemented by the regulations set down in 1880 by a committee, known as the *ḳōmisyōn*, which provided for three types of schools depending on the size of the community: villages, provincial towns and cities. Provincial authorities were empowered to collect contributions and fees from well-to-do parents and to use *wakfs* to finance schools.

Ismāʿīl's reign should be credited with introducing education of girls and teacher training. The only kind of female education before Ismāʿīl was the School of Midwifery which was founded in 1832. This school recruited its first students from among Sudanese and Ethiopian Negro girls, Egyptian girls being considered too delicate for that kind of work. The first school for girls, *al-Madrasa al-Suyūfiyya*, was opened in 1873. In the following year it had 400 students who studied general subjects as well as sewing and weaving.

The first teacher training school, called *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, the House of Sciences, was founded in 1872. It had already started in 1871 as a programme of public lectures for students recruited from al-Azhar to prepare them to become teachers. In the next year, it was organised as a regular teacher training college, where students studied religious and secular subjects.

The period witnessed the reopening of several higher institutions of learning which had been closed down by ʿAbbās or Saʿīd and the foundation of new ones. Thus the School of Languages founded in 1835 but closed down in 1850 was reopened in 1868 under the name the School of Administration and Languages and later became the first secular law school in Egypt.

In the 1860s, a number of trade and vocational schools were opened. Schools of land surveying, accounting, archaeology and hieroglyphics were opened in the 1870s, together with preparatory schools. In 1872 the first reforms were introduced at al-Azhar. The missions continued and 175 students were sent, mainly to France. In Ismāʿīl's time there was a tenfold increase in budget expenditure for schools. Owing to Ismāʿīl's "open door" policy toward Europeans, his period was also one of unprecedented boom for the schools of foreigners, missionaries and local religious minorities. About 130 new schools were opened with 9,000 students.

Beside the activities of the government, there were private societies and groups which worked for the promotion of education, such as the Society of Knowledge (*ḏjamʿiyyat al-maʿārif*) formed in 1868, and the Islamic Philanthropic Society (*al-ḏjamʿiyya al-khayriyya al-islāmiyya*) which was founded in 1878 by the journalist-orator ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm for opening community schools, in order to counterbalance the influence of the missionary schools. Al-Nadīm accomplished little, however, because of his involvement in the ʿUrābī revolt.

Education under the British occupation — After the military occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British controlled the entire state machinery, including the Ministry of Education. Educational policy was perhaps the most criticised aspect of the British rule, since it was highly restrictive and conservative, due to financial and political considerations. Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt from 1883 to 1907, considered the financial recovery of the country as his most urgent goal and spent less than 1% of the budget on education. Previously, almost all the schools were free, now students had to pay tuition fees. This made even the primary education, and certainly the secondary and higher education, élitist in nature. The British made some efforts to improve the *kuttābs*, turning them in 1916 into elementary (*awwaliyya*) schools, where nothing but religion and the three Rs were taught. The British intentionally hampered the development of secondary and higher education. They regarded the educational system as a means of training a limited number of Egyptian clerks who were to serve in the lower and middle levels of the bureaucracy, and were expected to carry out the instructions of the British policy makers. Cromer conceived higher education as undesirable, since it might lead to political agitation. Therefore the University was opened only in 1908 as a private institution and did not become a state university until 1925, three years after Egypt's formal independence.

Douglas Dunlop, a Scotsman who administered Egyptian education under Cromer, did it in a rigid, centralistic and unimaginative manner. Strict discipline was imposed both on teachers and pupils. All studies continued to be geared to passing examinations. English was made the language of instruction in history, geography and the natural sciences. Learning by rote continued to be the main method of study. During the British occupation, Egyptian students were sent to study in England only. Whereas before the occupation students travelled to Europe to study mainly technical and industrial subjects, they

now studied humanities and the law. This was in accord with the British policy to keep Egypt an agricultural, not an industrial country.

Many of the higher institutes of learning were closed down, but a few new ones were opened, such as the School of Police and Administration in 1896, a Veterinary School in 1901, a teacher training college for women in 1900, another one for men in 1909 and a College of Commerce in 1911.

As a gesture to ease nationalist resentments, Saʿd Zaghlūl (*q.v.*), the future nationalist leader and founder of the Wafd party, was appointed Minister of Education in 1906. He enhanced the status of the Arabic language in the school system and exempted many poor children from paying tuition fees.

It is not surprising that the balance-sheet of British educational policy was poor. The illiteracy rate barely changed from 1882 (91.7 per cent) to 1917 (91.3 per cent). In 1914, 239,000 students were enrolled in the *kuttābs* and only 14,000 in the primary schools. High schools of various kinds enrolled some 10,000 students. The number of students in foreign and private schools exceeded by far those enrolled in government schools. There was progress in the education of girls, but the majority of them were in private schools.

Education under the Monarchy 1922-52. — Although Egypt did not gain full sovereignty in 1922, control of internal affairs, including education, passed into Egyptian hands. During the next three decades, the educational system improved but did not free itself as yet from negative aspects of the pre-British and British inheritance, and further suffered from newly acquired weakness. The Egyptian school system under the monarchy did not reduce illiteracy substantially, and in 1952 it stood at about 80 per cent, and was particularly high in rural areas and among women.

Article 19 of the 1923 constitution guaranteed compulsory and free elementary education; the compulsory education law, passed in 1925, provided for elementary schools of six years, later reduced to five. In 1925 the Ministry of Education planned to universalise elementary education within 23 years. Although quantitative progress was achieved, with student enrolment rising from 809,000 in 1930 to 1,310,000 in 1950, the goal of bringing all children aged six to twelve to school has not yet been reached even by 1981, when only about three-quarters of the children of compulsory education age were in school.

The Egyptian elementary school system was fragmented into several types of schools, a fact which was detrimental to the function of nation-building, and it did not provide equality of opportunity. In the school year 1925-6, elementary schools (*madāris awwaliyya*) were opened to offer free education according to the 1925 law. These schools gave a six-year course (shortened to five years in 1930) and worked usually on a half-day, two-shift basis. The primary schools (*madāris thidāʾiyya*) charged fees. They had better physical facilities than the elementary schools and their teachers were better trained. Perhaps the most important difference between the two types of schools was that the curriculum of the primary schools alone included a foreign language (usually English), thus making it possible for the pupils to continue their studies to secondary and higher education, while the elementary schools were terminal. In 1943 another kind of school was added—the rural elementary school (*madrasa awwaliyya rifiyya*), and special teacher training colleges were opened for them. Beside the public schools, al-Azhar provided religious education at the elementary, secondary and higher level. Finally, there were the private and foreign schools, both religious and lay. In 1942-3 more than 25% of the elementary school pupils and more than 50% of secondary school pupils were in private and foreign schools. Their role was particularly important in the education of girls. The foreign schools were accused of educating their students in languages and cultures alien to Egypt. Private schools were sometimes accused of being more interested in financial profits than in the education of their students. In 1933 and in 1948 laws were passed which imposed stricter supervision of the state over the foreign schools. These schools were instructed to teach Arabic language and the religion of Islam to their Muslim pupils. After the 1956 Suez crisis, all foreign schools were either closed down or nationalised. The relative importance of the private schools had been declining since tuition fees were abolished in the primary schools in 1943 and in the secondary schools in 1951.

It should be noted that the fragmented and deficient nature of the Egyptian school system was criticised by leading educators and administrators such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ismāʿīl al-Qabbānī in Egypt and Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī in ʿIrāḳ, and some steps were taken to make the system more just and less divisive and to make educational opportunities more accessible to all social classes. The abolition of tuition fees has been mentioned. In 1938 the teaching of English was postponed from the first to the second grade in primary schools to enable more children to transfer from elementary to primary schools. Again in 1944, English lessons began only at the third grade. In 1951 a law was passed which aimed at creating a unified elementary school system of six grades. This was given effect, however, only after the 1952 revolution.

The secondary and higher levels of education developed more quickly than the elementary schools. The number of students in the secondary schools increased from 8,500 in 1913 to 15,000 in 1933 to 222,000 in 1951. This growth created pressures on the university and also created the problem of many unemployed graduates. The familiar weaknesses of the secondary education, such as rote learning and overemphasis on examinations, were not cured. Secondary and higher education were regarded mainly as a means to enter government service. It is not therefore surprising that vocational and technical education were neglected and that their prestige was low.

Higher education also developed and was modernised to some extent. In 1942 the Fārūḳ I University (renamed in 1952 the University of Alexandria) was constituted. The *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, the old institute which trained Arabic language teachers, became in 1945-6 a part of the Fuʾād I University (since 1952 Cairo University). After earlier efforts to reform al-Azhar (1911), further steps were taken in 1936 in the same direction.

Educational administration in Egypt, as indeed in all the Middle Eastern states, was highly centralised, despite some efforts at decentralisation, especially after 1938, when the country was divided into educational zones. The Ministry of the Interior conducted the elementary schools of the provinces. As in Turkey, a Supreme Education Council meets periodically to discuss broad educational policy.

Developments since the 1952 Revolution. — Even the most critical review of the educational policies of the post-1952 régime would admit that the main

weaknesses of the school system have been approached correctly and positively although the good intentions have not always been realised in the desired time and manner

The new régime succeeded in establishing a national, united and integrative school system The basic laws concerning school reform were promulgated in the 1950s Law no 229 of 1953 provided for a unified elementary school of six years and a preparatory school of four years later reduced to three years. Law no 213 of 1956 established free tuition in all public education below the university level (tuition fees in the universities were abolished in 1963), and also abolished the examinations as a means for proceeding from one grade to another Law no. 55 of 1957 established the preparatory school as an independent element of the cycle Law no. 160 of 1958 abolished all foreign schools as such and turned them into private Egyptian schools.

After some experimenting and changes in the 1950s, an educational ladder of 6-3-3 emerged. An elementary school (*madrasa ibtidā'iyya*) of six years, for the ages six to twelve, followed by a preparatory school (*madrasa i'dādiyya*) of three years, and a secondary school (*madrasa thānawiyya*) of three years According to the new curriculum, the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the preparatory school.

The quantitative development has been fairly rapid In the school year 1973-4 there were about 4 million pupils in the elementary schools, 2.6 times more than in 1952 The preparatory schools had a million students, three times more than in 1958, the secondary schools had 670,000, an increase of three times, and 334,000 students were enrolled in higher education, an increase of six times for the same period. Owing to the improvement in the implementation of the compulsory education law, illiteracy rate in Egypt has been declining, though not dramatically, from 80% in 1952, to 70.5% in 1960 and 56.5% in 1976 A decision to extend compulsory education to the preparatory school age group has been reached, but has not yet been put into practice.

The most important change in Egypt's school system has been the structural transformation of secondary education from an overwhelming general to academic education towards technical and vocational training While all the Middle Eastern states are aware of the need to slow down the growth of general secondary education and to train technically skilled manpower, only Egypt has been able actually to realise that ideal. In 1952 only 12% of the secondary school students were enrolled in technical and vocational training. By 1971 the rate reached 52% and has risen to 55% in the early 1980s Still, technical and vocational education in Egypt has serious problems of quality and status In the general secondary education, about two-thirds of the students are in the science stream and only one-third in the literary stream, reversing the situation in the pre-revolutionary period.

Egypt has a well-developed system of teacher training for all levels, and all schools will be supplied with qualified teachers in the foreseeable future In some subjects (such as the social sciences) there is already a surplus of teachers, while in others there is a deficit, mainly in modern languages and technical training Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Egyptian teachers work temporarily or permanently in Arab and African countries

Despite the fact that the majority of the secondary school students are channelled to the vocational streams for boys and girls, the pressures on the universities are growing rapidly The universities are becoming increasingly overcrowded and understuffed, and suffer from insufficient space, libraries and teachers In order to administer the admittance of secondary school graduates to higher education, all applications are processed centrally through a "coordination bureau", which distributes students into the various faculties according to their grades and their preferences. The figures of the academic year 1979-80 are typical 227,500 students sat for the final secondary school examinations and 133,000 passed. From these, some 80,000 were admitted to the universities, and the other 53,000 proceeded their studies in the various institutes for higher learning.

During the 1970s, considerable efforts at the decentralisation of higher education were made. The universities were granted a measure of independence. Many regional universities were established, some of them new, others as branches of existing universities.

Between 1961 and 1976 Egypt had, in addition to the Ministry of Education, a Ministry of Higher Education in charge of the universities, higher institutes, student missions and the like. In 1976 it was announced that the Ministry of Higher Education would be abolished and its responsibilities would return to the Ministry of Education. It should be pointed out that the Higher Council for the Universities, a body which lays down the national policy concerning the universities, has wide powers, and many have rendered the Ministry of Higher Education redundant.

(ii) The Arab States of the Middle East

There are marked similarities in the development and the problems of the educational systems of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, despite local differences. The most important common features are the Ottoman heritage, the Arabic language and Islam, which is the religion of the overwhelming majority of the people in the region The traditional Islamic education of the *kuttāb* was still widespread towards the end of the Ottoman period The reforms of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century had their impact on the Arab provinces as well. A few modern government schools were opened there, and a small number of their graduates continued their studies in the civil and military institutes of learning in Istanbul The government schools, however, did not offer education to the Arab population at large, but admitted mainly children of Turkish army officers and officials, as well as children of provincial notables. After the Young Turk Revolution, the pace of educational reform accelerated in the Arab provinces as well as in Turkey Many new schools were opened in 'Irāk, Syria, Palestine and Libya. The policy of the new Ottoman government of making Turkish the medium of instruction in the state schools in the Arab provinces clashed with the aspirations of the Arab nationalists, who insisted on the right to teach in Arabic The Arab nationalists' struggle bore some fruit, especially in 'Irāk and Palestine, The Ottoman authorities agreed, as a concession to Arab sentiment, to open some new schools (such as the Arab College in Jerusalem) where Arabic was to be the language of instruction and to allow the use of Arabic in the lower secondary schools, except in history and geography lessons. The higher secondary schools, the *sultaniyyas*, retained their Turkish character in most cases. Yet the period of reforming the schools in the

Arab provinces in agreement with the Ottoman government was short and was stopped by the First World War

In the interwar period, most of the Arab successor states of the Ottoman Empire were subject to European domination in varying degrees

Libya was occupied by Italy from 1911 until 1943. During that period the educational system was controlled by the Italians, and Italian became the medium of instruction in state schools after the third grade From 1943 until 1951, when Libya became independent, the British administered the educational system in the Libyan provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and the French controlled the province of Fezzan

In Palestine, which became a British mandate, the Arab school system was controlled by the Department of Education whose director was always British There were in the system some Arab inspectors and administrators, but they did not make the educational policy The British influence on Arab education in Palestine was very strong, the standard of English required for the Palestine Matriculation examination was high, but as a result led to the emergence of an elite of Palestinians with a high level of education and culture.

Transjordan was also placed under a British mandate until 1946, when the state became independent. Unlike other Arab states, Transjordan did not experience political struggles, and the transition from British control to purely Arab administration was smooth Thus the Jordanian educational system had all the benefits from British assistance and advice without the tensions of other Middle Eastern countries This was possible because of the rudimentary and primitive conditions of the Transjordanian school system at that time.

'Iraq also was placed under British mandate until 1932, and the school system was administered by the British after 1925 However, the country enjoyed a large extent of independence and developed her education in a national spirit, although the school system was influenced by British teaching methods. In the days of the mandate, a British advisor was attached to the Ministry of Education but the office was abolished prior to the termination of the mandate. Leading 'Iraqi educators were influenced by British, American and French methods of education.

Under the French mandate following the First World War, education in Syria and especially in Lebanon underwent an extremely strong French influence, both in organization and curriculum. The Ministry of Education in Lebanon was established in 1926 and replaced the High Commissioner's *Service de l'Instruction publique*, but the French advisers could still interfere in the policy of the Ministry of Education. Only after Syria and Lebanon attained their independence, and especially after the withdrawal of the French troops in 1946, were they able to assume full control over their educational systems. In Lebanon, the French character of the educational system was retained; the French educational ladder was not changed with the termination of the mandate, and the Lebanese system is still outstanding in the area in its close resemblance to the French model Upon the attainment of independence, important decrees on education were issued, the foremost among them being that Arabic became a compulsory language, that the teaching of national subjects, such as the history of Lebanon and the geography of the Middle East, was made compulsory; and that schools could choose English as a first foreign language instead of French.

On the other hand, Syria changed the nature of her education as soon as the French left Under the mandate, French advisers had been attached to the Ministry of Education, and in Syria too French influence was spread by the teaching of French in schools and through French private schools. Now all traces of French influence were removed from the educational system, and the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the intermediary school.

Upon the establishment of the Arab states after the First World War, their governments showed that they were aware of the importance of education as a factor in nation-building and as a tool for progress It was in the interwar period that illiteracy was first faced as a national problem The first reliable educational statistics in the Arab world date from that period

Whereas the traditional educational system was considered a religious and communal matter of concern to the state, now, on the contrary, the new nationalist government education was regarded as another agency of the state rather than as an integral part of community life. This feeling was partly justified by the highly centralised nature of the Ministries of Education in all the Arab countries. The Ministry exercises almost unlimited powers over the school system. It determines curricula, acts as a publisher of textbooks, administers public examinations, constructs or supervises the construction of schools, trains, appoints, transfers, promotes and dismisses teachers, and finances all educational activities. According to Ottoman education laws, village communities were responsible for the construction of the school buildings Nevertheless, the idea of municipal initiative, control, or financing of education has not yet taken root in the Arab world.

There is a marked uniformity in the structure and organization of the Ministries of Education in the Arab states. The Minister of Education, who is a cabinet member, is assisted by a Director General. The Ministry functions through departments for elementary education, secondary education, vocational and technical training teacher training, curricula and textbooks, personnel, statistics, etc. The country is divided into education districts, which are identical with the administrative division of the state. In each district there is a bureau of education, which is a miniature copy of the central Ministry in the capital Generally, the regional directors of education have little independence, they are charged with implementing the decrees issued by the Ministry and have to report local problems to the capital.

Most of the school systems in the area are administered by the government After attaining independence, the Arab states started to impose much stricter control over the numerous private and foreign schools which had been established and flourished under the protection of the European powers Now the Ministries of Education demanded that the national subjects be taught at the private schools in Arabic and by citizens of the host country The closer inspection of the private schools and progress in the implementation of the free and compulsory education caused the proportion of pupils in private and foreign institutions to decline, especially in the primary stage Even in Lebanon, the only country in the Middle East where private education is more important than state education, the weight of state education has been growing. Under the French mandate, a state elementary school system emerged;

it served mainly the Muslim population, which was less attracted to the private Christian institutions. A state system of public secondary schools started to develop after 1949. Total arabisation of the school system was emphasised as an expression of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, minorities were allowed to use their language in their schools, as demonstrated by the 'Irāḳī Local Languages Law of 1931 which provided for the use of Kurdish and Turkish as the medium of instruction, with Arabic as a second language, in the regions where these minorities constitute a majority.

The need to train teachers was one of the most urgent tasks facing the Ministries of Education. The teachers in the state schools are government employees. Since they are chronically underpaid and their opportunities of promotion are limited, the teaching profession below the university level does not attract the best men and women, and the social status of the teachers is lower than it was in past generations. Until the 1950s there were multiple ways and levels in which teachers were trained in the Arab world, ranging from courses lower than the secondary school up to two years above the secondary school. In recent years, with the tendency to standardise the educational levels and methods in the Arab world, the most common teacher training college begins after graduation from the preparatory or intermediate school and lasts four or five years. In recent years, with the rapid growth of higher education, the training of teachers for secondary schools is entrusted to the university schools and faculties of education. In the interwar period, all the Arab countries suffered from shortage of trained teachers, only Egypt and 'Irāḳ came near to self-sufficiency. Recently, this situation has improved considerably, but there is still a shortage of teachers for certain subjects (mostly foreign languages, the sciences and technical training). Generally the teacher shortage worsens as one goes higher up the educational ladder.

The most formidable problem with which the education authorities have had to cope has been the widespread illiteracy, which reached 80-90 % of the population in most countries of the region in the interwar period. Since adult literacy campaigns have not been efficient in the middle East the main burden was placed on the elementary schools. Generally speaking, the principle of free elementary education was accepted throughout the Arab world at an early stage. Yet the idea of legislating for compulsory school attendance has been put forward only in the last three decades and has by no means been universally accepted. Lebanon, which is one of the most advanced countries in the region educationally, has no compulsory education law. In several educational laws, references to compulsory education are qualified. Compulsion has applied to those areas where facilities existed (for example the Transjordanian education regulation of 1939 and the 'Irāḳī Education Law of 1940).

In the mid-1940s, the proportion of children who were in school from the elementary school age group was still limited. Lebanon had the highest attendance rate of 72.7 %, followed by Palestine (Arab education only) 52.8 %, Egypt 47.4 %, Syria 39.4 %, Transjordan 28.0 % and 'Irāḳ 20.0 %. Since that time, the primary school attendance rates have been improving constantly, in spite of the rapid population growth in the Middle East, which ranges between 2.5 % to over 3 % annually. According to a survey of all the Arab states (including North Africa) conducted in 1969-70, 60 % of the children in primary school age (between six to twelve years of age in most countries) were in school. That rate increased to 69 % in 1974-5. By 1981, 100 % attendance rates at the elementary stage (or, in fact, more than 100 % in some countries, due to numerous over age students) have been reached in Jordan, Lebanon and some of the Gulf states, and the rates are rising everywhere.

Jordan and Kuwayt have already extended by legislation the compulsory education stage to apply also to the intermediate school. Other countries, including Egypt, are contemplating doing the same, but will probably do it officially only after reaching full or nearly full attendance rates at the elementary stage.

Again, the difficulties in bringing all children to school are similar in the Arab countries, although their severity varies from one country to another. It is difficult to provide education for bedouin tribes or for small and remote villages. The realisation of the importance of education was not universal a few decades ago. Parents have been reluctant to send their daughters to school, especially after puberty, as they regarded this as contrary to traditional morality. Until today, the illiteracy rate among women is higher than among men and the percentage of girls who attend school is lower than that among boys, this is particularly true in the countryside. Many parents refrain from letting their children go to school because they need their help in the field, the workshop or at home. This tendency has been strengthened by a widespread feeling that the curricula taught at school are unsatisfactory and irrelevant to the needs of the community. Besides, there are not enough qualified teachers. Another problem is a severe shortage of classrooms, and many classes are lodged in rented rooms. Schools often operate in two or even three daily shifts because of scarcity of space. Many children do not enter school at all, and many pupils fail to graduate. Children who leave school after a few years relapse into functional illiteracy. Of course, some of the shortcomings were in the past caused by lack of funds. This factor has been fundamentally changed in those countries of the region which have large incomes from oil, although it has made its notable impact on education only recently. Yet, generally, some of the above-mentioned difficulties have been alleviated recently, and education in the Arab world has been making a qualitative as well as a quantitative progress. The beginnings of systematic planning of national education by the Arab states, including five-year-plans, belong to the 1960s, and have helped to clarify the problems and to approach them more efficiently.

Although demand for secondary education has been growing rapidly, the elementary school is still terminal for some 70-75 % of the pupils in the Arab world. The promotion from the elementary to the secondary (or intermediate) stage is determined by passing national examinations, except in the few countries which have made the intermediate stage compulsory. In the interwar period, access to secondary education was extremely limited. Usually, there were no secondary schools outside the towns, and although there were dormitories attached to a few schools in the cities, the vast majority of the population which was rural was deprived of post-primary education. Besides, tuition fees were a serious barrier for poor students, although there were some exemptions on the basis of good grades or financial need. By 1950, tuition fees in the state secondary schools had been abolished throughout the Middle East, and in the 1960s the universities, too, became free

of charge. The popularity of secondary education should be partly ascribed to the fact that it is considered a gateway to higher education and then to a government post. Another motivation for study in a secondary school was exemption from military service or the possibility of service under favourable conditions in some countries.

The weaknesses of the secondary education are well-known, and are in fact an inheritance from the pre-modern period: the overemphasis on rote learning, discipline, examinations, the heavy load of subjects to be taught and frontal lessons. Most of the secondary schools in the region are not equipped with sufficient libraries, laboratories and playgrounds. Secondary education has been overwhelmingly academic; vocational and technical education have been neglected or even looked upon with disdain. In the recent two decades, official attitudes toward vocational and technical education have been changing, but among the Arab states of the Middle East, only Egypt has accomplished a structural change in secondary education by channelling over half of the students into technical and vocational schools.

In the first decades of their independence, the educational ladders in the Middle East differed widely from one Arab state to another. The school system was influenced both by the elements inherited from the Ottoman Empire, which on their part had been shaped by the French model, and by the example of the European mandatory powers. Since the end of the Second World War, the Arab educational systems have been drawing closer in each other, and efforts have been made to coordinate the curricula, the organisation, and the terminology of the educational systems. Egypt has been the object of emulation and has set the example for many reforms, owing to her central position in the Arab world and culture. Thus today the educational ladder of 6-3-3 is the most common pattern in the Arab world, although there have been other variations, such as the Lebanese pattern, Kuwayt (4-4 4), and ʿIrāḳ (6-3-1). There are also differences in the curricula, mainly in the teaching of foreign languages and religious instruction. There is a tendency to postpone the teaching of the foreign language to the intermediate school. Yet in Lebanon, Jordan, ʿIrāḳ and South Yemen, it is taught in the primary school. Saʿūdī Arabia and Sudan devote more hours to the teaching of Islam than other Arab states.

Occasionally, conferences are held to discuss and coordinate educational and cultural policies of the Arab countries. Thus in 1947 a convention was held in Lebanon to coordinate methods of teaching Arabic. In 1957 the important Agreement of Arab Cultural Unity was signed by Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and was joined a year later by ʿIrāḳ. The agreement called for coordination of the school systems from all the cultural, pedagogical and organizational aspects. Over the years, various inter-Arab conferences and conventions have been held which have dealt with the teaching of civics, textbooks, examinations, educational planning, the teaching of the sciences, illiteracy, etc.

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2. In North Africa

A Tunisia. Since 1840, with the foundation of the École Polytechnique of the Bardo, a trilingual instruction (in Arabic, French and Italian) was provided, shaping the scientific and technical education of the armies of the Bey, ruler of the Regency of Tunis. But it was above all after 1875 that a bilingual and bi-cultural instruction in Arabic and French was available through the founding of the Ṣādikī College [q.v.].

With the establishment of the French Protectorate (12 May 1881), public education took shape with the following features: (1) diversity (at primary level, French schools, Franco-Arab ones, modern Kuʾrānic schools and traditional-type ones, at secondary level, purely French-type lycées and colleges, institutions or classes giving a bilingual "Ṣādikī" education, and traditional Zaytūna education), (2) French influence (Arabic was treated as a foreign language, except at the Ṣādikī and some other institutions, and all references to the Arab-Islamic national heritage excluded, or largely excluded, from courses given); and (3) a disequilibrium between the schooling of European and Tunisian children (in 1949, 94 % of French children in primary education had 12 % of Tunisian Muslim ones, admittance of Tunisians to primary education only (in 1953, secondary education comprised 5,681 French children out of a French resident population of 14,500 and 8,681 Tunisian Muslim ones out of a population of ca. 3 millions, the theoretical plan for education of Lucien Paye, the last Director of Public Education under the Protectorate, not having been put into practice).

After independence (20 March 1956) and the proclamation of the Republic of Tunisia (25 July 1957), from 1958 onwards President Habīb Bourguība has tried: (1) to replace the legal chaos and the instructional diversity with a unified system which has its own Tunisian character, Tunisia being a "Republic whose language is Arabic and whose faith is Islam"; and (2) to give public instruction (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿumūmī*) the character of a national education (*al-tarbiya al-qawmiyya*) adapted to the variety and the evolution of economic, social, technical and cultural needs of the nation, taking into account demographic increase, and aiming ultimately at education for all, opening out on to the external world, and responsive to scientific and technical changes and developments. This was the reform of 1958 ("A new conception of teaching in Tunisia"). After this first period of reform (1958-68), and after a series of interventions, primary teaching has been completely arabised—French being studied as a foreign language from the 4th year onwards—whilst in secondary teaching, the humanities, including philosophy, are taught in Arabic. At the level of higher education, a step towards the arabisation of the humanities has already been made, and there are even lectures at the Medical Faculty of Tunis in Arabic.

With a percentage devoted to it in 1968 of 9 % of the GNP and in 1980 of at least 8%, and with a third of the state budget, expenditure on education in Tunisia surpasses all that recorded for other countries (1968-9, in the USA and Netherlands, 6·5 % of the GNP, and in the Communist countries, between 4 and 5 %). The goal of universal education is in view in primary education, there were in 1955-6 209,438 pupils (out of a population of ca. 3·5 million), in 1965-6, 717,095, in 1975-6, 926,914, and in 1981-2, 1,071,600 out of a population of 6·5 million). If secondary education students (over 300,000) are added, a total of 1,400,000 is reached (about 1 Tunisian in 5 is at school).

However, the problem of quality remains outstanding in the framework of Arab-French bilingualism: in the first place, the process of apprenticeship of the French speaker gives him a privileged place at the outset in acquiring competence in communication through language expression (aptitude at varying the message according to psycho-social-cultural conditions) in connection with purely linguistic communication (skill in transmitting a message orally or by means of writing in accordance with the rules of the languages). Hence the option of keeping up Arab-French bilingualism, 25 years after independence, forms part of a project concerning with general culture (1) primacy for Arabic ("the language which expresses the Tunisian cultural identity and authenticity") and (2) the opening-up of the educational system on the problems of development defined by the Fifth Plan (1977-81), the aims of educational policy being to favour the development of education, alter the orientation of primary teaching, improve its quality and its impact by developing the child's personality, thereby ensuring for him at once and the same time an intellectual and a manual training (this latter orientated towards the industrial and agricultural techniques built into the teaching), reduce losses of pupils and the inequalities of fortune and fate, and thus facilitate the integration of young people into the economic life of their home districts and regions.

Yet this attachment to French language and culture has always provoked debate between the supporters and opponents of bilingualism since independence. The problem of arabisation (*taʿrīb*) has always stirred up controversy, sometimes violently, and has released religious, political and philosophical passions, as it endeavours to make some people realise their "linguistic, and even cultural mutilated state". A process of acculturation is felt to be at work here: (1) the French language—considered as one which is widely-spread through the world and one which gives access to a culture with a universal, scientific and technological character—presents itself as a strong rival to Arabic, the bearer of deeply-rooted values, and seen as the language of communication and of liberation, and (2) the two cultures, Arabic and French, express a class antagonism between the comfortably-off classes and the rest and a confrontation between modernism and traditionalism.

Tunisia, an Arab and Muslim country, is nevertheless trying to realise its authentic genius in the midst of modernity by means of a system of unified and general education (a "national" system for the masses and not one of "public education" for

the edit, since "primary education is a right for everyone, secondary education is a necessity, and higher education meritorious") Lengths of the stages of education: primary, 6 years, secondary, 7 years (3 years of a common core and then three branches leading to baccalaureates in letters, mathematics and sciences or mathematics and technology), and higher (decentralised: sectors for the basic sciences, the medical and biological sciences and the human and social sciences, totalling in 1982 55 units, ac Faculties, Schools and Institutes).

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B. Algeria. On the morn of independence (5 July 1962), the educational system inherited from the colonial period (ie. the French system as it existed before 1962) was kept in being, like all the other institutions which were not contrary to national sovereignty. Under the stimulus of a Ministry of National Education, this system slowly evolved and then changed radically after 1970. The slow period of evolution consisted mainly of an adaptation of the content of syllabuses (concentration of studies on Algeria), the gradual algerianisation of the teaching personnel (accompanied however by a massive appeal for co-operation from other Arab countries) and the arabisation of a certain number of sectors: the first two primary education years in 1966 and then the higher classes, with the preservation of the teaching of a foreign language from the third year onwards, immediate arabisation in secondary and higher education and the opening-up of official channels in the Arabic language.

In 1970 a fairly important change took place. The Ministry of National Education was split up into a Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and one for Higher Education and Scientific Research At the side of these two there was set up a Ministry of Basic Education which started to put into effect a parallel system of education, but one completely arabised.

In 1971-2 higher education was completely reorganised The essential preoccupations of the Algerian government which lay behind this reform were the following "to form the type of cadres *of which the country has need*, a cadre engaged in the work of socialist reconstruction and filled with the Algerian national personality and the socio-economic realities of the country From this follows the new shaping of the subjects of teaching and educational qualifications and their integration within educational frameworks based on job needs defined by the sectors requiring these skills A student must accordingly be directly operational". The organisation of these subjects of teaching was inspired by what existed in certain western countries and those of the East the substitution in place of an annual curriculum structure of a system of semesters, units of teaching (modules) and the consequent institution of continuous control of courses. The application of these reforms got under way only with great difficulty. Moreover it required the recruiting of a considerable number of assistants, often at the expense of quality The establishment of courses of instruction in Arabic parallel to and not instead of those already being carried on in French developed extensively in this period. This distinct monolingualism has not been without serious consequences for the cultural unity of the country.

In regard to primary and secondary education, the system was extensively remodelled in 1977 (by the application of law no 76-35 of 16 April 1976). Henceforth it was to be made up of three levels: preparatory, basic and secondary The basic school, a fairly original concept, had as its aim the providing of a basic education for all, compulsory and lasting nine years (up to the third grade class of the old system) In order to get the system into operation as quickly as possible, the ministry in charge of this sector of education was in 1963 divided up into a Ministry of Basic Education and Instruction and a Secretaryship of State for Secondary Education.

The lack of personnel at the teaching level has led to the extensive establishing of a grade of elementary (Brevet élémentaire) teachers (instructors) or of a grade a little below this (monitors) This last group made up 41% of teaching personnel in 1965. By 1972 it was only 14.8% and had disappeared totally in 1977 On the other hand, because of the drive towards homogeneity in education, non-state education (secular and confessional) was integrated with public education (Kur'ān schools, *madrasas* and *zawāyas* in 1965, private education in 1977). In the same year, all the institutions within the

jurisdiction of the original educational system, which was dissolved, were integrated in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education

Other forms of education have also been made possible b other Ministries, who have started "institutes for technology" or institutes for higher studies in order to provide trained personnel for their own needs. A Ministry for Professional Education has been in being since 1981.

The growth of those undergoing education has been rapid and great since 1981, at all levels, as the following table shows

	Oct. 1962	1971	1977	1981
Elementary	777,636	2,028,091	2,782,044	3,118,827
Middle and secondary (general and technical)	82,937	236,882	612,229	1,029,884
Higher	2,725	24,334	54,547	78,027

In 13 years (1963-76) the number of schools has almost tripled, in October 1962 there were 2,759 and in 1976 7,298 (classes in practice 46,529 in 1976 with the introduction of the double vacation) Teachers in primary and secondary schools rose from 19,908 in October 1962 to 129,618 in 1981. The same picture obtains in higher education from 282 teachers, of whom 82 were Algerians, in 1981 there were 9,778, of whom 7,018 were Algerians.

Like most the Third World countries who have recently achieved independence, Algeria had a fairly large number of illiterates (5,942,000 according to the 1966 census, i.e. about 80%). The number of Algerian children not at school was considerable, and the Algerian students registered at the University of Algiers was not more than 500

After 20 years, Algeria has certainly accomplished a work which, though still unfinished and full of flaws, is nevertheless positive in its results. More than one-third of the state budget goes annually on education and training All children are in the process of being placed in schools despite an unprecedented demographic rise (the population has doubled in 20 years) Twenty-one towns either have or are on the point of getting a university or university centre. Two thousand medical doctors are trained each year, together with a good number of engineers and higher technicians

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C. Morocco In its modern form, public education in Morocco dates from the colonial period During the 44 years of the Protectorate (1912-56), the French authorities progressively installed, at the side of the traditional network of Kurʾānic schools and *medersas*, an assemblage of educational institutions intended to further the "mission civilisatrice" of the metropolitan power whilst at the same time respecting the particular genius of Moroccan society, following Marshal Lyautey's intentions. But the concrete results of the colonial educational policy were far removed from this noble ideal. The system of modern education introduced by France into Morocco was essentially élitist and brought into the local context a completely alien culture. This explains why the right to education for all was one of the main demands of the nationalist movement

The attainment of independence in 1956 was marked by a great popular movement in favour of education. Literacy campaigns sprang up spontaneously all over the country, and the new Minister of Education succeeded in getting into school in October 1956 five times as many children as the Protectorate authorities had accepted in the preceding year This date accordingly marks the real birth of modern education in Morocco

Efforts to develop the public education system found their justification in a double conception of education's rôle, seen from one aspect as a fundamental right enshrined in the constitution, and from another as a powerful factor making for economic and social progress. This is why education and the training of cadres always had priority in the development plans successively introduced after 1960

These long-term development objectives were given effect through the choice of four principles for

Table of Children in Education

Year	Primary	Ratio of increase	Secondary	Ratio of increase	Higher	Ratio of increase
1956	318,995	100	10 490	100	3,792	100
1960	766,183	240	86 051	820	4,665	123
1965	1,115,745	350	210 031	2,011	8,990	237
1970	1,175,277	368	298 880	2,849	16,097	424
1975	1,547,647	485	478 000	4,557	40,000	1,055
1980	2,104 050	660	797 110	7,599	93,851	2,475
average annual rate of increase		8,17%		19 77%		14 30%

Source: Annual statistics of the Ministry of National Education
Annual statistics of Morocco, State Secretariat for Planning and Regional Development

action which guided the Moroccan government's educational policy after independence: making attendances of school available for all children of appropriate age; unifying the different types of schools left behind by the colonial power; the arabisation of curricula and the language of instruction; and the moroccanisation of the body of teachers.

The results obtained after a quarter of a century of massive investment in the educational sector are impressive, as the following table of the school enrolments shows:

These figures demonstrate the size of the financial resources devoted by the state to public education —almost 25% of the annual budget—which have enabled the transformation of the embryonic educational network inherited from the Protectorate into a vast and complex system.

The present educational system, whose structure is to a considerable extent modelled on the French one, comprises three levels. Primary school lasts for five years and accepts children from the age of seven. This first level is completed by a nationally-organised examination (the certificate of primary education) which gives access to the following level.

Secondary education is itself divided into two stages. The first four years, forming the first cycle, are common to all pupils. Then at the end of this, specialist educational advisers divide the children, according to their aptitudes and wishes, into differing channels of the second cycle. The fifth year of secondary education offers two options of general education (scientific and literary) and two technical ones (commercial and industrial studies). In the sixth and seventh years, the choice is even more varied, with a spread of six channels, each one leading to a distinct type of baccalaureate.

Higher education comprises two groups of institutions. In the universities, which are controlled by the Ministry of Education, students can follow the usual groups of studies, such as arts, law, economics, science and medicine. At the side of this channel of classic university education, which 90% of students of higher education follow, there exists a complete network of specialised schools and institutes of higher education functioning under the control of different technical government departments and aiming at training engineers and the middle management grades which will work in the public and semi-public sectors. Among the most important of these are the Mohammadia (Muḥammadiyya) School of Engineers, the National School of Public Administration, the National Agricultural and Veterinary Institute, the National Institute for Statistics and Applied Economics, the National Institute of Posts and Telecommunications, the Higher Institute of Commerce and Business Administration, etc. There further exists a certain number of pedagogical institutions (regional schools for primary teachers, regional pedagogical centres and teacher training colleges) intended to prepare Moroccan teachers in order to replace foreign instructors, especially in the scientific disciplines.

Considerable progress had been made towards arabisation. All literary topics are taught in the official language. The arabisation of scientific courses is on the way to completion at the primary level, and will be progressively extended to the secondary and higher levels.

From the legal aspect, it should be stressed that school attendance is compulsory till the age of 15 and that education is free at all levels. Moreover, over the last 12 years or so, the government has adopted a policy of granting very generous scholarships for the large majority of students of higher education.

Nevertheless, despite these very positive results, the Moroccan education system has for several years gone through a severe crisis of development whose main components can be set out in the form of three paradoxes with interconnected effects. In the first place, despite a great increase in public expenditure on education and in the number of children enrolled in the schools, making primary education general remains a distant ideal because of the population growth (5% per annum). In the second place, a significant share of the resources devoted to the educational system is wasted because of the high rate of those having to repeat courses or abandoning them altogether. Finally, educational planners find themselves faced by a lack of correspondence between the "products" of the educational system and the employment needs of the labour market, above all in the scientific and technological fields.

The sum total of these difficulties which the Moroccan educational system has come up against, like those of many other young countries of Africa and Asia, has led the authorities in the Ministry of Education to prepare at the present time a long-term reform programme which will allow the Moroccan educational institutions to be better adapted to the needs of a changing society and to enable them to play a more positive rôle in the country's development process.

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(J. SALMI)

3. In Iran.

Before the appearance of secular education in Iran, what primary education there was was essentially that of the *maktabs* or *kuttābs* [*q.v.*], where children from the age of six or so learned the rudiments of reading and writing, Islamic religion and some arithmetic. These *maktabs*, as small-scale, informal, locally-organised institutions, continued to exist in the small towns and villages of Iran till after the Second World War, although after 1925 they had to use Ministry of Education textbooks.

Organised higher education may be said to go back to the pre-Islamic medical school and hospital at Djundīshāpūr in Khūzistān [see GONDESHĀPŪR], but under Islam, the *madrasas* [*q.v.*] took over the function of higher religious education, tending, however, in the Safawid period to become exclusively centres for the training of the Shī'ī clergy, so that by the end of the 19th century, there was virtually no awareness in Iran of the modern intellectual and scientific progress of the West, and little attention was paid also to the rich heritage of classical Islamic scientific and secular literary production.

The impetus for the acquisition of modern Western science and technology began to be felt by the leaders of Iran under the Russian threat to the northwestern provinces of Iran early in the 19th century. 'Abbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] the enlightened Kādjār crown prince directly concerned with Iran's defence against Russia, and his able minister Mīrzā Buzurg Ka'im-i Makām [see KĀ'IM-I MAKĀM-I FARAHĀNĪ], tried to modernise the Iranian army, he told the British envoy James Morier in 1809 that "No pains have been spared to acquire a knowledge of military tactics and theory of fortification which they had gleaned from French and Russian books translated by 'Abbās Mīrzā's order" (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Persian society under the Qājārs*, in *JRCAS*, xlvii [1961], 123-39).

Negotiations with the embassy sent by Napoleon under General Gardane in 1807-9 (see R. M. Savory, *British and French diplomacy in Persia, 1800-1814*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, x [1972], 31-44) for training the Iranian army included the project of sending 200 Iranian students to study in France, but this project never materialised. In 1811 and 1815, seven students were sent to London for training, and this was the first attempt by the state to acquire an element of modern science and learning through sending students abroad.

Modern Western-type of education dates from the establishment of the *Dār al-Funūn*, the term being a rendering of "école polytechnique", in 1851 [see DJĀMI'A]. In 1848, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh began his reign and immediately appointed Mīrzā Taķī Khān, later called Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as his minister. Amīr Kabīr ushered in many reforms, and prepared a project for the establishment of a modern-type university, mainly to train experts for the army and the higher echelons of the civil service. He started on the necessary building and engaged a number of professors from Austria for it. The university was inaugurated by the Shāh in 1851, only a few days after its initiator, Amīr Kabīr, had fallen from power. The *Dār al-Funūn* was a combination of a military college and a secular university. Branches of study comprised infantry, cavalry and artillery sciences; medicine, physical sciences, mathematics, pharmacology, cartography, history, geography, and the Persian, Arabic, French and Russian languages. In addition to the Austrian professors who were engaged for six years, a number of European experts already in the service of the Iranian government were assigned to teaching posts, as well as a number of native Iranian scholars.

For the first year, 130 students were enrolled. Studies were free, and students were given a free mid-day meal and two uniforms per year. It had a theatre and a model factory attached to it, and was well-equipped with laboratories. Although the Amīr Kabīr was executed soon after the opening of the *Dār al-Funūn*, it continued its work. Amīr Kabīr's reforms, and particularly his founding the *Dār al-Funūn*, were not applauded by the powerful Muslim clergy, but as he had linked it with the needs of national defence, it was difficult for them to oppose it (see F. Ādamiyyat, *Amīr Kabīr va Īrān*,[2] Tehran 1348/1969).

The Austrian professors wrote many textbooks in their respective fields, and these were translated into Persian, thus not only was modern science introduced into Iran, but also, the foundations for modern Persian scientific terminology were laid.

The *Dār al-Funūn* was a landmark in the history of Iranian education, both as the first organised attempt to introduce modern science and technology and also as the first attempt by the state to assume responsibility for public education. For over forty years its work was responsible for the education of an élite class of intellectuals who were in no small measure responsible for the establishment of constitutional monarchy in 1906 (see F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i āzādī*, Tehran 1340/1961).

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh became increasingly suspicious of the new learning, and education stagnated in the later part of his long reign. In 1855, the Ministry of Science (*Wizārat-i 'Ulūm*) was created. In 1858, 42 students were sent to France to study in various scientific fields. In 1871 a modern school with European teachers was established in Tabrīz.

In the last decade of the 19th century, two colleges of higher education were established which later became faculties of Tehran University. One was the College of Political Sciences, primarily intended for the education of future diplomats, and the other was the College of Agriculture, with training at secondary school and university level. With the creation of the Society for Promotion of National Education, many philanthropically-inclined citizens were encouraged to endow and start their own private schools on modern lines.

The reformist movement which had started early in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was fully conscious of the inadequacy of the traditional *maktab-madrasa* type of education, and worked towards the adoption of a modern Western type of education. Mīrzā Malkam Khān [*q.v.*] was the first to propose a national system of education, similar to the French one of primary, secondary and university stages (see Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*). Others, more nationalist and anti-clerical, like Mīrzā Fath 'Alī Ākhund-zāda [*q.v.*], Mīrzā Āķā Khān Kirmānī [*q.v.*] and Talibov, demanded a secular system of education.

The constitutional period, beginning in 1906, inaugurated a period of upheaval for Iran, with the re-imposition of despotic Kādjār rule, pressures from outside powers during the First World War years and finally the downfall of the Kādjārs (see MASHRŪTIYYA and KĀDJĀRS), yet a great deal was done for education between 1908 and 1925.

In 1910 the *Madjlis* passed the administrative Law of Education which established the Ministry of Education (*Wizārat-i Wa'ārif va Awkāf va Sanā'i'-i Mustaẓrafa*), whose responsibilities included also all its wares (unified, pious endowments and the fine arts.

Responsibility for public education was assigned to this Ministry. In 1911 the Fundamental Law of Education made the Ministry responsible for the provision of basic education for all children aged from 7 to 13 years of age. This law also recognised three stages of education: primary, secondary and higher stages. Private schools were recognised, but they all had to carry out the curriculum ratified by the Ministry of Education. Corporal punishment was banned in all types of school (see further on the provisions of these laws, Issa Sadiq, *Modern Persia and her educational system*, New York 1931).

In 1918 the Central Teachers' College was established for training secondary school teachers. A number of French teachers were engaged to teach modern sciences, and eminent Iranian scholars came to be associated with this college, later called the Higher National Teachers' College. When the University of Tehran was established in 1935, this College was incorporated into the University to form its faculties of Arts and Sciences. In 1921 the School of Law was established and a number of European teachers engaged to teach modern jurisprudence. In 1921 a law was ratified by the *Madjlis* establishing the Supreme Council of Education, which was the legislative and supervisory body with regard to all matters pertaining to education. Thus with the education acts of 1910, 1911 and 1922, the foundations were laid for a national system of education.

With the advent of Rida Shāh Pahlavi [*q.v.*], Minister of War in 1921, prime minister in 1923 and voted in Shāh by the Constitutional Assembly which deposed the Kadjar dynasty in 1925, a new era began in the history of Iran, one marked by unification of the country under a strong central government, economic progress, the first steps towards emancipation of women, a resurgence of Iranian nationalism and further progress in education.

The need for trained people in higher education prompted the new Shāh to introduce a law into the *Madjlis* authorising the Ministry of Education to send at least 100 students abroad every year for higher education, the first group left for France in 1928. Scholars sent abroad under this law provided the future universities with the bulk of their teachers and also manned important posts of state. At the same time, the government engaged a number of foreign professors to teach at centres of higher education.

In 1934 an important step was taken to provide teachers for primary schools. A law was ratified by the *Madjlis* establishing teachers' colleges, and also making provisions for the employment, promotion and retirement of teachers and civil servants. By 1939 there were thirty such colleges in operation.

The University of Tehran was established by law in 1934 and inaugurated in 1935 [see DJĀMI'A]. Almost all the faculties were already in existence, the new law brought them under a unified administration. The law also approved the budget for extensive new buildings.

In 1936, Rida Shāh decreed the emancipation of women, and a consequence of this was that, hitherto barred from higher education, they found access to educational facilities at all levels.

In 1939, secondary school organisation was changed. Until then, the secondary school was divided into two stages or "cycles" of three years each. The first cycle was general in nature, and the second one provided more education in the arts and sciences. As there was a terminal examination at the end of the first cycle (at the age of 16) and a certificate was issued at that point, more than 50% of students terminated their studies then or went into a trade or vocational school. With the new system, the secondary school was divided into a structure of 3 + 3 years, with specialisation at the sixth year. This had an adverse effect on the subsequent development of education, however, in that it turned students away from vocational schools towards a university education, and consequently produced a surfeit of applicants for university education.

Technical and vocational education had all along been the responsibility of various departments of state who trained the experts whom they needed. The Ministry of Education—called since the early 1930s the *Wizārat-i Farhang* (*farhang* = both education and culture)—did have its own vocational schools which students could enter at the age of 16 after the first cycle of secondary school, but the number of these schools was inadequate.

The whole system of education was highly centralised, with all important decisions taken in Tehran. However, when Rida Shāh abdicated in 1941, a national system of education had been firmly established. The most remarkable achievement was perhaps the fact that, under him, girls came to enjoy the same right to education as boys.

Under Muhammad Rida Shāh Pahlavi [*q.v.*] there was an enormous growth in all fields of education. Whereas there were 285,000 students in primary schools in 1941, the figure rose to 4,708,000 in 1976. Secondary school enrolment rose from 25,000 to 2,357,000, and university enrolment from 3,367 to 154,000 in the same period. The increase in educational expenditure was from 154 million rials in 1941 to 180 billion rials in 1976. In addition, in 1976 there were some 30,000 Iranian students studying at foreign universities, mainly in the United States and in Western Europe.

In 1943 a law ratified by the *Madjlis* made the University of Tehran autonomous. Between 1949 and 1950, new universities were established in Tabriz, Shīrāz, Ahwāz, Isfahān and Mashhad. In 1956, Pahlavī University was established in Shīrāz, in 1957 the National University opened in Tehran, and in 1962 the Āryāmihr Technological University was inaugurated in Tehran. By 1964, eleven new institutions of higher education had been established.

In 1963, the law establishing the Literacy Corps or "Army of Knowledge" (*Sipāh-i Dānish*) was ratified. According to this law, young men of military age, with secondary school certificate, could choose to undergo four months of training in primary school teachers and afterwards teach for 20 months in remote rural areas, this being regarded as in lieu of military service. Between 1963 and 1969, some 1.3 million children and adults had been taught by the Literacy Corps in 22,000 villages.

In 1964 the whole system of primary and secondary schools was reorganised. The primary school was allotted 5 years, the "guidance" school 3 years after the primary school and the last four years of secondary school could be devoted to specialised studies relevant to the university course which the student planned to follow. Alternative vocational and technical schools were provided after the primary school and after the three years of "guidance" school, this system marking a considerable improvement over the previous one.

In 1968 a new Ministry of Science and Higher

Education was created to deal with ever expanding higher education. The new Ministry authorised the establishment of private colleges of higher education, but the experiment was not a successful one, and all the private colleges were nationalised in 1974. Also in 1974, education at all levels was declared free by the Shāh.

The abnormal growth of secondary education had created a large number of applicants for university places. Notwithstanding the fast expension of higher educational facilities, only a fraction of the applicants could find places. The accumulating number of young people whose levels of aspiration had been thereby raised, but could not be satisfied, was another factor responsible for the discontent that led to the 1979 Revolution in Iran, but the consequent closure in effect of the universities as potential centres of resistance, and the relegation once again of women to an inferior status under the Khumaynī régime have diminished rather than enhanced educational opportunities.

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(Maḥmūd Sanāʾī)

MAʿARRAT MAṢRĪN or **MIṢRĪN**, a small town in North Syria (lat. 36° 01′ N., long. 36° 40′ E.). It is 40 km. to the north of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], 50 km. south-west of Aleppo or Ḥalab [*q.v.*] and 12 km. north-west of Sarmīn. It owes its importance to its position between the districts of the Rūdj, the Djabr and the Djabal al-Summāḳ and formerly served as the market for this region which the road from Ḥalab to Armanāz traverses, a route used in the Middle Ages by the Turkomans. Its role has devolved today on Idlib. The land although poorly watered, has never lacked agricultural resources, in the Middle Ages there were already fig, olive and pistachio trees as well as *rammāḍ*, which was expected to the tanneries, lentils were also cultivated there. In former times, the town was protected by a wall which today has disappeared, and there were five mosques.

As the chef-lieu of a *nāḥiya* of the *muḥāfaẓa* of Ḥalab, situated in the district of the Djabr, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn had 3,000 inhabitants in 1930 and 5,000 in 1945, and came under the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Idlib.

The name of the town is often given in the form Maʿarrat Miṣrīn, but it is also called Maʿarrat Naṣrīn, which some authorities, such as al-Muḳaddasī and Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, connect with the name of Khosrau-Anūshirwān [*q.v.*], the *djund* of which the town formed part just as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] was sometimes designated Maʿarrat Ḥimṣ by an allusion to the *djund* to which it belonged in the Syriac manuscripts of the 8th century, this town, situated to the north of Anṭākiya [*q.v.*], is called Maʿarrat Meṣrēn. The monastery of Bēth Mari Kānān was there. In the chroniclers of the Crusades, one encounters the form Megaret Basrm or Megaret Mesrin. In Leambert's *Gesta* (714), one reads Maarrat Mouceran.

History. In the year 16/637, after having defeated a large Byzantine army drawn up between Ḥalab and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] conquered this town, which surrended on the same conditions as Ḥalab [*q.v.*]. In the ʿAbbāsid period, under the caliphate of al-Muʿtawakkil (d. 247/861), ʿAmr b. Bawbar, originally from Maʿāthā al-Buraydiyya, a locality near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, held the office of governor of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn. A century later, in 357/968, profiting from the unstable situation in Ḥalab after the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Nicephorus Phocas conquered the town and had more than 1,000 inhabitants deported to the *bilād al-Rūm*. After the Arabo-Byzantine truce of Ṣafar 359/end of 969-beginning of 970, the town was part of the territory governed by Karghuwayh. At the time of his expedition against Ḥalab, in 415/1024, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, chief of the Banū Kilāb, sent one of his *umarāʾ*, Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ṭawḳ, to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; the place was captured and its commander taken prisoner. In 454/1062, a short time before the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl, the Byzantines succeeded in making themselves masters of the town by trickery. Asad al-Dawla ʿAṭiyya succeeded his brother in Ḥalab but, in 457/1065, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, with the help of the Kilābīs, was successful in turning out his uncle and setting himself up in his place. However, some discontented Kilābīs helped ʿAṭiyya to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn in 458/1066 and recapture it from his nephew. In 490/end of 1097 the Franks besieged Anṭākiya, where the Saldjūḳid governor Yaghī Siyān resisted them. During the siege, the Franks went in Ṣafar 491/January 1098 to pillage some of the towns of the Djabr and notably Maʿarrat Maṣrīn. In Djumādā II 491/June 1098, Anṭākiya was taken, Yaghī Siyān escaped, but he fell from his horse at Armanāz, got far from Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and, mortally wounded, he is said to have been killed by some Armenian woodcutters who carried his head to Bohemond.

After having taken Ḥārim [*q.v.*] in Shaʿbān 492/July 1098, Raimond Pilet, with a detachment of the army of the Comte de Saint-Gilles, crossed the Rūdj and captured the town, which was integrated into the Frankish defences to the east of the Orontes. When Baldwin of Edessa had been taken prisoner, the Frankish garrisons were attacked in 497/1104 in the district of al-Djabr by the inhabitants of al-Tuʿa, Sarmīn and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, who inflicted heavy losses on them and drove them out of the region. Riḍwān of Ḥalab received a good reception and occupied the town, which came to play the role of frontier-post (*thaghr*) for the Muslims. In 505/1112-12 the population of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn came into conflict with the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlīs who were numerous in the district; two years later, in Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 507/April 1114, a group of Ismāʿīlīs recruited in Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, Afāmiya [*q.v.*] and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, tried to attack Shayzar during Easter, but were repulsed by the Banū Munḳidh.

In 514/1120 Tughtakīn and Īghāzī lords of Ḥalab arrived to besiege the Franks who had withdrawn to Maʿarrat Maṣrīn; when Baldwin proceeded to the rescue of the Crusaders, the antagonists reached a peace agreement granting the Westerners a certain number of places, including Kafartāb, al-Bāra [*q.v.*] and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, whence the Franks could keep a watch on the Turkomans. The Frankish fief of al-Athārib extended as far as Maʿarrat Maṣrīn at that time. In Radjab 520/August 1126, when Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*], governor of Mawṣil, invaded the territory of Sarmīn, he found the Franks camping in front of him near the cisterns (*birak*) of Maʿarrat

Maṣrīn, they retreated several days later to their territory because of their lack of provisions.

For several years, the region of the Djazr was to witness the constant passage of Crusaders and Muslims. In 524/1130, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, having become *atabeg* of Mawṣil after the assassination of Aḳ Sunḳur, profited from the conflict which broke out between Alice of Antākiya, widow of Bohemond, and her own father Baldwin II, to attack the outlying parts of Aʿzāzib and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, which he captured for a while from the Franks. In 527/1134, the *amīr* Sawār, lieutenant of Zangī in Ḥalab, undertook a plundering expedition against the Djazr and the citadel of Zardanā, he surprised the Franks near Ḥārim, invaded the territories of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and Maʿarret al-Nuʿmān, and returned to Ḥalab loaded with booty.

In 571/1175, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in order to bring the Ismāʿīlī Ḥashīshiyyīn to reason, mounted a punitive expedition against their territories of Sarmīn, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn and the Djabal al-Summāḳ whose inhabitants he massacred. He then entrusted to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥārimī, his maternal uncle, the district of Hamāt [*q.v.*], which was rich in fortresses.

In the Ayyūbid period, Maʿarrat Maṣrīn often changed masters; in Djumādā I 619/July 1222, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, son of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, acquired the territories of Shughr and Bakās, Rāḍī and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn, which he was to exchange later, around 624/1227, for some places situated to the north-west of Ḥalab, such as ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*] and Rāwandān. In 637-8/1240, the region was devastated by the Khwārazmians (see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

In the modern period, the town seems only rarely to have been visited by travellers. The consul J. B. Rousseau speaks of it in 1814 in his description of the *ṭoghalik* of Ḥalab. At the end of the 19th century, Jullien says of Maʿarrat Maṣrīn that it was a large village situated in the midst of fields of sesame and olive-trees in a rich plain, whose great fertility, before 1914, was praised by Garratt.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

MAʿARRAT AL-NUʿMĀN, chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of North Syria comprising the southern half of the Djabal Zāwiya, which connects of the southern part of the Belus massif with numerous villages. Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, famous as the birthplace of the blind poet al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], is situated at about 500 m. altitude, in lat. 35° 56′ N. and long. 36° 40′ E., falling within northern Phoenicia, two days' journey to the south of Ḥalab or Aleppo (70 km.). It is situated on the eastern fringe of a massif rich in archaeological remains. From west to east, we have Eocene limestones which provide cut stone, cretaceous marl, and, about 12 km. to the east, Pliocene basalts which, to the south, take the form of a flow which traverses the Djabal Zāwiya as far as the Orontes.

There is an running water in the vicinity, and the inhabitants have to collect rain water in cisterns. The contributions of rainfall and wells have allowed a rich agriculture without irrigation since antiquity. According to Ibn Djubayr, it used to take two days to cross the area covered by gardens which stretched all around the town. This land was, in the Ayyūbid period, one of the most fertile and rich in the world. To the west of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, since classical times there has been cultivation of olive trees and vineyards, near the town, in the gardens, grow pistachio and almond trees, while to the east, stretch fields of cereals (corn and barley). The region produces three essential commodities: corn, olives and raisins for immediate export, which leads to "recurring concentrations in great masses of these specialised products" (Tchalenko, *Villages*, i, 98).

It was accepts the identification of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān with Ara, the existence of a human settlement on the site of the present town very near to Tall Mannās dates back to the first millennium B.C. In fact, Ara is mentioned in the Assyrian texts among the conquests of the empire as 738 B.C. There is no doubt that it is the same town which appears under the name Arra as one of the Graeco-Roman cities of the Antonine itinerary which is identifiable with the Massara of Strabo and which becomes Marra in the Latin chroniclers of the Middle Ages, while the Western historians of the Crusades call it La Marre or La Maire. According to the Arab authors, the form Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān designated in the Umayyad period a town and a district situated in the fourth climate and belonging to the *djund* of Ḥimṣ, then, from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, it was incorporated in that of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*]. This is why the geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. before 272/885) considers this region as one of the *ʿAwāṣim* [*q.v.*]. According to al-Balādhurī (d. in 279/892) and al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. as 278/891) and repeated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (756/1355) and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (872/1468) (*Zubda*), the town was at one time called Dhāt al-Ḳuṣūr "the town of palaces"; al-Dimashḳī speaks of Ibāt Kasrayn, "the one with two palaces".

The second part of the name of the town, according to al-Balādhurī, repeated by al-Ḥarawī, is taken from a Companion of the Prophet, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*], who, in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, was governor of Kūfa and the region of Ḥimṣ and whose son died in Maʿarra, on the death of Yazīd, the governor of Maʿarra is said to have been Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who himself died in 65/684. There is another tradition according to which this second name is taken from al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAdī al-Sāʿī, of the Banū Tanūkh family who lived in the town and the region.

Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, since its establishment, has been an important crossroads and active economic centre. The town is situated on the north-south axis, which, from Kilīs at the foot of the Taurus goes as far as Palestine passing via Ḥalab, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ

and Dimashk. This route passes along the foot of the eastern slope of the Djabal Zāwiya and skirts the plain which stretches to the east. A road also passes it which links Ḥamāt with Antākiyya, and halfway between the latter and Maʿarrat al-Ruhāwiya (Chastel Ruge) in the Rūdj district which screens Antioch to the south. An important road goes westwards from Maʿarra via al Hass and al Bāra, goes over the Djabal Zāwiya, then crosses the Orontes at Djisr al-Shughr before reaching Lādhikiyya (*q.v.*).

To the south, one goes by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān to Kafar Tāb, from where one can reach Afāmiya or Shayzar. It should be noted that the old Ḥalab-Ḥimṣ route that al-Yaʿḳūbī followed in the 3rd/9th century did not pass by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān but via Tell Mannas, several kilometres to the east of the present road, and yet the Antonine itinerary gives the Arra-Epiphania (Ḥamāt) route. A well-articulated road network linked the agricultural villages of the east with Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. This town was not only a resting stage, but also a centre of exchange between the mountain and the plain, and it served as a great collecting centre of agricultural products. In 340/951 it was already a prosperous town. As the key to Ḥamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was to be under the Middle Ages, the first objective to be attained by any adversary, coming from the north west, north or north-east, while to any master of Ḥamāt it constituted an advance defence. In the Ottoman period, the economic importance of the town was emphasised by the fact that the *sandjak* of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān had its own fiscal regulation, taxes were paid on merchandise in transit, animals and produce transported from the villages to the town, the *bidj* lies (*q.v.*). In 1913, there was a French school in this town. At the present time, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān preserves its role as a craft and commercial centre which is emphasised by the coming-and-going of trucks, agricultural machines, buses and taxis as well as the appearance of its main street, which is dominated by garages, workshops for mechanical repairs, cafés and restaurants.

Demographic growth in the 20th century has followed that of the country as a whole. From 5,250 in habitants in 1932, the population rose to 9,140 in 1945, to reach 28,000 in 1970.

History. In 16/637, the army of Abū ʿUbayda (*q.v.*) occupied Maʿarra-Ḥimṣ, those of the inhabitants who were not converted were forced to pay the *djizya* and *kharādj* (*q.v.*). In Radjab 101/February 720, the pious caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was buried in Dayr Samʿān in al-Nakīra to the south-west of Maʿarra. It is in this village that there lived the Ṣūfī Yaḥyā al-Maghribī whom Saladin visited. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented in the 7th/13th century.

In 209/822, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, nominated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn as governor of Syria where he succeeded his father, fought the rebel Naṣr b. Shabath and, on this occasion, destroyed the fortifications of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and other fortresses such as those of al-Kafr and Hunāḥ.

In 290/903, the Karāmiṭa (*q.v.*), under the command of the Ṣāḥib al-Khāl, devastated the region of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Salāmiyya and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. They killed many people there and took captive women and children. In 325/936-7, some Banū Kilāb nomads penetrated into Syria from Nadjd; when they drew near to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Muʿāḍh b. Saʿīd, commander of this place, went to meet them, but was taken prisoner at al-Burāghīth (whose location is unknown) with a part of his army, he was only released later by Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, a Kilābī commander of Ḥalab.

In 333/943-4 al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, uncle of Sayf al-Dawla, drove out of Ḥalab Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd and the Kilābī Yānis al-Muʿnis, and passed by Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān on his way to Ḥimṣ, while Yānis fled to Egypt. In Shawwāl 333/May-June 945, the Ikhshīdid governor of Egypt left Damascus and marched against Sayf al-Dawla, he seized Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and appointed Muʿāḍh b. Saʿīd as governor for the second time, but he was killed shortly after by Sayf al-Dawla at the Battle of Kinnasrīn. In 348/959 the Karāmiṭa were numerous in the region of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and the ʿUḳaylid governor Shabīb b. Djarīr headed a band of these insurgents and marched on Dimashk. At the end of 357/end of 968, Nicephorus Phocas conquered Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān destroyed the Great Mosque and damaged a large part of its ramparts. At the beginning of 358/969, a peace treaty was signed and the town was one of those which had to pay tribute to the Byzantines, but the latter did not have sufficient troops to enforce the agreement. Abu ʾl-Maʿālī, son of Sayf al-Dawla, recaptured Maʿarra.

In 358/969, at the time when the Byzantines withdrew from the Ḥalab region, Abu ʾl-Maʿālī came to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, whose governor delivered the *khuṭba* in his name. In October of the same year, on the return of the Byzantines, Abu ʾl Maʿālī fell back on Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, where he received reinforcements, provisions and fodder. He appointed as his lieutenant there Zuhayr, a *ghulām* of his father, and went on to Ḥimṣ. On his return, Zuhayr refused to open the gates of the town to the Ḥamdānid prince, who decided to use force, finally, his lieutenant secured *amān*.

When in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 358/October 969, Karghawayh seized power in Ḥalab, Zuhayr, the governor of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, allied himself with the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and took part in the campaign against Ḥalab. But as soon as the Byzantine Peter Stratopedarcus, whom Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al Athīr calls al Turkāzī, came to help Karghawayh, Abu ʾl-Maʿālī abandoned the siege of Ḥalab and withdrew with Zuhayr to al-Khuwāṣirs and Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān. In 364/975 Saʿd al-Dawla Abu ʾl-Maʿālī came, with the aid of the Banū Kilāb, to besiege Zuhayr in his town, and broke in by the Hunāḥ gate, driven back from the town, Abu ʾl-Maʿālī burned the Ḥimṣ gate, and finally, Zuhayr gave himself up and was executed. In Shawwāl 366/May-June 977, the castle of Maʿarrat al Nuʿmān was pillaged.

An expedition of the Fāṭimids against Ḥalab in 380/996 was held in check, but the Egyptians succeeded in extending their authority as far as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In fact, Nummāḥ, a *mamlūk* of Sayf al-Dawla who governed the place, had revolted against his master Abu ʾl-Faḍāʾil Saʿīd al-Dawla, prince of Ḥalab, and had appealed to Manūḳtakīn, a Turkish leader in the service of the Fāṭimids, to relieve him from the pressure exerted by the Aleppian forces. It seems that following an agreement with the Fāṭimids, Luʾluʾ, the *atabeg* of Ḥalab, had recovered Maʿarra. In 393/1003 the district of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān was attacked by Luʾluʾ, who had seized power in Ḥalab in the preceding year; he dismantled the fortresses situated in this territory and in that of Rūdj in order to prevent his adversaries from using them against him.

In the middle of the 5th/11th century, after the appearance of the Mirdāsids on the political scene with the capture of Ḥalab in 1004, Maʿarrat al-

Nu'mān was to change hands several times. In 434/1042-3 the Hamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla confronted the Mirdāsid Thimāl, master of Ḥalab, and took possession of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. In 452/1060 Thimāl, in the course of an expedition against his nephew Maḥmūd, stayed in the town whose inhabitants had to suffer the enemy occupation. Five years later, after entering Ḥalab, Maḥmūd the Mirdāsid, sent Hārūn, a Turkish leader, to capture Ma'arra. On 17 Shawwāl 458/10 September 1066 Hārūn penetrated into the town with more than 1,000 men comprising Turks, Daylamī, Kurds and men from the al-Awdī tribe. They had established their camp outside the walls in front of the gate where public prayer was performed. These troops were disciplined, and respected the olive groves and vineyards, only taking water for their beasts without paying. They left the town to help Maḥmūd in his struggle against the Kilābīs.

Some Turks from the Byzantine territory advanced in 462/1070, under the command of Sunduk against Ḥalab; they went as far as the Djazr and devastated the territories of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Kafar Ṭāb, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ and Rafaniyya. Shortly after, the Saldjūḳids made their appearance in North Syria. In 472/1079 Ṣo, Tutush, brother of the sultan Malik Shāh, made the inhabitants of Sarmīn and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, whose eastern villages he plundered, pay large sums.

In 478/1085, Ma'arra belonged to the ʿUḳaylids, at the beginning of Rabīʿ II/August, Sulaymān b. Kutlumush who, the preceding year had seized Anṭākiya, took it from them. In 485/1092 Yaghī Siyān received from Tutush a certain number of places in *iḳṭāʿ*, including Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. Three years later, Riḍwān, the Saldjūḳid prince of Ḥalab gave the town and its territory to Sukmān b. Artuḳ in the following year, Djanāḥ al-Dawla, Riḍwān's *atabeg*, having quarrelled with the latter, seized Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān.

The strategic position of this place was also to interest the Crusaders. In the vicinity of the town, to the west, troops could be concentrated, under the protection of the forts of Tell Mannas and Kafr Ruma to the east and Kafar Ṭāb which, on the south, also served to defend the approach from Afāmiya and to attack Shayzar on the Orontes. In 491/1098 Raymond of Saint Gilles decided to attack Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān on leaving Anṭākiya, supported by the Christians of the region, but he was driven back. At the end of November a fresh attack was led by Robert of Flanders. In order to capture Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, the Crusaders used a wooden castle on wheels surpassing the height of the town walls so as better to attack the enemy who, to break the force of the missiles, covered the walls with bags of hay and cotton. Raimond Pilet's sappers succeeded in making a breach in the wall. Not having a very large army, Bohemond negotiated an honourable surrender, proposing to save lives. The town surrendered on 14 Muharram 492/11 December 1098. At Christmas 1098, Raymond of Saint Gilles left Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān to establish himself at Chastel Ruge and Bohemond also went there after appointing the bishop of al-Bāra in authority over this place. At the beginning of January 1099, while the princes were organising the expedition against Jerusalem from Chastel Ruge, the more impoverished elements of the Frankish army, who wanted to to go Jerusalem without delay, rebelled, and, despite the protestations of the bishop of al-Bāra, set about sacking the town and demolishing the ramparts. Raymond of Saint Gilles returned, gathered his men and abandoned Ma'arra, which he evacuated on 17 Ṣafar 492/13 January 1099, barefoot, as leader of the Pilgrimage. In 496/1103 Riḍwān of Ḥalab reconquered the lost fortresses and, the following year, he occupied Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, which the Franks were forced to abandon temporarily. In 503/1111, Mawdūd, *atabeg* of Mawṣil, and Ṭughtakīn, *atabeg* of Dimashḳ, allied against Ḥalab, and marched to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, whose region was at that time peopled by numbers of the Assassins [see AL-MASHĀSHIYYA]. On 23 Rabīʿ II 509/25 September 1115, Bursuḳ of Mawṣil was defeated by Roger of Antioch at the Battle of Tall Dānith, to the north of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, on the road from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. Two years later, after the assassination of Luʾluʾ at Ḥalab, the Franks controlled the roads linking the town with Dimashḳ. In 513/1119 Baldwin II marched on Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, and in the following year, Riḍwān concluded a treaty with the Franks of Antioch according to which Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, the Djazr situated to the north of the town, Kafar Ṭāb, al-Bāra and part of the Djabal al-Summāḳ reverted to the Franks. Several years later (519/1125) there is mentioned the escape of an important group of Muslim prisoners from the citadel of Ma'arra.

At the beginning of Djumādā I 529/end of April 1135, Zangī captured Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and drove the Franks out of the citadel, he re-established on their lands the Muslims who could show their title deeds, and for those who had lost them he checked the payment of *kharādj* in the land registers before restoring their lands. The following year, at the beginning of Shaʿbān/mid-April, the Byzantine John II Comnenus traversed the territory of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, without attacking it, and proceeded swiftly towards Shayzar which he besieged in vain.

During the great earthquake of 552/1157, of which Ḥamāt was the epicentre, Ma'arrat al Nu'mān was seriously damaged. Nūr al-Dīn visited it in Ramaḍān 552/October 1157. In this prince's time, this town was situated on the southern border of the Ḥalab region and the customs dues (*maḳs*) on merchandise were paid there. Nūr al-Dīn founded a dovecot there, a resting stage for the pigeon post between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab, which was to be integrated into the system of the Mamlūk air-borne post before being suppressed at the beginning of the 15th century.

In 574/1178, certain villages of the *kūra* of Ma'arra were given in *iḳṭāʿ* by Saladin to the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Mukaddam. In the Ayyūbid period, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān due to its position on the border of the territories of Ḥalab and Ḥamāt, changed hands more than ten times in less than a century.

In 548/1188 Saladin went from Ḥalab to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in order to go on pilgrimage to the Shaykh Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Maghribī, who lived near the tomb of the Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In 587/1192, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar seized Ma'arra to the detriment of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, and died shortly afterwards. Two years later it was given by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī to al-Manṣūr Muḥammad. In 596/1200, Ibn al-Mukaddam was in possession of Afāmiya, Kafar Ṭāb and 25 places in the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. The following year, during a campaign against Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī sacked the surrounding area and plundered the town, which sporadically formed part of his domains. In 598/1202 an agreement was reached between al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Ḥalab and al-

Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, who received Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. This town is situated to the north of Shayzar, Afāmiya and Kafar Ṭāb, three possessions of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, the *amīr* of Ḥalab, whose forces, together with some Bedouin allies, pillaged the territory of Ma'arra from time to time.

In 604/1207-8, the governor of the town was Murshid b. Sālim b. al-Muhadhdhib, vassal of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. In 617/1220, this town belonged, with the agreement of the Sultan al-Afḍal to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḳilīdj Arslān [*q.v.*], lord of Ḥamāt. In 620/1223, al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam ʿĪsā, prince of Dimashḳ, attacked Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, whose governor fled, leaving the task of negotiating to the notables, who included the father of the historian Ibn Wāṣil. Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam nominated an administrator.

In the decade which followed, the town was disputed between al-Ashraf Mūsā of Damascus and al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd of Ḥamāt. The latter reconstructed the citadel of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in 631/1233. In 635/1238, on the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo, Ma'arra and its citadel were seized by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Ḥalab after a short siege assisted by mangonels. Expelled by Ḏjingiz Khān [*q.v.*], the Khwārazmians crossed the Euphrates in 638/1240 and entered Syria, passed to the south of Ḥalab via Djabbūl and Sarmīn and plundered the region as far as Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, governed at that time by al-Malik al-Manṣūr After Baybars' victory at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], the sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*] in 658/1259 handed over to al-Malik al-Manṣūr the towns of Ba'rīn and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, which had been taken from him by the *amīr* of Ḥalab From this time onwards except for short periods, the town and its region was to remain in the hands of the princes of Ḥamāt, Abu 'l-Fidā', an Ayyūbid prince, geographer and historian, also received them in *iḳṭāʿ* from the sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn in 710/1310, but three years later he was forced to cede them to the ruler of Ḥalab. This is why, in 716/1318, he gave up to the sultan as a donation in the proper official style, the town and castle, which did not prevent him from ceding the town to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā at the end of the year

Under the Mamlūks, at the beginning of 740/1341, the principality of Ḥamāt was suppressed, the province belonged from then onwards to the ruler of Egypt, and the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān constituted a *nāḥiya* of the province After the Battle of Marḏj Dābik (922/1516) the town became Ottoman, in 924/1518 it was on the northern border of the province of Dimashḳ. A century later, the traveller Pietro della Valle (II, 138) passed by Ma'arrat al Nu'mān, where he found a prince of the Ottoman dynasty.

In the 17th century, Ma'arra was situated on the southern border of the *pashālik* of Ḥalab and the northern border of that of Dimashḳ, where the road from Bāb̄s passes to the Mediterranean, crossing the Orontes at Djisr al Shughūr.

Thévenot describes Ma'arra in 1658 as a "poor town commanded by a 'sanguac '", and says that it is surrounded by walls (*Voyage*, vi, 703; *Suite du Voyage*, II, 97-8) Franz Ferdinand von Troilo, a German traveller in the middle of the 17th century, found in the town "two fine inns, one dilapidated, the other in quite a good state" (*Reise Beschreibung*, Dresden 1676, 458). It is in this period that an Arab family settled there coming from the region of Konya, sc. the al-ʿAẓm family who, in the second half of the 17th century, were to set out on a political career which was to be prolonged into modern times About 1650 two of its members, Ḳāsim and Ibrāhīm, reached Dimashḳ, then went on to Ḥamāt and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān Ibrāhīm, a *mutafarrid*, served in the Ottoman army, settled in Ma'arra and was put in charge of organising the defence of the town against the attacks of the Turkomans. His son, Ismāʿīl Pasha b. al-ʿAẓm al-Nu'mānī, was born in Ma'arra in 1070/1659-60, where he occupied himself with agriculture, and in the town of his birth became a sufficiently important figure to be nominated governor of Dimashḳ, on 23 Djumādā II 1137/9 March 1725 (being removed at the end of Djumādā I 1143/December 1730). In this period, Pococke, who visited Ma'arra, describes it as a poor town with an independent *agha* who was paying a tribute to the Porte and levying taxes on travellers (*A description* . . . , II, 245-6) Ismāʿīl had two sons, Asʿad Pasha and Saʿīd al-Dīn. The first was born in 1117/1706, and was first *mutasallim* in Ḥamāt and Ma'arrat al Nu'mān and then governor of Dimashḳ in 1156/1743 In the 18th century the city, like Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt, was one of the lifetime grants (*mālikāne*) of the *pashā* of Damascus, who held it from the sultan and who himself sub-let it to an *agha* In Radjab 1135/October 1771, ʿUthmān Pasha al-Kurdī, governor of Damascus from 1760, was removed, and lost the *mālikāne* of Ma'arra, which Muḥammad Pasha al ʿAẓm then received.

In the middle of the 19th century, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was the most northerly locality of the *pashālik* of Dimashḳ it was a *sandjāḳ* governed by a *mutasarrif*, then it became a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *livāʾ* of Ḥalab and, in 1873, the residence of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. According to Sachau, who visited it in 1879, the town had about 400 houses, and led an easy life in the midst of a well-cultivated region. On the other hand, Max van Berchem, a few years later, saw only "a large, miserable-looking village . . . in a well cultivated plain." In 1913, one of the rare telegraphic offices of Syria made Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān the link between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab

From the time of the establishment of the French mandate in the Levant, this town became an active centre of resistance by the Syrian nationalists. In 1930, the Mawālī shepherd tribes held much of the lands through which one had to pass between Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Ḥalab Since 1965 the town has benefited from the economic, industrial and agricultural development of the Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ zone.

Monuments The town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān has protected by a wall which was often attacked and damaged, and then repaired; it had seven gates like many cities of the East: Bāb Ḥalab, al-Bāb al Kabīr, Bāb Sibīn, Bāb al-Djinān, Bāb Ḥunāk, Bāb Ḥimṣ and Bāb Ḳadhā' Defence was also assured by a mediaeval fortress of circular plan called al-Ḳalʿa, built on a mound serving as its foundation and dominating the countryside to the north-west of Ma'arra. It was situated at the entrance of ' the great ravine which, from al-Bāra, traverses the eastern side of the mountain, followed by the road which linked the inland plains of the east with the valley of the Orontes" (Tchalenko, III, 123) After the Crusaders' attacks, it was restored by Zangī in the 6th/12th century A dovecote (*burdj al-ḥamām*) set up by Nūr al-Dīn in the 6th/12th century linked Ḥamāt and Ḥalab by means of travelling pigeons until the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

The Great Mosque of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān occupies the site of an ancient temple which had given way to a church which was turned into a mosque after the arrival of the Muslims. Built on a height in the middle of the city, it was reached by 13 steps, an-

tensive re-use of ancient remains bears witness to the antiquity of the sanctuary, whose roof is flat. In the courtyard, two kiosks are supported by shafts of ancient columns; the cupola which protects the ablutions basin and its fountain rests on ten ancient columns, and the drum which provides a passage between the decagon of the ground plan and the circle of the cupola, is pierced by semi-circular bays. The square minaret of the Great Mosque, one of the most beautiful in Syria, bears on its west face the signature of the architect Kāhir b. ʿAlī b. Kanīt al-Sarmānī, who in 595/1199 built the town's Shāfiʿī *madrasa*. Creswell attributed this date to the construction of this monument. Herzfeld, stressing the strict relation which exists between the decoration and construction of this five-storeyed minaret and that of Ḥalab, built between 483/1090 and 487/1094, dated it from 550/1155 at the latest. There is every reason to believe that Nūr al-Dīn had it repaired after the great earthquake of 552/1157. Later, this minaret, after the quake of 565/1170, was to undergo other damage and to be repaired in 595/1199 by the architect of the Shāfiʿī *madrasa*.

Some *sūḳs* of very ancient origin surround the Great Mosque, and in the city there are still some remains of covered, vaulted streets like Jerusalem. At the time of his visit to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw an ancient column 10 cubits high with an inscription in non-Arabic characters which was regarded as a talisman, as at Hims and Antākiya, protecting the town from scorpions.

According to Albert of Aix, quoted by Cl. Cahen (*La Syrie du Nord*, 162, n. 5) there was in the period of the Crusades, in the southern part of the town, a church of St. Andrew, of which some foundations still survive. According to Syriac texts, there was also a Monophysite monastery, whose location is uncertain. There are in the town and its environs a large number of sculpted arch-stones in basalt originating from ancient Christian tombs.

To the south of the Great Mosque is situated a Shāfiʿī *madrasa*, whose foundation is sometimes attributed to Nūr al-Dīn. Following a sculpted inscription on the lowest course of the arch of the doorway, it was built in 595/1119 in the reign of the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamāt al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abū 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad by Abū'l Fawāris Nadjā. The building also bears the signature of the architect Kāhir b. ʿAlī b. Kānt. The *madrasa* is entered on the east side by a doorway with a traforied arch opening on the vestibule covered by a pyramidal cupola on pendentives in its axis, facing an oblong court, there is a very large *īwān*, at present encroached upon by dwellings. On the south, the prayer hall opens on the courtyard by three doors; the *miḥrāb*, a large niche, is preceded by a cupola on pendentives creating a zone passing from the hexadecagon to the circle of the cupola. On the north side, some rooms are laid out and, at a north-east angle, is placed the tomb of the founder surmounted by a cupola.

Also at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān should be noted a *khān* of the Ottoman period which lies to the south of the Great Mosque in the eastern part of the town. It is a great, square *khān* in cut stone with huge stables and a small mosque in the middle of the courtyard. An inscription above the fine southern doorway, dated 974/1566-7, informs us that this building is due to the generosity of Murād Čelebi, *defterdār* of Anatolia (d. 982/1573-4). A second inscription at the vaulted north entrance is a poetic text giving in a chronogram the date 1166/1752-3, presumably the time of Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm.

There are many places of pilgrimage or oratories in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: the *Maḳām Nabī Allāh Yūshaʿ b. Nūn* often cited as a *ḳaṣaba* or *mashhad*, is situated outside the south walls of the town. The tomb of Yūshaʿ (Joshua) is probably on the site of an ancient pre-Islamic sanctuary. Yāḳūt says that this is not the tomb of Yūshaʿ, which is actually in the vicinity of Nābulus. An inscription of 10 lines dated 604/1207 recalls, in the bay above the door, that this place of prayer was reconstructed on the order of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir al-Ghāzī while Murshid b. Sālim b. al-Muhadhdhib governed Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The ground plan of this small-scale *maḳām* is little different from that of a *madrasa* with its rectangular court, its deep *īwān* facing the entrance and the north and south faces occupied by the funerary chamber and prayer hall. Above the entrance arch rises an octagonal minaret with a small cupola supported at the top by four columns. The modern mausoleum of the illustrious blind poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (*q.v.*), where there is a part of his epitaph on a stele fragment in stone, is situated in the town.

In the vicinity of Bab Shīḥ, there is the tomb of Seth, third son of Adam, who spent part of his life in Syria. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, grandson of a Companion of the Prophet, is mentioned in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān by al-Balādhurī, and again by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Yāḳūt. There was also a *mashhad* of Yūsuf which was restored by *al*-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī.

A short distance to the east of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, at Dayr Nākira, identified with the Dayr Samʿān of this district, is the tomb of the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in a small enclosure. The earliest author, according to J. and D. Sourdel, to mention this site is Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn went there on pilgrimage in 584/1188 and visited there the Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr al-Maghribī, who lived in this place and was buried behind the sepulchre of the Umayyad sovereign. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented from the Ayyūbid period.

In 1933, Tchalenko remarked on the subject of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: "Due to its situation as much as to its urban character and the importance of its mediaeval monuments, this site demands a special study, like several other small towns situated on the edge of the massif."

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AL MA'ARRĪ, Abu 'l-'Alā' Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān famous Arabic poet and prose author of the late 'Abbāsid period, was born in 363/973 in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān [q.v.], a town between Aleppo and Ḥims in the northern part of Syria, where he also was to die in 449/1058. The Banū Sulaymān, his forefathers, belonged to the notable families of Ma'arra. As Shāfi'ī 'ulamā', they held the office of *kadi*, which post was for the first time successfully claimed by a grandfather of Abu 'l-'Alā''s grandfather. In addition, some of the Banū Sulaymān are mentioned as rather good poets (further information in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-kasr wa-garīdat al-'aṣr*, ii (part on Syria) ed Shukri Faysal, Damascus 1959, where a genealogical table may be found in the editor's *Muḳaddima*, based on al-Iṣfahānī, *op cit*, ii, 49 and Ibn al-'Adīm, *al Inṣāf*, 485-511).

Having been afflicted by smallpox at an early age, Abu 'l-'Alā' lost his eyesight "When I was four years old, there was a decree of fate about me, so that I could not discern a full-grown camel from a tender young camel, recently born" (see his correspondence with Abū Naṣr b Abī 'Imrān, the *Daʿī 'l-duʿāt*, in Yākūt, *Udabā'*, i, 196, cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī's correspondence on vegetarianism*, in *JRAS* [1902], 317). This defect was, however, more than compensated by his extraordinarily retentive memory, which in later biographical collections was to reach fabulous dimensions Ibn al-'Adīm [q.v.], who is otherwise very reliable, inserted in his monograph concerning Abu 'l-'Alā' a "Chapter about deep understanding, natural ability, quick and brilliant memory, shining thought and penetrating insight in connection with Abu 'l 'Alā'" (*al-Inṣāf*, 551-64) That Abu 'l-'Alā' started his career as a poet at the early age of 11 or 12 years need not surprise us in view of, for instance, similar statements which concern youthful poetry by al Mutanabbī [q.v.], cf. R Blachère, *Abou 't-Tayyib al-Motanabbi*, an *poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 47. Abu 'l 'Alā' completed his religious, linguistic and literary education, in that he read the teat materials required, under supervision of different *shaykhs*, as the first instance those at Ma'arra and Aleppo Among his teachers were, according to Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Ta'rīf al-ḳudamā'*, 30, "companions from the circle of Ibn Khālawayh [q.v.]", known as one of the participants in the literary reunions at Sayf al Dawla's court in Aleppo This grammarian and expert on Kur'ān readings died in 370/980-1, when Abu 'l-'Alā' was still very young None the less, an find Abu 'l-'Alā' regretting Ibn Khālawayh's loss to Aleppo in rather strong terms· "Would that God might protect Aleppo, because that town, after Abū 'Abd Allāh b Khālawayh's death, ceased to wear any ornament, neither spangle nor bracelet; thus it was found to be far removed from *adab*" (*Risālat al Ghufrān*, 518, tr. 548-9). Among his teachers should further be mentioned Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b Sa'd, who was a *rāwiya* of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, Ibn al-'Adīm mentions (*al-Inṣāf*, 523) how Abu 'l-'Alā', at one time reading al Mutanabbī's *Dīwān* under his supervision, corrected Ibn Sa'd's *riwāya*. By comparing the passage concerned with that found in a manuscript from 'Irāḳ, Abu 'l-'Alā''s correction was proved to be justified From this incident we may conclude that Abu 'l-'Alā' had already at an early age some acquaintance with the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, for whom he was to entertain great admiration at a more advanced age

Regarding the next phase of Abu 'l-'Alā''s life, up till his journey to Baghdād, Arabic historians express two different opinions. Some historians suppose the poet to have travelled to some other cities apart from his Baghdād journey They would have him visit Antioch and Syrian Tripoli so that he might profit from the local libraries. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Ta'rīf*, 30, and other historians following him, the poet on his way to Tripoli made a halt not far from al-Lādhiḳiyya (Latakia), at Dayr al-Fāṭūs, a monastery so called in memory of Jesus's shroud (Greek σφρος, see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *loc. cit*, n. 1) There he listened to a monk discussing Hellenic philosophy, producing in his mind certain doubts which could afterwards be recognised in his poetry Some other historians however, are of a different opinion. For example, Ibn al 'Adīm is one of those who deny the poet was under the influence of any religion but Islam. As far as Antioch is concerned, Ibn al-'Adīm bases his argument on the political situation in Syria, during all Abu 'l-'Alā''s life-time Antioch lay inside the Byzantine frontiers. From the es-

pulsion of the Muslims by Byzantine authorities from that town, Ibn al-'Adīm infers that "it is neither unreasonable that a library should have existed there nor a librarian, as much as that town is inconceivable for somebody to travel to in order there to pursue knowledge" (*al-Inṣāf*, 555). Concerning the supposed existence of a library at Tripoli, also an alleged motive for Abu 'l-'Alā''s travelling, Ibn al-'Adīm points out that such a library was only founded in 472/1079 &c, many years after the poet's death (*op. cit.*, 557). Despite Ibn al-'Adīm's strong arguments, recent researches alter all tend to accept the possibility of an actual visit in the towns mentioned, as may be deduced from certain allusions in Abu 'l-'Alā''s poetry (see H. Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, in *REO*, 2 [1943-4], 123-4).

The poems of the first half of Abu 'l-'Alā''s life were collected in his *Dīwān*, which was called *Saḳṭ al-zand* ("The first spark of the tinder"). Here and there in this collection, the poet's reactions to contemporaneous political developments in Syria may be found. About that time, the dynasty of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*], with Aleppo for their centre of authority, began to lose much of its power, which having attained its utmost degree in Sayf al-Dawla's days, under his successors gradually was to vanish, finally making place for another line of *umarā*, the Mirdāsids (see S. Zakkar, *The emirate of Aleppo 1004-1094*, Beirut 1971). Meanwhile, the relative independence of the northern Syrian territory was increasingly threatened from the north by a renewed access of Byzantine military power and from the south by the appearance for the first time of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*]. At the same time, there was hardly any support to be expected from the Būyid *umarā* and their nominal overlords, the 'Abbāsid caliphs in Baghdād. During the reign of the successors of Sayf al-Dawla, in particular Sa'd al-Dawla and Sa'īd al-Dawla, the Fāṭimid *imām* began trying to extend their influence from Egypt into northern Syria especially at the time Sa'd al-Dawla started his rule, Aleppo came to be the object of several prolonged but futile sieges (Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951, i, 185-92). Abu 'l-'Alā' took a keen interest in these developments, as is apparent from at least four laudatory poems found in his collection, the *Saḳṭ al-zand*. In these poems, important personalities from either party at war are the subjects of his praise. Thus he eulogises one Banūdjūtakīn, who was a Fāṭimid general, in his poem with rhyme word *-ānuhum* (*Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, ii, 803), while in two other poems of his (the one with rhyme *-ḥayyara*, *Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, iii, 1087, and the other with rhyme *-wādiu*, *op. cit.*, iii, 1046) a certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, one of the Banū 'l-Maghribī [*q.v.*] is lauded. The latter had originally acted as a *ḥājib* and *wazīr* to the Ḥamdānids' service, but having betrayed his masters he filled the Fāṭimid post of financial and administrative superintendent of the army (*mudabbir al-djaysh*), trying to conquer Aleppo for the Fāṭimid cause. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Sa'd al-Dawla, too, who only with great difficulty stood his ground in Aleppo, can be found as a *mamdūḥ* in Abu 'l-'Alā''s poetry. In the *rathā'* of a *ḳaṣīda*, even his name is mentioned, though in a rather allusive way, "[16] The camels kept asking me, upon which I answered, saying, Our destination will be Sa'īd (however, the name excepted, *sa'īd* also means "fortunate")." Thereupon the *wazīr*'s name came to be their good omen" (from the poem with rhyme *-mālā*, *Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, i, 25). All these laudatory passages are, however, rather curious, because they do not fit the image given by Abu 'l-'Alā' himself in the Preface to his *Dīwān* (*Sharḥ Saḳṭ* i, 10), where he says, "I have not knocked at the doors of great lords, whilst reciting my poetry, no more did I praise with a view to acquiring a reward". This contrast between explicit intention and real practice may be explained by the assumption that the poet in such cases had been pressed to compose this sort of poetry against his will (cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, i, 2234).

It was in 393/1003-5 that Abu 'l-'Alā' had to sustain the painful blow of the death of his father, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān, who had been the first one to teach him. This date given by 'Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, ii, 5 and Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 493, should be preferred to the one indicated by Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 163, who erroneously mentions 377/987-8, which year is correspondingly given by the majority of Western biographers (about the chronology, see 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi'", in *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, Cairo 1965, bā' 75). Reacting to his father's decease, the poet composed an elaborate elegy (rhyme *'l-ḥādīnī*, *Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, ii, 907), in which we find him praising his father's poetical talents in glowing terms. "[26] O master of rhymes! How much did their obedience to your wishes contrive, that in your view eloquent Arabs hardly surpass the level of stammering barbarians!" Three years after the event Abu 'l-'Alā' is reported to have left Ma'arra in order to settle at Baghdād, where, however, he was to stay for merely one-and-a-half years. The poet himself pointed out what motive was prompting him to travel to Baghdād, for in his letters it is explicitly mentioned that nothing more than the libraries in that place excited his interest (Margoliouth, *Letters* 40 and 44, cf. *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, 247, 287). From his *Saḳṭ al-zand* we may know the poet to have been in touch with several personalities employed in Baghdād libraries. One of these was Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who was a custodian in the *Dār al-'ilm* [*q.v.*], and for whom Abu 'l-'Alā' composed a long *ḳaṣīda* (rhyme *'l-khāṭir*, *Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1646). Another librarian and scholar was Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī, "who had been entrusted with the supervision of *Dār al-ḥikma* at Baghdād" (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād* xi, 57-8), and to whom Abu 'l-'Alā' having returned to Ma'arra was to address a poem (rhyme *arba'*, *Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 1537) in which he ventilates his melancholy remembrance of Baghdād and mentions their weekly conversations on Fridays. About both these librarians see Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie* , 159. Despite the benefit he might have reaped from a prolonged stay at Baghdād, it was not long before the poet again took his departure. It seems that he got into trouble financially, which need not surprise us in view of his unwillingness to compose laudatory poems for the Baghdād nobility, in which aspect he shows himself quite different from, for instance, al-Mutanabbī. Another reason why he did not stay any longer in Baghdād is given by Abu 'l-'Alā' himself, in addition to the one already mentioned in a *ḳaṣīda* (rhyme *bi-Ṭabarīya*, *Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 2634) addressed to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, son of the well known author of *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* (see Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 302-9, vi, 251-67, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 252), the poet later on explains his uneasy position in one poetical line, "[36] There were two reasons which caused me to leave you: a mother whom I have not been able to meet after all, and money reduced to the amount of uselessness."

Apart from these explanations explicitly given for his premature departure, some other events are mentioned by the Arabic historians, which also might have induced him to leave Baghdād. Thus an incident is reported to have happened in the literary salon of an important ʿAlawī *sharīf* al-Murtaḍā, brother of the Shīʿī poet al-Raḍī (Brockelmann, I, 404, S I, 704, and I, 82, S I, 132). Having expressed some strong criticisms of al Mutanabbī's poetry, al-Murtaḍā had been the target of a concealed but none the less a very severe attack from Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ, who was a fanatical admirer of al Motanabbī. As a result, al-Murtaḍā had thus dragged by his feet out of the salon (for details, see Margoliouth, *Letters*, p XXVII, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ*, 108). On the other hand, some late authors, among whom Ibn Kaṯīr (*q.v.*) in *al-Bidāya*, xii, 73 (*sub anno* 449), report him to have been expelled from Baghdād by the local *fuḳahāʾ*. The poet is said to have aroused their anger by asking some critical questions concerning the application of certain rules of *fiḳh*. For an evaluation of this, as it seems, rather anecdotal report, see Laoust *La vie et la philosophie* , 128, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ*, 225-36.

In Ramaḍān 400/1010, Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ began his return journey, but having come home he found his mother already dead. His *Dīwān* contains two elegies (rhyme *shīn*, *Shurūḥ Saḳṭ*, iv, 2725, and rhyme *hamza*, iv, 2453), in which he gives expression to his feelings of sorrow the announcement of her death was a terrible blow; he would have preferred to precede her into death, but now the only consolation left is for him finally to be buried near her tomb. He is hoping to meet her again on the final day of resurrection which is, however, yet far away. Then, in his *Risāla* written just after his leaving Baghdād he declares his intention to seclude himself completely from association with other human beings and to stay in his house for ever "to remain in the pity even though the inhabitants fled through fear of the Greeks" (Margoliouth, *Letters*, 42 (= VII) and 43 (= VIII)). From that moment he was to acquire the sobriquet *Rahn al-maḥbasayn*, "the twofold prisoner" (sc. of his blindness and his house).

This self imposed confinement was only once to be broken in the period after Baghdād, because of a chance event which in 417/1026-7 occurred in his native town. At that time, Aleppo and its districts were ruled by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who as a leader of the tribe of Kilāb became the founder of the Mirdāsid dynasty. Ṣāliḥ's *wazīr* al *sayf wa ʾl-ḳalam*, the Christian Thiḳfurus b. al-Ḥasan, by his strong policy produced tensions between the Christian and Muslim factions of the population in Aleppo and the surrounding region, and these tensions provoked in Maʿarra the following outburst of violence. On a Friday a woman entered the town's congregational mosque complaining about a molestation suffered at the hands of the Christian owner of a winehouse, where in addition to wine the enjoyment of fair ladies used to be offered. Thereupon all those present in the mosque, the *ḳāḍī* and notables excepted, ran out so as to pillage and destroy the house concerned. At the instigation of his *wazīr*, Ṣāliḥ had a number of the notables imprisoned, among whom was Abū ʾl-Maḏjd, a brother of the poet. Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ allowed himself to be persuaded to intercede for his fellow-townsmen with Ṣāliḥ, not without success. We find this chain of events recalled in several poems not contained in *Saḳṭ al-zand*, this collection being finished and closed, but in the second collection of poems, the *Lāmiyāt al ʿadjam*. When recalling this incident, it is evident that the poet strongly endorses the action of his fellow-townsmen,

"[1] On Friday, a woman who was already with child (*ḥāmil*) came to the congregational mosque (*ḥāmil*) to recount her case to the witnesses in town.

[2] Supposing they had not risen to help her upon her outcry, I would rather imagine that God's heaven might pour down fiery coals'

(*Lazūm*, ed. Zand, i, 335/Bombay, 138, rhyme *awa-ha*).

As regards his successful mediation, the poet remains so humble, that he is heard giving God all the credit,

"[3] I did not even make my contribution as big as a mosquito's wing, but God did cover them with a wing of His grace" (*Lazūm*, ed. Zand, i, 234, ed. Bombay 220, rhyme *ḥandāḥi*).

A detailed historic report of these events can be found in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 232-4, and idem, *al-Inṣāf*, 566-8. What happened in Maʿarra and the poet's reaction to it make it already evident that Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ did not totally seclude himself. On the contrary, his house became the goal of frequent visits by *wazīrs*, scholars and pupils, whilst at the same time he kept up an extensive correspondence in prose by way of his *Risāla*. However, his poetical correspondence such as is found in his first collection of the *Saḳṭ al-zand* probably belongs to the pre-Baghdād period. From those with whom the poet was in contact, the following personalities may be mentioned.

(1) The governor of Aleppo, appointed by the Fāṭimids, Abū Shudjāʿ Fāṭik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī ʿAzīz al-Dawla (reigned from 407/1016-7 till 413/1022-3, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 215 ff.). He paid a visit to Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ in order to discuss with the poet an invitation from the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Ḥākim for Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ to go to Cairo, but the poet finally decided against the suggested stay in Egypt (see *al-Inṣāf*, 570-4, 577-8).

(2) Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī, who was a son of Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Maghribī, the Ḥamdānid *ḳāḍī* mentioned above in 400/1009-10, at the time when al-Ḥākim had almost all members of the al-Maghribī family executed. Abū ʾl Ḳāsim succeeded in escaping the massacre. After many peregrinations he was finally appointed a *wazīr* in Mayyāfāriḳīn. He was the addressee of several *Risālas* (i.e. Margoliouth, *Letters*, numbers I, II and XXI) written by Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ, who finally dedicated an elegiac poem to him on the occasion of his death (see *Lazūm*, ed. Zand, ii, 434/Bombay, 346, rhyme *ʾl-ʿawāḳiyah*).

(3) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Munadjdjim, both a poet and a *wazīr* appointed by the ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn (cf. Ibn Khallikan, 58, ed. Dasān ʿAbbās, i, 143-5, no 59). When visiting Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ, this *wazīr* is reported to have asked him some rather critical questions regarding his ascetic way of life (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʾrīḫ*, 93).

(4) Abū ʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Baghdādī, who as a *wazīr* and ambassador sent by the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*] to the Zīrid prince al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] in Tunis passed al-Maʿarra on his westward journey. Having visited Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ there, he continued his journey by stages, so as to settle finally in al-Andalus (Safadī, *al-Wafī*, iv, Wiesbaden 1959, 70-2; cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 563 and H. R. Idris, *La berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 191-3).

Among Abū ʾl-Faḍl's school of pupils should be reckoned Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, who in the Muslim West was to write an excellent commentary on Abū

ʾl ʿAlāʾ's *Sakt al zand* (for al Baṭaliyawsī, see Brockelmann, I, 427, S I, 758)

(5) Abū Zakariyāʾ Yaḥyā b. al-Khaṭīb al Tibrīzī (Brockelmann, I, 279, S I, 492), who was for some years Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ's pupil and is reported to have been a professor at the *madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in his after years. He also composed a commentary on the *Sakt al-zand*. It is interesting to note that in this commentary of his, another, lost commentary by Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ himself, called *Daw' al-Sakt*, has been incorporated.

(6) Abū ʾl-Makārim ʿAbd al-Wāriṯ b Muḥammad al-Aḥwārī is reported to have read on a pupil under the supervision of Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ in the works of the master for a period of four years (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *al-Inṣāf* 520) To the tradition of this scholar a third commentary existing to this day can be traced This commentary called *Durūm al-Sakt*, was written in the Muslim East, at Samarkand, by Sadīr al-Afāḍil al-Kāsim b al-Ḥusayn al-Khʷārazmī (see *Shurūḥ Sakt*, i, 28, for al-Khʷārazmī's chain of tradition, and in general, Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 452-3, for all the different commentaries preserved).

For further names of those who came into contact with Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ, see the two different chapters by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the one "Treating of those who read under Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ's supervision and transmitted on his authority, i.e. *ʿulamāʾ*, *wuḥāt* and traditionists from Maʿarra and from outside" and the other "About the great respect he is held in by kings *colifim*, *umirs* and *wuzirs*" (*al-Inṣāf*, 517, 565)

Finally, in his old age the poet came into touch with a few scholars with Ismāʿīlī sympathies. Thus in 438/1047 the well-known Persian poet and prose-author Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through Maʿarra on his journey which would eventually lead him to the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Mustanṣir. In the account of his travels (*Sefer Nameh*, ed. Ch. Schefer, text 10, tr. 35 6), he gives a rather curious impression of what he heard about Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ that he was very rich, and that all the inhabitants of Maʿarra were his servants, whilst he himself led a thoroughly ascetic life in keeping a constant fast and practising vigils Thus it appears that the poet had imposed upon himself a life of ascetic poverty, although he was the owner of at least some sort of property in or near Maʿarra. This and the esteem he was held in by the local population—the more so because of the importance of the Banū Sulaymān as one of the distinguished families in town—may explain the position of influence ascribed to him by Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Some ten years later Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ had a much more serious, though indirect, intellectual contact in his fairly extensive correspondence with an important Ismāʿīlī propagandist, the *Dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt* Abū Naṣr b. Abī ʿImrān al-Muʾayyad fi ʾl-Dīn About 448/1057, by order of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, al-Muʾayyad undertook a mission to North Syria in order to rally its local rulers against the Saldjūk Turks recently come to power in Baghdād (see *Dīwān al-Muʾayyad fi ʾl-Dīn*, *dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt*, ed Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, editor's *muḳaddima*, 40, 64). Whilst carrying out his appointed mission, the *Dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt* started a correspondence with Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ by pretending to seek guidance in pursuance of a poetically-defined way of life given by Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ in *Luzūm*, ed Zand, i, 232, ed Bombay, 84, rhyme *ʾl mubāʾ'ab*, the poet advises a practical ascetic way of life These Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ rejects the eating of fish, meat, milk, eggs and honey, at the same time declaring himself to possess some esoteric knowledge which should remain concealed. The resulting exchange of letters was finally stopped as a senseless business by al-Muʾayyad The latter in his last *Risāla* made it clear that indeed, Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ at no time whatsoever might be expected to give any details answering the esoteric knowledge he claimed (see Margoliouth, *Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarri's correspondence on vegetarianism*). It so happened that Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ died in 449/1058 just after this correspondence, and therefore it need not surprise us that some Arabic historians try to find evidence for a connection between the correspondence just mentioned and the poet's decease For instance, Ibn al-Habbāriyya [q.v.] in his (lost) book *Fulk al-maʿānī* (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 194) says that he committed suicide in order thereby to avoid being deported by command of the *Dāʿī*, who intended, the author suggests, to punish the poet for his heretical ideas. Most historians, however, agree that the poet died from natural causes, and this opinion finds strong corroboration in a report which mentions that the physician Ibn Buṭlān [q.v.] was in attendance at Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ's death-bed. In his very last moments, the poet asked a member of his family present to get pen and writing-paper, so that he could dictate to him something But in doing this, Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ committed, as against normal expectation, some errors in his dictation. Thereupon Ibn Buṭlān declared the end to be at hand, "Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ is dead already" (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʾrīḫ*, 65). In many passages of his poetry, the poet had shown that he regarded procreation as a sin, and that he preferred universal annihilation as the best hope for humanity. He therefore never married, and is said to have desired that the following verse should be inscribed on his grave: "This wrong was by my father done to *me*, but never by me to anyone". A great deal of Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ's work is supposed to have been lost as a result of the Crusades, which caused much devastation in Syria, at Maʿarra included (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, in *Taʾrīḫ*, 49). A list of all his works, either lost or still remaining, can be found in Moustapha Saïah, *Liste des œuvres d'Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 275 From those still existing, the following works may be mentioned in chronological order, as far as possible.

1 The *Sakt al-zand* contains *sitte alāf* laudatory poems, some of which have been mentioned above. In this *Dīwān* the poet often follows the tripartite division of the classical *ḳaṣīda* into *nasīb*, *raḥīl* and *madīḥ*, but occasionally he rejects the *nasīb* or eliminates it completely. In this respect, however, he cannot be compared with the poet Abū Nuwās [q.v.], whose rejection of it is at the same time a turning towards the description of wine In the case of the ascetic Abū ʾl-ʿAlāʾ, the drinking of wine and its description is disapproved of, water being preferred.

When the poet does accept the *nasīb*, he often stresses its elegiac character by a description of cooing turtle doves. The murmuring note of these doves, who seem to regret a chink once lost long ago, is often compared with the poet's yearning after an unattainable and far-off loved one. In describing all this, the poet ruminates on the way in which the sound of cooing moves him to profound thoughts In a few other *nasībs*, the poet (being blind) is asking his travelling-companions to trace a distant flash of lightning in the land of the beloved, but when sleeping he himself can discern her deceitful phantom visiting him. The *raḥīl* in his *ḳaṣīdas* is usually most elaborate: one may find all sorts of descriptions, like emaciated camels tired by long travelling, the mirage; among the animals found in the desert, are mentioned the antelope, sand-grouse, ostrich and chameleon. His

preference for description of the night is so conspicuous that some commentaries try to connect this with the poet's blindness. For some further thoughts on the *rakīl* and the development in his description of the journey in general, see also P. Smoor, *The theme of travel in Ma'arrī's early poems*, in *The challenge of the Middle East*, Amsterdam 1982. Regarding the independent form of the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], Abū l-'Alā' had little interest in it. Further, whenever he does practise it, he appears to feel himself obliged to fit so as technical exercise in a certain genre only (cf. Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Ṭaǧdīd dhikrā Abī l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1963, 201, as against 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Abū 'l-'Alā'*, 49 ff., who sees it as a compensation for the poet being deprived of the enjoyments of life). The *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] as final part of the *ḳaṣīda* often shows extravagant eulogy of the *mamdūḥ*, so that the poet later regretted this to the Preface to his *Dīwān*, "All sorts of hyperbolic description found with me as being related at first sight to a human being, while at the same time in accordance with the attributes of God, He is exalted, should essentially be applied in Him alone" (*Sharḥ Saḳṭ*, I, 19). In the *Saḳṭ al-zand* Abū 'l-'Alā' collected together examples of what might also be conceived as another form of the *ḳaṣīda*, as the elegy composed in praise of a dead person (*riṯā'*, *marāṯiyya*), as mentioned above. In certain very sententious lines in Abū 'l-'Alā''s *riṯā'*s we may discern the origins of that pessimistic tone later so often to be encountered in the *Luzūm*. (For the influence of al-Mutanabbī's *riṯā'*s on these composed by Abū 'l-'Alā', see Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Ma'a 'l-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1962, 203-14). The poetry in *Saḳṭ al-zand* is characterised by its rich ornamentation, and many special figures of style can be discerned; besides quite frequent forms of paronomasia (*ǧinās*, *taǧnīs*) we find also the figure of "double retendre" (*tawriya*). In applying the latter figure of style the poet shows a superior virtuosity, of which examples can be found in S. A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1958, 32-3, 36.

A group of 31 poems in *Saḳṭ al-zand* has been put together under the collective title *Durʿiyyāt* ("Armour poems"). These poems are marked by the description of one or more coats of mail, the usual themes in the *ḳaṣīda* like *raḥīl* and *madīḥ* being eliminated, while only the *nasīb* may be found in a merely subordinate position in few cases (see P. Smoor, *Armour description as an independent theme in the work of al-Ma'arrī*, in *Actes du 1er Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Aix-en-Provence 1978, 289-303).

Next to the peculiarity of their content, these poems are also interesting for their form. A major part of them has been composed in the form of a dialogue put in the mouth of somebody who is in some way related to a suit of armour. For discussion of this aspect, see P. J. Cachia, *The dramatic monologues of al-Ma'arrī*, in *JAL*, I (1970), 129-36. From among the great number of editions of the *Saḳṭ al-zand*, only two may be mentioned here. *Sharḥ Saḳṭ al-zand*, 5 vols. Cairo 1945, is a critical edition of the *Dīwān*, each verse being provided with the previously mentioned commentaries by al-Tibrīzī, al-Baṭalyawsī and al-Khᵛārazmī. Further, there exist several editions of the *Dīwān*'s text together with a commentary by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Khuwayyī (lived in the 6th/12th century, Brockelmann, I, 289, S I, 507), called *Tanwīr Saḳṭ al-zand*, of which the best edition is Būlāḳ 1286/1868-9.

3. The *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* is a second collection of poetry composed in the period after the poet's stay at Baghdād. This collection was much less popular in the Muslim world than *Saḳṭ al-zand*, both because of its unconventional form and contents. The title means "Committing one's self to what is not obligatory" or "The self-imposed compulsion", relating to a peculiarity of rhyme (see LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM). For his poetry to the *Luzūm*, Abū 'l-'Alā' was using a much more difficult form, a double-rhyme instead of the normally prescribed monorhyme. The poet thus created an innovation in the existing rules of rhyme (see QĀFIYA), and his method of rhyming was in later books of Arabic theorists to be treated under the generic name of *ilzām*. The contents of the *Luzūm* were described by the poet himself in his Preface as a glorification of God, an admonition for the forgetful and an awakening of the negligent, a warning against the World's derision of God. The poet further declares that he does not want to follow the normally-prescribed themes, stating that 'poets aim at embellishing their words by means of lies". In saying this, he has in view the poets' descriptions of their beloved ones in the *ghazal* and *nasīb*, their horses and camels in the *raḥīl*, and of wine, for instance in the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*]. He points out the utterly false pretensions of poets who, leading a quite comfortable life, none the less pretend to have to make exhausting expeditions through the desert. In contrast, Abū 'l-'Alā' states his poetry to be a searching for veracity and piety, and he therefore thanks himself unable to comply with the accepted conventions in the existing "normal" poetry. On these grounds he finally concludes his poetry in *Luzūm* to be weak (*Luzūm*, Cairo 1959, 3, 47-8). From Abū 'l-'Alā''s words we may infer that he wishes to consider his work in *Luzūm* in the first instance as a collection of poetry, though it be "weak", at any rate he does not explicitly stain his poetry to be a more or less systematic arrangement of philosophical ideas, nor is it so. Notwithstanding the evident absence of such a system, there can in various places in the *Luzūm* certainly be found many opinions which do not always or do not at all fit into the orthodox Islamic system (see 'ILM AL-KALĀM). We see the poet sometimes professing a certain dogma, then doubting it elsewhere in the *Luzūm*. Though he is a monotheist, he does not show a strong belief in God's Word as revealed through prophecy. About resurrection and retribution he seems full of doubts. At the same time, he often appears to attach great value to the use of reason as an unfailing guide to human life (on such opinions of his, see the translation and analyses of quite a number of relevant poems and fragments of poems in R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic poetry*, Cambridge 1921, ch. ii, "The meditations of Ma'arri"). In view of this, some Arabic historians have pronounced unfavourably on the poet's orthodoxy. Thus Ibn al-Ḳiftī, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Sibṭ b. al-Ḏjawzī each quote with more or less approval a report from an historian contemporary with Abū 'l-'Alā', Ghars al-Niʿma Muḥammad (Brockelmann, S I, 827), son of the well-known *ḥakīm* Hilāl al-Ṣabī' [*q.v.*]. This says that the poet just after his death had been seen in a dream being tormented by two vipers, whilst the following interpretation was given. "This is al-Ma'arrī, the heretic" (given in *Taʿrīf al-ḳudamā'*, 26, 56, 152). On the other hand, some Arabic biographers and historians endeavoured to clear him from charges of unorthodoxy, such as Ibn al-'Adīm in his monograph on Abū 'l-'Alā', *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fī daf' al-ẓulm an 'l-taḥarrī 'an Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*

("Fair treatment and selection of the best in defending Abu 'l-'Alā' against unjustified attacks") Ibn al-'Adīm, as a historian is distinguished for his exactness in making inquiries about Abu 'l-'Alā, which he did two centuries after the poet's death by contacting descendants of those in Ma'arra who had been in touch with him, and also by availing himself of local historical sources, all this not without frequently giving *isnāds* and titles.

In the West the *Luzūmiyyāt*, i.e. the poems contained in *Luzūm*, became more widely known as a result of A. von Kremer's now rather obsolete study, *Ueber die philosophischen Gedichte des Abul 'alā Ma'arry*, in *SB Ak. Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe*, cxvii, 6, 1889) A more recent treatment of the poet's philosophy as it appears from a number of passages in *Luzūm* is found in Laoust, *La vie et la philosophie d'Abu-l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, in *BEO*, x (1943-4), 115-56 In the lines cited, Laoust supposes an influence of certain ideas eclectically elaborated and found at the outset of the philosophical and religious school of thought of the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], which was to be adhered to by both the Karmatīs [*q.v.*], and the Fāṭimid Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*] In the second half of Abu 'l-'Alā''s lifetime, the Fāṭimids had finally extended their authority over northern Syria. That there was some discontent about their rule, however, would appear from certain lines in the *Luzūmiyyāt* A study published in the East is Ṭaha Husayn, *Dhikrā Abī 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1924 and later edns., where as the last part another interesting analysis is given of the poet's philosophical ideas as reflected in the *Luzūm*. Many quotations from the *Luzūm* have been made use of in a psychologically based biography, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, by 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi'".

Editions of the *Luzūm*, a partial ed. by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, Cairo 1378/1959, vol. i has appeared so far (i.e. two *Luzūmiyyāt* as far as the rhyme in *bā'*). Among the complete editions of *Luzūm*, the best ones are the lithograph Bombay 1303/1885-6, which contains a faithful reflection of a manuscript text accompanied by some elucidating notes in its margin, and that of 'Azīz Zand, Cairo 1892-5, 2 vols. A very restricted number of *Luzūmiyyāt* supplied with a commentary by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī have been edited: *Sharḥ al-mukhtār min Luzūmiyyāt Abī 'l-'Alā'*, critical ed. Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Majīd, Cairo 1970, vol. i has appeared so far.

3. *Zajr al-nābiḥ* ("Driving away the barker"), is found in the survey of Abu 'l-'Alā''s works as given by various Arabic biographers. In this book the poet apparently defended himself against orthodox attacks on some lines in his *Luzūm*. Extracts from this lost book have been published, in *Zajr al-nābiḥ, mukhtaṣafāt*, critical ed. Aḥmad al-Tarābulsī, Damascus 1385/1965 See for the harmonising method used in explaining certain controversial verses, S. M. Stern, *Some noteworthy manuscripts of the poems of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 342 ff.

4. *Al-Fuṣūl* on *'l-ghāyāt fī tamjīd Allāh* wa *'l-mawā'iẓ* ("Chapters and endings about glorification of God, and admonitions). Abu 'l-'Alā' began composing this work in rhymed prose before his journey to Baghdād, only completing it after his return to Ma'arra (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 180). This work contains a great number of short strophes, which the poet has in each case concluded with an ending as end-rhyme (*ghāya*), so that the book in its totality is found to contain a number of chapters (*fuṣūl*), every one of which contains strophes with their endings always in one particular letter.

Thus one gets *Fayl ghāyātuh hamza, fayl ghāyātuh bā'* and so on, following the order of the Arabic alphabet A major part of this work is lost, only its first *juz'* having been discovered in 1918-19 in a not quite complete version, to be edited much later by Maḥmūd Ḥasan Zanātī, Cairo 1356/1938, in a critical edition The book holds among various other subjects thoughts about God: His omnipotence, justice, goodness and eternity, in addition to and contrasting with a sharp observation of the inescapable changes of fate which dominate man in his ordinary daily life The idea of God is frequently seen as connected with unavoidable predestination and eternal retribution, which in its turn exhorts man to practise asceticism The use of rhymed prose, the warnings against impending judgement and the oaths applied now and again by way of confirmation, may all be considered a reason why later historians supposed this book to be an emulation of the Kur'ān: the author allegedly aimed, in writing it, at excelling the Kur'ān in its s*ū*ras [*q.v.*] In this context, some late historians who apparently never saw the *Fuṣūl* with their own eyes are even found altering its title to *al-Fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt wa-* (or *fī*) *muḥāḍāt* (or *mu'āraḍat*) *al-suwar wa 'l-āyāt* (i.e "Chapters and endings and/about the emulation of sūras and verses"), thus al-Bākharzī, al-Badī', al-Dhahabī and Ḥājjī Khalīfa. For an exhaustive study of the work itself, the opinions of Arabic historians and more recent studies in East and West, see A. Fischer, *"Der Koran" des Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, in *Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, xciv (Leipzig 1942), 2. For a supposed coherence between the internal rhyme in a strophe and its contents, see F. Hartmann, *Zu dem Inhalt al-fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt des Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, in *Abh. Fr. Al. W., Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin 1944), 2. Some philosophical thoughts in the *Fuṣūl* have been discussed and associated with Epicurean philosophy by Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Ma'a Abī 'l-'Alā' fī sijnih*, Cairo 1963, 82 ff.

5. *Rasā'il Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, the brief letters written by Abu 'l-'Alā' on several occasions and addressed to various members of his family and acquaintances (see the biography above) The letters have been composed in a very flowery style, overflowing with proverbs, rhymed prose and illustrative verses. There exist two editions of the *Rasā'il*, the first by Shāhīn 'Aṭiyya, Beyrouth 1894, and a second one, with English translation preceded by a Prelaim containing the biography and a discussion of part of the works, by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Letters of Abu 'l-'Alā'*, Oxford 1898. Further, a critical edition of Letter XXX (Margoliouth's numbering) has been prepared by Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Risāla fī ta'riyat Abī 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Riḍā'ī fī waladih Abī 'l-'Anbar*, Cairo n.d., but later than 1945.

6. *Risālat al-Ṣāhil wa 'l-shāḥij* ("Letter of a horse and a mule"), which among other works now lost was addressed to Abū Shujā' Fāṭik 'Azīz al-Dawla, the governor of Aleppo, on behalf of the Fāṭimid ruler (see above). This supposedly lost *Risāla* has recently been discovered in Morocco and subsequently edited with a critical apparatus and introduction, by 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi'" (Cairo 1975) Abu 'l-'Alā' completed this voluminous *Risāla* in about 411/1021, i.e. the year of al-Ḥākim's disappearance, when the *imām* al-Ẓāhir acceded to the throne in Egypt (cf. *op. cit.*, 553 where the author qualifies the latter as *amīr al-mu'minīn*)

Another important development, reported upon in the *Risāla*, occurred in 406/1017-18, when ʿAzīz al-Dawla ordered Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, a Bedouin leader and afterwards founder of the Mirdāsid dynasty, that he should bring his (i.e. Ṣāliḥ's) mother inside the walls of Aleppo (*Nishāt al-Ṣāliḥī*, 320, cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i, 218). This move was meant to reassure the inhabitants of Aleppo, in view of rumours about a threatening Byzantine attack. The tension caused among the population in North Syria is a theme in the *Risāla*, to which Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ gradually introduces a number of animals who, being gifted with speech, give among other things their opinion on the political situation in Syria under ʿAzīz al-Dawla's reign. A direct reason for the composition of the *Risāla* was a problem of taxation. There was a question of land owned by members of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's family for the use of which they would owe a certain amount as taxation due to the *inyt al-māl* [*q.v.*] in Aleppo. At their request, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ is writing his letter in order to ask for the annulment of the amount imposed, considering that the land concerned is a waterless tract, giving only a small yield. Then Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ describes a mule, al-Shāhijī, which, blindfolded, is drawing water in order to continually fill a cistern, without, however, profiting from its own labour so as to quench its thirst. Such being its condition, the mule is described as grumbling at first, but then it starts talking. While thus introducing the first of his speaking animals, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ explicitly bases himself on quotations from the Kurʾān (XXVII, 18, 23), where an ant in the valley of ants and a hoopoe are described as talking, with Sulaymān understanding their utterance. On the other hand, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ elsewhere in his *Risāla* compares favourably ʿAzīz al-Dawla with Sulaymān, both of them adhering to the same qualities of wisdom and understanding. Next to the mule, a number of different animals appear on the scene of action, among these a horse, a camel and a fox. The mule wants the horse to convey a complaint to ʿAzīz al-Dawla about the mule's hard life, but the horse, referring to its noble forefathers, haughtily refuses this mission. In the second instance, the camel declares himself prepared to convey the mule's complaint. The mule being erudite, at first intended to cast its complaint in a poetical form, but with respect to the camel it drops its original plan for a reason which reflects Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's own attitude towards poetry: "I do not like being described with the image of human beings bringing poetry with them, in order to aim at some profit..." (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 329). Instead of this, the mule then wants the camel to convey strange tidings, which have one meaning directly evident in hearing them, although in reality they have a second esoteric meaning" (*loc. cit.*). The message appears to consist of sorts of riddles involving words with two different meanings (cf. the *tawriya* in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ's poetry). When finally the fox arrives on the scene, the situation alters, a vague clamour is suddenly heard from the nearby town and of the mule's request the fox undertakes to make a reconnaissance. Then the clamour heard is explained by a suddenly-developing panic among the population of Syria in view of an impending Byzantine military expedition. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ now begins to make frequent allusions to various political developments of the contemporary period. He mentions, for example, the joint rule of Basil II Bulgaroctonus and his brother Constantine VIII. He further speculates on the settlement of the succession within the line of the Macedonian dynasty. In view of this, and being aware of the fact that the elder brother remained without children, whereas Constantine had only three daughters, the author wonders whether the Byzantines will deem it suitable to appoint a woman as their Empress (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 378-80, 606-7). In his *Risāla*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ seems somewhat to ridicule the governor of Aleppo, who is continually designated with honorific formulae after his name, such as "May God prolong him for ever" or "May God give him a great victory". With some humorous feeling, the author mentions a group of slightly more than 30 slaves (*ghilmān*), who either had been bought at some time by ʿAzīz al-Dawla from the Byzantine emperor or had been granted by the latter. The exact number of these slaves, and then their circumcision as enjoined by the Fāṭimid governor, are respectively compared with the number of *ʿarūḍ* ('*arūḍ* here meaning 'last metrical foot of the first half verse') formally given by Arabic prosodists, and with the reduction (*khabn*) of metrical feet (*R. al-Ṣāhil*, 691-2).

Finally in his *Risāla*, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ has somebody make a remark on the exceptional dexterity of ʿAzīz al-Dawla, who is able, whilst horseriding, to handle two swords at a time, but then it is remarked upon as much more wonderful that this prince was once seen reading in the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], see *R. al-Ṣāhil*, 706. It is on behalf of this particular interest shown by ʿAzīz al-Dawla that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ pretends to introduce many sayings relating to the principles of metrics. Besides a great display of erudite learning in technical terms for various phenomena in metrics and rhyme, one also finds in the *Risāla* many quotations of poetry which in some way frequently contain descriptions of animals. Such a display of learning and the poetical lines quoted, though originally composed via associations, often tend to interfere with the smooth and logical development of events in the *Risāla*. The same phenomenon can be found in the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* which was composed at a later date. On the other hand, the *R. al-Ghufrān* is distinguished from its predecessor, the *R. al-Ṣāhil*, by a much greater amount of irony and derision at its protagonist, who is the al-Kārih—as compared with Abu 'l-ʿAzīz al-Dawla in the first *Risāla*—and also by its greater interest shown in religious questions. For further details, see P. Smoor, *Enigmatic allusion and double meaning in Maʿarri's newly discovered* Letter of a Horse and Mule, in *JAL*, xii (1981), xiii (1982).

7 *Risālat al-Ghufrān* was composed about 424/1033 during the reign of the second Mirdāsid prince Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ Shibl al-Dawla (*R. al-Ghufrān* 450, cf. 256). The *Risāla* is a reply to a much smaller *Risāla* addressed to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ by a certain ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Tāliḥ al-Ḥalabī Dawkhala, also known as Ibn al-Kārih, who was a traditionist and grammarian. In his *Risāla*, Ibn al-Kārih is complaining of his old age and its concomitant infirmities, at the same time suggesting to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ that some sort of support is always welcome. Apart from this, Ibn al-Kārih gives a show of his knowledge and orthodoxy in mentioning a number of poets and scholars whom he accuses of being *zindīks* [*q.v.*]. In his reply Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ironically imagines his aged correspondent as having died in the meantime. Then he supposes him, after a rather uneasy reckoning at the Day of Resurrection, to have passed the entrance to the Gardens of Paradise. In these Gardens Ibn al-Kārih is described as meeting many a poet as scholar whose previous sins when least expected have been for-

given (cf. the meaning of the *Risāla* a title "Letter of Forgiveness"). While travelling in the Hereafter, Ibn al-Kārih is able to pay a visit to Hell, where he is described having discussions with the devil, Iblīs [*q.v.*] and the poet Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], marked out as a heretic. Among the general aspects of the *R. al-Ghufrān* one may be mentioned here. First, the delights of Paradise are based upon a realistic and literal interpretation of the pronouncements given in Kur'ān and Tradition. For example, where it says in the Kur'ān (LVI, 35 ff.), "We have made them grow up new and made them virgins, loving and of equal age, for those on the right . . .", Abu 'l-'Alā' is found having these grow like fruits of the trees in Paradise (*R. al-Ghufrān*, 287 f.).

Another remarkable aspect of the *Risāla* is the idea of compensation granted for any harm suffered previous in earthly life, this compensation being extended to both human beings and animals. To the latter belongs for example a wild ass, killed and skinned by a hunter during its existence on earth. There after its hide was used for the fabrication of a well bucket, of which in their turn pious men took advantage for their *ṣadaqa* (198). Thus there appear to exist in Paradise two completely different categories: first the material of Paradise, represented by the virgins promised in the Kur'ān, and by animals for the purpose of hunting, both of these destined to increase the joys of the blessed, and in the second place there exist human beings and animals destined to enjoy themselves in all eternity on account of their earthly sufferings. As concerns Ibn al-Kārih, the ironical attitude of Abu 'l-'Alā' is very evident, where he is describing the formal act of Ibn al-Kārih's *tawba* being testified by official witnesses in a mosque at Aleppo and the subsequent rejoicing in Heaven (527-22). For a comparison between the *R. al-Ghufrān* and Dante's *La Divina Commedia*, see the now rather obsolete study by Miguel A. Palacios, *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919; further, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān, *al-Ghufrān*, Cairo 1934, which also discusses the comparison of the *Risāla* with Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] and his *Risālat al-Tawābi' wa l-zawābi'*, and is of general importance as an excellent study of the *R. al-Ghufrān*. Among the European studies there should be mentioned I. Kratschkovsky, *Zur Entstehung und Komposition von Abū 'l-'Alā''s Risālat al-ghufrān*, in *Islamica*, i (1925), 344-56; M.-S. Meïssa, *Le Message du Pardon*, Paris 1932; and R. Blachère, *Ibn al-Qarih et la genèse de l'Epître du pardon d'Al-Ma'arri*, in *REI* (1941-6), 1-15.

Editions: R. A. Nicholson prepared an incomplete edition and translation in several articles in *JRAS* (1900), 637-720; (1902), 73-102, 337-62, 813-47. The best edition is *Risālat al-Ghufrān li-Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī wa-ma'a-hā Risālat Ibn al-Kārih miftāh fahma hā*, 3rd ed. Cairo 1963 and later ones, by 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān "Bint al-Shāti'".

3. *Risālat al-Malā'ika* is especially concerned with questions on the morphology and etymology of certain Arabic words. Thus in the *Muḥaddima* of this *Risāla* (ed. I. Kračkovskiy, Leningrad 1932), a reply is indirectly given to questions regarding the morphological reduction of certain words and names found in the Kur'ān and *ḥadīth*. In this manner, Abu 'l-'Alā', who is himself the protagonist in this *Risāla*, is heard propounding several questions to the Angel of Death relating to all possible morphological schemas to which can be reduced words like *malak* and 'Azra'īl. By this method Abu 'l-'Alā' describes himself as successful in his attempt at postponing the moment of his own death for one hour, the angel being bewildered by such complicated problems. Further questions are concerned with the reduction of words relating to the grave and the Hereafter; its recompense and retribution and the pleasures of Paradise, the latter inducing the protagonist to deal with words like *kummathrā*, *sundus* and *istabraq* thereby following the same playful method. The succeeding part has only partially been edited by Salīm al-Djundī, *Risālat al-Malā'ika*, Damascus 1944, 55 ff., the remainder of this ms. being lost. In this additional part, as far as it is at present known from the edition, thirteen more problems are dealt with in a more serious and direct way. In general, the *Risāla's Muḥaddima* reminds one of the *R. al-Ghufrān*, though the latter is much more extensive. It should further be noticed that Paradise in the *R. al-Malā'ika* appears to be very quiet and in conformity with the rules of orthodoxy, while in the *R. al-Ghufrān* it is less orthodox, with ironical passages and the tranquillity of Paradise disturbed by revelling, discussing and even violently quarrelling poets and scholars.

9. *Mulūk 'l-sabīl* ("What is scattered on the road") is a very short work which was always to remain well-known after Abu 'l-'Alā''s poetry. Especially in the Muslim West, it has frequently been the object of attempts at emulation (*muʿāraḍa*). The titles of, and some short quotations from, such emulations are given in Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Muʿāraḍāt al-maghāriba li-Mulūk 'l-sabīl*, in *Ta'rīf*, 455-7. For the edition of a complete *muʿāraḍa* of Abu 'l-'Alā''s *Mulūk 'l-sabīl*, see the one composed by Ibn al-Abbār, in Salāh al-Dīn al Munadjdjid, *Rasā'il wa-nuṣūṣ*, 3, Beirut 1963, 33-79. The *Mulūk 'l-sabīl* consists of tiny paragraphs containing rhymed prose, which alternate with other paragraphs containing some poetical lines, with, however, the restriction that each paragraph of rhymed prose is more or less identical with the subsequent paragraph of poetry as far as its contents are concerned. These contents are of a very orthodox nature and no break can as yet be discerned with traditional morality and literary tradition. The editor Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Mulūk l-sabīl*, Damascus 1330/1912, 3, observes some similarity to the pre-Islamic orators, such as Kuss b. Sā'ida [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, Kračkovskiy in *Abu-l-'Ala al-Ma'arri Mulūk-s sabil*, Petrograd 1915, repr. in *Izbrannye sochineniya* ("Collected works"), Moscow 1956, II, 183 ff., has pointed out that some influence of the poetry of Abū 'l-'Atāhiya [*q.v.*] might be traced. Because of the simplicity of the language used, *Mulūk 'l-sabīl* might have been composed by the author in his youth. In contrast to this opinion, 'Abd al-Wahhāb suggests it may be a work of the poet's old age, in which he is shown to revert to the original religious principles (cf. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannye sochineniya*, II, 186).

Finally, let us consider the author's surviving commentaries existing up till now on the *Dīwāns* of other poets.

1. *Maʿānī Aḥmad* is a commentary on the complete *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, which Abu 'l-'Alā' probably wrote in the prime of his life. This rather simple commentary, of which as far as edition is available, has been discussed by Kračkovskiy, who also gives some examples from the Arabic text of this commentary, in *Al-Mutanabbī i Abū l-'Alā*, Petrograd 1910 = *Izbrannye sochineniya*, II, 63-115.

2. *al-Lāmiʿ al-ʿAzīzī* or *al-Dhāhī* of *ʿAzīzī* is a very extensive and as yet unedited commentary on a great number of verses selected from al-Mutanabb-

lī's *Dīwān*, and therefore quite different from the one mentioned above. It was written by Abu 'l-'Alā' to his old age, for on the basis of its title it was dedicated to the one who had commissioned it, the Mirdāsid *amīr* 'Azīz al-Dawla Abu 'l-Dawā'im Thābit b. Ḳurrad b. Ṣālih b. Mirdās. The name of this *amīr* is further explicitly mentioned in the short Preface of the manuscript of this work (ms Süleymaniye Hamidiye 1148) and in a passage of the monograph on Abu 'l-'Alā' by Ibn al-'Adīm (*al-Inṣāf*, 540). In view of all this, the name erroneously given by F. Sezgin *GAS*, ii. 493, should be corrected accordingly.

3. *Sharḥ al-wāḥid*, a commentary on verses selected from the *Dīwān* of the poet al-Buḥturī (q.v.), owes its existence to the fact that a manuscript containing al-Buḥturī's poetry was sent from Aleppo to Abu 'l-'Alā' in Ma'arra, in order that he should correct and criticise its text if necessary (Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Inṣāf*, 541). It is available in the critical edition of Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Madanī Medina 1355/1936. However, a far better edition is the one recently prepared by Nādiya 'Alī al-Dawīs, *'Abath al-wāḥid fī 'l-kalām 'alā shi'r Abī 'Ubāda al-Walīd b. 'Ubayd al-Buḥturī*, Damascus 1978.

4. *Dīwān Ḥabīb*, was a commentary on verses selected from the *Dīwān* of Ḥabīb b. Aws Abū Tammām (see ABŪ TAMMĀM). Though it is lost as an independent work, it has in essence survived because Tibrīzī incorporated it in his own commentary on Abu Tammām's poetry; see *Dīwān Abī Tammām bi-sharḥ al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī*, critical ed. by M. 'Abduh 'Azzām, Cairo 1964, 25-8 of the editor's *muḳaddima*.

Abu 'l-'Alā' made a commentary on the poetry of a contemporary of his, the *amīr* and eulogist of the Mirdāsids, Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, who also chanced to be an inhabitant of Ma'arra. This commentary was to remain partial only, for the *amīr* survived Abu 'l-'Alā' and only died in 457/1065 (an hijra see further IBN ABĪ ḤAṢĪNA). Abu 'l-'Alā''s commentary is incorporated in the *Dīwān Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna*, critical ed. by As'ad Talas, Damascus 1375/1956, where incidentally on p. 375 can be found the elegy which was recited at Abu 'l-'Alā''s grave by Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayna, one among many other poets who are all reported to have recited their respective *marthiyas* on this occasion.

Bibliography: A compilation of biographical source materials taken from historical sources is *Ta'rīf al-ḳudamā' bi Abī 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1384/1963, *tasdīr* of the edn., Cairo 1944. Monographs: Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-taḥarrī fī dafʿ al-ẓulm wa 'l-tadarrī 'an Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī*, in *Ta'rīf*, 485-578, Idam, *Ḥuḳūḳ al-ḥalaḳ fī akhbār Ḥalab*, ms Topkapu Sarayı 2925 *ṣifr* 1, ff. 295a-225b; al-Badī'ī, *Awāʾil al-taḥarrī 'an bayḍayyat Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1944, is a compilation of works by previous historians, but none the less interesting for its quotations from works by Abu 'l-'Alā' which see now lost. Other historical sources: some of the sources incorporated in the *Ta'rīf* mss. here be mentioned separately, Ibn al-Ḳilīḥī, *Takmmmat al-yatīma*, Tehran 1353/1934, i, 9 (= *Ta'rīf*, 3-4), *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 140-1 (= *Ta'rīf*, 5-7), Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, Aleppo 1349/1930, 50-2 (= *Ta'rīf*, 8-11), Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 184-8 (= *Ta'rīf*, 16-20), Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 46-83 (= *Ta'rīf*, 27-66), Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 162-216 (= *Ta'rīf*, 67-141); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, in *Ta'rīf*, 143-81; Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, in *Ta'rīf*, 189-205; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Beirut 1966, xii, 78-6 (= *Ta'rīf*, 301-8). For further reference, see the survey by Moustapha Saleh, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarri, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxii (1969), 141-204 ("Première partie: sources"). Modern studies, in addition to those already mentioned in the text of the article: C. Rieu, *De Abul-Alae poetae arabici vita et carminibus*, Bonn 1843; G. Salmon, *Un précurseur d'Omar Khayyam: le poète aveugle*, Paris 1904 ("Introduction et traduction"); 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī al-Rādjakūtī, *Abu 'l-'Alā' wa-mā ilayh*, Cairo 1344/1925, a collection of articles in *al-Hilāl*, xlvi/1 (Cairo 1357/1938), "*'Adad khāṣṣ*"; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī*, Cairo 1940; Brockelmann, I, 254, S I, 449; 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi'", *al-Ḥayāt al-ʿArabiyya 'inda Abī 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1944, a collection of articles in *al-Adīb*, iii/6 (Beirut 1944), "*'Adad khāṣṣ*", a collection of articles in *al-Mihrādjān al-alfī li Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1364/1945, 'Umar Farrūkh, *Ḥakīm al-Maʿarra*, Beirut 1944, 1948; Anīs al-Khawlī, *Rasāʾil fī Abī 'l-'Alā'*, Cairo 1945; Amdjed al-Ṭarābulsī, *al-Nahḍa wa 'l-luḡha fī Risālat al-Ghufrān*, Damascus 1370/1951, Muḥammad Salīm al-Djundī, *al-Dīwān fī akhbār Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī wa-āthārih*, Damascus 1382 4/1962-4, Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Ḥāshimī, *Luḡhz Abī 'l-'Alā'*, Aleppo 1968, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Bint al-Shāṭi'", *Maʿa Abī 'l-'Alā' fī riḥlat ḥayātih*, Beirut 1392/1972, which is a slightly revised version of her previous study, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī*, see above; Ilyās Sa'd Ghāll, *Ḥadīkat al-bayyinīn fī Lusūmiyyāt Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus 1978; Y. Friedmann, *Literary and cultural aspects of the Luzūmiyyāt*, in *Studies orientalia ... D. H. Baneth*, Jerusalem 1979, 347-65. For further reference, see Moustapha Saleh, *Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Maʿarri, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 197-309 ("Deuxième partie: études critiques modernes").

(P. SHOOR)

MA'ĀTHIR AL-UMARĀ', the name of a celebrated Persian collection of biographies of Muslim Indian commanders from the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) till the time of its author, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Mīr 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Shāh Nawāz Khān Awrangābādī (1111-71/1700-58). Born at Lahore, he soon settled in the Deccan in the service of the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād (q.v.), Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Djāh, and filled offices in Berār (q.v.) and then as *Diwān* or chief minister of the Deccan. His policy in the latter post aimed at checking the growing influences in that state of the French Marquis de Bussy, but army discontent led to his fall in 1170/1757 and his murder in the following year.

The *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* was conceived on an extended scale and was unfinished at the author's death, hence completed by his son Mīr 'Abd al-Ḥayy from notes and fragments left by Shāh-Nawāz Khān. The text of 'Abd al-Ḥayy's recension was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, ed. Mawlawī 'Abdur-Raḥīm and Mawlawī Ashraf 'Alī, 3 vols. Calcutta 1888-91, and an English tr. made by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Calcutta 1911-. The whole work has been much used for the many studies which have recently appeared on the Mughal nobility and landholding class.

Bibliography: Storey, I, 1094-1100.

(EDS.)

MA'BAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'UKAYM AL-DJUHANĪ, early representative of Ḳadarī ideas.

executed after the insurrection of Ibn al-Ash'ath [*q.v.*], in 83/703.

He was probably born about 20/640 or even earlier. He had contacts with Mu'āwiya (41-60/661-80), and 'Abd al-Malik appreciated him to such an extent that he sent him as an ambassador to Byzantium and entrusted him with the education of his son Sa'īd al-Khayr. According to a rather detailed, but perhaps fictitious report he played a certain political role as early as 38/658, during the negotiations between Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ at Dūmat al-Djandal after the Battle of Siffīn. His reputation was based on his juridical competence. Traces of his *fatwās* can still be found in our sources. In his use of precedents he obviously did not differentiate between prophetic tradition and the *sunna* of the caliphs, he referred to decisions of Mu'āwiya (an attitude which later jurists were completely unable to understand), and some of his *hadīths* go back to 'Uthmān (reigned 23-44/635-56) whom he may still have met personally. Although probably born in Kūfa, he did not appreciate the juridical tradition connected with 'Alī (if it existed already at his time); his father, a companion of the Prophet, had already attracted the attention of his Kūfan neighbours by his 'Uthmānī leanings. We do not know why and when, in spite of his favoured position at the court of 'Abd al-Malik, he joined the ranks of Ibn al-Ash'ath. He was captured at Mecca, together with his brother Sa'īd, and evidently executed by order of the caliph himself, at Damascus.

Later tradition tended to explain his fate by his Kadarī convictions. But this must not have been his primary motive. We do not have any detailed information about his thinking; he was not a theoretician like his younger contemporary al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. Much of our material results from a *damnatio memoriae* which was initiated by predestinarian circles. But this was a slow process which did not begin before 110/729, when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had died, and was only finished in the second half of the second century when the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*] as a whole was boycotted by the majority of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. A decisive moment for the development was apparently the Kadarī take-over under Yazīd III in 126/744; anti-Kadarī groups in Syria as well as in Baṣra thus discovered Ma'bad as a bad example of a doctrinarian who had tried to push through his ideas by means of a revolution. According to them he had been "the first who talked about *ḳadar* in Baṣra". Later on, not earlier than 130/748, this statement was modified by the assertion that he had taken over his ideas from a Christian or a Magian convert among the *Asāwira* by the name of Sūsan or Susnōya (also other forms are given). The persons responsible for this campaign are to be found in the predestinarian wing of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (e.g. Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, died 139/756 or 140/757, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awn, died 151/768). They wanted to detract the attention from the fact that their master himself had been close to Ḳadarī theories. For them, the decisive point was that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in contract to Ma'bad al-Djuhanī, had not drawn any political consequences out of them.

Bibliography: A detailed "biography" is given by Ibn 'Asākir in the unedited part of his *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, but there are lots of other (normally short and biassed) reports. The material available up to now has been used in J. van Ess, *Ma'bad al-Ǧuhanī*, in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, 49 ff. Cf. also W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973 index s.n., Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aš'aṯ und ihre Konsequenzen*, Freiburg 1977, 360 and *passim*. (J. van Ess)

MA'BAD b. WAHB, Abū 'Abbād, one of the great singers and composers in Umayyad times, was born in Medina and died at Damascus in 105/723 or 126/744. Being the son of a negro, he was an *'abd* and later on became *mawlā* of one of the Makhzūm families, serving them as overseer of their cattle. Like many other oriental musicians, he is said to have been led to music by a dream, and he took music lessons from Sā'ib Khāthir and Nashīl. He soon made a name for himself in Medina and followed invitations to sing at Mecca, where Ibn Surayǧ set the fashion. Here he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Safwān al-Aḥbar (d. 73/692). Ma'bad sang at the courts of the caliphs al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. After the death of Ibn Surayǧ (*ca.* 108/726), he reached the zenith of his career as a member of the literary and artistic circle of the prince al-Walīd b. Yazīd. When the latter became caliph in 125/743, he invited the old singer to Damascus. Ma'bad, already weakened in health, fell ill and died in the palace after having suffered from partial paralysis. The caliph himself accompanied the bier to the palace boundaries.

Ma'bad, one of the "four great singers" in early Islam, was the leading musician of the Medinan school of music. As to his way of composing songs, his own description has been handed down: "I hack my mount, beat the rhythm with the wand (*ḳaḍīb*) on the saddle and chant the verse until the melody comes right (*Aghānī*[1] i, 40). He preferred "heavy" (*thaḳīl*) rhythms, abounding in fioriture. Several of his songs became known under specific names, like *al-mudun* or *al-ḥuṣūn* ("cities, fortresses") alluding to places conquered by Kutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], or *Kutayliyāt*, three songs on verses by al-A'shā on a girl called Kutayla. His songs (*viz.* song texts) were collected by his pupil Yūnus al-Kātib in his *K. fī 'l-Aghānī* and, later on, now with indications on melody (*ṭarīḳa*) and rhythm (*ṯaḳl*), by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī in his books *K. Aghānī Ma'bad* and *K. Akhbār Ma'bad wa-Ibn Surayǧ wa-aghānīhimā*. Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣbahānī made use of these sources in his *K. al-Aghānī*, together with other monographical collections of Ma'bad's songs (*ibid.*[2], iii, 305), including a *Dhikr akhbār Ma'bad* transmitted by al-Hilālī.

He seems to have educated numerous singing girls and singers. Among his best-known pupils figure Ibn 'Ā'isha, Mālik b. Abī 'l-Samḥ and the songstresses Sallāma and Ḥabāba. Through his pupils Ḥakam al-Wādī, Dahmān, Aḥ'ab and Siyāṭ he influenced the early Baghdādī musical style. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850) considered him to be "a consummate singer" having "a talent superior to all his rivals"; and he took Ma'bad's songs as models of "pure Arab" music. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib (early 5th/11th century) counted them among the perfect melodies and therefore, contrary to normal practice, not any more allowed to be altered by embellishments. From his lifetime onwards, Ma'bad figures in Arabic poetry (al-Buḥturī, Abū Tammām and others) as the musician par excellence.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], i, 36-59 (main source, see also indices); Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1952, 538-40; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 447-9; Ṭabarī, iii, 427, 541-2; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iḳd*, vi, Cairo 1949, 25, 30; Fārābī, *K. al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr*, Cairo 1967, 56, 60; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, *Nawādir*

adab al-ghurbā', in *al-Mawrid*, iii/3 (1973), 232, 238, 243, 248, 250, French tr. A. Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris 1972 (see index), Ibn Khallikān-de Slane ii, 373, 374-5, Nuwayrī, Vehbiya, v, 262-7, Ibn Wāṣil, *Tadjrīd al-aghānī*, ms. Ayasofya 3111, ff 52-72; Ibn Manṣūr, *Mukhtār al-aghānī*, vi, 330-43 Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-abṣār* part x, *ms* Ayasofya 3423, ff. 298-328, Ibn al-Nakīb, *Kaṣīda* on Arab musical history, in *MMIA*, xxxi (1956), 11; A. Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques . .*, in *JA*, *sér* 7, vol ii (1873), 477-94, O. Rescher, *Abriss der osmanischen Literaturgeschichte*, i, Istanbul 1925, 229-31, 233, H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 81-2 and *passim*; Zirikli, *A'lām*, viii, 177-8 Sh. Dayf, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-ghinā' fī 'l-Madīna wa-Makka li-'aṣr Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1967, 79-81 and *passim*

(H. G. FARMER - [E. NEUBAUER])

MA'BAR, the name given by the Arabs in mediaeval times to the eastern shores of the Indian Deccan, an area corresponding closely, but not exactly, to the Coromandel coast (the latter name from the Tamil *Colomandalam*, "the realm of the Cholas", indicating the area formerly ruled by the Tamil Chola *rājās* from their capital at Tāndjāvūr (Tanjore) hence the alternative Arabo-Persian name, *Barr al-Ṣūliyān* or *Ṣūliyān* (Tibbetts, *op cit* in *Bibl*, 466), "the coast of the Cholas")

In Arabic, the term *ma'bar* signifies a passage or crossing point. In its application to Coromandel this has been widely interpreted as being a reference to the part played by the coast in the crossing between India and Ceylon or Sri Lanka, thus the *Madras glossary* (439) states that Ma'bar "means the crossing over, that is from Madura to Ceylon" An alternative explanation is offered by Yule who was of the opinion that Ma'bar derived its name from being "in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf" (*Marco Polo*, ii, 332, n. 1). If, as is generally accepted, the region of Ma'bar lay to the east of Cape Comorin (Ar. *Kumārī*), then Yule's explanation must be considered less satisfactory than that offered by the *Madras glossary* Coromandel was, in fact, somewhat *off* the main routes followed by mediaeval Arab shipping Research into contemporaneous Arab navigational texts indicates that ocean-going vessels generally touched at Malabar [*q.v.*] rather than Ma'bar (Tibbetts, *op. cit.*, *Detailed chart of India and the Bay of Bengal*), as any crossing from Malabar to Southeast Asia, these vessels could have passed around Dondra Head (Ar. *Ra's Dandra*), the southernmost point of Sri Lanka, thus avoiding Ma'bar altogether unless specifically destined for that area or for Bengal (see, however, Waṣṣāf's definition of Ma'bar [below], which includes a substantial part of the southern Malabar coast) The compilers of *Hobson Jobson* (526) suggest as an alternative that "Ma'bar" may simply be an attempt to give meaning in Arabic to a local South Indian name, however, no suggestion is made as to a possible Dravidian etymology A fourth possible explanation is that the "crossing" referred to was that from the well-known Arabian Sea to the less familiar *Taḥt al-Rīḥ* (i.e. "beneath the wind", the Bay of Bengal and the seas of Southeast Asia), a region where Arab mercantile power, supreme to the west of Cape Comorin, met with serious competition from Indian and Chinese vessels (in this context, note the descriptions of Ma'bar offered by Yāḳūt and Waṣṣāf, see below),

According to Yule, the earliest application of the term Ma'bar to the Coromandel coast occurs in 'Abd al-Laṭīf's short description of Egypt (*al-Ifāda wa-'l-i'tibār fī 'l-umūr al-mushāhada wa'l-ḥawādith al-mu'āyana bi-arḍ Miṣr*, see De Sacy, in *Bibl.*, 31), a study written *ca.* 600/1203, when the Chola *rājās* Kulottunga III still ruled over the eastern Deccan, see *Hobson-Jobson*, 526 (Coromandel remained still renowned for its mat-weaving industry, mentioned in this passage, see P. K. Nambiar, *op. cit* in *Bibl.*, *passim*)

Mediaeval Arab scholarship in unclear as to the exact extent of Ma'bar According to the geographer Yāḳūt, "Ma'bar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java" quoted in Nāmar, *op cit* in *Bibl*, 53 In his *Tadjrīdat al-asmār wa-tadjrīyat al-aḥbār* (700/1300), the historian 'Abd Allāh Waṣṣāf states that Ma'bar extends in length from Kūlam [*q.v.*] (Quilon) to Nīlāwar (Nellore), nearly 300 *parasangs* (ca. 1,800 km.) along the sea-coast (as fact, the distance is nearer 1,200 km. (tr in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 30)

In his *Ḏjihān-numā' al-tawārīkh* (720/1320), Rashīd al-Dīn repeats Waṣṣāf's description of Ma'bar almost word-for-word, but elaborates somewhat on the products of the region, mentioning silken stuffs, aromatic roots and large pearls (tr. in *ibid.*, i, 69). According to Abu 'l-Fidā, *Kitāb Taḳwīm al-buldān* (ca. 731/1330), Ma'bar as the third *iḳlīm* of Hind, beginning at about three or four days journey to the east of Kawlam (Quilon), the first locality in Ma'bar being Rās Kumhārī [Cape Comorin] (tr in Nāmar, *op. cit.*, 55)

Abu 'l-Fidā's description of the geographical extent of Ma'bar corresponds more closely to the Coromandel coast than that offered by Waṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn, and indeed, after Abu 'l Fidā's time the term Ma'bar seems to have become increasingly associated with the coast of South India east of Cape Comorin rather than east of Quilon, nevertheless, Ma'bar, even in this truncated form, may not be considered synonymous with Coromandel The latter is defined by *Hobson-Jobson* (256-8) as "the Northern Tamil Country, or . . . the eastern coast of the Peninsula of India from Point Calimere northwards to the mouth of the Kistna, sometimes to Orissa", thus Ma'bar extended south of Coromandel to include the shoreline of the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar,

The term Ma'bar, although originally an exclusively Arab designation, gained considerable currency beyond the confines of the Muslim world; thus Marco Polo (*ca.* 690/1290) writes at some length concerning "the great province of Maabar which is styled India the Greater, it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland" (Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 331-59) In a letter also dating from 692/1292, or possibly one year later, John of Monte Corvino describes in some depth "Upper India, which is called Mesbar, in the territory of St. Thomas" (Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iii, 58-70). Ma'bar is mentioned in the Chinese Annals as one of the foreign kingdoms which sent tribute to Kublāy Khān [*q.v.*] in 667/1268 (Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 337) Although no mention of Ma'bar occurs in the *Yang-yai sheng-lan* of Ma Huan [*q.v.*], *Ma-pa-erh* was certainly well-known to the Chinese during Ming times, and is listed in Feng Ch'eng-chun's *Hsi yü tʻi ming* (see *Bibl.*),

Until the beginning of the 8th/14th century, relations between Ma'bar and the Muslim world were generally limited to peaceful Arab trading contacts. The historian and poet Amīr Khusraw, who was attached to the court of the Khaldjī Sultans at Dihlī, celebrates the advances of the Muslim armies in the northern Deccan (*ca.* 710/1310) and adds that "there

the arrow of any holy warrior had not yet reached" (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 85-6).

During the first half of the 7th/13th century, however, the powerful Chola Kingdom which had dominated the south-eastern Deccan for over four centuries, entered a period of final decline. In ca. 678/1279, Rādjendra IV, the last Chola monarch, fell from power, his territories were divided between two rival Hindu kingdoms based on Madurai and Mysore (Basham, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 76). In 708/1308 the third Khaldjī sultan, 'Alā' al-Dīn, having defeated the invading Mongols, felt able to turn to the military conquest of the Deccan. Under the capable generalship of Malik Kāfūr the Muslim armies subjugated the Yadava rulers of Devagiri and the Kākatīya rulers of Warangal; in 710/1310 Kāfūr broke through to the southern Deccan, and for the first time Muslim armies were able to despoil the great Hindu temples of Ma'bar. It was as a direct consequence of this victory that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the Deccan in or about 739/1338, found the Dravidians of Ma'bar under the rule of a Muslim sultanate with its capital at Madurai (Gibb, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 261-3).

The success of Muslim arms in the southern Deccan was nevertheless to be shortlived. Within a few years of Malik Kāfūr's invasion, the independent Hindu kingdom of Vidjayanagar was established in 731/1336. Ma'bar passed under the control of the *nā'ibs* of Vidjayanagar in 772/1370 (Thapar, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 323); under a succession of Hindu rulers, the region was to maintain its independence from the Muslim north until the equally short-lived conquest of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb (*q.v.*) in the late 11th/16th century.

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(A. D. W. FORBES)

AL-MA'BARĪ, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the author of *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn fī ba'ḍ akhbār al-Purtukāliyya*, is said to have lived in Ponani, Malabar District (Kerala, India) during the rule of the 'Ādil Shāh 'Alī (965-87/1558-80), his patron, to whom he dedicated the book. The date of his birth or death is not known, but he wrote the work on 983/1577. The *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn* deals with the geography of Southern India, and gives an account of Islam in Malabar and the Portuguese campaigns in India. It has an introduction and four chapters. The first chapter deals with the merits and necessity of *djihād* (*q.v.*), the second gives an account of the first appearance of Islam in Malabar (*q.v.*), the third with the strange usages and customs of the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar, and the fourth is an historical account of the Portuguese campaigns from the time of their first arrival in Malabar in 1498 A.D. up to 1583. This work, in the opinion of S. M. H. Nainar, might be different from the work of the same name from which Firishta took extracts, but this needs further careful investigation. (See *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn*, tr., Introd., 7).

The author was inspired to write the book for reasons given by him in his Preface, after the spread of Islam in Malabar the Muslims had "disregarded the favours of Allāh" and had "sinned and set up feuds among themselves." So Allāh "empowered over them the people of Purtukāl from among the *Afrandjī*", who oppressed them for eighty years until the conditions of the Muslims reached "the worst consequences of decay, poverty and humiliation." But neither they nor the resourceful rulers and the rich Muslims of Malabar cared to "repel the misfortune" or "declare a holy war" against the Portuguese. Hence, the author says, he "compiled this narrative with a view to inspire in the faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the Cross, for a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories inhabited by the Muslims ..." (Nainar, tr., 12-13). Obviously, the author wrote the book from a religio-political point of view to exhort the Muslims of Malabar to a holy war against the Portuguese. His style is "very cheap and direct without rhetorical ornament, yet he is not free from the affection of ornate style so common with most theologians who had steeped their minds in the Qur'ān and *Traditions*" (Nainar, Introd., 7-8).

Bibliography: In addition to Brockelmann's *EI*[1] article AL-MA'BARĪ, see *Tuḥfat al-mudjāhidīn, an historical work in the Arabic language*, Eng. tr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainār, University of Madras 1942, edition by Hakīm Shams Allāh Kādirī, Hyderabad, Deccan 1931 (without the first chapter. Nainar, Introd., 4), an abridgement of the work (in Arabic) is included in a collection of some accounts on Islam in Malabar entitled *Durrūbāt al-asfār wa shawārik al-bihāyā wa 'l-aghbār*, etc. by Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Kādir b. al-Shaykh Yūsuf b. Sayfī b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, Edava, Travancore 1338/1939, 205-34.

(S. MAQBUL AHMAD)

MĀBEYN (A. *mā bayn* 'what is between'), in the organisation of the Ottoman palace, the intermediate appartments lying between the inner courts of the Sarāy and the Harem, a place where only the sultan, the eunuchs and the womenfolk could penetrate and where the corps of select pages, known as *mābeyncis*, an élite group from amongst the forty *ikbāl-odalis*, waited on the monarch for such intimate services as dressing and shaving him (see MIḤAḤḤ ODA).

Till the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Mābeyn* -ḏis were headed by the *Silaḥdār Agha* or Sword-bearer, as chief page. But under Ahmed III (1115-43/1703-30) there was a re-organisation of the palace service, involving the decline of the white eunuchs' influence, elevation of the Silaḥdār Agha's position

and depression to some extent of the *Mābeyndjis*, henceforth regarded as inferior to the principal pages of the *Khāṣ Oda* or Privy Chamber. Hence there were now three grades of pages there: (1) the *Bīlekli Eskis* or Superior *Aghas* (so-called because they wore a gilded or silverplated dagger, *bīlek*, in their belts), (2) the *Mābeyndjis*, and (3) the Inferior *Aghas*, with no special designation. Writers from the later 18th and 19th centuries, such as the Ottoman historian ʿĀṣīm and the European D'Ohsson, mention several specific offices held by the principal ones of twelve *Mābeyndjis* (thus numbered by D'Ohsson), headed by the *Bash Čuhadār* or Head Valet, the *Sirr Kātibi* or Confidential Secretary (both still highly influential because of their close contacts with the sultan), the *Sarīkdjī Bashī* or Chief Turbanfolder, the *Kahwedjī Bashī* or Chief Coffee-maker, etc.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

MADAGASCAR, with its 627,000 km² (the third largest island in the world, after New Guinea (785,000 km²) and Borneo (733,000 km²). Its area is slightly greater than that of France 550,880 km²), of Belgium (30,000 km²) and of Holland (33,000 km²) combined. The large African *island is oriented from north-north-east to south-south-west*, measuring 2,600 km at its greatest length and 580 km at its greatest width, with a coastal perimeter of 5,000 km. It has a population in excess of 8 million inhabitants which is increasing at a fairly rapid rate (3.2 %).

Although the Comoros (see QUMR) are entirely Muslim, Madagascar's Muslim population is confined to the north-west coastal region and the south-east, where the descendants of the first Muslims to arrive on the island remain. However, archaeological studies have shown that the Muslims of the Indian Ocean were the transporters of the initial African population, and were responsible for trade between the Great Island and the rest of the world from the 10th to the 18th century. In the 19th century, Indian Muslims engaging in commerce settled in their turn.

In the religious sphere, Malagasy Islam has always tended to be absorbed by the traditional religion, to such an extent that continual contributions are necessary for the maintenance of Muslim establishments. Most curiously, in the south-east of the island a tradition of Arabic-Malagasy manuscript writing is perpetuated.

The island has been known by the names of *al-Kumr* by the Arabs, *Bukini* (literally, the place where there are (*ni*) Buki) by the Bantus of neighbouring East Africa, *Isle of St Laurence* by the Portuguese who discovered it in 1506 on the feast-day of this saint, 10 August, and finally *Madagascar*, according to the narrative of Marco Polo. The unvocalised spelling جزيرة القمر has given rise to the play on words *Djazīrat al-Kamar* "Island of the Moon" which was employed by Portuguese historians in the 16th and 17th centuries and which apparently survived until the end of the 19th century among the seafarers of Southern Arabia.

The name of Kumr seems to figure for the first time in the *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. 220/835 or 230/845), in the context of the famous "mountain of Kumr" (*Djabal al-Kumr*) which was believed to be the source of the Nile. But the interpretation as *Djabal al-Kamar* "mountain of the moon" was ancient as early as the 9th century, since it is encountered in the ὄρη σεληναῖα of Ptolemy, whom the majority of Arab geographers and al-Khwārazmī in particular took as their model. The mountain known as that of Kumr or the Moon is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who have described East Africa. It is totally different from the homographic term Kumr, which in the 17th century, as Tamuignam has shown, signifies the Great Island, but also the neighbouring archipelago of the Comoros, which alone has retained this name to the present day.

In his study on the *K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations intercontinentales dans les Mers du Sud* (in *JA*, xiii-xiv [1919]), Ferrand suggested an association with the name of the Khmers and that of the 崑崙 K'un-lun of the Chinese texts, a daring association, even though these Chinese texts are by no means ignorant of Africa. More interesting for our purposes would seem to be the comparison, by the same Ferrand, of Wāḳ-wāḳ [*q.v.*] with *waḳwāḳa*.

The term *Buki*, which denotes Malagasy in Swahili, and *Bukini*, Madagascar, have been audaciously linked with *Bugi* (people of the Celebes) by J. C. Hébert. In Madagascar, the term appears in literature for the first time in 1613, in the writing of the Portuguese Father Luis Mariano.

The current name of Madagascar is revealed to us in the account of Marco Polo under the form *Madegascar* (cf. *The book of Ser Marco Polo* ed. H. Yule, revised and corrected H. Cordier, ii, 411 ff.). As was demonstrated by Yule a long time ago, Marco Polo did not visit Madagascar: spoke of it only through hearsay and presented under this heading certain information relating to the neighbouring East African coast. In this sense, the question may be regarded as settled. As Ferrand already indicated in studying afresh this chapter of Marco Polo, *Madegascar* is without doubt a slightly incorrect compound of the *Zanghār* type, to be amended to *Madagascar bār*, denoting "land of the Malagasy", in the same way that the former has the sense of "land of Zang or the Zangs" (cf. *Trois étymologies malgaches*, in *Mémoires Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, xiii [1905-6]). This reconstruction is based on the following facts: in the previously mentioned account, Father Luis Mariano tells of a kingdom in the south-east of Madagascar which he calls *Matacassi*, *Matacasi*, *Matacan* (or Matakas). Three years later, in 1618, Father Almeida, travelling in the same region, also mentions a kingdom of *Matacassi*. In his *Relation* published in 1651 by Morisot (*Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil*, 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), Cauche refers to a province called *Madagascha* and known by others as *Madegasse*, whose inhabitants he calls *Malegasses* and *Malimasses*. He also employs the term *Madagascarois*, but in the broader sense of the inhabitants of the entire island. Flacourt (*Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar*, 1661, 1) says: "The Island of Saint Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers. *Madecase* by the inhabitants of the land, Menuthias by Ptolemy, Cerne by Pliny [...], but its true name is *Madecare*". Later writers have all been inspired to a greater or lesser extent by the work of Flacourt, therefore, there is no purpose in employing their testimony. These variant readings may be reduced to two: *Madagasca* and *Malagasa*

which correspond exactly to the two major categories of dialect: dialects with voiced dental (*d*) and dialects with buccal dental (*l*). It is the latter form that has prevailed throughout the island, sometimes with the sibilant *Malagasy*, sometimes with the fricative *Malagasy*. Both are paroxytones. In addition, the modern colloquial language frequently employs the abbreviated form *gasy* and even *gasi*. These observations seem to justify the interpretation proposed above for the name of Madagascar which we owe to Marco Polo.

The doublet *Malagāsy-Madagāsy*, *Malagāsy-Madagāsy* remains obscure. According to the morphology of the language, it may represent a compound *mala* or *mada gāsy* which resembles nothing known, since it consists of the voiced form *mada-gāsy*, or of the unvoiced form noted by the Portuguese *mala-hāsy*. Furthermore, it is not known whether this is a western Indonesian construction or a Bantu construction. Whatever the case may be, it is likely that here we have a foreign tribal name, the origin of which, eastern or western, cannot currently be explained by reference to the ancient and modern language.

The account of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, probably written by a Greek of Alexandria in the 3rd century A.D., describes a voyage along the eastern coast of Africa as far as the port of Rapta. Madagascar seems to be unknown to the author of the *Periplus*, and it is probable that it was still uninhabited Indonesian and African migrations seem to have populated the island only in the 2nd or 3rd centuries of the Hidjra, at the earliest.

In about the year 945, the island of Kanbalū, probably situated in the archipelago of the Comoros, was the object of invasions by marine pirates possibly based on Madagascar. The book of *The marvels of India* by Buzurg b. Shahriyār, a Persian of Rāmhurmuz, states in fact: "Ibn Lakis tells me that he has seen the people of the Wāk-wāk perform amazing things. It is thus that in 334/945-6, they came upon them in a thousand ships and fought them with the utmost vigour, without however achieving their end, since Kanbalū is surrounded by a strong defensive wall around which stretches the waterlogged estuary of the sea, so that Kanbalū is at the centre of this estuary like a fortified citadel. When people of the Wāk-wāk subsequently came ashore there, they asked them why they had come specifically there and not elsewhere. They replied that this was because among them there were to be found products sought after in their country and in China, such as ivory, tortoise shell, panther hides and ambergris, and because they were seeking out the Zandj, on account of the envy with which they endured slavery and on account of their physical strength. They said that they had come from a distance of one year's sailing, that they had pillaged islands situated six days' journey from Kanbalū and had taken possession of a certain number of villages and towns of Sofāla of the Zandj, to say nothing of others which they did not know. If these people spoke the truth and if their account was accurate, this would confirm what Ibn Lakis said of the islands of the Wāk-wāk: that they are situated opposite China." Today there is a consensus that these pirates were Indonesians based in Madagascar who pillaged the Comoros and the coast of the Zandj.

Among the Arab geographers, the first detailed mention of the island of Kumr-Madagascar is supplied by the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāk fi 'khtirāk al-āfāk* (1154) of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, who sometimes includes the large African island in the land of the Zandj. "The inhabitants of the islands of Zabag = Sumatra," he says in the seventh section of the first chapter, "come to the land of the Zandj in large and small ships and they are fit for the sale of their merchandise, seeing that they understand one another's language" (B.N. mss. 2221, fol. 29 a, l. 25; the editor of the *Book of Roger*, Naples-Rome, i, 1970, 61, reads al-Rāmadj in place of al-Zibadj; cf. index of the *Murūdj* s.v. *Zibadj*). This passage is very important, because it shows that in the 12th century contacts were maintained between the east and the west of the Indian Ocean and that mutual comprehension was practised by the Indonesians settled in Madagascar on the one hand and those natives of Indonesia on the other.

In his *Mu'djam*, completed in 1224, Yākūt merely says (iv, 274): "al-Kumr is an island in the middle of the sea of the Zandj which contains no island larger than it. It comprises a large number of towns and kingdoms. Each king makes war on the other. On the shores are found amber and the leaf *al-kumāri* (*sic*). This is a perfume. It is also called betel leaf. Wax is also obtained from it." The *Kitāb al-Mughāzāt* of the same author contains identical information borrowed from the *Masālik* (ed. Wüstenfeld, 358); but the latter text has, more correctly, "the leaf *al-kumrī*".

Ibn Sa'īd (7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) wrote a geographical treatise, of which the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris possesses, under no. 2234, a copy once belonging to Abu 'l-Fidā' and dating from 714/1314-15. This treatise contains an interesting association between the Asiatic peoples and the people of Kumr, which Ferrand summarises thus: "The Kumr, who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa, are brothers of the Chinese. They dwelt originally with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the world, that is to say, in the interior of the continent of Asia. Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Kumr towards the islands. After a certain period of time, with dissension erupting among the Kumr who had emigrated to the islands, the king and his family emigrated again, made their way to the large island of Kumr = Madagascar and the king established himself in a town of this large island called Kumrayya. These Kumr, having arrived on the large island, grew in number and proliferated in the various capitals of the island in question, but now dissensions provoked a new exodus and a large number of them departed to settle in the south, at the commencement of the inhabited territory, along the mountain range which bears their name" (Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, ii, 316 ff.).

A contemporary of Ibn Sa'īd, Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Shaybānī of Damascus, wrote his *Ta'rīkh al-Mustabsir* in ca. 1230 (B.N. ms. 6021). In the 25 folios which the author devotes to the history of Aden, there is mention in folio 72 a-b of voyages by the Kumr from their country of origin to Aden and, in particular, in 626/1228, from Madagascar to the coast of Africa and to Aden (cf. *JA*, xix [1919], 469-83).

The following authors al-Dimashkī (ca. 725/1325), al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), Abu 'l-Fidā' (1273-1331), Ibn Khaldūn (ca. 1375) and al-Makrīzī (1365-1442) tell us nothing of substance about the island of Kumr. The towns which some of them place on the great African island are in fact situated in Ceylon or further east, or are unidentifiable (cf. Ferrand,

Relations de voyages, ii, index, *s. vv. Kamar* and *Komr*)

Besides mentioning numerous towns, al Dimashḳī tells of the presence on Kumr of the famous *rukh* bird. This bird, which has haunted the legends of the Arabs of the Indian Ocean, is probably the aepyornis, a giant flightless bird which was exterminated by the Madagascans *ca.* 1500.

In the 9th/15th century, the information supplied by Arab geographers is more reliable. This no longer consists of learned treatises or compilations, but of "route maps" written by navigators, the most eminent being Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.vv.*]. Ferrand was the first to draw attention to the importance of these documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and he published them in facsimile without French translation, before him, this nautical data was known only from a second-hand Turkish text, the *Muḥīṭ* of Sayyid ʿAlī. Today, for Ibn Mādjid, we are fortunate in having at our disposal the interpretation by Shumovski relating to another manuscript, that of Leningrad, and the cartographical analysis of the navigators' documentations made by Grosset Grange.

While admitting the interest of the nautical instructions of Ibn Mādjid, Ferrand recognised that the information given by Sulaymān al-Mahrī was more precise. In fact, in his *Umda Mahriyya*, in chapter IV, which deals with the topography of the islands and the maritime routes along their coasts (*cf. Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, ii, fol. 22 a), the following is stated: "We begin with the island of Kumr because it is a large island which stretches along the coast of the Zandj and of Sufāla. Its northern extremity is called Rās al-Mīl's (= Cape of Amber), it is situated at 12 *ṣbaʿs* from Naʿsh [*q.v.*] of the Great Bear = 8° 37' south approximately, true latitude approximately 11° 57'). Its southern extremity which is called Nūfā (= Cape Saints-Marie?) is at 3 *ṣbaʿs* from Naʿsh (= 21° 37' south, true latitude approx. 25° 38'), according to some, at 2 *ṣbaʿ* from Naʿsh (= 24° 51' south), according to others. This last latitude is the more exact. There is a difference of opinion (on the direction) of maritime routes along its coasts, because this island is far removed from inhabited land. As regards the direction of route on its eastern coasts, there are two opinions: according to some, a course should be set to south-west-one quarter west, according to others, to south west. There is a third opinion which recommends a course set to west, from one extremity of the island to the other. This last opinion is that of the ancient [masters of navigation]. In my view, adds Sulaymān al-Mahrī, it is possible that the route could be to west south west to south-west-one-quarter west, to south west, and in yet another direction, for two reasons: the first is that this is a large island, it has a long coastline and the route is equally long. The second reason is that the above-mentioned routes have not been verified, on account of the small number of journeys which have been made to this island and the insufficient nautical data provided by those who have travelled there. Masters of navigation (*muʿallimūn*) of the Zandj have told me that the course on the eastern coast, from Rās al-Mīl as far as the place where Naʿsh is at 8 *ṣbaʿs* (= 13° 30' south), is to the south, and from this place to the southern extremity of the islands, to south-one-quarter-south-west. On the western coast, from Rās al-Mīl to the place where Naʿsh is at 6 *ṣbaʿs* (= 10° 41'), the coast is entirely safe; from 6 *ṣbaʿs* to its southern extremity, there is a *rikk* ("bank" or „shoal") of a length of more a *ʿdam* (6 hours) sailing-time or more, as far as the coastal area. Between the island of Kumr and the coast [of East Africa] there are four large inhabited islands, close together, which are frequented by the peoples of the Zandj. The first of these islands is Angazidja (= Grand Comoro). It is at 11 *ṣbaʿs* and one-quarter from Naʿsh (= approx. 9° south: Mroni, the capital of Grand Comoro is at exactly 12° 40' south). Between it and the coast [of East Africa], there are 16 *ʿdam* (= 48 hours) of travelling. The second, Mulāl (known to us as the island of Moheli), is at 11 *ṣbaʿs* from Naʿsh (= 8° 37' south, true latitude approx. 12° 20'), the third, Dumāni (capital of the island of Anjouan), which is at 11 *ṣbaʿs* from Naʿsh (= 8° 37' south, true latitude 12° 15') is to the east of Mulāl, the fourth, Mawaṭṭi (currently the island of Mayotte), is at 10 *ṣbaʿs* and one half from Naʿsh (= 9° 25' south, true latitude 12° 46' 35"). To the east of these islands, lies a large reef of rocks, at about 4 *yāms* (= 12 hours) of travelling, called *ʿAyn al-Bahr* ("eye" or "source of the sea"). The ports of the western coast of Kumr are: Langāni (at 15° 17' south), Saʿda (true latitude approx. 13° 54') and Mandalāḍji (currently the bay of Mahadzamba, of which the western extremity is at a true latitude of approx. 15° 12'). Those of the eastern coast are: Bandar Banī Ismāʿīl (on the same latitude as Langāni on the western coast) and Bīmārūh (currently Vohemar, at 13° 21' 15"). All these ports are dangerous [for shipping], with the exception of Langāni. Note that between Rās al-Mīl and the coast of the Zandj there are 30 *ʿdam* (= 150 hours) of travelling, and that at 20 *ʿdam* (= 60 hours) of travelling to the east of Rās al-Mīl lies an inhabited island called Muṭawwara (one of the southern Maldives?). To the south-east of Kumr, the numerous islands called Tīrakhā (the Mascareignes group?); they are at 12 *yāms* (= 36 hours) of travelling from the island of Kumr."

In his *Kitāb al-Minhādj al-fākhir* (fol. 73 b of the same manuscript), Sulaymān al-Mahrī provides a second description of the island of Kumr which does not differ from the foregoing. Four pages previously, in fol. 71 b, the same author mentions some other ports of the island of Kumr with their latitude calculated according to the elevation of the Great Bear: Island of Muṭawwara at 11 *ṣbaʿs*; Bandar Ismāʿīl or Banī Ismāʿīl, on the eastern coast and Langāni or Langāl, on the western coast, at 10 *ṣbaʿs*; Birmārūh, on the eastern coast, Anāmil, on the western coast, at 9 *ṣbaʿs*; the island of anbar (*djazīrat al-ʿanbar*), on the eastern coast, and Bandar al-Nūh on the western coast, at 8 *ṣbaʿs*; Nosḥum (?), on the eastern coast, and Malawia (?), on the western coast, at 7 *ṣbaʿs*, Manakāra, on the eastern coast (true latitude 22° 28' 30") and Bandar (al) Shaʿbān (port of the shoals), at 6 *ṣbaʿs*. Bandar Hadūda, on the eastern coast, and Bandar Kūfī, on the western coast, at 4 *ṣbaʿs*, Wabaya (?) (according to the Turkish text of Sayyid ʿAlī, this name is illegible in ms. 2555), on the eastern coast, and Bandar Hīt (or Hayt), on the western coast, at 3 *ṣbaʿs*, Bandar Hadūda (*sic*), on the eastern coast, no name known on the western coast at this latitude, at 2 *ṣbaʿs*, and Bandar Kūs (or Kawa), on the eastern coast, and the bay of Kūfī, on the western coast, at 1 *ṣbaʿ*.

A number of these ports, including Saʿda, Manzalāḍji and Bīmārūh have been rediscovered and have been subjected to archaeological studies. Those of the north-west were also known through an oral tradition,

assembled in Madagascar itself by Commandant Guillain (Vérin, 1975, 89-91).

In the light of recently discovered data, the settlement of Madagascar may be summarised as follows. Between 700 and 1000, Indonesians and Africans created through biological and cultural cross-breeding the proto Malagasy civilisation in the north of Madagascar and, no doubt also, in the archipelago of the Comoros (especially at Mayotte).

From this period onward, Muslim seafarers of the Persian Gulf and the Hadramawt took part in migrations and in commerce. In particular, they taught navigation to the Swahili peoples of the east coast of Africa, as a result of which Bantu migrations were extended to the islands. The Muslims established after the 10th century contacts between Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār on the one hand, and the Malagasy Comoran ports on the other. A green ceramic, called Sasano-Islamic, has been discovered at Irodo, in the far north of Madagascar, a site dated to the 10th century by the RC 14 test.

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, Muslim establishments frequented by the latter proliferated, especially at Bemanevika, Ambariotelo and Mahilaka. The ceramics imported then were of the sgraffiato type, very similar to that of Takht-i Sulaymān. The first stone-built mosques appeared at this time, as well as stone-built houses, fortifications and well-shafts. At the turn of the 14th century, the influence of the Hadramawt became perceptible, corresponding no doubt to the monopoly control of the gold trade in the region by the Mahdalī.

The 14th and 15th centuries constituted a golden age for the Muslim settlements in Madagascar. The towns of Vohemar, Saʿda Langānī (Manzalaqīt) and Kingānī were particularly prosperous. They imported fabrics, pearls and Arab and Chinese ceramics. They exported rice, livestock, and chlorite slate.

At the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese invaded the Malagasy coasts. They sacked Kingānī, Saʿda and Langānī. Despite certain vicissitudes, the Muslim settlements of Madagascar were never to be subjected to the Portuguese crown. Progressively, commerce developed with other foreign nationals: French, English, Dutch and even Danish.

In the 16th century, the slave trade became important. Settlements controlled by Malagasy sovereigns, mostly Sakalava, but enlivened by natives-born or immigrant Muslims, became intensely prosperous. African slaves were imported to Madagascar to cultivate the crops of Sakalava farmers, but, at the same time, Madagascans taken prisoner in the course of internal wars were exported to the Mascareignes (Hilbot). In the 17th century, Langani declined, but commercial activity continued at Boeny. Vohemar was prosperous at this time, but it too declined in the 18th century. In the second half of the 18th century, Boeny was supplanted by Majunga which, together with Nosy Be, has remained a major commercial centre until the present day. Indian Muslims settled in Madagascar in the 19th century in the course of trade missions to Majunga and Nosi Be.

Malagasy Islam is active among the Antakarana and the new converts (*moridy*/*marisi*), especially following the conversion of Tsimiaro in 1843.

In the south-east, certain of the Antanmahoaka and Antaimoro, possessors of *sorabe* (Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts) still respect the authority of Islam, while also practising Malagasy customs.

Finally, still among the Madagascans of old stock, there should be counted the descendants of the former inhabitants of the Muslim trading-stations of the north-west called Antalaotse. Among them live some Makoa, more recent arrivals from Africa and many of them converted. These various Malagasy Muslim groups may be numbered at around 100,000. They live in the coastal towns, but also in the urban settlements of central and western Madagascar, the descendants of Indian Muslim immigrants. 15% of these Indians are Sunnīs, some of these Sunnīs have introduced a ceramic type from Sind which has gradually replaced the local Malagasy pottery of the north.

Among the Shīʿī Indians, predominant are the Bohorās [*q.v.*], the most numerous (about 5,000), the Khōdjas [*q.v.*] of whom some 2,500 arrived shortly after 1900 with Amode Khōdja by way of Majunga, but whose most active centre is at Morondava; and finally, the Agha Khānites [see AGHA KHĀN] (2,500), who arrived *ca.* 1885 and are linked to a remarkably structured international organisation.

Among the foreign Muslims of Madagascar, there are a number of Somalis and Yemenis who have settled since the colonial period, and 25,000 Comorans who live mostly in the north-west, but no longer dwell in Majunga, which they evacuated following the tragic events of December 1976.

The inhabitants of Madagascar all speak an Indonesian language modified by a Bantu substratum. Vérin, Kottak and Gorlin (1968) have acknowledged three groups of dialects giving a separate place to the group of the north, apparently more isolated in ancient times than the centre-east and west-south groups.

In the article on Madagascar in *EI*[1], Ferrand clearly showed the lexical contribution of African in Malagasy languages. There is an old Bantu stock which could emanate from the language ancestral to Comoran and Swahili, but also from more recent borrowings from Swahili, at the time when, in the 15th century, this language was commonly spoken in the Muslim coastal settlements.

The basic vocabulary of Malagasy is 90% Indonesian, but in addition to Bantu expressions, there exist some words of Sanskrit origin; scholars are divided as to whether this Sanskrit lexical stock was brought to the island by the original Indonesian immigrants, or was absorbed through later contact with Indian civilisations.

Certain words of Arabic origin have made their way into Malagasy through the intermediary of Swahili (*e.g. sokany*, Ar. *sukkān* "rudder"). But others have been introduced directly through borrowing.

Among these borrowings from Arabic are the following:

1. Some commercial terms, *e.g. mizana* (*mīzān*) "scales", but also the names of days of the week, described by Ferrand in the following terms: *alatsnainy*, *talata*, *alarobia*, *alakamisy*, *zoma*, *asabotsy*, *alahady* (Ar. *al-ithnayn*, *al-thalāthāʾ*, *al-arbiʿāʾ*, *al-khamīs*, *al-djumʿa*, *al-sabt*, *al-aḥad*). It will be noted that the Arabic definite article has been retained for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday and omitted for Tuesday and Friday. The names of the days are given here in Merina dialect: the forms of the other dialects show only minor phonetic variations.

2. The names of the twelve months in the dialect of the Merina and that of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: *alahamady*, *adaoro*, *adizaoza*, *asorotany*, *alahasaty*,

asambola, *odi-nsama*, *alahasabo*, *alahasay*, *asisady*, *zaiala* and *alohotsy*, where the following are recognised without difficulty *al-hamal*, *al-thawr*, *al-djawzā'*, *al-saratān*, *al-asad*, *al-sunbula*, *al-mīzān*, *al-'akrab*, *al-kaus*, *al-djady al-dalw* and *al-hūt*. A fairly large number of tribes are aware of the Merina system, but still use names of months of Sanskrit origin which will be considered below.

3. The names of the 28 days of the month (the south-eastern Madagascan of least formerly had a year of 336 days) which have been preserved for us by Flacourt (*Histoire*, 1661, 174) recall those of the 28 Arab lunar mansions (see MANZIL) and MANZILA). In Madagascar, to avoid the fragmentation of mansions, corresponding to the different signs of the zodiac, 3 mansions have been allotted to the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th signs, and 2 to each of the 8 others:

Signs of the Zodiac	*Lunar mansions*	
I. Alahamedy (al-Hamal)	1. Asheratamy	al-Sharatān
	2. Alabotsini	al-Butayn
	3. Azoritse	al-Thurayyā
II. Adaoro (al-Thawr)	4. Adabara	al-Dabarān
	5. Alahaka	al-Hak'a
III. Adizaoza (al-Djawzā')	6. Alahamo	al-Han'a
	7. Azira	al-Dhirā'
IV. Asorotany (al-Saratān)	8. Anasara	al-Nathra
	9. Atafaly	al-Tarf
	10. Alitcha	al-Djabha, etc.

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions have thus become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy month. When mentioned in conjunction with a day of the week, they take the place of the day of the week, which the Arabico-Malagasy texts very rarely indicate by a figure. This method seems already to have fallen into disuse in the current language, and is hardly ever employed except in witchcraft.

4. *Shikili* (dialectal variants *sikily*, *tsikidy*. Ar. *shakl* "figure") is the divinatory art. It has as its object the finding of remedies and is practised throughout the island, with minor variations, between one tribe and another; *sikidy*, to use the form generally employed, is a direct derivation from the *'ilm al raml* "science of sand", or Arab geomancy (cf. the *Kitāb al Fasl fi usūl 'ilm al-raml* of the shaykh Muhammad al-Zanati, Cairo lith. n.d.).

Although today it constitutes nothing more than a precious relic, Arabico-Malagasy remains an essential element of the patrimony of the Great Island. The manuscripts which exist emanate from the regions of Vohipeno and Fort-Dauphin. The most ancient are stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, but some also exist in various European countries (Norway especially), and naturally enough in the Malagasy Academy, as well as in the region of Vohipeno (south-east).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the king Andrianampoinimerina invited some Antaimoro soothsayers to the court of Tananarive, including the eminent Andriamahazonoro. Arabico-Malagasy was thus held in high regard in Tuerna until the beginning of the reign of Radama I. The latter subsequently had the Latin alphabet adopted for the writing of Malagasy.

The enterprise of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was both delicate and difficult, it has however been successfully achieved under satisfactory conditions. The Malagasy phonemes *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, have been transcribed by their Arabic equivalent. *s* is represented by a subpointed ṣ. The other phonemes are rendered thus: Malagasy *g* by ڭ, *ng* guttural by ڠ and sometimes by غ, the group *ng* also by ڭ, the phonemes *ds* and *tr*, as in the English *drove* and *travel* (they are pronounced further back in the non-Merina dialects), generally by ڒ, sometimes by ڑ, with a *tanora* (the example *antsendry* "date-palm" is rendered by انڒندري and only the context indicates whether ڑ should be read *ds* or *tr*), Malagasy *t*, by sub-pointed ṭ, the phoneme *ts*, by Arabic تس; Malagasy *v*, by ڤ, but Arabic ف is also pronounced *v*, Arabic رمضان *ramadān*, Malagasy *rareuse*; Malagasy *z* by ظ pronounced *z* ظي *zaza* "small child", the phoneme *dz*, by ڒ and in modern Arabico-Malagasy sometimes by ڑ. The non-Semitic Islamised peoples who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and have found it necessary to transcribe the occlusive *y*, have resorted to various notations. The Malays have rendered it by ڬ. The Pecilans, and following their example, certain Muslims of the Comoro archipelago, by ڰ; the Swahilis of East Africa by ي. The Malagasies adopted an unexpected solution, until the 18th century they rendered *y* by ڽ, meaning ـ surmounting by a vertical *tashdīd*, then by ڽ. Unlike in Malay, each letter is vocalised, which facilitates the reading of Arabico-Malagasy texts, in spite of graphical variants which are too numerous to be mentioned here.

The Arabico Malagasy alphabet was formerly used over a fairly wide geographical area, it is currently employed only on the south-eastern coast, where a great many natives were still using it at the end of the 19th century. The Malagasy Muslims of the north-west and west rather employ the Arabico-Comorian or Arabico-Swahili alphabets. The latter represents by ڎ a *tr* identical to the Malagasy *tr*, but this form is current only to the island of Anjouan. The dialect of this island possesses a *ts*, the transcription by ڠ of the *ts* of Persian and Turkish. The other Arabic letters ث, ج, ح, خ, ذ, ز, ش, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ع, غ, are not encountered in Malagasy except in mentions of Arabic words and they are pronounced respectively *s*, *h*, *h*, *dz*, *z*, *a*, *v*, *z*, and *h*.

Ferrand did a great deal of work on the Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts, his researches have been pursued by Gautier, Jolien, Mondain, Faublée, Ramandrahoa, Munthe and especially Dez, who has recently completed a vocabulary with which he intends to decipher and transcribe, with the aid of F. Vire, B N ms 96.

Madagascar, having integrated harmoniously in its civilisation African, Indonesian, Arab and European elements, today practises in the context of its international relations a policy of worldwide contacts. In this manner, the Great Island maintains close relationships with numerous Arab and Muslim countries.

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AL-MADĀ'IN, "the cities" (pl. of *al-madīna*), the Arabic translation of the Aramaic Māhōzē or Medinātā referring to the Sāsānid metropolis on the Tigris about 20 miles southeast of Baghdād where several adjacent cities connected by a floating bridge stretched along both banks of the river. This was the imperial administrative capital, the winter residence of the king, the home of the Jewish Exilarch and the seat of the Nestorian Catholikos. Among the mixed population of Aramaeans, Persians, Greeks, and Syrians were Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. The residential, industrial and commercial zones of the metropolis were interspersed with palaces, villas, parks, gardens, ceremonial buildings, monuments, and large open areas.

Although tradition names seven cities, there were really four or five main population centres in the late Sasānid period. The oldest city on the east bank was Ctesiphon, founded by the Parthians in the 1st century B.C. and called "the old city" (*al-madīna al-ʿatīka*) by the Arabs. The old royal residence called "the White Palace" (*Kasr al-abyad*) was here and this city was a local administrative centre. Next to it, the sprawling, unwalled residential district of Aspānbur grew up in the late Sāsānid period, with its great ceremonial hall (*Iwān Kisrā*), palace complex, bath, treasury, possibly a mint, game preserve and stables. About three miles away, Khusraw I founded the city of Veh Antiokh-i Khusraw in 540 A.D., where he resettled the captives taken from Antioch in Syria. Called al-Rūmiyya by the Arabs, this town had its own hippodrome and bath, was a local administrative centre and had a population of 30,000 in the late 6th century.

On the west bank stood the round, walled city of Veh-Ardashīr founded by Ardashīr I in ca. 230 A.D. and called Behrasīr by the Arabs, Mahoza by Jews and Kōkhē by Christians. This city was mainly commercial and industrial, a local administrative centre west of the Tigris with its own mint, and the location of the cathedral church of the Catholikos. Heavily populated by wealthy Jews, it was also the residence of the Exilarch. Parts of this city had been abandoned by the 6th century. Sābāt, about three miles south of Veh-Ardashīr guarding the bridge over the Nahr al-Malik where it met the Tigris, is sometimes included in the metropolitan area.

When al-Madā'in fell to the Arabs in Safar 16/March 637, the Sāsānid royal family, nobles, and army had fled. Some soldiers were captured there, along with huge amounts of booty from the royal treasures. The people in the White Palace made peace with Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ for the payment of tribute (*djizya*), which terms were extended to the rest of the population, while the people of al-Rūmiyya made their own peace terms. Saʿd occupied the White Palace and quartered his army in empty houses. When the soldiers settled in permanent quarters at Kūfa, they took the doors from their houses in al-Madā'in with them.

The native population of al-Madā'in was fairly stable immediately after the conquest. There were Persian notables (*dihkāns*) there in 37/657. The Exilarch and Catholikos remained there and by the late 1st/early 8th century it was also a Manichaean centre. The main change was the replacement of the Sasānid upper classes by a small Muslim Arab garrison posted from Kūfa (300 horsemen in 43/663, 1,000 in 76/695) and led by Kufan notables (*ashrāf*), the tribal leaders of Azd and prominent early Muslims (*buyūtāt al-nas*) who married local women at first and acquired local land. Their Friday mosque was in Madīnat al-ʿAtīka.

In the early Islamic period, al-Madā'in was considered the key to the Kufan territory because it controlled the main road to the east and served as the administrative centre for the Diyāla region (*arḍ Diyāla*) under the governor of Kūfa. Sulaym al-Fārisī, who died there in the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23-35/644-56), was an early *ʿāmil*. Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān, the first fiscal agent there under ʿUmar, established the tax rates for *arḍ Diyāla* and died at al-Madā'in in 36/657. However, early Muslim governors at al-Madā'in often combined the responsibilities for war, worship and finance, and resided in the White Palace. Al-Madīna al-ʿAtīka was also a mint for post-reform Umayyad dirhams.

Because of their Kufan connections, the Muslims of al-Madā'in appear consistently as pro-ʿAlid and anti-Khārijī. Saʿd b. Masʿūd, ʿAlī's governor 36-40/656-60, secured the city against the Khawārij in 37/657. In 41/661 al-Hasan b. ʿAlī retreated there and stayed in the White Palace before coming to terms with Muʿāwiya. In 43/664 the governor, Simāk, prevented the Khawārij of al-Mustawrid from crossing to the eastern city from Behrasīr. The Muslims of al-Madā'in supported the ʿAlids in the second *fitna* and in 65/684 Saʿd b. Hudhayfa, an early *hādī* there, joined the "Penitents" of Sulaymān b. Surad with 170 Shīʿīs from Kūfa who had settled in al-Madā'in. The Shīʿīs of al-Madā'in suffered the consequences of their partisanship later when the Azāriḳa Khawārij sacked the city in 68/687 and massacred the Muslim population. The city was also occupied by Shabīb in 76/696. By the 2nd/8th century, the Shīʿīs of al-Madā'in were extremists (*ghulāt*). The Ḥārithiyya sect which believed that whoever knew the *Ismāʿ* could do as he liked was founded there and supported the ʿAlid rising of 126/744. The extremist Ishāḳiyya sect was there in the 4th/10th century.

Although al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) stayed briefly at al-Rumiyya, where Abū Muslim was in 137/754 killed, al-Madā'in declined in political and commercial importance after the foundation of Baghdād in 145/762. Most of the population, the Catholikos and the Exilarch moved to Baghdād. The White Palace was partially demolished by al-Manṣūr, and although he ordered it to be rebuilt in 158/775, it remained ruined. Its demolition was completed by al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) in ca. 290/903, and the materials used to build the Ṭāḳ palace at Baghdād. By the 3rd/9th century, al-Madā'in's importance was more agricultural and the position of *hādī* there tended to be combined with that of Baghdād and other places, although the tombs of Salmān near the Iwān and of Hudhayfa near the river had been built at Aspānbur by then. By the 4th/10th century, al-Rūmiyya was deserted, but the rest of the town on the east bank was a flourishing suburb of Baghdād, with brick buildings, markets and two Friday mosques, while there was a large fire temple on the west bank.

There was still a small town on the east bank in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. The office of *ḥāʾiṭ* was held by local people and the tomb of Salmān was visited annually on 25 Shaʿbān by Sunnī barbers of Baghdād and on variable dates by Shīʿīs. There was a village of Imāmī Shīʿī farmers on the west bank and coins found at Tell Baruda confirm settlement at Batnaʾir as late as the 7th/13th century. Behrasīr remained a small Shīʿī town in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

The tomb of Salmān was rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV (1038 AH/1623-40) and restored in 1904-5. The village of Salmān Pāk has grown up around the tomb in the modern period, with *khāns* for Shīʿī pilgrims who often stop there when visiting the other ʿIrāḳī shrines.

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For the conquest of al-Madāʾin by the Muslims, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 262-3, 277, Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 163, Dīnawarī, 153, Ṭabarī, i, 2357-8, 2424-35, 2439-42, 2452, 2497; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 396-403, and Yāḳūt, i, 769, iv, 446. On Muslim settlement and early administration, see Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1302, 48, Ibn Saʿd, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 8-9, 65, viii, 64, 66; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 228; Ṭabarī, i, 2574-5, 2463, 2645, 2839, 3388, 3372, ii, 2, 39, 46, 57, 304, 561, 635, 859, 929, 979-80, 982, 1069, Dīnawarī, 163, 218, and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 334. For ʿAlīd and Shīʿī connections and Khāridjī attacks, see Dīnawarī, 218; Ṭabarī, i, 3259, 3366, ii, 2, 39, 504, 561, 755, 886-7, 892, 949, Nawbakhtī, *K. Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 29; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 380-1; and L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien*, Tours 1934. On the period of decline, see Ṭabarī, ii, 320, 385, 504, 561, 755, 886-7, 892, 949, Nawbakhtī, *K. Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 29; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 380-1; and L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien*, Tours 1934. On the period of decline, see Ṭabarī, ii, 320, 385, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 200; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *K. Masālik al-mamālik*, 86; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 244, Mukaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 122; Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 180, Yāḳūt, i, 109, 809, ii, 867, and Kazwīnī, *Āthār*, 303.

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AL-MADĀʾINĪ, ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ SAYF, ABŪ ʾL-ḤASAN, early Arabic historian, was born, according to his own information, in 135/752 (*Fihrist*, 100). Little is known about his life. He was a client of Samura b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, i.e. of the Companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura [q.v.]; according to *Fihrist*, 100, al-Madāʾinī dedicated a monograph to him. Al-Madāʾinī, who was in Basra in 153/770 (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-tabyīn*, ii, Cairo 1367/1948, 93), later went to al-Madāʾin and Baghdād at an unknown date. It is also unknown whether his *nisba* originated from a stay in al-Madāʾin or whether such a stay was derived from an already-existing *nisba*. The same *nisba* is in any case also carried by ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura (Yāḳūt, i, 644). Al-Madāʾinī is explicitly said to have been a pupil of the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī (d. 215/830) of Basra, who lived in Baghdād (see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1961, 54), elsewhere (*ibid.*, 140) he is counted among the people of Kūfa. It is indeed possible that he stayed also in this city, because there are a great number of Kufan people among his informants. He found a friend and patron in the musician and scholar Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850 [q.v.]), in whose house he is said to have died. The data on the year of his death in Baghdād vary; 225/830, 224/839, 223/840, 228/843 (*Fihrist*, 100 al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1330, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 287, = § 2973, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 309 ff., *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 55). Since he is said to have died over 90 years old, 91 Yāḳūt (iv, 215) still mentions him for the year 226/841, and since his great historical work on the caliphs (see below) is said to have treated of the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42), the year 228/843 seems the most probable (see G. Rotter, *Zur Über-*

Isfarung einiger historischer Werke Madā'inīs in Tabarīs Annalen, in *Oriens*, xxii-xxiv [1970-1], 104)

Al-Madā'inī, a highly productive scholar with many sided interests wrote more than 200 works (see *Fihrist*, 101-4 Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 312 ff, Y. al-'Ushsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, mu'arrikh Baghdād wa muḥaddithuhā*, Damascus 1384/1965, index, P. Sbath *Chour de livres qui se trouvaient dans les bibliothèques d'Alep* (an *VIIIe siècle*) in *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Egypte*, xlix, Cairo 1946, index) An important part of his works deals with historical subjects, reaching from the origins of Islām until his own days. In treating the genealogy of the Kuraysh, pre-Islamic items are brought together with Islamic ones He is concerned not only with the *maghāzī* of the Prophet, but also with his settlements, sermons, peace treaties, envoys and correspondence. The events during the period of the four rightly guided caliphs have his interest no less than the history of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, the conquests as well as the marriages of the *ashrāf* He wrote about the *akhbār* of poets and singers, dealt with geographical items like al-Madīna and mountains and valleys in its neighbourhood, but also with (famous) fools, traitors, with coinage and exchange of money, with miserliness and jealousy, with animals in general and horses in particular Only two works, the *Kitāb al-Murādifāt min Aswāyib* and the *Kitāb al-Ta'āzī* (two *ḥawā'i*) (see below) have come down to us as separate manuscripts

To Muslim scholars, al Madā'inī was a great and extremely reliable specialist in the *akhbār* On the one hand, this can be deduced from their opinion about him Aḥmad b al-Ḥārith al Kharrāz (see below) for instance transmitted that scholars considered al-Madā'inī as the authority on Khurasan, Hind and Fārs (*Fihrist*, 93, l 23) According to al-Marzubānī (*Nūr al-ḳabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut 1384/1964, 182 ff), "He who aspires to [knowledge of] the *akhbār al-Islām* should keep to al-Madā'inī's works" Abū Zakariyyā' al-Azdī (*Ta'rīkh Mawṣil*, Cairo 1967, 25) considered him an authority in the field of the history of the Prophet and the *akhbār* of the Arabs, while al Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xii, 55) adds " also [in the field of] their genealogy, the *futūḥ*, the *maghāzī* and the transmission of poetry" On the other hand, the high esteem in which al Madā'inī's oeuvre was held may be seen from the quotations in the works of many Muslim scholars Appearing with his *kunya*, *abū*, *umm* or as Ibn Abī Sayf, al-Madā'inī's name is in the earlier period mostly mentioned in connection with an *isnād*, later together with the respective book-title. 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d 1093/1682) is one of the last authors to quote him in his *Khizānat al-adab* Muslim scholars were interested not only in al-Madā'inī's historical works but also in his books on *adab*, geography, zoology and poetry For further information, see Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, *Shaykh al-akhbāriyyīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī*, Najaf 1975, 141 ff

While al-Madā'inī was an historian by interest, his working method was that of a *muḥaddith* from works or accounts of others he chose those parts which seemed appropriate to him, and with those building stones of varying size he composed his book These selected pieces of information are sometimes preceded by *isnāds* which go back to eye-witnesses or contemporaries of the event in question, sometimes by *isnāds* which contain only his immediate source and eventually its authority or transmitter This procedure is certainly to a high extent postulated already by the working method of his source; in opposition to Abū Mikhnaf for instance, 'Awāna b al-Ḥakam [*q v*] hardly ever gives *isnāds* which go back to the account of an eye-witness Sometimes *isnāds* even fail altogether, and this again may depend on the nature of the source at our disposal as which al-Madā'inī is quoted Even in passages where al-Madā'inī summarizes the accounts of several authorities (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1236, 1288, 1308, iii, 38), or in an *adab* work like the *Kitāb al-Ta'āzī*, the style of giving information does not change, there is only the detailed rendering of the events without commentary Not the subtle saying or the polished turn of speech seems to be important, but the historical framework in which the words quoted were uttered Al-Mas'ūdī pertinently compares al-Madā'inī with the latter's contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ who is mentioning al-Djāḥiẓ's death (*Murūdj*, viii, 33 f. = § 3145) "Among the transmitters (*ruwāt*) and scholars an one has written more books than he (al-Djāḥiẓ) To be sure, al-Madā'inī too has written very much, but he limits himself to reproducing what he has heard, while the works of al-Djāḥiẓ—notwithstanding their well-known [dogmatic] deviations—illuminate the mind [of the reader] "

The variety of al-Madā'inī's interests brings about the fact that he refers to a considerably larger group of authorities than Abū Mikhnaf, the historian of the preceding generation with whom he may be compared in that their working methods show resemblances. But when describing events which are interrelated through causality, he apparently relies on a smaller number of authorities. He then depends on works of, among others, 'Awāna b al-Ḥakam, Abū Mikhnaf, Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (Sulmā b. 'Abd Allāh d 159/775 *ca* 80*, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Haydarābād 1325-7, xii, 451), al-Mubārak b. Faḍāla (d. 164/780, see *ibid*., x, 28 ff.), Hammād b Salama (d. 167/783, see *ibid*., iii, 11-6), Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān (see *GAS*, i, 266 ff. for the list of his works, see *Fihrist*, 94), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī and 'Alī b Mudjāhid But, as is shown—among other things—by the descriptions of interrelated events, he also makes use of earlier works by authorities who have not yet become renowned to us as historians

As direct transmitters of al-Madā'inī's works are mentioned Aḥmad b al-Ḥārith al Kharrāz al-Kūfī (who is said to have heard the reading of all the books of al Madā'inī, see Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 407 ff.), Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama (who is reported to have learnt from him all about the *ayyām al-nās*, see *ibid*., 126 ff.), and al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (*ibid*.). Al-Balādhurī [*q v*], 'Umar b Shabba [*q v*], Khalīfa b Khayyāṭ [see IBN KHAYYAT AL-'UṢFURĪ] and Isḥāḳ b Ibrāhīm al Mawṣilī [*q.v*] also prove to be his direct transmitters

In the quotations from al-Madā'inī's works there are parallel passages which are nevertheless divergent from one another In order to explain this it should be kept in mind that, during his long life as a scholar, al-Madā'inī certainly revised and completed his earlier works in later years, and that they have been transmitted as such The material is overlapping, due to the fact that he wrote monographs on individual persons (like for instance the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf*) or on separate subjects (like for instance the *Kitāb al-Ta'āzī*, in which al-Ḥadjdjādj b Yūsuf is also taken into account), as well as compendia (like the *Kitāb Akhbār al-khulafā' al kabīr*). It is possible that al-Madā'inī himself is responsible for the different forms and lengths with which material appears in the various

passages (see also Rotter, *op. cit.*, 127 ff.). Attention should further be paid as to whether the quotations under consideration are introduced with *anna*, for this always indicates that the wording has been revised or summarised (see U Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, Leiden 1971, 94)

The two works which have been preserved are. *Kitāb al-Murāsilāt min Ḫuṭabāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-maḫṭūṭāt*, i, Cairo 1954, 37 ff., and *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī*, ed by Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār and Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, Nadjaf 1391/1971. A great number of quotations from the latter work are also found in the *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī* of al-Mubarrad (d 286/899), ed Muḥammad Dībādjī, Damascus 1396/1976 (see Index), so that those parts which have not been preserved in the manuscript of al-Madāʾinī's work can be reconstructed. In the two *dīwān*'s which have come down to us, the author uses *isnāds* and refers to ea 80 authorities (a few transmitters, other scholars and mainly persons who can be traced in al Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*), mostly just for one quotation From a comparison with al-Mubarrad's work, it becomes clear that al-Madāʾinī compiled from abundant historical material about the way in which the caliphs, prominent and learned men sought consolation, for themselves or for others, for the death of a close relative or friend; poems, philosophical or lexicographic explanations are hardly found. One aspect of al-Madāʾinī's working method, throwing at the same time some light on the great number of his works, becomes clear Since he mentions several times people like al Ḥuṭaycāh b Yūsuf, Iyās b. Muʿāwiya and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, it may rightly be assumed that the material was also to be found in the monographs which he wrote on these men. The description of the epidemics of the plague were certainly also found in the *Akhbār al-ṭāʿūn* (see below) quoted by al Mubarrad.

Al Madāʾinī's works quoted by later authors, with named titles, include: *K. al-Faraḍī baʿd al-ghuzāt* (A Wisner, in *Isl.*, xv [1913], 276) *K* (*al-Khaṭm wa*) *l-rusul* (Ibn Nadjār, *Iṣāba*, ii, 265, 264, 764, iii, 1028); *K. al-Samir* (al-Tanūkhī, *Faraǧ*, ii, 174); *K. al-Djawāhir* (*K. al-Aghānī*, Cairo 1927, xvi, 176, al-Ḥamdānī, *Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 39 40), *K. Akhbār Thaḳīf* (Ibn Nadjār, *Iṣāba*, iii, 1258), *K. al Nisāʾ al nāǧimāt* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 479-80, iv, 366-7, = ? *al-Nawādir wa 'l-mawādiʿ*, *ibid.*, i, 10, 84, and al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1353, 283-5, = ? *K. al-Nisāʾ al-fawāriḥ*, in *Kāmila*, i, 408); *K. Ummahāt al khulafāʾ* (Ibn Abī 'l Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1358/1959 ff, xi, 69); *K. al Aḥdāth* (*ibid.*, xi, 44-5 Ibn Maʿṣūm, *al-Darādjāt al-rafīʿa*, Nadjaf 1381/1962, 6-8), *K. al-Dhamāʾil* (Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, i, 253, 256, vi, 215, ix, 213, 215, 317; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iv, 328 ff , al-Ṭabarī, cf Rotter, *op cit*, 125 ff , U Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 102 ff); *K Ṣiffīn* (Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, ii, 246, 268, vi, 234-6) *K. al-Khawārid* (*ibid.*, ii, 272-2), *K. Akhbār al-bidʿa* (see '*l-Khāriǧī*) (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 70; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, Haydarābād 1962 ff., iv, 298); *K Zahar Iyās* (*b. Muʿāwiya*) (al Mayrāfī, *Maǧmūʿ al-amthāl*, i, 220); *Nawādir al-bukalā* (al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣāʾir*, ii, 700-1, and 795-67), *Akhbār Zufar b. al Hudhayl* (Yāḳūt, iv, 369, al-Baladhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 303 4), *Akhbār al fuḳahāʾ* (al Mubarrad, in *K. al-Taʿāzī*, 209, and also in *ibid.*, 211, 216, 218, perhaps further ete [from al-Madāʾinī, also in al-Tanūkhī, *Faraǧ*, i, 187, ch. vi, according to Wisner, *op cit* , 278]), Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, i, 323, Khalīfa b Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, Nadjaf 1965, 472; al Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al Islām*, ii, Cairo 1368, 383, other citations in al-Mubarrad, *op. cit.*, 209 n.), *al-Mukāfaʾāt* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Cairo 1358/1939, ii, 197, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 535), *K. al-Mugharribūn* (al Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 10, ii, 109)

Other quotations refer probably to the following works *Asmāʾ man ḳutila min al Ṭālibiyyīn* (al Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, often through Aḥmad b al Ḥārith al Kharrāz, Iṣfahānī, *Maḳāl*, index), *K Akhbār Ziyād b Abīh* (al Zubayr b Bakkār, *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, 304-6; Ṭabarī, ii, 25-6; Ibn ʿAbd al Barr, *Istīʿāb*, i, 298), *K Akhbār al khulafāʾ al kabīr* (Yāḳūt, ii, 389, iii, 499, *Aghānī*, vn, 2 ff ; Ibn Abī 'l Ḥadīd, ii, 23), *K. Adab al sulṭān* (al Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, iv, 294 5), *K Maḳtal ʿUthmān* (see U Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 52, 102; Ibn Abī 'l Ḥadīd, x, 6-7), *K al-Ghārāt* (Ibn Abī 'l Ḥadīd, ii, 224 f , cf. al Thaḳafī, *al-Ghārāt*, Tehran 1395, 428 f), *K. Banū Nāǧiya wa Khurūǧ b Rāshid wa Maḳtalu b Huḥawwa* (al Thaḳafī, 558 ff.), *K. Khuṭab ʿAlī* (Ibn Abī 'l Ḥadīd, vi, 136), *K ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAmr al-Ḥadramī* (al-Thaḳafī, 373-422 — Ibn Abī 'l Ḥadīd, iv, 34 53; see U Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 56); *K Marāṯī Nāfiʿ* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 132, 237, 244; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 525); *Akhbār al Ḥadīdayn* [*b Yūsuf*] *wa-wafāthā* (al-Zubayr b Bakkār, *Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, 103, 108, 475), *K. Khabar al Baṣra wa-futūḥihā* (with a subtitle *Waḳiyat al-Muḳāwa b Shuʿba*, fragment in *Aghānī*, xvi, 91, 95-6, Yāḳūt, iv 833, 845, 972, see Rotter, *op cit* , 124 ff); *K Akhbār Abī 'l-Aswad al Duʾalī* (*Aghānī*, xii, 268, 309-20, 322-8, 332, 323 5, 328-9, 330-2, 334, Ibn Rustī, *Iḫbāt al-ʿulamāʾ*, i, 16, Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl*, 267-8, al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh Mawṣil*, 167), *K al-Awāʾil* (al-ʿAskarī, *K. al Awāʾil*, index).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* contains many quotations which are referred partly to al-Madāʾinī, partly to a certain Muḥammad b ʿUmar al-Madāʾinī, and to the latter a (?) *K. al-Kalāma wa 'l-adawāt* It is, however, probable that in all cases ʿAlī b Muḥammad al Madāʾinī is meant.

Bibliography H A R Gibb *Taʾrīkh*, in *EI*[1], Suppl., 252b, ʿAlī Djawād, *Mawārid taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, i (1950), 143-213, ii (1951), 135-190, iii (1954), 16-56, viii (1961), 425-436 Ch Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Gāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, index; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿind al-ʿarab*, Beirut 1960, 38 f and index; Khālid al-ʿAsalī, *al-Madāʾinī*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Baghdād, vi (1963), 473-98, M Fleischhammer, *Reste zweier Dichterbücher im Kitāb al Aghānī*, in *Studia Orientalia C Brockelmann*, Wissenschaftl Zeitschrift Univ Halle 17 (1968), 77 83, F. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 69 f and index, see also *GAS*, iii, 256-7. (UTE SEZGIN)

MADANIYYA, a branch of the Shādhiliyya (*q.v.*) Ṣūfī order named after Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī (1194-Dhuʾl-Ḥidjdja 1 1263/1780 - April-May 1847), who was originally a *muḥaddith* (*q.v.*) of Mawlāy ʿAbd Aḥmad al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA] From 1240/1824-5 al-Madanī presented himself as independent head of a *ṭarīḳa* (*q.v.*) in his own right (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Zaḥl, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī sawāḳ al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321/1903-4, 233) while retaining the essentials of Shādhilī teaching and liturgical practice (see Muḥammad Aḥmad Sayyid Aḥmad, *al-Anwār al-ghāhiyya li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shādhiliyya*, Alexandria n d , *passim*) By that time, he had settled in the Tripolitanian town of Misrāṭa, where he died and where his shrine may be visited today

Under his son and successor Muḥammad (Shaʿbān

1244 - 2 Radjab 1321/February 1829 - 24 September 1903) the order spread in Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Fazzān, Tunisia, Egypt (Alexandria, Cairo and Suez) and the Hidjaz (Zaki, 239). In 1289, Muhammad went to Istanbul upon the request of Mahmūd Nadīm Pasha [*q.v.*], the former *wālī* of Tripoli who had then become Grand Vizier. In this city al-Madanī was introduced to the future Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd, who was initiated by him into his *ṭarīḳa*. Later, from 1293/1876 onwards al-Madanī took up permanent residence in Istanbul. For a period of about thirty years he acted as an adviser to Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II, whose accession to the throne he had correctly predicted and who believed strongly in his magical powers and skills ([Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī], *Mā Hunālika*, Cairo 1896, 200). The Sultan built al-Madanī a *tekke* [*q.v.*] in Beshiktāsh where he himself occasionally attended *dhikr* [*q.v.*] sessions. In this *tekke*, al Madanī was buried following his death in 1903.

On the Sultan's behalf, he communicated with Ahmad 'Urābī [*q.v.*] during the events leading up to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (cf. A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879-1882 in Ägypten*, Zürich-Freiburg-im-Br. 1972, 214, 350, n. 99). In 1898, he was instrumental in the appointment of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] to the office of Grand Vizier. His closeness to the Sultan seems to have been envied by another advisor of the Sultan, the head of the Rifā'iyya order, Abu 'l-Hudā al-Sayyādī. According to this *shaykh*, who sought to discredit al-Madanī whenever the occasion presented itself, al-Madanī's father had been the son of a renegade Jew from Thessaloniki (al-Muwaylihī, 203. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, 358 ff., Walī al-Dīn Yakan, *al-Mu'allim wa 'l-mudjhil*, I, Cairo 1911, 100 f.; Rif'at al-Djawharī, *Djannat al Sahrā'* - *Siwa aw Wāḥat Amūn*, Cairo 1946, 98).

The Sultan seems to have supported the Madaniyya in the presumption that it would reverse the growth of the Sanūsiyya order [*q.v.*] as well as counter European influence in North Africa (cf. E. de Renzi, *Nozioni sull'Islām con speciale riguardo alle Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1918, 89). Here, a major role was played by Muhammad's brother Hamza, who, from Tripolitania and with Ottoman support directed agitation against the French in Tunisia (G. Charmes, *La Tunisie et la Tripolitaine*, Paris 1883, 275-7, 394).

After Muhammad Zāfir's death, a dispute about the succession as head of the order arose between his brother Hamza and his son Ibrāhīm, who had already been acting as his father's deputy for several years. The dispute was settled when, following intervention by the Sultan, Ibrahim was duly installed as his father's *khalīfa* (Zaki, 244). By then, however, several branches of the Madaniyya had emerged in Egypt (al Hāshimiyya, al Marzukiyya al-Shādhiliyya, and al-Khidriyya al Madaniyya) and in the Middle East (al-Yashrutiyya, and al-Fāsiyya). These had reduced the order's membership, while the *zāwiyas* in Tunisia and Algeria had become completely autonomous (Renzi, 90). In addition, Ibrāhīm lost control over the *zāwiyas* in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in consequence of the Italian occupation of Libya in 1912. In these territories, Muhammad b. Muhammad Zāfir (d. 1927), who was Ibrāhīm's brother, was subsequently recognised as the local head of the Madaniyya. This left Ibrāhīm with control over the *tekke* in Istanbul and the Hidjāz only (Renzi, 89). From the last decade of the 19th century, the number of Madaniyya *zāwiyas* steadily declined: in Tripolitania, e.g., the number of *zāwiyas* decreased from more than 12 in the 1880s to about 9 in 1918 and to 7, all in the town of Misrāta, in 1925 (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, Paris 1925, 97).

Today, the original Madaniyya seems to be limited to Egypt, where it is under the direction of a grandson of the order's founder. Its followers are encountered mainly in the coastal area between Sīdī al-Barrānī, where this grandson lives, and Alexandria. Active lodges existed (in 1981) in both of these towns, in the towns of Marsa Matrūḥ and Burḳī al-'Arab, and in the oasis of Siwa.

Bibliography: No comprehensive study of the history of the Madaniyya order exists, and the data at present available concerning Muḥammad b. Muḥammad's role at the court in Istanbul are few and imprecise. A study of the order's history based upon the Istanbul archives could remedy this situation. In addition to the references given in the article, see Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Nābih al-'Awsī al-Anṣārī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī fī ta'rīkh Tarābulus al-Gharb*, Istanbul 1317/1899-1900, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhin, *Tabaḳāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1347/1928-9, 202-3, Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī, *Mashāhid al-tahkīk fī radd al-mukhārīn 'alā ahl al-tarīk*, Cairo 1960, 152-55 (for biographical data concerning the order's founder) and Kahhāla, *Mu'djam*, X, 111, VI, 207, Zaki Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-A'lām al-sharkiyya fī 'l-mi'a al-rābi'a 'ashra al-hidjriyya*, II, Cairo 1955, 125-7. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marrūkī, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-rahmāniyya, sharḥ al-mabāḥith al-Madaniyya* Cairo 1940, 172 (for data concerning the founder's son). See also O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 218 ff., 514 ff., and F. De Jong, *The Sufi orders in post Ottoman Egypt, 1911-1981* (forthcoming), chs. 2 and 7. For the order's *awrad* [see WIRD] and *ahzāb* [see HIZB] as well as its *wasā'il* [*q.v.*], see Muḥammad Ahmad Sayyid Aḥmad, *al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-Shādhiliyya*, Alexandria n.d., *passim*. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Hamza Zāfir al-Madanī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir wa 'l-burhān al-bāhir*, Istanbul 1302/1883-4 (also published as an appendix to Muḥammad Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Madanī, *al-Silsila al-dhahabiyya fī 'l-tawassul bi 'l-nabī al Shādhiliyya*, Cairo n.d.) is basically a manual setting out the fundamentals of Shādhilī mystical method and practice. (F. DE JONG)

AL-MADD WA 'L-DJAZR (A), literally "the ebb and flow", the name given by the Arabs to the phenomenon of the tide, which they explained by following the various theories inherited from the classical world, the latter assert in the main that the tide possesses a universal character resulting from the moon's having a stronger influence than the sun over the mass of the Ocean's waters. The classical writers reached this conclusion after having studied the accounts of their great navigators such as Pytheas and Nearchus. Also, Theophrastus (327-287 B.C.), relying on the work of Nearchus, says that in the islands of the Indian Ocean one can see from out at sea trees whose branches are under water at high tide, while their roots are dry at low tide as for the origin of the tides, he seems to attribute it to the action of the winds. Archimedes and Posidonius, for their part, maintained, as did al-Kindī later on, that the surface of the seas was spherical and that the centre of this sphere was the centre of the earth. On the other hand, Eratosthenes, in order to explain

the intensity of the marine currents, especially in straits, asserted that the seas had variable levels which were due, like the tides in the Ocean, to the height of the moon when it rises and sets, the flow begins, and when it passes by the upper or lower meridian of the observation place, it ends. It was also observed that the height of the tides depended on the position of the sun and moon on the ecliptic (opposition, conjunction, quadratures) and on the position of the observation place (Seleucus, Hipparchus).

However, the classical author who is most interested in these problems is Posidonius of Apamea (135 50 B.C.), who arrived at a series of generally exact conclusions after having studied the authors mentioned above and having listened to the accounts of the sailors of Cadix His opinions were adopted by Pliny Seneca and Cicero On the other hand, Pomponius Mela (*ca.* 42-5 B.C.), if he clearly accepted the moon's influence, also presented two other hypotheses for him, the tides were the result of the earth's breathing (which is also asserted by Brunetto Latini, d 1293) or of the cavities in it (cf. R. Almagià, *La conoscenza del fenomeno delle maree nell'antichità*, in *AIHS*, xxvii [1946], 893, and *La dottrina della marea nell'antichità classica e nel medio evo*, in *Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei* (1904)).

It is hard to know to what extent the Arabs were aware of these theories, for we do not know the chain of possible transmitters. In any case, we find in Arabic texts an echo and development of certain doctrines sketched in antiquity Also Ibn Khurradādhbih (230/844) gives quite a fair explanation of the phenomenon, and al-Kindī (*c.* 256/870) wrote a *Risāla al-Madd wa 'l-ghaur* (cf C. Wiedemann, *Al-Kindīs Schrift über Ebbe und Flut*, in *Annalen der Physik*, lxxvii [1922], 374-87) which is not the same as that which, bearing the same title, was studied and translated by the author of the present article (in *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, xiii (1972-3], 135-212, a résumé of this *Risāla*, Barcelona 1957) The explanations given by Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī (*d.* 272/886) in his *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā 'ilm ahkām al-nudjūm* (translated into Latin as *Introductorium in astronomiam*) are interesting as having rapidly become known to Christian authors. Also, for example, the text attributed provisionally by R. C Dales (see *Isis*, lvii [1966], 455-74) to Robert Grosseteste, is, in the order and arrangement of the ideas and despite the mention of al-Bitrūdjī which it contains (see 459, 460, etc.), in large part derived from Abū Ma'shar, as can be appreciated by comparing it with the *Introductorium* (see 461, 462, 465, 466, 467 of Dales and the résumés of L. Martínez Martín, art. cited, *passim*)

For Abū Ma'shar, the tides depend on the movement of the stars and are due to the "attraction" of the moon the waters of the flow come up boiling from the sea bed, which explains why they are warmer than those of the ebb; he analyses the inequality of the ebb and flow in the two hemispheres and establishes eight distinct causes for it, of which some very reasonable ones are of an astronomical or topographical nature.

As for al-Mas'ūdī (*d.* 345/956), he sometimes follows the *Introductorium* in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* (I, 144-55 = §§ 259-69) and presents all kinds of theories, of which some are purely para-scientific, in the *Tanbīh* (French tr Carra de Vaux, 104-5), he states that there are some authors for whom the tide is due to an angel who produces the ebb and flow by plunging his foot or his fingers into the sea and withdrawing them For their part, the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Safā' attribute the tides to the heating of the rocks on the sea bed by the moon's rays. Ibn Rushd (*d.* 595/1198), in the *Expositio media* of the *Meteors* (cf Aristotle, *Omnia opera*. Averroes' Commentary, vi, Venice 1562, 25-30) seems to have been influenced by the theory of Eratosthenes relating to the straits, for he says that the waters flow into the Ocean from the seas higher than it and it flows into the lower seas, meanwhile, in the latter, the waters are set in motion by the winds which arise in their midst because of the moon's heat, and flow towards the Ocean in an upward movement, while the Ocean sinks

We know that the establishment of harbours is presented for the first time in a graphic and systematic manner in the *Atlas catalan* of 1375 (see D. Gerner, *Les indications relatives aux mers dans les anciens livres de mer*, in *AIHS*, xxvii [1949], 671-91), but in some earlier Arabic texts, particularly those which concern the Indian Ocean, some passages figure which allow us to state that the phenomenon was known and put to good use by sailors also for example, in § 17 and p. 46, 9, 8 of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (851), ed.-French tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948 (in the rest of the world, cf Bede, *apud* Duhem, in *SM*, iii, 20, Needham, in *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/3 [1965], 217 410) In the Islamic world, A. Mez (*Renaissance*, Spanish tr esp 553 Eng tr, 466) following al-Mukaddasī (*Ahsan al-ta'ākīm*, 124-5) remarks the existence in Basra (in 375/985) of mills operated by the tide which is not astonishing if one takes account of the height of the tides at the head of the Persian Gulf, a thousand years ago when the alluvial deposits had still not made it distant from the coast (cf Ibn Hawkal, *Sūrat al-ard*, French tr Kramers-Wiet, i, 229 al-Dimashkī, *Cosmographie*, French tr Mehren, 243; Pellat, *Milieu*, 26-7) Al-Mukaddasī says, in fact, "The flow constitutes a miracle and an advantage for the inhabitants of Basra. The water inundates it twice a day, rises into the canals, waters the gardens and helps the boats reach their anchorage The ebb is equally useful, for it operates the mills situated at the mouth of the water courses". The tidal mills of this type (which must not be confused with other of a similar name, but functionally very different; cf Mer, *loc cit* ; F M. Feldhaus *Die Technik*, Munich 1965, 1297, etc and related terms: Wiedemann, *Über Schiffmühlen*, in *Geschichtsblätter für Technik, Industrie und Gewerbe*, iv [1917], 25, al-Idrīsī, ed Dozy-de Goeje, 236, 237, 263, etc.) are the precursors of those to be found in the 11th century in Venice, in the 12th in France (cf H. Goblot, *Premières recherches*, rendered inaccessible *ca.* 1977) and whose origin may go back in the Atlantic littoral of Islamic Spain (coasts of Huelva ?), where harbours were established with a two to three hour tidal cycle, the tide reaching a height as acceptable, if not higher, than that which could be achieved at Basra in the 4th/10th century With regard to this, one should take account of the rather confused text in which Abu 'l-Fidā (*Taḳwīm*, cd Paris 1840, 26-7), copying al-Idrīsī, notes the value of the establishment of harbours similar to that which has been cited

Tidal mills appear to have been known on the coasts of Islamic Spain, and it is from there that they must have proceeded, following the estuaries, as far as the North Atlantic (cf. Goblot, *op. cit.*, W. E. Minchinton). However, the rare evidence which we have been able to find on this type of mill does

not allow us at present to elucidate this question with certainty. We can nevertheless mention the early presence (still before the 17th century) of these mills in Lequeitio (cf. José A. García Diego, *Don Pedro Bernardo Villarreal de Berriz*, in *Revista de obras publicas*, August 1972), and probably as other places on the Basque coast which we know of indirectly, but from information of the same author, at Errotatxiki, Busturia, Barcaldo, Orio and Plencia.

Bibliography Given in the article

(L. Martínez Martín)

MADDĀḤ (Turkish *meddāḥ*), an Arabic word which means "panegyrist", the term was used by the Ottoman Turks as a synonym of *ḥikāye-khwān* (Arabic *ḥikāya*) and *shehnāme-khwān* to designate the professional story-tellers of the urban milieux, it was used in the same way by the Persians, but more rarely; as for the Arabs, they used it, in a fairly late period, to designate the "begging singers of the streets" (see Köprülüzāde M. Fu'ād, *Meddāḥlar*, in *Türkiyyāt Medjmū'ası*, i [1925], 11-12). In North Africa, however, the *meddāḥ* is a kind of "religious minstrel who goes to festivals to sing the praises of saints and of God, and who is accompanied on the tambourine and flute" (Doay, *Supplément*, s.v.) he is also the heir of the *ḥāfiz* [q.v.], who at a late date tours the country and cities recounting heroic legends and stories drawn from the répertoire of the story-tellers of the Middle Ages, sometimes aided today by bands, and which are sketched out very often without any connection with the subject of the story. The activity of the *meddāḥ*, his technique and his sources, would merit being made the object of thorough research.

In an early stage of the evolution of their art, the Turkish *meddeḥs* or *ḥikye khwāns* derived their themes either from episodes of the Iranian epic, the *Shāh-nāma* (whence their name of *shehnāme-khwān*) and the historico-legendary works relating the acts and deeds of the champions of Islam such as Ḥamza, 'Alī, Abū Muslim, Battāl, or the first Turkish conquerors of the land of Rūm, such as Dānishmend Ghāzī. From the 11th/17th century onwards, the term *meddāḥ* begins to take on a more specific meaning to designate the teller of realistic accounts drawn either from old, classic collections such as the *Thousand and one nights*, or from popular stories, or else inspired by scenes from the everyday life of the cities of the empire. The teller of edifying stories on religious and heroic themes, called *ḥikye khwān* or *shehnāme-khwān* for preference, retains the monopoly of the epic-romantic narration in the urban milieux, sometimes in simple sessions of declaiming. However, Ewliyā Čelebi, when he describes (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 325) the procession of the guilds in Istanbul, mentions the *meddāḥs* and *ḥikye khwāns* under the same rubric, as numbering eighty, it can be deduced that at the 11th/17th century, the two terms were still synonymous and the same artist could perform both kinds of narration. It is only from the 18th century onwards that the *meddāḥs* specialise more and more in the narration of entertaining narratives on realistic themes, and these supplant, at least in oral tradition, the heroic themes. The public audition sessions of this latter type survived until the second half of the 19th century; a document of 23 January 1864 informs us that at this date, in an Üsküdar café (on the outskirts of Istanbul) a "reader" of narratives drawn from the *Shāh-nāma* used to find an interested audience (see Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1969, 69-70).

Numerous texts have come down to us of great heroic narratives of the chivalrous romance types of the Western Middle Ages, some, such as the *'Antar nāme* [see 'ANTAR, SIRAT], or the deeds of Abū Muslim and Battāl [*q.vv.*], were translated or adapted from Arabo-Persian literature; the others, such as the *Dānishmend-nāme* were composed by Turkish authors they attest, by their style and subdivision into chapters presented as auditory sessions on successive evenings [see I. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Dānishmend*, ii, Paris 1960, 28 and *passim*] that, from the earliest centuries of Turkish written literature, these works were not written only for the individual reading of the educated, but also constituted the narrative répertoire of the *ḥikye khwāns* exercising their art before a collective audience.

As for the collections of realistic narratives, not a large number are extant and they are not of an early date. They are of two kinds: some, abridged texts of oral narration, sometimes written by the story tellers themselves with a certain pedantry of style, to be offered to the sovereigns or dignitaries, and to be read individually by an élite public, the others appear as outlines to serve as an aid to the memory of the story-tellers themselves. The oldest of the collections of realistic narratives go back to the 10th/16th century, and, for the most part, they remain unpublished.

Of the poet Djenānī (d. Muharram 1004/September 1595) there has come down to us a collection entitled *Bedāyi' al-dilkhar* composed after 998/1589 as an offering for Murād III. Information on the biography and work of this poet, gathered by Köprülüzāde (*op. laud.*, 32 ff.) informs us that his collection of realistic and fabulous stories had been used by a *meddāḥ* of the court nicknamed Feleknāje to divert the sovereign during narration sessions. A copy dated 1039/1629-30 has been preserved in Cambridge University Library (Browne, *Supplementary hand-list . . .*, Cambridge 1922, no. 1553/6, Or. 680/8).

The work of Djenānī contains accounts of very varied themes: scenes from everyday life, "true life" adventures of his contemporaries with *djinns* or vampires, accounts of journeys combined with themes of popular stories and legends. The author is very often, anxious to inform us of the origin of his narratives and to mention his informants; on the whole, he drew largely on oral tradition. One of the narratives (fols. 97a-103a) is the oldest version of a *ḥikāye* [see QIṢṢA, ii] of which the author of the present article has collected, under the title of *Yarali Mahmud*, three versions of the *ḥikāye* of Eastern Anatolia (see P. N. Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, 29, 160-1). Two narratives of the collection (fols. 15a-17a and 23a-25a) are variants of stories inventoried in the international catalogue (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The types of the folk tale* [= AaTh], Helsinki 1964, nos. 1510 and 938) and in the Turkish catalogue (W. Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* [= TTV] Wiesbaden 1953, nos. 178 and 136).

In the same manuscript (fols. 191a-218b) is inserted the collection of a certain Nāghmī (or Nagh[a]mī?) who was a contemporary of Selīm II (1566-74), the compilation of his work would then be earlier than that of Djenānī's collection (cf. fol. 192a-b of the ms.). His narratives present the same characteristics as those of Djenānī, he says, as his introduction, that he has compiled his texts from the stories related in the evenings among friends. He has divided them into three chapters: (1) stories

about sovereigns and viziers, (2) anecdotes about poets, and (3) adventures with beautiful women.

The *Kitāb-i Kümek* (?) of ʿAzmī of Gudz, dated 995/1586, is of the same period, the copy preserved in the British Museum (Or. 7836) contains 88 leaves. It is composed of realistic stories drawn from oral tradition, some adventures take place in towns such as Istanbul or Samsun; there are also narratives inspired by folk tales (fols. 42a-44b: AaTh 1540, 1660, 1643, 1775; TTV 323, 324, 331, 339) and popular jokes (fol. 86b).

From the 11th/17th century we possess the texts, always in an abridged form, of a whole cycle of narratives, relating the adventures, in turn gallant and fantastic, of the bourgeois of Istanbul people of various trades, courtiers, men of independent means, slaves, ladies of all categories and morals. At times, the sultan himself intervenes to arrange things to the satisfaction of the listeners—and readers—by chastising the wicked and rewarding the good. The composition of a series of these small novels of manners is attributed to the poet Tīfīl Aḥmed Čelebi, a courtier of Murād IV (see Köprülüzāde, *op. laud.*, 31 ff.). Four of these texts have come down to us: *Lāṭīf-nāme*, entitled *Ḫvāǧeǧān Ḫaṣṣım* in a slightly altered version, with the names changed, *Ḫamlī Ḫaṭṭash* and *Samsar Muṣṭafā*; there are lithographed editions—and, later on, printed ones—of the first three, a manuscript of the *Samsar Muṣṭafā* is preserved in the Istanbul University Library, no. 1208. It is to be noted that in the texts of these narrative works the story teller himself is involved in the adventure; he is the principal character of *Ḫamlī Ḫaṭṭash*, and in all cases he is invited by the Pādišāh "to relate the adventure by word of mouth". This particular characteristic of this genre is already attested by certain compilers of the 10th/16th century. Two other narratives with the same characteristic, *Dīvrī Čelebi* and *Tayyārīzāde*, of which we possess printed editions, belong themselves to the narrative cycle of the reign of Murād IV (see Boratav, *op. laud.*, 122 ff.; Ö. Nutku, *Meddahlar ve meddah hikâyeleri*, Ankara 1976, 99).

Other collections remaining unpublished, which were probably compiled as an aid to the memory for the use of *meddāḥ*s—sometimes by the story-tellers themselves—deserve mention: from the 18th century, *Ḳıṣṣa-yı Dielā u Dīemal* (of the narrative of the same title analysed by Nuthu, *op. laud.*, 93, 100, 202, 210, 211, 129-30, 187-90), composed by Shevkh Muṣṭafā Dā'ī, of 194 leaves (Brit. Mus. Or. 12309, copy mutilated at the beginning and end)—*Ḫamsīs* (or *ʿAṣṣe*?) *Ḫāmsın sergüzeshti*, of 107 leaves, composed in 1192/1778 (Brit. Mus. Or. 7303)—A collection of 53 leaves (Brit. Mus. Rieu Add. 10,003), of which a large part is occupied by the adventures of Mehmed Aġa and Ferah-Dil; the copy was made at Izmir in 1223/1808, with reference to a session of narration in Cairo at which the hero of the narrative was present, the author mentions the names of two *meddāḥ*s of Istanbul, Kehle Mehmed and Shekerdjī Ṣāliḥ, furthermore, the latter is also known as a famous story teller of the 18th century (see Nuthu, *op. laud.*, 34-3), which leads us to think that the compilation of the work goes back to this period.

A manuscript of the 18th century preserved in Istanbul University Library (T Y no. 6758), and entitled *Meǧmūʿa-yı ferāʾid*, a collection of disordered texts (poems, medicinal recipes, a short account of Ottoman history in verse, maxims) is of particular interest for the study of the tradition of the *meddāḥ*s. For the first time, Metin And has briefly analysed the part concerning our subject (*op. laud.*, 74-5), he has reproduced the list of the names of 16 *meddāḥ*s and the titles of 56 narratives in which they figure. A deeper analysis of this document has been carried out by Nutku (*op. laud.*, 101-2). The latter also published in his work (179-223) the 23 narrative texts inserted in the manuscript, the only ones, of the 56 titles constituting the outlines of *meddāḥ* narrations, there are brief notes on the names of people and places, as well as essential facts in the unravelling of the action. These texts too, are, on the whole, conceived and written as an aid to the memory of storytellers. The compiler also indicated, for a certain number of narratives, the names of famous *meddāḥ*s of the period whom he had heard telling the tales in question. There should be added to this list of the 18th century a text which has come down to us in a French version, from the narration of a Turkish *meddāḥ* of the reign of Ahmed III, reproduced in Joseph-Pierre Agüès Méry's book, *Constantinople et la Mer Noire*, Paris 1855. Nutku (225-33) has provided a Turkish retranslation.

Among the narratives of the 18th century, of the texts reproduced under the numbers 1 to 13 in Nutku's work (179-223), several are adaptations of popular tales with the narrative scenarios of the *meddāḥ*s. Also, no. 1 is a variant of the tale type AaTh 681 (TTV 134), nos. 5, 6, 9, 10 and 12 are, respectively, to be compared with tale types AaTh 910 (TTV 325, motifs K 2), AaTh 882 (TTV 272 and 272a), a version of this tale is to be found in M. Nicolas and A. Pianman, *Contes de Turquie*, Paris 1977, 62-7), AaTh 1510 (TTV 278), TTV 299 and TTV 279.

For the two centuries following, we possess texts collected by the orientalists Georg Jacob, Ignaz Kunos, Friedrich Giese and Herman Paulus (see *Bibl.*), and more recently, those recorded on tape by Turkish researchers (see Nutku, 297-391). There also we find examples of the adaptation of popular stories to the narration of *meddāḥ*s, in Nutku's work, no. 17 is a variant of tale type AaTh 881 (TTV 193) and no. 21 is to be compared with AaTh 882 (TTV 272, 272a). No. 17 is, furthermore, attested in an altered text in *šıhīye* form by ʿAshīḳ ʿAlī ʿIssot Čekan (see Boratav, in *Turcica*, I [1969], 114-20).

The narrative technique of the *meddāḥ*s followed a parallel evolution to that of the themes. Gradually as realistic themes supplanted heroic themes, the narration was enriched by dramatic elements; the actor was substituted for the story-teller, he embodied the deeds, by miming and, by changes in the intonation of his voice, the various people of his narratives, and indirect speech gave way to direct speech animated by dialogues. It is this other aspect of the art of the *meddāḥ*s which has interested specialists in the history of the theatre as much as the researchers in the narrative genre.

According to the testimony of literary and iconographic sources, as well as of direct observers, the *meddāḥ* used to perform his art in a public place (in a café usually), and used to install himself on a platform, at a higher level than his audience, he held in his hand a cane which he used for making a noise, a napkin placed on the shoulder was used to obtain, by its application to the mouth at the desired time, the various effects of vocal intonation of the person imitated. The *meddāḥ* began and ended his narration with dedicatory formulas which contained, essentially, excuses for the situation in which the listeners might be vexed by the fortuitous resemblance of

names of people or places, or by too daring subject matter

The later *maddāḥs* of the beginning of our century attempted to enlarge their répertoire by drawing on themes in the popular novels of contemporary authors (see Boratav, *100 soruda Türk halk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1978, 79). Some modern novelists and journalist chroniclers, for their part, (Ahmed Rasim, Hüseyin Rahmi, Ercümend Ekrem and Burhan Felek, to cite only a few names) owed much to the procedures and narrative style of the *maddāḥs* (see Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri*, Ankara 1946, 81 ff., 121 ff., idem, *Folklor ve edebiyat*, ii, Ankara 1945, 130 ff., 163)

Bibliography Apart from the works cited in the article, see Boratav, *Türkische Volkserzählungen und die Erzählerkunst* (German tr. of the *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946), 2 vols., Taipei 1975, 136-46; Gülbün Dino, *Le genèse du roman turc*, Paris 1973; Selâh Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk tenasyası*, Istanbul² 1342; F. Giese, *Der überzeugte Andalusier Nedîm*, Berlin 1907; G. Jacob, *Vorträge türkischer Meddâh's*, Berlin 1904; J. Kunos, in W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme*, viii, St. Petersburg 1899, 301-20, idem, *Türk halk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1925, 168-9, N. N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish theatre*, New York 1933, 21-9, 79-99; Th. Menzel, *Mirâdâh, Schattenfiguren und Orientspuren*, Prague 1941; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1935; H. Paulus, *Hadschi Weswes*, Erlangen 1905, E. Saussey, *La littérature populaire turque*, Paris 1936, Helga Uplegger, *Das Volkstheaterspiel*, in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 148-52. (F. N. Boratav)

AL-MĀDHARĀʾĪ, name of a family of high officials and revenue officers, originating from ʿIrāḳ, who held important positions in Egypt and Syria between 266/879 and 333/946. The *nisba* is derived from a village Māḏharāya, in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ (see al-Ṣāmarrāʾī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 499a, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 381).

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Māḏharāʾī with the nickname al-Aṭrash ('the partially deaf one', see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.), was given the control of finances of Egypt and Syria in 266/879 by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, and so became the founder of his family's influence. He appointed his son ʿAlī—whose *kunya* is unknown—as his representative in Egypt, and sent another son, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn, called Abū Zunbūr ("the hornets' man"), to Syria in the same quality. Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm died in 270/884, the same year as Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Māḏharāʾī became *wazīr* of the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh (270-82/884-96), kept this function under Djayush b. Khumārawayh and was killed on the same day as this Ṭūlūnid in 283/897.

Already during the last years of the Ṭūlūnid régime, Abū Zunbūr al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Māḏharāʾī, in his quality of director of finances in Syria, had taken up relations with the ʿAbbāsids. After their victory over the Ṭūlūnids in 292/904, he was nominated director of finances of Egypt, where he replaced his nephew Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Māḏharāʾī (d. 303/915). Because of his close relations with Baghdād, Abū Zunbūr, and soon also other members of his family, became involved in the fight for power between the sons ʿAlī b. ʿIsā [q.v.] and the Banu 'l-Furāt (see IBN AL-FURĀT), in which the Māḏharāʾīs were always on the side of the opponents of the Banu 'l-Furāt. Therefore, during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿIsā (308-9/923-5) Abū Zunbūr became director of finances in Syria and his nephew Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad director in Egypt. The change of the vizierate in Baghdād in 304/916 caused the Māḏharāʾīs to be deposed and imprisoned; Abū Zunbūr was brought to Baghdād. Towards the end of 306/May 919 he became again director of finances in Egypt, but in 310/922 he was deposed again by his friend ʿAlī b. ʿIsā. In the next year, Ibn al-Furāt summoned him in Baghdad and imposed on him and his family a penalty of 3 000,000 *dirhams*. In 313/926 Abū Zunbūr was again in *al-Fustāṭ* as director of finances of Egypt and Syria. In 317/929 he died there.

Abū Zunbūr's nephew Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Māḏharāʾī (258-345/871-956) came in 272/885 to Egypt, where his father appointed him deputy director of finances. After the murder of his father in 283/890 Abū Bakr Muḥammad became vizier of the Ṭūlūnid Hārūn b. Khumārawayh, and after the fall of the Ṭūlūnids in 292/905, he and many of his followers were brought to Baghdād. He remained *there until 301/913, when in all honour he returned* to Egypt as director of finances. The sources available do not indicate any reason why in 304/916 he returned to private life; he remained in al-Fusṭāṭ and apparently devoted himself to the administration and increase of the enormous fortune of the family. In 318/930 Abū Bakr Muḥammad again took charge of finances in Egypt and kept his function until the death of his friend the governor Takīn in 322/933. The Māḏharāʾīs remained in the end victorious during the subsequent struggles with Muḥammad b. Takīn. When in 322/934 Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl, a member of the Ibn al-Furāt family, was nominated vizier by the caliph al-Rāḍī, he appointed Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd [see MUḤAMMAD] as governor of Egypt. The latter tried to reach a friendly agreement with the Māḏharāʾī, but Abū Bakr Muḥammad rejected the proposal and offered resistance. His troops, however, went over to the Ikhshīd, who in Ramaḍān 323/August 935 was able to enter al-Fusṭāṭ without fighting. Abū Bakr Muḥammad went into hiding until Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. al-Furāt came to al-Fusṭāṭ and arrested the Māḏharāʾī. He was forced to disgorge great parts of his wealth and the Ikhshīd put him in prison until the death of Ibn al-Furāt in 327/939. After his release, Abū Bakr Muḥammad soon attained honour and influence again. Under the young Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Unūdjūr b. al-Ikhshīd he held the *de facto* position of regent, but was overthrown and put into prison in 335/946 during a rebellion plotted by Abu 'l-Faḍl Diaʿfar b. al-Furāt. A year later he was set free by Kāfūr [q.v.] and retired into private life. He died in al-Fusṭāṭ on 11 Shawwāl 345/16 January 957, having been a devout Muslim who, between 301/913 and 322/933, performed the pilgrimage yearly and was lavish in distributing favours to the inhabitants of the Holy Cities. With him died the last important representative of the Māḏharāʾīs.

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MADHḤIDJ, a large tribal group, now inhabiting in the main the areas of Dhamār and Radāʿ in the modern Yemen Arab Republic. The traditional genealogy, given by e.g. Ibn Durayd, *Iṯtiḳāḳ*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, 237 ff., and by Yāḳūt, Beirut 1374-6/1955 7, v, 89, is from Mālik b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashdjub b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yashdjub b. Yaʿrub b. Kahṭān. The numerous component *baṭn*s of Madhḥidj are listed in full by al-Malik al-Aṣhraf ʿUmar, *Tuḥfat al-mahdj fī maʿrifat al-anbāʾ*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949, 9; those most frequently encountered in South Arabian history are ʿAns, Balḥārith b. Kaʿb, Djanb Ṣuda' and Sinḥān, and *buṭūn* of these *baṭn*s include also Namīr and ʿAbs.

Madhḥidj appear in pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions as *milkān* (see A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs (Mārib)*, Baltimore 1962, 326, 372). In the year 519 contingents of the tribe accompanied the Himyarite king Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur on an expedition into central Arabia, and in 521 they were amongst the tribes nominally influenced by Judaism and sent by Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] against the Christian centre of Nadjrān.

The tribal lands of Madhḥidj in early times are said by al-Bakrī to have been situated near a certain place called Tardj "on the road to Yemen" (see *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, 309). In the period just before the rise of Islam they participated, together with their sister tribes Khaṯʿam and Murād [*q.v.*] in warfare against ʿAmr b. Saʿṣaʿa, which included a famous "day", matḥ hymned in old poetry, at Fayf al-Rīḥ (see al-Bakrī, nr. 1038). Towards the end of Muḥammad's mission in Medina, when he was extending his control over the outlying parts of Arabia, the Prophet utilised Māḥ b. Murāra of the component group Rīḥ[3] of Madhḥidj as an envoy to the south-western tribes and in *ca.* 10/632 he confirmed Farwa b. Musayk of Murād as Muslim governor over the tribes of Murād, Madhḥidj and Zubeyd (Ibn Hishām, 950-1; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 28 ff.).

The role of Madhḥidj in the *early* Islamic conquests was considerable. They formed an element of the army which invaded Egypt, setting in Fusṭāṭ, and their leaders were represented in the malcontents who came to Medina and besieged and killed ʿUthmān. In the *miṣr* of Kūfa, they were amongst Yemeni tribes to settle, together with Himyar, Hamdān, Azd and Kinda, and their associated tribe Murād had there a *ghaḍīra*, perhaps here a large, open-air praying area, used as a tribal rallying-ground (see AL-KŪFA). Subsequently, they showed themselves in the forefront of pro-ʿAlid and anti-Umayyad movements. At Ṣiffīn, Madhḥidj and Hamdān placed themselves under the leadership of Mālik al-Aṣhtar [*q.v.*] of the *baṭn* Nakhaʿ of Madhḥidj; they fought valiantly as part of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra's "Army of destruction" in Afghānistān in 79/698 (see C. E. Bosworth, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 277 ff.), and they took part in the revolt of the old Arab tribal aristocracy shortly afterwards under Ibn al-Aṣhʿaṯh [*q.v.*]. They do not, however, seem to have produced any poets of great significance.

In the post-classical period, those elements of Madhḥidj or their *baṭn*s who had remained behind in south-western Arabia played a part in the tortuous politics and military events of the region. For example, contingents of the tribe rallied in the aid of the Zuray'id Sabaʾ b. Abī 'l-Suʿūd in his successful struggle against another member of the family, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in *ca.* 531/1136 (in 545/1151 also, Madhḥidj, and particularly Djanb, joined the Zaydī forces of the *Imām* Aḥmad b. Sulaymān against the Ḥātimī family of Yām controlling the Ṣanʿā' area. A long series of hostilities ensued, after which the Zaydīs and their Madhḥidj allies were repelled from Ṣanʿā' and the latter, after a personal appeal to them in Dhamār by Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, swung round to the Ḥātimī side against the Zaydīs. Djanb were also prominent in relieving the Mahdid siege of Zuray'id Aden, begun in 561/1165. The Zuray'id leader, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī, having resisted the siege for seven years, journeyed to Ṣanʿā' to enlist the support of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, the son of Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, whose family of Yām, it will be recalled, controlled the area. They too were Ismāʿīlīs, as were the Zuray'ids. ʿAlī b. Ḥātim agreed to help break the siege of Aden, but only, he stipulated, with the assistance of Djanb from Dhamār. The Zuray'id, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī won over Djanb, so that an alliance of his troops, those of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim from Ṣanʿā' and those of Djanb descended on Aden and were able to drive away the Mahdids, killing many. At this stage Djanb returned home, much to the disappointment of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, who appears to have had territorial designs on Mahdid land in Tihāma.

Bibliography (in additions to references given in the text): Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Gamharat annasab i Tabellen*, 158 ff., ii, *Register*, 381-2; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 92, 97 and *passim* (spelling erroneously Madhḥiḏ); Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogische Tabellen* . . ., Göttingen 1853, 279; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 217; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8, ii, 62-2. (C. E. Bosworth)

MĀḌĪ (A.) "preterite", a technical term of Arabic grammar used to denote the verbal form devoted to the expression of past time; its counterpart is *muḍāriʿ* [*q.v.*], the term denoting the author verbal form "resembling" (the noun) and devoted to the expression of the present and future (*ḥāḍir*, *mustaḳbal*).

The majority of Arab grammarians define the verb as a word which indicates the matching (*iḳtirān*) of a happening (*ḥadaṯ*) with a time (*zamān*). Already Sībawayh considered (*Kitāb*, i, 11-12) that the verb is formed to demonstrate that a happening has taken place (*waḳaʿa*) in time which has gone past (*maḍā*) or that it will take place in time which has not yet gone past (*lam yamḍi*). In regard to the past, one of the earliest definitions is that of al-Zadjdjādjī [*K. al-Īḍāḥ*, 87] : "an occurrence in the past is one which has been completed (*taḥaḳḳaḳa*) and which has involved at least two distinct periods of time, one in which it had existence (*wudjida*) and one in which gets information about it (*ukhbira ʿanhu*)". Ibn Yaʿīsh sets forth the same idea (*Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, vii, 4): "an occurrence in the past is one that an longer has existence (*waḳaʿa*) after it did in fact exist, and whose affirmation (*ithbāt*) takes place at a time posterior to its existence".

However, the Arab grammarians very soon saw that the *māḍī* was not used solely to express an occurrence in the past, and al-Astarābādhī (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 225) enumerates the different cases when this verbal form expresses a time different from the past. First of all, the *māḍī* can express the future, viz. in a request (*talab*) by means of a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) or an order (*amr*), and in the expression of future happenings by determining (*taḳyīd*) their occurrence (*waḳūʿ*), for in these two cases, the speaker positively desires the taking place of the occurrence, and it is as if it had already taken place and was past; in the reply to an oath (*ḥalf*), unless it is negated by *lā* or *in*, in the expression of a condition (*sharṭ*), if it is preceded by *in*; and in a circumstantial

clause, if it is preceded by *mā* — "so long as". The *mādī* can moreover express either the past or the future when it follows the particle *in-* of equivalence (*tsimā*) in an alternative the relatives *ḏayḥumā* and *kullamā* in a phrase comprising two parts, a particle of urging (*taḥḍīḍ*) in an incitement, and the relative pronoun *allaḏī* at the outset of a phrase comprising two parts, because in all these cases, there is a nuance (*nāʾiba*) of a condition. Finally, in an enunciatory (*inshāʾī*) speech utterance or a productive (*khāṣṣī*) one, the *mādī* has the value of a present, thus, for example, in *bīʿtu*, the act of selling is realised (*yuḥṣalu*) in the present (*ḥāl*) by means of this word which brings it into existence (*tuḥḍiṯuhā lahā*), whereas with *abīʿu*, the act of selling is realised by another word.

From the morphological point of view, the Arab grammarians consider that the form of the *mādī* is "based" (*mabnī*) according to the vowel or the vowel *a* in the third person, and according to the absence of the vowel in the other persons.

Bibliography: G Troupeau, *La notion du temps chez Sībawayhi*, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, ix (1962), 44-6 H Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, ii, 201-6 (G. Troupeau)

MADḤ, MADH (A), the normal technical terms in Arabic and other Islamic literatures for the genre of panegyric poetry, the individual poem being usually referred to as *madḥa* (pl. *amdāḥ*) or *madīḥa* (pl. *madāʾiḥ*). The author himself is called *mādiḥ* or, as considered professionally, *madḥī*. The root itself is sometimes used without technical connotations, as also are commonly the various other roots signifying "praise": *ḥ-m-d*, *m-dī-d*, *ḥ-r-ṣ*, *ṯ-n-y*, *f-r-ʿ-w/y*, etc.

1. In Arabic literature.

As both an independent unit and a component of the *kaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the genre has been so widespread in Arabic literature at all times that only a few poets prided themselves on not writing in it at all, or as rarely as possible, e.g. Abū ʾl-ʿAtāhiya and al-Maʿarrī. Some, like al-Mutanabbī, were panegyrists before all else. The high proportion of panegyric in Arabic poetry has been one of the major obstacles to full appreciation of the latter by the average Western reader, who tends traditionally to be concerned with criteria of "sincerity", "criticism of life" and "seriousness of purpose". Such a lack of sympathy ignores the fact that virtually all pre-modern Arabic poetry had to be written, for socio-economic reasons, under patronage or to commission. "Political" panegyrics are still written in most Arabic-speaking countries.

The somewhat ambiguous and sporadic written tradition of Arabic poetic criticism is usually more preoccupied with biography, exegesis, prosody and tropes than with genres in any Western sense. But most discussions of poetry refer to the category of *madīḥ*, and a few attempt to distinguish it from other genres, particularly its counterparts *fakhr*/*mufākhara*, personal or group boasting; *rithāʾ*/*marthiya*/*marāṯī*, elegy or lament, and *hijāʾ*, poetry of insult or abuse (see the relevant articles for each). The last is more or less the converse of *madīḥ*, while the other two may naturally contain elements of panegyric. In the case of the elegy this is almost invariably so: some (e.g. the celebrated and courageous elegy by Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Anbārī on the executed Būyid vizier Abū Ṭāhir) are virtually pure *madīḥ*, though it is usually obvious that the subject is deceased, and a note of sincere regret is often present, as in that particular instance. Special types of *madīḥ* are numerous, two of the most common being poems of excuse or apology, and poems celebrating victories or other happy events (see also below).

Besides individuals, a panegyric might be addressed to a land, a city or a group. By no means all such poems were expected to produce immediate or direct material benefits, some expressed simple gratitude, some were addressed to a recipient with his poetic taste of his own, and some were produced as an inescapable duty of one of pensioner status. When a panegyric did not produce an expected result, it would sometimes be followed up by an appendix (which some critics, again, would classify as a special type of "reminder panegyric"). According to period and circumstances, the panegyrist might declaim his own poem, or might deputise a talented *rāwī* to do so, or it might simply be received and read by (or to) the subject himself (*al-mamdūḥ*).

The *madīḥ* is usually (and was expected to be) exaggerated in statement and style. However, according to Kudāma (see *Bibl.*), only personal and "moral" qualities might be praised; and all these (in men) are subsumed under the categories of intelligence, courage, justice and "modesty" (*ʿiffa*). (It should be noted that the relatively few poems in praise of women are classified by Kudāma as "erotic".) Al-ʿAskarī (see *Bibl.*) is in general agreement with Kudāma, but Ibn Rashīḳ (see *Bibl.*) would allow praise of physical attributes and of ancestry and "association" as well. Another corrective to excessively gross exaggeration is the generally agreed condition that the primary qualities praised should be appropriate to rank and function—courage in a military man, justice in a judge, and so on. On this basis, Kudāma would even regard the *madīḥ* as potentially applicable to vagabonds and bandits for the good qualities necessarily inherent in their styles of life.

With all this, the *madīḥ* tends in practice to a stereotyped homogeneity, so much so that some panegyrists (e.g. al-Buḥturī on several occasions) had no difficulty in offering the same poem in a second or further patron, where the original reception was inadequate or relations had become strained in the meantime. Some panegyrics (as well as elegies) were obviously "prewritten" for general contingencies.

Tāhā Ḥusayn (and others: see *Bibl.* under pseudo-Kudāma) have argued that the above critical posture towards the *madīḥ* clearly derives from Greek sources, particularly Aristotle. This position, however, must be seen as exaggerated: what influence there was can only have been—as with philosophical and scientific ideas—remote and indirect.

Bibliography: As indicated, most Arabic works of literary criticism do not really discuss genres as such, and the Western studies have tended to follow suit. The following are the essential items: Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Thaʿlab, *Kawāʿid al-shiʿr*, ed. C. Schiaparelli, in *Proc. of the VIIIth Intern. Congr. of Orientalists*, ii/1 (Semitics), fasc. 1, Leiden 1891, 173-214, also ed. M ʿA. Khafādjī, Cairo 1389/1948 and R ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1388/1966; Kudāma b. Dja^ʿfar, *Nakd al-shiʿr*, Constantinople 1302/1885, also ed. S. A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956; (Pseudo-) Kudāma, *Nakd al-nathr*, ed. T. Ḥusayn, etc., with valuable introduction, Cairo 1352/1933; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Constantinople 1320/1902; idem, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1350/1933; Ibn

Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa-nakdihi*, Cairo 1344/1925, also ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1383/1963, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr Rosenthal, see General Index under "poetry", *passim*, J. Benchaïch, *Poétique arabe*, Paris 1975, A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955. (G. M. Wickens)

2. In Persian

It appears from the written records that survive —chronicles, official correspondence, and narrative poetry and prose—that formal, conventional praise (*madḥ, sitāyish, ḥamd*) of rulers and their chief officials was a pervasive feature of Islamic Iranian court life from its inception. The most-highly-developed vehicle for *madḥ* was the panegyric ode, or *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya*, a genre that was already fully articulated by the time of Rūdakī. Indeed, Rūdakī's joint panegyric of the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad and the Saffārid *amīr* Abū Dja'far is both the earliest example we have of a complete *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* and a work of considerable stylistic maturity.

The Persian *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* shares similarities of theme and sensibility with the Arabic caliphal panegyrics of the ʿAbbāsid period (see S. Sperl, *Islamic kingship and Arabic panegyric poetry in the early 9th century*, in *J.R.L.*, viii [1977], 20-35), but its thematic structure is more predictable and uniformly ordered.

The opening portion of the *ḳaṣīda*, called variously the *nasīb, taghazzul* or *taghazzul*, presents pleasing images that are usually drawn from a conventional repertory—the arrival of spring (*nawrūz*) or, less commonly, autumn (*mihrgān*) in the palace garden, the lover's complaint; carousal. Yet many *ḳaṣīdas* celebrate particular occasions, such as the departure of the monarch on a hunt or a campaign, or his successful return from one, or the birth of a son or the receipt of a *gift*, and when they do, the occasion provides the governing metaphor of the *nasīb*. The opening portion concludes with a line or two of transition that shifts the focus of the poem to the person of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), whose name and title are mentioned—either fully or in part—in a line called the *gurīz-gāh* or *takhalluṣ* which marks the formal boundary between the opening section and the panegyric proper (*madīḥ*). While the images of the *nasīb* have, in the majority of instances, a narrative or metaphorical unity, those of the *madīḥ* do not. They present the *mamdūḥ* in a series of stereotyped poses drawn from the spheres of activity special to his office. For the monarch (*sulṭān, amīr, shāh*), the *mamdūḥ* of preference throughout most of Iran's history, these were the court—in both its formal and informal aspects—the hunt, and the battlefield. Thus in any given *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya*, the monarch will appear, to no particular order, as the chosen of God, a fearsome and heroic warrior, a superb huntsman, the unfailing refuge of the weak and needy, a cheerful revealer, and, of course, a generous patron of poets.

In keeping with the stereotyped and iconic quality of these images, the metaphors employed in the *madīḥ* are richly hyperbolic. As a warrior, the *mamdūḥ* can put Rustam and Isfandiyār, the paramount heroes of the Iranian national epic, to flight, and even terrify the forces of nature. As a monarch, he is served by the rulers of the great empires of the world—the *ḳayṣar* of Rūm, the *fāghfūr* of Chīn, the *khāḳān* of Turkistān and the *faghfūr* of Chīn. As a patron, his generosity outdoes that of Ḥātim Ṭāʾī, and even that of nature, and so on.

The final section of the poem is the *duʿāʾ*, or prayer, but there is usually a bridge passage between *madīḥ* and *duʿāʾ* in which the poet addresses himself directly to his patron, either to plead for reward or to boast of his skill, or both. The *duʿāʾ* itself is quite brief, no more than two or three hoyts. As its name suggests, it is a prayer for the enduring, indeed, the perpetual, prosperity and rule of the monarch and his court. This prayer is expressed in language that elevates the monarch above the sphere of the mortal to that of the semi-divine. He is identified with the enduring processes of nature, which undergo change but not decline. "So long as *nawrūz* comes every Spring,/May you reign and prosper."

As must be apparent from this summary description, the purpose of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* is to celebrate the institution of rule, not the ruler. One finds no individualised portraits of the monarch here, nor of any of the other officials who filled the role of *mamdūḥ*. Indeed, the royal *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* in all its many exemplars appears as the text of a ritual celebration of monarchy that gave the members of the court an appropriate public occasion on which to affirm their commitment to the myth of the supreme all-competent monarch as guarantor of the security and well-being of the Islamic state.

For the monarch, the *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* provided the means of being publicly celebrated as the living embodiment of the ancient tradition of kingship in Iran. In this, the *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* paralleled the common practice of concocting false genealogies that connected the sultan of the moment with the house of Sāsān as a means of asserting symbolic legitimacy.

The first great period of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* in Persian was that of the early Ghaznawids. Maḥmūd, the founder of that dynasty's great prosperity, expended vast sums to gather around himself a circle of distinguished poets, chief among them being ʿUnṣurī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*]. Tales of his extraordinary generosity to them became part of the mythology of patronage, and provided the model for subsequent rulers and their poets. Although Iranian courts from that time to this have generated an endless stream of royal patrons and eulogists, and the *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* has attracted master poets in virtually every period, no later court has achieved an exemplary status comparable to that of the Ghaznawid.

The Ghaznawid period also saw the appearance of what might be called the spiritual panegyric or anti-court *ḳaṣīda*. That is, the Ghaznawid bureaucrat and littérateur turned Ismāʿīlī propagandist, Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], used the language of court poetry and the genre of the *ḳaṣīda* to compose works that revile secular rulers and rebuke court poets for devoting their art to praising them. His argument runs that since Yahwīd cannot ensure the parts' well-being in the next world, they should rather expend their skill in celebrating those rulers of eternal, spiritual power—the Shīʿī *Imāms*—who can.

The example of Nāṣir Khusraw found few imitators in the centuries immediately after his death—although his influence on the great 6th/12th century *ḳaṣīda* writer Khāḳānī Sharwānī [*q.v.*], can be seen in that poet's pilgrimage *ḳaṣīdas*—but in the Ṣafawid period, the spiritual panegyric virtually replaced the secular. Later dynasties reinstated the secular as the preferred mode. There was a final efflorescence of the *ḳaṣīda-yi madḥiyya* under the Ḳādjārs that was, in large part, stimulated by the rediscovery of the poetry of the Ghaznawid panegyrists.

Unfortunately, the fantastic exaggeration of the panegyric style has proved so unpalatable to

modern students of Persian poetry that they have not given the *kaṣīda-yi madḥīya* the careful attention that its central position in Persian literary history merits. The prevailing approach to this substantial body of verse is to treat the opening portion as the only true poetry, and to ignore the contents of *madīḥ* and *du'ā'*—which make up two-thirds or more of any poem—as of negligible interest. The assumption is that court poets wrote panegyrics only out of economic or political constraint, not sincere, personal conviction, and thus want of sincerity vitiates the literary interest of their work. The studies by Gīn Yūsufī, *Farrukhī Sīstānī*, Mashhad 1342/1963, and J. W. Clinton, *Manūchihrī Dāmghānī*, Minneapolis 1972, are among the few exceptions to this rule.

Bibliography: General accounts of the *kaṣīda-yi madḥīya* will be found in the standard literary histories of Iran. Principal among these are: Browne, *LHP*; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Furūzānfar, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān* (3 vols. in 1), Tehran 1350/1972; Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān* (3 vols. in 4 parts), Tehran 1353/1975, 2nd. for the 19th century, Y. Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1351/1973, 2. In addition, recent editions of the *dīwāns* of *kaṣīda* writers include in their introductions such biographical details of poets and their patrons as are readily available.

The section on poets in the *Chār maḳāla* of Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarḳandī (ca. 550/1155), ed. M. Kazwīnī, with notes by M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1333/1955, provides a contemporary, and anecdotal account of the role of the court poet that is of great interest (Eng. tr. E. G. Browne, *The four discourses*, London 1921; Fr. tr. L. de Gastines, *Les quatre discours*, Paris 1968). The most complete and detailed statement of the art of the *kaṣīda*, including the *kaṣīda-yi madḥīa*, is in the *Mu'jam* of Shams-i Ḳays (*al-Mu'jam fī ma'āyīr ash'ār al-'adjam*, by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays *al-Rāzī*, ed. M. Kazwīnī, revised M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1338/1960), completed in the early 7th/13th century, and never improved upon. (J. W. CLINTON)

3. In Turkish

In accordance with the well-established tradition that regulated the structure and use of the *kaṣīda*, *madīḥ* is the technical term used to refer to the section of this type of poem devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet, the sultan, the grand vizier, etc. Among the Muslim Turks, and especially the Ottoman Turks in the 19th century, the collective abstract form —*madḥiyye*—used in exactly the same sense, was preferred. The same term designates any poem composed for the purpose of extolling an individual. The *nefes* or *ilahī* (types of poems written or uttered by members of the mystic orders to eulogise God or leading personalities (*pīrān* and *ḳibārs*) of these religious fraternities, and even more, the secular poems circulated by the literary *hannvators* of the last century, are generally given this designation also (see S. N. Ergun, *On dokuzuncu asırdanberi Bektaşi-Kızılbaş Alevi şairleri ve nefesleri*, Istanbul 1936, 359, and Şinasi, *Müntahabāt-ı aṣ'ār*, in *Kütüphane*, i, Ankara 1980, 47-53 respectively).

It was, however, in the *kaṣīda*, the paramount verse form of the Muslim panegyrist, that Ottoman Turks such as Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and the premier *kaṣīda*-writer Nef'ī [*q.v.*] displayed their most characteristic and enduring *madā'iḥ*. The presentation of a laudatory poem to those in positions of influence and power was the accepted and almost expected way for the literati to attract the attention of potential patrons for the purpose of securing employment or obtaining rewards and favours from them. The initial introduction of an aspiring poet, for example, to a grandee may have been through the good offices of a friend or teacher, but ultimately it was the persuasive and pleasing *madīḥ* featured in a suitable *kaṣīda* that forged the more lasting association with the patron or secured the most urgent favour. One may cite, among many other examples, the case of Meḥmed Ḳara Fāḍıl [*q.v.*], who launched a successful career as *dīvān* secretary to several princes thanks to a *kaṣīda* he presented to Sultan Süleymān at the suggestion of his mentor Dhātī [*q.v.*] (see Ḥasan Çelebi, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, British Museum, London, ms. Add. 24,957, fol. 281a, and Riyāḍī, *Rayāḥ-i ma'ārif*, Nuruosmaniye, Istanbul, ms. 3724, fol. 116), and the experience of the poet and vizier Aḥmed Pāsha [*q.v.*] who, having been incarcerated for an indiscretion, secured his release with a panegyrical *kaṣīda* to Sultan Meḥemmed II (see Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira-yi Laṭīfī*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 78, and *Ahl Nihād Tarīkh, Aḥmed Paşa divanı*, Istanbul 1966, 60-3).

In structure and form, the traditional *kaṣīda*, including those composed by the Ottomans, remained fairly steadfast. Following the exordium (*nasīb* or *taghazzul*) and, sometimes, a short set of lyrical couplets (*taghazzul*), the poet very ingeniously eased the reader or listener into the *madīḥ* by means of the device known as the *girīzgāh* (see Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, i, 84) in which the real purpose (*maḳṣad*) of the poem was revealed, either by openly naming the patron who was to be the subject of the encomium that followed immediately or by a clever allusion that rarely left any doubt as to the identity of the patron (see Fahir Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nasım*, Istanbul 1966, *passim*, 73, 106). The *madīḥ* was then followed by further praise in the *du'ā'* soliciting prayers for the patron and mentioning the poet's name.

Frequently, the above format and sequence were disregarded in favour of the more direct approach. Forsaking the exordium and the *girīzgāh*, the panegyrist began his *kaṣīda* with the *madīḥ* (see *Nadīm dīwānı*, ed. Khalīl Nihād, Istanbul 1338-40/1920-2, 34-6, and contrast 21-4, 36-8). This tendency became especially prevalent when indoctrination and instruction replaced gain and advancement as the purpose of the poem. Particularly in the 19th century, when acclamation of new ideas or of a certain political point of view displaced the praise of the individual, the *madīḥ* became the essence and indeed the only section of the *kaṣīda* (see Mehmet Kaplan, *Şiir tahlilleri*, Istanbul 1969, 23-5, and Kenan Akyuz, *Batı tesirinde türk şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 61-3).

As a feature of the *kaṣīda*, the message, spirit and language of the *madīḥ* was necessarily determined by its particular function and objective. It was made up of a varying number of couplets extolling such attributes or virtues, real, imagined or fabricated, of the individual or concept as courage, wisdom, justice, piety, generosity and benefits. It was mainly characterised by extravagant laudation that was often completely unjustified or misplaced, and by the use of every conceivable rhetorical device, the hyperbole of which was sustained by epithets and allusions that only those familiar with the elevated Islamic literary tradition could comprehend and appreciate. The epic similes and the imagery which were an intrinsic part of the *madīḥ* were considerably removed from the realities of a restricted social milieu

that expected, accepted and even cherished ingenious flattery and precarious insincerity garnished with flowery language. However, the *madīḥ*, as some of the examples given above indicate, had a certain utilitarian function and, incidentally, may very well have met a need in its symbolism and reflections of an aesthetic ideal, as recently suggested by W. G. Andrews in his *Introduction to Ottoman poetry*, 148-50. It must be noted, at the same time, that it, along with many other verse forms, affords one many fine illustrations of the Turkish literary genius, versatility and inventiveness.

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited or summarily mentioned in the text, see Muṣṭafā Nadīm, *Iṣṭilāḥāt-i adabiyya*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90, 282-6; E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, London 1902, i, 83-7; M. F. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyyāti taʾrīḫi*, Istanbul 1926, 161-6; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, ii, 206-8, 435; N. S. Banarlı, *Resimli türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1972, fasc. 3, 785-90; Tāhir-ül Mevlevī *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973, 84-7; W. G. Andrews Jr., *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, 146-59.

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

4. In Urdu

Eulogy probably existed in Urdu poetry from the earliest period of literary activity—certainly as far back as the second half of the 16th century A.D., though few early examples have survived. Two broad categories developed, according to the subject of the eulogy, *sc.* the secular and religious. The first was addressed to rulers, governors, nobles, and other rich or influential lay persons. It was usually termed *madḥ* rather than *madīḥ*, other terms being *taʿrīf* and *stuʾāʾ*. The religious category had its own distinctive terminology, though usage was not completely uniform, and might depend, to some extent, on the vagaries of copyists and editors. Praise of God was called *ḥamd*, that of the Prophet Muḥammad *naʿt*. That of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī, and of subsequent Shīʿī *imāms*, was called *manḳabat*, whilst eulogy of other religious figures, living or dead, including the first three Orthodox Caliphs, was generally called *madḥ* or *taʿrīf*.

Like other major poetical genres in Urdu, *madīḥ* was derived from Persian in some instances, Persian eulogistic odes were translated, or more properly adapted, into Urdu. More often, the *masnawī* (metre and rhyme) of a Persian ode would be imitated in an Urdu ode. The debt to Persian models was no secret; from the 16th century onwards, there are frank admissions or indications by various Urdu poets that they are vying with Persian poets in their mastery of the *madīḥ*-*ḳaṣīda*. The chief poets to whom they were indebted were Anwarī, Ḵẖāḳānī and ʿUrfī. Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh (*ca.* 1568-1612) begins a *naʿt* ode "The name of Muḥammad in the world is to me like a hundred Ḵẖāḳānīs". It is worthy of note that ʿUrfī was court poet to the Mughal Emperor Akbar in Dihlī, and died there at 1590-1 when Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh was in his early twenties. Apart from Indian local colour, including Hindu references, it is difficult to distinguish any single major feature in Urdu *madīḥ* which breaks completely new ground. Nevertheless, some poets achieved such mastery in it that they seemed to breathe new life into it, and thus they gained recognition for their originality.

Urdu *madīḥ* has been composed in almost all poetical forms, including *maṯnawī*, *muḵẖammas*, *musaddas*, *tarḏīʿ-band*, *tarḵīb-band*, and, extremely rarely, even *ḡazal*. But the eulogy form par excellence was the *ḳaṣīda* or *tarḵīb*. True, this form was used in other fields, particularly satire. But such has been the predominance of eulogy, that the term *ḳaṣīda* is usually understood to mean "eulogy", as an abbreviation of *ḳaṣīda yā maḏḥiyya*. Consequently any account of Urdu *madīḥ* must, of necessity, show how the pre-Islamic Arabic ode, as modified in later Arabic poetry, and brought to India via Persia, was adopted and adapted to the new environment. Unfortunately, it is hard to find an account of the Urdu *ḳaṣīda* form which is full and explicit without being discursive or biassed. In some accounts, the pre-Islamic ode, as exemplified in the *Muʿallaḳāt*, is over-emphasised, and there is too much reliance on Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn Rashīḳ. What is lacking is a definitive comparison of the Persian and Urdu *ḳaṣīda*. Though most Urdu eulogists were not unfamiliar with Arabic poetry, its chief influence on them was in vocabulary. Occasional mention of Arabic *ḳaṣīda* writers, such as Dhawʾl-Rumma to Laylā, al-Aʿshā, Djarīr and al-Maʿarrī, must be regarded chiefly as 'name-dropping' designed to impress the hearer, rather than an indication of indebtedness. It may be that al-Būṣīrī's *Ḳaṣīdat al-burda*, which was translated into Dakkanī Urdu by Muḥammad b. Riḍā, around the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, influenced the religious *ḳaṣīda*, and Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's celebrated ode in praise of the Prophet, *Bānat Suʿād*, was at times mentioned by poets and critics to justify the inclusion of an explicitly erotic prelude in *naʿt* odes. But the *ḳaṣīda* which came into Urdu poetry via Persian is as much akin to that of ʿAbbāsid poets such as al-Mutanabbī, al-Buḥturī and Abū Tammām, as to the pre-Islamic ode.

The form of the Urdu *madīḥ* ode was fully developed by the middle of the 18th century, if not earlier. Like its Arabic and Persian counterparts, it was a monorhyme poem, usually in weighty metre, with elevated and rich diction, of roughly between 30 and 150 verses. The two hemistiches of the first verse, called the *maṭlaʿ*, also rhymed and if the *ḳaṣīda* were long, there might be one or more subsequent verses with this internal rhyme at irregular intervals in the poem, known as *maṭlaʿ ṯānī*, *maṭlaʿ ṯāliṯ* and so on, more than four in all being rare. As is often the case in Persian and Urdu poetry, the rhyme (*ḳāfiya wa-radīf*) was often rich and difficult, and the poet's ability to sustain it was regarded as a proof of his skill.

There were four main sections to the *ḳaṣīda*. The first was the *tamhīd* or prelude, usually called *taḡẖẓīl*, a throw back to the erotic prelude or *nasīb* of the Arabic ode. The opening verse (*maṭlaʿ*) however, was considered so important in attracting the hearer's interest, that it is often discussed as if it were a separate section, not merely the start of the *taḡẖẓīl*. The erotic theme was seldom used, and was often frowned on unless it were chaste. A wide range of other topics was substituted, whether singly or in combination. Pride of place was given to the description of spring, an ode with such a *taḡẖẓīl* being called a *ḳaṣīda bahāriyya*. This topic was considered particularly suitable, as suggesting youth and vitality, which were regarded as implicit in the term *taḡẖẓīl* and flattering to the *samāʿīn* or subject of the poem. Moreover, this topic allowed for description of natural scenes, gardens, flowers and birds, which was part of the poet's stock-in-trade.

This theme might be extended by a comparison

between spring and autumn. Further, the two might be depicted as kings or generals marshalling their armies to fight another spring, of course, being the victor. Like practically all *taghazzul* topics in Urdu, this extension of the spring motif goes back to Sawdā (1717-81), who is generally regarded as both the pioneer and the finest exponent of the full *kasīda* form in Urdu. Amīr Mīnāʾī (1828-1900) developed this theme further in one ode by a vivid description of the actual battle. But, according to Sahar, (*op cit*, in *Bīsī*, 229), this had already been done in Persian.

Again, the *taghazzul* might be devoted to the days of youth, or complaints of the times in which the poet lived, or of his own misfortunes. *Fakhr* ("pride, boasting"), philosophising and moralising were other topics. As the basic form of the *kasīda* was stereotyped, poets were always searching for fresh ways of composing the *taghazzul* for it must be borne in mind that the *madīḥ* ode was frequently recited to the patron in public, in the presence of other poets and men of taste and learning. The poet's reputation and his reward were at stake.

One interesting device was to turn the *taghazzul* into a disputation or *munāẓara*. In Persian Asadī-yi Ṭūsī the Elder is said to have initiated this device, with *munāẓarāt* between night and day, and heaven and earth among others. In Urdu, Sawdā has one between greed and reason, whilst Amīr Mīnāʾī pairs knowledge and imagination, and comb and mirror into this category should go the *mukālama* (colloquy) favoured by ʿAzīz Lakhnawī (1882-1935), as, for example, one between beauty and love (*husn wa-ʿishq*).

Occasionally the *taghazzul* consisted of an anecdote, possibly with dialogue, and somewhat dramatic. When intimate or tons and straightforward in language, it could form a charming contrast with the high-flown praise section which was to follow. A fine example of this is Sawdā's eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla Rustam Djang, chief minister of the Mughal emperor, with the rhyme *-ām* (*Kulliyāt* 293 f.). The poet begins by relating how, prevented from sleeping or eating by the *dīwāna*, he consults Doctor ʿAkl, who prescribes blood-letting and a purgative. The poet objects that the tax-collector had drained all his blood, while purgatives are for the over-eater, where as he has been fasting for Ramaḍān. Can the Doctor prescribe a more effective treatment? What that is, we shall see, when discussing the second section of the *kasīda* (see below).

Two devices deserve mention which could be used effectively in the *taghazzul*, without necessarily being independent topics. One was the personification of abstract ideas or inanimate objects. This certainly goes back to Persian poetry, a famous example being Manūchihrī's "Candle ode". It could feature in the *munāẓara* topic already mentioned. The other was *sar-ā-pā negārī* ("head to foot description"). A human being might be described—perhaps the poet's beloved in an erotic *taghazzul*. But the most effective examples are descriptions of a houri or peri, often seen by the poet in a dream, or while lying awake in bed. Inshāʾ (1756-1817) commences an ode to Prince Sulaymān Shikōh (*Kulliyāt*, 206), by describing himself as tossing and turning in bed one morning, unable to sleep because of the spring wind. He sees a beautiful peri by the bed, and gives a detailed description of her. His contemporary Muṣḥafī (1750?-1826) has an ode with the same rhyme, also containing a description of a peri. Amīr Mīnāʾī describes a profligate peri in an ode to Nawwāb Kalb Alī Khān, he not only uses the same rhyme, but also refers back to Inshāʾ and Muṣḥafī in half-quotations.

The *taghazzul* was regarded as an important pointer to the poet's merit; yet to many critics, the second section was the acid test, it was usually called *gurīz* (Persian "deviation, flight"), but the Arabic terms *takhalluṣ*, *talkhīṣ*, and even *takhalluṣ* are given as alternatives. Though very short—sometimes a single verse, and seldom more than four, it was crucial, for it was the link between two apparently unconnected sections, the *taghazzul* and the actual praise. Unless the *gurīz* were skilfully constructed, the *kasīda* would lose its unity. Many felicitous examples could be quoted from the leading poets, but one must suffice. We left the ode by Sawdā with the poet asking for an alternative prescription for his illness. In the succeeding *gurīz*, the Doctor, in two verses, suggests that Sawdā take his complaint to the court of him (that is, Āṣaf al-Dawla) under whose protection the weak ant may be revenged on the elephant. Hearing this, and taking his *kasīda* as a present, the poet attends at court. This *gurīz* of only three verses leads to the praise, which is almost an ode within an ode.

The third section was called *madḥ* or *mamdūḥ*, and it was the most conventional. The qualities described had to be appropriate to the status of the *mamdūḥ*. Thus a ruler or *amīr* was praised for his justice, manliness, nobility, virtue, fear of God, generosity and clemency. To men of religion, other qualities were appropriate—learning, asceticism, attendance to religious duties. But the distinction tended to be blurred when the *kasīda* developed in north India. Thus Khālik Andjumān (*op cit* in *Bīsī*, 301 f.) remarks that Sawdā hardly distinguishes between secular and religious subjects in this respect. In addition to the personal qualities of the *mamdūḥ*, the poet could refer to his environment and associations, and the trappings of power and wealth. In praising a ruler, his sword, horse and elephant might be described. According to Hāshimī (*op cit* in *Bīsī*, 107), this was not so in the Deccan—though it must be pointed out that Kulī Kuṭb Shāh certainly refers to Imām ʿAlī's sword Dhu ʾl-Fiḳār, and Walī Dakkanī (1667-1707) to the mule Duldul given to ʿAlī by the Prophet. With Sawdā, sword, horse and elephant were described fairly briefly. But some later poets such as Dāgh of Dihlī (1831-1905) somewhat extended these descriptions, and turned them into separate sections, with headings such as *dar ṣifat-i tegh* and *dar taʿrīf-i-pīl*. A lesser 19th century poet, Kalak, of Meerut (1831 or 1833-1879), includes such sections, admittedly shorter than Dāgh's, in odes to fairly undistinguished recipients. To the present writer, this clear division of the *kasīda* into sections other than the four main ones was a continuing tendency which started before Sawdā. The latter interpolates a *ghazal* in one *kasīda*, but Walī and already done this. Unlike Sawdā, however, he did not have several *mafāʿīl*'s in one ode.

Thus the content of the *madḥ* section was restricted. Nor could the poet escape by making it brief, as courtesy required that the *taghazzul* must not be longer than the *madḥ*—so if the latter were curtailed, so must the former be. Hence the mode of expression was all-important in the *madḥ* section. This was dependent on a rich and pompous diction, similes, metaphors, and all the apparatus of *ṣanāʿāt wa-badāʿāt*, with considerable play on words. Some of this was derived from Persian, but in any case, after Sawdā it rapidly became clichā-ridden. To give but one

example, a ruler or minister was often compared with Solomon. Sawdā expresses this neatly in the eulogy of Āṣaf al Dawla already mentioned:

> *Kuchā ham mahīn ayhān mah Sulaymān sāh*
> *Tirā nām Gā alsma pah Āṣaf i Dawla hay Girā nām*
> ("Your splendour in the world is no less than Solomon(s), Although on (people's) tongues your name is Āṣaf-i Dawla") (*Kulliyyāt* 295).

This verse loses part of its effect, unless one knows that, in Muslim lore Āṣaf [b Barakhyā] (q.v.) was Solomon's Grand Vizier. Exaggeration in praise was taken for granted, though some 19th century poets such as Ghālib (1797-1869) disliked it. Shiblī Nu'mānī, in his celebrated study of Persian poetry, *Shi'r al-'Adjam* (1908-18) (v, 21-6) tried to lay down conditions for acceptable panegyric. Firstly, the person praised must be praiseworthy, secondly, the qualities commended in him must be genuine, thirdly, the poet must describe them convincingly. Shiblī admitted that all these three conditions were never fulfilled by any Persian poet, and went on to commend the sincerity of Arabic *madīḥ*, in a way which would strike many Arabists as idealistic if not naïve. At the same time, Shiblī denied that the *ḳaṣīda* caused subservience in the poet and egotism in his patron, since both realised that what was said was ' pure exaggeration and word-play". Shiblī was not speaking of Urdū *madīḥ* but what he says of Persian could equally apply, and is often quoted by modern Urdu critics. Dhawk (1789-1854) is generally regarded as second only to Sawdā as a eulogist, yet he exaggerated like other poets, calling the Mughal Emperor Akbar Shāh II "shadow of God and deputy of the Prophet of God". This poet's biographer, Tanwīr Aḥmad 'Alawī (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 249-52), quoting this and other examples, justifies them by saying: "the person praised seems to be not an individual, but a symbol of his time. In this sense, Dhawk's praise is very near to reality and realism".

The final section of the *ḳaṣīda* was called the *khātima* and the term *maḳṭa'* might be applied to it as a whole, or merely to the last verse or two —since an impressive ending to an ode was considered as important as an impressive beginning. In contrast to Persian practice, except with 'Urfī, the Urdu eulogist usually gave his *takhalluṣ*. This would normally be somewhere in the *khātima*, though there are instances where it is given earlier, alternatively or additionally. Sawdā makes his *takhalluṣ* the first word of his eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already quoted, and gives it again in the *khātima*. Nor is this the only *ḳaṣīda* in which he gives his *takhalluṣ* in the first verse. The secular's ode's *khātima* has two subsections, *ḥasb-i ḥāl* and *du'ā'*. The former is the poet's request for recompense, for which critics laid down various conditions. Summarised, they require the poet to steer a middle course between perfunctoriness and importunity—between taking the patron's generosity for granted and implying that he was mean. Some poets disliked begging. Dhawk, in his extant odes, avoids it, sometimes substituting the expression of his inability to praise his patron adequately. Sawdā also often avoided begging. *Du'ā'* ("prayer, blessing") was the expression of the poet's wishes for long life and prosperity for his patron. In the religious *ḳaṣīda* the *khātima* was somewhat different. The poet might express his own faith, and ask for a blessing to maintain it; and he might pray for the triumph of Islam, with suitable variations where the *mamdūḥ* was a Shī'ī *imām*. Here Sawdā was often felicitous, a good example being the *manḳabat* to *Imām* 'Alī with the rhyme *-ār* (*Kulliyyāt*, 243-7), which ends with the four requests, the last being that all "friends in both the two worlds may recognise the authenticity of the pure *imāmī*".

Some indication of the style expected in the *ḳaṣīda*, has already been given. It was regarded as a linguistic and stylistic *tour de force* and occupied a position in Urdu literature comparable to that of the *maḳāma* in Arabic. The poet was allowed to go to extreme limits of obstruseness to demonstrate his skill and learning, using in some instances scientific technical terminology. Thus Inshā' used much philosophical vocabulary. *Taḍmīn*—the interpolation of extraneous material—was common. This often took the form of quoting from some other poet, Persian or Urdu. Another type, particularly suitable to the Indian environment, with its numerous languages, was for the poet to introduce hemistiches or verses in several languages. Every poet was expected to know Persian and Arabic, and he would normally know one or more of the other literary languages of the subcontinent. Inshā' was addicted to this sort of virtuosity, and is said to have incorporated material from ten or more languages apart from Urdu. Dhawk was rewarded with the title of *Khāḳānī-yi Hind* by the Mughal emperor for a *ḳaṣīda* in seven languages, of which only a few lines have survived.

Thousands of eulogy poems must have been written in India over a period of 400 years, but comparatively few have survived, and of these a disproportionate number are of the religious type. Various reasons may be given for this. Early Urdu poetry, in both the Deccan and North India, seems to show a preference for the *maṯnawī*. From the mid-18th century onwards, *ghazal* dominated the poetic scene, and did not have a serious rival apart from the Shī'ī *marthiya* perfected by Anīs and Dabīr in the second and third quarters of the 19th century. Many poets wrote *ḳaṣīdas*, but for an overwhelming number, *ghazal* was their forte. The only absolute exception is Sawdā, whose *ḳaṣīdas* have been almost universally considered superior to his *ghazals*—though some would argue that his satirical odes surpass even his eulogy. Of later poets, Dhawk and Amīr are credited with equal skill in *maṯnawī* and *ghazal*. Moreover when a poet's works were collected, first in manuscript, and later in print, they were largely limited to *ghazals*, and few *ḳaṣīdas*, if any, were included. As was often the case in Persia, *ḳaṣīdas* tended to be copied separately and were liable to be lost. It was not unusual for a *ḳaṣīda* to be copied in abridged form. This might be understandable where the purpose was to omit *taḍmīn* passages in other languages. But it is difficult to see why two *manḳabat* odes by Ghālib should be thus abridged (see Mihr, *Dīwān-i Ghālib*, 294-6, 296-8). At the same time, it seems clear that the writing of eulogies for gain was often looked down on by poets, critics, and people at large. In any case, the *ḳaṣīda* was very much a poème d'occasion and was liable to lose its appeal with the passage of time. Whatever the cause, the odes of hundreds of minor poets seem to have disappeared, whilst some by acknowledge masters of the form are missing. Dhawk was court poet in Dihlī for fifty years, and must have composed 200 odes or more in the course of his official duties; yet only about 30 are extant. Some of Amīr's eulogies are known to have been lost, among them those in his first *dīwān*, which was destroyed in the Indian Mutiny. Only 28 of his *ḳaṣīdas* have survived.

Nevertheless, the ability to write a good *ḳaṣīda* was often said to be a hall mark of poetic skill

Ghālib once said: "Whoever cannot write an ode should not be accounted a poet". Thus it has been argued (Tanwīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*, 225) that Inshāʾ wrote odes, and gave of his best in them, in order to complete his art.

Only a few brief remarks will be made here on the history of *madīḥ* in Urdū. Further information can be obtained from the works mentioned in the *Bibliography*. It is convenient to speak of three stages based on geography, and obviously overlapping,—the Deccan, Dihlī and Lucknow. Very little is known about the Dakkanī *ḳaṣīda*. But in general it was short and simple, as can be seen from the printed odes of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, Sultan of Golkondā (see ḲUṬB SHĀHĪ). They are all religious, and seldom of more than 40 verses, sometimes of under 20. There is little indication of the four sections of the later *ḳaṣīda*. True, of about 50 poems which come under the heading of *madīḥ* (*Kulliyyāt*, i, 2-46, iii, 3-39), one (iii, 38-9) is a fragment of 16 verses entitled *Ek ḳaṣīda-yi manḳabat-i taḳḥīb bā tamāshā-yi shiʿr*. It is beautifully written, and begins:

> In the black sea of night the golden skiff sank
> As it sank, a hundred thousand bubbles rose.

But even if it is by Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, there is nothing to show that it is really the *taḳḥīb* of a *ḳaṣīda*, and this seems unlikely. From the metrical standpoint, it is interesting to note that in a few of his *ḳaṣīdas*, he divides the hemistiches into two, with internal rhyme thus producing something like an amalgam of *ḳaṣīda* monorhyme and *mukhammas* rhyme.

Walī Dakkanī is considered the father of Urdū poetry, and he visited Dihlī at least once. He was primarily a Ṣūfī *ghazal* writer, and never composed poetry for gain. However, he wrote eight religious eulogies—six *ḳaṣīdas* and two *tarḳīʿ-bands*. All the *ḳaṣīdas* are of modest length, save a composite one of 121 verses which is devoted successively to the praise of God, the Prophet, the *Imāms* ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, followed by exhortation (*naṣīḥat*), a *ghazal* on the love of God and a *khātima*. Of Walī's *ḳaṣīdas*, only two, to Muslim saints, show clear signs of conformity with the four-section form described earlier. They are addressed to Ḥaḍrat Mīrān Muḥyī 'l-Dīn (*Kulliyyāt*, 367 ff.) and Shāh Waǧīh al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 372 f.). It should be noted that in both he mentions Persian eulogists—Ḳāʾānī and Anwarī in the former, and ʿUrfī in the latter, as if to put himself on a level with them.

Whether or not Walī was the link between the Dakkanī and Dihlī *ghazal*, there seems no question of any link as far as the *ḳaṣīda* is concerned. For not only does internal evidence suggest that his *madīḥ* poems were composed before he visited Dihlī, but there is a hiatus until the mid-18th century, before the *ḳaṣīda* emerged in Dihlī. Critics explain it in various ways, none fully convincing. Either practically as eulogies were composed, or such as were composed were short, weak and formless—or again, the Urdū language had not developed sufficiently to provide the right poetic diction. Sawdā is variously described as having originated, reformed or perfected the *ḳaṣīda*. At any rate, all examples of the eulogy *ode* composed by other poets during the period 1700-40 come to light, we must acquiesce with those who state that Sawdā followed Persian, rather than Urdū, models. And there is no denying that he was, and remains, the leading Urdū *madīḥ* poet. His *tashbīb* is varied in theme and manner, his *gurēz* neat, and his *madḥ* cleverly expressed. Succeeding poets imitated him, but seldom equalled him and never surpassed him. Variety and freshness are the keynote of his odes, and they are rarely of extreme length. Of the 58 *ḳaṣīdas* in the Nawal Kishōr edition of his *Kulliyyāt*, only seven have more than 70 verses, and of these only five more than a hundred. The language is rich, drawing freely on Persian and Arabic. His contemporary Mīr [Taḳī Mīr] (1722-1810) wrote a good deal of eulogy poetry, mostly religious. There are only seven *ḳaṣīdas*, the rest consists of *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, *tarḳīʿ-band*, and *muḥammas*. Mīr was a prolific *ghazal* writer, but his pessimistic temperament was unsuited to eulogy.

In the latter part of the 18th century, Inshāʾ was a leading *ḳaṣīda* writer. As we have seen, he was a virtuoso of languages, but he did not reach the top flight in any poetic form. His longest ode, of 170 verses, is in praise of King George III of England. During the same period, Muṣḥafī wrote over 60 *ḳaṣīdas*. He was definitely influenced by Sawdā, and resembled him in the variety of his *taḳḥīb* topics. But though he has a persuasive protagonist in Abū 'l-Layṯ Ṣiddīḳī, he is not favoured by critics in general. He was the first famous eulogist of the Lucknow school. But, owing to political upheavels in Dihlī, due to Afġhān and Marāṯhā incursions, many Dihlī poets gravitated to Lucknow, including Sawdā himself at the age of 80.

Still, Dihlī had its distinguished eulogists in the first half of the 19th century. Pride of place goes to Ḏhawḳ (*q.v.*), considered second only to Sawdā. Much of his *madīḥ* poetry is lost. Of what remains—22 *ḳaṣīdas*, a *mukhammas*, and a few shorter poems and extracts—all is secular save a few fragments. The general scope of his eulogy poetry is narrower than that of Sawdā. For example, it is nearly all addressed to the Emperor Akbar Shāh II and to his son Bahādur Shāh II. While his *taḳḥīb* does not show Sawdā's range, nor has ability to appeal by directness at times, he is by no means stereotyped. One *taḳḥīb*, for example, is a delightful description of happiness. Ḏhawḳ was a learned man, whose hobbies were astrology, music and medicine, and his language is both rich and dignified. His contemporary Ġhālib (*q.v.*) (1797-1869), often considered the prince of Urdū poets, is not generally included among the leading eulogists and he was too proud to indulge in *madīḥ*, except when absolutely necessary. S. F. Maḥmūd (*Ghālib*, 200-4) quotes and commends the *taḳḥībs* of two early *manḳabat* odes to *Imām* ʿAlī, and the originality and individuality present in his *ghazal* is found also in his *madīḥ*. Yet another contemporary, Muʾmin (1800-54) excelled in *ghazal*, but also wrote nine *ḳaṣīdas*, only two of them secular. He has been praised by Brēlwī for his originality in the form. Finally, in discussing the Dihlī school, Dāġh (*q.v.*) (1832-1905) deserves mention. His Urdū *dīwān* contains six odes, all secular. Five of them are addressed to the Nizām of Ḥyderabad, at whose court he spent the last 19 years of his life. Mention has already been made of his inclusion of sections on bores and elephant.

Madīḥ thrived at the court of the Nawwābs of Oudh [see AWADH] until 1856, when the British exiled Nawwāb Wāǧid ʿAlī Shāh to Calcutta and the court of Rāmpūr took its place. Two types, or, more properly, two tendencies, have been mentioned by critics—the more forceful and dignified based on Sawdā and the Dihlī school, and a softer type, influenced by *ghazal*, and by the licentious Lucknow atmosphere. Most of the poets of the Lucknow school of eulogists are now forgotten. Not so, however,

Amīr Mīnāʾī. It is sometimes said that the Urdu *ḳaṣīda* began with Sawdā and ended with Dhawḳ; but it would be truer to say that it ended—or nearly ended—with Amīr. This poet was a man of considerable scholarship, compiler of the first two volumes of an Urdu dictionary which, if completed, would have been on a very large scale. His mastery of words stood him in good stead in his *madīḥ* odes, of which only 28 have survived. Of the two Lucknow types, they are more akin to that based on the Dihlī school. Most of them are secular, and have a dignity bordering on the epic, especially in the varied *taghazzul*. His language is at times heavy, but in general, it is less intricate than Dhawḳ's, and superior in beauty and freshness. He spent 43 years as court poet in Rāmpūr. In 1900, he was invited to join Dāgh in Hyderabad, but died there shortly after his arrival.

By this time, the *madḥiyya ḳaṣīda* was becoming obsolete. After the Indian Mutiny, India came under British control, and those splendid courts which had nurtured eulogy poetry were a thing of the past, though some rulers of the "native states" patronised poetry, it was not on the same scale. Poets increasingly introduced their new poems to the public in *mushāʿaras* [*q.v.*], newspapers and magazines, or at meetings of cultural and learned societies. A new attitude to poetry developed, fostered by the ʿAlīgarh Movement, with the call for "natural poetry". Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [see ḤĀLĪ] attacked the traditional *ḳaṣīda* in his *Muḳaddama-yi shiʿr-o-shāʿirī*, published in 1893. The virtues described in eulogy poetry, he said, were mostly imaginary, in fact, they were often the very opposite of the *mamdūḥ*'s qualities. If he were an ignoramus, he would be praised for his knowledge; if he were a tyrant, for his justice and impartiality; if he were an idiot, for his sagacity (*op. cit.*, 82). Taking the Arabic poet as his ideal, Ḥālī castigated lying and exaggeration in eulogy (*ibid.*, 93 f.). The poet, he said, had an important function to perform by bringing to light virtues and vices, he should encourage reform. In fact, Ḥālī was proposing a role for the Urdu poet not unlike that played by Aḥmad Shawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in Egypt not long afterwards.

In the 20th century, a few Urdu poets continued to write *ḳaṣīdas*. For example, Aḥsan Mārahrawī (1878-1940) wrote one in *turkish-tand* for King George V's coronation in 1911. ʿAzīz Lakhnawī gained something of a reputation for his eulogies all directed to the Prophet and his family. But in India and Pākistān today, the *madīḥ ḳaṣīda*, whether religious, or in praise of public figures, is found chiefly in magazines and newspapers.

Yet the *ḳaṣīda* was not merely a useless and regrettable by-way of Urdu literary history. At its best, it had a sort of Baroque brilliance. Its style, even when the *tashbīb* was devoted to *taghazzul*, differed from that of *ghazal*. It had a strength and dignity which, derived in part from the early narrative *mathnawī*, in its turn influenced the 19th century *marthiya*. Its rich vocabulary and idiom influenced not only other poetry, however, but also prose. Without the *ḳaṣīda*, it could be argued, *Urdū-i-muʿallā*—high literary Urdu—would have been much the poorer.

Bibliography. General accounts of *ḳaṣīda* form will be found in ʿAbd al-Salām Nadwī, *Shiʿr al-Hind*, Aʿẓamgaṛh n.d., ii, 324-46; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnau ka dabistān-i shiʿrī*, Lahore 1955, 266-71; Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ, *A history of Urdu literature*, Karachi-Lahore-Dacca 1964, 30-2, gives a rather oversimplified account. Most of the critical studies of individual poets and editions of their works given below give some information on the form. For a historical account, see Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾī, *Taʾrīkh-i ḳaṣīda-i-Urdū*, Allāhābād n.d. For adverse criticism of Urdu *madīḥ*, see Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, *Muḳaddama-yi shiʿr-o-shāʿirī*, Sarṭāḳī Publishing Company, Lahore n.d. 82-3. General criticism of the Persian *ḳaṣīda* often applied to Urdu will be found in Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, Lahore 1924, v, 1-28, especially 20 ff. The following works are recommended for particular poets: Kulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ḳādirī Zōr, Hyderabad, Deccan 1359/1940; *Kulliyyāt Walī*, ed. Djanāb ʿAlī Aḥsan, Awrangābād 1927, introd. 62-70, text, 338-76; Shaykh Čānd, *Sawdā*, Hyderabad, Deccan n.d., 112-120, 180-215; Khalīl Andjumān, *Mirzā Muḥammad Rafīʿ Sawdā*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1965, 241-70; *Kulliyyāt Sawdā*, Nawal Kishōr Press, Lucknow 1932, i, 229-327; *Kulliyyāt Mīr*, ed. ʿIbādat Brēlwī, Karachi-Lahore 1958, 960-1060, 1183-1200, 1344-68, 1387-96, 1432-38; *Kalām-i Inshāʾ*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad ʿAskarī, Allāhābād 1952, 289-331; Tanwīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *Dhawḳ—zamāna aur ḥālāt*, Lahore 1963, 214-71; Rāḥat Afzā Bukhārī with Nādura Zaydī, "Shaykh Ibrāhīm Dhawḳ" — Ch. v (b) of *Taʾrīkh-i Musalmānān-i Pākistān-o-Hind*, viii, Lahore 1971, 157-61, *Dīwān-i Dhawḳ*, ed. K. M. Sardār Khān, Lahore n.d., for Muṣḥafī, Ṣiddīḳī, *op. cit.*, 286-83. Sayyid Fayyaz Maḥmūd, *Ghālib—a critical introduction*, Lahore 1972, 121-2, 200-4; *Dīwān-i Ghālib*, ed. Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Lahore 1967, 294-330; ʿIbādat Brēlwī, *Muʿmin aur muṭāliʿa-yi-Muʿmin*, Lahore-Karachi 1962, 256-64, *Kulliyyāt-i-Muʿmin*, ed. Brēlwī, Lahore-Karachi 1955, 179-232; Dāgh, *Urdū Dīwān*, ed. Sibṭ al-Ḥasan, Lahore 1962, 506-57, Abū Muḥammad Sabzawārī, *Muḥākama-yi-Amīr*, Lucknow 1965, 219-56, *Dīwān-i-Amīr maʿrifat ba-sharḥ-i-taʾrīkh "Miʾrāj al-shuʿarāʾ"*, Lucknow 1922, 2-40, 339-44, Kalak, *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Ḳalb ʿAlī Khān Fāʾiḳ, Lahore 1966, 458-551, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *Djadīd shuʿarāʾ-i-Urdū*, Lahore 1954, gives short accounts of Aḥsan Mārahrawī and ʿAzīz Lakhnawī, with examples of their *ḳaṣīdas* (330-6, 429-32). Ṣiddīḳī gives further information about the odes of ʿAzīz Lakhnawī (*op. cit.*, 796-803). Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ (*op. cit.*) and Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allāhābād 1927, refer to various poets mentioned in this article, but neither gives much information about their *madīḥ* poetry. Nāṣir al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakkan mēn Urdū*, Lucknow 1963, makes a few brief references to the Dakkanī *ḳaṣīdas*, for example, Ghawwāṣī, 107, and Muḥammad b. Riḍā, 371 f. For further accounts of the poets mentioned above, see the various articles in the *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam* being published by the University of the Punjab, Lahore.

(J. A. HAYWOOD)

3. In Swahili

Praise poetry is an important category in the literatures of several Bantu peoples, such as the Zulu, Swazi, Tswana, Rwanda, etc. It is a general aspect of African oral traditions which has survived Islamisation in the literatures of the Somali and Hausa. In Swahili, some of the oldest preserved manuscripts contain praise poems, in the first place the famous Ode of Liongo in self praise. Praising oneself (Swah. *kujigamba*, *kujiyuma*) is a common aspect

of many African oral traditions, and this includes extolling one's ancestors, commemorating their exploits as well as one's own. Liongo's Ode is composed in the *utenzi* metre of 15 syllables in the line. Cf. v 6: "I am a young lion! I have instilled the wish to die in my heart! I fear only the disgrace when the enemy sees my back." The lines are arranged in couplets of two lines, the last line rhyming in *-me* throughout the poem, this is the oldest-preserved type of metre other than dance songs. It may have been composed before 1800. A later poet added three lines to every couplet, making it a *takhmīs* [*takhmīs* [*q.v.*]]. This structure became the model for later poets who were Muslims (unlike Liongo) and who composed hymns in the Prophet Muḥammadan in this metre.

In Swahili, the word *kasida* normally refers to a poem praising the Prophet. The oldest *kasida* is dated 1067/1656, the first dated poem in the Swahili language. It is a translation of the *Hamziyya* by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; without the Arabic text, the Swahili could not be deciphered. The second surviving *kasida* is the famous scroll now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It begins, like Liongo's self-praise, with the word *mayowayi*, perhaps not originally so pronounced, which has since then become the term for a *kasida* or *mʿaʿsaf* (Swah. *masifa*, perhaps owing to the similar shape). A special kind of *kasida* is the *mauliḍi* [see MAWLID]. Two well-known Arabic *baylūn* are the two *Burda* odes, both of which have been translated into Swahili in particular, the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī and the *Hamziyya* are still recited during Swahili ceremonies.

The Swahili word *madaha* is normally limited in meaning to the praises of God, many of which are nowadays sung in the mosques, for which reason they are simply referred to as *dua*. Numerous are the *dua* that have been composed in Swahili, some in the *utenzi* metre, many in the easier but equally serious *utenzi* metre. Swahili *wimi* like *saʿiba* and *himidi* refer exclusively to the praises of God.

The verb *sifu* or older *swifu* corresponds with the noun *sifa*, which can mean "quality, description" as well as "praise name", as in *Kulla swifa wyema ndaho Nabiya* 'All worthy praise names are for the Prophet', the first line of the *Maulid* of Barzanji. *Sifa* is used likewise for praising living men and women (for the praises of the dead, see MARTHIYA); these praise poems fall into two categories, those for religious leaders, such as *walis* and *sharifs* and those for political leaders. Lamu is the centre for the poetry in praise of religious leaders such as the Egyptian Aḥmad al-Badawī and 'Abd al-Kādir [*q.v.*], as well as the founding *Sharifs* of the mosque at Lamu. This poetry is published in Lamu and Mombasa in Arabic script.

Inserted in the Swahili epic songs there are many praise poems; one of the oldest is 'Alī's praise of himself in the *Utenzi wa Herekali* (Heraclius) which is itself traditional: "I am the lion of God. He has given me the sword Dhu 'l-Fiḳār. He made me the Breaker of Cities. His tool to punish the Kāfirs." The Prophet praises himself in the same epic in the letter to the Emperor Heraclius, and there are several passages in which he is praised by others, so "the first-created seal of the prophets, God's favorites". Other heroes, like 'Umar and Miḳdād, also praise themselves and are praised in the epic.

The Swahili tradition of composing praise songs was put to good use by the German administrators, who encouraged Swahili poets to write praises on the German governors and even on the Kaiser, one successful poet was even sent to Berlin and received by the Kaiser and "richly rewarded", exactly as a Muslim prince ought to have done. The poet's name was Hamisi Aawa, and the refrain of the poem is "Who has the true authority if not the Kaiser?".

The First World War produced some interesting songs, one in praise of General Smuts, who defeated the Germans south of Mombasa, and a new category of political songs, called the Beni dance songs, in which groups of (originally military) dancers praised their own "regiment", and chided rival dance groups, with political allusions.

Since Independence, political verse has seen a new prosperity. The preparations for the elections are not complete without songs of praise for the leading candidates and mockery for their opponents. Some of these poems may appear in the press, but since the poet has to be cautious, he will use cryptic language, comprehensible only to the few insiders of the political arena. After the elections, the winning candidate will, of course, be lavishly praised, since there is nothing more praiseworthy than success. President Nyerere is probably the most poetically-praised political leader of East Africa. Thus gradually the Swahili word *madaha* has acquired the meaning of "flattery, eagerness to please", and even "self-complacency, arrogance, pride".

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MA'DIN (A), "mine, ore, mineral, metal". In modern Arabic, the word *manǧam* denotes "mine", while *muʿadden* means "miner" and *ḥamīd* is a mineral.

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and other uses. Iron ore was indispensable for the manufacture

of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other minerals such as mercury, salt and alum, as well as pearls and precious stones, were necessary for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources; the mining industry was an extensive one and the metals, whether precious or not, were the object of a certain amount of international trade.

The article is divided in the following sections:

1. Economic aspects.
2. Mining technology.
3. Mineral exploitation in the Ottoman empire.
4. In Islamic art.

1. Economic Aspects

In the period of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs, the output of the mines in their dominions was apparently sufficient to meet the demands for some of the most important metals. In later periods when the empire was dismembered into various kingdoms one often warring with the other, many of the Islamic countries needed one or several of the metals and had to import them from non-Islamic regions. This was due to the fact that the metalliferous ores were distributed over the Islamic countries very unevenly. Some of them had rich deposits of several metals, others almost none. Certain regions on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world were relatively rich in metals, especially Ilāq, Farghāna, Ushrūsana in Central Asia and the mountains near Bāmiyān (eastern Ghūr). Also, Fārs had many mines which were very productive. The same was true for the country on the western frontier of the *dār al-Islām*, namely Spain. Al-Karawīī (*Āthār*, i, 338) could write that in this Islamic country there were mines of gold, silver, lead and iron in every district. It seems that mining, which had somehow declined in the Visigothic period, was revived and flourished under the rule of the Spanish Umayyads.

In the times of the caliphs, there were still in Arabia a considerable number of mines, from which significant quantities of gold [see MAHAR] were derived. Egypt had the famous mines of Wādī al-'Allāqī, on the eastern shore of the Nile [see AL-'ALLĀQĪ]. There were also gold mines in Ushrūsana and Ilāq, near Shāsh and at Harāt. But altogether, the output of gold in the Islamic countries was not sufficient for the regular coinage of gold *dīnārs*, especially after Spain had slipped away from the 'Abbāsid empire. This is clearly borne out by the slow spread of gold coinage in the eastern countries of the caliphal empire. In fact, the Islamic countries were always dependent upon the supply of gold from the present countries of Senegal and Mali. When they had established their rule over the whole of North Africa and with this, the northern terminals of the commercial routes which were the outlets for the trade with these gold-producing regions, the mints of 'Irāq and Persia could be supplied with sufficient stocks of gold. *Dīnārs* began to be struck in Marw in 842, in Rayy in 849, in Samarkand in 861 and in Ādharbāydjān in 885. The success of the Fāṭimids in gaining control over the former 'Abbāsid province of Egypt was undoubtedly to a very great extent due to their riches in West African gold.

On the other hand, there were in the caliphal empire rich silver [see FIDDA] or argentiferous lead mines which made it possible regularly to strike silver *dirhams*. Most of these were in the countries then contained in the extensive province of Khurāsān. The most renowned were those of Pandjhīr, not far from the eastern sources of the Kābul river, and in Dārbyā, in the same district. Others were in Andarāb to the east of Balkh, in the neighbourhood of Tūs, and in Farghāna. The province of Fārs also had silver mines. In the flourishing period of the 'Abbāsids, in the 9th century, the output of all these mines must have been considerable, as the gold-silver ratio changed, silver becoming cheaper, although the quantities of gold increased. Spain, too, was rich in argentiferous ore. It was exploited in the districts of Murcia, Alhama, Cordova and Beja (in the present Portugal).

Copper (*nuḥās*) was derived from mines in several provinces of the caliphal empire, in Sardān in the province of Fārs, in some places in Gīlān, Ādharbāydjān, Balkhārā, Ushrūsana, Farghāna, and in the Maghrib West, in Ighīl in the Oued Saoura (in Western Algeria) as well as in Spain. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source. However, the accounts of the Arabic authors of that period leave no doubt that the copper production of the empire was not sufficient for the manifold employments of the metal. For copper was needed for the striking of locally-circulating small coins (*fulūs*), the roofing of mosques, the covering of gates of towns and public buildings, but above all, for the thriving industry of fabricating copper utensils, e.g. kettles, receptacles and various other vessels. The big cauldrons of Samarkand and the copper vessels manufactured in Farghāna and in many towns of Persia were renowned all over the Islamic world. So from early times, copper had to be exported from Europe. In the period preceding the Crusades, when trade between Khwārazm and Persia, on one hand, and Eastern Europe on the other, was intense, apparently great quantities of copper were imported from the Urals. A report of al-Idrīsī obviously refers to that period.

Metalliferous ores which contained lead (*raṣāṣ, usrub*) and tin were not lacking altogether in the caliphal empire. Lead was taken from mines in the neighbourhood of Balkh, at several places of Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia, al-Maghrib (in eastern Algeria) and at Cabra in Andalusia. But the demand for this metal was very great. It was used for aqueducts, for the installation of public and private baths and for the roofing of public buildings. So it is doubtful whether the production was sufficient, and whether additional quantities had not therefore to be imported from non-Islamic regions. This was certainly the case as far as tin (*raṣāṣ kalʿī, kalʿī*) was concerned. Tin was found in Spain, in the province of Algarve, and Judaeo-Arabic Genuza letters, dating from the last years of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century, testify to the export of copper, lead and tin from Spain to the Near East. But already in that early period, tin had to be imported both from Cornwall and Devon in Britain and from Malaysia. The name given to tin by the Arabs, *viz. kalʿī* (*qv*) after Kalah, a well-known port on the peninsula of Malacca, bears witness to this fact.

Iron (*ḥadīd* [*q.v.*]) deposits were insignificant in the Near East, but one could procure sufficient quantities from other provinces of the caliphal empire and neighbouring countries which were tributary to the caliphs and their successors or otherwise dependent upon them. Armenia had mines which produced excellent iron, such as that, for instance, used for the Kindjal swords. On the eastern slopes of the Caucasus, near Darband, there were iron mines which supplied a flourishing industry of weapons with raw material

The province of al-Mawṣil, Fārs, Khurāsān (near Nīshāpūr), Farghāna and Shāsh also had rich iron deposits. Even in Kirmān there were some iron mines. In Spain, iron was taken from mines in the Guadalquivir valley, near Cordova, Toledo and Murcia, and elsewhere in the Maghrib about ten iron mining areas were exploited, from Morocco to Libya; iron ore was produced and exported from Sicily, and some mines were worked in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. The supply was sufficient for the production of various utensils, such as knives, needles, scissors, chains and lances. This industry was highly developed in Khwārazm, in the major towns of Khurāsān such as Harāt, Nīshāpūr and others and also in al-Mawṣil and in Toledo in Spain.

The term *tūtiyā* (calamine or tutty) was used to denote the natural zinc ores, especially zinc carbonate, or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for *tūtiyā* were in the province of Kirmān, but it was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Mercury (*zi'baḳ*) came chiefly from Spain [see AL-MA'DIN], another source was Farghāna.

Salt (*milḥ*) was produced in numerous localities and, in some areas, on a very large scale notably in the southern Sahara [see AZALAY]. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khurāsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*shabb*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al Idrīsī, the major source was in Chedi; it was exported to all the countries of North Africa and to Egypt.

Egypt was further a major production centre for both alum and natron (*naṭrūn* [*q.v.*])

Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos (*ḥalḥal*) from Badakhshān, out of which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made.

Coal (*faḥm*) was also known and was used in some areas such as Farghāna where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (*tannūr*, pl *tanānīr*) and its ashes utilised as a cleaning agent.

Petroleum (*nafṭ* [*q.v.*]) deposits were exploited on a large scale.

Precious stones of various kinds were mined. Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Djamāhir* are celebrated, and deserve detailed study. Rubies were mined in Badakhshān and were also brought from Ceylon. Diamonds came from Hindustan and Ceylon, agates from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoises from Nīshāpūr, lapis lazuli from Egypt and onyx from Yemen. Corundum came from Nubia and Ceylon. Rock crystal (*billawr* [*q.v.*]) was mined in Arabia and Badakhshān. Diving for pearls was a flourishing industry, and coral was obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily [see further, MARJĀN, in Suppl.].

When the empire of the caliphs crumbled, the unevenness of the distribution of metal deposits resulted, of course, in some countries suffering a temporary or permanent lack of important raw materials. Although the countries which had belonged to the empire remained to a great extent an economic unity, exchanging their products and keeping their economic structures, the stopping of the supply of metals which served as raw materials for manufactured goods and bullion for the mints was used as a weapon in the political struggle. Mediaeval statesmen were of course aware that cutting off the gold supply of the enemy's country meant weakening its financial resources and that curbing its supply of iron dealt a blow to the production of arms.

Already in the second half of the 10th century, the supply of the mints of 'Irāḳ with bullion for the coinage of gold *dīnārs* was deficient, as the mines in the provinces which had remained under the sway of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, or were accessible to them, were poor. The *dīnārs* of the later Būyids of 'Irāḳ and southwestern Persia were of bad alloy. Even the mines of Wādī al-'Allāḳī yielded in that period insignificant quantities of gold. Ibn Sa'īd, writing in the 13th century, reports that the gold derived from these mines was worth no more than the expenses paid for the work. Consequently, Egypt was during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods wholly dependent upon the supply from West Africa, that is, the gold mines of the countries called by the Arabs Ghāna or Takrūr. This supply rendered possible the regular coinage of gold *dīnārs* of full weight and excellent alloy until the 15th century, when the Portuguese diverted to themselves part of the West African gold in the year 1425, the *dīnār* of the Mamlūks was devalued for various reasons, one of them probably being the reduced supply of bullion. The coinage of 'Irāḳ and Persia became from the middle of the 13th century essentially monometallic, as the silver money predominated overwhelmingly.

Even the supply of the Islamic countries with silver was in the later Middle Ages very irregular. In the 12th and 13th centuries there was everywhere a silver famine, so that the striking of silver *dirhams* had to be discontinued. The catalogues of recently-found coin hoards of the Saldjūḳs, like that published by T. Khodjaniyazov (Akhshabad 1979), confirm the supposition of a great silver famine (see also M. A. Sevīdīdīnī, *Monetnoe delo v dinastiyakh oboshchënnoe v Azerbaydzhane XII, XIV vv.*, i, Baku 1978). There were several possible reasons for this phenomenon. It may be that the campaigns of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in India and the flow of great quantities of gold from the subcontinent to Afghānistān and to Persia brought about as a concomitant the export of silver to the newly-conquered provinces (this being the opinion of Blake). According to another hypothesis, the silver famine resulted from the loss of enormous amounts of *dirhams*, which were used as payment for the commodities purchased by the Muslim merchants in Russia and were finally hoarded there. Against the latter supposition one can adduce the fact that the silver famine in the Islamic countries began when the trade with Russia had already considerably declined. Perhaps the technological shortcomings of mediaeval mining were a major reason for the silver famine; al-Idrīsī recounts in fact that work on the "Silver Mountain", on the way from Harāt to Sarakhs, had to stop because of technical faults and the lack of wood for melting the ore. But it seems that the shortage of silver was in that period a world-wide phenomenon, which was felt in India too (cf. S. Digby in *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 469). Anyhow at the end of the 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century, silver coinage revived in 'Irāḳ, in Syria and in Egypt. Apparently this was made possible by Central Asian silver being brought by the Mongol conquerors, or flowing to the Near East in the wake of their campaigns, when trade between Central Asia and the Levant had been intensified after the establishment of Mongol rule over Persia. This supposition would be enhanced by the fact that a new crisis which happened in Syria and in Egypt in the middle of the 13th century was overcome after a new invasion by the Tatars. From that time onwards, Persia and 'Irāḳ had a

monetary system based on a silver *dīnār* (of 12.9 gr.). In the early days of Ilkhānid rule, the increase of good silver coins in circulation was a striking feature of monetary development. When Ghāzān Khān again struck gold *dīnārs*, the exchange rate was based on the gold-silver ratio of 12:1. That means that great amounts of silver were available and that it was consequently cheap. The bullion was undoubtedly supplied both by mines in the Middle East and in Central Asia. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the 1330s, has included in his *Nuzhat al-kulūb* a list of silver mines, most of them in Central Asia. But there were also, according to his account and to other sources, rich mines in Gümüshkhāne between Amasya and Erzinǧān, and in Lōlā in Asia Minor. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recounts that Syrian and 'Irāḳī merchants came to Gümüshkhāne, of course, to purchase the white metal. But the quantities of silver recovered from these mines were by no means sufficient for the needs of the mints and the silversmiths of the Near East. Egypt and Syria were in the later Middle Ages supplied with silver both from Central Asia and from Europe. The American chemist A. A. Gordus has elaborated a method of neutron activation which renders it feasible to find out the origin of silver by establishing its gold impurity. By this method, he has found that the bullion used by the Mamlūk mints for striking silver *dirhems* was very diverse, coming both from Central Asia and from the European countries. Another silver famine from which the Near East suffered at the end of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century came to its end some years after the campaigns of Tīmūr. So the supposition that this was due to the renewal of trade with Central Asia and the flow of silver therefrom to the Near East is at least a good working hypothesis. However that may be, the supply of silver to the Near Eastern mints was sufficient throughout the 14th and the 15th centuries, though it slowly diminished. The difference between the gold-silver ratio in that region, at most less than 10:1, against 11:1 or more in Europe, brings it home.

Just as the Persian and Turkish countries were in the later Middle Ages richer in silver, so the supply of copper was much more abundant. In these countries and to some neighbouring ones, there were indeed mines which produced good and abundant copper. Some of them were in Āḏharbāydjān, others in Armenia, Syria and Egypt, which urgently lacked copper deposits, had to import it from Europe. The abundant mass of copper coins and the manufacturing of manifold copper vessels would have been impossible if the Venetians and the Genoese had not carried to the Near East heavy shipments of the German, Slovakian and Bosnian copper. The countries of the Maghrib, on the other hand, could supply themselves with copper, produced in the mines of Morocco, such as at Dal and elsewhere. But they had recourse to the import of silver coins from Europe. The Near Eastern countries also lacked lead and tin and were reduced to purchasing these metals from southern European traders, who imported them from Serbia, Bosnia, Germany and England. The Persian countries were supplied with lead from mines in Bukhārā, Ushrūsana and Farghāna.

Even as far as iron was concerned, the resources of the Near Eastern countries were utterly deficient, and they were dependent upon a supply from Europe, where this export trade was stigmatised by the Church as treason against Christianity, and transgressors were threatened by ecclesiastical and secular authorities with severe punishment. Nevertheless the Italian merchants supplied the Muslims with this (and other) "forbidden merchandise", and the republic of Pisa, by a treaty concluded in 1173 with Saladin, formally undertook to sell iron to Egypt.

The newly-emergent Ottoman empire included various metalliferous regions, so that it could provide itself with some of the metals at least which it needed. Great quantities of good copper were hauled from the mines of Kastamūnī, not far from the shores of the Black Sea. The output of these mines was so abundant that, in the 15th century, Italian merchants exported great quantities of it to Syria and Egypt. When the Ottomans conquered Bosnia and Serbia, the rich deposits of gold, silver, copper and lead of Novo Brdo, Olovo, Srebrenica and other mines fell to them. Much excellent iron was produced in the mines of Samokov (formerly called Samakov) to the south-east of Sofia. Gold, however, was still imported from the Western Sudan, so that in the 16th century the Turkish gold coins were struck in Cairo, where the precious ore first arrived.

The output of the Central Asian mines had great importance for the economy of the Khānates of Bukhārā and Khīva and other Islamic states of that region from the 17th to the 19th centuries. In Farghāna, gold was collected from the sand of the rivers Mōkan and Usoy Nahmad and especially from the rivers to the district of Namanghān. Lead was extracted from mines in Namanghān and Marghīlān, and lead mixed with silver in the district of Andidjān. Farghāna was also rich in silver, and in the 17th century the production was considerable. The production of iron and copper, on the other hand, was both in Farghāna and Khōḳand sufficient for local demand only. In Badakhshān, mining flourished especially in the 17th century, and one mine produced both gold and silver. Bukhārā and Khīva produced gold and silver. Gold was found in the sand of the Zarafshān river and Hisār river. The mining of silver, copper, lead and iron yielded an abundant output in eastern Bukhārā. The export of gold and silver from the Khānates of Central Asia to Russia had in the middle of the 18th century and also in the 19th century a great volume, as is borne out by the registers of the custom offices of Orenburg and Troitsk. In the years 1748-55, 800 kg of gold and 75.5 tonnes of silver passed through Orenburg, and in 1760 3.6 tonnes of silver. Even to Siberia, the Khānates exported considerable quantities of precious metals.

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(E. ASHTOR)

2. MINING TECHNOLOGY

1. *Islamic mines*

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and for other uses. Iron ore was necessary for the manufacture of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other minerals such as mercury, salt and alum were indispensable for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources, and the mining industry was an extensive one. *Ma'din* (pl. *ma'ādin*) denoted "mine" in Arabic sources, and *mu'addin* means "miner". In modern Arabic, the word *wandjam* denotes "mine", while *ma'din* or *ma'dan* is now used mostly for "metal" or "mineral".

Information on Islamic mines occurs in geographical works, in alchemical treatises, in books on mineralogy and in various other sources. But these, and archaeological discoveries, have not yet been searched for the purpose of writing a history of mining technology, although some studies have appeared on the distribution of Islamic mines. We shall mention here only some of the minerals and a few of the mining centres, since it is not possible here to list all the mines.

Gold (*dhahab* [*q.v.*]) mines were found in western Arabia, Egypt, Africa and in some eastern Islamic lands. But the first major gold mining area was at Wādī al-'Allāḳī, which is a right bank tributary of the upper Nile. It lay in the Budjā country, which was between Ethiopia and Nubia [see NUBIA]. The mines were in a desert area between the Nile and the Red Sea. The nearest towns were Aswān [see AL-UKSUR] on the Nile and 'Aydhāb [*q.v.*] on the Red Sea. The second major gold mining area was called by al-Bīrūnī the Maghrib Sūdān. This is the area south of the Sahara in Senegal and in the Upper Niger fo Mali. According to al-Idrīsī, Wangāra was the most important gold mining centre on the upper Niger. Salt, cloth and other commodities were exchanged for gold.

Silver (*fiḍḍa* [*q.v.*]) was either mined individually or in association with lead ores. The major silver mines were in the eastern Islamic provinces. Prominent among these were the mines of the Hindū Kūsh in the towns of Panḏjhīr and Ḏjarīyāna, both in the neighbourhood of Balkh. According to one report, there were about 10,000 miners working at Panḏjhīr. Other important silver mines were in Spain, the Maghrib, Iran and Central Asia.

Lead (*usrub*, *raṣāṣ*) was obtained mostly from galena (lead sulphide), which was of very common occurrence. This lead ore is often associated with small quantities of silver. Only two other lead ores have any importance as raw materials. One is cerussite (lead carbonate) and the other, which is of minor importance, is anglesite (lead sulphate). Lead ores, especially galena, were exploited in Spain, Sicily, the Maghrib, Egypt, Iran, Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

Copper (*nuḥās*) ore deposits were exploited in various areas, including the important mines of Spain in the west, and several deposits in the east, such as those in Sidjistān, Kirmān, Marw Fārghāna, Bukhārā, Tūs and Harāt. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source.

The word calamine or tutia (Arabic *tūtiyā*) was used to denote the natural zinc ores (especially zinc carbonate), or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for tutia were in the province of Kirmān in the east. Tutia was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Tin (*raṣāṣ ḳalʿī*, *ḳaṣdīr*) came from the Malaysian peninsula, which was known as Kala, hence the name *ḳalʿī* for the metal.

Iron and steel were in great demand in the Islamic empire. Hence iron ores were utilised whenever it was feasible. These ores were distributed in most Islamic lands. Five major iron mining areas were utilised in Spain. These included the mines near Toledo, and near Murcia in the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. These included mines in Djabal al-Ḥadīd in the Atlas mountains, the Rīf, Gawr al-Ḥadīd in Algeria, and Madjdjānat al-Maʿdān in Tunisia. Iron ores were produced and exported from Sicily. Iron ore was mined in the Libyan desert and in the Fezzān. Egypt exploited those ores that were available, for example in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. Syria was famous for its iron and steel metallurgy (Damascus steel), and the iron ores were obtained in the south and in the mountain ranges between Damascus and Beirut. The Islamic countries of the east (al-Maghrib) were better endowed with iron ores than Egypt, Syria and 'Irāḳ. The province of Fārs had at least four important iron mining centres. There were also iron mines in Khūrāsān, in Transoxania, in Ādharbāyḏjān and in Armenia.

Mercury (*zi'baḳ*) came chiefly from Spain. Al-Idrīsī mentions the mine to the north of Cordoba, where more than one thousand men worked in the various stages of mining the ores and extracting the mercury. Another source was Farghāna in Transoxania.

Salt (*milḥ*) was produced in numerous localities. It was an essential commodity, and production was undertaken to some areas on a very large scale for export purposes, for example in the Maghrib, where the salt mines were on the desert edges in the south. Salt was produced and carried by caravans south of the Sahara to be exchanged for gold. Thousands of men and camels were involved in these operations. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khūrāsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*shabb*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Idrīsī, the major source was in Chad. It was exported to Egypt and to all the countries of North Africa. Egypt was also a major production centre for both alum and natron. Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos from Badakhshān, from which wicks and fire-resistant clothe were made. Coal was also known and used in some areas such as Farghāna

in Transoxania, where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (*tanānīr*, sing. *tannūr*), and its ashes were utilized as a cleansing agent. Petroleum deposits were exploited on a large scale [see NAFT].

Precious stones of various kinds were mined. Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Bīrūnī's *al-Djamāhir* are celebrated and deserve detailed study. Rubies were mined in Badakhshān, and they were brought from Sarandīb. Diamonds came from Hindustān and Sarandīb, agate from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoise from Nīshāpūr, lapis lazuli from Egypt and onyx from Yemen. Corundum came from Nubia and Sarandīb. Crystal was mined in Arabia and Badakhshān. Diving for pearls (*lu'lu* [q.v.]) was a flourishing industry, and corals were obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily.

2. Mining technology.

Although mining operations in Islamic civilisation were very extensive, yet like most aspects of Islamic technology no attempt has yet been made to study the technology of mining. This is another field that requires extensive research. There is therefore a noticeable gap in the history of mining in general, and whereas much information and archaeological research has been published on ancient and Roman mining, research is completely missing for the period between the 1st/7th and 9th/15th centuries. Not only should this gap be filled, but there are academic reasons for re-examining much of the material that has been published on ancient and Roman mining technology.

It is possible to give here an outline of Islamic mining technology by looking into the brief accounts of the geographers and some of the lapidary books. In Europe it was not until A.D. 1556 that the first book on mining, that of Agricola, made its appearance. Before that time, only a few books on lapidary techniques, mainly translated from Arabic, were available.

There was not just a single mining technology in Islamic lands. Methods differed from mineral to mineral, from country to country, and from one method of ownership to another. In any one country could be found a range of technologies, from the primitive to the highly developed.

As with modern mining, there were two major types of operation—the underground and the open-cut. In brief words, al-Bīrūnī says: "The search for *la'l* (a kind of ruby) is of two types: one is to dig the mine under the mountain, and the other is to search for it among the gravel and earth which result from the collapse of the mountains by earthquakes or their erosion by floods" (*al-Djamāhir fī ma'rifat al-djamāhir*, Hyderabad 1355/1936-7, 83).

In underground mining, one method was to sink shafts vertically into the soil, and to drive horizontal passages when the veins were reached. In Syria, the shaft of the mines was called the *bīr*, i.e. the well, and the horizontal tunnel the *darb*, i.e. the road. In the Lebanese mountains, a typical shaft was only 6-7 metres deep, and the tunnels were "very long". Al-Idrīsī saw the mercury mines to the north of Cordoba in Spain, and he was told that the depth from ground level to the bottom of the mine was 250 fathoms (*kāma*) (*Nuzhat al-mushtāk fī 'khtirāk al-āfāk*, section on al-Maghrib, Arḍ al-Sūdān, Egypt and al-Andalus, Leiden 1864, 214). Other mines of intermediate depth were reported. Thus in the silver mines in the Maghrib the depth was 20 cubits (*dhirā'*). The technique of drilling vertical shafts and horizontal tunnels was a familiar operation in the Islamic countries if we remember the great tradition of constructing the underground *ḥanāt* systems [q.v.], with the exacting technical experience which they require.

More often, however, in underground mining miners preferred to dig horizontal adits into the slopes of a mountain and follow the veins, rather than to sink shafts. This method was easier and less expensive for a miner who was working for himself. It is noticeable that the reports of mines with vertical shafts usually apply to mines owned by the state. A vivid description of the silver mining activities in Pandjhīr in eastern Khurāsān, where 10,000 men were employed in the mining industry, is given by Abu 'l-Fidā'. He says: "The people of Pandjhīr made the mountain and the market place like a sieve because of the many pits. They only follow veins leading to silver, and if they find a vein they dig continuously until they reach silver. A man may spend huge sums of money in digging, and he may find silver to such an extent that he and his descendants become rich, or his work may fail because he is overpowered by water or for other reasons. A man may pick a vein, and it is possible that another man picks the same vein in another position. Both start digging. The custom is that the miner who arrives first and intercepts the passage of the other miner wins the vein and its results. Because of this competition, they execute a work that devils cannot achieve. When one arrives first, the expenses of the other are wasted. If they arrive together, they share the vein and then they continue digging as long as the lamps are burning. If the lamps are extinguished and cannot be relit, they stop their progress because anyone who reaches that position would die immediately. [In this business] you will see that a man starts his day owning one million, and by nightfall he owns nothing. Or he may start poor in the morning and by evening he becomes the owner of uncountable wealth (*Taḥwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 465).

The main tool of the miner was the pickaxe (*mankār*, *ṣākūr*). It had a sharp end to peck the stone and a flat end to hammer or to drive wedges. There were also various hammers, chisels or wedges, crow bars, hoes and shovels.

Windlasses were used for hauling ores and materials out of the shafts. An efficient and simple form of windlass was used in the iron mines in Syria, and is still used in constructing the *ḥanāt* system in Iran, in drawing water, and in the building industry. Here an assistant sits on a bench on one side of the mouth of the shaft or well, pulling the horizontal bars of the windlass towards him with his hands and pushing the opposite ones away with his feet at the same time. The ore is loaded into a small bucket about 30-35 cm. in diameter, which has two handles. The rope is attached to the bucket by hooks fastened at its end. More sophisticated capstans were used for haulage also, when loads were heavier.

Oil lamps were used for illumination. The lamps were useful for aligning the direction of the digging, and were also good indicators of the adequacy of fresh air supplies, as was the case in the silver mines of Pandjhīr. In Arabic technical literature, there are different designs of ingenious lamps. One such design, suitable for outdoor use and protected against being extinguished by winds, was described by the Banū Mūsā.

Ventilation was an important problem. In Pandjhīr,

as we have seen, with thousands of small miners working for themselves in a frantic search for silver, capital investment was kept to a minimum, and no provision for ventilation was usually made. The miner simply abandoned the digging if the lamps stopped burning. In the more organised mining work especially in the state mines, a means of ventilation was always provided. This would be essential, particularly in the very deep mercury mines which we mentioned. Special ventilation shafts were provided. When installing a drainage system, several shafts were needed for this purpose, and these also served as ventilation shafts. Special ventilation shafts have been found in Iran, and some of these go back to pre-Islamic times. The problem of ventilating wells and mining shafts attracted the attention of Muslim engineers. They designed special ventilating machines. The Banū Mūsā describe a design for "a machine for use in wells which kill those who descend in them. If a man uses this machine in any well, it will neither kill nor harm him. This machine is suitable for wells that kill and for dangerous pits. If a man has this machine, which we shall describe, with him, he can descend in any well immediately without fearing it and it will not harm him" (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, Arabic tex ed. A.Y. al-Hassan, Aleppo 1981, 374, Eng tr. D. R. Hill, Dordrecht 1979, 240).

The other important problem in mining was drainage of the mines. Here also, small miners of silver could not afford to solve the problem, as we have seen in Panḏjhīr. On the other hand, in the state silver mines in Zakandar in the Maghrib, drainage was carried out properly, as al-Kazwīnī reports: "Here are the silver mines. Anyone who wishes can undertake processing them. There are underground mines in which many people are always working. When they descend 20 *ḏhirā*'s, water appears. The sultan installs water wheels and water is raised until the mud appears. Workers bring this mud up to the surface of the ground and wash it. He does this in order to take the fifth. Water is raised in three stages, since it is 20 *ḏhirā*'s from the ground level to the surface of the water. He installs a wheel down in the mine on the water surface. Water is lifted and it is discharged into a large tank. Another wheel is installed on this tank. It lifts the water and pours it into another tank. On this tank a third wheel is installed. It lifts the water and discharges it on to the surface of the ground to irrigate the farms and gardens. This operation cannot be undertaken except by a very rich person possessing thousands. He sits at the mouth of the mine and employs artisans and workers, who bring out the mud and wash it in front of him. When the work is done, the fifth of the sultan is put aside and the rest is given to him. It may come to be smaller than his expenditure, and it may be [more]. This depends on the man's efforts" (Zakariyyā al-Kazwīnī, *Āṯār al-bilād*, Beirut 1960-1, 199-200).

The technique of water raising by water-wheels was highly developed in Islamic civilisation and it flourished in North Africa and Spain. The above passage by al-Kazwīnī is important, and should prompt a reconsideration of archaeological findings, since it is quite certain that other mines in Spain and North Africa were being drained in a similar manner. The Muslims carried out extensive mining operations in central and southern Spain in the areas of Cordoba, Almáden, Ovejo, Huelva, Murcia, Ilbira and elsewhere. Water-raising devices of various types were used. These included the compartmented wheel, the chain-of-pots wheel, the Archimedean screw, the rag-and-chain pump and the piston pump. Archaeologists have found a screw pump in a mine near Cordoba with an oak screw and a barrel of sheet lead, but R. J. Forbes has expressed doubts as to whether this pump was really of Roman date (*Studies in ancient technology*, vii, Leiden 1966, 219).

We come now to a discussion of the dressing of ores. This includes the crushing, sifting and washing of ores. Such operations were usually conducted at the mines' sites before the transport of the ores to the metallurgical centres. The ores were pounded or reduced in size, and in the case of gold ores they were crushed or milled to a finer degree. The milling operation was more important with the reef gold which occurs in quartz veins. Milling or crushing of these ores was done either by querns or by water driven trip hammers. Al-Bīrūnī in his *Ḏjamāhir*, 233 4, discusses this operation. "Gold may be united with stone as if it is cast with it, so that it needs pounding. Rotary mills (*ṭawāḥīn*) can pulverise it, but pounding it by *mashādjin* is more correct and is a much more refined treatment. It is even said that this pounding makes it more red, which if it is true is rather strange and surprising. The *mashādjin* are stones fitted to axles which are installed on running water for pounding, as is the case in the pounding of flax for paper in Samarkand." This is an important text since it indicates that water driven trip-hammers (*mashādjin*) were already established for crushing ores before the 4th/10th century.

3. *Pearls and underwater resources.*

The exploitation of corals and pearls involved very extensive activity. Pearls of the Gulf area were highly valued; the Chinese considered them to be the best pearls. The operations were organised by entrepreneurs. One of these would hire divers for two months and pay them regularly; such enterprises were often highly profitable. However, we read detailed descriptions of the great dangers which faced the divers.

Al-Bīrūnī gives in his *Ḏjamāhir* again (149-50) a detailed description of a diving operation, including a description of a new diving gear. "I was told by a man from Baghdād that divers had invented in these days a method for diving by which the difficulty of holding the breath is eliminated. This enables them to frequent the sea from morning to afternoon, as much as they wish and as much as the employer favours them. It is a leather gear which they fit down their chests and they tie it at the [edges?] very securely and then they dive. They breathe in it from the air inside it. This necessitates a very heavy weight to keep down the diver with this air. A more suitable arrangement would be to attach to the upper end of this gear opposite the forehead a leather tube similar to a sleeve sealed at its seams by wax and bitumen, and its length will be equal to the depth of diving. The upper end of the tube will be fitted to a large dish at a hole in its bottom. To this dish are attached one or more inflated bags to keep it floating. The breath of the diver will flow in and out through the tube as long as he desires to stay in water, even for days".

An ingenious dredging machine was designed by the Banū Mūsā in their *Book of ingenious devices*. They say: "We wish to explain how to make a machine by which a person can bring out jewels from the sea if he lowers it, and by which he can extract things which fall into walls or are submerged

in the rivers and seas" This worked on exactly the same principle as the modern clamshell grab (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, text 37ff, Eng tr 342)

4. Non-ferrous metallurgy

Much information about metallurgy can be gained from the alchemical and chemical treatises There was a close relationship between the work of the metallurgist and the chemist, and the Arabic sources reflect the experience gained in the laboratory and in the metallurgical furnaces.

Gold. Speaking about native gold which is collected from gold mines, al-Bīrūnī says that it is usually not free from impurities and therefore this gold can be refined by smelting only, or by other methods. He gives details of the amalgamation method that was used in the mines on a commercial scale "After pounding the gold ore or milling it it is washed out of its stones, and the gold and mercury are combined and then squeezed in a piece of leather until mercury exudes from the pores of the leather The rest of the mercury is drived off by fire" (*Jamāhir*, 234)

He further describes (236) how gold is mined from the deep waters of the Sind river "At its sources there are places in which they dig small pits under the water, which flows over them They fill the pits with mercury and leave it for a while. Then they come back after the mercury has become gold This is because at its start the water is rapid and it carries with it particles of sand and gold like mosquitoes' wings in thinness and flimsiness. Water carries these particles over the surface of the mercury which picks up the gold, leaving the sand to pass away"

The cupellation process was used extensively both on the laboratory and the industrial scales. The gold is alloyed with lead in a special crucible and it is then oxidised by means of a strong current of air blown on to the surface of the molten metal. The base metals such as copper are dressed, while the gold and silver remain as a button of silver gold alloy. The separation of the gold from the silver was done by what is known as the salt and sulphur process. The liquation process was also used in combination with the cupellation process. What is new in these processes—and this was an Islamic innovation—is the use of nitric acid in the separation of gold from silver. Djābir b. Ḥayyān [q.v.] described this process, and it was also mentioned by other later writers. Gold was tested by various methods These included the touchstone (*al-miḥakk*), measuring the specific gravities, and noting the speed of solidification of gold after it had been removed from the furnace

Silver and lead. Unlike gold, native silver was not found in alluvial deposits or in the sands and gravels of rivers, but was to be sought in mountainous regions as embedded veins. In general, however, native silver was not abundant, and the main source was from galena (lead sulphide), which was usually associated with small amounts of silver. The first step would be to obtain the lead itself (which usually contains silver) from the earth and stones (i.e. the galena) This was done first by roasting, followed by smelting The resulting lead could then be treated to extract silver. In Arabic literature, we find the results of some experiments indicating the amount of silver which could be recovered from an ingot of lead. This was usually in *dirhams* in *one mann* (one silver *mann* = 50 *raṭls*) There were smelters (*ṣabbākūn*) specialising in gaining silver from lead ingots.

Sometimes silver was associated with gold in what is called electrum Here also, as we have seen, methods were adopted to separate these two precious metals Silver was also obtained from its ores, or from lead or copper ores

These different sources of silver necessitated the application of various techniques which were mastered by Islamic smelters and chemists, such as roasting, smelting, oxidation, liquation, leaching, cupellation and amalgamation Details cannot be given here, but these methods fascinated the alchemists and were largely responsible, in our opinion, for the vast alchemical literature that resulted from the alchemists' experiments with stones (*aḥjār*) and metals (*ajsād*).

Tin, zinc, antimony and arsenic. Tin was one of the seven malleable metals or bodies it was brought mainly to the classical Islamic countries from the Andalusian peninsula and, to some extent, from Spain and the West

Zinc was not known as a distinct metal by the early Islamic metallurgists and chemists It was first known, and used extensively, through tutia (zinc oxide) which was one of the stones (*aḥjār*) Later, as we shall see, zinc (*rāṣ al-tūtiyā*) was known as a distinct metal Tutia is usually the pure zinc oxide which is obtained from natural zinc carbonate. Various authors described the method of producing the pure product from the natural one. The ore is placed in furnaces which contain long ceramic rods. Upon heating the ores, the smoke of tutia ascends and adheres in films to the ceramic rods. Al-Muḳaddasī, 470, saw the "curious tall furnaces in the mountain villages" in Kirmān. They later also attracted the attention of Marco Polo when he visited the same area. Before the 10th/16th century, *rāṣ al-tūtiyā* (zinc) as a metal was known and was used with copper to form brass. It replaced *kharṣīnī* as the seventh metal Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Āʾīn i Akbarī* gives several compositions employing *rāṣ al-tūtiyā* (H. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschafts-Geschichte*, i, Hildesheim 1970, 706)

Antimony was obtained from antimony sulphide (Sb_2S_3) and was one of the constituents of copper alloys. Arabic chemical books described this process.

Arsenic was unimportant as a metal. But we read a description of the "preparation of the mercury of arsenic sulphide". This was a preparation of metallic arsenic from its sulphides We may note that these metals which were not among the original seven were given such names as *rāṣ al-tūtiyā* or 'mercury of arsenic sulphide' The same remark applies to mineral acids, which were not classified originally and hence were attributed to their salts

Copper and its alloys Copper was usually obtained from the sulphide ores It seldom occurred as oxides or carbonates. These latter ores required only the simple treatment of heating with charcoal, while the sulphides (*sājāt*) required roasting, smelting with fluxes and partial oxidation. An interesting discovery took place in Spain. The sulphide ores, on exposure to air in the presence of water, are oxidated to soluble sulphates. "The Moors then found that if water containing copper sulphate is allowed to run over iron, pure copper is deposited and the iron dissolved As iron was cheap and abundant in Spain, this discovery yielded an efficient method of recovering copper from sulphide ore, and direct mining of copper ore became less necessary" (Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1979, 12).

Bronze (*safr*, *safādiḥ*) is an alloy of copper and

tin. It was much used for plain kitchen wares and implements, and was the alloy upon which coppersmiths based most of their work.

Brass (*shabah*, *birandj*) is an alloy of copper and zinc. Zinc with copper forms an alloy which is stronger, harder and less malleable than pure copper. Various kinds of brasses are obtained by varying the zinc content. A 20% brass simulates the colour of gold. When zinc was not known as a metal, copper was heated in a mixture of powdered zinc ore and charcoal. A proportion of the zinc formed in the vicinity of the copper was diffused into it by cementation. Later we read in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* about three qualities of brass with increasing amount of zinc content: one is ductile in the cold state, the second is ductile when it is heated, and the third is not ductile but can be cast (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, I, 706-7).

A cheaper quality of alloy was called by al-Bīrūnī *bīrūzī* and by some authors *rāṣ*. This was a kind of bronze alloyed from copper and lead. It was also *shabah mufragh*, and was used for hardware.

Khārṣīnī was a metal (or alloy) which was listed as one of the seven metals of early Islamic alchemy. It was attributed to China. All Muslim writers said that it was not available and was extinct. A time came when it was replaced by zinc in the list of the seven metals. Some historians now think that *Khārṣīnī* was zinc. Others believe that it was a cupronickel alloy. *Ṭabāshīr* was another alloy (or metal) of uncertain composition. This uncertainty existed since al-Bīrūnī's days but the general opinion is that it was a kind of copper alloy.

5. Iron and steel

The importance of iron (*ḥadīd*) in Islamic civilisation is exemplified in Sūrat al-Ḥadīd, LVII, 25: "God sent iron down to earth, wherein is mighty power and many uses for mankind". Indeed, iron was considered as essential as food and clothing and it was always a source of power. Even after the sword had ceased to be a major military weapon, the manufacturing of iron and steel in our days is a basis for industrial civilisation and hence for economic and military power.

We have seen that iron mines in the Islamic empire were spread from Spain in the west to Transoxania in the east and there were famous steel production centres like Harāt, Bukhārā, Damascus, Yamen and Toledo. Iron and steel technology in the Islamic lands has had a long and flourishing history, associated with the sword until recent times, and the excellence of steel for these swords was represented by Damascus steel. As is the case with other major issues in the history of technology, the history of iron and steel, and the history of Damascus steel in particular, have been a source of controversy. Islamic iron technology was ignored and the important sources were not taken into consideration. At one extreme, some writers have alleged that Damascus steel was alien to Damascus and to Islamic lands.

In this vast subject, we can only give extracts from some of the major Arabic sources the best authorities on this subject known until now being al-Kindī and al-Bīrūnī, both of whom had critical minds that rejected legends and subjected scientific knowledge to actual observation and testing. The second main group of sources is the alchemical and chemical treatises of Djābir, al-Rāzī, al-Ṭughrā'ī and others. The third group is the military treatises which discussed the manufacture of steel for swords, its heat treatment and the care for its *ṣīrwāl*, but there are numerous other sources of information, all of which deserve attention.

Types of iron and steel. From studying some of these sources, we conclude that the following main kinds of iron and steel were utilised in Islamic metallurgical centres: (1) Wrought iron (*narmāhan*) (2) Cast iron (*dūdj*), (3) Meteoric steel (*ghaṣāfīdī*), and (4) Manufactured steel (*fūlādh*).

Wrought iron (*narmāhan*) is soft and it is the "female". It could not be heat treated, but could be used where strength was not important, and it was used as a raw material for manufacturing steel (*fūlādh*).

Cast iron (*dūdj*). It is very important to know that cast iron was produced, since this was not realised by historians of technology and was totally ignored. al-Bīrūnī says in his *Djamāhir* that *dūdj* is the water of iron and that it is the liquid which flows during the melting and the extraction of metal from iron stones. Al-Rāzī defined *al-dūdj* as water of iron. In a commentary by al-Ṭughrā'ī on the *Kitāb al Ḥadīd* by Djābir, we read the following description of the production of cast iron: "Chapter Learn, brother, that it is your comrades who found (*yaṣkubūna*) iron at foundries (especially) made for that purpose after they have extracted it (i.e. the ore) from its mine as yellow earth intermingled with barely visible veins of iron. They place it in founding furnaces designed for smelting it. They install powerful bellows on all sides of them after having kneaded (*yalutūna*) a little oil and alkali into the ore. Then fire is applied to it (i.e. the ore) together with cinders and wood. They blow upon it until it is molten, and its entire substance (*djawāhir wa-ghasādīhā*) is rid of that earth. Next, they cause it to drop through holes like [those of] strainers, [made to] the furnaces so that the molten iron is separated and is made into bars from that earth. Then they transport it to the lands and countries. People use it for making utilitarian things of which they have need" (ms. 4122, Chester Beatty Library, fols. 22a-23b).

The properties of this cast iron can be summarised from al-Bīrūnī's *Djamāhir* as follows: (1) It is quick in flow like water when smelting iron ores, (2) It is hard and whitish silvery in colour. Its powder had sometimes a pinkish reflection, (3) It cannot be forged to make swords. (4) It does not resist blows. Its shatters into pieces. "Breakage and brittleness are characteristic of it", and (5) It is mixed with wrought iron in crucibles for making steel. *Dūs* was sold as a raw material in the 9th/15th century. We learn that there were at least two commercial brands, one from 'Irāk, the other from Iṣṭakhr.

Meteor steel (*ghaṣāfīdī*) is often mentioned as early Arabic literature, with the comment that this was a rare material.

Manufactured steel (*fūlādh*). *Fūlādh* was usually manufactured in the molten state. It was made, in some cases, from wrought iron bars by cementation. The iron bars were packed with charcoal and heated until they absorbed enough carbon. In the molten state, steel was made in Islamic lands by the following methods: (1) By decarbonisation of cast iron (2) By carbonisation of wrought iron, and (3) By the fusion of a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron; here we obtain two qualities of steel, depending upon the degree of fusion.

We have given above a text from al-Ṭughrā'ī concerning on Djābir describing the production of cast iron. Let us now give the rest of the text to see

how the rods of cast iron are utilised to produce steel by carbonisation. "As for the steel workers, they take the iron bars and put them into the founding-ovens (*masābik*) which they have, suited to their objectives, in the steel works. They install firing equipment (*akwār*) in them (i.e. the ovens) and blow fire upon it (i.e. the iron) for a long while until it becomes like gurgling water. They nourish it with glass, oil and alkali until light appears from it in the *fire* and it is purified of much of its blackness by intensive founding, night and day. They keep watching while it whirls for indications until they are sure of its suitability, and its lamps emit light. Thereupon, they pass it out through channels so that it comes out like running water. Then they allow it to solidify in the shape of bars or in holes made of clay fashioned like largely crucibles. They take out of them refined steel in the shape of ostrich eggs, and they make swords from it, and helmets, lanceheads, and all tools". This refining of iron from its blackness is a decarbonisation process already the *Lisān al-'Arab* states that steel (*fūlād*) is refined iron.

The other method of producing molten steel in crucibles by carbonising wrought iron as described by the following text from al-Bīrūnī in his *Djamāhir*, 256:

"Masʿud b. ʿAlī, the Damascene blacksmith, [wrote] a book describing swords, specifications for which were included in al-Kindī's treatise. He commenced by dealing with the steel composition and the construction of the furnace (*kūr*) as well as with construction and design of crucibles, the description of [the varieties] of clay, and how to distinguish between them. Then he instructed that in each crucible five *rațls* of horseshoes should be placed and their nails which are made of *narmāhan* [Pers. "soft iron"), as well as a weight of ten *dirhams* each of *rusukhadj*, golden marcasite stone, and brittle magnesia. The crucibles are plastered with clay and placed inside the furnace (*kūr*). They are filled with charcoal and they (i.e. the crucibles) are blown upon with *rūmī* bellows, each having two operators, until it (i.e. the iron) melts and whirls. Bundles are added containing *ahlīladj* (myrobalan), pomegranate rinds, salt [used as] dough and oyster shells (*aṣdāf al-baḥr*, lit. "pearl shells"), in equal portions, and crushed, each bundle weighing forty *dirhams*. One [bundle] is thrown into each crucible, then it (i.e. the crucible) is blown upon violently for an hour. Next, they (i.e. the crucibles) are left to cool and the eggs are taken from the crucibles".

The third method of producing molten steel in crucibles from a mixture of cast iron and wrought iron was also described by al-Bīrūnī. This was the method of producing cast steel in Harāt. Two qualities of steel can be obtained. One is obtained if the components are "melted equally so that they become united in the mixing operation and no component can be differentiated or seen independently". Al-Bīrūnī says that "such steel is suitable for files and similar tools". A second quality of steel is obtained if the degree of melting of wrought iron and cast iron is different for each substance "and thus the intermixture between both components is not *complete, and their parts are diluted and thus each* of their two colours can be seen by the naked eye and it is called *farind*".

Some of the above important texts were confirmed by observers and travellers who described the making of crucible steel in Bukhārā in the last century. In 1820 Anossoff, a Russian expert, was in Bukhārā and found that crucible steel was made by carburising wrought iron with charcoal and other organic matter. Later Massalski, another expert who was also in Bukhārā, wrote in 1841 that Damascus steel was made there from a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron, as al-Bīrūnī had reported 900 years earlier from Harāt. Observers thought that these reports were conflicting, but it is now clear that there is no contradiction; steel was made from different materials, and the quality obtained varied with these materials and with other manufacturing conditions (P. Anossoff, *Annuaire du Journal des Mines de Russie, 1841*, 192-236; Massalski, in *ibid.*, 297-308).

The Damascus sword and the *farind*. C. S. Smith noted that "In comparison with the relative neglect of structure by the European metallurgist, the enjoyment and utilisation of it in the Orient is impressive. In the Orient, etching to display patterns depending on composition difference was in use contemporaneously with the European pattern-welded blade, and was thereafter continually developed to a high artistic level" (*A history of metallography*, Chicago 1965, 14). The best achievement in this direction is the Damascus sword, which were made in all the Islamic centres and of India. Because of its excellence, its name was given later to all swords with a pattern. Islamic lands exported and imported steel and swords. They imported from India and they exported to it. Al-Bīrūnī mentions that steel eggs were cast in Harāt and thus sent to India. Al-Idrīsī says that iron was exported from the Maghrib to India. In general, we may say that Islamic lands and India formed one area of Damascus steel culture.

Patterned swords (with a *farind* or *djauhar*) were in use before Islām. Imruʾ al-Kays (d. ca. 540 A.D.) describes the *farind* of the sword as resembling the tracks of ants. Another poet, Aws b. Ḥadjar, a contemporary of his, describes the blade of the sword as if it has a water whose wavy streaks are like a pond over whose surface the wind is giving. In fact, as Arabic poetry the beauty of the sword with the *farind* was always a source of inspiration. Damascus steel was thus a speciality of the Islamic world and India for many centuries; as Smith notes, "The geographical distribution of these swords seems to have been practically coextensive with the Islamic faith, and they continued to be made well into the nineteenth century" (*op. cit.*, 14).

In Europe, steel was produced by hearth-carbonisation of wrought iron rods. To imitate the *farind* or pattern of the Damascus sword, they resorted to placing together strips of iron and steel and welding these together, but these imitations never matched the qualities of the true Damascus steel.

Cast iron was first produced in Europe in the 15th century A.D. and crucible steel in the 18th one. But a steel comparable in quality to Damascus steel was still required for more than 150 years, a large number of metallurgists in European countries carried out extensive research on Damascus steel, including eminent scientists like Faraday Smith, in a chapter "European attempts to duplicate Damascus steel", says that these attempts failed to reproduce true Damascus steel, what happened later was that the "interest in the duplication of the blade declined as European steelmakers developed their own techniques and the introduction of Bessemer and Siemens processes gave homogeneous steel more adaptable to large-scale production".

There were, however, some advantages behind

the research, in that we came nearer to an understanding of the structure of Damascus steel. According to Smith, "Damascus blades are made of a very high carbon steel (about 1·5-2·0%) and owe their beauty and their cutting qualities alike to the inherent structure of the cakes of steel from which they were forged". "The light portion contains numerous particles of iron carbide (cementite), while the dark areas are steel of normal carbon content (approximately eutectoid) The structure, of course, is clearly visible only after etching, which was done with a solution of some mineral sulphate" It is amazing how close is this modern interpretation of the *firind* to that of al-Bīrūnī

Welded "Damascus" gun barrels and swords. Another beautiful technique which flourished in later centuries in Islamic lands and India was the welding technique for gun barrels and swords, which was quite different from that of cast Damascus steel, but which was also called 'Damascus'. According to Smith, "the technique seems to have originated in the Near East in the sixteenth century, and such guns were a famous product of the Kashmir smiths in the early nineteenth century' [*op. cit.*, 30]. The manufacture of barrels of this type in Europe started in the 18th century, and during the 18th and 19th centuries great efforts were exerted in Europe to use this technique for both gun barrels and blades

In 1798 Nicholson made a Damascus-textured metal by compressing fillings of steel and wrought iron in a die, restriking the compact at a welding heat and forging it into a plate; Smith says that this is an interesting anticipation of modern powder metallurgy But according to al-Bīrūnī, a somewhat similar procedure was practised in the 4th/10th or 5th/11th century· "I was told by somebody who was in the land of Sind that he sat by a smith who was making swords. He looked into them and found that their material was wrought iron (*sarmahin*), on which he was sprinkling a finely pulverised drug (*dawā'*) whose colour gave a reddish shade. He sprinkles and welds by driving the powder deep, then he takes it out and elongates it by forging and he sprinkles again and repeats the work several times. He said· Then I asked him what that was. He glanced at me derisively Then I looked carefully into it and realised that it was cast iron (*ḥadīd*) which he mixes with wrought iron (*sarmahin*) by forging to elongate and hammering [to drive in] to obtain a steel similar to that of the eggs that are obtained in Harāt by melting".

6. Furnaces, crucibles and other equipment.

We can learn much about Islamic metallurgical equipment from a study of the alchemical equipment The *tasʿīd* operation is mainly the smelting of ores to obtain metals. There was, according to al-Rāzī, "equipment for melting metals (*adāwāt*) and stones" and there was "equipment for the further processing of these metals". Iron melting was given special attention in the alchemical apparatus We can safely assume that the alchemical equipment was the pilot plant size of the actual metallurgical equipment Sometimes the details in construction were identical, as we shall presently see. Iron production from ores was achieved by blast furnaces. Further research will reveal how the design of these furnaces had developed in Islamic lands We know that cast iron was produced before the 4th/10th century Al-Dīlāmī (see above) gave a description of the melting process; historians reported experiments on the casting of large field cannon from cast iron at the turn of the 10th/16th century in Egypt, and at the end of the 12th/18th century, a typical blast furnace in the Lebanese mountains was 16 spans (3·84 metres) high by 7 spans (1·68 metres) wide and was constructed from masonry. Twenty men worked on the site. Layers of fresh wood and iron ore were stacked in the furnace; two horizontal bellows gave the necessary blast of air, each being operated by one man. The air from the bellows was combined in one outlet, and iron that accumulated at the bottom was taken out in small amounts. This iron was decarbonised in several hearth furnaces and forges on the same site in order to produce wrought iron for making useful articles. About 450 kg a day were produced from this furnace, similar furnaces were in use in the Maghrib.

Crucible steel was melted in small crucibles. The text by al-Bīrūnī which was cited above on the making of crucible steel by a smith in Damascus shows that several crucibles were put in the furnace. Several bellows were used, each operated by two men. Such an installation was still used in 1840 in Bukhārā to make Damascus steel, and was of the same design as that described by Dīābir ibn Ḥayyān earlier.

Bibliography: (in addition to works cited in the text)· A. Y. Al-Hassan, *Mining and metallurgy*, in idem and D. R Hill, *Islamic technology*, in press; Al-Hassan, *Iron and steel technology in medieval Arabic sources*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, ii/1 (1978), 31-43.

(A. Y. AL-HASSAN and D R. HILL)

3. MINERAL EXPLOITATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Our treatment of the subject of mining and metallurgy in the Ottoman Empire is based on the assumption that both in terms of the laws enforced and the organisational principles applied, and even the types of minerals exploited, Ottoman mining can be clearly divided into two distinct periods The first period spans all of Ottoman history up until the mid-19th century, while the second is concentrated in the last few decades of the existence of the Ottoman state as the mining industry developed under the impact of foreign investment Because of the wide scope of the subject both from the standpoint of periodisation and the profusion of ancillary topics involved, the focus is limited to those time periods whose first-hand archival documentation we have studied most closely (i e the 9th-12th/15th-18th centuries) and those subjects which have been least fully studied in the published literature For the principal publications in the important fields of Ottoman mining law, and Islamic and Ottoman metallurgy, see *Bibl.*, sections II III, and for developments in Ottoman mining during the 19th century section V

In what follows, mining law and administration are first discussed under the following headings· A. Administrative modes, and B. Organisation of labour, and then there is a description of the principal mineral types and their geographical distribution. In this second section, the principal subdivisions are as follows (A) Classification of mineral types and (B) Marketing and distribution

A|I Bullion and other smelted ores, i.e. 1. Gold; 2 Silver, 3. Copper, 4. Iron; 5. Steel (including some data on prices of the principal metals).

A|II Crystalline formations and other minerals mined from pits in their solid state, or extracted through a process of distillation from their liquid state, i.e 1. Alum; 2. Sulphur and Saltpetre; 3. Salt [see MILH]

Finally there is a short summary of major developments in Ottoman mining in the post-*Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, and brief discussion of mining technology in both the classical and the modern periods.

Introductory remarks on the economic importance of the mines and uses of metals in the Ottoman Empire.

Possession of and control of the sources of mineral wealth was of critical importance to the state. The Ottoman interest in the conquest of Serbia from the early 8th/14th century arose in part from a desire to secure the rich silver production of the Balkan mines, thus providing a vital financial basis for further expansion. In a very real sense, the mines were the ultimate source of prosperity for the emerging Ottoman state and an assured supply of metals of military importance such as lead, iron and tin was essential to state security. Because of the critical importance of their uninterrupted production, mineral resources were carefully protected and closely regulated by the Ottoman government (see section below on market organisation, distribution and supply).

One of the principal uses for precious metals was to supply the imperial mints located throughout the empire, usually in the vicinity of the mines. While during the reign of Süleymān I (926-74/1520-66) the treasury enjoyed an abundant surplus, requiring even the opening of a treasury annex at the Yedi Kule fortress in Istanbul, in the 11th/17th century production levels lagged far behind numerary in circulation. Information from the state treasury budgets from the time of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-39) indicates that while the mines produced silver for striking some 160 million *akçes*, deficit spending at the level of 200 million *akçes* a year and more was common (see the Repeçi budgets listed in the *Bibl.*). In order to balance the budget, recourse was commonly made to the practice of debasing the currency. The following list shows the steady drop in the silver content of the *akçe* over the 150-year period 1490-1640:

Date	no. of *akçes* struck from 100 *dirhams* raw silver
half-century leading up to 1566 *	406
1566-1584	450
1584-1600	800
1600-1611	950
1611-1640	1,000

Source: Barkan (1970), 571-7.

* For an idea of the relative stability of the *akçe*'s silver content before the 16th century, compare the table in Inalcık (1951), 578.

Despite these measures, the surpluses stored in the Sultan's inner treasury (*khazīna-yi enderūn*) period-ically became depleted to dangerously low levels. According to the report of the Venetian *bailo* Contarini, after the large outlays for the Ottoman recapture of Baghdād in 1048/1638, the inner treasury reserve sank to only 15 million gold pieces (Barozzi and Berchet, *Relazioni*, *II*, 363). No new sources of silver were either discovered or exploited, and by the 19th century state bankruptcies became an almost chronic problem, leading in the end to the establishment of a foreign-controlled public debt commission (see DUYŪN-I 'UMŪMIYYE). Parts of the silver producing areas of Serbia had been ceded to Austria as early as the treaty of Passarowitz in 1130/1718, and from that date the Ottoman mineral resource base in the Rumelian provinces continued to shrink.

According to Islamic law, minerals and hidden treasures made up a special category, *rikāz*, whose product was made subject to the payment of a one-fifth tax, the so-called *khums-i ghanā'im* (Halebī, i, 150-1). Building on these principles laid down in the canonical law, the Ottoman introduced some refinements and customary practices in their own administrative law as it applied to mines, taking into account new conditions and changes as they occurred over the course of time. The reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512) was perhaps the most important period for the standardisation and codification of Ottoman mining law. Since there already exists a rich literature on this subject (see *Bibl.*, section II), there is no need to enter into the details here except to emphasise the fact that Ottoman practice incorporated applied knowledge from previously existing Saxon mining law. The extent of their indebtedness to their predecessors in this field is indicated by the use in the Ottoman *kānūn-names* of Saxon and Slavic loan words for many technical terms and specialised skilled professions.

Administrative modes: the factors determining Ottoman mining activity through the ages.

There were three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman Empire and the choice as to which mode was to be employed was determined to a large degree according to the source of the capital invested to bring a mine into active production. The expenses for equipment, fuel to operate the forges and the wages of the mine workers were considerable, and since such large investments were beyond the means of the average individual, most large-scale mining operations tended to be undertaken either directly by the government itself or by means of investment partnerships. The three commonly used administrative modes were: (1) *emāneten*, direct administration of mines or mining districts through state-appointed superintendents; (2) *iltizāmen*, farming out of mining revenues to investors on a short term contract basis (the usual terms for these contracts in the mining context was six years); and (3) *ḥāṣṣ*, long-term concessionary leasing of state lands for purposes of mining exploration to licensed individuals or mining companies. These broad generalisations may help to clarify the position of the lands administered under each of these headings, but in actual practice we often find that a mixture of government and private financing, as well as the phenomenon of sub-contracting of mining leases, resulted in some hybrid form of two or more of these administrative categories. Nevertheless, generally speaking it may be said that direct state administration tended to be applied in the case of disused mines or those requiring a relatively greater level of investment to render them profitable. In such cases, after careful analysis of ore samples (*ẓaghal*) and estimation of requisite expenditures for improvements by technical experts, the state agreed to undertake all risks and meet all expenses for operation and development of the mine. When, on the other hand, it was a question of operative mines with a known and regular yearly production which could be auctioned competitively, the usual procedure was to farm out the operation of these mines to private investors. In such cases, the investor gambled that he would make up his original investment consisting of the *badal-i ḥiṣṣa-sı* payment on entering the contract

plus costs. The third category, *ṣkāle*, seems to have been widely used only beginning with the 13th/19th century when new types of minerals came into demand. This system was used to encourage mineral exploration in abandoned (*maʿṭūl*) lands and lands of low population density. Although usually no previous mining activity would have taken place on such lands, after a determination had been reached on the basis of expert reports that they did possess a potential for development, the investor undertook to make whatever improvements were needed to realise maximum productiveness. According to the terms of the *ṣkāle* system, the original investment consisted of the *rasm-i berāt* or *farmān ghargh* paid to register a claim to work the land, but unlike the *iltizām* system, the government then claimed only a small percentage of the mineral production realised, ranging from between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits and between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 10-20% for unrefined ore occurring in concentrated deposits. Although we have no way of estimating the proportion of lands which fell into one category as opposed to another, the following table gives an idea of the extent to which the *ṣkāle* method was employed in the 19th century, particularly for the mining of coal and other near-surface minerals.

Statistics on mining concessions in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 20th century

type of mineral needed	extent of land exploited (in *dönüms*) *	% of total
chrome	19 076	7.0
lignite	13,340	5 0
argentiferous leads	12,357	4 6
other (coal, etc.)	225,227	83 4
Total	270,000	100%

Source: *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt-i maliyya*, 1325/1907, 180

* one *dönüm* = 10 *dönüms* = approx 1 hectare

From the above discussion, it may be seen that ability to invest was an important factor in determining the mode of administration selected for a given mining enterprise. A second factor which was critical in determining the intensity of mining activity at a particular time was the price of metals on the international market. The fluctuation in the price of metals in turn was tied to levels of production in the three principal mining centres of America, Europe and the Ottoman Empire as well as to the relative balance between the three at given time. Thus for instance, while we know that production of silver in the Americas increased five-fold in the century 1520-1620, the impact of this influx of cheap metal was felt more sharply and immediately in Europe than in the Ottoman lands. While European mining suffered an almost immediate collapse, the Ottoman mines continued to find markets for their production, both as a result of long-lasting disruptions in the heartlands of the European mining industry during the Thirty Years' War and because of continued upward pressure on prices based on rising demand for basic metals in the military and industrial sectors of the internal economy of the Ottoman Empire. Until now, it has been generally assumed (particularly among the Balkan historians, see *Bibl.*, works of Dinić, Kovačević, etc.) that the production of the Balkan mines suffered an irreversible collapse coinciding with the Turkish occupation of Serbia completed in 1460. The issue of mining decline is considerably more complex than that, and depends on a detailed study of price fluctuations of precious metals over the long term. Since this study has not been undertaken for the Ottoman Empire, it is at present very difficult for us to present any conclusive evidence or to chart accurately the course of periods of expansion and decline in the mining industry. A further factor to be considered, linked with the question of price and having a direct bearing on intensity of mineral production, is the application of new technology and mechanisation in mining. Since it was only when demand for a metal was high that investment in technical improvements was economically feasible, such improvements were usually introduced through state planning and initiative (examples in Refik, 45 (doc. dated 1023/1612), in which the government provides 150,000 *akçes* to install four new water wheels (*ṭarḥāne*) to power the lifts and pumps of a silver mine at Inegöl, and Refik, 52 (doc. dated 1128/1716), in which the government approves the transfer of money from a provincial treasury to allow for continuation of work on a drainage channel which has been abandoned by private developers due to insufficient funds).

Dramatic improvements both in the quantity and the quality of mineral production were achieved in the 19th century as the result of the introduction of mechanical aids. While the purity of copper smelted in small forges equipped with hand operated bellows was uneven at best, with the erection of large, state-built and state operated smelting houses with mechanically driven bellows, a consistent level of purity of 85% was achieved (for examples describing the impact on production of the building of state smelting houses at Ergani in 1266/1850 and subsequently at Tokat, see *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt-i maliyya*, 1325/1907, 263, on the effect of mechanisation on mining yields in the 13th/19th century, see below). Nevertheless, the price was always the ideal determinant in deciding whether a proposed improvement was cost effective. When, as a result of downward market pressures of foreign competition the price of a metal fell, this could result in the closing of a mine which had been profitable and even worthy of investment for improvement under the earlier pricing structure.

The organisation of labour

In order to ensure that an adequate work force was available to operate the mines, workers in the state mining operations (*maʿdenǧīs*), like the guardians of the mountain passes (*derbendǧīs*) and keepers of the way-stations on the imperial highways (*menzilǧīs*), were registered in the cadastral surveys under a special category of functionaries exempt from the payment of the extraordinary *ʿavārıż* (*q.v.*) taxes. As an example of how this system operated, a survey of 1082/1672 covering 155 mining villages attached to Srebenica is illustrative (EBA, KK 5175, pp 60-2). In this survey, each individual village is assigned a specific duty in connection with the mining process. Some were assigned as excavators (*ḳazıcılar*), others were charged with preparing charcoal for the forges (*ḳömürcüler*) or as lumbermen and wood-cutters (*ḏamırcıḫıślar* or *odunǧılar*). Tasks ranged from the very specialised, as in the case of one village whose people were designated as makers of rope for operating the pulleys in the mine shafts (*urghanǧıl*) to unspecified casual

labour (*aylāḥ*). These villages were required to provide work crews as long as the mining operations in their region continued, and *ma'dendjis* status was even passed on from father to son and from generation to generation. In order to insure against production loss due to absenteeism, the *ma'dendjis* were also required not to leave the mine for any period of time without specific permission from the superviser of the mine (Refik, 26). On the other hand, they were exempted from being called away for the performance of other kinds of labour, such as road repair and fortress building, which was required as a compulsory service (*muḳāṭaʿ ḫidmet*) in partial satisfaction of the *tekālīf* tax obligation of other *reʿāyā* (see orders preventing summoning (*iḥḍār*) of mine workers for other tasks on the part of the provincial governors, Refik, 27-9, 32 3, etc.). As skilled workers, the conditions under which the registered *ma'dendjis* performed their jobs in the mines were carefully specified in special regulations, and care was taken to enforce their application. In the first place, mining activities tended to be seasonal, most intensive work taking place in the 7½-month period between *Newrūz* (21 March) and *Rūz-i Ḳāsim* (7 November). In addition the working week was defined as lasting five days, the remaining two days being designated as idle days (*tatīl*) (Anhegger-Inalcık, 7, 12, 14, 15, etc.). Since registered *ma'dendjis* with some experience were usually in short supply, their numbers had to be bolstered by the use of hired labour. Statistics from salt mining operations published by Güçer suggest that the proportion of workers registered as *tuzgüç* and enjoying a share of the mine's production (sometimes ⅓₂₀, sometimes ⅓₀) was about equal to those workers taken on seasonally and paid a cash wage (example in Güçer, 106-7, citing the case of the Beçin salt works in Muğla province where of a total of 425 workers 195 (47 %) were registered *tuzgüç*s and the remaining 230 hired labour). Due to the hard physical nature of work in the mines, crews were normally expected to work only two-hour shifts with rest periods in between. By means of revolving duty, the mines could be kept in continous operation on a 24-hour base. A document of 1126/1714 (Refik, 30-2) suggests that a work crew of 50 men could be kept working for 20 days at this pace, but every 20 to 30 days a fresh crew would be called in to replace them. During the period in which they were engaged in working at the mines, mine workers were provided with food rations and shelter at government expense. In 1126/1714, in addition to weekly wages amounting to one *ḳurūṣ* for every simple labourer (*uṣṭāḍ*) hired to work in the mines, an allowance of two *paras* each day was paid as a cash equivalent for food rations. Sometimes however the food rations were paid in kind in the following amounts: 241 pounds (50 *wākiyyes*) of wheat per month per worker, with a weekly supplement of 5⅓ pounds (2 *wākiyyes*) of leavened bread (*ḫumūr*). In an interesting document dealing with the terms of operation of a state salt works in Zvornik province published by Handžić (see *Bibl.*, Handžić [1959]), we learn that working conditions and the share of workers in the profits of a mine could even become a subject for collective arbitration. In this example, the workers' share in the salt works had previously been determined as the product of three days' work, and the treasury share as the product of four days' work each week. However, on consulting with the parties concerned, the workers proposed a more equitable accommodation whereby they agreed to take their share in the proceeds of the mine each day in kind, in an amount defined in detail and guaranteed in the specific wording of their agreement (*muḥāsale*). This latter system of apportioning shares in kind, rather than as the product of a particular day's work, protected both the workers and the treasury, since it was in neither party's interest to slow down or abandon production on the days devoted solely to the other's account. Other examples from different mining operations and forms of organised group labour threw that the working conditions, and terms of recompense for workers, even those recruited for compulsory services such as fortress building, were negotiated so as to equal or to better the current rates in effect at the time (see Murphey, *Mosul*, 167).

Apart from the simple labourers who did the hard physical work excavating the mines, there was a whole range of more specialised skilled workers and supervisors. Their positions, like those of the *ma'dendjis*, were confirmed by imperial diploma (*berāt*) and carried with them certain special conditions and privileges. As an example (BBA, Ibu ül-Emin, 'Me'ādin', no. 108) a document confirming the inherited position as *ma'dendjī-bashī* to a certain Mehmed in charge of inspecting all the mining shafts and forges at Gümüsh-khāne in order to assure smooth operation and to guard against concealment or theft of silver ore, states that the holder of this office was to enjoy a customary revenue ('*awā'id*) of one basket of ore for every forge under his inspection. The distribution of the mineral production between these various experts, foremen and inspectors working in a mine followed long-established tradition and was based on a division of the production of each mining shaft into 66 distinct shares (*ḥiṣṣa*) (Baldiseanu 1964, 86). However, further deductions (*hesāb*) and fees both in pure metal and as cash assessments were set aside as the share of the money coiners (*zarrāḥīn*) and other mint officials to whom the refined ore was usually sold.

Because of the risks and expenses involved in mining exploration, and the hard physical nature of the work, we find in some instances that the local populace deliberately falsified prospecting reports and tried to discourage the opening of new mines in their districts or the reopening of abandoned shafts (see Refik, 46-57, doc. dated 1112/1700, in which the populace of Sidrekapu opposes the reopening of an abandoned mine in order to avoid hired labour requirements). With the intensified production of the 13th/19th century, in particular in the coal mining industry, the labour situation changed completely (on this, see the study by Quataert in *Bibl.*).

One should note as a preliminary that the sites exploited by the Ottomans were to a very large extent centres which had been known and mined since ancient times. In the pre-Ottoman period, the major mining centres were in Serbia (see survey by Jireček based on records preserved in the Ragusan archives) and in northeastern Anatolia (in ancient times, see P. de Jesus, for the Byzantine period, Vryonis). Contrary to what is sometimes claimed (in particular by the Balkan historians, see above), the establishment of the Ottoman state in these lands did not result in a collapse of the indigenous mining industry. In fact, with regard to the Serbian mines, for instance, we know from the observations of Iacopo da Promontorio in 1475 (cited by Vryonis, 25) that the Ottomans were responsible for dis-

covering and exploiting new sites which had previously lain idle, thus opening the way for a new period of expansion in Balkan mining

Categories and regional distribution of Ottoman mineral resources

In the fifteenth section of the *Menāqib al-hunerwarān* (Nuruosmaniye ms 3426, fols. 349b-351a), Mehmed ʿĀṣḥīḳ organises his information under three broad headings precious metals (*filizzāt*), precious stones (*aḥǧār*) and precious oils (*aḥmān*). In accordance with the traditional classification, the first group (fols. 347b-352b) is subdivided into the seven principal metals (*haft heḳḳ*), i.e. gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and specultum metal (*ḳalʿ-i ǧiwā* [*q.v.*]).

The sources for gold mentioned by ʿĀṣḥīḳ as most productive in his time (fol. 349b) were the mines in the environs of Siğilmāsa [*q.v.*]. Another source for fine quality gold used in the Cairo mint was in the same region at Uğīle (S. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization ... of Ottoman Egypt*, 128). An indication of the extent of the production of these mines is given when one remembers that the yearly treasury contribution (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]) of Egypt was fixed at 500,000 gold pieces (Shaw, *op. cit.*, 284-5). Although a part of the *irsāliyye* was sometimes paid with other coins, it was typically made up of at least one-half gold (see orders to that effect to the governors of Egypt dating from the reign of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-39) University Library, Istanbul, mss. T.Y. 6120, fols. 46b-47b, 80a-80b, 92a-92b, all dealing with *khamīr tratlā*).

The principal silver mines of the Ottoman Empire were concentrated in Serbia, with other important centres in Thrace (Sidrekapu and Pravišta) and Macedonia (Üsküb/Skopje, Kratova, etc.). The value of the annual production of ten of the largest of these mines is summarised in the following table.

Name of mine or mining region	yearly value of lease of tax-farm (*mukāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*])	year
Skopje	4,695,915	1584
Zaplana	4,000,000	1603
Sidrekapu	3,690,000	1585
Demirhisar	1,770,000	1580
Lofča and Banjofča	1,633,333	?
Pravišta	851,189	1590
Srebrenica	848,105	1858
Trepča	833,333	1585
Rudnik	873,833	1585
Novobrdo	816,666	1585

Source: R. Murphey, *Silver production ...*, 84-5.

Although estimates for overall production levels of the silver mines in Rumelia vary considerably, official statistics from the turn of the 11th/17th century indicate an annual production of silver somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,600,000 ounces (Murphey, *Silver production*, 79).

As for Anatolia, silver deposits were to be found in the mines at Djandja near present day Gümüşḫāne. Register MM 922 in the Istanbul archives gives us an idea of the scale of this mine's production in the year 1070/1660. At this date, during a four-month period, a quantity of 149,949 *dirhems* or 14,802 troy ounces was produced. This indicates a yearly production of silver at Djandja of around the 450,000 *dirhems* level. However, after the 11th/17th century, silver was no longer produced in large quantities at Djandja. This was due partly to a failure to recover from disruptions during the Djalālī rebellions (*q.v.*) period, and partly to natural exhaustion of the surface veins. Peysonnel's report of 1787 indicates a significant decline in the intensity of mining activity in the mines around Gümüşḫāne by stating that in his day only eighteen forges remained in operation (Peysonnel, 82). Both silver and gold were also produced in the mines at Ergani, in the northwest sector of Diyārbekir province. A document dating from 1155/1742 (BBA, KK 5192) indicates that during a twelve-month period a total of 201,157 *dirhems* of gold (19,885.06 troy ounces) and 1,136,870 *dirhems* of silver (112,208.04 troy ounces) were smelted in 3,982 separate forges, each under the direction of an expert known as the *ṣāḥibī*. Each *miṯḳāl* of gold (1 *miṯḳāl* = 1.5 *dirhems*) was valued at 480 *akčes*, while silver was priced at 12.5 *ḳuruṣ*s per *ḏoḳa* (1 *ḏoḳa* = 100 *dirhems*) or 25 *akčes* per *dirhem* at the standard rate of 120 *akčes* to the *ḳuruṣ*. A second register compiled five years previously in 1149/1737 (BBA, MM 28,404) records that 3,216 forges were in operation, producing a yearly quantity of 134,512.5 *dirhems* (13,277 troy ounces) of gold and 522,272 *dirhems* (51,548 troy ounces) of silver. Unlike the silver mines at Djandja, at Ergani a high level of production was maintained well into the 19th century.

Apart from gold and silver, with regard to other mineral resources the Ottoman Empire was in a particularly favorable position. Copper was supplied from the mines in the province of Ḳasṭamonu, in particular the mine of Küre in the *sanǧaḳ* of Inebolu and the mines in the township of Çankiri [*q.v.*] (*Ḳasṭamonu wilāyeti sālnāmesi, sene 1316 H.*, 533-4). Copper production at the Küre mine is well documented from archival sources. The earliest account dates from 919/1513 (BBA, Ibn ul-Emin Tasnif, "Meʿādin", no. 3) and records the operation of 29 forges producing 28,638 *miṯḳāl*s (36.74 metric tons) for an 8½ month period. The pure copper once extracted was valued at 66 *akčes* per *miṯḳāl*. Subsequent records for the year 1081/1670 (BBA, MM 159997) give only the lump-sum valuation of the tax-farm lease for the operation of the mine fixed at 3,500 *batmans* or 24.85 metric tons, without specifying actual production. However, a still later register dating from 1200/1785-6 (BBA, KK 2945), while not exclusively concerned with the Küre mine but recording shipments of copper ore from the Black Sea region as a whole, permits us to make some more precise estimations about overall levels of copper production. This register records 23 separate shipments made from the port of Samsun in the early months of 1200/1785-6, including 22,243 pieces constituting a total weight of 71,921 *batmans* or 520.57 metric tons (note the equivalent of 431,466 *miṯḳāl*s, 150 *dirhems*, given for the shipments totalling 72,921 *batmans*, allows us to fix the true weight of the *batman* in use for metals at this time at 5.5379 *miṯḳāl*s or 7.1 kg). Since, however, these shipments were made directly to the cannon foundry in Istanbul, they cannot be regarded as accurately reflecting the overall output of even the mines of the Black Sea area. D. Urquhart writing in 1833 describes Küre as "perhaps the richest copper mine in the world" and notes that its yearly production reached some three million *okkas* or 3,800 metric tons. One-quarter of this total was supplied directly to the imperial arsenal in Istanbul for gun casting, one-third was consumed by local industry, and the remaining surplus of about 42%

exported to foreign markets, in particular India. Pysonnel (see summary statistics in *Bibl*) also provides some information on copper exported from the Black Sea ports. Aside from this, we know from Edwards' account of Ottoman mining in 1914 (Edwards, 295) that there were rich copper deposits in the Hendek basin east of Adapazarı, in addition to which Solakian (52-70) speaks of dozens of small mines along the Harshit river valley near Tirebolu. (For further information on copper production, see also the Farley report cited in *Bibl*, and Issawi, 278-9.) According to Mehmed 'Āshık (*Menāẓir al-inshā'*, fol. 331b), there existed some copper deposits in the Osogovska mountains near Kratovo and to various locations to the mountains of Bosnia.

Iron ore was excavated in large quantities in the mines of Samakov in present-day Bulgaria, and shipped to Istanbul for various uses in civil and military construction via the Black Sea port of Ahyolu (Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii*, I, 367). There were numerous other smaller mining centres throughout Bosnia which could also be mobilised in time of need (on the smaller iron-producing mines in the vicinity of Nevo Brdo, see *Bibl*, Handžić, 1976). An interesting example of the reopening of a mine at Kamengrad in northern Bosnia is to be found in vol. XXI of the *Mühimme defteri* for the year 980/1572. The document is addressed to the governor of Bosnia and specifies that, in order to meet a pressing need for cannon balls at the front, the responsible authorities in the area are to recruit the necessary workmen from the neighbouring villages without delay and resume production at the mine immediately. A fact which should not be overlooked when analysing the pattern of Ottoman mining activity is that, in addition to the richness of a given deposit, geographical proximity to the place where military need was the greatest could also be a major factor in determining which mines were exploited and also the level of production which was sought in particular locations.

Information about the two largest consumers of iron products, namely the imperial naval yards (*tersāne-yi 'āmire*) and the imperial arsenal (*cebehāne*) allow us to make rough estimates about the levels of production in the major iron producing regions. In the case of the naval yards, a register dated 1073/1663 (BBA, MM 1800) specifies that 1,328 *kantars* or about 75,000 kg. of raw iron were provided from Samakov at a cost of 623,367 *akçes* or approximately 470 *akçes* per *kantar*. An *edjmāl* register prepared by the overseeing agent (*nāẓır*) of the Samakov mine covering a two-year period from Muharrem 1025 to Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 1026/January 1616 to December 1617 (BBA, MM 2067) indicates that the following finished goods were sent to the arsenal in that year: 1,024 shovel blades (*kürek*), 2,552 picks (*baṣmak*), 2,000 axes (*balta*) and 14 crowbars (*büshe*). Evliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāma*, VI, 128) speaks of a yearly quantity of 8,000 wagonloads of raw iron being sent to the central lands of the Empire chiefly via the seaport of Salonica in Anatolia, one of the principal iron ore deposits exploited by the Ottomans was at Kiği in the mountainous region southwest of Erzerum. (on the production of cannon balls and other finished iron products at Kiği, see Murphey, *The construction of a fortress*, documents in the addenda). Another centre of iron production in Anatolia, at least one that was active in the 13th century, was in the township of Zeyfān north of Mar'ash. According to the yearbook for Aleppo province for the year 1321/1906 (446), there were two active mines producing a yearly quantity of 2,500 *wākiyyes* of raw iron (on these mines, see also Edwards, 193, and Solakian, 52-2).

The provenance of steel used in the Ottoman Empire was various. From the east, it was brought from India and Caucasia, in particular Derbend, and found its way to Damascus, where it was fashioned into various finished products, such as sword blades, by the celebrated artisans of that city (see *Bıdd*, section iii). Some steel also came from Europe and was known as *frengi*, although there were also indigenous centres in the Rumelian provinces at Ruda and Samakov. Because of its foreign origin and the costly nature of the process *by which it was refined, tempered steel*, referred to as "Frankish steel" (*čelik-i frengi*), fetched the highest unit price among the base metals, commonly being sold at 4,000 *akçes* per *kantar* (92 *akçes* per *wākiyye*) and in one instance for as much as 4,320 *akçes* per *kantar* or 98 *akçes* per *wākiyye* (BBA, MM 6760, register dated 1006/1597-8). The regulated prices as set in 1049/1640 fixed a maximum price of 70 *akçes* per *wākiyye* for the *čelik-i frengi* supplied to the rasp-makers' guild (*törpüčiyān*) in Istanbul (*Esnāf defteri*, Topkapı Sarayı Library ms. Revan 1934, fols. 107b-108b), but clearly there were extensive gradations in quality. The official price regulations of 1049/1640 established the following four categories:

(1) *frengi čelik* - 70 *akçes* per *wākiyye*,
(2) *Pečhe čelik* - 35 *akçes* per *wākiyye*,
(3) *Samakov čelik* - 25 *akçes* per *wākiyye*,
(4) *čelik* of low quality not suitable for use by the file-makers - 20 *akçes* per *wākiyye*.

For the prices of various other metals used in the production of ordnance, an account register of the imperial cannon foundry (*top-khāne-yi 'āmire*) from 1006/1597-8 gives us some precise data (BBA, MM 6760). At this date, *copper* was supplied to the foundry at a price of forty *akçes* per *wākiyye* (1 *wākiyye* = 1.2828 kg.). Tin varied in price between 3,800-5,900 *akçes* per *kantar* (1 *kantar* = 44 *wākiyyes*), or 86-89 *akçes* per *wākiyye* according to its provenance. In one notation, as item of expense of 1,372 *akçes* for the cost of a pack horse to transport tin from Semendire is recorded.

Other minerals

Apart from the seven precious metals (*haft-i hegh*), another class of minerals was made up of ores of low intrinsic, but high practical value. Principal among these ores were alum (*shebb*), sulphur (*kibrīt*) and saltpeter (*ghārčılık*).

Alum was used in the textile industry during the dying process, as well as in the paper-making and other industries. Its manufacture in Turkey dated back at least to the 8th/14th century (Inalcık, *Classical age*, 134; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 280-1; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, II, 565-72). Until alternative sources were discovered, Anatolia was the major and almost unchallenged supplier of alum to the European textile industry, principally through the intermediacy of Genoese merchants. A Florentine merchant of the early 14th century lists five fully distinguishable grades and regional varieties of alum from Anatolia, as follows: (1) Kütahya alum, (2) alum from Karahişār (= Shebin-Karahişār); (3) alum from Phocea (= Yeñi Foča); (4) alum from around Uluḥād on the western shore of Apolyont Gölü; and (5) impure alum from the various islands of the Marmara sea (known as

alum of Cyzicus (= Kapudaghī yarīm-adasī) (Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 45, 295, 369). (For the reversal of this state of affairs with regard to the Turkish predominance in the production and supply of alum to the West by the 12th/18th century, see below.) The principal alum pits were found in north-central Anatolia at Shebin-Karaḥiṣār and in western Anatolia in the area around Kūtahya. The toponym Shabkhāne still in use today in the vicinity of Gediz, and other variants such as Shabdji near Tavshanlī, attest to the former importance of the alum deposits in this region. Additional deposits were found at Maronea near Gümülḏhine [*q.v.*] in Thrace (*Sharʿiyya* court records of Aleppo, *Evāmir-i sulṭāniyye*, xiv, 70-1) and at Ipsala (Singer, 89-94).

Since sulphur and saltpetre were two of the principal ingredients used in the manufacture of gunpowder [see BĀRŪD], it is not surprising that supply of these essential materials was controlled by means of a special regulatory system. The accounting system applied for securing gunpowder supplies was known as the *odjaḳlīḳ* or special fund allocated for purchases and requisitioning of essential supplies (the same system was used to secure supplies for the imperial kitchens, the imperial navy and other branches of state service). The regions whence the essential minerals for the production of gunpowder could be procured within the Empire were limited. For supplies of sulphur, the government turned to either extreme of the Empire. A document dated 978/1570 indicates that a yearly quantity of 2,000 *ḳanṭars* was supplied to the government by the governor of Hakkārī province from his own region together with Erdjish (Refik, 7-8). On the other side of the empire, an indication of sulphur being mined in Selānik province is found in a budget for the year 1079-80/1669-70 (Barkan 1955, 249), where an expenditure of 55,000 *aḳčes* is recorded for hiring of pack animals to transport the ore. Since we know from other sources (Refik, 7-8) that the standard rental fee for each draught animal was 200 *aḳčes*, we may interpret these figures as representing 165 animals, each bearing the standard load of 18 *batmans* or about 300 pounds. Saltpetre, too, because it required specially humid climatic conditions, such as those found on the edges of the salt lakes of Karamān province, or in the Nile delta of Egypt, though more abundant than sulphur, could only be produced to certain places. Like sulphur, it too was supplied to the government by means of the yearly fixed contribution in kind. The level of this contribution was supposed to be constant, but additional extraordinary requests could be made in time of need. The yearly level fixed for Karamān province as a whole was 500 *ḳanṭars* or 18,221 kg. (Konya, *Sharʿiyya* court records for the year 1040/1630, 30). More often than not, the saltpetre was produced in a number of smaller workshops or distilleries called *kennes* (*Derleme*, viii, 2744), to be collected and transported to centrally-located factories for the manufacture of gunpowder. One such centre was at Bor, which annually produced a quantity of 91,000 *wūḳiyyes* (approx. 2,000 *ḳanṭars* or 112,890 kg.) of finished gunpowder for delivery to the arsenal in Istanbul (Önen, 21). Egypt's regular contribution (*irsāliyye*) was 3,000 *ḳanṭars* (Feridūn, ii, 201-2), but in some years it reached as high as 10,000 *ḳanṭars* (see the order addressed to Tabānī-Yasī Meḥmed Pasha, governor of Egypt 1038-40/1628-30, in *Ṣuwer*, fols. 43b-44a).

Table. Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 10th-11th/17th-18th centuries

Minerals found	Location*	Yearly value of the *muḳāṭaʿa* in *aḳčes*	Yearly volume of production	Price per unit	Source of information	Date
silver	(Aleppo)	17,346			MM 7075, p. 8	1046/1636
silver	(Tokat)	67,000			MM 7075, p. 26	1046/1636
silver	Djandja (Gümüsh-khāne)	1,500,000			MM 7075, p. 12	1046/1636
silver	Inegöl (Bursa)	80,000			MM 7075, p. 32	1046/1636
silver	(Aleppo)	17,346			MM 7075, p. 8	1046/1636
silver	Djandja (Gümüsh-khāne)		450,000 *dirhems* **	9.5 *aḳčes* for pure silver, 1.5 for ore	MM 922	1010/1601
silver	Ergani		1,136,810 *dirhems*	15 *aḳčes*	MM 5192	1155/1742
gold	Ergani		201,157 *dirhems*	306⅔ *aḳčes*	MM 5192	1155/1742
copper	Ardanuč (Erzerum)	300,000			MM 7075, p. 15	1046/1636
copper	Kürs (Kasṭamonu)		28,838 *wūḳiyyes* ***	68 *aḳčes*	Ibn ul-Emin, Meʿādin, no. 5	919/1513
iron	Čankiri (Kasṭamonu)	117,879 ****			MM 7075, p. 28	1046/1636
iron	(Muğla)	6,333 *****			MM 7075, p. 38	1046/1636
alum	Karaḥiṣār-i Sharḳī	1,382,650			MM 7075, p. 15	1046/1636
alum	Gediz (Kūtahya)	316,666			MM 7075, p. 35	1046/1636

* Place-names given between parentheses designate *sanḏjaḳs*. This is used both as an aid to location and in order to differentiate individual figures for specific mines from summation figures for a district as a whole; ** One *dirhem* equals 3.07 g; *** One *wūḳiyye* equals 1.2828 kg; **** This figure of 117,879 also reflects some revenues from the salt works of Čankiri; ***** Tax-farm of the smelting works (*ḥal-khāne*).

Mineralogical map of Anatolia.

1. Iron Bilecik (Refik, 1-4), Çankırı (MM 7075), Muğla (MM 7075), Divriği (Kâtib 624), Kığı (Refik, 15, 21, 46),
2. Copper Ardanuç (Refik, 54, and MM 7075), Kağızmanı (Refik, 45-46), Köre/Kastamonu (ʿAshik, f. 351b),
3. Lead and Silver Gümüsh-khâne (Ewliyâ II, 405 and MM 7075) Ergani (Refik, 29, 39) İnegöl/Bursa (Refik, 45, and MM 7075), Isparta/Tirebolu (Refik, 30-31, 34),
4. Sulphur Erğlish (Refik, 7-8), Hakkâri (Refik, 7-8)
5. Saltpetre Erğlish (Refik, 13), Karamân (Refik, 11-12, 18), Bor (Ewliyâ, III, 190)
6. Alum Shebin Karahişâr (MM 7075), Gediz (MM 7075).

Sources:

ʿAshik = Mehmed ʿAshik, *Menâkıb al-ʿuvâlim*, Nur-i Osmaniye Library nos 3426;
Ewliyâ = Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, 10 vols. Istanbul 1314/1896, to 1938,
Kâtib = Kâtib Çelebi, *Dıshân-nümâ*, Istanbul 1145/1732,
MM = Başbakanlık Archives, Maliyeden Müdevver series,
Refik = A. Refik, *Osmanlı devrinde Türkiye madenleri (967-1200)*, Istanbul 1931.

For the purpose of quick reference, a table follows which shows the scale of various mining enterprises in Anatolia. An accompanying map shows the geographical distribution of the principal minerals.

Market organisation: distribution and supply

The principal purpose of the state regulation of mines was to ensure self-sufficiency, particularly in materials of strategic significance. It seems moreover that in order to achieve this, the state was even willing to sacrifice a measure of efficiency to production. This is most obvious in times mines administered by *iltizâm* (see above and MÜLTEZIM). Under this system, after deducting expenses for materials and payment of the treasury tithe, an investor was left with only some 60% of the production with which to pay his workers and realise a profit for himself. As is indicated in a memorandum on the subject written in about 1600 (see Murphy, *Silver production*, 90), this left little margin for experimentation with new techniques or investment in production-boosting improvements. In point of fact, the Ottoman Empire was independent of outside sources of supply for all significant minerals with the possible exception of tin (on the import of tin from the Cornish mines, see BARON at i, 1068, and H. Inalcık, *The socio-political effects* , 215 ff. Also, Ewliyâ Çelebi mentions that the supply of tin for the Istanbul craft-guilds came from England (*Seyâhât-nâme*, i, 579: *Ingiltere diyârından*). Modern geological exploration has determined that the only place in the Middle East where tin occurs in any appreciable deposit is the Lebanon (see de Jesus, i, 53, and ii, 395, map). However, there is no evidence that the Ottomans made use of this site (on the 17th century tin trade between England and Turkey, see Hedges, 84-5).

While mining production itself was also carefully monitored, strict government control was exercised, particularly in the marketing phase. One aspect of state regulation of the market place was the limiting or total prohibition of export of some mineral products at times when local stocks became depleted. Examples of the periodic imposition of trade restrictions in iron and lead, as well as other metals, are recorded in the well indexed catalogue volumes of the Public Record Office in London (see *Bibl.*). These trading bans were imposed only as an exceptional measure, but with regard to the sale and distribution of certain scarce resources within the empire itself there was a whole range of restrictive regulations, ranging from government price control to the enforcement of artificial market boundaries known as *dirlik*.

To illustrate the fundamentally protectionist principles of the state with regard to mineral production and distribution, the conditions regulating the state alum mines are particularly revealing. Details on the marketing of alum mined at Shebin-Karahişâr (Karahişâr-i Sharkî) for use in the manufacture of gunpowder and other products are provided in the *ghurreyye* court records from Aleppo. In an order dated 11 Muharrem 1194/19 January 1780 to the authorities in Aleppo, one of the restricted areas where the ore could be sold, the government barred the competition of European traders (*efrenciler*)

who sought to flood the market with cheaper alum. Ship captains were warned that if they persisted in attempting to sell their cargoes at the deflated price of six *ḳurushs* per *ḳanṭar* (56.445 kg.), as opposed to the fixed price of forty-three *ḳurushs* per *ḳanṭar* set for the produce of the state-operated mines at Karaḥiṣār, their cargoes would be confiscated (Damascus, *Markaz al-waṯāʾik al taʾrīḫiyya*, *Ewāmir-i sulṭāniyye* (*Ḥalab*), xv, 384 6). Another order dated 25 Muharrem 1192/5 March 1777 provided guarantees for the maintenance of treasury revenues deriving from alum sales by blocking access to the market to all suppliers until such time as all the state produced alum had been sold. The order also provided that any shipments of alum not authentically proven to have originated from the state mines by the issuance of a treasury agent's permit (*teḏḫire*) would be made subject to immediate confiscation, as well as to the payment of an indemnity amounting to twice the value of the seized shipment (*Ewāmir al sulṭāniyye* (*Ḥalab*), xiv, 70-1). Such harsh restrictions and overtly monopolistic marketing practices based on defined areas called *ōrū* were applied in connection with a limited number of mineral products such as salt and alum. Nevertheless, the government applied similar restrictions on some precious metals as well, both with an eye to protecting treasury revenues, and to assuring the availability of scarce materials which, by their very nature, could easily be made the subject of hoarding and speculation. Thus the sale and circulation of raw silver was strictly controlled by the government. A limit was fixed for the use of the jewellers and related craft-guilds (such as the *ṣīrma-keshān*) by the comptroller of the mint (*ḍarb-ḫāne naẓīrī*), and unauthorised export of silver was also forbidden (on this question, see the references in Murphey, *Silver production* ..., 89). Furthermore, by periodic regulation of the coinage (*taṣḥīḥ-i sikke*) to account for fluctuations in the market value of silver, official government rates of circulation (*rāʾidj*) for all major currencies both internally and externally-minted, were determined and were universally applied in all provinces of the empire. Thus all phases of Ottoman mineral production, minting and circulation followed the same rule of strict government regulation and control aimed at preserving self sufficiency and at assuring abundance in the supply of precious metals for the home market.

Concerning the distribution for use of mineral resources, it is clear that the greater part of the empire's mineral production was set aside and made directly available to the state for two principal uses:

(1) *military use*

a. the imperial cannon foundry (*top-ḫāne-yi ʿāmire*)

b. naval shipyards (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*)

(2) *use in civil construction*

a. buildings serving the public need
   (1) mosques
   (2) schools
   (3) hospitals
   (4) *ʿimārets*

b. buildings reserved for state use
   (1) royal palaces
   (2) residences of high government functionaries.

A relatively smaller proportion was distributed to the craft guilds for the production of household utensils and consumer goods. Manufacture of common household items such as copper cooking pots (*ḳasghan*), charcoal burners for household heating (*mangal*) and copper eatingware (*ḳab*) also used up large quantities of metal. According to Ewliyā's list (*Seyāḥāt-nāme*, i, 579) in Istanbul alone there were some 1,000 separate metal founders' shops (*dōkmedjis*) employing some 1,500 skilled craftsmen. It was only when these two needs had been fully satisfied, that is to say, the needs of the state and the needs of the internal consumer market, with a substantial surplus kept in reserve in case of emergency need, that the issue of export could even arise. When export did occur, the state also carefully supervised all aspects of these transactions in order to determine the appropriate trading partners, the volume of the trade, and the proper price level.

These peculiarities of the Ottoman marketing system are nowhere more in evidence than with respect to the distribution and sale of salt [see MILH]. For purposes of salt sales, each production district or *ōrū* was further divided into sub-units called *dīwāns*, to which salt was distributed for sale on the basis of carefully calculated population estimates. The purpose of such a system was obviously to guard against the occurrence of shortage caused by price speculation on the part of merchants who knew how to profit from a naturally occurring price differential based on the geographic proximity of their potential markets to the centre of production. Figures for several salt works in Anatolia and Rumelia published by Güçer indicate that the distribution of salt typically followed a repeating pattern. 85% of the salt produced in a given production district (*ōrū*) was blocked for distribution at fixed prices to local industries (bakeries, etc.), while only 15% made its way outside the confines of the *ōrū*, either as a contribution to a state organisation such as the imperial kitchen (*maṭbaḫ-i ʿāmire*) or for distribution in another *ōrū* experiencing a temporary shortage. Of the total of 85% consumed locally, Güçer was able to determine that 70% was sold directly at the mine or in its immediate environs and a further 15% was sold in remote rural sales districts (*dīwāns*) with limited access to the mine. Far from being oppressive, these sales restrictions were designed to ensure equitable distribution of commodities which were either naturally scarce or liable to become the object of price speculation.

Nineteenth-century developments in Ottoman mining.

In considering the development of Ottoman mining in the 13th/19th century, one should note the three areas of fundamental change:

(a) Mining law. (For this, see the relevant articles from the *Dustūr* listed in the *Bibl.*, section II. On the law governing capital investment and ownership of land by foreigners, see Engelhardt, i, 211 ff., and Solakian, 5-6. On the concessionary régime, see IMTIYĀZĀT.) (b) New mineral types exploited in the 19th century and the role of foreign capital in the development of Ottoman mining. (c) New technology and the impact of mechanisation. Only the major themes and issues relating to the last two topics, in particular, that of mechanisation in Ottoman mining (see below), will be treated here.

The exploitation of other mineral resources in the Ottoman Empire such as chrome and nickel and the more intensive exploitation of existing fields as in the coal industry, began on a large scale relatively late in Ottoman history. Under the impetus of increased demand sparked off by the Industrial Revolution in Europe, mineral exploitation rights in

Table Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 19th century

Minerals found	Location	Yearly volume of production	Price per unit	Source of information	Date
copper	Ergani	6,172 metric tons	72 *para*	*Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 263	average over 1859-1907
gold	Bulgar Dağı (Adana)	6½ *okkas* (8.4 kg.)		*Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 263	average over 1805-25
silver	Bulgar Dağı	922 *okkas* (1,183 kg.)		*Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 263	average over 1805-25
copper	Küre (Kastamonu)	340 metric tons		Issawi, 279	1851
fuller's earth	Ankara	7,408,720 metric tons		*Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 265	average over 1820-5
meerschaum	Eskişehir	5,646 *sandıks* (one *sandık* = approx. 35 kg.)		*Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 264	average over 1820-5

Anatolia became the subject of intense competition between the various capitulatory nations and were often made a specific article of agreement in the bilateral negotiations for the financing of such large-scale projects as the Ḥiǧāz railway. In order the better to coordinate the leasing and exploitation of the state mines and to increase their profits, a separate Department of Mines attached to the Ministry of Public Works (*Nafi'iyya*) was established in 1887.

The most significant development in the new period was the intensive exploitation of the empire's coal reserves with the participation of foreign capital. This sector of the mining industry has been thoroughly studied by Quataert (*see Bibl.*), so there is no need to enter into details here. Two points which should be stressed, however, are firstly that the marked rise in mineral output in the late 19th century was almost entirely used for export outside the empire and not to fuel internal industrial activity (according to Owen, 213, 80% to 90% of all coal production was exported, according to Quataert somewhat less, whereas Solakian (10) provides statistics from the first decade of the 20th century showing that minerals alone usually accounted for between 60-70% of all exports), and secondly that of all the minerals coal was far and away the most important comprising nearly 80% of all mineral output (see statistics in *Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 100). The table below excludes coal production (for which, see Quataert and statistics on the Ereğli mine in *Ihṣā'iyyāt*, 262-3) so as to give a more balanced picture of developments in the 19th century as compared with the earlier period. With reference to this table, it should be noted that two quarried minerals which were also intensively exploited during the new period, once again primarily for export, were fuller's earth and meerschaum (for statistics on these, see *Ihṣā' iyyāt*, table 27, at pp. 102 ff., which gives the mineral output of the empire by province according to two categories, mines (*ma'ādin*) and quarries (*taḥt eğlahlari*).

Mining technology

1. The earlier period. Some interesting details of the technological aspects of Ottoman mining are provided through the first hand observations of Mehmed 'Āṣıḳ, who was in residence during a three-year period between 994/1586 and 997/1589 in the mining town of Sidrekapsi. According to his description, the mine shafts were typically dug to a depth of some 150 to 200 *ẕirā'*s (one *ẕirā'* = approx. 75 cm.). A system of mechanically operated surface pumps linked to the subterranean water channels was installed to facilitate drainage. The process whereby the ore was smelted and purified in small forges is also described by him. As the by-product of the first smelting, the ore was divided into pure silver ingots and a quantity of litharge. The litharge could then either be sold in its raw state or else further refined to produce lead for roofing or ammunition. As described by Meḥmed 'Āṣıḳ, the forges at Sidrekapsi were rather small in size, with a central heating chamber connected to an exterior collecting chamber where the smelted ore was left to solidify. The major technical difficulty seems to have been overheating, particularly in the winter months when the water circulation needed for cooling was impeded by freezing temperatures, which gave rise periodically to the explosion and collapse of the small, clay-built forges. A document which further describes the operation of the smelting houses (*bal-khānes*) attached to the imperial mint and which specifies the percentage of metal lost during each stage of the assaying process, has been discovered in the Topkapı Sarayı archives (D. 9572) (see further, Beldiceanu 1064, 95-7). Ewliyā Çelebi's 17th/17th century description of the iron works in Samakov gives evidence of the use of hydraulic power to work the iron stamping presses (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, VI, 128).

2. The 19th century. We have already referred to the application of improved techniques in order to raise yields, a notable example being the construction of a centralised smelting plant at Tokat to process ore from mines throughout northeastern Anatolia (see above). Alongside improved technology, mechanisation in key areas such as the transport and loading of ore had a dramatic impact on mineral output at the turn of the 20th century. To take an example from the Ereğli coal fields: the building of a rail link and installing of cranes for rapid loading of the ships in the port are singled out by Quataert as the critical factors leading to a three-fold increase in production within a few years of the establishment of the French Company, the *Société d'Héraclée*, in 1896 (see Quataert; Owen, 213, taking a longer time frame, speaks of a better than ten-fold increase in coal output between 1855 and 1913). Proximity to existing railway lines also affected the decision to exploit known deposits in other sectors of the mining industry. The development of chrome mining in the province of Aydın, and intensified exploitation of the beds of schist at Hendek for extraction of copper, became economically viable only by virtue of the proximity of these areas to existing railway lines. In the case of the Hendek operations, we are told by Edwards (196) that at the time of his report in 1914 there were as many as 26 separate concessionaires working in an area only 80 miles square. As a result of intensified mining activity and mechanisation in the industry, in a single decade at the turn of the 20th century overall mining production in all sectors of the industry doubled from about 600,000 tons to 1.15 million tons (Solakian, 9). This improvement in output was

achieved without a significant increase in the number of mines operated (Solakian, table at p 9, shows that the number of mines operated fluctuated between 82 and 94 over the period 1901-10), and in the absence of new mineral finds of any significance

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For a brief description on archival sources on mining, see M Sertoğlu, *Muhtasar bahsimizdan Başvekalet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955, 78-81 In particular see BBA, KK 5167, KK 5169, KK 5173, KK 5175, KK 5184, KK 5185, KK 5190 = registers dealing with the Rumelian mines, and BBA, KK 5190, KK 5191, KK 5197, KK 5195, KK 5204 = registers dealing with the Anatolian mines In addition, see the Cevdet tasnif, Darbhane (Sertoğlu, *op cit*., 70), and the collection of documents mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries dealing with the state mines and imperial mint transferred to the archives from the Department of State Lands (*milli emlāk*), Sertoğlu, *op. cit*., 81 The Iba ul-Emin Tasnif, Me'adin (vol. xix) contains 248 documents dealing with various aspects of mining. These documents are particularly useful, since apart from statistical information, they give us an idea how the mines were physically operated Particularly useful in this regard are *Ibn ul-Emin, Me'adin, no 17* = a report sent by the *kādī* of Magnisa dated 996/1586 concerning mineral deposits in the vicinity, and *Ibn ul-Emin, Me'adin, no 105* = a report by the *kādī* of Küre in Kastamonu province dated 1093/1682 concerning the state of the mining and smelting operations in the copper mines (b) *Narrative sources and modern works on Ottoman mining* G Agricola, *De re metallica*, Eng tr with annotations by H C. Hoover, London 1912, R. 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4. In Islamic art

Materials and techniques

In Muslim civilisation as in classical antiquity, precious metals and alloys of copper, tin, lead and iron were used for artistic purposes. We have only scanty information about the metals, and particularly about the alloys of which metalware was made. Our ignorance in this respect stems from a number of reasons. One is that most of the Islamic metal objects have never been properly analysed, and terms like "bronze" or "brass" are used indiscriminately in catalogues and other scholarly publications. Another reason is that the mediaeval Islamic terminology for metals and their alloys is often ambiguous and therefore difficult to evaluate (Aga Oğlu, *A brief note*, in *JAOS*, lxv [1945], 218-23). It would seem, however, that from the early Islamic period to at least A.D. 1200, materials conform with those used in classical antiquity and with those mentioned by al-Djazarî, namely: gold (*dhahab*); silver (*fidda*) with bronze (*sufûdrâk*, from the Persian *safîd-rûy*, a bronze with heavy content of tin, antimony and lead), bronze (*fasfûr*), brass (*ghabah*); copper (*nuhâs*), and tin (*rasâs al-kasîr*). In early Islamic times the use of iron (*hadîd*) seems to have been negligible. It became important, however, for the production of steel for weapons and tools, and may have also been used instead of bronze for the plating of doors and city gates.

Together with the unbroken tradition in the use of metals and their alloys, there was a technical conservatism in the fashioning of Islamic metal objects. Several methods of casting—one of the oldest arts in the world—were practised in Islam. One was the cire-perdue or lost wax process, applied in cases of closed shapes. An accurate, though somewhat sketchy description by al-Djazarî [*q.v.* in Suppl.], active in Diyarbakr in the second half of the 6th/12th century, testifies that in northern Mesopotamia the lost wax technique was well-established. Dated mid-6th/12th century objects indicate its use in Iran too (L. T. Ghazâlâsa, *A bronze şalamdân*, 97). Another method described by al-Djazarî was casting with green sand. This method, which is of obscure origin, is mentioned also in Chinese sources contemporary to al-Djazarî. (For the first description in Europe, see Barnguccio, *De la pirotechnia*, 1540.)

Casting in open or piece moulds was used for works in the round or for more composite shapes, and required soldering. Hollow, primarily circular vessels, were often produced from disks or sheet metal, such as brass or white bronze, by burnishing the shape on a lathe. This technique, discovered by Roman artisans and known today as spinning, presumably passed to Islam from late Roman and Byzantine sources. No written documents on this technique, comparable to al-Djazarî's book on automata (see HIYAL in Suppl.) have so far come to light. The same applies to the widely employed method of raising—or sinking—in which comparatively thin metal sheets were transformed by hammering into jointless, hollow vessels of almost any shape. Among the objects fashioned in this technique are jugs, bottles, cups and bowls raised in precious metal or white bronze, covered brass vessels with fluted bodies and lids, and the like.

The most common method employed for decoration were punching, chasing and bossing, tracing, engraving and inlay. None of these techniques was

entirely new. Their originality lies in the application of these conventional methods to create surface decorations of unprecedented Islamic character and artistic feeling.

(1) Punching. This method, known also as ring matting and executed by stamps which terminate in a small ring or hole, is particularly appropriate for soft metals. It was employed by Chinese and Soghdian gold- and silversmiths primarily as background pattern, while in Islamic metalwork punched circles were also applied to objects made of bronze and its alloys. The most common use of ring-matting was to set off the main decoration or an inscription from the ground. Yet particularly on early metalware, punched circles also formed the principal decoration. On bronzes, ring matting appears to have gone out of fashion by the early 7th/13th century. The latest dated example of ring-matting on bronze known to the writer occurs on an inlaid penbox, which was made in 607/1210-11 by Shādhī for Madjd al-Mulk al-Muẓaffar, one of the viziers of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh.

(2) Chasing and bossing (*tandjīr*). Repoussé, or ornamental relief work, is produced by hammering metal sheet, and like punching it is closely linked to the work of the gold- and silversmith. We still possess a relatively fair number of chased and bossed gold and silver objects. The bulk of the surviving objects comes from Iran and antedates the 7th/13th century. Reports of later Muslim travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa imply, however, that such vessels continued to be manufactured also outside Iran and in larger quantities than the surviving examples suggest. The application of repoussé to bronze in order to create an over-all decoration, which was practised in the Near East since remote antiquity, was relatively rare in Islam. It is known foremost from a group of late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century candlesticks and some stylistically closely related rectangular tray-like objects (see also Rice, *A Seljuq lamp from Konya*, *SIMW*, V). In modern times, chasing and bossing of brass and copper is practiced all over the Islamic world.

(3) Tracing and engraving (*kafr*). The decoration of the majority of Islamic metal objects was done either with chisels to produce grooves, or with gravers in order to remove the metal which once filled these grooves. Both techniques are not related to any specific material, and were employed singly and in conjunction with other techniques. They were used for unpretentious decorations of household utensils, for tracing intricate arabesque patterns, for preparing the grooves for copper and silver inlay, or to enrich repoussé or other decorations. Both tracing and engraving are still practiced in almost any bazaar workshop.

(4) Inlay. Inlay in metal (*takfīt* or *taf'īm*) is a technique by which the artist enriches a metal object by overlaying parts of its surface with patterns formed from wires or sheets of a different metal. Although this craft too is of considerable antiquity, it was not popular before the mid-6th/12th century. On early bronzes, as for instance a pear-shaped ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum (434-1906), an often-discussed ewer in the Hermitage, or a ewer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (47.100.90), a thin piece of red copper was hammered into a small cavity in order to mark the eyes or feathers of a bird or to indicate a fruit or floral motif. Silver wire, which in later centuries had become a common medium for inlay, was only rarely used with these early examples. The wider use of inlay with copper and silver is documented only from the mid-6th/12th century onwards. According to al-Djazarī, the inlaying of the doors at Diyārbakr in the last third of the 6th/12th century was done by cutting the pattern for the inlay from metal sheets, casting the grooves in the lost wax technique, and finally fitting both parts together. Although this method was known in ancient times, inlaid Islamic metal objects from the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries point to two different techniques. In the first, the so-called dove tailing employed for red copper and silver inlay, the design was traced into the bronze or brass with a blunt tracer. The channels, or spaces to receive the copper or silver wire, were roughened and undercut, and the silver hammered into those "dove-tailed" grooves. Where the space to be inlaid was greater than a wire would fill, a piece of sheet metal instead of wire was beaten down into the undercut spaces and subsequently engraved. No undercutting took place in the second method of inlay. In this method, which was employed for gold and is documented since the mid-7th/13th century, shallow grooves following the contours of the design were traced, and the thin gold leaf was secured by hammering it into the grooves. When larger panels were prepared to receive the gold, the bottom of the respective ornament was thoroughly roughened with a punching tool.

On the majority of mediaeval bronze and brass objects, chased lines or background scrolls are filled with a black bituminous substance the composition of which has so far not been analysed. Similarly, the composition of the niello powder used in Islamic times on gold and silver ware is still unknown.

Types of metalware.

Broadly speaking, Islamic metalwork falls into five categories. The first and largest are objects made for domestic and religious use. They are well represented in museums and private collections and therefore better known than the rest. The second group are doors and windows and their accessories. It includes knockers, locks, keys and window grills. Scientific and medical instruments, astrolabes, globes, knifes and scissors form the third group of metalwork. The interest in these instruments lies primarily in the history of science and technology. Yet in their excellent craftsmanship and beautiful decoration they are often real works of art. The fourth group are arms and armoury. They too are often of excellent craftsmanship, though for evident reasons they differ in design and workmanship from the former categories. The same applies to jewellery, which for technical and other reasons deserves a separate study [see DJAWHAR, II, in Suppl.]. The last three categories are therefore not included in this section. Artistically-outstanding examples will be mentioned below.

Objects made for domestic and religious use.

(1) Lighting implements. Islamic lampstands basically follow Byzantine, Mediterranean models. Two types, both common in pre-Islamic Iran, Syria and Egypt, had particular influence on the formation of the Islamic stands. The first is characterised by a post made up of baluster-shaped links, and is topped by a pan and a faceted spike to hold the lamp. The second type has a plain shaft which is bordered above and below by either disks, rings or a squat knob. Both kinds rest on three pawed or hoofed animal feet. The base is formed by three curving trefoils with a raised sharp edge along the centre,

or, more rarely, rises in the shape of a shallow dome. The artistic changes brought about by Islam did not so much affect the main elements of the Roman-Byzantine models than their stylistic transformation. This is expressed in the preference for segmental shapes, faceted shafts, or geometric, flattened renderings of the zoomorphic feet or trefoil bases (Barrett, *Islamic metalwork*, Pls 3, 4a). Another Roman variation, the pricket-type lamp stand, recurs primarily among early Mamlūk specimens (cf. Louvre, no. 6036; Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. I 655, repr. H Glück and E Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin 1925, Pl 441). In later centuries, lampstands of the above-mentioned types became less adequate as lighting utensils and were therefore rare.

Mediaeval Islamic oil lamps also follow the Roman-Byzantine tradition. Their oval, or occasionally bulbous body has one or several nozzles for the wick, a hinged lid to cover the central filling hole, and is often applied with a handle at one end of the longitudinal axis. In contrast to the Roman specimen, the Islamic oil lamps were not made for a pricket stand, and are either footless or rest on a splayed, often faceted foot. This last form is generally regarded as an Iranian, particularly East Iranian feature and associated with 6th/12th to 7th/13th century Khurāsānian workshops. Many of them had animal or bird-shaped finials.

Zoomorphic oil lamps, too, were created both by Christian and by Islamic artisans. Yet whereas the types of the Byzantine and Coptic lamps were restricted to birds of symbolic content, in mediaeval Islam no clear preference for one or the other animal shape seems to have existed. The species of birds or quadrupeds became more and more differentiated and imaginative, and many are provided with burners attached to the breast or head of a fabulous creature.

In contrast to the lighting implements mentioned so far, the models for the mediaeval types of Islamic candlesticks are as yet obscure. Since about the end of the 6th/12th century the dominant type of these objects consisted of three clearly-marked elements: a truncated base, a socket which on a smaller scale repeated the form of the base, and a tubular neck serving as a link between the two. Aside from different proportions and sizes—candlesticks manufactured for mosques or public institutions may have reached a height of more than 50 cm—base and socket took on a variety of shapes. There were two basic trends. In the first, the truncated cone of these elements had straight sides. The general appearance of these candlesticks was therefore heavy and somewhat sturdy. In the second, and more elegant variety, the flanks were contracted. In addition, the surface was often fluted, subdivided into straight vertical flanges, into raised ogee-shaped arches or two registers of pentagonal compartments. In a 'transitional' type between the faceted and truncated forms, body and socket projected strongly towards their base, and the body rested on a slanting foot. This strong projection is counterbalanced by a protruding, flat shoulder (Farhérvári, nos 159-60, A. S Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, 52-3). In a special category of Iranian 10th/16th to 11th/17th century candlesticks, base, neck and socket were unified and turned into a cylindrical, and occasionally faceted stand with a slanting foot (Melikian Chirvani, *op. cit.*, 116-17). In most of these so-called pillar candlesticks, some traces of the base, three sections in the form of low mouldings or rings have been retained.

Mosque lamps, polycandelons and chandeliers belong to a variegated group of suspended float-wick lamps, of which relatively few examples have survived. To judge by the few complete and the numerous fragmentary metal mosque lamps so far known, they closely resembled glass lamps. They were either fashioned of sheet metal or cast in bronze, had a bulbous perforated body, a flaring neck and low foot, and three suspension rings were attached to the middle of their bony. Suspension arms, also made of sheet metal, were hooked to these rings. The few specimens which have survived do not allow a closer typological classification. By the late 7th/13th century, their place appears to have gradually been taken by glass or ceramic lamps.

The number of polycandelons—a suspended lamp consisting of several glass containers fitted into a metal frame—is even smaller. This type, which stems from the Roman-Byzantine tradition, was developed in western Islamic countries rather than in the east, and was transformed in Mamlūk Egypt into huge prismatic, many-tiered or pyramidically-shaped chandeliers.

(2) **Perfume vessels.** The most common type of incense burner (*mabkhara* or *mabkhara*) had a cylindrical body with an inner shallow bowl for the incense, a domed cover, straight handle widened horizontally to the body, and three, often zoomorphic feet. The cover, and in many cases also the body, were pierced for the emission of the smoke. The shape of these incense burners stems ultimately from Byzantine of Coptic thurification vessels, and also the feet in the form of animal paws in different degrees of stylisation correspond to the feet of Byzantine and Islamic lampstands mentioned previously. Between the early 7th/13th and the end of the 8th/14th century this traditional Byzantine type dominated in Syria and Egypt, while in Iran it seems to have been less abundant. Another kind of Mamlūk incense burner common in Syria and Egypt consisted of two partly perforated hemispheres held together by clasps, which had no feet and were either suspended or rolled on the floor. To hold the charcoal they enclosed a small iron bowl which was set in gimbles to move freely when the incense burner was rolled or swung. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, such vessels were widely exported to Italy and then produced by Mamlūk artists who resided in Venice. Similarly-shaped incense burners occur already among Chinese silver vessels which are generally attributed to the T'ang period. The Chinese specimens are, however, much smaller, and their relation to the Islamic incense burners is so far obscure. Some early 4th/10th to early 7th/13th century East Iranian incense burners with a square or cylindrical body seem to relate to a Buddhist, Central Asian tradition. They rested on low feet of a type also common in other East Iranian bronzes, and certain details in their decoration, such as lotus petals and blossoms are reminiscent of pinnacles on Buddhist stupas or votive vessels. A variant of these East Iranian incense burners, which was also popular in East Iranian households between the late 4th/10th and the 7th/13th centuries, was fashioned in the form of a cylindrical, hooded receptacle. It also rested on three zoomorphic, generally faceted feet, its low body had a niche-like upper aperture with an arch-shaped opening, and the front of the semi-dome was flanked by a pair of flat, projecting bird heads.

Another type of incense burner was fashioned in the form of highly-stylized felines or birds. These

vessels, which are generally assigned to North-East Iranian workshops, seem to have been in vogue throughout the 6th/12th century. Their body was hollow cast and perforated. In the feline-shaped incense burners, the animal-head was removable to permit placing the incense in the body, while the bird-shaped examples had a drawer for the charcoal in the bird's breast. There is still much uncertainty about zoomorphic incense burners in Fāṭimid Egypt. Although a considerable number of animal-shaped, presumably Fāṭimid objects have been preserved, their function is not always clear, and the group comprises fountain heads and objects which may have served various decorative purposes.

The identification of mediaeval Islamic bottles as perfume flasks (*kumkum*) is often ambiguous. Among the extant flasks and bottles the following types almost certainly served this purpose. One is a group of Persian, 25-27 cm. high silver or parcel gilt bottles attributable to between the late 5th/11th and the mid-6th/12th century. They have a globular body resting on a low, splayed footring and a narrow, tubular neck. A small fluted cover with a ring, which probably once held a chain by which it was attached to the neck, has been preserved in some of these specimens. To prevent the evaporation of the perfume they would have required an additional stopper (*Survey*, Pl. 1330). A second group of Persian 12th century bottles is characterised by a funnel-shaped neck, a bell shaped, longitudinally-fluted body, and a flat horizontal link between collar and neck (*Survey*, Pl. 1311 B E.). Other bottles of this type have oblique or softly-rounded shoulders. Their bodies are cylindrical or facetted, and occasionally the mouth of the neck is sealed with a small filter. Similarly-shaped pottery and glass vessels with a pierced filter and a filling hole at the bottom moved an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely. Small, 8-9 cm. long bronze perfume flasks with a facetted, slightly flaring neck, a rectangular body and four tooth-shaped feet, which evidently were fashioned after a widely-used type of glass and rock crystal flasks, bear further witness to the affinities between bronze and glass flasks of that kind (C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin 1929-30, I, 160-2, II, Pl. 59, cf. idem, *Das Glas von Samarra*, Berlin 1928, Pl. VII).

Mamlūk perfume bottles were particularly appropriate for sprinkling odoriferous oils. Fashioned in an ovoid shape, these bottles had a long tapering neck that terminated in a pointed end and a base that was fitted with a plug, resembling the filling holes of the Persian perfume flasks (Cairo *Cat.*, 1969, no. 79, Pl. 15).

(3) Mirrors. Islamic mirrors fall into two categories. The first and larger category consists of mirrors with a central perforated boss for fitting a cord and is based upon Chinese prototypes. They are relatively small—the average diameter varies between 10 to 20 cm.—the face of the mirror is cast in relief decoration, and the reverse is smoothly polished. In the second and smaller group the mirror was furnished with a handle, which was cast either separately or in one piece with it. This second category stems from a Mediterranean tradition, and dates back to classical antiquity. Mirrors of this type appear to have served primarily as toilet accessories, while the originally Chinese type presumably had a magical or talismanic purpose. In spite of the considerable number of extant mirrors, which include inscribed and even dated specimen, these objects have never been properly studied, and both categories need further investigation.

(4) Inkwells and penboxes. The most common type of inkwell (*dawāt* or *miḥbara*) had the shape of a cylindrical pot and was covered with a separate domed lid. It was used in Iran since Sāmānid times, and only the proportions, the profile of the cover and the decoration changed in the course of the centuries. The extant specimens fall chronologically into three groups. The first consists of Persian inkpots from the second half of the 6th/12th century. They are relatively small, 7 to 13 cm. high. The base is either flat or has three low, almond-shaped feet cast together with the vessel. The cover has a fluted, dome-shaped centre, and lid and body are furnished with loops or tubular appendages for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe. In the second group, which appears to have been used also in Syria in the 7th/13th century, the dome is hemispherical and rests directly on the level surface of the lid. In the last group, represented by Persian inkpots of the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the body is slender, and its width hardly exceeds the width of the domed cover.

Penboxes (*ḥalamdān*) fall into several categories. The most common are rectangular boxes with a separate hinged cover and differently-shaped compartments for the ink and other writing implements. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally rounded. The rectangular shape was more characteristic for Mamlūk Syria and Egypt and for Ottoman Turkey. Pencases which were placed in the belt were more delicately shaped. The first and earlier type was wedge-shaped. It was made of two parts, and the inner, compartmented box could be entirely removed. Most of the extant specimens of this kind are Iranian in style and attributable to the 7th/13th century. The second type, known from 10th/16th to the 12th/18th centuries, apparently West Persian examples, consisted of a flat, either tubular or rectangular pencase and a cylindrical inkpot attached to it (*Survey*, Pl. 1387 A). A similar type was used by Ottoman officials.

(5) Caskets and boxes. The earliest preserved metal caskets come from 4th/10th century Spain. They are made of silver, mostly gilt and inlaid with niello, and their shape and proportions closely follow contemporary Spanish-Islamic rectangular ivory caskets with gabled lids (Migeon, *Manuel*, II, 16 17, fig. 220). In the Eastern Islamic lands, silver caskets of this type are rare, and not known before the Saldjūḳ invasions. Two particularly fine examples are said to come from a Persian hoard and are kept in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum in Jerusalem (*Survey*, Pl. 1352 A, B). Brass and bronze caskets made between the late 6th/12th and later 8th/14th centuries are more numerous. The earlier specimen (Rice, *SIHW. VI*, Pl. VI) have a flat base and closely follow in their proportions the silver caskets. Later 7th/13th and 8th/14th century examples become higher, relatively shorter and wider, rest on low feet and generally have slightly slanting sides (Barrett, Pl. 37, *Survey*, Pls. 1359, 1360 B). A derivative of the former caskets has a flat top and a partial lid which is secured to the fixed portion of the roof by hinges. Their form, too, is paralleled in ivory and ceramics (Rice, *SIWH VI*, Pls. I-III; *Survey*, Pl. 1303, dated 593/1197).

Kur'ān boxes are square and of larger dimensions. They are generally plated and not cast. The Mamlūk specimens have a bevelled lid (Berlin, *Cat.* 1971, no. 19, Pl. 69), while Iranian Kur'ān boxes

have often flat covers Along with angular, round and cylindrical boxes occur caskets of less conventional shape or exceptionally small size To the last category belongs an oblong miniature box of remarkable artistic quality by Ismāʿīl b Ward al-Mawṣilī, dated 617/1220 (Rice, *SIMW*, *II*, Pl IX), or a kidney-shaped box in the British Museum which is attributable to an Egyptian or Syrian workshop of the middle to second half of the 7th/13th century Similarly unusual in shape are a shallow, but relatively large, hemicircular box in the Harari Collection (*Survey*, Pl 2305 C) or a "casket" in the Louvre The last follows the shape of cylindrical, late 7th/13th century candlesticks with narrow, contracted waists, and has a low convex lid which is fastened to the container by hinges

In the 8th/14th century, Persian metalworkers produced also a variety of polygonal caskets of various sizes Among the preserved specimens are a small octagonal box (*Survey*, Pl 1360 A) and four larger dodecagonal caskets, all of which have been assigned to a workshop in Fārs (Melikian Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, 82-3). Mamlūk, usually oval shaped lunch boxes form a category by itself. They consisted of one to three separate units which were placed one on top of the other, and had a lid with a handle that could also be used as a foot To prevent food poisoning, they were made of tinned bronze (J Allen, *Later Mamluk metalwork*, *II*, in *Oriental Art*, N.S. xviii/2 [1972], 156-64; Barrett, Pl 32)

(6) Ewers and jugs In spite of the relatively large number of preserved ewers (*ibrīḳ* [q.v. in Suppl.]) and their importance as art historical documents, they have not yet been sufficiently studied The suggested typological evolution, and most of the chronological or geographical attributions, are therefore tentative Particularly difficult is the classification of ewers from the first four to five centuries A H, where one finds an exceedingly large number of shapes and combination of forms for which so far no models have been traced. Among these ewers are vessels with slender oval and heavily bulging-out bodies; with and without shoulders, with elegantly contracted and long tubular necks, with tubular or bird shaped spouts and a large variety of straight, gently curved and zoomorphic handles Between the end of the 4th/10th and the 6th/12th centuries new forms appear to have been introduced from the Eastern Islamic world, which include types of ewers with an oil lamp like spout Signed specimens of that kind have been found in ancient Farghāna and Ushrūsana by Russian scholars who dated them to the mid-5th/11th century While these early examples were either plain or *only little decorated, later 6th/12th to early 7th/13th* century Khurāsānian ewers of that type were inlaid with silver and copper, and attest to the new artistic trends of that time (*Survey*, Pl 2305A). After about the first half of the 7th/13th century, more emphasis was put on decoration, while shapes became more standardised The Mesopotamian standard type of ewer with a pear-shaped body, a low, splayed foot and a straight tubular spout was retained as a model for Iranian and Mamlūk ewers, which in Egypt and Syria developed more strongly swelling bodies, high splayed feet and top-heavy necks (for an ewer of Ḳaʾit Bāy see Rice, *SIMW IV*, Pl VI) The development of Safawid and Ottoman ewers is known from a small number of examples only Among their typical elements one can tentatively single out curving spouts and handles waisted necks with a bulging ring and boat-shaped openings, which presumably stem from the lamp-shaped openings of the earlier medieval tradition.

Jugs and pitchers (*kūz*, pl. *akwāz*), on the other hand were fashioned in simple conventional shapes —a squat globular body and low foot, a short neck and a curved handle The earliest extant models of gold and gilt silver date from the second half of the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries (*Survey*, Pl 1345, 1349, now in Jerusalem, L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum. For a jug made for Sarnsām al-Dawla, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, see Kuhnel, *Das Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, in *ZDMG*, cvi [1956], fig 6) Safawid and Ottoman specimens basically conform to the Būyid prototypes In addition to the conventional type of jug, there occur zoomorphic hollow-cast vessels which resemble the European aquamanile The purpose of these objects is often ambiguous Some may have served for pouring water (bird in the Hermitage by Sulaymān, dated 280/796; bird in Berlin, *Cat* 1972, fig 37; bird in the Monastery on Mount Sinai). Others were presumably fountain heads. Several specimens of the last category, such as "hares", "lions" or "horses" were either of Fāṭimid or Spanish origin

(7) Bowls, cups and goblets. Medieval Islamic cups and bowls reflect a particularly long-lasting affinity to Iranian and Soghdian gold and silver models Of particular interest in this respect is the continuity of hemispherical, either plain or fluted bowls like the early 7th/13th century "Vaso Vescovali" (Rice, *Wade Cup*, Pl. 16), the ʿ Wade Cup ' (*ibid.*, Pl 2) or a parcel gilt silver bowl in the Kerr Collection (Fehérvári, Pl G) In a more restricted sense this also applies to the continued use of ring handles with projecting thumb knobs. Although ultimately such handles appear to derive from Roman drinking cups, they too were introduced into Islamic civilisation via Soghdian silver vessels and persisted in metal cups until at least the early 5th/11th century (Melikian Chirvani, *White bronze* fig 15), while with ceramic cups this feature lasted even much longer By the later 7th/13th century, bowls with strongly projecting walls, similar in profile to contemporary ewers, as well as new types of cups, bowls and goblets, began to appear simultaneously in Syria, Egypt and Western Iran. Among the new shapes were cups with a strongly contracted base and a high, funnel shaped foot turned upside down (Barrett, Pl 34), footless bowls with walls that project strongly up to about one third to one-half of their height and bowls that have a nearly angular profile (Rice, *Two unusual Mamluk metal works*, Pl. I, VII; Barrett, Pl 36 for a late 8th/14th *century Iranian example*). *Bowls with strongly* curving out profiles continued to be made in Safawid Iran. However, many of the 10th/16th to 11th/17th century bowls hark back to the more gently rounded 7th/13th century models, which seem to have more agreed with the taste of the time.

Doors and windows and their accessories

(1) Doors. Although plating of doors was practiced since early times (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed and tr Ch Schefer, Paris 1881, 81, for door bearing the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn at the Aḳṣā Mosque, and p 28 for iron plated door in Diyarbakr, Djazari-Hill, 191 5, 267 ff for description of later 6th/12th century door), no specimen made before the beginning of the 7th/13th century is as yet known. The earliest preserved door at the mosque of Cāre or Djazirat ibn ʿUmar (C. Preusser,

Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler, Leipzig 1911, Pl. 36 and p. 25) is inscribed with the name of Abu 'l-Kāsim Maḥmūd b Sanǧar Shāh (605/1208?). Nearly contemporary are three iron plated doors from the constructions of the Ayyūbid al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (606-7/1209-10) at the citadel gates of Aleppo. Bronze or iron-faced wooden doors were particularly widespread in Mamlūk Egypt (for elements from door platings of Baybars, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, Oxford 1924, fig. 232). Plaques from Mamluk doors as well as complete door wings are preserved in the Islamic Museum in Cairo). The 8th/14th century doors of the Mosque of Sultān Ḥasan, re-employed at the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad in Cairo, are a very good example of its kind (Migeon, *Manuel*, ii, 82-4, fig. 259). While the majority of extant doors were plated with iron or alloys of bronze, some 10th/16th to 12th/18th century silver, or silver-plated, doors have also remained (Mayer, *Metalworkers*, "Ilyās", "Yaḥūda"). It may be safely assumed that earlier silver doors have been melted down and that their material has been re-used for other purposes.

(2) Doorknockers. In contrast to the plating, which was generally made up of flat bronze straps and polygonal lattice work panels, doorknockers were cast in heavy bronze. Aside from polylobed rings which were filled with arabesques in openwork (Sevilla, Puerta de Pardón, Cairo, Sultān Ḥasan *madrasa*), numerous zoomorphic doorknockers are known. Earlier specimen, like the doorknockers of the Ulu Cami in Cizre (Djezīrat ibn 'Umar) are formed by a pair of confronted dragons which are suspended from hinges attached to a lion mask (Ülker Erginsoy, in Gönül Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu eserlerinde süsleme ve el sanatları*, Ankara 1978, 108, fig. 147, The David Collection, *Islamic art*, Cat. Copenhagen 1975, 69. An identical knocker of unknown provenance is in the Berlin Museum). In later renderings, as for instance in a Mamlūk example with the name of Muḥammad b. Kalāwūn in Hebron, the ring is formed by a pair of facing dragon heads (a similar example is in the Louvre. See also knocker on door of the Mosque of Ḳaǧmās al-Iṣḥāḳī in Cairo, 885-6/1480-1).

(3) Window grills. Aside from a few silver and gold inlaid brass balls from monumental window gratings, no window accessories have been preserved. (The number of wooden accessories preserved *in situ* and in museum collections is however considerable.) Three of these balls bear the name of the Īlkhānid Sultān Muḥammad Ūldjeytū Khudābanda Shāh (703-16/1304-16). The rest cannot be precisely dated, although their resemblance to the inscribed specimen places them in the same category.

(4) Locks and keys. On the whole, little attention has been devoted by art historians to locks and keys. They are poorly represented in museum and other collections, are seldom signed or dated, and once removed from the area in which they were made are difficult to identify. For stylistic and other reasons, most of the preserved pieces are said to be Iranian, though for lack of information this cannot be verified. Most of these locks are padlocks and were intended for chests, boxes, trunks or similar containers. They are generally very small—the average proportions are 5 cm width and 3.5 cm height—and fashioned in a variety of shapes. Yet a typical Iranian preference for animal shapes, inherited from ancient times, has been retained until today. Judging from the recently catalogued locks in the P. Tanavoli Collection (Parviz Tanavoli and John T. Wartime, *Locks from Iran*, the Smithsonian Institution and P. Tanavoli, 1978), certain animal forms were in vogue at particular times only, while others were favoured throughout the centuries. A special category of padlocks was used as amulets and bear inscriptions of protective character.

Keys of the Ka'ba form a class by itself (J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Clefs et serrures de la Ka'ba*, Paris 1972). Many carry names and titles of the sultān for whom they were made and are therefore dated or datable. On the whole, they are historical documents rather than works of art.

The decoration

Although Islamic decoration follows some general, ubiquitous principles by which designs were interchangeable between various media, one can nearly always detect certain strains which characterise any specific form of art. This applies also to metalwork, which seems to have developed certain preferences with regard to ornaments or decorative schemes as well as to iconographic themes.

(1) Geometric patterns. In addition to primary geometric grids by which the surface of every object was subdivided and its decorative elements organised, metal workers employed all the geometric forms used by artisans working in other media. Designs obtained by means of intersecting parallel bands to form an overall surface pattern of squares or lozenges, which could also easily be perforated, were often adopted for incense burners or mosque lamps (Rice, *SIMW V*). To avoid the monotony of these patterns, artisans used to fill the empty spaces by adding a punching mark or circular cavity at the points of intersection, matting the interior of the lozenges or filling them with a floral design. Small circles were employed also to create continuous lines and geometric patterns. Particularly on early metal objects, artisans succeeded in producing a variety of patterns of tangent or overlapping circles and ring-matted geometric forms set into the interspaces (see for instance, Melikian-Chirvani, *The white bronzes*, 236 ff.). As a rule, the artists omitted certain portions of the circles in order to create new variants of interlacings. Patterns of this kind, which were often imbued with a remarkable inner tension (Barrett, Pl. 2a), were employed up to at least the 8th/14th century for single and repeat patterns alike. Between the second half of the 7th/13th to about the middle of the 8th/14th century, circles inscribing six or eight interlaced roundels became a favourite design of Syrian, Egyptian and Persian metal workers. In these later examples, many of these patterns have lost their former inner tension (Baer, *Nisan tass* of 8th/14th century Persian penbox, *Hayward cat.*, no. 206).

As in architectural decoration, hexagons formed also the base for surface and star patterns. Six-armed clockwise or anti-clockwise wheel patterns (erroneously called swastika), which were common in brick architecture as early as the 5th/11th century, were not employed in metalwork before the first third of the 7th/13th century, and until the second half of the 8th/14th century they remained a favoured design for filling petals or circles. Hexagonal star patterns were particularly popular in East Iranian and Afghanistan workshops, which in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries developed them into intricate designs or into notched or looped motifs interwoven with a variety of geometric forms. By the second half of the 7th/13th century, this type of pattern disappeared from the repertoire of Persian and Meso-

potamian metalworkers, and its place was taken by medallions formed by overlapping circles.

In spite of the common geometric language which metal objects share with other fields of Islamic art, there is a clearly noticeable difference in emphasis. In contrast to architectural ornament, in metal the geometric patterns are confined to close borders, they are generally combined with other designs, and only rarely form the main decorative feature. They either form a grid or a network into which other motifs are set, or function—like "swastika" or basket-weaving—as background pattern. In Safawid and Ottoman metalwork, certain geometric interlacings continues to fill medallions or other inscribed spaces (Survey, Pl. 1385). On the whole, these objects bear however floral and epigraphic decorations.

(2) The floral répertoire. As in other artistic media, vegetal ornaments on metalware fall into three main types: motifs derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean and non Hellenistic Iranian models; *infinitely curling scrolls and arabesques* and blossoms and foliations that stem from Far-Eastern prototypes. Motifs of the first type—acanthus leaves, palmettes, vine scrolls or stalks bearing grapes or pomegranates—continue to figure in traditional and new compositions. One some early bronzes and silver objects these motifs appear in sophisticated combinations (Dimand, *Some early Islamic bronzes from Iran in American collections*, in *Akten 24 Intern. Orientalisten Kongress*, 1957, Munich 1959, 347-9). On less ambitious objects, undulating stalks and branching-off shoots carrying vine and palmette leaves constitute the only decoration.

Fully-developed arabesques do not appear before the 4th/10th century. From this time onwards, two types of arabesques—a flowing, constantly changing design, and an arabesque based on axial symmetry—occur on metalwork of all periods. Another form of arabesque which gained much popularity on metalwork consists of pairs of knotted, bifurcated palmettes which blossom out from a crescent-shaped loop (Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'*, fig. 8). Modifications of such floral interlacings, on which a crescent shaped loop is either substituted by a bar, or transformed into lotus blossoms, or even completely omitted remain a favourite motif in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century brasses in the east and west alike.

Winding, often hooked stalks, whose foliage is reduced to small buds and split palmettes, serve as background pattern and filling device alike. On Iranian, 7th/13th to 8th/14th century metal objects the background scrolls tend to be light and airy and wind regularly, while the Syrian types are heavily loaded with buds. On early Mamlūk brasses, the heraldically-composed arabesque never reached the popularity it had gained in Iran. Background patterns on Egyptian metalwork of the first half of the 8th/14th century are formed by continuously winding and freely intersecting scrolls. Most delicately drawn arabesques, carrying tiny buds and flowers occur on 10th/16th to 11th/17th century steel helmets, daggers, steel or iron belts, pierced plaques and surgical instruments.

As in other artistic media, varieties of lotus blossoms, peonies and morning glories are encountered on both Mamlūk and Persian metal objects. Persian artists made, however, a somewhat wider use of these motifs than their Mamlūk contemporaries. On later 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century West Iranian metalware, the flowers grow "naturally" from the ground. Sprouting between and behind the figures, they form the background for figurative motifs or cover the entire surface of an object. A tendency towards more symmetric composition can be detected on Mamlūk metal objects (Rice, *Two unusual Mamluk metal works*, Pl. V), while the individual, carefully engraved petals have generally retained a naturalistic flavour.

(3) Animals and imaginary creatures. On mediaeval metalwork, animals and imaginary creatures were one of the most conspicuous themes. The frequency in which these motifs were employed, as well as the species depicted, were determined by different factors. Yet even at times when animal decorations did not constitute a major theme, they did not disappear from the répertoire. Because of their abundance, and often intricate iconographic implications, the present survey includes only the most current animal motifs and compositions.

Many of the animal motifs were carried on or Islamic metalware from Sāsānid and Soghdian silver (Barrett, Pls. 1, 4b). The same is true for compositions, such as a single bird or quadruped inscribed within a round or polylobed medallion. The preference for heraldic compositions, inherent in Near Eastern and Iranian art, applies also to animal designs, even if the prominence given to these compositions varied. Broadly speaking, in earlier metalwork they are more ornamental in size and style, while on later objects they are integrated in a larger decorative scheme. In many of these heraldic compositions the central axis is taken by a plant design or a curtailed "tree of life", a knotted cartouche or other derivative of the "tree of life". Pairs of ducks flanking a crescent-shaped motif are characteristic for North Mesopotamian, Mamlūk and Persian metalware from the 2nd-7th/13th to the second half of the 8th/14th century. Physically-linked pairs of animals or imaginary creatures do not occur on metalware after the early 8th/14th century, while the motif of heraldic birds or quadrupeds, set into cartouches or pendants, was carried on in Safawid and later metalwork. Other ancient Near Eastern animal motifs employed in metalwork are animal friezes, animals in combat (Baer, *Animals*, particularly 206-8), and real and imaginary creatures revolving around a central axis. In 6th/12th and early 7th/13th century examples from Eastern Iran, Afghanistan and Northern Mesopotamia, the ears, wings or necks of the centrifugally-rotating creatures meet—or intersect—in the centre (Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'*, figs. 2-3, Littinghausen, *Wade Cup*, figs 1, P, 21, 34). In later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century examples, the rotating creatures are no longer physically linked. In the last phase in the development of this pattern, the real or imaginary creatures are substituted by flying birds, and the rotating movement is no longer consistently adhered to (for a typical Mamlūk example, see *Cairo cat.* 1969, no. 58, Pl. 8).

Another motif is that of animal (or *mask-like*) scrolls, in which animal bodies or busts are attached to, or amalgamated with a vegetal design. Spreading from Syro-Mesopotamian and Persian to Egyptian metalware it appeared in the first half of the 7th/13th century (*Heyward cat.*, no. 200) or abruptly as it disappeared in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century (for a late example, see R. Combe, *Cinq cuivres musulmans datés des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles de la Collection Benaki*, in *BIFAO*, XXX [1931], 56-7). On textiles and carpets, the motif survived, however,

in various related forms. See for instance, *Survey*, Pls. 1174, 1212E)

The animal decoration in later metalwork closely follows the mediaeval repertoire. Conventional themes, such as combatant or chasing animals, friezes, flying birds, peacocks or animals of prey were carried on, and are re-employed in modern metalwork (*Survey*, Pls. 1380, 1385, 1386B. For armoury see also Pls. 1408 D, E, 1418, 1430-31 D)

(4) Epigraphy. Stylistic peculiarities. In metalware the first epigraphic bands which carry not only a message but have a clear decorative function occur on 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century mosque lamps (Rice, *SIMW V*; for earlier inscriptions, of a 2nd/8th century bronze ewer in the Tbilisi Museum, or bird-shaped vessel in the Hermitage, dated 180/796-7, and on 4th/10th to 5th/11th century bronze and silver objects (*Survey*, Pls. 1343, 1345-6). From this time onwards, particularly since the mid 6th/12th century, epigraphy remained a constant factor in the decoration of metalware. The formal integration of the script, being set into continuous or compartmentalised bands, cartouches or medallions, complies with the general stylistic tendencies of the time. On Mamlūk metalware, inscriptions appear not only in continuous and intersecting bands which may occupy a considerable part of an object, but also in a circular arrangement in which the hastae of the letters point towards the centre. Starting from the mid-8th/14th century, such radiant inscriptions are most prominent.

The stylistic development of script on metalware, and the possible divergences from other artistic media, still remain to be studied. In the present state of our knowledge, there appears to be only one type of script which at least in its later stages of development is unique to metalware. This is a script in which either the whole letter or part of it are made to assume human or animal forms. According to the figural features which dominate in each of its variations, it falls into four types: ornithomorphic, human-headed, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic (Rice, *Wade Cup*; Baer, *Metalwork*). Out of these only the first is known from objects other than metalware, occurring on Sāmānid ceramics about 150 years prior to the first dated evidence of figural script on metal, the "Bohimski Bucket" which was made in Harāt in 550/1163 (Ettinghausen, *Wade Cup*). The figural script had disappeared almost completely by the end of the 7th/13th century.

The integration of the script into the overall composition of a decoration, like its artistic development is however only one aspect of these inscriptions. Aside from their artistic value, these examples are texts which, if properly read and interpreted, may provide valuable information which is not available from other sources. Although the general categories—eulogies, and dedications, religious inscriptions, moral dicta, inscriptions connected with the usage or quality of the object and verses from Persian literature—are known, only a very limited number of inscriptions have actually been read. A proper investigation and evaluation of each of these categories has therefore been postponed until we possess a comprehensive corpus of inscriptions on metal-work (for some ideas, see Baer, *Metalwork*).

(5) The thematic repertoire. The thematic repertoire of mediaeval Islamic metalwork falls into three main groups. The first and by far the largest are representations of pleasure and pastime. They include, aside from banqueting scenes, dancers and musicians, a rich selection of hunting methods, falconry, hunting with the cheetah and phases of the animal's training and fowling. Visual renderings of this last game are rare in other artistic media. Other pastimes, like polo games and travelling in a howdah on camel-back, have parallels in ceramics or miniature paintings. Sailing in a pleasure boat, a princely pastime which could be practiced only in Mesopotamia and Egypt, seems to have no analogues in ceramics, textiles and the like (Baer, *A brass vessel*, 269-325). Representations of outdoor activities in a rural environment appear to be characteristic of a small group of early 7th/13th century Mesopotamian-style metal objects, while tournaments or tiaziz scenes seem to have been a favoured theme in the later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century in Syrian, Egyptian and West Iranian metalwork alike. On the whole, these scenes were less popular on Iranian brasses than on contemporary Mamlūk objects (Rice, *Baptistère*). The second category are cosmic and terrestrial cycles. It comprises representations of the Labours of the Months, the planets and the zodiac, and scenes in which a princely image is shown in a cosmic setting. The first and the third theme are as yet known from metal objects only (for Labours of the Months, see Rice, *The seasons and labors*, 1-40; E. Atil, *Two Il-khanid candlesticks*, 1-33). Astrological signs, on the other hand, are not limited to metalwork. It would seem, however, that on metalwork the iconographic programme of this theme is particularly rich and has no known analogues in other artistic media (Hartner, *The Vase Vesconati*; Baer, *An Islamic inkwell*. For the princely image in cosmic setting, see Baer, *Metalwork*).

Epics, legends and religious themes serve as an inspiration for the third group. It comprises illustrations of certain episodes of the *Shāh nāma*, and ornamental designs based upon popular belief and folklore. Both relate to pottery and the art of the book. Their iconographic meaning is allusive (Baer, *Fish-pond ornaments*).

In a group of mid-7th/13th century North Syrian and North Mesopotamian metalware, Christian religious themes are combined with traditional Islamic decorations. In addition to saints or high church officials, they depict cycles of the life of Christ. Themes so far identified are "The Entry into Jerusalem", "The Nativity", "Baptism", "The Presentation in the Temple" and "The Virgin and the Child enthroned". However, the problem of Christian subjects on Islamic metalwork needs further research.

Workshop centres.

Our information on centres of manufacture of metalwork stems from two main sources. One is written evidence provided by mediaeval geographers and historians. It is generally reliable, but often exceedingly brief, and even when the author reports on his native town (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *K. al-Buldān*, 233, ll. 19-20, for Ḥamadān), the products are often only listed but not described (for an exception see al-Makrīzī, below). The second source of information is inscriptions which figure on the objects themselves. Two types are particularly suggestive. One are inscriptions referring to the place of manufacture. So far only a relatively small number of places have been deciphered. Future systematic collection of these inscriptions may provide new evidence (the following place names appear so far on one object only: Baṣra, ewer by Ibn Yazīd, dated 67 or 69/688-7 or 688-9 Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 48; Kāshān or Kāsān

(?), bird-shaped vessel by Sulaymān, dated 780/796-7 Melikian Chirvani, in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Islam*, ed J Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler 1973, no XVI, 'Mosul ' Blacas Ewer", decorated by Shujā' b Mau'a in 629/1232, *Hayward cat* no 196; Misr, candlestick by Muḥammad b Ḥasan dated 668/1270, Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*, Pl 27)

The other type of inscription on metalwares is that of signatures giving not only the name of the artist but also his *nisba*. An often made assumption that intrinsically the *nisba* means that the artisan was active in the centre has to be discarded. It may have been carried by an artist who had left his native town many years ago and was working hundred of miles away. It can therefore be considered significant only if taken in conjunction with other elements. One of the most striking examples for the continuous use of a *nisba* by artists who were active in another centre is the *nisba* al-Mawṣilī found on at least 30 objects made throughout the 7th/13th and the first quarter of the 8th/14th century out of which only one single specimen stems unequivocally from Mosul (Rice, *Inlaid brasses* To Rice's list add a candlestick by 'Alī b Kusayrāt working in Damascus, and a Qur'ān box by Aḥmad b Bārā, *Cairo cat* 1969, nos 56, 60)

On the basis of the above mentioned criteria, only three larger centres can so far be singled out Ones is Damascus, which at least since the 4th/10th century and throughout Mamlūk times exported metalwere to all parts of the Islamic world, including Cairo (al-Mukaddasī, 181, l. 1, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed Schefer, 52, l. 13, al-Maḳrīzī *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 112 For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, 326, no. 16, *Cairo cat* 1969, no 56)

The second centre which, like Damascus, had flourishing workshops during the Mamlūk period is Cairo (for a detailed description of the Mariot of metal Inlayers—*ahl al-ḥuṭṭayyia*— in which bronze vessels were inlaid with gold and silver, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 105. For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, nos. 23, 24, 26) At the turn of al-Maḳrīzī's account, i.e. after 820/1417, this industry had already declined.

The third reasonably-documented centre, famous for its richly-inlaid bronze objects, is Harāt (Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 320, l. 30-323, l 2) Two objects, the "Bobrinski Bucket" dated 559/1163 and an ewer in the State Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi dated 557/1181, carry an inscription stating that they were made in Harāt (the exact text of the Tiflis ewer has, however, never been published See Mayer, *Metalworkers*, 53, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ettinghausen, *Bobrinski "Kettle"*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1943, 196) Four other 6th/12th century inlaid pieces of metalworks, worked in similar style and technique, and signed by artists using the *nisba* al-Harawī, suggest that these artists had already left Harāt and were active in another centre. In formation on other centres of manufacture is even more scanty Places put forward by art historians should therefore be used with caution

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AL-MA'DIN (A.) "the mine" is, by metonomasia, the name of a certain number of villages in

1. Bird-shaped vessel. H 38 cm. Bronze, hollow cast, engraved, some silver inlay. Made by Salaymān in 180/796-7. The Hermitage, Leningrad, no. IR 1565. Photograph courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

2. Ewer. H. 36 cm. White bronze, incised, copper inlay on rim. Made by Muhammad (?). Late 1st/7th to early 2nd/8th century, Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 434—1906. Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer

3. Lantern. H. 30.5 cm. Sheet bronze, perforated. Prob. later 3rd/9th century, Iran. L. A. Mayer Memorial, No. M. 73-69. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial. Photograph E. Baer

4. Oil lamp. H. 14.5 cm. Bronze, cast and pierced. 6th/12th century. Iran. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. no. 1051.39. Courtesy Fogg Art Museum. Photograph E. Baer

5 Tray (?) L. 29·5 cm. Sheet bronze, worked in repoussé, punched. 6th/12th century, Iran. Private Collection. Photograph E. Baer.

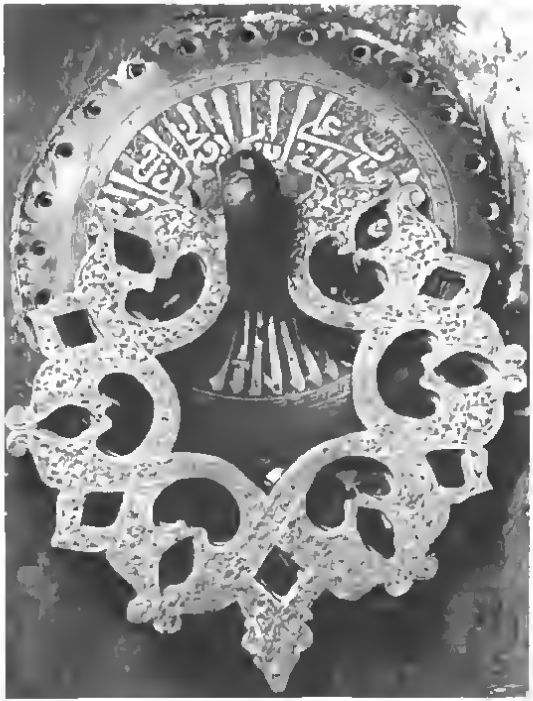
6 Inkwell H. 13 cm. Bronze, cast, engraved, inlaid with silver and copper. Late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century, Iran. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, no. 30 1 45 A and B. Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased: The Elizabeth Wandell Smith's Fund.

7. Cylindrical box. H. 10.2 cm. Brass, engraved, inlaid with silver. Inscribed with name of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'. Made between 631/1233 and 659/1259, prob. in North Mesopotamia. British Museum, London, no. 78.12—30. Photograph D. S. Rice, Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial.

8. Candlestick. H. 34 cm. Brass, inlaid with silver. Made by Hādjdj Ismā'īl, inlaid by Muḥammad b. Faṭṭūḥ, journeyman to Shudjā' al-Mawṣilī. After 629/1232. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15122. Photograph D. S. Rice. L. A. Mayer Memorial.

9 Ewer H 34 cm Brass, inlaid with silver Made by Husayn b Muhammad al-Mawṣilī for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Damascus 637/1239 Musée du Louvre, Paris, no 7428 Photograph D S Rice Courtesy L A Mayer Memorial

10 Mirror D 22 cm Cast bronze, inlaid with silver and gold Made by Muhammad al-Wasiṭī Second quarter of 8th/14th century, Syria (?) Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul Photograph D S Rice Courtesy L A Mayer Memorial



11. Door knocker. Cast bronze, inlaid with silver. Made by order of Muhammad b. Kalāwun, for Shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, Hebron. Syria or Egypt. First quarter of 8th/14th century. Photograph E. Baer

12. Stand. H. 25 cm. Mid 7th/13th century. Ex Sambon Coll. Photograph D. S. Rice, Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial

13 Jug H. 30 cm Brass, inlaid with silver and gold Made for the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, before 743/1342 Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo no. 15126. Photograph D. S. Rice Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial

14 Arabesque decoration Detail from lampstand by Ibn Maḥmūd, made for Amīr Bek Early 11th/17th century. Iran St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis no. 86.23. Photograph E. Baer

25 "Baptistère of St Louis" H 24 4 cm Brass, inlaid with silver and gold Made by Muhammad b al-Zayn. Syria or Egypt, later 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century Musée de Louvre, Paris Photograph D S. Rice. Courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial

28 Bowl. H. 22.5 cm Brass, inlaid with silver and gold. Mid-8th/14th century, National Museum, Florence (Bargello) no 362 Photograph D. S Rice. Courtesy L. A Mayer Memorial

17. Jug H. 13 cm. Brass, engraved, inlaid with silver. Made by Habīb Allāh b. ʿAlī Bahārgānī in 866/1461-2. Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London no. 943-1886. Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer

18. Ewer (*ābkash*). H. 33 cm. Brass, engraved. Dated 1017/1602-3. Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 458-1876. Crown Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph E. Baer

Arabia and other parts of the Orient (see Yāḳūt, s.v.), and is also found in the toponomy of the Iberian peninsula. Under the form Almaden, this term refers to the locality in the province of Ciudad Real, 125 km. to the north of Cordova, in the Sierra de Almadén (A. Djibal al-Ma'din), which has one of the richest deposits in the world of mercury (A. zi'baḳ and variants, whence Spanish *azogue* and the fullest form of the place name Almadén de Azogue). According to García Bellido (*España y los españoles hace dos mil años según la Geografía de Strabón*, Madrid 1945, 79-81), these deposits were already being exploited in the 4th century B.C., since the Greek philosopher Theophrastus (*ca* 370-287) mentions the cinnabar of Iberia. At the present time, they still produce each year about 1,800 tonnes of mercury.

The Portuguese town of Almada, situated opposite to Lisbon on the southern bank of the Tagus, owes its name (A. Ḥiṣn al-Ma'din) to the grains of gold dust thrown up by the *sac. on* to this bank (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* text 184, tr. 223 = *Opus geographicum*, Naples Rome 1975, v, 547).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 294, *see* also Ḥusayn Mu'nis, *al Djughrāfiyya wa 'l-djughrāfiyūn fi 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1967. (C. F. Seybold - [M. Ocaña Jiménez])

MADĪNA, urbanism. [See Supplement].

AL-MADĪNA (usually Medina in English, Médine in French), residence of the Prophet Muḥammad after the *hidjra* and one of the sacred cities of Islam.

Medina is situated in the Ḥidjāz province of Sa'ūdī Arabia in latitude 24° 28' N, longitude 39° 36' E, about 180 km. from the Red Sea and about 350 km. north of Mecca. It has developed from an oasis on relatively level ground between the hill of Uḥud on the north and that of 'Ayr on the south. East and west are lava flows (in Arabic *ḥarra* [*q.v.*] or *ḥāra*). There are several *wādīs* or watercourses which cross the oasis from south to north. Though these normally contain water only after rain, they maintain a fairly high water table, so that there are many wells and springs. After heavy rains the central area of al-Manāḳha used to form a lake, and a number of serious floods are recorded which threatened the stability of some of the buildings. On one occasion the caliph 'Uthmān erected a dam as a protection against flood waters (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 11). Serious floods are also recorded in 660/40, 734/116 and 779/156. The water is in places salt and unpalatable, and in the past various governors of the town built aqueducts to bring good water from wells further south. The soil consists of salty sand, lime and loamy clay, and is everywhere very fertile, especially in the more southerly part. Date-palms were numerous before the time of Muḥammad, and cereals were also grown. At a later date oranges, lemons, pomegranates, bananas, peaches, apricots, figs and grapes were introduced. The winters are cool with a slight rainfall, and the summers hot but rarely sultry. In former times, the air was reckoned pleasant but conducive to fevers (al-Balādhurī, 11 f.; Wensinck, *Muḥammad en de Joden*, 31; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 243). The Umayyads called the town *al-Khabītha*, "the dirty", in contrast to the honorific name of *Ṭayba*, "the sweet-smelling", given to it by Muḥammad (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 37; al-Balādhurī, 11).

(i) History to 1926

1. *The pre-Islamic settlements*

In pre-Islamic times the common name was Yathrib, though this is said to have been applied originally to only part of the oasis (al-Samhūdī, i, 8-10). This name occurs once in the Kur'ān (XXXIII, 13). Iathrippa is found in Ptolemy and Stephanus Byzantinus, and Yṯrb in Minaean inscriptions. *Al-Madīna* is properly "the town" or "the place of jurisdiction", corresponding to Aramaic *medinta*. The word *madīna* as a common noun occurs ten times in the Kur'ān and the plural *mudūn* three times, all in stories of former prophets. In four relatively late verses (IX, 101/2, 120/1; XXXIII, 60; LXIII, 8) *al-madīna* appears, referring to the oasis now inhabited mainly by Muslims, but it is possible that it has not yet become a proper name. The same holds of its occurrence in the last clause of the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 342-4), since in the preamble and other two clauses of this document the name Yathrib appears by itself. It is often suggested that the name is a shortened form of *madīnat al-nabī*, "the city of the Prophet", but this is unlikely in view of its use in the Kur'ān, especially in LXIII, 8, where it is spoken by Hypocrites. Of the poets of the oasis, the pre-Islamic Kays b. al-Khaṭīm [*q.v.*] speaks only of Yathrib, whereas Muḥammad's contemporaries Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ka'b b. Mālik [*q.vv.*] use both names.

Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date-palms and cultivated fields. For defence, therefore, a large number of forts or strongholds (*ṭām*, sing. *uṭum*, also *ādjām*, sing. *udjum*) had been constructed, perhaps about 200 in all. In these the local inhabitants took refuge in times of danger. The idea of the *uṭum* probably came from the Yemen (cf. H. Lammens, *Ṭāʾif*, 72 = *MFOB*, viii [1924], 184).

The later Muslim historians (cf. al-Samhūdī, i, 156-65; *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 1) had no reliable information about the earliest history of Medina, and the views expressed appear to be conjectural; e.g. that the first cultivators were 'Amālīḳ [*q.v.*]. It seems probable that before the arrival of any Jews there were some Arabs at Medina, doubtless the ancestors of those found subordinate to the Jews at the time of the settlement of al-Aws and al-Khazradj. It was probable because of the close relation to the Jews that certain small Arab clans (Khaṭma, Wā'il, Wāḳif, Umayya b. Zayd, sections of 'Amr b. 'Awf) did not at first accept Muḥammad as prophet.

There is also obscurity about the earlier history of the Jews of Medina. It seems probable that some were refugees from Palestine, perhaps men who left after the defeat of Bar Kokhba, but others may have been Arabs who had adopted Judaism as a religion. Certainly, the Jews of Medina intermarried with Arabs and had many customs similar to those of their Arab neighbours. It is clear from the Kur'ān, however (e.g. II, 47/44 ff.), that they claimed to be of Hebrew descent, despite the fact that the names of the clans and most of the names of individuals are Arabic. Early Arabic poems ascribed to Jews are indistinguishable in literary form and in content from those of desert Arabs (Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, 52 ff.). While there may have been some simple agriculture before the coming of the Jews, they almost certainly developed the cultivation of dates and cereals here as in other oases such as Khaybar (cf. W. Caskel in G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., *Studies in Islamic cultural history*, Menasha 1954, 43; = *American Anthropologist*, lxvi/3, Memoir no. 76).

There were three main Jewish groups in Medina at the Hidjra, the clans or tribes of Kurayẓa, al-

Nadīr and Kaynuḳāʿ. Of these, the first two had some of the most fertile land in the oasis, while the third had no land but were armourers and goldsmiths, besides conducting a market. In addition, al-Samhūdī lists about a dozen other purely Jewish groups, of whom the most important was the Banū Hadl, which was closely associated with Ḳurayẓa. He further mentions among the Jewish groups a few which are sometimes given Arab genealogies, such as Umayf and Marthad (parts of Balī), Muʿawiya b. al-Ḥārith (of Sulaym), and Ḍaḍhumā and Nāghiya (of al-Yaman).

The Jewish domination of Medina came to an end some time after the settlement of two large Arab groups, al-Aws and al-Khazradj [*q.vv.*], sometimes called together the Banū Ḳayla, but mostly referred to as the Anṣār or "helpers" of Muḥammad. They are among the Arabs said to have left South Arabia after the breaking of the dam of Maʾrib [*q.v.*]. At first these Arabs were under the protection of some Jewish tribes, and a sign of their inferiority was that Fiṭyawn, the leader of the Jewish Arab group of Thaʿlaba, exercised a *ius primae noctis* over their women. This was resented by Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān (of the clan of ʿAwf of al-Khazradj), and he revolted successfully and became independent. Subsequently, with help from either a Ghassānid or a South Arabian ruler (according to somewhat legendary accounts), he enabled the other clans of al-Aws and al-Khazradj to become independent of the Jews. It is sometimes said that the Jews now became subject to these Arabs. This is not borne out however, by the historical accounts of the period up to 5/627. The main Jewish groups, though doubtless now weaker than the Arabs, retained a measure of independence and continued to occupy some of the best lands. They were not politically united by their religion, but different groups were in alliance (*ḥilf*) with different Arab clans, and were sometimes involved on opposite sides in the fighting between Arab clans. Some of the groups of Judaised Arabs seem to have gradually become merged with Arab clans (as the Banū Zaʿūrāʾ with ʿAbd al-Ashhal).

The historical accounts make it clear that the effective political units in the pre-Islamic period were not the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazradj, but smaller units, which may be called clans. Those mentioned in the Constitution of Medina (see below) were al-Nabīt, ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Aws Manāt (later Aws Allāh) among al-Aws, and al-Nadjdjār, al-Ḥārith, ʿAwf, Sāʿida and Djusham among al-Khazradj; but even smaller groupings were also important. From at least fifty years before the Hidjra there had been a series of blood-feuds between Arab groups, behind which, at least latterly, there may have been an economic factor, namely, desire for better lands. These feuds led to fighting described as "wars". The earliest recorded was between Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Ubayḍa b. al-Ḍuḥāḥ of Sālim (Kawākila). Four small "wars" occurred between this and the "war of Ḥāṭib", which was the bloodiest and culminated after several fights in the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*] in about 617 A.D. Most of the clans of al-Aws took part under the leadership of Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, and most of the clans of al-Khazradj under ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa. The Jewish clans of Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr on this occasion supported Ḥuḍayr because ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān had killed hostages they had given him. One or two Arab clans and some prominent leaders, notably ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, did not take part in the battle. The fighting was severe and both leaders were killed, but neither side had a decisive advantage and an informal peace was made. This unresolved conflict was doubtless one factor leading the Arabs of Medina to invite Muḥammad to go there.

Al-Aws and al-Khazradj were noted for their devotion to the deity Manāt, whose shrine was at al-Mushallal between Medina and Mecca (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 26. T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 123). The Medinan poet Kays b. al-Khaṭīm has references to *Allāh* (*Diwān*, ed. Kowalski, Leipzig 1924, 5 6; 6 22; 11 8; 13 12), but these may reflect not so much Jewish or Christian influence as the widespread belief in a supreme god or "high god" often called Allāh (cf. J. Teixidor, *The pagan God*, Princeton 1977, 17, 26n, etc.). There seems, however, to have been some movement towards monotheism before the contact with Muḥammad; e.g. Asʿad b. Zurāra and Abū ʾl-Haytham (Ibn Saʿd, *viii*, 239, 240), and Abū Ḳays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas (Ibn Hishām, 348). Another man, known as Abū ʿAmir al-Rāhib, though a monotheist and ascetic previously, became an opponent of Muḥammad (Ibn Hishām, 422 f., 562, etc.).

a. *From the Hidjra to the caliphate of ʿAlī*

There was probably some knowledge in Medina of Muḥammad's mission from an early date. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit who died before the battle of Buʿāth, is said to have accepted the Kurʾān (Ibn Hishām, 283 5). The first definite converts were six men of al-Khazradj who came to Muḥammad probably in 620. At the pilgrimage of 621 they brought a party of twelve men (including two from al-Aws), and the party formally accepted Islām and made certain promises. This was the Pledge of the Women or first Pledge of al-ʿAḳaba. In 622 seventy-three men and two women from Medina, who had become Muslims, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and promised to protect Muḥammad and his followers as they would their own nearest kinsmen. This was the second Pledge of al-ʿAḳaba or the Pledge of War (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*). On the basis of this agreement, some seventy of Muḥammad's Meccan followers with their dependants emigrated or made the *hidjra*, to Medina in small groups. Muḥammad and Abū Bakr came last, and reached Ḳubāʾ in the south of the oasis on 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal (= 24 September 622). The Emigrants (*muhādjirūn*) from Mecca were given hospitality by the Muslims of Medina. Muḥammad himself did not accept any of the many offers of hospitality, but ostensibly allowed his camel to make the choice for him. It halted on a piece of land belonging to two orphans, and Muḥammad bought the land and used it for his mosque and for his own house. It was probably because of the same desire not to have a special relationship with any of the rival clans in Medina that none of Muḥammad's marriages was with a woman of either al-Aws or al-Khazradj.

At al-ʿAḳaba in 622 Muḥammad had asked for the appointment of twelve "representatives" (*nuḳabāʾ*). The number twelve was probably suggested by the tribes of Israel and the disciples of Jesus, but the fact that when the first representative of the clan of al-Nadjdjār died Muḥammad took his place (one of his great-grandmothers had been a woman of al-Nadjdjār) suggests that the *nuḳabāʾ* were part of a political structure for Medina which fell into disuse. The effective structure of the community is doubtless that indicated in the document often known as "the Constitution of Medina" (Ibn Hishām, 341 4; discussed by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 65-83; Wensinck, *Muhammad en de Joden*, 74-82;

Caetani, *Annali*, i, 392-408; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 221-8; R. B. Serjeant, *The 'Constitution of Medina'*, in *IQ*, viii (1964), 3-16; idem, *The Sunnah Jāmi'ah, pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the taḥrīm of Yathrib*, in *BSOAS*, xli (1978), 1-42). The document is composite, as is shown by repetitions. In its present form it would seem to belong to a date after the Kurayẓa affair in 5/627, but some of its articles may go back to the Pledge of War at al-'Aḳaba. By this document all the people living in Medina are constituted a single *umma* or community in accordance with traditional Arab ideas of confederacy. There are nine primary members of the confederacy, eight local "clans" (three of al-Aws and five of al-Khazradj) and the group of Emigrants from Mecca. Although the underlying political conceptions were pre-Islamic Arab, the confederacy was one of Muslims since at least the leading men in each of the eight clans had accepted Muḥammad as prophet. Many of the articles speak of "the believers", and there are several references to God. About ten distinct groups of Jews are mentioned in separate articles, and are confirmed in the practice of their own religion, as well as having certain rights and obligations. Even unbelievers or idolaters in the Arab clans appear to have been accepted as members of the community, though with restricted rights. There are some ten dozen general articles dealing with various matters conducive to the smooth running of the community. Muḥammad is given no special powers, but is recognised as prophet and as to have disputes referred to him. At least until 5/627 he could not issue commands but had to consult the clan leaders and get them to agree to what he proposed. After the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, however, his authority was unchallenged as a result of Muslim successes. When Arab tribes accepted Islam and became allies of Muḥammad they were presumably included in the confederacy, and the Muslim community ceased to consist solely of the inhabitants of Medina. Al-Aws and al-Khazradj, as Muḥammad's earliest allies, were called the Anṣār or "helpers".

The period from the Hidjra to Muḥammad's death was characterised by a series of over 70 expeditions or razzias (*maghāzī* [*q.v.*]), in which the number of participants varied from a handful to 30,000. In the first few small expeditions, only Emigrants from Mecca took part, but in the expedition of 2/624 which culminated in the battle of Badr the Muslims of Medina constituted about three quarters of Muḥammad's force. After the victory at Badr most of the Muslims of Medina were committed to Muḥammad's general policies, though a few, the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]), opposed them. This opposition within Medina was dangerous for Muḥammad when the Meccans invaded the oasis in 3/625 and the Muslims at Medina suffered many casualties, and again in 5/627 when the Meccans with many allies attempted to besiege Medina. There was also opposition from some of the Jews, and this led to the expulsion of the clans of Kaynuḳā' and al-Nadīr (in 2/624 and 3/625) and the execution of the men of Kurayẓa and selling into slavery of its women and children (in 5/627). Jewish verbal criticisms of the Ḳur'ān had been felt to threaten the acceptance of Muḥammad as prophet, while Kurayẓa had apparently been intriguing with the Meccans during the siege. After 5/627 the remaining Jews of Medina gave no further trouble. In succeeding years, many Arab nomads on accepting Islam came to settle in Medina and were attached to the group of Emigrants; and this further strengthened Muḥammad against the Anṣār. On the whole, he managed to keep the peace between the rival groups in Medina, though at times he was able to use the hostility of al-Aws and al-Khazradj to further his own ends. After the conquest of Mecca and the acceptance of Islam by many of the leading Meccans, both sections of the Anṣār felt threatened by these last (cf. the Ḥunayn, 8/24, 855 f.), and this division in the Anṣār gradually ceased to be of political importance. The opposition to Muḥammad from 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] and his supporters, known as the *munāfiḳūn*, seems to have faded out at the time of the siege of Medina, for 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy participated in the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya. About 9/630, however, another group of *munāfiḳūn* appeared. During the expedition to Tabūk an attempt on Muḥammad's life was planned, but was foiled. About the same time a mosque had been completed in the southern part of the oasis, the Masdjid al-Ḍirār or "Mosque of Dissension", but instead of honouring it by his presence Muḥammad sent men to demolish it, having realised that it was designed to be a focus of intrigue against himself. (For the details of all these events, see MUḤAMMAD.)

After the great expedition to Tabūk, Muḥammad did not leave Medina except to make the Pilgrimage of Farewell to Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 10/March 632. About two months later he fell ill, and asked permission of his wives to remain in 'Ā'isha's apartment (instead of spending one night with each in turn). He died on 13 Rabī' I 11/8 June 632 and was buried in this apartment. He had made no arrangements for succession to his political authority, except that he had appointed Abū Bakr to lead the public prayers. The Anṣār met in the hall (*saḳīfa*) of the clan of Sā'ida and appointed the leading Khazradjī, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, as their ruler. 'Umar and Abū Bakr, however, heard of what was happening, hurried to the hall, and persuaded the Anṣār that only a man of Kuraysh could be accepted by everyone as head of the community. They then appointed Abū Bakr who took the title of "caliph (*khalīfa*) of the Messenger of God".

Abū Bakr continued to reside at Medina and to follow a policy of expansion by sending expeditions northwards. Most of his brief reign (11-13/632-4), however, was occupied in subduing revolts among various Arab tribes (the wars of the Ridda). His successors 'Umar (13-23/634-44) and 'Uthmān (23-35/644-56) also resided in Medina, apart from brief visits to recently conquered provinces. Medina was thus briefly the capital of an empire, but had little of the dignity associated with such a role. The caliph lived in his private house, and had no guards. Thus when insurgents from the provinces attacked 'Uthmān in his house, his only support was from the sons of some of the leading men of Medina who had been sent as a token force. When the insurgents attacked seriously, there was virtually no resistance and 'Uthmān was killed. Upon this, the Muslims in Medina accepted 'Alī as caliph, but they were now only a small proportion of the whole Muslim community, and their choice of caliph was not accepted in all the provinces. The Muslims at Syria favoured their governor Mu'āwiya, while Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr opposed 'Alī, first from Mecca and then from Baṣra. 'Alī, feeling constrained to counter the moves of these two, left Medina for 'Irāḳ in October 656 and never returned. In effect, Medina was replaced as capital by Kūfa, and, after the acknowledgement of Mu'āwiya as caliph in 661, by Damascus.

From 661 to 1926

After it ceased to be the centre of the caliphate, Medina became something of a backwater politically. For a brief moment in 63/683 it came into the historical limelight. Many of the leading men of Medina disliked Yazīd's succession to his father Muʿāwiya in 60/680. Some may have been moved by the hope of regaining for Medina some of its former influence. Others seem to have sympathised with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who was organising opposition to the Umayyads from Mecca. A large body of the Muslims of Medina, led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala, formally renounced allegiance to Yazīd, and forced a thousand members of the Umayyad family and its supporters to take refuge in the quarter of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], the head of the family in Medina, though of a different branch from Muʿāwiya. Yazīd sent an army of from 4,000 to 12,000 Syrian troops under Muslim b. ʿUkba, but before they arrived the rebels had allowed the Umayyad party to leave Medina for Syria. Muslim's army encamped on the Ḥarra to the north-east of Medina and invited the rebels to submit. Instead they marched against him and were severely defeated, and Medina is alleged to have been pillaged for three days by the Syrians. There seems to be some anti-Umayyad exaggeration in the accounts of this battle of the Ḥarra [*q.v.*] and its aftermath. These events did not greatly alter the position of Medina, except perhaps to reduce its political importance still further.

In 130/747 a group of Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] who had established themselves in the Yemen sent an army into the Ḥiḍjāz and, after defeating the governor of Medina and a locally raised force, occupied Medina for three months until defeated by an army from Syria (Wellhausen, *Die Oppositionsparteien*, ch. xii; Eng. tr. *The religio-political factions*). After the establishment of ʿAbbāsid rule, Medina was the centre of two short-lived and unsuccessful Ḥasanid revolts, that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the "pure soul" (*al nafs al-zakiyya* [*q.v.*]) in 144/762 and that of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the *ṣāḥib Fakhkh* [*q.v.*], in 169/786. Another incident that has been recorded was the defeat in 210/825 by the Turkish general Bughā al-Kabīr of the nomadic tribes of Sulaym and Hilāl who had been making depredations in the region of Medina. About two years later they escaped from prison, but were put to death by the people of Medina (Ṭabarī, iii, 557 ff., Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 250, 252). For the first three centuries of Islam these are the main events involving Medina.

Even in the reign of Muʿāwiya, Medina was becoming remote from the caliph and his government, and was beginning to attract those who wanted to keep aloof from political turmoil and maintain an attitude of neutrality between the opposing groups. Prominent among the neutrals was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*]. To Medina also came al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] after renouncing his claim to the caliphate in 41/661, and to Medina were brought al-Ḥusayn's wives and son after his death at Karbalāʾ. Another son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], also lived quietly in Medina. As already noted, too, no important section of the Umayyad family, not closely involved in the government of Muʿāwiya and Yazīd, resided in Medina. Many others of the Quraysh of Mecca also settled there. Such people were able to enjoy the wealth brought to them by the wars of conquests, and life in Medina became notorious for its luxury. The caliph Marwān II expressed surprised that one of the participants in the rising of 127/745 had not been held back by the wine and singing-girls of Medina (Ṭabarī, ii, 1910).

At the same time, however, Medina became an important centre of Islamic intellectual life. From the beginnings of Islam, it would seem, men had met in mosques to discuss matters of religious interest. In Medina in the Umayyad period such discussions led to criticisms of current legal and administrative practice on the ground that these were not in accordance with Islamic principles. As these discussions and criticisms became more systematic, Islamic jurisprudence began to take shape. The early school of Medina seems to have been important (though J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 223, etc., thinks it was subordinate to the ʿIrāḳī schools). There are many references to "the seven lawyers of Medina", a group of men who died a little before or shortly after 106/724, the lists of the seven vary somewhat [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA AL-SAʿa in Suppl.]. One of the most prominent was ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], who was also a collector of *ḥadīth* and of historical information about the life of the Prophet. Among his pupils were his son Hishām and Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]), one of the greatest scholars of the time in several fields. The real flowering of the legal school of Medina, however, came through the work of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) [*q.v.*], who was the founder of one of the four Sunnī legal rites. The traditionist view of the Kurʾān was represented in Medina by Nāfiʿ al-Layṯī (d. 169/785), the authority for one of the seven canonical sets of readings. Ibn al-Kaʿkāʿ al-Maḵẓūmī (d. 130/747) from Medina was also highly thought of for his textual studies. In the exegesis of the Kurʾān an important place was held by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam (d. 182/798), whose father had been noted as a lawyer. A pupil of Mālik's, Ibn Zabāla, wrote one of the first histories of Medina (Sezgin, *GAS*, *i*, 343); it has not survived, but is occasionally quoted by al-Samhūdī.

No wall was built round Medina until it was felt to be threatened by the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt. In 364/974 the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla built a wall enclosing the central part of the town. This was restored in 540/1145 by a Zangid vizier, but a few years later in 557/1162 the Zangid Atābeg of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. After the Ottoman conquest, Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī (1520-66) built walls about 12 m. high of basalt and granite, with a trench in front. He also built a covered aqueduct to bring water from the south. These walls were raised to 25 m. by Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76).

In 607/1203 the people of Medina were involved in a quarrel between the governors of Mecca and Medina, but, though there was some fighting, an agreement was eventually reached. Half-a-century later, in 654/1256, Medina was threatened by a volcanic eruption. After a series of earthquakes, a stream of lava appeared, but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then northwards. After this, little is recorded of Medina until the 19th century. In 1804 the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] took the town, plundered the jewels, pearls and other treasures of the Prophet's Mosque and prevented pious "visits" to his tomb there. In 1273 it was recaptured for the Ottomans by Yūsuf, a son of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, and in 1815 the Wahhābī *amīr*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿūd, recognised Ottoman sovereignty over the holy places in the Ḥiḍjāz, and there was no change in this respect until the First World War. Shortly before that, in

1908, the Ottoman government built the Hijāz railway from Damascus to Medina. Though primarily intended for pilgrims, this had some military importance, and was the object of attacks after November 1916 when the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, Husayn b. ʿAlī [q.v.], revolted against the Ottomans. A contingent of Ottoman troops, under Fakhrī Pasha, however, maintained themselves in Medina until after the peace in 1918, not surrendering until 10 January 1919 with its 9,800 men (see A. L. Tibawi, *The last knight of the last caliphs*, in *IQ*, xv [1971], 159-63). In 1924 after the abolition of the caliphate by the Turkish republic the Grand Sharīf (now King) Husayn assumed the title of caliph, but met with much opposition from Arabs and other Muslims in particular, Ibn Suʿūd invaded the Hijāz in August 1924, Husayn abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī, but the latter too had to leave the Hijāz, and in January 1926 Ibn Suʿūd became "King of the Hijāz" as well as of Nadjd. Medina was thus incorporated into the Suʿūdī kingdom.

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(W. M. Watt)

(ii) The modern city

As early as 1913, growing hostility between the Hāshimite king, Husayn b. ʿAlī, and the Suʿūdī sultan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, led to fears that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Ikhwān [q.v.] might capture al-Madīna. In fact, the redoubtable Faysal al-Dawīsh, Ikhwānī leader and chief of al-Mutayr tribe, had raided into al-Hijāz where he destroyed track of the already defunct Hijāz Railway and generally frightened the population. By late 1342/June 1924, al-Madīna had been largely cut off from outside supplies, nevertheless, at the time of the Suʿūdī/Ikhwān capture of al-Ṭāʾif (4 Ṣafar 1342/5 September 1924) and the subsequent fall of Makka, an exodus began from the latter which brought a surge of refugees into al-Madīna. During 1343-4/1925, occasional loads of supplies reached the beleaguered city, but by September when the Ḥarb [q.v.] tribe defected to the Suʿūdīs, al-Madīna was completely isolated. By the beginning of October, the garrison commander, ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-Miṣrī, was down to a 20-day supply of necessities, and the population began to slip away. By November, the citizens who remained approached ʿAbd al-Madjīd and one ʿIzzat Effendi, controller of the railroad, and asked them to negotiate the city's surrender. The terms were to open the gates if a general amnesty were to be declared and if the Ikhwān would guarantee the safety of the defenders and of the populace. From the Suʿūdī point of view, the city could have been captured soon after the capture of al-Ṭāʾif and Makka, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz apparently preferred to wait until Muslim opinion had digested the new régime's control of Makka. Indeed, false, but not implausible reports that Suʿūdī artillery had damaged the famous green dome over the Prophet's tomb had already in October 1925 brought an Iranian mission of investigation as well as protests from foreign consuls in Djudda [q.v.] and from all over the world. Not long before the city's fall, Philby, en route to Rābigh, reports that he saw a detachment of the Suʿūdī army under the sultān's third son, Muḥammad, marching on al-Madīna. According to Philby, in the last weeks of the siege sickness fear of the Ikhwān led ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to have food smuggled into the city in order to prevent Faysal al-Dawīsh from effecting the capture. In any case, the surrender took place on 19 Djumādā I 1344/5 December 1925 and was accepted by Amīr Nāṣir b. Suʿūd and Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Padī. The Ikhwān soon entered the exterior fortress of al-Sala' but ant the city. Amīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered on 6 December, prayed in the Prophet's mosque, and then ordered his troops to distribute 1,000 bags of rice and 2,000 of flour to the hungry citizenry. Faysal al-Dawīsh aspired to the post of governor of al-Madīna (which is a town on the Nadjd plateau unlike Makka, a city of the coastal plain) and its dependent villages. His failure to receive it may have been one cause of his participation in the subsequent Ikhwān revolt. But from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's point of view since the Muṭayr *dīra* already reached from the confines of al-Aḥsā' [q.v.] almost to al-Madīna, a further extension of his power would have given him a possibly preponderant influence from the Red Sea to the Gulf. The first governor appointed was Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Sulaym, a relatively liberal-minded native of Ḥāʾil [q.v.].

The Wahhābī [q.v.] zealots were in the and served following the arrival of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulayhid, the chief Wahhābī *kādī*. He soon assembled the local *ʿulamāʾ* had asked them to give him, after due deliberation, an opinion on the legality of the elaborate tombs erected over the years in al-Bakīʿ cemetery. After some two weeks of discussion, a *fatwā* [q.v.], motivated partly by fear, was issued by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Tayyib al-Anṣārī, with reluctant approval from his colleagues, which sanctioned the Wahhābī view that the tombs, cupolas, etc., should be destroyed. Shaykh Muḥammad was for the rest of his days referred to with opprobrium as "the Wahhābī". The Bulayhid now had legal justification to implement the Wahhābī view. He had, however, a problem there were almost no Wahhābīs in al-Madīna, and the regular population was reluctant to implement the *fatwā*. In the end, he had to hire the Shīʿī pariah class al-Nakhāwila (see below) to perform the task, When Eldon Rutter visited the city just after these events, he found that al-Bakīʿ looked like a razed town. It was strewn with a rubble of earth, timber, iron bars, bricks, cement, etc., through which paths had been cleared. It was said that 10,000 of the Companions of the Prophet had been buried there, but all graves, from those of the Prophet's family, of ʿUthmān, Mālik b. Anas and other well-known Muslims, to the palm-frond graves of the poor, were systematically destroyed. Some of the Nakhāwila, who had never been allowed to bury their own dead in al-Bakīʿ cemetery, were still raking over the rubble when Rutter visited the site. Also, outlying religious buildings such as the mosque of the tomb of Ḥamza were destroyed

Ibrāhīm b Salīm b Subhān was soon replaced, but there was no saving grace amidst the carnage. Full public security throughout the peninsula unknown for long years, provided the basis for a future of no greater hope.

In 1926 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to use his new title, visited the Prophet's city and conducted diplomatic negotiations with the British Agent and Consul, Mr S R. Jordan, but little came of them. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had been absent from Nadjd for two years, had to return to affairs there. The only other high-level meetings which modern al Madīna has known was in early 1945 when King Farūk b. Fuʾād [q.v. in Suppl.] of Egypt visited King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and invited him to visit Cairo, which he did in January 1946.

The population of the captured city was much depleted, but there are no exact figures. Estimates with sources for the 19th and 20th centuries are as follows:

1814	16-18,000	Burckhardt
1853	16-20,000	Burton
1877	20,000	Keane
1908	30,000	Wavell
1910	60,000	al-Baṭanūnī
eve of World War I	80,000	Philby
1925	6,000	Rutter
early 1930s	15,000	Philby
early 1940s	28,000	*Western Arabia and the Red Sea*
1950s	40,000	Ligeky
1962	71,998	census
1968	90,000	Sograeb Co
1970	112,000	Doxiades
1972	137,000	Robert Matthews Co.
1974	198,186	census
1976	150,000	*Aramco handbook*
2000	250-400,000	Mikhī

One could assume that by 1983 the population was approaching 200,000. Current estimates for the province of al-Madīna are approximately 500 000, but it should be emphasised that the estimates are only estimates. The compulsory recording of births dates only from 1983. In 1972 it was estimated that average population density was 2332/km² with a centre-city density of 30-40,000/km². The Robert Matthews Co survey of 1972 showed that 38% of heads of families were born in al-Madīna, 28%, elsewhere in Saʿūdī Arabia, and 36%, outside the kingdom. As to age distribution, the 1974 estimate was that 50% of the population was below age 15, and in addition that the economically active age group was only 23% of the total. A curious phenomenon in al-Madīna is that the age group over 65 is larger than the 60-64 group which in turn is larger than the 55-59 age group. This is explained by what might be called 'religious retirees'—those who wish to retire and spend their last days in the Prophet's city. Oil-stimulated immigration consisted on the one hand of professionals (teachers, doctors, engineers) who came largely from Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and labourers who were primarily but not exclusively from Yemen. Yemenis constituted some 75% of all foreigners. It should be noted that the economic activity rate of migrants was higher than that of Saudis, whereas family size was smaller.

The population of the somewhat dazed or even partially ruined city that the Saʿūdīs took over in 1925 spoke a Medinese dialect distinct from that of other Ḥidjāz localities. It has affinities both to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic, and Turkish words and phrases are still heard in the last quarter of the 20th century. There were considerable areas of the city that were abandoned and semi-ruined, especially those outside the northern and western walls where wealthy Turks and others had built houses, especially after the coming of the railroad. Traditionally, the population lived in clearly compartmented quarters (*ḥawāṣ*, pl. *aḥwāṣ*) and, in addition to native Medinese, included North Africans (attracted by the tomb of Mālik b. Anas), Indians, Black Africans (Takārīna), Mauritanians (Shanāḳiṭa) and Central Asians. A newer "immigrant" group are tribesmen: those of Ḥarb are concentrated in the eastern *ḥarra*, those of Djuhayna in the western. In addition, there was Hārat al-Aghāwāt, which was the home of the eunuch and other servants of the mosque (*al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī*). These included *imāms*, *muʾaḏḏhins*, caretakers, etc.

Religiously, the population is mostly Sunnī, of whom the large majority is Ḥanafī with a few Shāfiʿīs. There are also several groups of Shīʿīs. One of the most interesting of these is the Nakhāwila (sing. Nakhāwalī). This is a twelver Shīʿī pariah class who formerly had their own *ḥawāṣ*, which was, however, broken up by the Saʿūdī régime first, apparently, in the 1920s and, definitively, following serious communal disturbances in the mid-1970s when a large highway was run through it. The origin of the Nakhāwila, who are currently roughly estimated to number between five and ten thousand, is obscure. They themselves claim to be descendants of the Anṣār, others believe they are descendants of African slaves, that they came from eastern Arabia or from Iran, etc. Some date their ostracisation from the time of the caliph Yazīd I. The name derives from their specialisation in cultivating palm trees. They also perform other menial services. Rutter reports that they were not allowed to live within the city walls, although they came in during the day to sell vegetables near Bāb al-Salām. In addition, the Nakhāwila were not allowed to pray in the Prophet's mosque, nor do they bury their dead in al Baḳīʿ, but rather in their own cemetery east of Kubāʾ. Popular Sunnī feeling, according to Rutter, was that they would pollute them localities. They practice *mutʿa* [q.v.], and it was said they rent their houses to Iranian pilgrims during the *ḥadjdj* season. It may also be noted that the late Ottomans effectively prevented them from participating in elections, and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, following a general protest against their participation in voting for the *madjlis al shūrā* in 1937, followed the Ottoman precedent. There are also a few Shīʿīs of the Banū ʿAlī sections of Ḥarb and the Banū Ḥusayn of al Sādāt. It may also be noted that there is a small upper class group of Shīʿīs in al Madīna. These, originally from ʿIrāḳ, are to a considerable degree integrated with the Sunnī upper class and basically come from two families, ʿUmrān and Mashhadī.

Among the well-known Sunnī families are the Khuraydjīs, of Nadjdī origin but long connected with trade in al-Madīna, who in the mid-1930s had the finest residence in the city, the Sakkāfs, whose scion ʿUmar was for some years Saʿūdī Foreign Minister, and newer rich families such as the Asʿads and the Kurdīs who made fortunes in land speculation in the 1970s.

The febrile modernisation of the 1950s, 1970s and 1980s, has largely destroyed all of the old *aḥwāṣ* and has promoted a considerable homogenisation of the people, but slums remain in certain parts of

the old city, and these continue to have ethnic settlement patterns. On balance, Philby's judgment continues to be sound, that the people of al-Madīna, favoured as they are by location, water supplies, and relatively abundant agriculture, "lead more spacious lives" with something of the patrician and the patriarchal about them, in contrast to their neighbours in Makka.

The physical appearance of al-Madīna has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhābīs first took it over. Butter was told that the houses in the oldest sections of the city around the mosque, but especially between the *ḥaram* and al-Baḳī', were built so incredibly close together in order to prevent the *simūm* from penetrating them. These houses, which were built of granite or basalt blocks and some of which had pillared halls opening on bathing pools, were typically three or four stories tall. Almost every house had a well with a hole directly above it on each floor. The hole itself had a small room (*bayt al-bi'r*) built around it which served as a bathing and siesta room for the people on that floor. The bucket was on a rope which operated from a pulley in the ceiling, and thus people on each floor could get water as needed. The water, which was not in short supply, was normally about five metres below the surface of the ground. The whole city was enclosed by a substantial wall with various gates, and there was also an outer wall extending from southeast of the old city westward and then north to tie into the main citadel at al-Bāb al-Shāmī on the northwest of the inner city. Finally, the Hāshimite King Ḥusayn built another wall from the northeast section of the old city north and then westward, but the Hāshimite kingdom ceased to exist before the new wall reached the existing outer wall on the west. With the coming of the *pax Su'ūdiana*, the whole system became obsolete, and gradually the walls disappeared before bulldozers. Philby reported in 1957 that they were gone, but some fragments still exist.

Modernisation has brought completely different

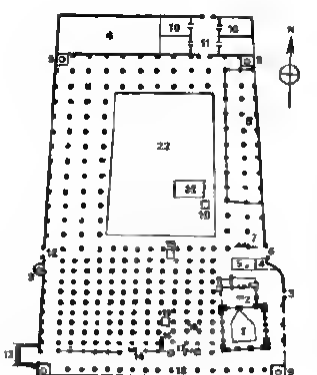

Fig. 1. Al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī before the Su'ūdī reconstruction (after E. Rutter, *The holy cities of Arabia*). 1. The Prophet's tomb (*ḥudra*) — 2. Fāṭima's tomb — 3. Bāb Ǧibrīl — 4. Storeroom — 5. The Agha's platform — 6. Bāb al-Nisā' — 7. Miḥrāb — 8. Women's prayer place — 9. Minaret — 10. Madrasa — 11. al-Bāb al-Madīdī — 12. Bāb al-Raḥma — 13. Bāb al-Salām — 14. al-Miḥrāb al-Sulaymāniyya — 15. Minbar — 16. al-Rawḍa — 17. Miḥrāb al-Nabī — *18. Miḥrāb 'Uṯmān — 19. Platform* — 20. *Well* — 21. Fāṭima's orchard — 22. Open courtyard

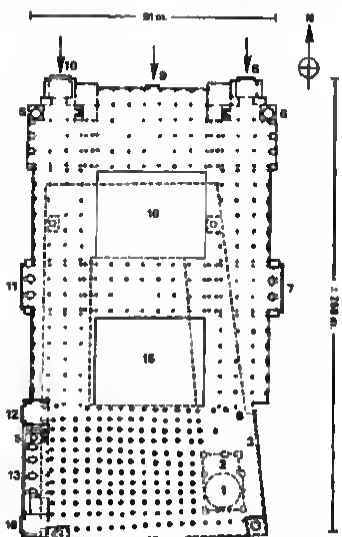

Fig. 2. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī after the Su'ūdī reconstruction (after 'Abd al-Kuddūs al-Anṣārī, *Āṯār al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, and. ed.). 1. The Prophet's tomb — 2. Fāṭima's tomb — 3. Bāb Ǧibrīl — 4. Bāb al-Nisā' — 5. Minaret — 6. Miḥrāb 'Uṯmān — 7. Bāb 'Abd al-'Azīz — 8. Bāb 'Uṯmān b. 'Affān — 9. Bāb 'Abd al-Maǧīd — 10. Bāb 'Umar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb — 11. Bāb Su'ūd — 12. Bāb al-Raḥma — 13. Bāb al-Ṣiddīḳ — 14. Bāb al-Salām — *15. Open courtyard (reconstructed)* — *16. New* courtyard

Fig. 3. Map of the modern city of al-Madīna (after H. M. Dindagil, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1398/1978, and W. C. Brice (ed.), *An historical atlas of Islam*, Leiden 1981, 23).
1. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī — 2. al-Bāb al-Miṣrī — 3. ʿUmar's garden — 4. ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Library — 5. Mosque of al-Ghamāma — 6. Mosque of ʿUmar — 7. Mosque of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī — 8. Mosque of Ḳubāʾ — 9. Masdjid al-Djumʿa — 10. Mosque of Mālik b. Anas — 11. Mosque of Abū Bakr — 12. Mosque of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib

architectural approaches and materials, and much of the old has been swept away. Courtyards have been replaced by balconies, and cement and bricks are new standard. Sometimes old and new are combined, with traditional materials used on the ground floor and concrete blocks above. The latter, being lighter, allow larger rooms than would stone. The new construction is less insulating than the old, but air conditioning offsets this loss. Much of the growth of the city has been uncontrolled. Immigrants have settled on the eastern and western *ḥarras* and bidonvilles have emerged. Some of the more prosperous immigrants have replaced their shanties with substantial structures, but growth in these areas has been chaotic. Running water did not exist as late as about 1980, electricity reached the *ḥarrāt* only about 1978.

By the 1960s, a city plan emerged. It features wide streets, street lighting, plantings, pavements for pedestrians and parks. Various new streets were cut, others were widened. The castle at al-Bāb al-Shāmī was demolished and replaced by apartment houses, and certain streets formerly connected by stairs were placed on the same level. The *shawāḥ* disappeared, buildings were built across the water course that cut through the southern part of the city on a northwest-southeast axis.

In general, the central business district near the Prophet's mosque has not shifted, but there are satellite suburbs which have grown rapidly. These include al-ʿAwālī to the southeast, Ḳubāʾ to the south (which with its orchards and cafés is a suburb of the affluent), and Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ to the north-east.

The old layout of the city continued to impose itself on some developments. The Ḥidjāz railway station and the Ottoman barracks were both located in the southwest just inside the outer wall. The straight road, Shāriʿ al-ʿAnbariyya, which led to the centre of town at al-Bāb al-Miṣrī, had also by 1925 attracted the public or Egyptian kitchen, the governor's residence, and other private mansions. In the late 60s, the barracks were demolished and replaced by a large government building. Other

multi-story buildings soon followed. The location of the residence of the *amīr* exerted a pull on the location of upper-class housing. As long as the governor's house was in the south, the well-to-do lived there, but when in the 60s the *amīr*'s palace moved to the north of the city, Sulṭāna Street, which led northwest towards the old (Sultana) airport, and the community of al-ʿUyūn (7 km. away) began to attract affluent villas. The new airport located about 14 km. northeast of the city has also been an attraction northwards, and in general the area between Shāriʿ al-Maṭār (airport road) and Sulṭāna Street has filled in. West of Sulṭāna Street, Djabal Salaʿ, a difficult and substantial rocky outcrop, impeded development, but by the 80s villas were appearing north of it as well. To exemplify the overheated inflation in land prices, one can cite a garbage area north of the outer (Husayn's) wall where no one would build. Cleaned up in the 60s, land was selling there for $ 2,500/m² by the mid-70s.

Other points of interest are that industry has generally moved outside the city where land was cheaper and there was room to expand. Public open spaces in al-Madīna are below international standards (totalling, in about 1980, 2,321 m²), but this inadequacy is partially compensated for by recreational use of the green areas, which are themselves diminishing, north and south of the city.

Traffic has always been a problem in al-Madīna. Rutter reports that streets in the old sections in 1926 were so narrow that on occasion a person had to walk sideways to pass. During the restoration of the mosque under Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd (1848-60), a breach (al-ʿAyniyya) was made in the inner wall, and a straight street driven through to near the southwest gate of the mosque (Bāb al-Salām) so that columns and stone blocks could be brought in from Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ. As long as camels discharged their loads in the area (al-Manākha) west of the inner wall reserved for that purpose and goods were then taken in by donkey or porter, the narrow streets could also be used by pedestrians, but with the coming of motor vehicles the situation became waste, especially as there was a severe shortage of parking space. One major parking lot does, however, exist in a portion of the old railroad yards.

Streets were added and widened in two stages: (1) 1950-5, when by private contract the *aḥadīsh* and *maḥḥa* were greatly altered, by building new roads, especially Shāriʿ al-Maṭār and Shāriʿ Abī Zār which runs north and south to the east of the old city, by widening others, and by asphalting others; (2) 1961-5, when the municipality itself carried the process a stage further, installing *inter alia* a one-way traffic system in some sections and traffic lights. There continued in the early 1980s to be some unasphalted streets. The increase in vehicles can be gauged by the fact that in the period 1948-72, 8,511 vehicles were licensed, whereas in 1973-4 along 6,158 were licensed. In addition, at *ḥadjdj* time many outside vehicles appear. One may also note Shāriʿ al-Khawādjāt, which links, north of the city, the airport with Abyār ʿAlī some 8 km. southwest of the city, where there are TV and power stations. Designed as a road which non-Muslim technicians would be allowed to use (hence its name), it has become the main truck route because it bypasses the heavy city traffic. The city boasts two bus stations and taxi companies (cabs can be ordered by phone). Traffic, however, apparently remains a serious problem. Makki reports that accidents and ensuing violence between drivers are common, that parking fines are not levied, and that roads are hazardous for pedestrians.

The economy of al-Madīna may be conveniently considered under three headings: agriculture, commerce and industry, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture and agricultural self-sufficiency have constituted one of the glories of Islam's second city. Palms ripened early in June, and the main harvest was about a month later. The grapes, of which the best were a long white variety called Sharīfī, were also well known. Modernisation, however, has come disastrously close to ending the city's agricultural sector for three reasons. One is that urban sprawl in the 1950s overtook those farms which immediately surrounded the city. A second reason is the economic opportunity which the oil-driven economy of the country presented in other economic sectors, and the third cause is the fall in the water table because of unprecedented demands for water. By the 1950s, the formerly planted banks of Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ had become barren and the desolation of the natural acacia forest, al-Ghāba, the traditional outdoor recreational area of the Medinese, and a source of wood, located some 7.5 km. north of the city, was well under way. This process was accelerated by the successive construction of small dams (ʿAḳāl, 1956; al-ʿAḳīḳ, 1958; and Buṭhān, 1966) which prevented destructive flash floods in al-Madīna, but also prevented water from reaching al-Ghāba. Makki believes (1982) that the process might still be reversed, but notes no sign of the required effort. The agricultural areas south of the city have held up more successfully, though some decline is noted there as well. The decade 1962-72 showed a total reduction in agricultural land of 16.8% from 8.14 to 6.77 km². Over 40% of the total is in al-ʿAwālī and Ḳubāʾ south of the city. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, crop distribution in 1962 was as follows: 64% palm trees, 21% fruit trees, 14% alfalfa, and 1% garden vegetables, including tomatoes, eggplant, carrots, potatoes, squash, peppers, cucumbers, watermelons, cabbage, and cauliflower. It may be noted that the date trade was especially important as an export (in Syria, Egypt and the Indian subcontinent) crop. The dates in fact had a religious aura as a kind of blessing for the eater. There are many varieties, of which Rutter says the best three are al-ʿAnbarī, al-Shalabī and al-Halwa.

The estimated percentage distribution of the non-agricultural and non-religious work force is, after Makki, as follows:

Activity	1972	1974
delivery services	22.01	24.21
scientific and vocational services	10.84	20.00
governmental services	24.50	12.72
primary industries	1.61	13.20
construction and maintenance	4.90	10.12
transport	6.67	7.73
other	17.73	6.71
education	7.78	4.84
handicrafts	1.20	2.21
electricity and water supply	2.65	.83

Highlights of the local economy are as follows. Industrial activities are principally date packing and vehicle repair. These are located on the periphery of the city on a totally unplanned basis. In 1971 manufacturing firms numbered 107, most of which employed 10 or less workers. Of the total, 35 were in car repair, 17 in building, file manufacture, 15

in bricks, 4 dairies, and 2 large date-packing factories. Estimates are, for 1971 and 1976 respectively, that there were 1,452 and 3,517 industrial workers and 3,105 and 6,207 commercial workers. Hotels and hospices, including a Sheraton, numbered 8 in 1971 and employed some 1 235 workers in 1974. In 1971 there were 1,208 retail and 28 wholesale stores and the *rāh* system received its first challenge in that same year with the establishment of two supermarkets, one in the city and one on Kubā' Street. The social importance of the *rāh* has also declined with changing life-styles, because accompanying traditional social activities such as public baths and coffee shops have almost disappeared. According to Makki, men's barbers, often Indian or African, are still conspicuous as they work outside on the side-walk attending to the needs of, especially, Yemenis and other nonarabised immigrants. At the same time the new life-style has given rise to ladies' coiffeuses who use modern equipment but operate from their private homes. Of the three known to Makki (two in Kubā' and one in al-Bāb al-Maǧīdī), two were run by foreign teachers and one by a Medinese lady.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the impact of the *ḥaǧǧ* on the economy of al-Madīna. Rutter estimated in 1936 that the number of those who served the *ḥaram* was about 1,000. This number included, in addition to the *šayḫ al-ḥaram*, his deputy, and the treasurer, *muʾaḏḏins*, preachers, lecturers, *muʾaḏḏins*, overseers, doorkeepers, sweepers, lamp cleaners, water carriers, etc. Most were supported at least in part by *waḳfs*, many originating in Egypt. He reports that King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz initially reduced the number to 200. The corps of eunuchs numbered about 50. They were popularly believed to be wealthy, and they had *tuter alba* black boys in training to enter the mosque service. In more recent times, Long has estimated that the guild of guides alone received some $ 800 000 in fees (gratuities are also important) in 1972 when pilgrims numbered about 480,000. His estimate of gross *ḥaǧǧ* income, including public sector expenditures, in that year was $ 215 million. Of this, one could guess that al-Madīna might be allocated one-third. Other estimates are higher. Robert Matthew Co. estimated for the same year (but *external* pilgrims spent just under $ 100 million, of which two-thirds was for gifts. Makki's fieldwork in the same year indicates that average pilgrim expenditures were 583 Saʿūdī *riyāls* (SR, $ 1 00 = SR 4 25 in 1972) broken down as follows.

gifts	SR 332
other	99
lodging	72
food	52
transport	27
religious donations	23
	SR 585

He estimates total revenue from *external* pilgrims at SR 381.4 million (= $ 91.9 million). Total pilgrims on Makki's projection produced a revenue of SR 558 5 million (= $ 134 5 million).

The *Ḥaram al-Nabawī* of course is the central focus of al-Madīna, although other buildings and localities have high religious significance. The exact area of the sacred territory (*ḥaram*) from which non-Muslims are excluded is unclear. There is indeed a certain ambiguousness about the *ḥaram* quality of al-Madīna. Abū Ḥanīfa said it was not a *ḥaram*. Rutter reports that "common opinion" held that the area is bounded by the lava fields on the east and west, by Ḏiabal ʿAyr on the south and Ḏiabal Thawr ("behind Ohod") on the north, an area about 18 by 3 km. Philby wrote in the early 1930s that the whole district from Kubā' to Ḏiabal Uḥud was *ḥarām*. Nallino reports that, according to the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate convention, it was defined as a radius of 30 km. around the walls of the city—a significantly smaller area. Non-Muslims now regularly travel the *Šāriʿ al-Khandaḳ* and stay in such hotels as the Sheraton.

When the Wahhābīs first arrived, they discouraged the visit (*ziyāra*) to al-Madīna as constituting idolatrous tomb worship, but King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for whom the revenues had some interest, justified it on the ground that he permitted pilgrims to pray in the mosque but not to visit the Prophet's tomb. For Rutter, the mosque with its green dome and golden apex ornament rising high above the walls to one-half the height of white minarets was "a picture of the most striking beauty and magnificence." Philby opined that it was the "chief architectural feature not only of Medina but of all Arabia." Rutter noted that many of the religious students had fled, but others were still studying at the feet of teachers such as Aḥmad al-Ṭanṭāwī and Ibn Turkī. Philby, who visited the city in 1931, found that all the tombs (other than those in the *Ḥaram*) were in ruinous condition. He also reports that the Shīʿīs of India had offered King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz £ 50,000 to spare the tomb of Fāṭima, but that it, like others in al-Baḳīʿ, was then almost gone. In 1934 when Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Sulaymān visited the city, many of the historic tombs were fenced up, and basalt borders and simple headstones set in place.

As to the Prophet's mosque itself, it has undergone substantial changes under Suʿūdī rule. The first known attention to it took place during 1934-8 when, largely through the generous efforts of Ṭalʿat Ḥarb of Egypt, badly needed repairs were carried out. These included installation of a new marble floor and a new wooden screen to separate the women's section from the much larger men's part. Major enlargements followed. On 12 Shaʿbān 1368/9 June 1948 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote an open letter to the Muslims of the world (published in *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, no. 302, 5 Ramaḍān 1368/1 July 1949)) indicating his intention to enlarge the mosque. A committee of notables to assess the value of those properties that were condemned and an office with some 50 officials was established in Shaʿbān 1370/May-June 1951. For actual building, a team of 28 architects, 200 artisans and 1,500 labourers was assembled. A workshop area was established at Abyār ʿAlī both for the repair of equipment and also for making mosaics. Equipment and supplies were brought in from Yanbuʿ and included cement, iron and 30 000 tons of timber. The foundation stone was laid on 13 Rabīʿ I 1373/20 November 1953 before 2,000 dignitaries and the inauguration of the new structure took place on 5 Rabīʿ I 1375/22 October 1955 with King Suʿūd, who had succeeded to the throne, officiating. The total cost was $ 22 million. The total new area added to the mosque was 6,024 m². Other new features included 274 square and 132 round pillars. The lengthening of the building to the north was 128 m. and the new northern wall is 91 m. long. Essentially, what the builders did was to double the size of the mosque by integrating a whole new building on to the northern end of the original one. The new section has its own courtyard plus minarets at the new northern corners. (The old Ottoman style minarets at the former

northern corners as well as the minaret just north of Bāb al-Rahma were torn down.) The building itself is in neo-Moorish style, the minarets, neo-Mamlūk. In addition, as the accompanying Figs. 1 and 2 indicate, the Su'ūdī builders straightened out the asymmetrical shape of the exterior of the earlier structure and rebuilt the east, west, and north structures surrounding the original courtyard. West of the reconstructed mosque a large permanently canopied area was built in 1974-8 to provide shade for the vehicles and bodies of the hundreds of thousands who visit annually, although many old residences in the *ahyā'* were thereby destroyed. Finally, in Radjab 1403/May 1983 King Fahd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered a further expansion of the mosque—basically on the east and west—from the present 98,000 m² to a staggering total of 82,000 m² with 90 m. minarets, the whole to be air conditioned. Little will remain of the old city.

There are of course other religious buildings and sites in al-Madīna, and in 1980 they constituted about 1% of the total city area (down from 6.4% in 1950). The most important is al-Baki', the cemetery lying to the east of the mosque. This tract, which has been used by all Medinese except the Nakhāwila since the Prophet's time, was expanded in 1953 to an area of 53,743 m². It cannot to practice be moved because it holds the graves of many famous people. Makki estimates that bodies decompose in al-Baki' within six months, after which a grave can be re-used. Sometimes at the height of the *hadjdj*, 2 bodies are put in one grave.

Other well-known sites include the mosque of al-Ghamāma, the so-called al-Masdjid al-Ghamma and the mosque of Kubā'. In the city proper are also the al-Ghamāma, Abū Bakr and 'Alī mosques near al-Manākha street. A common characteristic of mosques in al-Madīna is that they have a courtyard surrounded by roofed columns. In addition to the cemetery and mosques, there are a number of so-called *adāriyya* or chapels in private homes. These often have a door opening directly on the street, but by 1980 many had been abandoned. In Ottoman, Sharīf and early Su'ūdī days, the Ramadān cannon was fired from the Ottoman fort on Djabal Sala', but with the modern growth of the city it could not be heard; other cannons were set up in various locations.

The logistics and management of pilgrims as at Madīna differs from that in Makka, but still constitute an annual event of massive proportions. The differences are that only about three-fourths of the *hādjdjīs* make the visit (*ziyāra*) to al-Madīna and that they may come either before or after the *hadjdj* proper. As in Makka, however, guilds have arisen to service the visitors (*sā'ir*, pl. *sawā'ir*), the *mutawwifīn* (sing. *mutawwif* "he who conducts a visit") and the *adilla'* (sing. *dalīl* "guide"). The former are those who conduct the visitor through the religious customs, such as reciting the proper formulae, the latter are responsible for the physical needs of the *sawā'ir*, such as food, lodging and local transport. This dual system contrasts with that of Makka, where the *mutawwifūn* (sing. *mutawwif*, he who conducts the *tawāf* [q.v.]) are responsible for both spiritual and physical needs. The *adilla'*, like the *mutawwifūn*, are divided into subguilds by nationality, and since the issuance of a decree in 1356-7/1938, there has been a government-appointed *shaykh al-adilla'*. Governmental control evolved became by the late 1930s, internal transport had improved to the point where the visit to al-Madīna could be made from Makka or Djudda in a matter of hours and the number of visitors steeply increased. Usually the *dalīl* are also *mutawwifīn*, but not every *mutawwif* is a *dalīl*. Traditionally, almost every native Medinese served at one time or another as a *mutawwif*. As spelled out in the regulations, the responsibility of a *dalīl* is: (a) to receive the *hadjdjīs* on their arrival at the official reception centre; (b) to assist them to find lodgings and to move in, (c) to guide them to the principal shrines and to assist in devotions, and (d) to assist them in arranging onward travel (which is usually to Makka, Djudda, or Yanbu'). The 1974 regulations, as cited by Long, specify the shrines as *al-Haram al-Nabawī al-Sharīf*, al Baki' cemetery and "other shrines." Offices of the Directorate of Hadjdj Affairs of the Ministry of Hadjdj and Wakfs are located at the main sites to hear complaints.

Like pilgrims proper to Makka, visitors to al-Madīna have come by every form of transport, certainly not excluding walking and, before World War I, including the railroad. However since the Su'ūdī takeover, the railroad from Damascus has remained derelict and walking has practically ceased. As early as 1929 the number of visitors who came by camel caravan had declined to about half, while most of the other half came by motorcar. The first visitors to arrive by air came in January 1936 as the result of a contract made by the Su'ūdī government with the Egyptian Misr Airlines (now Egypt Air). In 1937 the aircraft made two flights per day from Djudda to the old Sultāna airport with five passengers per flight. In all, 105 visitors came at a cost of £E 30,500, of which half was tax. In 1939 the aircraft developed engine trouble, and the service was discontinued. By 1950, according to Long, the camel had practically disappeared as a means of transporting pilgrims. Roads to the holy cities received very high priority immediately after World War II, and the Djudda-al-Madīna sector was paved by 1958. Exact figures for mode of travel to al-Madīna to more recent years are not available, but a rough idea may be obtained from the following. In 1972 there was a total of 1,042,007 pilgrims to Makka, of which 479,339 came from abroad and 562,668 from within Sa'ūdī Arabia (of these 178,378 were from Makka itself and presumably did not visit al-Madīna). Of those who came from abroad, 20% came by sea, 30% by land and 50% by air. One could assume by 1980 that motor vehicles and aircraft brought all but the small-hat handful of *sawā'ir* to al-Madīna.

Some idea of various charges paid by *sawā'ir* in modern times can be garnered. In the late 1960s, the round trip automobile fare from Makka to al-Madīna was taxed £ 7 50 ($ 36 00), but this impost was lowered by 1971 to £ 6 ($ 28 80). Transportation fees, round trip (? from Djudda) were listed in 1948 as follows: first class (car), £ 24; second class (bus), £ 12; third class (truck), £ 8. In 1972 the fees are more exact

Single person fare	SR	$
Bus from Djudda or Yanbu' to al-Madīna and back to Djudda or Yanbu'	90.	27.69
Car from Djudda or Yanbu' to al-Madīna and back to Djudda or Yanbu'	144.	34.70
Car from Djudda or Yanbu' and thence to Makka	150	36 55
Bus from Makka al-Madīna and thence to Djudda or Yanbu'	101 25	24 40

By royal decree of 1384 5/1965 the fee for a *ḥalāl* was fixed at SR 10 (= $ 2.22 from 1378 3/1959 to 1391 7/1971 the exchange rate was $ 1 = SR 4.5) Accommodation is a private sector matter, but there are government suggested prices According to the 1391/1971 regulations, SR 20 ($ 4.82) was the suggested daily rent for a "house' The Hedjaz Accommodation Control Committee of the Ministry of Hadjdj and Wakfs is charged with regulating abuse. In all, it has been estimated by Long that in 1972 *adultes* were paid SR 3.6 million ($ 867,470), assuming that 360,000 visited al-Madīna

Al-Madīna had been famous for libraries and learning from early Islamic times, but Rutter found a mixed situation in regard to both. The library of ʿĀrif Hikmet Bey (q.v.), a former Ottoman *wālī* of *al-Islām* who had also served as *mufti* of al-Madīna in 1239/1823 and following, was one of the richest in al-Hidjāz, with estimated holdings of 17,000 volumes Although Fuʾād Hamza opines that "in the Ottoman period" a considerable part of the collection had been removed, others do not corroborate his contention Located just off the southeast corner of the *Ḥaram*, the library was open to the public but was circulating. Rutter describes it as a building composed of two domed rooms set in a walled garden Access was through a large ornamental iron gate Within, Rutter remarks on the cleanliness and high level of upkeep The principal attendant and his assistant were both highly competent Turks and several people were reading Philby indicates that the library contained unique manuscripts In regard to the very recent siege and Suʿūdī accession to power the assistant told Rutter that "we do not eat of the hand of the king, neither from the hand of El Husayn, nor from the hand of Ibn Saʿūd Our provision comes from the waqf bequeathed by the Shaykh [ʿĀrif Hikmet] Therefore it is of no account to us who is king or who is sultan; we render praise to God, Who is Lord of All " Although it had presumably withstood the siege intact, the Sultān Mahmūd library [4,569 volumes], adjoining Bāb al-Salām, could not be examined by Rutter because the key could not be found. Other libraries [Bashīr Āghā [2,065 volumes], the al-Shifāʾ school, ʿUmar Effendī and Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamīd [1,639 volumes]) were simply gone Various explanations were offered the books had been stolen when the inhabitants fled, they had been sold by their caretakers, the Wahhābīs had burnt them. The *Ḥaram* itself contained approximately 100 large Kurʾāns

At the time of the Suʿūdī conquest, Nallino counted public schools as one elementary (*ibtidāʾiyya*) and two preparatory (*idādiyyān*) By 1937 this had increased modestly to one elementary, three preparatory and one school for adult illiterates. But there were also some eight private schools, including Dār al-Hadīth, which had 49 students, as well as Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya with 394 students In all, the private schools enrolled 573 students. By 1938 these institutions had been increased by the addition of an Italian orphanage. A different type of educational institution also appeared in 1334 5/1936—namely, the four-page weekly *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, which was owned by ʿAlī and ʿUthmān Hāfiz and managed by the latter.

Nallino signals six Medinese writers of prominence in the 1930s: (1) Ahmad al-ʿArabī (b. *ca* 1327-8/1910), who was sent by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on a mission to Dār al-ʿUlūm in Cairo and graduated from al-Azhar. On his return, he taught at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and became in 1935 the director of the prestigious Madrasat al-Umarāʾ (school for princes) in al-Riyāḍ (2) ʿAbd al-Kuddūs al-Anṣārī (1324 1903/1906-83). A prolific writer, al-Anṣārī received his diploma in 1346/1927-8 from al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya, worked in the *dīwān* of the amīrate of al Madīna and taught Arabic literature at his *alma mater* His important prose works include *Āthār al-Madīna al Munawwara* (Damascus 1935) and *Fann al-taʾrīkh wa ʾl-adab* (Beirut 1969) (3) ʿAbd al Hakīm al Nakshabandī (b. 1322/1904 3), a poet, who after primary studies in al Madīna, accompanied his father during World War I to Syria. After returning to al-Madīna for further study, he went to India, where he earned a teaching certificate, after which he taught at al-ʿUlūm al Sharʿiyya (4) ʿAlī Hāfiz (b. 1321/1903-4), a poet, studied in *al Ḥaram*, became *kātib khāṣṣ* (secretary) of the higher court in al-Madīna and then head secretary He was a founder of *al-Madrasa al-Munawwara* (5) ʿAzīz Diyāʾ al-Dīn b Zāhid (b 1332/1913-4), a poet and prose writer, who, following primary studies in al Madīna, studied in the "health school" of Makka (closed in 1347/1928-9) He became secretary to the Directorate General of Health and then went to the Directorate of Police (6) ʿAbd al-Hamīd ʿAnbar (b 1326/1908-9), a prose writer who both studied and taught at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al Sharʿiyya

In more recent years, the Islamic University of al-Madīna has been the institution of highest learning in al-Madīna This institution was founded in the early 1960s, with encouragement from members of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn driven into exile by President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir of Egypt, as an international seminary modelled at least in part on al-Azhar and designed to propagate Islām It contains both a secondary (*thanawiyya*) curriculum and a university-level programme The secondary section schedules 34 classes per week for three years, and the total hours per week per subject for the three year curriculum are as follows *sharīʿa* 12, *tafsīr*, 12, Arabic language 12, *ḥadīth* 10, *tawḥīd* 9, *fawḥīd* 9, history of Islam 6, *uṣūl al-fikh* 4, *furūʿ* 4, semantics 4, principles of *tafsīr* 3, principles of *ḥadīth* 3, speech and composition 3, Arabic reading and literature 3, literary techniques 3, Kurʾān 2, handwriting 4, Islamic morals 1

The university-level programme lasts four years. Students take 25 classes per week in the first two years and 24 in the last two The total hours per week devoted to each subject are as follows. *sharīʿa* 16, Kurʾān 14, *tawḥīd* 12, *ḥadīth* 12, Arabic language and grammar 12, *uṣūl al-fikh* 8, vocabulary of *ḥadīth* 4, semantics 4, Islamic morals 3, speech and composition 2, literary techniques 2, and one hour each for each of the following: *sīra*, history of the caliphs, Islamic history, contemporary Islamic world, social doctrines of Islām, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māḍja.

The university, led for many years by the well-known ultra-conservative ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (and more recently by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣālih al-ʿUbaydī) is academically under a Higher Consultative Council, which in 1974 was almost equally composed of well-known foreign and Suʿūdī educators, *ʿulamāʾ*, or religious administrators. At that time these included, e.g., Hasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, former *mufti al-diyār al-Miṣriyya*, Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusaynī of Palestine, and ʿAbu ʾl-Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī, former president of al-Djamāʿa al-Islāmiyya of Pakistan. In 1975 the journal published by the university (*Madjallat al Djāmiʿa al Islāmiyya*) indicated that, at the university level, there were three faculties.

Kulliyyat al-Sharī'a, Kulliyyat al-Da'wa and Kulliyyat Uṣūl al-Fikh, and that these faculties grant the "higher sh̲ahāda" which bestows on its holder the same rights as equivalent degrees granted by the secular universities of the kingdom.

Despite the great increase in educational facilities illiteracy continues to be a major problem. According to Makkis analysis of the 1974 census, about 74% of the Su'ūdī labour force in al-Madīna was illiterate, and 52% of the foreign labour force was illiterate. A major explanation of continuing high illiteracy rates is the influx of illiterate people from desert and rural areas into the city.

Medical facilities have also burgeoned in al-Madīna since 1925—not least because of the pilgrimage, its medical problems and the public relations aspects thereof. One early milestone in this development was the establishment in 1356/1937 of an Italian-Muslim hospital under the auspices of the king of Italy. The hospital was under local control and was financed by a *wakf* from Tripoli, Libya. By the mid-1960s, a 50-bed hospital of tropical medicine as well as enlargement of the main general hospital were both under construction, and by 1975 a control station for schistosomiasis (bilharzia) had been opened. Patients treated in Medinese hospitals reached 903,633 in 1969, but declined in the subsequent year. Death rates have also generally declined, and the death rate of *sawāri* dropped from 1.6% in 1942 to 0.31% in 1972. It might also be noted that the city gave its name to the parasitic Guinea Worm, as in *Dracunculus madinensis*, *Vena madinensis* or *Filaria madinensis*.

Modern communications in al-Madīna cover the following roads, facilities for air travel, telecommunications and rail service. Revival of the Ḥidjāz railroad from Damascus to al-Madīna has been discussed by the Syrian, Jordanian and Su'ūdī governments throughout the post-World War II period. Periodical announcement of positive decisions have been made, but nothing has been done up to 1405-6/1985. The evolution of the telephone service has been steady since 1313/1896, when a line connecting the city with al-'Ulā, Tabūk, 'Ammān and Damascus was installed. In 1323/1906 a second line was put in place, and by 1333/1913 there was a 50-line exchange located outside al-Bāb al-Shāmī and reserved for military use. Philby reports that a wireless service to Djidda began under the Ottomans. The Ḥidjāz-Nadjd lines spread the telephone service to other government offices. The Su'ūdīs installed, in 1932, new Marconi (British) equipment with 21 exchanges of 100 lines each. In this period there were some 1,890 lines in all, of which 1,458 were private and the remainder official. A new radio telephone was installed in 1395-6/1956, and automatic service arrived in 1391-2/1972, as well as a co-axial cable to Yanbu', Djidda, and al-Ṭā'if. In that year there were 3,737 telephones in use, with long waiting lists. A local television station arrived in 1388-9/1969. The first airport was located near Sulṭāna, northwest of al-Madīna, and was derelict from World War I until 1936, when Bank Miṣr opened, briefly, its *hadjdj* service, but the modern airport in use by the mid-1960s, is located 25 km. northeast of the city on the road to al-Ḥanākiyya. By the early 1980s, al-Madīna was linked with neighbouring population centres in all directions by a completely modern highway network. Al-Madīna again benefited from its religious importance and was given early priority in the development of roads for that reason. The Djidda-al-Madīna sector was completed as early as 1392-3/1953. Finally, it may be noted that although the Su'ūdī government joined the International Postal Union in 1345-6/1927, in 1357-8/1939 al-Madīna's post office was one of only four (the others: Makka, Djidda and Yanbu') in the country that could handle all operations specified by the international conventions. In 1357-8/1939, the al-Madīna postal service was twice per week.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the administration of al-Madīna. The Hāshimite surrender was taken by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and the following is a quite incomplete list of *amīrs* (with known dates of incumbency) compiled from various sources:

Ibrāhīm b. Salīm b. Subḥān	1926
'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm	1932
'Abd Allāh al-Sudayrī	1936, 1937
H.R.H. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz	1952
H.R.H. 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-'Azīz	1981

The main function of the *amīr* is the maintenance of public security. The city was one of five in the Ḥidjāz that had had a municipality in Ottoman and Hāshimite times. The highest body was composed of a president and four members. In Ṣafar 1945/August 1926 "fundamental instructions" on rule were issued by the still juridically separate Kingdom of the Ḥidjāz. According to article 34, an administrative council (*madjlis idāri*) was established for al-Madīna. It was to be composed of the *ra'īs maḥkama* (head of the amiral secretariat), his assistant, the heads of the various departments and four people nominated by the king. Al-Madīna was one of only three cities in al-Ḥidjāz that had police at the time of the Su'ūdī takeover, overwhelmingly, members of the police force were, all over the Su'ūdī realm, from 'Asīr and Nadjd. Other administrative aspects may be mentioned. In 1947/1948-9, notaries (*sing. kātib al-ṣakk*) were instituted to al-Madīna as well as in Makka and Djidda. (Elsewhere, *ḥākim* performed this function.) Justice was, in the period till World War II at least, administered by a summary (*musta'djala*) court under a single *ḥākim* and had jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court (*al-maḥkama al-kubrā*) has a *ḥākim* as president and two "substitutes." In cases involving capital punishment or loss of limb, the decision had to be pronounced by the full court. Al-Madīna also had a customs office which was a branch of the Djidda office. Originally *wakf* administration in al-Madīna was independent and reported to the local *amīr*, however, by a royal decree 1354/1936 the *wakf* administration in Makka was upgraded to a directorate-general with the Medinese director to report thereto. Finally, because of the importance of water and its interrelation with various properties in and outside the city, a special authority, Hay'at 'Ayn al-Zarkā', composed of five members, was established. It was in part financed by special *awkāf*, but was also written into the state budget as early as 1926. The name of the authority was changed in 1978 to the Water and Drainage Department. Writing in 1936, Fu'ād Ḥamza (*al-Bilād*, 184, 186, 193, 236) gives the names of most of the then incumbents of the various posts.

By the 1980s, water was for most Medinese piped into houses, offices and apartments from desalination plants on the Red Sea coast, but when the Su'ūdīs took the city over the situation was very different. Al-Madīna's not unplentiful natural water

supply came from three main interrelated sources, but basically from the south (1) south of the city in and around Kubā', (2) ground water throughout the area of al-Madīna and (3) north of the city in and around al-'Uyūn. In addition, several *wādīs* intersect more or less in al-Madīna and often generated destructive flash floods. These wādīs have gradually been dammed, starting with a dam built in the 1940s to the northeast of the city and including the 1966 dam across the upper course of Wādī Buṭḥān which used to flood the city frequently. However, the dams reduce the water available in the northern agricultural areas and thus lead to a decrease in cultivation. Actual rainfall in al-Madīna fluctuates greatly. From 1957 to 1978 it ranged annually from zero to almost 104 mm and averaged 38.04 mm. Historically, the most important source of domestic water has been 'Ayn al-Zarkā', which was actually a series of wells connected by covered conduits in the Kubā' area, where they joined into a single double-decker aqueduct. The upper channel carried drinking water to ten public watering places (*mawāṣil*, pl. *mawāṣil*). The lower channel is a drain for the upper channel and for the *mawāṣil*. North of the city this aqueduct emerged above ground, and the water was used for irrigation. The *mawāṣil* were about 10 m. below ground and were reached by steps. The aqueduct passed under only two buildings, the former al-Ḥabs al-Shāmī and the mosque. There were also ordinary *sabīls* up until the early 1960s. The first pipes and public taps were installed in 1909, and in 1957 there were 49 of these taps (*ḥanfīa*, pl. *ḥanafīāt*) from which water was often led to individual houses by hose. By 1965 there were 1,500 *ḥanafīāt*, but by 1974 their number had declined to 800 because of the spread of indoor plumbing, those that remained were in outlying areas of the city beyond which water tankers delivered to the poorer population. Water meters began to be used in 1959. In addition, in the earlier period brackish water was readily available at depths of 4-10 m. and most houses had wells to tap this water. Recent use has now lowered the water table significantly, and the supply is inadequate. All have been abandoned, as well as the unusual *hayt al-bi'r* architectural feature (described above) which pervaded summer cooling for generations.

The situation with agricultural water is parallel. The natural springs in the al-'Uyūn area which irrigated 500,000 palm trees in 1915 were by 1980 all dried up. Owners have compensated for the decline in the water table by pumping. Philby reported that around 1954 pumping was well established and expanding, and Makki (on whom most of this analysis of water is based) indicates that 674 diesel pumps were in use in 1962. Makki pleads eloquently for the 'Ayn al-Zarkā' Authority to control well-digging and pumping. A further development has been the erection in 1968-72 of a large concrete tank on top of Djabal Sal' whither water is pumped from the Kubā' pump station. Other tanks on high ground also ensure adequate water pressure.

There are two additional pressures on the natural water supply. The first is the recent increase in paved and asphalted areas which, with their run-off characteristics, reduce infiltration; and the second is sewage problems. There was no disposal system prior to the 1970s. Rather, each building had its own *mesopol* (*bayyāra*) which was cleaned (? by the Nakhāwila) periodically. This practice made for special difficulties in the *ḥarrat* because it is difficult to dig to depth and impossible without dynamite. Most of the waste was dumped in an area east of the city called "al-Manāṣir" (Makki's spelling). Water pollution is a growing problem, at least one well has had to be closed. On the other hand, a full sewage treatment plant was initiated in 1970 and located behind Djabal Uḥud. By 1976 a considerable portion of the city had been tied into the system.

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AL MADĪNA AL-ZĀHIRA, a city founded in 368/978-9 to constitute a court by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir (q.v.) in a place called Ālash, Ballash or Manzil Ibn Badr, on the right bank of the Guadalquivir to the east of and a short distance from Cordova. Al-Zāhira's existence was of short duration, since it was sacked and utterly destroyed in 399/1009, at the time when Muḥammad II al-Mahdī revolted against 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, whom he had imprisoned and killed, and usurped the caliphate, dethroning Hishām II. The ploughshare subsequently caused the last traces of the city to disappear, whom ate, seven years later, was no longer known.

The Arab chroniclers do not supply us many details on *al-Madīna al-Zāhira* as on Madīnat al-Zahrā' (q.v.), but they mention in their texts some very precious evidence for determining the exact site of the dictator's city. They tell us, for example, of the general name of the area where *al-Zāhira* was built

Shabuṭa or Ramla, i.e. "sandy terrain" (in Spanish *arenal*). This terrain is still called "Cortijo del Arenal", an important part of which, the "Pago de Tejaveca", is easily identified with the main nucleus of the old city. Today the traces which remain are not very significant, but they show us that the buildings of al-Madīna al-Zāhira were made of materials of mediocre quality—bricks, quarries stones, clay wall etc.—and, consequently, without possible comparison with the riches and majestic edifices of its rival Madīnat al-Zahraʾ. However, the palaces of al-Zāhira were notably endowed with fine, sculpted marble cisterns in the form of Roman sarcophagi and intended as fountains, of which the museums preserve marvellous examples which were executed—as their inscriptions testify—at al-Zāhira for the Banū ʿĀmir.

Finally, it is worth noting that, according to the historian al-Dabbī (*Bughya*, biogr. no. 1544), the famous Munyat al-ʿĀmiriyya was one of the palaces of al-Madīna al-Zāhira and, consequently, was not located alongside Madīnat al Zahraʾ, as some contemporary authors presume, who confuse this *munya* with the Munyat Wādī ʾl-Rummān given to the caliph al Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir by his great *faṭā* Durrī al-Aṣghar in 362/973.

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(M. OCAÑA JIMÉNEZ)

MADĪNAT SĀLIM, the Arabic name which has become MEDINACELI, of a small town in north-eastern Spain, on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, and almost equidistant from these two cities; it lies at an altitude of more than 3,280 feet/1,000 m., on the left bank of the Jalón. It owes its name to a Berber from the Maṣmūda, Sālim, who repaired a Roman fortress which Ṭāriḳ (*q.v.*), according to Yāḳūt, iii, 15, had found as a ruinous state.

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli. According to al-Idrīsī, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards. Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*).

Through its geographical position, Madīnat Sālim was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the 4th/10th century onwards. It was on many occasions, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the north-east of the Peninsula and to which they retired. Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī, in 333/946; this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ghālib, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work. This Ghālib remained governor of Medinaceli and of the Middle March until the power was seized by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (*q.v.*). It was in Medinaceli that this famous *ḥādjib* died on 27 Ramaḍān 392/10 August 1002, on returning from his last expedition against Castile. In the following century, Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castile.

Madīnat Sālim should not be confused with Madīnat Ibn al-Sālim or Ibn Sālim which was situated in the region of Seville, probably the modern Guadalema in the province of Cadiz (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 342).

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 129, tr. 229-30 (= *Opus geographicum*, v, 553); Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text 178, tr. 357; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 234; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, index; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii, 229-30, tr. Fagnan, ii, 345-5; R. Menendez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, ii, 532, idem, *Historia de España*, Madrid 1940 ff., ii, 595, Lévi Provença), *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 64. (R. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MADĪNAT AL ZAHRĀʾ, governmental city of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova.

According to the texts which recount the construction of this *madīna*, it was the monumental work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III who had it built to satisfy the whim of a *ḏjāriya* of his *ḥaram*, al-Zahraʾ. The city was constructed 5 km as the crow flies to the north-west of Cordova, on the southern flank of the Djabal al-ʿArūs ("the Bride's Mountain") of the mountain chain called today Sierra Morena. The work was begun at the beginning of the year 325/10 November 936, under the direction of the Crown Prince al-Ḥakam, with the technical collaboration of the architect Maslama b. ʿAbd Allāh. During the *fitna* or civil war which was to lead to the fall of the caliphate of Cordoba, the Berbers of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn occupied Madīnat al-Zahraʾ by force and it was sacked and destroyed (401/1010). The ruined city later fell prey to pillage and systematic destruction, especially as the Almoravid and Almohad periods.

When Cordova was conquered by Ferdinand III in 1236, the old site of the royal *madīna* was a vast terrain, occupied by ruined walls, which someone called "Castillo de Cordoba la Vieja"; the monarch gave this terrain to the Cordoban Municipal Council, and hewn stones continued to be taken to build palaces, churches, convents and bridges in the capital. In 1408, the Council gave the ruins to the monks of St. Jerome who exploited them intensively to build in a nearby orchard a monastery called "Valparaiso", in which Ambrosio de Morales, the great Cordovan historian, stayed in ca. 1532, he sought to identify the neighbouring ruins, but, in his study published in 1575, he asserted that they were of Roman origin and that their site was that of the famous Colonia Patricia. In 1627, another Cordovan historian, Pedro Diaz de Rivas, demonstrated that they were not Roman but Arab and belonged, in a concrete manner, to a great palace erected by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and this same thesis was upheld by P. Francisco Ruano in 1760 and Antonio Ponz in 1792. The painter and historian J. A. Ceán Bermúdez was the first researcher to identify "Córdoba la Vieja" with Madīnat al Zahraʾ (1832), and this identification was confirmed in later years, when European Arabists began to publish the Arabic sources for the history of Muslim Spain, so that, in 1854, Pedro de Madrazo and Pascual de Gayangos were charged by the Spanish state with carrying out an archaeological exploration at "Córdoba la Vieja", but their work was not crowned with success.

Meanwhile, the architect Ricardo Velázquez was to inaugurate, in 1911, a new period of exploration which he continued until his death in 1923, with excellent results: the discovery of a sector of the

northern part of the city, where the principal drawing-room of the caliph was excavated richly decorated —which Ricardo Velázquez called the "Salón Occidental"—and, on the other hand, a large *maḏilis*—for its discoverer, the "Salón Oriental"—clearly marked by its austere decoration which proclaims a military purpose. The excavations carried out by Ricardo Velázquez were not conducted following a preconceived programme, and it was at his death that a local commission was named in Cordova (Rafael Jiménez, Rafael Castejon, Ezequiel Ruiz, Félix Hernández and Joaquín Ma de Navascués) which had as its aim the delimiting of the extent of Madīnat al-Zahrā' and the establishing of a plan of work to follow in future excavations. The survey of the ruins which flourished under the covering of vegetation allowed Hernández, the architect of the commission, to draw up, in 1924, the topographical plan on a scale of 1 800 of the terrain where the city was located. Later the same architect drew up, in 1926, a plan on a scale of 1 200 of the part explored by Velázquez, of which the drawing-rooms, courts, vaulted passages, etc. were enumerated following the chronological order of their discovery, and this order has prevailed until the present. Quite soon after, excavations were pursued and the two principal sectors discovered by Velázquez were gradually enlarged until they constituted a good cohesive group. At the beginning of the year 1930, the commission having been reduced to only two members, Castejón and Hernández, the reconstruction was begun, up to a prudent height, of the northern wall encircling the city. The same system was followed during the following years, with all the walls separating the terraces which had been discovered, before the re-establishment of the masonry in its broad outline. The civil war of 1936 paralysed the work until 1941, when it was pursued according to the system presented above. Simultaneously, excavations were undertaken in some then unexplored sectors belonging to the southern part of the Alcazar of the city, where in 1944, a magnificent reception *maḏilis* was discovered, whose architectural work was a dreadful ruin, while its revetments of adapted stone, although very fragmented, remained almost complete. This important discovery proved in an indisputable manner that the plunderers had pillaged everything that could be utilised for future constructions—hewn stones from the walls, capitals, shafts and bases of columns, etc.—and had disdained the surface decoration of the halls, generally composed of thin stone plaques which would be useless to dislodge and place in pieces in another construction. The year 1944 signals, in the excavations of Madīnat al-Zahrā', the beginning of a new age characterised by the reconstruction of halls by means of the preliminary recomposition of the decorative plaques and the restoring of these plaques on the walls and rebuilt arches. While the structure of the reception *maḏilis* was rebuilt, excavations were pursued in the same sector and there was discovered, in the course of the following years, the whole architectonic entirety of which the *maḏilis* was the heart: a vast terrace, delimited on the east, south and west by a very thick wall fortified with towers; a small *ḥayr* or pavilion placed opposite the *maḏilis* and separated from it by a large pool, a *ḥammām* or steam bath, and some drawing-rooms with courts, staircases and public conveniences. According to the epigraphy placed at the time in this sector, the *maḏilis* was built by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir during the years 342-5/953-6, under the direction of his *fatā* Shuneyf, as was the pavilion, but under the direction of the *fatā* Ḏja'far (the Ḏja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was to be the *ḥāḏjib* of al-Ḥakam II). In 1964, Basilio Pavón explored, with the assistance of Hernández, the sector corresponding to the site of the *ḏjamā'* of the city, perfectly illustrated in the topographical plan of 1924; this building had been totally destroyed by the plunderers, but all the principal elements of its structure have been identified and they will shortly allow for the reconstruction of the mosque. At the end of 1969 Hernández remained the sole director of excavations, which were then concentrated in a new sector located in the Western wing of the great Alcazar of al-Zahrā' and probably belonging to the house of Ḏja'far, the *ḥāḏjib* mentioned above. Finally, in 1975, on the death of the great master of Hispano-Moorish art Félix Hernández, the direction of the works fell to the architect Rafael Manzano, who has continued the enormous task of restoration begun by his predecessor.

The Arab chroniclers and geographers have supplied us with excellent descriptions of Madīnat al-Zahrā' and plenty of accounts and pieces of information acquaint us with the motive for its foundation: the choice of its site, the duration of its construction, the number of the workmen there, camels, mules and the materials and large sums spent on it, the palaces, reception halls, outbuildings, baths, pools, gardens, barracks, etc., built in its enclosure: the principal wonders contained in its buildings, the people who lived there, the bureaucratic services of the state which moved from Cordova to the new court, the memorable feasts celebrated in honour of the great dignitaries and ambassadors or to recall the memory of important events, the twilight of the city, and, finally, its destruction and ruin. Furthermore, excavations have confirmed for us that the foundation of al-Nāṣir was a dazzling city built within a rectangular rampart which measured 750 m from north to south and 1,500 m from east to west, flanked by towers regularly spaced. This rampart was formed by two walls separated by a corridor, except in the central tier of its northern flank, where a single wall was defended, it seems, by another rampart placed in front of it up to the ridges of the neighbouring hills and attached to the general enclosure. The buildings constituting the Alcazar of the city—Royal Palace, Civil Headquarters, Military Headquarters and prodigious reception halls with their secondary annexes—were laid out on stepped terraces and adapted to the relief of the lower slopes of the mountain and supported by solid reinforcing walls. The area occupied by the Alcazar, the whole northern sector of the city, was approximately 45 hectares, of which only 12 hectares have been explored at present, although corresponding to the central part of this supreme architectural complex. Owing to the fact that the unexplored parts are, for the moment, greater (33 hectares) than those which have been exploted, it is still not possible to identify the buildings discovered in terms of the documentation supplied by the texts; consequently, the Arabic names which have been given to these buildings are also gratuitous rather than definitive. For the moment we must be satisfied with contemplating the exceptional spectacle which, following the most recent work, Madīnat al-Zahrā' offers to the visitor to the ruins: a reception *maḏilis* of the 4th/10th century reconstructed with its origin-

al decoration, whose themes sculpted in stone and marble reveal the high degree of experience and exquisite artistic sensibility of all the artisans who worked for the great Cordovan caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir.

Bibliography: see principally KURTUBA, and also R. García Gómez, *Algunas precisiones sobre la ruina de la Córdoba omeya*, in *al-Andal.*, xii (1947), 367-93, *idem*, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ʿIsā ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, Madrid 1967, and H. Terrasse, *Islam d'Espagne*, Paris 1958.

(M. OCAÑA JIMÉNEZ)

MADĪRA (A.), a dish of meat cooked in sour milk, sometimes with fresh milk added, and with spices thrown in to enhance the flavour. This dish, which Abū Ḥurayra (q.v.) is said to have particularly appreciated (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 403 = § 3562, where a piece of poetry in praise of *madīra* is cited), must have been quite well sought-after in mediaeval times (al-Djāḥiẓ, however, does not cite it in his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ*, *ma* nevertheless al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 22, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 46). Its principal claim to fame comes from al-Hamadhānī's *al-Maḳāma al-maḍīriyya* (no. 22 in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's edition), to which Ṭāhā b. Hishām records solely at the beginning of the *maḳāma* an occurrence which he witnessed and then tells the story, it goes without saying, in the mouth of Abū ʾl-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī, of an adventure which had happened previously to this last. In effect this story is the satirical portrait of a nouveau riche who invites Abū ʾl-Fatḥ to his house in order to try some *madīra*, but goes on at such length about his skill in acquiring the house and other objects, whose praises he sings with such a wealth of details that the invited person, overwhelmed, takes to flight. Pursued by street urchins, he hurls a stone which wounds one of these last grievously, and spends two years in prison. Hence he has vowed never more to eat *madīra*, thus explaining why, at the beginning of the *maḳāma*, he refused a dish of it.

The *maḳāma* has been translated into German by O. Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-Litteratur*, v, Leonberg 1923, into English, by W. J. Prendergast, *The Maḳāmāt of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, Madras 1915 (and ed. with Preface by C. E. Bosworth, London-Dublin 1973), into Italian, by F. Gabrieli, *La maqāma maḍīriyya di al-Hamadhānī*, in *Rend. Lincei*, 8th Ser., iv/11-12 (1949), 509-15, and into French by H. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Al-Hamadhānī, choix de Maqāmāt*, Paris 1957 (with the title *La séance de la madīra ou Le parvenu*) and by R. Dagorn, in *IBLA*, 153 (1984/1), 213-23. (ED.)

AL-MADĪYYA, AL-MADĪYA, LEMDIYA, in French **MÉDÉA**, a town of Algeria situated about 100 kms./60 miles to the south of Algiers (in lat. 36° 15′ 50″ N., long. 2° 45′ E.), at an altitude of 920 m./3,018 ft. and on the northern border of the mountainous massif which divides the high plateau from the Mitidja. Down to the French occupation, it could only be reached by a bridle-path over the Mudjā pass (979 m./3,270 ft.). The building of a road through the gorges of the Chiffa, alongside of which a railway runs, has made access to it easier. The town itself is built at the foot of slopes covered with vineyards which yield wines of superior quality and orchards in which, as a result of the temperate climate, fruit trees grow very well. In the neighbourhood, a number of villages have grown up in which the cultivation of cereals is combined with that of the vine. There is also a fairly busy market, but it is losing in importance since the railway has been extended to Djelfa at the southern end of the high plateaux. The population, which, in 1926, was 13,826, of whom 2,223 were Europeans, has today increased considerably.

Médéa occupies the site of a Roman settlement, Lambdia, which A. Pellegrin, *Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie*, Tunis 1949, 98, proposes to connect with the Berber root *l.d.* "to rise, stand up". According to Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 154, tr. ii, 8, this region was inhabited by the Ṣanhādja tribe of the Lamṭiyya, whose name survives in the ethnic name Lamṭānī which people originally from Médéa bear. In 349/960, Buluggīn b. Ziri (q.v.) restored and enlarged (but did not "found", as the sources say) the urban complex (see Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*; al-Bakrī, *Description*, 69-6, tr. 136; Yāḳūt, iv, 413, s.v. Maṭīdja, H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, 78 and index). We know virtually nothing about the town's history. Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 351-2), who, having stayed there two months, apparently wanted to stay there, and, following him, Marmol, *Afrique*, ii, 394, merely tell us that after having belonged to the sultans of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultans of Tenès, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas (see ʿAROUDJ) established themselves in Algiers. Under Ḥasan Khayr al-Dīn, Médéa became the capital of one of the three provinces (*beyliks*) of the Regency, the *beylik* of the south or of Titteri, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Šébaou in Kabylia. Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province alternately at Médéa and Bordj-Šébaou. It was not until this date that, the region of Šébaou having been incorporated in the *Dār al-Sulṭān* governed by the dey, the bey of Titteri settled permanently at Médéa, where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaux. He had, however, no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a *ḥākim* appointed by the *aghā* of Algiers. The population, which did not exceed 4,000-5,000, among whom were many Kulughlis (see KUL-OGHLU) and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south. Caravans brought thither the produce of the Sahara and also negro slaves, who were sold to the citizens of Algiers.

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers the French on several occasions (Nov. 1830, May 1831, April 1836) occupied Médéa, without taking permanent possession. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (q.v.) however placed a bey in it and had his ownership of it recognised by the treaty of the Tafna. The outbreak of hostilities again between the *amīr* and the French led to the final occupation of Médéa by the latter on 17 May 1840. It was in Médéa that, shortly afterwards, the future poet Jean Richepin was to be born.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see F. Pharaon, *Notes sur les tribus de la subdivision de Médéa*, in *R. Afr.* (1857); Federmann and Aucapitaine, *Notice sur l'administration du beylik de Titteri*, in *ibid.* (1860). (G. YVER)

MADJALLA [see MEDJELLE]

MADJAR, MADJARISTĀN, name given to the Hungarians or Magyars and to Hungary in the Ottoman period.

1. In pre-Ottoman period

(i) The names for the Hungarians and Hungary in the Arabic and Persian authors of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. The earliest mention of the Hungarians (Magyars) occurs in

the *Kitāb al-A'lāk al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (Ibn Rusteh), written between the years 290-300/903-13 on the basis of the geographical treatise of al-Djayhānī (ca 300 A.H.) who used in the composition of this work, an anonymous historical account dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe and dating from the second half of the 3rd/9th century. In this source the Hungarians appear with the name of *al-Madjghariyya* i.e. the Magyars. In this period they inhabited the plains adjacent to the Black Sea, between the Don and the Lower Danube, their eastern neighbours being the powerful Turkish tribe of Badjanāk (Pechenegs). It was under pressure from this tribe that they were compelled to withdraw, in ca. 889-92 A.D., into the basin of the Carpathians, where they founded a state which survived, within its 9th-10th century frontiers, until the end of the First World War.

It seems that the same *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century is also the basis for the description of the country al-Madjghariyya (Ar. *bilād al-Madjghariyya*) contained in the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (ca. 460/1068). In fact, the Hungarians mentioned in this account led a nomadic existence, and their territories, situated on the Black Sea, bordered on the provinces of the Byzantine Empire (Ar. *bilād al-Rūm*).

A description of the al-Madjghariyya people is also found in the *Tabā'i' al-hayawān* of Sharaf al-Zaman Tāhir al-Marwazī [q.v.] composed in ca. 514/1120. Analysis of this description reveals that the period in question is prior to the years 889-92, a period during which the Hungarians were still a nomadic people inhabiting the plains of Southern Russia, between the rivers *Dānā (Danube, erroneously in the Arabic text Rātil), and Atil or Etul (Don). The description of al-Madjghariyya contained in the work of al-Marwazī is also based on the treatise of al-Djayhānī.

The anonymous Persian geographical treatise entitled *Hudūd al-'ālam* written in 982 A.D. mentions the Hungarians with the name of *Mazdjghar*. According to the author of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, the country of the *Mazdjghar* was situated to the west of a range of mountains which corresponds to the Carpathians and to the north of a Christian people called Wasandar. This latter people must be identified as the Bulgar tribe of the Onogundurs who, in the 6th-7th centuries A.D., occupied the north-western Caucasus in the region of the Kuban. It is known from Byzantine sources that under the command of Asparukh, part of this tribe left the region of Kuban and travelled towards the Lower Danube which it crossed over in 679 A.D., founding, to the south of this river the Turko-Slavic state of the Bulgars. The new arrivals were baptised in 864. The information given by the *Hudūd al-'ālam* concerning the frontiers of the territory of the Hungarians is therefore not derived from the *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century, but from another anonymous source composed later, in the 4th/10th century, after the conquest by the Hungarians of the Carpathian basin in 889-92 A.D.

The name *Madjghar* or rather *Madjghariyān* (the plural in Persian of *Madjghari*) is also found in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, a Persian historical treatise composed in the years 441-4/1048-52 by Gardīzī (or Gurdēzī). Gardīzī considers this people to be Turkish. In the paragraph of the *Zayn al-akhbār* devoted to the Madjghariyān, Gardīzī has used two different sources, these being the *Anonymous account* of the 3rd/9th century compiled by al-Djayhānī and an anonymous source of the 4th/10th century, the same one that was used by the author of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. The Bulgars of the Danube are here called Nandar.

In his *Tabā'i' al-hayawān* al-Marwazī also calls the Hungarians (whom he knew still in their ancient homeland to the north of the Black Sea, between two rivers which may be identified as the Don and the Danube) *al-Madjghariyya*. He considers this people as being of Turkish origin. Like Ibn Rusta, he too has taken his account concerning the Hungarians from the *Anonymous account*, the work dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe compiled by al-Djayhānī.

The name *al-Madjghariyya* is also found in the *Takwīm al-buldān*, a geographical work by Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 731/1331), in a passage probably derived from the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī. For this reason this author calls the capital of the said people Maghrarī.

In another passage of his *Takwīm al-buldān*, Abu 'l-Fidā' also mentions the Magyars under another form of this name, sc. *Madjār*. According to this passage, the people in question lived, alongside the Serbs (Ar. *al-Sarb*), the Vlachs (Ar. pl *al-Awlāk*) and other "infidel" (Christian) peoples in mountains called Kashkā Tāgh (Kashka-Dagh) where the Danube (Ar. Tuzā) has its source and which may be identified with the Carpathians, linked to the Alps on one side and to the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula on the other.

In his cosmographical treatise entitled *Kitāb Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'adjā'ib al-barr wa 'l-bahr* al-Dimashkī (d. 727/1327) also mentions the Madjār or Hungarian people among the tribes inhabiting the territories situated on the tributaries of *Nahr al-Saklābiba wa 'l-Rūs* (here, the Danube and the Tisza, wrongly considered as tributaries of the Dnieper). Besides the Madjār, al-Dimashkī also mentions among these tribes the *Bashkird*, which he takes to be a separate people but which was, as will be demonstrated below, simply another name given to the Hungarians by the mediaeval Arab geographers.

The Arabic and Persian names *al-Madjghariyya*, *Madjghari*, *Madjghariyān* and *Madjār* produce the Finno-Ugrian ethnonym *Magyar* which is also known from mediaeval European sources. Thus for example, the Byzantine author Constantine Porphyrogenitus (writing in 949-52) mentions among the Hungarians who were settled to the basin of the Middle Danube, a clan called Μεγερη (Hungarian Megyer). The Hungarian chronicler Simon of Kéza (writing in 1282-3) states in his *Gesta Hungarorum* that the ancestor of the Hungarians bore the name of Magor. It may further be noted that in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Hungarian author called Belas regis Notarius (ca. 1200), the territory occupied by the Hungarians before their arrival in the Carpathian basin (889-92) bore the name of Dentumogor (Hungarian *Dentü magyar*). The second part of this name, i.e. *-mogor*, corresponds to the name of the ancestor of the Hungarians according to Simon of Kéza, while the first part, i.e. *Dentu*, seems to be the origin of the name of Dāna, known from the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Fakīh (290/902) as being that of the territory situated on the Lower Don, and also the name of Tenut, mentioned in a letter of the Khazar king Joseph in the 10th century A.D. The Italian geographical charts of the 13th-14th centuries call this region Thanatia.

The second name by which the Arab geographers

of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries designated the Hungarians was that of Bashkirs The latter were in fact a Turkish tribe which had lived, since the 3rd/9th century if not earlier, in the territory corresponding to the old Russian provinces of Penza and Orenburg; they had nothing in common with the Hungarians, who spoke and still speak a Finno-Ugrian language Thus the use of the name Bashkirs to denote the Hungarians (in addition to the correctly named Turkish Bashkirs) is an enigma which has yet to be solved, despite the efforts of numerous historians and linguists, Hungarian and others The Turkish Bashkirs were called Bashkird by the mediaeval Arab authors (thus for example in the work of Ibn Fadlān [*q.v.*], ca 310/922) The same, or analogous, names were also used by the Arab geographers to denote the Hungarians

The first Arab author to give the Hungarians the name of Bashkirs was al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) Describing in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* the war fought by the Hungarians and their allies the Pechenegs against the Byzantines in the years 320-32/932 to 43-4, this author denotes the Hungarians by two different but related names, these being *Badjghird* and **Bashkurd*, making of them two different, though kindred, peoples.

In his *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik*, al-Iṣṭakhrī also uses the name *Basdjurt* to denote both the true Bashkirs and the Hungarians. The Basdjurt/[true] Bashkirs lived, according to this geographer, between the Oghuz Turks (at Ghuziyya) and the Bulgars of the Kama (Bulghār), under the domination of the latter, while the Basdjurt/Hungarians were based in the vicinity of at-Rūm, i.e. of the Byzantine empire They were neighbours to the Badjanāk or Pechenegs who lived at this time between the Don and the Lower Danube. The work of al-Iṣṭakhrī was the principal source for the geographical treatise of Ibn Ḥawḳal entitled *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (first edition prior to 356/967, second edition in *ca* 367/977, definitive version in *ca* 378/988), which likewise mentions the Hungarians under the name of Basdjurt.

The name of Bashkirs (written *Bāshghird*) as that of the inhabitants of the country called *Unḳūriyya* (Hungary) is also encountered in the work of the Arab traveller and writer Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169-70) called *al-Mu'rib 'an ba'ḍ 'adjā'ib al-Maghrib* He arrived in Unḳūriyya in 543/1150-1, stayed three years and left the country in 547/1153, leaving behind his eldest son who had married the daughters of local Muslims. This same author provides another description of Hungary in his second work, the *Tuḥfat al-albāb*. In this latter book, the Hungarians bear the name of *Bāshghird*.

In his *Mu'djam al-buldān*, Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) likewise calls the Hungarians and their country *Bashghirdiyya* or Bashkirs. This writer met a group of Bashghirdiyya at Ḥalab (Aleppo) in Syria. Yāḳūt also mentions, in this account, the European name of Hungary as *al-Hankar* (*al-Hungar*).

Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d 685/1268) divides the Hungarians into two different nations *al-Bashkird* (Bashkirs) who are, according to him, Muslim Turks and who live to the south of the river Dūna (correctly *Duna*, to Hungarian *Dúna*—Danube) and *al-Hunkar* who are Christians. He does not appreciate that the Bashghird and al-Ḳunḳar are one people which is divided only by religion. The Sa'īd's great geographical work to which these ideas are contained was used by Abu 'l-Fidā' as his *Taḳwīm al-buldān*

The Arab cosmographer Abū Shams Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) also mentions, in his *Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'adjā'ib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*, the Bashghird people which he locates in south-western Europe alongside the Madjār or Hungarians. He does not appreciate that they are in fact the same people. Possibly al-Dimashḳī intended in this fashion to distinguish the Muslim Hungarians from the Christian Hungarians, as the Sa'īd *al-Maghribī* had done

In his *Āthār al-bilād*, the Arab cosmographer al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283) also mentions the Muslim Hungarians whom he calls Bāshghird.

The Persian writers of the Mongol period also use the name of Bashkirs in denote Hungary and the Hungarians. Thus for example, in the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) these Bashkirs are mentioned alongside the Às (Yasī Alans of the Russian chronicles) the Urās (Russians), the Cerkes, the Kipčak and the Keïar (in other words Christian Hungarians, see below) among the subjects of these descendants of Čingiz Khān who dominated the western portion of his empire.

It has been stated above that al-Bakrī uses the term of *Maghāriyya* in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* to denote the Hungarians at the time when they were still leading a nomadic existence on the shores of the Black Sea (before 889-92). However, to describe the Hungarians as established, after the year 892 A.D., in the Carpathian basin, he employs two other terms which he has taken from the account of the Jewish merchant and traveller from Tortosa in Spain Ibrāhīm b. Ya'ḳūb al-Turṭūshī (355/965-6) [*q.v.*], these being *al-Unḳuhāl* (gen pl *al-Unḳuhiyyīn*) and *al-Turk* (pl. *al-Atrāk*). Leaving aside, for the moment, this last-mentioned name, which will be discussed below, the ethnonym *al-Unḳuhāl*/*al-Unḳuhiyyīn* deserves attention. How, Ibrāhīm b Ya'ḳūb mentions this tribe in a brief list of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, between the **Tudjdjkiyyīn* (Germans) on the one side and the *Badjdjanāḳiyya* (Pechenegs), *al-Rūs* (Russians) and Khazars on the other, and stresses that all these peoples speak Slavic, in view of their close connexions with the Slavs. Rumk, the first commentator on that part of the geographical work of al-Bakrī which deals with Central Asia and with Eastern and Central Europe, had already identified the *Unḳuhiyyīn* with the Hungarians, a conclusion also admitted by F. Westberg and T. Kowalski The reason for this identification has been confirmed by the information concerning *al-Unḳuhiyyīn* found in the chapters of al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* which were unknown until edited, very recently, by Abdurrahman Alī El-Hajji (Beirut 1387/1968) One such mention is contained in the paragraph intitled *Dhikr balad al-Unḳuhiyyīn* which also seems to belong to the account by Ibrāhīm b. Ya'ḳūb Now, according to the paragraph in question, we are dealing here with a Turkish tribe (*djins*) settled in proximity to the Slavs, between the land of Ruwayza (Bavaria) and the kingdom of Bāyaslāw, i.e. Boleslas I of Bohemia (935-67 A.D.) According to the same passage, the Russians were the neighbours of *al-Unḳuhiyyīn* to the north, the Pechenegs to the east and the Bulgars to the south. There is no doubt that this localisation favours the identification of *al-Unḳuhiyyīn* with the Hungarians Al-Bakrī also mentions another ethnonym written in a similar fashion, *al-Inḳuhīsh* It is cited in a paragraph of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* intitled *Bilād Ifrandja* ("Land of

the Franks") According to al-Bakrī, these *al-Inbiniyīn* belonged to the *al-Madjūs* (*q.v.*) (in this case Danes and Norwegians) who were neighbours of the Slavs (in fact, the Slavic tribe of the Obodrites who formerly lived to what is now Mecklenburg were neighbours of the Danes on the south-eastern side). Now, these *al-Inbiniyīn* had nothing to do with the Hungarians, it is more likely that they were the English who, shortly before the time of al-Bakrī, lived under Danish domination (1012-42). The name *al-Unkalāyyīn* belongs to the same group of names for the Hungarians as the Old Slavic *Ugri* (*Ugrove*), the Byzantine *Ungroi*, the Latin *Hungari*, *Ungari*, *Ungare*, *Hungaria* and *Ungaria* and the Polish *Węgry* (pronounced *Wengry*). All these names derive from that of *Onogur*, a nomadic Turkish people known from Latin and Byzantine sources of the 6th century A.D. As for the transformation of the phoneme *r* to *l* in the names *Unkalī* < *Ungari*, this is not an isolated phenomenon in the Hungarian language. In fact, the Germano-Latin proper name Gerard became Gellert in Old Hungarian (11th century).

In the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāk*, al-Idrīsī's geographical treatise composed in Sicily in 548/1154, Hungary bears the name *Unkariyya*, which probably represents the Latin *Ungaria* or even the Italian *Ungheria*.

Belonging to the same groups of names is also *Unkūriyya* (for **Ungūria* or **Onoguria*), the name for Hungary employed by Abū Ḥāmid *al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī* in his *al-Muʿrib*. The name of the inhabitants of Hungary was, in this treatise, as has been observed *above*, *Bādjghird*.

One of the names for the Hungarians employed by Yāḳūt in *al-Hunkar* (for *Hungar*), a name derived from the Latin **Hungar*(*i*). Another orthography of this ethnonym is *al-Hunkar* (**Hungur*(*i*)); it is employed by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) in the extract from his great geographical treatise used by Abū 'l-Fidāʾ.

Besides *al-Unkalī*/*al-Unkalāyyūn*, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb also uses, to denote the Hungarians, another name, *al-Turk* (pl. *al-Atrāk*) "the Turks". It seems that the term was borrowed by this author from the Byzantines. In fact, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was writing some fifteen years before Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb, calls the Hungarians *Turkoi* and their country situated in the Carpathian basin *Turkia*.

To be mentioned finally is a wholly isolated nomenclature, this being *Kelar* or *Kelar*, which concludes the list of names for the Hungarians and Hungary used by the Muslim geographers, historians and travellers of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. This nomenclature is mentioned several times in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* as the name of a people mentioned with the Bashkirs, the As (Alans, Russian Yasī), the Urūs (Russians), the Čerkes and the Kipčak among the subjects of the descendants of Čingiz Khān. In all probability, these *Kelar* or *Kelar* are nothing other than the subjects of the *hurdī* (Hungarian, "king") of Hungary. This Hungarian word was already known to al-Gharnāṭī, who had heard it during his stay in Hungary in 1151-3 and who wrote it as his *Muʿrib* as *kāllī* instead of **kirāl*. It is possible that by the name *Kelar*/*Kelar*, Rashīd al-Dīn understands the Christian Hungarians, while he denotes the Muslim Hungarians with the term *Bashkurs*.

(2) The Hungarian Muslims. In the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. It seems that the most ancient Muslim elements which may be identified among the Hungarians appeared as early as the second half of the 3rd/9th century, thus in the period when the tribes constituting the Hungarian federation were still leading a nomadic existence between the Don and the Lower Danube, as neighbours and allies of the great Turkish state of the Khazars (*q.v.*), whose capital Atil (*q.v.*) or Itil was situated close to the estuary of the Volga. The population of this state, which was of a heterogeneous nature, included, among others, numerous Muslim groups, among which were pure Khazars, partially Islamised, according to the Arab chronicles, from the 8th century A.D onwards, Iranian Muslims of the Sarmatian tribe of Asuyya (ancient Aorsi) who formed the guard of the Khazar Khāgān, Khʷārazmians, and finally a great number of Muslim traders, of very diverse origins, who lived in the Khazar capital where there were mosques and Kurʾān schools. According to the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān, there was in Atil a Friday mosque, and the leader of the local Muslims was one of the pages of the king of the Khazars. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, there were in Atil 10,000 Muslim inhabitants and thirty mosques. Similarly, in the Khazar city of Samandar (situated in what is now Dāghistān) there were Muslims and mosques. The Khazar state and the heterogeneous population of this empire exerted a great social and cultural influence on the tribes of the Hungarian (Magyar) federation, especially at the time when this federation was joined, in the second half of the 9th century A.D., by the great rebel Khazar tribe known as Kabars (or Kavars) which took flight following an abortive revolt against the Khazar Khāgān. It is known from the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that the Kabars played a leading role in the organisation of the Magyar federation and that they were at the head of this federation at the time when the Hungarians decided on the conquest of the Carpathian basin. It is also more than likely that this tribe, which no doubt included both Jewish and Khazar-Muslim elements, was the one joined by groups of Arsiyya and of Muslim Khʷārazmians, as well as more or less numerous groups of Muslim traders from Atil and Samandar and the neighbouring provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. But it should be stressed that all of this is only a conjecture which requires verification.

The earliest substantiated information concerning the presence of Muslim elements in the midst of the Magyar federation, at least in the context of written sources, does not appear until the first half of the 4th/10th century, some four decades after the Hungarians had conquered the land situated on the Middle Danube and the Tisza which subsequently became historic Hungary.

The first written information telling of Muslims living among the Hungarians in historical Hungary comes from al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj*, in which he refers to the subject in his description of the war waged by the Magyars in alliance with the Pechenegs against Byzantium in 320-34/932 to 945-6. The Pechenegs, who at this period were leading a nomadic existence between the Don, the lower Danube and the Carpathians, are denoted in the *Murūdj al-dhahab* by the twofold name *Badjanāk* and *Badjnak*, and the Hungarians (Magyars) are called here by two different names, *Badjghird* and **Bashkird*. Among these two tribes there lived, if al-Masʿūdī is to be believed, numerous Muslims divided into two quite different groups. To the first of these groups belonged the Muslim traders who came from

the land of the Khazars, also from Ardabīl, from Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) and from other places situated within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate while the other found its recruits among the Hungarians and Pechenegs proper who had been converted to *Islam. In addition, it should not be forgotten that* among the Magyars who had come to Hungary from the steppes of southern Russia and among the Pechenegs immigrants to this country there were also Iranian Muslims, including Khʷārazmians and probably also Arsiyya, descendants of the ancient Aorsi and kinsmen of the Alans. At all events, the Khʷārazmians appeared in Hungary in large numbers at least as early as the 11th century A.D., at which time they are mentioned for the first time in Latin sources emerging from Hungary. As for the Muslim traders who came from the land of the Khazars and the provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and who lived, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, among the Hungarians and Pechenegs, these were so numerous that, according to al-Masʿūdī, they were able to form the entire vaguard of the "Turkish" army, that is, the allied Pechenegs and Hungarians, in the war against the Byzantines.

Furthermore, the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin during the 4th/10th century maintained political and economic relations with lands situated to the south of the Caucasus and belonging to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate where their kinsmen lived. In fact, after the arrival of the Pechenegs in the steppes of southern Russia, the Hungarians, displaced by them, split into two parts, of which the first withdrew, an 889-92, towards the Middle Danube and the Tisza, while the second, less numerous, made its way towards the south east in the direction of Transcaucasia. This is known from Constantine Porphyrogenitus who, in his *De administrando imperio* calls this second Hungarian group *Sabartoi asphalōs*, they were settled, according to this author, "in the lands of Persia". These *Sabartoi asphalōs* (the meaning of the second part of the title, *asphalōs*, remains obscure) are known in the Armenian chronicles by the name of *Saward-ikʿ* (the termination *-ikʿ* is the sign of the plural in Armenian) and among the Arab historians of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries by the name of al-Sawardiyya (al-Balādhurī) or that of al-Syāwardiyya (al-Masʿūdī). According to the latter author, the tribe in question lived on the banks of the river Kur, on the frontiers of Ādharbāydjān and Georgia. Al-Balādhurī knew them, furthermore, immediately before the year 279/892. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Hungarians established in the Carpathian basin often sent merchants to visit these *Sabartoi asphalōs*, who sometimes returned to Hungary with official messages. Little is known concerning the religion professed by the *Sabartoi asphalōs* but it is most likely that, living under Muslim domination, they were exposed to the influence of Islam.

The second author writing in Arabic who tells of the existence of Muslims in Hungary is Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿkūb. In the course of a visit to the countries of Central Europe, this traveller made his way as far as Prague (Ar. Fāgha) and he describes, among other things, the commercial life of the city. According to him, among the foreign merchants who came to this city from Hungary, besides the "Turks", i.e. Hungarians proper, there were also Jews and [*ahl*] *al-islām*, i.e. Muslims.

According to a passage in the Hungarian chronicle known as the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum* composed in 1196-1203, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (?955-972 A.D.), a group of Ishmaelites, i.e. Muslims, originally from *terra Bular* (Bulgaria), led by two semi-legendary figures these being Billē (Ar. Bilāl?) and Bocsu(?). The majority of scholars who have studied this problem are of the opinion that the reference here is to Bulgaria of the Kama, a land which had been islamised several decades before. However, it is not impossible that the source used by the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum* relates here rather to Bulgaria of the Danube, where there were numerous Muslims from as early as the middle of the 9th century A.D. In fact, a letter exists written by Pope Nicholas in the year 866, in which he orders the extirpation of the Saracens in Bulgaria of the Danube. The Bulgars of the Danube were a Turkish tribe, sister of the Bulgars of the Kama who settled to the south of the Lower Danube in 679 A.D., and soon adopted the Slavic language. It is interesting that the name of a settlement of people from *terra Bular*, according to the *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum*, bears the name of Pest (read Peshti) which is without any doubt of Slavo-Bulgar origin and signifies "furnace". It is today a quarter of Budapest, capital of Hungary.

It stems that after the conversion of Hungary to Christianity, which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038), one group of Hungarian Muslims ostensibly adopted the Christian faith while remaining, in reality, crypto-Muslim. Prominent among this group were the Khʷārazmians (in Hungarian, Kalis) who will be considered below.

In mediaeval Latin documents and in the ancient Hungarian chronicles written in Latin, the Muslims of Hungary are known by numerous names, which may be divided into four main categories, as follows:

(a) *Saracens* (in the years 1124, 1222, 1231), *Saracenos sive Ismaelitas* (1233), also *Sarakens*, in Hung. *Szereszen* "Saracens". This is how the Latin sources emanating from Western Europe denoted the Muslim Arabs. These are also the *Sarakenoi* of the Byzantine sources. It is stated, for example, in the *De administrando imperio* that the *Sarakenoi* were a people who followed "the false prophet Mouameth". The aristocratic Hungarian family *Szeresztes* is known from documents dating from as early as the years 1138, as 1165, 1215 and 1222.

(b) *Ismaelitas* (year 1233) *Hysmaelitas* (1102), *Hysmas-ketlnas* (1222), "Ishmaelites". These are the descendants of Ismāʿīl, son of Abraham who was, according to Arab sources, the progenitor of the Arabs. According to the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a "*Nismas* (in the ms. incorrectly written *Zimaras*), Arabus Nizār, descendant of Ismāʿīl, was "father of all the *Sarakenoi*". It is not impossible that by the name of *Ismaelitas* the ancient Latin sources of Hungary specifically designated not the Muslim Arabs, but the Islamised Pechenegs who had settled in Hungary (to be further considered *below*). If this is the case, the ancient Hungarians followed the view of the ancient Russians who considered (as emerges from the chronicle of Nestor, beginning of the 12th century A.D.), that the Pechenegs as well as the Oghuz Turks ("Torki"), the Turkomans and the Cumans (Polovtsi) were descended from the Biblical Ismāʿīl. In addition, the term "Ishmaelites" in certain Hungarian documents written in Latin also designated other groups of Muslims. It is known for example that the *Hysmaelitas* mentioned in a document of the Hungarian king Emeric in 1196, written on the occasion of the market at Bánok (the former county of Valkó, currently Osijek on the lower Drava in Yugoslavia)

were not Pechenegs, but rather Kāliz or Khᵛārizmians

(c) *Bisermens, Bezermeni, Bisirmani, Beserman, Buzurmas*. This is the transcription, in ancient Hungarian documents written in Latin, of the Hungarian word *Beszérmény* "Muslim" This is not the only usage of the word in Central and Eastern Europe In fact, it is found in Polish, in Old Czech and in Russian, where the words *besurman* (*busurman*), *beserman* and *besurman* (*busurman*) signify "Muslim" It is interesting to note that John Plano Carpini, the famous envoy of Pope Innocent IV to the Khān of the Mongols (1245-7), also mentions as his work a people which he calls *Bisermen*, correctly identified by I Hrbek with the Khᵛārizmians living on the lower reaches of the Āmū-Daryā Thus it is not impossible that the *Bisermens* of Hungary may also be identified, at least in part, with the Hungarian Khᵛāranmans However, in two Hungarian vocabularies composed in *ca.* 1480, the terms *Ysmaelita* and *beserman* and *ismaeliticus* do not refer to any ethnic group but indicate the Muslims in general. It should further be added that the name Böszörmény is attested in numerous Hungarian toponyms, in four or five administrative districts of Hungary, within its historical limits, and also in certain mediaeval documents. For example, in a document of 1248, *villa Vogbeszermen* (in Hungarian, Nagy Böszörmény "the great Böszörmény") is the name of a village situated to the east of the middle Tisza, in the district of Nyir (Nyr)

(d) *Calis* (year 1111), *Kalas* (1156), *Qualas* (1156), *Kualez* (1212), modern Hungarian *Kálit*, in the German chronicles *Kotzi, Cotlones, Kaltzeus* "Khᵛārizmians" This name was mentioned for the first time in Hungarian sources in a Latin document of the year 1111, where there is a reference to people called "in Hungarian" *Calis*. The Byzantine equivalent of this name is *Khalisioi*. According to the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos (writing 1150-63), this people was subject to the King of Hungary and, in the middle of the 12th century, as auxiliaries of the Hungarians, fought alongside the Dalmatians against the army of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus. The opinions of this historian regarding the religion of the *Khalisioi* are very confused, in one place he considers this people as being of Persian (i.e. islamic) religion, while in another passage he states that they professed the Mosaic faith. The Hungarian name of *Kálisz*, as well as the Byzantine denomination of *Khalisioi*, corresponds to that of *Khwalisi* which was the old-Russian term for the Khᵛārazmians and Khᵛārazm; it is encountered for example in the Russian chronicle of Nestor composed at about the beginning of the 12th century The Hungarian name of the Khᵛārazmians is also found in that of *al-Khazar al-khalis*, "the *Khazar-Khalis*", an ethnic group identical to the Khᵛārazmians which lived, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the western part of Khazar (Atil), capital of the Khazar realm, with the king of this state and his army The Khᵛārazmians-Khalis appeared in the Khazar realm prior to the 8th century A.D in fact, the bishop of *Khwalis* is mentioned in a list of bishops composed before the year 787 A.D These were the bishops subject to the metropolitan of Doros in the Crimea, and the list probably includes all the bishops of the Khazar empire The bishop of *Khwalis* is placed here immediately after that of Astel, i.e. the Khazar capital Atil According to Kulakovskiy and Vasiliev, *Khwalis* was a town situated in the Khazar realm, near the estuary of the Volga and near the Caspian Sea, which bore, in the chronicle of Nestor, the name of *Khwalinskoé more*, "the sea of *Khwalinsk*" (it was perhaps the eastern part of the Khazar capital, of which the western part was called *Astel* (Atil) A section of the Khᵛārazmians of the of the Khazar realm had probably joined, prior to the years 889-92, along with the Khazar tribe of the Kabars or Kavars, the Hungarian (Magyar) federation and settled in historic Hungary after the conquest of this land by the Magyars It seems furthermore likely that another group of Khazar Khᵛārazmians joined the Pechenegs in fact al Bakrī says that in his time (1068 A.D.) there were among the Muslim Pechenegs (of which the main bulk was then leading a nomadic existence in the steppes of South Russia) considerable numbers of *al Khawalij* (*al Khwalis*), that is to say, of Khᵛārazmians This was the name given by the Pechenegs, says al-Bakrī, to [Muslim] foreigners, slaves who had come to them from Constantinople or from other lands The Pechenegs gave them the choice of staying in their country, where they could marry their daughters, or of leaving for another country of their choice It may be added furthermore that Anna Comnena mentions, in her *Alexiad*, a Pecheneg chief named *Khalis* Nor should it be forgotten that the ancestors on the maternal side of the great aristocratic Pecheneg-Hungarian family Aba, which gave Hungary the king Samuel Aba (1041-7) were according to the Hungarian chronicles, of Khᵛārazmian origin (*de gente Cavarorum, de Cavarorum orta*)

It is certain that a number of Hungarian Muslims became Christians at the time of the conversion of Hungary to Christianity which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038) But subsequently, these converts reverted in part to their former religion. Such was the situation towards the end of the 11th century. This is known from the resolutions of the Hungarian Diet held at Szabolcs in 1092 during the reign of King Ladislas the Holy (*cap.* 9), which decreed that those Muslims who, after being baptised, reverted to Islam and were again performing the rites of this religion, must be removed to other villages The successor to Ladislas the Holy, King Coloman III (1095-1114), was also the author of an edict containing resolutions directed against the Muslims. This was furthermore the time of the First Crusade, and it is easy to understand the hostility of the Hungarian clergy and Christian aristocracy towards Muslims in general in this period According to the decree in question, all Ishmaelites caught in the act of performing their religious rites were to be taken before the king's tribunal, and a part of their property was to be forfeited to the one who had denounced them According to the same decree, the inhabitants of Ishmaelite villages must build, in the middle of each village, a church which was to be maintained by the local Muslims. Besides this, half of these Ishmaelites must leave the village in question and settle in purely Christian villages in order to become assimilated with the local Christians It was envisaged by the king that this scheme would lead to the conversion of these people to Christianity Accordingly to another resolution of this decree, the Ishmaelites must give their daughters in marriage to Christians and if entertaining Christian guests, must eat with them only pork Obviously, this last requirement constituted a violation of one of the sternest prohibitions of the Muslim faith Nevertheless, in spite of the decrees of Ladislas the Holy and Coloman III, a large number of the Ishmaelites of Hungary remained faithful

to Islam. It is even the case that in the 12th century there took place a major expansion of this religion in Hungary, especially during the reign of King Géza II (1141-61) who was, according to the account of the Arab traveller al-Gharnāṭī, a good friend of the Hungarian Muslims.

It is to this latter individual, both scholar and traveller, that there is owed an important illustration of the situation and the life of the Muslims in Hungary towards the middle of the 6th/12th century. Abū Ḥāmid *al-Andalusī* al-Gharnāṭī was born in the neighbourhood of Granada in 473/1080-81 and left his native country for good in 500/1006-7, travelling to Egypt and subsequently to Syria to study there and to learn *ḥadīth*. In 516/1123-4, he left Syria and made his way to Baghdād, where he stayed for some time as a guest of Ibn Hubeyra al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] the eminent statesman, general, scholar and future vizier of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī, this politician became his protector and patron. Later, in 524-5/1130-1, Abū Ḥāmid travelled to Persia, to the Caucasus and subsequently to Khwārazm, a land which he visited three times. Later, he travelled from this country (which had for many years maintained close relations with the land of the Volga), to Sadjsīn or Saksīn, a large Turkish commercial town situated on the lower reaches of the Volga. It seems that he settled there in 525/1131 and stayed for some twenty years until 545/1150. It is known that he possessed a house there and had concubines and sons. During his stay in Sadjsīn, he made a journey to Bulghār on the Volga, where he was seen in 530/1135-6. In 543/1150-51, Abū Ḥāmid made his way to Bīshghird, in Hungary, passing through the town of Bulghār and subsequently embarking on the *Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba* or "River of the Slavs" (this name is to be taken as covering a whole system of rivers, including the upper Volga, its tributary the Oka, the Desna, tributary of the upper Dnieper, and finally the Dnieper itself, probably as far up as Kiev). Subsequently, he travelled towards the south-west, passing through South Russia, and arrived, having crossed the Carpathians, in Hungary. Abū Ḥāmid's stay in the latter country lasted three years, until 1153. In this year he left Hungary, making his way to the town of Ghūrkhānān (*Mankermān or Kiev) and later to Sadjsīn. On this occasion, the king of Hungary entrusted to him the mission of recruiting Turkish archers from South Russia and Sadjsīn for his army. In 549/1154-5, Abū Ḥāmid left the town of Sadjsīn for good with the object of making the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and travelled to Baghdād. During his second stay in the capital of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, he composed his *al-Muʿrib ʿan baʿḍ ʿadjāʾib al-Maghrib*, which contains a rich store of information concerning Eastern and Central Europe and, *inter alia*, a long description of Hungary and of South Russia. In 566/1161, he travelled to al-Mawṣil, where he composed, the following year, his second work, the *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, a work which also contains a considerable quantity of information concerning Eastern Europe and Hungary. Later, towards the end of his life, he went to Syria where he stayed for five years (560-5/1165 to 1169-70), in Aleppo and subsequently in Damascus, where he died at the age of eighty.

Abū Ḥāmid's descriptions of Hungary contained in the *Muʿrib* and in the *Tuḥfa* are very important and factual, and they reveal some extremely interesting details. The account here will be limited to the information concerning the Hungarian Muslims. Our author, who lived in Hungary, as stated above, for three years, knew very well the Muslim milieu of this land, and to which he was joined by personal links; in fact, his eldest son Ḥāmid, who had accompanied his father on his journey to Hungary and had settled in the country, married the daughters of two local Muslim dignitaries and stayed in Hungary after his father's departure for the Orient in 1153. According to *al-Muʿrib*, there were in Hungary two distinct types of Muslims, these being the *awlād al-Maghāriba* "descendants of the people of the West" and *awlād al-Khwārazmiyyīn* "descendants of the Khwārazmians". In the case of the first of these groups, their name *al-Maghāriba* ("the Maghribis") remains mysterious. It is true that Abū Ḥāmid speaks of the existence of "sons of the Arabs of the Maghrib" (*awlād al-ʿArab min al-Maghrib*) at Sadjsīn on the Volga, an important East European commercial centre, which could be true, especially as these people professed, according to this author, the Mālikī law school like the true Maghribis; but in another passage of *al-Muʿrib*, he gives the name of *abnāʾ al-Maghāriba* 'sons of *al-Maghāribe*' to people with no connection whatsoever with true Maghribis. In the second case, it is a question of some thousands of people living in the vicinity of *Mankermān "Kiev" who had "the appearance of Turks, spoke the Turkish languages and shot their arrows like Turks". According to this passage of *al-Muʿrib*, the Maghāriba of the neighbourhood of Kiev also bore the name of Badjana, meaning Pechenegs (it may be recalled, in fact, that one of the two names given to the Pechenegs by al Masʿūdī was Badjanā, without final *-k*). Thus it appears that the Maghāriba of Hungary were identical to the al-Maghāriba/Badjana of the Kiev region, and that one is dealing with numerous groups of Pechenegs (Abū Ḥāmid counts these Maghāriba/Pechenegs to thousands) living between the 10th-15th centuries A.D. in the Carpathian basin as a subsidiary people to the Hungarians. These Pechenegs (in the mediaeval Latin sources *Fusieni* or *Byssi*, from the Hungarian *Besenyő*, read *Bessenyő Badjanai/Bedjene* or *Padanai/Pelcenc* of the Arabic sources) arrived in historic Hungary from the steppes of South Russia in several waves. The earliest of these waves apparently arrived in Hungary in the time of the prince Árpád, at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The new arrivals who were, according to the Hungarian chronicles, led by a certain Csaba, received from Árpád land situated in the Matra mountains. As for the second wave, a very important group of Pechenег immigrants, it arrived in Hungary (if credence is to be given to the chronicle *Anonymi Belae Regis Notarii de gestis Hungarorum*, composed in ca. 1200 A.D.) during the reign of the prince Zoltan who lived in the first half of the 10th century A.D. These Pechenegs were settled by Lake Ferto, near the north-western frontier of Hungary to protect the young Hungarian state against attacks by the Germans. Soon afterwards, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (? 955-72), a new and very numerous group of Pechenegs led by Thonuzoba, a person of princely origin. Taksony gave him, as a seat, land situated in the vicinity of Kemey, extending as far as the river Tisza. During the reign of the prince Géza (972-7), there arrived in Hungary a new group of Pechenег immigrants. This is known from the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Simon of Kéza (13th century), who calls the newcomers *Bessi*. The new wave was linked to the victory of John, *comes* of Sopron, a county situated in the

north west of Hungary. In 1072, according to the *Chronicle of Thwrocz*, the latter routed a large detachment of Pechenegs in the service of the Byzantine governor of Belgrade, taking prisoner several thousand Pechenegs whom he probably settled in his domain. The last wave of Pechenegs arrived in Hungary in 1122-3 These were the remnants of a large Pecheneg group which, in withdrawing from the steppes of South Russia, had attacked the frontiers of the Byzantine empire and had been defeated by the army of that state. These remnants settled in Hungary under the command of their Khān, named Tatar The newcomers were received very amicably by the Hungarian king Stephen II (1115 31) This wave was the last phase in the long series of Pecheneg immigration into Hungary which had lasted almost two hundred years. The Pechenegs who were settled as guards on all the frontiers of Hungary, as well as those who lived in the interior of the state, were required to supply troops of horsemen, who constituted the light cavalry of the Hungarian army. The last information regarding Pechenegs as forming a part of the Hungarian army comes from the year 1052 A D , at the time of the Hungarian war against the Germans on the river Leitha. In 1116 Petheneg warriors are found in the army of Stephen II. Later, in the year 1146, the Pechenegs, who probably made up two detachments of the garrison troops on the Austrian frontier, were included in the formation of the Hungarian army during the war against the Austrian Duke Henry Jasomirgott, in the battle near Moson. They were commanded by two Pecheneg "counts" In the year 1150, the Pechenegs constituted, along with the Khalisians (Kh"ārazmians) Hungarian auxiliary troops in the war of the Hungarians and the Serbs against Byzantium. The question of the participation of the Pechenegs in the Hungarian army has yet to be studied. However it should be noted that in the battle between the Hungarians and the King of Bohemia Přemysl Otokar II near Kressenbrun in 1260, the Pechenegs are not mentioned among the auxiliary troops of the Hungarians.

There were two different types of Pecheneg settlement in Hungary, these being settlements situated close to the frontiers and establishments located in the interior of the country The colonists settled near the frontiers had the duty of defending the wooden stockades which surrounded the entire territory of Hungary They were called in the Hungarian documents written in Latin *speculatores* or *confinarium custodes* Pecheneg guards of this type existed as early as the time of St Stephen (997-1038) and even before this period They were settled in groups quite close together not far from the western frontier of Hungary, notably in the counties of Sopron and Moson. This latter territory was even called, in *ca* 1230, on account of the large number of Pecheneg military colonists, by the name of *terra Bissenorum* ("the land of the Pechenegs"). The Pecheneg guards settled near the Bohemian frontier were also very numerous, in contrast to the northern, eastern and southern borders, where their numbers were relatively small As regards the Pecheneg settlements in the interior of Hungary, these may be divided into four groups, these being the group of Fejervár-Tolna (or of Sarvíz), the group of Kövés and the group of Csanad or Aranka, The largest of these four groups of villages, and at the time the largest group of Pecheneg settlements in Hungary in general, was the group of Fejervár-Tolna situated between the Danube and Lake Balaton, along the river Sarvíz, in the southern half of the county of Fejervár and the northern half of that of Tolna. All these settlements had the duty of defending from the enemy the town of Székes Fehérvár, the royal capital of Hungary under the Arpads (in the year 1192 Belgrade, 597 Alba Regia m German Stuhlweissenburg). These Pecheneg villages enjoyed a degree of independence and various privileges It may be added that besides this last group of villages, in the territory situated between Lake Balaton and the Danube, numerous other villages of the Pechenegs are encountered. Thus it may be stated that the largest number of settlements of Hungarian Pechenegs was situated in western Hungary, to the west of the middle Danube Besides this, there were more than ten Pecheneg villages situated in western Slovakia, about twenty on the upper Tissa, some fifteen between the Tisza and the middle Danube, another fifteen in the basin of the Maros and a further ten in Transylvania.

The Pechenegs who arrived in Hungary through numerous waves during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, were for the most part pagans professing the primitive religion of the ancient Turks. However, there were considerable numbers of Muslims among the newcomers, as may be judged from al-Mas'ūdī's account regarding the war waged by the *Rağğāk*/*Rağğāma* in alliance with the Hungarians against the Byzantines in 320-32/932 to 943-4. This has been mentioned above Later, however, Islam disappeared without trace among the Pechenegs of the steppes of South Russia, and al-Bakrī (460/1068) states in his geographical treatise that, according to the reports of Muslim slaves returning from Constantinople, this people professed, until the year 400/1009-10, the pagan faith (*dīn al-Maǧūsiyya*). However, immediately after that date there came among them a learned Muslim *faḳīh* who succeeded in converting a number of Pechenegs to Islam This, according to al-Bakrī, marked the beginning of an active Islamising campaign among the Pechenegs, which ultimately led to war between the new converts and their compatriots who had remained pagans According to al-Bakrī's informants, the converts to Islam, who numbered only 12,000 warriors, succeeded in defeating the pagans A large number of the latter were massacred, and the others became Muslims According to al-Bakrī, this event took place prior to the year 460/1068 At this time there already were among the Patšnegs, if al-Bakrī is to be believed, *faḳīhs*, scholars and Kur'ān readers If the account given by al-Bakrī is true, the conversion to Islam of the vast majority of the Pechenegs cannot have been other than superficial, with the retention of numerous pagan rites. In view of his account, it is not impossible that the Pechenegs taken prisoner by the Hungarians in 1072 A.D, in the Hungarian war against the Byzantines, and subsequently established, probably as guards, close to the frontiers of this kingdom, could have professed, at least in part, the Islamic faith Similarly, it is quite possible that the last wave of Pechenegs immigrants which was established in Hungary in 1122-3 A.D, consisted of people half-Islamised, among whom there were *faḳīhs* and Kur'ān readers. If this is a case of Pechenegs very superficially Islamised, the fact is also confirmed by the image of the *Maǧārība*/*Baǧāna* (Pechenegs) presented by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġharnatī in 1151-3. These people had only the vaguest ideas of the rites and duties of Islam Thus, for example, they drank

wine, which was forbidden them by Abū Ḥāmid. Before his arrival, they knew neither the Friday prayer nor the *khuṭba*; they learned these only, this traveller boasts, after his arrival in Hungary. Nor did they practise, before the coming of Abū Ḥāmid, polygamy and concubinage as enjoined by Islam. As regards the former crypto-Muslims of Hungary (these were, for the most part, Bulgars and Khᵛārazmians converted to Islam and later, during the reign of Stephen I, officially compelled to renounce this religion), their knowledge of the principles of Islam must, no doubt, have been considerably greater. The general situation of Muslims in Hungary in this period was relatively propitious, since King Géza II who reigned at this time, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "loved the Muslims". The *Maǧariyā/Baǧnāk* were, like a great many of the Khᵛārazmians, warriors, and Abū Ḥāmid speaks of their participation in the war of Hungary against Byzantium. They were very numerous, "thousands of people" according to this author, returning both to the crypto-Muslims and to the Muslims openly professing their faith. As for the number of places inhabited by these two types of Muslims, there were, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "more than ten thousand", this latter estimate seems much exaggerated.

It is known that the Pechenegs established between the 10th and the 13th century in Hungary possessed their own aristocracy and nobility. In fact, the various groups of Pecheneg immigrants arrived in Hungary led by their khāns (*dux* in the mediaeval Hungarian sources written in Latin) who enjoyed, in the first period of the Pecheneg presence in Hungary, that is in the 10th-12th centuries A.D., considerable respect. Among these khāns belonged, for example, *Zulian*, *princeps Bissenorum* of the ancient Hungarian chronicles, as well as other Pecheneg khāns named in these sources, for example Aba, Kemey, Botand, and the *dux nomine Tatur* known from the war between the Pechenegs and Byzantium in 1123, who settled in Hungary in the time of King Stephen II. It is known that the prestige of these Pecheneg khāns in Hungary was so great that one of these persons, Samuel Aba, became in 1041-7, king of Hungary. Later, the different groups of Pechenegs settled in various parts of Hungary were placed under the authority of representatives appointed by the Hungarian kings who bore the titles of *comes* or of *judex* and who were, in the majority of cases, of Pecheneg origin. These *comites* and *judices* also commanded the Pechenegs in times of war, as was, for example, the case of the *comes* of the Pechenegs in the Arpas locality in 1222. The descendants of the khāns and the Pecheneg nobility obtained posts in the administration of the Hungarian state and in the royal court. Thus, for example, a certain Pecheneg named *Mag* (*Magh*, *Moch*) whose name seems to derive from the Arabic Maǧūs, was palatine of Hungary and *comes* of the district of Bácska situated between the Danube and the lower reaches of the Tisza. Another Pecheneg, named Benedict, was, in 1329, *comes* of the district of Beranya. In 1404-5 a certain *Paulus Bissenus de Lerghede* was governor (*ban*) of Dalmatia, of Croatia and of Slavonia. As for the Pecheneg aristocrats who made careers in the Hungarian royal court, there was for example a certain *Aba Bissenus* (of the Pecheneg family of Aba of Kemey) who was, in ca. 1226 a baron *regius* of King Andrew II. Besides the aristocrats, there were in Hungary a fair number of less exalted Pecheneg nobles. The mediaeval documents mention several of these nobles, who are designated by the title *nobilis* (for example, *nobilis bisseni de Kemejsalu*). It seems that it is from these Pecheneg khāns who came to Hungary as immigrants that Ismāʿīl b. Ḥasan was descended. He was, according to Abū Ḥāmid, "the descendant of valiant Muslim princes" of Hungary, and he accompanied this traveller on his journey from Hungary to "the land of the Slavs", that is, to Kiev. Abū Ḥāmid also states that his eldest son married the daughters of two respected Muslims of Hungary. It seems that the persons in question here were Islamised Pecheneg nobles (*nobiles bisseni*).

To return to the second group of Hungarian Muslims mentioned by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī, these are the Khᵛārazmians the Kāšiz of the Hungarians, *al-Khwādiz* or *al-Khāṣṣ* of the mediaeval Arab sources, the *Khalisios* of John Kinnamos and the *Khvalisi* of the Russian Chronicle of Nestor. According to Abū Ḥāmid, there were thousands of them in Hungary (the author even states in one passage that they were "innumerable"); according to him they were in the service of the king of Hungary. Officially, they called themselves Christians and they disguised their Islam, in contrast to the Haǧāriyā/Pechenegs, who overtly professed the Muslim faith and served the Christians (meaning the king of Hungary) as soldiers. It is also known, from Hungarian documents, that the Kāšir sometimes fulfilled the function of administrators of the royal treasury (*institores regii fisci, quos hungarice ouaz vocant*). One Caliz (Khᵛārāzmien) named *Ethenus* (from the Arabic ʿAṭiyyat (Allāh)) who occupied this post in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) is known to us from a Hungarian document of the year 1211 A.D. In the same document there is reference to another Kāšā who was administrator of the royal treasury and at the same time count (*comes*) of the mint. His name was *Magug* (Ar. Maǧūǧ). These two individuals must have been, judging by their names, Muslims overtly professing their faith. At about the middle of the 12th/13th century, Khᵛārazmians (*Kachazos*) lived among other places, in the county of Szerém (in ancient times, Syrmium, currently Mitrovica in Slavonia) in the south of Hungary in its historic frontiers. The memory of this ethnic group is also preserved in some fifteen toponyms in the counties of Fejér, Veszprém, Zala and Somogy (all four of these being situated to the west of the Middle Danube), in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) in western Slovakia, in the counties of Kőszép Szolnok and Zemplén (both situated on the upper Tisza) and in the county of Pest situated immediately to the east of the middle Danube. The mediaeval Hungarian documents written in Latin also mention a road which takes its name from the Khᵛārazmians (1222: *in valle Kwalisi*), located in the county of Fejér. A colony of these people (*generatio Kalizi*) also lived, according to a document of the year 1135, in the village of Budakálász. It may be noted that the second part of this last name, i.e. *-kálász*, has also retained the designation of its former Khᵛārazmian inhabitants. A document of 1185 also mentions a road called *Kalmusi* (Kalmūt) which in another document dating from the year 1206 bore the name of *Calmudu*. The road in question was an important highway which led from Szeged, a town situated on the eastern bank of the middle Tisza, to Batmonostor. In the Middle Ages, this road played an important role in the Hungarian salt trade and its name indicates that, in this case at least, the salt trade was managed by the Kāšī or Khᵛārazmians.

It is most probable that the Khᵛārazmians also

sometimes had themselves under the name of Bőszörmény or "Muslims" (*Bissermen* of the Hungarian documents written in Latin). It is thus very likely that the Bőszörmény toponyms which are encountered in four or five counties could also designate villages formerly inhabited by Kh"ārazmians. In the *Register* of Várad (13th century), concerning the eastern frontiers of Hungary as it then was, there is mention of a *Villa Nechezermen dicta* (1248). According to the *Register*, this locality was the centre of the Ishmaelites (*Ismaelitae*) of Nyr, a territory extending to the north of Várad. It is not impossible that the name of this village denotes the Kh"ārazmians. It is very probable that the terms *bezermen* and *buzermen* (*Bőszörmény*) and *Ismaelitae* do not refer to an ethnic group, in most cases, but quite simply indicate the Muslim religion. It is in this sense, for example, that the name of the *Bezermenkut* well, situated in the region of Pest and mentioned in a document of the year 1325, refers not to an ethnic group (the population of this area was composed not only of Bulgars but also of Kh"ārazmians and Pechenegs converted to Islam) but to Muslims (in Hungarian, Bőszörmény) in general. Similarly, the name *Saracenus* (Saracen) referred not to a people but only to the Muslim religion. This name is also identified with that of the Ishmaelites in the mediaeval documents *Ismaelitae, Hysmaelitae*, etc.) So, for example, a village of the county of Bodrog (between the Danube and the lower Tisza) was called in 1194 *villa Hysmaelitarum*, and in 1206 *villa Saracenorum*. The Muslim soldiers who were sent to the aid of the Emperor's troops, at the time of the siege of Milan in 1161, according to one chronicle bore the name of Saracens (*Saraceni*). The Muslims of Pest, probably of Bulgar, or possibly of Kh"ārazmian (*kūlāh*) origin, who in the 12th century bore the name of Ishmaelites, are called Saracens in a document of 1278. On the other hand, the letter sent by the Czech King Přemysl Ottokar II to Pope Gregory IX, in which there is reference to the battle between the Czechs and the Hungarians near Kressenbrun (1260), distinguishes the *Bessermens* from the *Hysmaelitae*. It is possible that in the case the first of these names denotes the Kāls or Kh"ārazmians (it will be recalled that the Kh"ārazmians were called *Bissermen* by John of Plano Carpini), while the second may refer to the Islamised Pechenegs.

The situation of the Muslims of Hungary which was, if al-Gharnāṭī is to be believed, very prosperous in 1141-61, during the reign of King Géza II, and continued to be favourable at the beginning of the 13th century, in the time of King Andrew II (1205-35). At first, this king also was a friend of the Muslims, but later he was forced to change his attitude under pressure from the clergy. The Hungarian Muslims were at this time still very numerous. In fact, in a papal letter of the year 1221 there is a reference to *multitudo Saracenorum Hungarie*. It is from the period of Andrew II that there emerges the description of the Hungarian Muslims supplied by Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*. His account is based on information which this author received from a group of these Muslims (Yāḳūt calls them *al-Bashḳirdiyya*) whom he met at Haleb (Aleppo). The date of this meeting is not known exactly. It is known, however, that Yāḳūt spent some time there in 623/1226-27, in 624/1227-28, in 627/1224 and finally in 626/1229, shortly before his death. According to this author, the *al-Bashḳirdiyya* were people with very red (or blonde) hair, and with complexions that were also very rosy (here = white—Yāḳūt uses in both cases the Arabic word *shuḳr*), they professed the law school of Abū Ḥanīfa. Yāḳūt asked one of the members of this group for information on their country and their way of life, and received the answer that their country was situated beyond Constantinople among a population belonging to the Franks (in other words, Western Christians) who were called *al-Hunkar* or Hungarians. They were subjects (Ar. *raʿiyya*) of the *al-Hunkar* king, and were settled in the most distant parts of his domain, where they inhabited some thirty villages. It seems probable that these were the Muslim Pechenegs of which the most important groups had settled, in the 10th-13th centuries, in the counties of Sofron and Moson and between the middle Danube and Lake Balaton, in the western part of Hungary, on the Austrian frontier and around the ancient capital of the Arpads Székes-Fehérvár. According to Yāḳūt's informant, each of these villages was large enough to resemble a small town. However, these places were not surrounded by walls. In fact, the king of Hungary did not allow the local Muslims to fortify their villages with walls, for fear lest they rebel against him. According to the remainder of this account, the language of *al-Hunkar*, as of *al-Bashḳirdiyya*, was the same as that of the Franks. It is very likely that Yāḳūt's informant was thus using here of Latin, which was the official language of the Hungarian state in the Middle Ages. According to other information from this source, the *al Bashḳirdiyya* dressed like the Hungarians and were liable for military service, as were all the other inhabitants of Hungary. In fighting the enemies of the country, Yāḳūt states, the Hungarian Muslims were also engaged in the Holy War, the *ghazā*, in view of the fact that Hungary was surrounded by infidels hostile to Islam. Yāḳūt also asked his informant how the Muslims came to be living in Hungary, among infidel countries. He was told that according to the sayings of the ancestors of *al-Bashḳirdiyya*, there came to Hungary, from the land of the Bulgars (*bilād Bulghār*), in ancient times, seven Muslim individuals who settled among the *al-Bashḳirdiyya* and converted them to Islam. This tradition corresponds to that of the Hungarian chronicle known as *Anonymi gesta Hungarorum*, composed in 1196 and, according to which there came to Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony a group of Ishmaelites from *terra Bular* (Bulgaria of the Kama or rather, of the Danube). This has been discussed above. Yāḳūt's informant adds that the *Bashḳirdiyya* who have performed the *ḥadjdj* are highly respected by the Hungarian Muslims, who entrust to them control of their religious affairs. He also says that the *Bashḳirdiyya* who engage in military service in Hungary shave off their beards, as the Franks do, in other words in the Christian fashion. However, this is not the case as regards the others, those not performing military service. In view of the fact that the people met by our geographer at Aleppo had shaven beards, they would have belonged to the military caste. Elsewhere in Yāḳūt's article it is revealed that the road leading from Hungary to Aleppo passed through Constantinople and was four months' travelling time in length. It was already known, from the account of al-Gharnāṭī, that the route used by Hungarian Muslims in their travels in the Orient also passed through Kūniya (Konya) in Asia Minor.

It has been stated above that King Andrew II, who was initially well disposed towards his Muslim subjects, was compelled, in the year 1222, to pro-

claim a charter, also known as the *Golden Bull*, defining the rights of the Hungarian people The second edition of this *Bull* appeared in 1238, and the document contained numerous restrictions imposed on the Muslims and Jews of Hungary It emerges from these documents that, until this time, the Muslims (*Hyzmahdita, Saracens*) and the Jews of the country had the right to take on public functions, in particular, supervision of the mint and of the salt works (year 1222 *Comitas camere monetarie, Salnarii et Tributarii Hysmahdite fieri non possunt*; 1232 *Monetas et Salnas, ac alios publicos officios Saraceni non prefficiuntur*; 1232 *Saracenis prefficiendis camerae et publicis officiis*; etc), which were forbidden them in the *Golden Bull*. However, all these restrictions, in the period 1222-31, existed only on paper, as is shown by an edict of Archbishop Robert of Esztergom dating from 1230, an edict declaring the excommunication of Hungary According to this edict Andrew II, after proclaiming the *Golden Bull*, again appointed Muslim dignitaries to public offices he also tolerated the presence of Muslims in his estates According to another passage of Archbishop Robert's edict, it was a royal chamberlain named Samuel who was especially favourable towards the Muslims and the "false Christians", i.e. the Patarens. The Archbishop forbade Christians to do business or maintain other relations with Hungarian Muslims, except those who had freed their Christian slaves (or slaves of Christian origin) who were of Hungarian, Bulgar, Cuman or any other race. Following the excommunication by Archbishop Robert, King Andrew II repented and concluded, on 12 August 1232, an agreement with the legate of Pope Gregory IX, in which he promised that in future the Saracens would be forbidden to administer the mint or the revenues of the state, and would be barred from occupying other public posts. He also undertook in this pact that in future the Saracens and Jews would be obliged to carry signs to distinguish them from Christians. They would in future be unable to buy or possess Christian slaves. The king further promised that each year there would be a census of Saracens and Jews carried out by the Palatine, or some other senior state official, who would be authorised, on behalf of the bishops, to take from the Saracens and the Jews any Christian slaves and Christian wives According to the same undertaking by Andrew II, marriages of Saracens and Jews with Christians were to be dissolved or annulled, and both parties would be punished by the loss of their property and their freedom. Thus it is probably from the year 1232 that there began the worst serious oppression of the Hungarian Muslims by the Church, and it is only from this time onward that one can speak of the Christianisation of this part of the Hungarian population. This Christianisation is marked especially by the building of Christian churches and monasteries, which began at about the middle of the 13th century in villages occupied by the Pechenegs who until this time had remained superficially Islamised or even pagan It is in the documents of this period that phrases appear such as *ecclesia de Besenu* or even *abbatia de Besenu* (from Hungarian *Besenyö* "Pecheneg).

There is no doubt that the invasion of the Mongols (Tatars) in 1241 also contributed, to the highest degree, to the reduction of the Muslim element in Hungary, an element composed for the most part of soldiers in the service of the kings of Hungary On account of its tenacious resistance, this element suffered particularly severe losses at the hands of the Tatars This issue will be discussed further, in the context of an analysis of the description of Hungary given by Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi

It is quite possible that there were also Muslims (or at least people superficially Islamised) among the Comans (in Hungarian, *Palocs*), a Kipčak tribe which took refuge in large numbers in Hungary in their flight from the Mongols, who appeared in 1223 in the plains by the Black Sea where the Comans were leading a nomadic existence during the 12th-13th centuries

Moreover, these were not the first Coman groups to settle in Hungary In fact, it is known that as early as 1086-7 the Hungarian king Salomon summoned a military detachment of this people into Hungary, and that another Coman group settled in Hungary in 1172 on probably in the Matra mountains These newcomers were expelled, to the steppes of South Russia (like other Turkish tribes who led a nomadic existence there and were in general animists and shamanists), to the influence of Islam. They could thus add to the number of Muslims (or rather of superficially Islamised animists) in Hungary. In this manner, the Muslim presence in this country was maintained in spite of pressure from the Church and in spite of the losses suffered during the Mongol invasion of 1241 It is stated, in fact, in a letter of the king of Bohemia Přemysl Ottokar II, addressed to the Pope and giving a description of the battle of Kressenbrun between the Czechs and the Hungarian King Béla IV (1260), that among the auxiliary units of the Hungarian army which took part in this battle there were an *innumerum multitudinem hominum Comanorum et Ungarorum et diversarum Sclavarum, Siculorum quoque et Walachorum, Bazermonorum et Hysmahelitarum, Scismaticorum etiam ac pene Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Ruscienstium et Bazermonum haereticorum*. It has been demonstrated above that *Bazermin* is the name not only for Muslims in general, but also for the Kh"aramitas (Kāfir) and that the word *Hysmahelitae* (Ismaelites) can also specifically denote the Muslim Pechenegs

It is from approximately the period of the battle of Kressenbrun that there comes the last Arabic source concerning the Muslims of Hungary The source in question is a short account of Hungary (*al-Hankar*) and of the Hungarian Muslims (of *Bashghirdiyya*) by Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi. This account, part of his major geographical work, has been reproduced in the *Taḥfa al-bulda* of Abu 'l-Fida' According to this text, Hungary was divided at this time into two parts, of which one, situated in the east of the country, was inhabited by *al-Hankar* (the Hungarians), a Christian people, while the western part of the country was inhabited by another people, known as *al Bāshghird* and professing the Muslim faith This people lived on the river Dūnā (to be corrected to Duna, "Danube") as neighbours to the Germans. The capital of the *bilād al-Bāshghird*, according to Ibn Sa'id, bore the name of *Kāsh* and was situated in the south of the country. In all probability this word is simply an Arabic transcription of the Slavic term *grad* "town" and represents the second part of the name *Belgrad* (the 'White town") which was the Slavic name for *Szabes Fehérvár*, the capital of Hungary under the dynasty of the Arpads. This name figures, with different forms, in numerous Latin documents of Hungary in the 12th-13th centuries Its mediaeval Latin equivalent is *Alba civitas regalis*, to German it is *Stuhlweissenburg* and in Hungarian, as has just been stated, *Szabes Fehérvár*. Al-Idrīsī calls this town

Bal(a)ghāta or *Bal(a)ghāta* Ibn Sa'īd adds that the *al-Bāshghird* people were converted to Islam by a Turkoman *faḳīh* "who taught them the rites of the faith" It seems that the mission of this *faḳīh* (who was not the first Muslim missionary to visit Hungary, a land where, as has been shown above, Islam had been present since the 4th/10th century) cannot have taken place until after the end of the 11th century, a time at which the Turkomans, a Turkish tribe mingled with Iranian elements, was living in a primitive state in Central Asia, as neighbours of the Saldjūḳ Turks When the latter conquered Asia Minor towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkomans united with them and lived in this land, recognising the authority of the Saldjūḳ rulers of Konya. During his stay in Hungary in 1151 3, al-Gharnāṭī saw Turkoman mercenaries in the service of Evzantium taken prisoner by the Hungarians Seeing that the route taken by Hungarian Muslims who, according to Abū Ḥāmid, made their way to the East and especially to Mecca, passed through Konya, the arrival in Hungary of a Turkoman missionary probably a native of Asia Minor, seems entirely probable It may also be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (752/1356) uses the name Turkomans to denote the Ottoman Turks

The *bilād al-Bāshghird* was invaded according to Ibn Sa'īd, by the Tatars (1241) who slaughtered many of the inhabitants According to another passage in the work of this author, the *Bāshkird*, as allies of (or rather, subjects of) the Hungarians, took part, in the same year of 1241, alongside the Germans and the Hungarians, in a battle near Sebenico (Sibenik in Croatia), in which the Tatar forces were annihilated The facts given by Ibn Sa'īd are also confirmed by the Latin sources, including the *Rogeri carmen miserabile* where there is reference to the armed resistance of the Hungarian Muslims against the Tatars In another Latin document of this period there is mention of the Saracen district called Bew which was entirely devastated during the Tatar invasion of 1231.

Little is known of the later history of the Muslims of Hungary because the Arab or Christian sources concerning this religious group become less and less numerous. However, it is stated in a Latin document that in 1290, at the time when the Hungarian King Ladislas IV left his capital, going to live as a nomad with the Cumans (Hungarian Palcsa) who lived in the Matra mountains and in some other districts of Hungary, he handed over all responsibilities of state to a Muslim dignitary named Musa (Ar Mūsā ?), who had himself baptised immediately after this appointment As regards the Arabic sources of this period, the one most worthy of mention is the *Āthār al-bilād* of al-Ḳazwīnī who gives an interesting description of Hungary the calls it "the land of *Bāshghird*") composed on the basis of the account of a *faḳīh* who was a native of this country This account was written, as can be seen from its context, some time after the Mongol invasion of 1241 (the *faḳīh* in question calls the invaders *al Tatar*). According to this account, the *Bāshghird* are a great people whose king has a large army at his disposal and of whom the majority is Christian, among them there is also a multitude (Ar. *ḡawg*, alas "crowd", "mass of people") of Muslims who observe the law school of the imām Abū Ḥanīfa These Muslims pay a tax (*ḡizya*) to the Christians, just as the Christians pay a tax to the Muslims in lands of Islam. Of less value is a passage from the *Nukhbat al-dahr* of al-Dimashḳī This author also mentions the Bāshghird people which he locates in south-east Europe, alongside the *Madjar* or Hungarians He does not take account of the fact that these are two branches of the same people It is quite likely that he meant by this means to distinguish, as had been done by Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, the Hungarian Muslims whom he calls *Bashkird* from the Hungarian Christians whom he calls *Madjar*.

It seems that Islam was maintained in pre-Ottoman Hungary until approximately the year 1340, the period in which the Hungarian King Charles Robert of Anjou (1308 42) compelled all those of his subjects who were not yet Christians to embrace Christianity or to leave the country

However, the Pechenegs, although converted to Christianity in the 14th century at the latest, remained until the end of the 15th century, even after the loss of their ancestral language (by this time they were speaking the Magyar language), some traces of Muslim culture. This is known from the work of A. Bonfinius, who has provided a vivid description of the Hungarian Pechenegs in his *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, ii liv, p 220, Hanover 1606 According to this author, "they wore long beards and long moustaches and dressed in the Persian fashion, in tunics of silk that were ruffled by the wind"

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(T. Lewicki)

(ii) The Ottoman Period

After the occupation of Belgrade in 1521, Sultan Süleymān I led three campaigns into Hungary in 1526, 1529 and 1532, but by these he did not extend the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire to the north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube. It was only in 1541, after the death of János Zapolya, that the Sultan occupied the fortress of Buda, in order to prevent the Hapsburg Ferdinand, who laid claim to the whole of Hungary, from taking possession of it. In 1543 Süleymān launched another campaign against Vienna in accordance with his commitment as part of Franco-Turkish co-operation to attack the Hapsburgs from two sides. But the Turkish army suddenly stopped on its way to Vienna at the fortress of Esztergom because the Sultan had not received any reassuring news either about the activities of his fleet in the Mediterranean Sea or of the military operations of his French allies. So he had to content himself with occupying a few of the more significant fortresses in western Hungary, sc. Esztergom, Tata and Székesfehérvár, and then he started back for home with his army. Subsequently, the *beglerbegs* of Buda and later the *beglerbegs* of Rumelia began to enlarge the Turks' base in Hungary in the form of a wedge against the Hapsburgs by occupying several other fortresses and castles, sc. Visegrád, Nógrád, Hatvan, Temesvár, Szolnok, etc. The first phase of Turkish expansion in Hungary ended with Süleymān's last campaign, the occupation of Szigetvár and Gyula in 1566.

Administration in the Hungarian territories that had fallen under Turkish rule was gradually organised in the wake of the expansion, although the establishing of *sanḏjaḳs* did not take place immediately after the occupation of even the more significant fortresses. The process of re-organisation in Hungary cannot have been as fast as was suggested by I. H. Uzunçarşılı, who claimed that the Turks annexed the Hungarian territory possessed by János Zapolya to the Ottoman Empire in 1542, converted it into the *beglerbeglik* of Buda, which consisted of twelve *sanḏjaḳs*, and appointed the *beglerbeg* of Baghdād, Süleymān Pasha, to be its head (*Osmanlı tarihi*[2], ii, Ankara 1964, 344). It is true that the Sultan appointed Süleymān Pasha to be *beglerbeg* of Buda. This post, however, could not involve the government of twelve Hungarian *sanḏjaḳs* because, besides the territory of the *sanḏjaḳ* of Buda, which was just being formed under the protection of the strongholds of Buda and Pest, it was only Titel which was in Turkish possession north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube at that time. Therefore, the *beglerbeglik* of Buda had to be formed from *sanḏjaḳs* which were south of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube, i.e. Eszék/Ösek, Semendire, Izvornik/Zvornik, Aladjahisar/Kruševac and Vulčitrin/Vučitrn. If these remote *sanḏjaḳs* had not been joined to Buda, it could have been governed only by a *sanḏjaḳ-beg* in 1541.

Between 1541 and 1568 the Turks established the following *sanḏjaḳs* north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube: Buda (1541); Mohács (1542), Szeged and Istolni Belgrad, i.e. Székesfehérvár (1543); Eger (1544), although the fortress of Eger itself had not yet been occupied, only its vicinities; Esztergom, Hatvan, Nógrád and Simontornya (1545-6); Siklós (1549), Koppány (1550), Becse and Becskerek (1551-2), Górögsi, Szekszárd, Temesvár and Csanád (1552); Lippa, Arad and Szolnok (1552-3); Szécsény (1553-4), Veszprém (1554), Fülek (1555), and Gyula and Szigetvár (1566). In the meantime, they formed the *beglerbeglik* of Temesvár (1552) from the *sanḏjaḳs* of Temesvár and Csanád (the latter including Becse and Becskerek), to which they attached the *sanḏjaḳs* of Semendire, Aladjahisar and Vidin, and later the *sanḏjaḳs* of Lippa, Arad and Gyula, respectively.

The backbone of the Turks' base in the central part of Hungary was the *beglerbeglik* of Buda, but its upkeep against the Hapsburgs was very costly. According to the cash book of the Treasury of Buda for the years 1559 and 1560, there were 10,300 Turkish troops in the fortresses belonging to the *eyālet* of Buda, for whose pay and equipment no annual sum of 260,000-80,000 gold pieces had to be brought in from Istanbul, because the taxes and duties obtained in Hungary covered but one-third of their expenses. The transport of money from Istanbul to Buda was necessary not only in the decades that followed, but also in the 17th century. According to Peçevi, the annual tax yield of Egypt, 300,000 gold pieces, was sent directly to Buda (*Ta'rīkh-i Peçevī*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 56). The new campaigns also increased the expenses of retaining the Hungarian territories, and the burden which the newly-occupied fortresses imposed on the empire was clearly greater than the advantage they offered. Thus, e.g., when Eger (1596), Kanizsa (1600), or Várad (1660) and Újvár (1663) fell into Turkish hands, each of these fortresses had to be made the seat of a new *beglerbeglik*, so that greater forces could be concentrated for their defence in case of emergency. In accordance with their custom, the Turks formed new *beglerbeglik*

beglīks by a re-organisation of formerly-occupied territories. However, while earlier they were able to extend the boundaries of the new *beglerbeglīks* by further conquests (see e.g. the *beglerbeglīks* of Buda and Temesvár), they were no longer able to do so in the 17th century.

The decline in the military preponderance of the Ottoman empire is well-characterised by two episodes which happened in two phases of Turkish rule in Hungary, in the 16th and the 17th century respectively. In the first phase, when the Hapsburgs' envoy, Ferenc Jurkovič, appeared in a robe of state and with a sword on his side before Sinan Pasha, *beglerbeg* of Buda, in 1587, the Pasha and the envoy's sword broken to pieces. In the second phase, however, when Gáspar Tassi, a deputy went to Murtadā Pasha of Buda in 1697 to lodge a complaint against the *kādī* of Hatvan, the Pasha immediately ordered that the *kādī* be given 500 lashes on the sole without hearing any witnesses. The Turks' attacks in the 17th century were chiefly mere flare-ups of enthusiasm. During one of them, the siege of Vienna in 1683, they displayed such military weakness that it was soon followed by the coalition of western powers and the eventual liberation of Buda in 1686. Within a decade after this, the Turks lost nearly all their conquests in Hungary except the *beglerbeglīk* of Temesvár, which they managed to retain until 1718.

The effect of the Turkish rule in Hungary on general European conditions is variously evaluated in the literature of the subject. According to a noteworthy statement by B. H. Slicher van Bath, the rise in meat prices in Europe after 1550, which was partly due to the growth of population, was primarily caused by the fact that the Turks had occupied Hungary and so the import of cattle from South-Eastern Europe had decreased (*The agrarian history of western Europe A.D. 500-1850*, London 1963, 204). It seems likely, however, that the rise in European meat prices was due to other factors, because, according to Turkish customs registers, that part of Hungary which was under Turkish rule exported to the west 60-80,000 head of cattle yearly around the middle of the 16th century.

However prosperous cattle-breeding was in Hungary under Turkish rule, it was a negative phenomenon from the point of view of economic progress since it meant a return to extensive animal-keeping. The fields of a number of Hungarian villages destroyed in the Turkish wars lay uncultivated, deteriorated into pasture and were hardly fit for anything else than animal grazing. This explains how it was possible even after the Fifteen Years' War (1593-1606) for an English merchant to write the following words about the abundant cattle-stock of Hungary: "This Countrey doth much abound in cattle sufficient to feed all Germany, the store is so great, that they yearly sell to their neighbours 80 or 100 thousand Oxen" (Lewes Roberts, *The merchant mappe of commerce*, London 1637, 177). When evaluating this attractive figure, however, one has also to consider the fact that such significant towns in southern Hungary as Pécs and Tolna lost the greater part of their vineyards, the source of their former wealth. For example in Tolna, a town with 3000 inhabitants, where, according to Turkish financial accounts, a yearly amount of 6,800 hectolitres (about 150,000 gallons) of wine was produced in the 1560s and 70s, wine-growing completely lost its importance in the course of the 17th century. The worsening of the economic situation can be traced on the basis of Turkish sources, not only along the Danube but also in the area of the River Tisza. For example in the villages of Gyó and Tápé, two imperial *khāṣ*-estates near Szeged, both the number of the inhabitants and the amount of their agricultural production had dropped to one half of the original figure between 1550 and 1670, although these figures could have doubled in 120 years.

The demographic conditions of Hungary in the period of the Turks can be fairly well estimated on the basis of the *tahrīr defterleri*. After their first conquests, as soon as they had strengthened their posts in Hungary, the Turks started to make written records of the settlements within the *sandjaks*, which they established with rather vague boundaries. As was written in one of the Sultan's instructions to the *sandjakbegs* of Mohács in March 1545: "The state of the local settlements and the conditions of *re'āyā* must be examined in the same way as in the other provinces" (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 19328, p. 149). The first registers were made in the *sandjaks* of Mohács and Istolni Belgrad in 1543-6 by Candarlizāde Khalīl Beg, who was specially sent to Hungary with that task. Of these two *tahrīr defterleri*, only the one of the *sandjak* of Mohács has survived to this day. In the same years, Khalīl Beg prepared the registers of the *sandjaks* of Buda, Esztergom, Nógrád, Hatvan, Szeged and Simontornya as well; those *tahrīr defterleri* and the *ṭīmār defterleri* compiled on their basis are all extant today. New registers of the *sandjaks* were usually made every ten years up to 1590. Later, however, the administrative organisation of the Ottoman empire became so loose that new registers were made only in the newly-occupied territories, while in other parts the old registers were re-copied. This is evident from certain income figures, e.g. a *ṭīmār's* income in the *sandjak* of Buda was exactly as many *akčes* in 1676 as in 1590, although the value of money had considerably changed in the meantime.

In the first half of the 16th century, the Turkish *tahrīr defterleri* still presented a relatively favourable picture of Hungary's demographic conditions. In the town of Szeged, for example, where there were 1,449 families in 1522 before the Turkish occupation, 1,345 heads of family were entered in the first Turkish register of 1546, i.e. the population of Szeged decreased by only about 100 families after the battle of Mohács and the first Turkish occupation. After the subsequent wars and devastations, however, the Turks could levy the *ǧizya* tax on no more than 325 heads of family in the same area in the last years of the century.

Of course, this does not mean that the greater part of the Hungarian population perished, because, as is well known, a large number of Hungarians escaped to territories of Hungary which had not passed under Turkish rule. As one can read in a Hungarian letter written as early as 1550: "The people of the land, especially in the country of Pest, left their homes in multitudes, seeking refuge in the counties of Zala and Somogy" (there had already been Turks in the county of Pest, but not in the counties of Zala and Somogy as yet). In spite of all this, there were relatively few Turks who came to settle down in Hungary. It is true that a few towns such as Esztergom, Visegrád and Nógrád, were evacuated after their occupation for strategic reasons and were inhabited almost exclusively by Turks in later times as well. Besides such places, however, it was only in Buda, Pest, Vác,

Talna and the area of Szeged that a few hundred Turkish families settled down

Süleymān and his successors made no deliberate efforts to settle large numbers of Turkish families in Hungary as they did in the Balkan peninsula. Neither did Islam gain any ground. Today there are but few architectural remnants to evoke the memory of the Ottoman period, and this is not because subsequent wars destroyed them but because the Turks preferred transforming old buildings to constructing new ones in Hungary. Similarly, present-day Hungarian vocabulary contains very few Ottoman Turkish loan-words, spoken Hungarian has preserved only a faint memory of former Turkish rule

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(Gy. Káldy-Nagy)

AL MADJARRA, the Galaxy or Milky Way This remarkable celestial phenomenon was well-known to the peoples of the Islamic world. Its popular assimilation to the traces of spilt milk seems to be of Greek origin (cf τὸ γάλα (Aristotle),ὁ τοῦ γαλαικτος κύκλος (Euclid, Geminus), ὁ γαλακτίας (κυκλος) [Ptolemy), ἀγαλαξίας (κύκλος) [other authors]; see Liddell and Scott, *s. vv.*), whereas in the Near East the image of traces of lost straw, or chaff, prevails (cf Pers *rāh-i kāhkašān*, Turk. *samanyolu*, etc., and already Syriac *šbîlîlā d-tebhnā* (A. D. 660), also colloquial Arabic *darb al-tabbāna*, etc., see Wiedemann [1], 1 f., and [2], and Eilers [3], 108-41; [2] 151; [3], 4 for the Syriac, Severus Sēbhōkht, ii, 2 [p 340] xi, 1 3 [pp 302-3])

In Arabic, the indigenous designation is *al-madjarra*, which is derived both by classical Arabic lexicographers and by modern scholars from the root *ǧ-r* "to pull, or draw" and would designate a place, or path where something is drawn (Ibn Kutayba, *Anwāʾ* 123, al-Djawharī, in *LA*, iv, 1294; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, 8; al-Marzūḳī, ii, 9, Ibn Manẓūr [2], 273; Eilers [3], 111) The mediaeval Latin translator of the Arabic *Almagest*, Gerard of Cremona, generally retained the Arabic designation *al-madjarra* as *almaiarach* etc, but in one instance he added a gloss: *id est area que mouetur*, in which he understood *al-madjarra* as a drawer that can be pulled (cf. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 139). Occasionally there occurs in Arabic texts a confusion between the name of the Milky Way *al-madjarra*, and the graphically closely-similar word *al-midjmara*, which is the Arabic version for the Greek constellation name τὸ Θυμιατήριον, the Altar, *Ara* (see Kunitzsch, 203): cf., e.g., *al-madjarra* for *al midjmara* on a celestial globe by Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Sahlī, dated 478/1085, described by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*,

i, Barcelona 1932, 55 ff.; the same confusion of *al-madjarra* for *al-mudjmara*, in *Les mansions lunaires des Arabes. Texte arabe en vers de Muḥammad El-Moqri*, trad. al ma par A de C Motylinski, Algiers 1899, 29 (no. 11) and n. 2, where the translator did not realise and correct the mistake, cf. also on d of the Arabic *Almagest* in Kunitzsch, 346, no. 640. A literal Arabic translation from the Greek, in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, was *of falak al-kabani* (al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar), and *al-dā'ira al-mushtabha bi-kaun al-kabani*, or shortly, *al-dā'ira al-kabaniyya* (Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn) (see Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 139).

The Milky Way was known to the Arabs in their classical period, cf. a collection of classical and post-classical Arabic verses naming *al-madjarra*, in Wiedemann [1], 673-5 (see also Ibn Manẓūr [2], 118 f.). In lexicographical texts, the positions of several fixed stars are described in relation to the Milky Way. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895) gave a description of the course of the Milky Way in the sky as seen by the Arabs in their "pre-scientific" period (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūḳī, ii, 9 f., tr. Wiedemann [1], 664-6).

Further, it was observed and mentioned by the Arabs that the position of the Milky Way in the sky changed in different seasons according to the annual revolution of the sky (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūḳī, ii, 10 f. = tr. Wiedemann [1], 666-8, Ibn Ḳutayba, 123, al-Ḳazwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethé, 44). A late description based on personal experience was given around A.D. 1490 by Aḥmad b. Mādjid the famous navigator of the Indian Ocean (see Aḥmad b. Mādjid, 149 f., tr. Tibbetts, 140). It should be noted that some of these non-scientific authors understood the Milky Way as a dense accumulation of faint stars that appears to the observer's eye as a nebulous mass, a theory which seems to have originated from independent observations not influenced by the teachings of Greek philosophy (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, 124; al-Ḳazwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethé, 44; Aḥmad b. Mādjid, 149 = tr. Tibbetts, 140).

A scientific astronomical description of the Milky Way was given by Ptolemy in his *Almagest* (book viii, ch. 2), which became known in Arabic through a series of translations from the end of the 2nd/8th to the end of the 3rd/9th centuries. Abū Ḥanīfa's description, however, apparently was not influenced by the *Almagest*, since he uses descriptive elements of pure Arabic origin only. Also, his description of the galactic circle begins and ends in the constellation of Scorpius, near the ecliptic, whereas Ptolemy's description begins and ends in the constellation of Centaurus, in the southernmost region of the sky visible to him in Alexandria.

Cosmological theories of the Milky Way were conveyed to the Arabs by translations and paraphrases of Greek philosophical works, as, e.g., Aristotle's *Meteorology* (for the chapter on the Milky Way, see *al-Āthār al-'ulwiyya*, ed. Badawī, 12-15; ed. Petraitis, 23-6 [Arabic]; ed. Schoonheim, 66/67-70/71; ed. Daiber, 8a f.), and their commentaries. While Aristotle taught that the Milky Way is a vaporous phenomenon belonging to the sublunar sphere, other philosophers such as Democritus, and younger commentators as Olympiodorus, etc., believed the Milky Way to be far out in space, similar to the fixed stars, and belonging to their sphere (cf. Petraitis, 23 [Arabic], n. 2; Daiber, 93-5). Muslim scholars apparently favoured these latter theories against Aristotle's one (see the texts cited by Wiedemann [1], 669-72, and Daiber, 93-5, and the following quotations from Ibn al-Haytham and al-Bīrūnī).

Especially interesting are the scientific deductions of Ibn al-Haytham (d. ca. 432/1042), who arrived at the conclusion that the Milky Way does not form part of the air (the sublunar sphere) but must be far out in the space (see Wiedemann [1], 672, and the literature quoted there). Also, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (written around A.D. 1030) says that, contrary to the teachings of Aristotle and his followers, *al-madjarra* is at the same height (above the earth) as the fixed stars because the moon and the planets are not influenced by it when crossing in front of it, as should happen if the Milky Way was below them, and because it shares all the peculiarities of the fixed stars as described by Ptolemy, viz. that it is found in their sphere and invariably keeps the same relations in distance and shape just as the fixed stars do (al-Bīrūnī [2], iii, 992, 16-993, 1, nearly identical with this is the quotation from Barhebraeus (d. A.D. 1286) in Wiedemann [1], 671).

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MADJĀZ (A.), a term in rhetoric, means "trope" and, more generally, the use of a word

deviating from its original meaning and use, its opposite being *ḥaḳīḳa* ('veritative expression').

In Arabic literature — The different modes of expression labelled as *madjāz* by the Arabic theorists were divided into twelve categories by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) without, however, following a consistent system of criteria (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ed. Cairo 1282, i, 171). A more refined and detailed version of this classifying system was put forward by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (*Itḳān*, ed. Calcutta 1856, 330 ff.). From the structural point of view, the *madjāz* systematology by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1221), a younger contemporary of al-Rāzī, is more satisfactory.

Al-Sakkākī offers five different binarily-divided categories of *madjāz* (*Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* ed. Cairo 1318, 154 ff. = 9 ff. in detail 155-69). The two main categories are denoted as linguistic and intellectual *madjāz* (*lughawī* and *ʿaḳlī*). The intellectual *madjāz* comprises expressions which attribute the effect of a deed not to its proper author but rather to a piece of imagery or mediate one, as is shown in the instance, "their trade did not make a good bargain" (Kurʾān, II, 35). The linguistic *madjāz* is either lexicographically classifiable or relates to the context. The contextual *madjāz* comprehends ellipses which, for the remaining expression, entail a modification of the syntactical status. An instance of this is given in Kurʾān, XII, 82 "ask the village (acc.)", whereas it should read 'ask the inhabitants of the village (gen.)'. The lexical tropes may be divided into those having a proper value of meaning and use and those not having it. The latter group includes the transference of generic names of parts of the body from one genus to another, as is shown in the use of "labium" for the camel's lip. The expressive *madjāz* may be used to mean either a metaphor or some kind of metonymy; it merely depends on whether there exists a comparison or some less precise connection between the actual meaning and the mode chosen to express it. An instance for the latter may be found in the use of "hand" for "benefaction", as the latter is brought about by the former.

The conceptual elements of this system date from a period anterior to al-Sakkākī, one of his most meritorious promoters being ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). We owe to him the distinction between linguistic and intellectual *madjāz* (*Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, 342 ff., 376 see also his statements in *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, ed. Khalādjī, Cairo 1969, 286 ff.). The notion "inexpressive trope" is based on a classification of metaphors that goes back from al-Djurdjānī (*Asrār*, 29, ll. 5 ff., 373 ff.) to al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998) (*al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa*, ed. Naǧm, Beirut 1965, 65 ff., 90 ff.; *id.* also ISTIʿĀRA). Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) already pointed out that the metaphor constitutes the most important form of *madjāz* (*Taʾwīl muḵtalif al-Kurʾān*, ed. Ṣaḳr, 124). First attempts to classify tropical expressions were made by Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) in his *Kitāb Madjāz al-Kurʾān* (ed. Sezgin, Cairo 8 ff., cf. J. Wansbrough, *Madjāz al-qurʾān, peripharastic exegesis*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii [1970], 248-54); however, they correspond more with those of al-Rāzī than with those of al-Sakkākī.

The *madjāz* theory received its first impulses from the hands of Kurʾānic hermeneutics, scholars being guided by the want of a correct philological interpretation of the holy text. In its beginning, *madjāz* did not mean "trope" in the proper sense of the word, but more generally denoted any turns of phrase that, from the semantic, lexicographical or syntactical point of view, were not self-evident and needed explanation. An instance of this stage of the *madjāz* theory is represented by the *Kitāb Madjāz al-Kurʾān* by Abū ʿUbayda (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 35 ff., 48).

Parallel to the purely philological studies, research work on Kurʾānic hermeneutics was undertaken by theologians, whose investigations seem to have had a still greater bearing on the development of the *madjāz* theory. All theological groups, in fact, resorted to the Kurʾān in order to support their statements, since the text allowed quite contradictory interpretations. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. *ca* 100/719) had already pointed out in his anti-Ḳadarī discussions that occasionally in the Kurʾān an effect proper to God is ascribed in its cause to a created being, and he thus anticipated the notion of *madjāz ʿaḳlī* (cf. Van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977, 105, 201 ff.). An instance of this phenomenon is given in the verses "The spring time made the herbage come forth", the effect of bringing forth herbage not being ascribed to the Creator but to the spring [see AL MAʾĀRI WA ʾL-BAYĀN]. If credence may be given to Ibn Taymiyya, the corresponding pair of expressions *madjāz ḥaḳīḳa* equally had its origin in theological and not in philological tradition (cf. W. Heinrichs, *Literary theory, in Arabic poetry, theory and development*, ed. Von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1973, 30, n. 59). The Muʿtazilīs, for their part, took refuge in tropical interpretation in order to eliminate the anthropomorphisms of the Kurʾānic representation of God (cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, repr. Leiden 1952, 120 ff.). It likewise happened that in discussions with other religions, attempts were made to shift the difference from the mental to the verbal plane, thus making use of the *madjāz* theory. Ibn Ḳutayba actually thought it convenient to deprive the Christian term "Son of God" of its shockingness by taking refuge in a tropical interpretation (*Taʾwīl*, 201, ll. 5 ff.).

It was, however, due to the theological aspects of the Kurʾānic *madjāz* that the question was raised how far tropical expressions might be valuable and useful. One of the major reproaches brought forward against the use of *madjāz* was that tropical language was likely to falsify the image of reality. Already Ibn Ḳutayba drew attention to this fact (*Taʾwīl*, 132 f., see also Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, 330, 11-19 ff.). It proved more rewarding, however, to tackle the positive aspects of the problem, as tropical expressions used in the Kurʾān were liable to express more clearly and more completely the intended meaning than would have been possible by means of a veritative expression. A number of excellent single studies relating to the above subject were brought together by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) in his *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Kurʾān* (see also the statements made by Ṭabāna in *al-Bayān al-ʿarabī*, Cairo[4] 1968, 36 ff.). It thus happened that the discussion on *madjāz* was shifted into the field of interest of the inimitability of the Kurʾān (*iʿdjāz al-Kurʾān*).

Bibliography Shorter or longer treatises on *madjāz* are to be found in all manuals and studies relating to rhetoric or the rhetorical art since the 5th/11th century, but especially in the works of the school of al-Sakkākī (see also AL MAʾĀNĪ WA ʾL-BAYĀN). The *madjāz* literature equally includes everything written on *isti ʿāra*, see particularly W. Heinrichs, *The Hand of the northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977.

(B. REINERT)

In Persian literature. — The use of the term *madjāz* by Persian writers has always been subject to the influence of the Arabic doctrine outlined above. A distinction between more borrowing on the one hand and autonomous development on the other can in each instance only be made on the basis of extensive and chronologically differentiated data which are not yet available. For that reason, no more than a rough sketch of Persian usage can be given here and questions concerning the origin and the history of specific aspects must be left aside.

The first writer who dealt with *madjāz* as a rhetorical term was, to our knowledge, Shams-i Kays, a contemporary of al-Sakkākī's. He defined it as an inclusive category of figurative speech being opposed to the category of literal, "true" speech (*ḥaḳīḳat*). His definition also comprises the necessity of a common aspect (*wadjh-i ʿalāḳa*) providing a link between the figurative and the literal meanings of an expression by means of which the real intention *of the speaker can be established. The most important* type of *madjāz* is the metaphor (*istʿārat*) which can be used in all kinds of speech. Another type consists of allegorical devices occurring especially in poetic descriptions such as the tenzone (*munāẓara*) in which inanimate objects or animals are introduced as speakers in an exchange of arguments (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr aschʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Tehran 1338/1959, 365 *ff.*). A much more complicated terminology is presented in the textbooks of the post-classical period, e.g. in the *Hadāyik al-balāgha* of Mīr Shams al-Dīn Fakīr i Dihlawī (1141-83/1728-69), a digest of which was made by J. Garcin de Tassy (*Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1873, see esp. 40 ff. and 66 *ff.*). Recently, a summary of later Persian theory has been given by Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī (*Fanūn al-balāghat wa sināʿāt-i adabī*, Tehran 1354/1975, 247 ff.). Two technical terms among the many dealt with in these surveys deserve mention here. The presence of a clue or *karīna* (also called *karīna-yi ṣārifa*, as it "leads" the mind the intended meaning) is required to express the relationship (*ʿalāḳa*) between a *madjāz* and the corresponding *ḥaḳīḳat*. Such a clue is either implied in the context or specifically added, e.g. in the example *shīr-i shamshīrzan* in which the adjective points to the actual meaning of "valiant warrior". If the trope is not based on a similarity of form but on abstract relationships (between a condition and the place where it manifests itself, a whole and its parts, a cause and its effects etc.) it is called *madjāz-i mursal* ("free trope", according to the interpretation of Humāʾī).

An especially Persian use, for which the authority of the early lexicographer Fakhr i Kawwās (*fl.* ca. 700/1300 in India) is invoked, restricts the application of *madjāz* to metaphors based on terms which either refer to an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) or to imaginary things (*mutawahhamāt*) (cf. al-Tahānawī, *Kaschschāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, II, 963 f.).

In Persian grammar, a connection of one substantive to another by means of the *kasra-yi iḍāfa* is called 'figurative' (*iḍāfa-yi madjāzī*) if it reflects only an intimation (*ishāra*) of the speaker. This includes the *iḍāfa-yi tashbīh* in which the particle of the *iḍāfa* denotes a comparison (*e.g. tashm-i āhū*, "an eye like that of a gazelle") and the *iḍāfa-i ishāra* (*e.g. tīgh-i adjal*, "the sword of death") which implies a metaphorical personification (see further, M. Muʿīn, *Iḍāfa*, Tehran 1341/1962, 140-53).

Outside rhetorics and philology, *ḥaḳīḳat* and *madjāz* have been used frequently for literary expressions in mystical terminology. Real love (*ʿishḳ-i ḥaḳīḳī*), directed towards the Eternal Beloved, has as a counterpart "figurative" love (*ʿishḳ-i madjāzī*), which concentrates on another object but only as a temporary substitute for the true goal of mystical love (see for early instances Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341/1962, 879; ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī, *Kitāb Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran-Paris 1962, 115 ff.). Similar terms were coined to indicate the distinction between, as well as the interdependence of the sphere of divine existence and the present world. Expressions like *wudjūd-i madjāzī*, *hastī-i madjāzī* or *sardy-i madjāz* reflect the view that the latter can be predicated to be in existence by way of a trope only.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article, see in general M. Muʿīn, *Farhang-i fārsī-yi mutawassiṭ*, Tehran 1345/1966, III, s.v. *madjāz*. (J. T. P. de Bruijn)

In Turkish. — Although several neologisms, such as *addeğişim* and *değişmede* have been proposed *since 1928, this Arabic term continues to be in vogue* in the sense of "trope" or "figurative language' as one of thousands of literary terms acquired from the Arabs and Persians by the Turks as they became practitioners within the Islamic literary tradition. In the process of borrowing, they also inherited much of the confusion and ambivalence that characterised the periodic definition and classification of the three divisions of the science of *belāġa* (q.v.). By the end of the Middle Ages, when the Turks began to formulate their tropological utterances according to the Islamic perceptions of figurative language, they also accepted the assignation of *madjāz* to the "expression" (*beyān* [q.v.]) division of the Islamic system of rhetoric.

Until the 19th century, the Ottoman Turks did not produce any literary manuals of their own, preferring instead to refer to the standard Arabic and Persian texts or to their Turkish translations of these. This reliance on the works of their literary mentors was especially marked in the case of rhetorics, the productions of al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), Shams-i Kays (*fl.* 600-27/1204-30), al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1226) and al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1389) (*q.vv.*) apparently amply meeting their need for reference works on this subject until the *Tanzimāt* period (1839-76). Thereafter, the new generation of Ottoman writers and teachers, now under strong European influence, began to create original works dealing with all aspects of literature. Reference works by literary innovators like Ahmed Djewdet Pasha (q.v.) and Ekrem Bey (q.v.), who wrote mainly for the new schools, and the efforts of their continuators since the Republic (1923), point to an understanding of the meaning and use of the trope that is more in keeping with the syntax and morphology of the Turkish language. This activity, however, did not entirely eliminate the problems of definition and classification. Nonetheless, there is general agreement on the division of tropes into two major classes of *madjāz-i mursal* (synecdoche and variants) and *istiʿāra* (metaphor and extensions).

(1) *Madjāz-i mursal* (Mod. Turkish *değişmeli addetme*) in which the objects featured in the figurative expression have a relationship that is not described in terms of direct comparison. This type of trope is itself broken down to several variants of which the most frequently encountered are:

a. *ʿumūmiyya khuṣūṣiyya*, the particular for the general, genus for species, etc., and vice-versa, "Every *sual* on the Marmara is flying merrily."

b *ismiyya*, referring to the projected state of the object "Light the fire!"

c. *fāʿiyya-mafʿūliyya*, position and locale conjuncture, "Emerging from *prayer*, they went to the *promenade area*."

d. *sababiyya-mutasabbibiyya*, cause and means relationship, "This *shop* has *earned* much money."

(2) *Istiʿāra* (*ightiḍāmī*) in which the comparative elements of the relationship between objects are stressed in various degrees There is no modern agreement as to exact relationship and classification of these. The generally accepted two major divisions are:

a. *istiʿāra-i muṣarraḥa* (*açık ightiḍāmī*) or explicit metaphor, in which the comparison is achieved by direct reference to an object, "Our *lions* are off to the battlefield"

b *istiʿāra-i mekniyya* (*kapalı ightiḍāmī*) or implicit metaphor in which the comparison is achieved by reference to an attribute of an object without mentioning the object itself, "A cool stream *sang lullabies*"

Each of the above divisions is subdivided even further on the basis of other pertinent considerations affecting, or affected by, the nature of the attributive relationship between the referrer and the referred objects.

Bibliography: W. G. Andrews, Jr., *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*, Minneapolis 1976, Ahmed Djewdet Pasha, *Belāghat-i ʿOṯmāniyya*, Istanbul 1298/1881; *Edebiyat ve söz sanatı terimleri sözlüğü*, Türk Dil Kurumu, ii, 14, Istnbul 1948, Reḏjāʾizāde Maḥmūd Ekrem, *Taʾlīm-i edebiyyāt*, Istanbul 1299/1882; Ahmet Kabaklı, *Türk edebiyatı*, i, Istanbul 1967, M. N. Özön, *Edebiyat ve tenkid sözlüğü*, Istnbul 1954; Tāhir-ül Mevlevī, *Edebiyat lügatı*, Istanbul 1973

(J. Stewart-Robinson)

MADJD AL-DAWLA, Abū Ṭālib Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī, Kahf al Umma, ruler of the northern Būyid amīrate of Ray and Djibāl (387-420/997-1029).

When **Fakhr al Dawla** [*q.v.*] died in Shaʿbān 387/August September 997, his young son Rustam succeeded him at the age of eight (thus according to the anonymous *Muḏjmal al-tawārīkh wa ʾl-ḳiṣaṣ*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 2318/1939, 396, giving Rustam's birth-date as Rabīʿ II 379/July August 989, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 69, but according to al-Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iv, 297, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 132, at the age of four). Actual power was exercised by his mother as regent, the redoubtable Sayyida, who was probably the *sister of the Marzbān b. Rustam, ruler of Farīm* [*q.v.* in Suppl. and also SAWANDIDS] and author of the *Marzubān-nāma* (a name apparently inverted by ʿUtbī into Rustam b. Marzbān in his account of the capture of Shahriyārkūh by Shahriyār b. Dārā in 388/998, *Yamīnī*, with comm. of Manīnī, ii, 192), and the Būyid *amīr* of ʿIrāḳ and Fārs, Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was acknowledged during the latter's lifetime as supreme Būyid ruler over the confederation, with his name appearing on Madjd al-Dawla's coins.

The death of Fakhr al-Dawla and the accession of a weaker *amīr* allowed the Ziyārid Kābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*] to return to his former lands in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, and he could not henceforth be dislodged by the Būyids. In 397/1006-7 Madjd al-Dawla attempted to break loose from the tutelage of his mother, but was captured by his brother Shams al-Dawla of Hamadhān and the Kurdish chief Badr b. Ḥasanūya [see HASANWAYHID] and imprisoned for a year before his release and return to Ray, and in 405/1014-5 Shams al-Dawla was able temporarily to occupy Ray

Sayyida died in 419/1028, leaving Madjd al-Dawla totally unfitted for assuming the reins of the government after over 30 years' exclusion from the substance of power, the sources speak of his sensuality so that his numerous wives and concubines gave him 30 children. According to Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 263, the powerful and aggressive Ghaznawid Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin had for long refrained from attacking Ray and Djibāl because he regarded the region as effectively neutralised under a feminine *de facto* ruler. Now, with Madjd al-Dawla unable to control the turbulent Daylamī soldiery in Ray and with mounting public disorder there, the helpless *amīr* unwisely appealed to the Ghaznawid sultan for help. With this ready-made pretext he hand, Maḥmūd sent westwards an army, which deposed and seized Madjd al-Dawla and subjected Ray to a frightful sacking, the grounds for this, according to Maḥmūd's *fatḥ-nāma* sent to the caliph al-Ḳādir, being the need to extirpate Muʿtazilī, Ismāʿīlī and other extremist Shīʿī heresies which had flourished in Ray under Būyid tolerance. Ray was now used as a base for Ghaznawid military operations in northwestern Persia. Madjd al-Dawla and his son Abū Dulaf were kept in honourable confinement in India and then Ghazna by Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, according to Gardīzī, with the *ex-amīr* eventually dying at Ghazna.

Madjd al-Dawla enjoyed some reputation as a patron of culture and learning, probably a reflection of the continuing heritage at Ray from the celebrated vizier the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's patronage of literature he himself had had the privilege of having the philologist and grammarian Aḥmad b. Fāris [see IBN FĀRIS] as his tutor.

Bibliography: 1 Sources ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 192 ff.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-aḵhbār*, Ed. Nāzim, 91, 97; Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 296-300, 311; *Muḏjmal al-tawārīkh*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 38-40, Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 132, 140, 203-4, 268-9, 369-72, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ḏjarīda*, ed. Browne, 390, 426-9. 2 Studies: M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 80-3, 291-2; Spuler, *Iran im frühislamischer Zeit*, 277-18; Bosworth, *The Imperial policy of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Islamic Studies, Jnal. of the Central Inst. of Islamic Research*, i/3 (Karachi 1962), 49-72 — *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977, idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 33, 85, 234, *Cambridge hist. of Iran*, iv, 176-7, 225 ff., 493-6; v, 28, 37. For Madjd al-Dawla's coins, see Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 175-6, 177 &6, noting that this *amīr* bore the title *Shāhānshāh*

(C. E. Bosworth)

MADJD AL-DĪN (see HIBAT ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD).

MADJD AL-MULK, Abū ʾl-Faḍl Asʿad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī al BALĀSĀNĪ, *mustawfī* or director of finances under the Saldjūḳ sultan Berk-yaruḳ [see BARKYĀRUḲ] in the early years of his reign and then vizier (490-2/1097-9), but whose death was brought about by the great military commanders in Shawwāl 492/September 1099 on an accusation of Shīʿī sympathies, and even of Ismāʿīlī ones, which he was said to have displayed during the struggle against the rival sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]

Bibliography: *Combr. hist of Iran*, index; C. L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate, a study of civil administration 1055-1194* Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 42, 46-8, 92, 105-6, C. E. Bosworth, in *Encycl Iranica*, s.v *al-Baldsānī*. (CL. CAHEN)

MADJDHŪB ("the attracted one"), in Sufi literature the name for the representative of a type of piety which is chiefly of a passive nature (*sunnat-i ʿIshk* al-Kundī), in contradistinction to the more active (*fāʿil*) "striding one" (*sālik*), a characteristic which is expressed in numerous other pairs of opposition, like *mughtadā-mujtahada*, *mahasib-mawdhib*, *mahkūm-hāl*, *murīd-murād*, *mukhib-makhūb*, *mukhlis-mukhlas*. While the *madjdhūb*, on the way to God, may abandon himself to be drawn by divine attraction (*djadhba*, *djadhb*, Persian *kashish*), the *sālik* depends on his own exertions (*kūshish*), which is, however, in the same way as the attraction, a gift (*bakhshish*) of God. Usually, mixed forms occur, as is clear from the works of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*] and Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya, for whom the "strider" is the one who, while striding, is attracted gently, and the *madjdhūb* the one who, while striding, is attracted intensely. Others, like ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, Mahmūd-i Kāshānī and ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, speak of a "strider who is attracted" (*sālik-i madjdhūb*) when the striding came earlier in time, and of an "attracted one who is striding" (*madjdhūb-i sālik*) when the being attracted came earlier in time. The general principle is that neither the one who is merely striding, nor the one who is merely attracted, is qualified to be a *shaykh* and to lead others on the mystical path, since the former has never arrived at his aim, while the second, as being only attracted, has never stridden along the path by himself. With regard to personal progress, it is true, the word of the Prophet holds good. "One single attraction by God is equivalent to the activity of men and djinn", but only the one who has personal experience of striding, its labours and dangers, is able to assist others in advancing.

In more recent literature in particular, *madjdhūb* is a frequently used extenuating and exculpating designation of eccentric ecstatics, love-maddened persons, holy fools, and despisers of the law. Occasionally, the term is also used as a nickname, like in Ibrāhīm-i Madjdhub (7th/13th century)

Bibliography: ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, ch. x, 16-20, German tr. R. Gramlich, Wiesbaden 1978; Nadjm al-Dīn-i Rāzī: Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. M. Amīn: Riyāḥī, Tehran 1353, 375-8, ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, *Maksad-i aḳṣā*, Istb. 1353, 143-4; Mahmūd-i Kāshānī, *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn-i Humāʾī, Tehran 1323, 108-10, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rahmān-i Djāmī, *Aṣḥiʿat al-lamaʿāt*, 1353, 14; Tahtawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, i, 686-7, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad-i Hamadānī *Bahr al-maʿārif*, Tabrīz 1293, 105, ii, 5 ff., R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 189-94 (where further literature is given).

(R. GRAMLICH)

AL-MADJDHŪBĪ, surname of the Moroccan holy man whose complete name is Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAyyād al-Ṣanhādjī al-Tarādjī al-Dukkālī. He came originally from Tīṭ in the district of Asemmūr, but lived in Fās, where one of his disciples was in particular Abū ʿl-Mahāsin Yūsuf al-Fāsī, whose great-grandson, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd al-Kādir [see al-Fāsī, in Suppl.] left behind a work called *Ibtihādj al-kulūb bi-dhikr al-shaykh Abī ʿl-Mahāsin wa-shaykhihi al-Madjdhūb* (extracts in see Rahat 522/6; see Lévi Provençal, *Catalogue*, 252). ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Madjdhūb died in the Ghārb in 976/1569 and was buried in Meknès. He is especially famed for his gnomic poetry which took the form of quatrains in dialectal Arabic [see MALḤŪN] and which, towards the end of the 19th century, attracted the attention of H. de Castries (*Gnomes de Sīdy Abdér-Rahman el-medjdoub*, Paris 1896). Basing himself on this publication and on citations in various works, ʿAbd al-Kādir Nūr al-Dīn has had lithographed in Algiers (at the beginning of the 1950s) *al-Kawl al-muʾaṣṣar min kalām al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Madjdhūb* which contains 127 quatrains with a commentary in classical Arabic; they have been published, translated and commented upon by J. Scelles Millie, *Les quatrains de Medjoub le voyageur* (*poète maghrébin du XVIe siècle*), Paris 1960.

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AL-MADJDJĀWĪ, ʿABD AL-KĀDIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM, Algerian teacher and scholar, born in 1266/1848 in Djemaa and died in 1332/1913 in Algiers.

Following the example of his father who had lived for a long time in Morocco where he had studied and taught, especially at al-Karawiyyīn [*q.v.*], before returning to his native city to practise there the duties of *ḥāḍī*, al-Madjdjāwī travelled to this country at a very early age. At Tangier and later at Tetouan he undertook classical studies which he completed at Fās as a pupil of distinguished *ʿulamāʾ*, including Mawlāy Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī, Muḥammad b. al-Madanī Gannūn, Sālih al-Shawī, Ahmad b. Sūda and Djaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī. Returning to Algeria in 1869, in 1873 he was appointed *mudarris* at the Sīdī al-Kattānī mosque of Constantine which he left in 1877 for the official *madrasa* of the town, where he spent more than twenty years. His very conscientious teaching was already complemented by personal scholarly work. Transferring to Algiers in 1898, he was in addition entrusted with the duties of *imām* and *khaṭīb* at the Sīdī Ramadān mosque. His widespread knowledge and cultured personality attracted to him the affection of numerous disciples, among whom it is appropriate to mention in particular Hamdān al-Wanīsī, who was to become the patron of ʿAbd al-Hamīd Ibn Bādīs, al-Mawlūd b. al-Mawhūb, a teacher at the *madrasa* and Mālikī *muftī* of Constantine, ʿAbd al-Karīm Bāsh Tarzī, Hanafī *muftī* of the same town, Hamdān b. al-Darrādjī, Hanafī *ḳāḍī* of Algiers, and Muḥammad Saʿīd Ibn Zakrī, a teacher at the *madrasa* and Mālikī *muftī* of Algiers.

A teacher by nature and by profession, al-Madjdjāwī revealed his views on educational issues in three monographs (see below). On the other hand, his tastes as well as the specialised responsibilities of the two chairs that he occupied in Constantine and Algiers led him to take an interest in the traditional disciplines of law and of religion. Deeply committed to orthodoxy, he allied himself with scholars who, in the name of the Kur'ān and of the Sunna, denounced superstitious practices, impious innovations (*bidaʿ*) and the popular demon-

strations encouraged by the leaders of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. He also tackled with equal confidence such varied subjects as morphology, syntax, rhetoric, astronomy, cosmography, mathematics and economics. Through his writings, *al-Madjdjāwī* aims to present the image of an *'ālim* of encyclopaedic learning. To this end, he introduces into his texts numerous and lengthy quotations not only from the Kur'ān and from *ḥadīth*, but also from the works of jurists, philosophers, historians, poets and even of obscure writers. Faithful in this respect to scholastic method, he demands from the ancient scholars more than simple references to entertaining curiosities. His borrowings have a relevance that goes beyond words and forms; he is indebted to the Arabo-Islamic tradition which provides him with the models for life and thought, and he takes it upon himself to convey this tradition in its entirety to his contemporaries.

The corpus of *al-Madjdjāwī*'s work comprises eighteen titles, of which the list is as follows: 1. *Irshād al-muta'allimīn*, Cairo n.d., 2. *Nashāt al-nuraidīn*, Tunis n.d., 3. *Sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, Constantine n.d., 4. *Sharḥ manẓūmat Ibn Ghāzī fī 'l-tawḥīd*, Constantine n.d., 5. *Sharḥ al-Madjdjāwī 'alā manẓūmat Muḥammad al-Madjdjāwī* (sic) *al-Sālimī*, Constantine 1878. 6. *Sharḥ al-Lāmiyya al-mudjāziyya fī 'l-ḥummā*, 'Annāba 1894, 7. *Sharḥ bayādat Muḥammad al-Mansūrī al-Tilimsānī*, Algiers n.d.; 8. *Nuzhat al-ṭarf fī 'l-ta'rīf wa 'l-waṣf*, Algiers n.d.; 9. *Kitāb al-ifāda li-man yaḥtāj al-istifāda*, Algiers 1901, 10. *al-Fawā'id al-saniyya fī 'l-'umūr al-diniyya*, Algiers 1903, 11. *al-Murshid fī mabādi' al-tawḥīd*, in collaboration with 'Umar Brīmāt, Algiers 1904, 12. *al-Ithḥāf al-siyāsī*, Algiers n.d.; 13. *Sharḥ al-ḥumal al-nabawiyya*, Algiers n.d., 14. *al-Durar al-nabawiyya 'alā 'l-manẓūmat al-shahrawiyya*, Algiers 1907; 15. *Risāla fī masā'il al-ḥasb wa 'l-ikhtiyār*, Algiers n.d., 16. *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fī 'l-ḥasb wa 'l-ikhtiyār*, Algiers n.d. 17. *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*, Algiers 1910, 18. *al-Luma' 'alā naẓm al-bida'*, Algiers 1912.

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(R. BENCHENEB)

MĀDJID b. SA'ĪD, Sultan of Zanzibar, 1856-70, was born *ca.* 1835, the sixth of his father's twenty-seven known sons, and of an Ethiopian mother. He married a kinswoman, Asha, and had one child only, Khamfura.

When his father Sayyid Sa'īd, left Zanzibar for Maskat for the last time on 16 April 1854, he had appointed his second son, Khālid, as governor and successor in the event of his death. Khālid died in November 1854, and shortly afterwards orders came from Maskat appointing Mādjid in his stead, thereby passing over three older brothers, Thuwaynī (later Sultān of 'Umān), Muḥammad (Governor of Sumayl), and Turkī (also later Sultān of 'Umān). At this time Mādjid was about twenty-one years old, and from childhood had suffered from a mild form of epilepsy, which at times handicapped him as *sultān*. Shortly after his appointment as governor, he was approached to denounce his father's treaties and edicts against the slave trade but firmly declined. His sister Salma says that during his regency he "contrived to gain the goodwill of all by his kind and gentle manners". At the beginning of his reign, the real power behind the throne was the British consul, Atkins Hamerton, and his death in July 1857 was a severe blow to Mādjid. Fearing assassination, he took refuge aboard his warships, returning to the palace only after the arrival of Hamerton's successor, Rigby, on 28 July 1858. Very shortly after, Sa'īd's third son, Thuwaynī, who had been designated *sultān* in 'Umān by his father, attempted to gain control of his father's African dominions by sending an armed expedition. It was turned back at sea by a British man-of-war. Next, a plot was uncovered to dethrone Mādjid and to replace him by his brother, Barghash. In October 1859 Mādjid ordered him to leave Zanzibar for Maskat, but, after being placed under house arrest, he managed to escape to a country palace known as Marsailles, where armed slaves and Arabs of the al-Barthī tribe rallied to his support. Mādjid then invoked the assistance of the British Navy. The palace was bombarded, and Barghash fled back to Zanzibar, whence he was deported to Bombay.

In Maskat, Thuwaynī still insisted that his father's eastern African possessions were part of his heritage. He was able with justice to claim that for many years the government of 'Umān had been sustained by revenues collected from Zanzibar. Mādjid therefore agreed to an annual payment to Thuwaynī of 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers *ex gratia*, but Thuwaynī construed this as tribute. After Thuwaynī's abortive expedition of 1868, Mādjid discontinued payment, denying any question of tribute. Eventually the dispute was submitted to the arbitration of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India. His award stated that Mādjid should be recognised as lawful successor to his father's African possessions; and that the ruler of Zanzibar should pay to the ruler of 'Umān an annual subsidy of 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers. He further stipulated that this payment should not in any way be construed to imply the dependence of Zanzibar upon 'Umān. The settlement and the independence of the two sovereigns was recognised by an Anglo-French Declaration on 13 March 1862. Mādjid paid the annual subsidy until 1868, when Thuwaynī was murdered by his son Sālim, declining thereafter to pay the subsidy to a parricide. For two years Mādjid remitted the annual payment to Bombay under protest, but this he refused to do after Sālim's deposition by his kinsman 'Azzān in 1868.

Weak and procrastinating, Mādjid was greatly under the influence of a certain Sulaymān b. 'Alī, one of his ministers whom Mādjid's sister Salma describes as a dandy and a libertine. Rigby and his successors had great difficulty in persuading Mādjid to control the so-called "northern" Arabs, Arabs from the small principalities of the Gulf, who were determined to evade the treaties against the slave trade. A trade treaty was signed with the Hanse towns in 1859 and German trade was soon second

only to that with British India. It was through this connection that Mādjid's sister Salma succeeded in making contact with one of the employees of the German consulate, Heinrich Ruete, whom she subsequently married. In 1861 Mādjid led an expedition to reassert his authority in Pate, which had rebelled, but he failed in 1866 when there was a similar, but more determined, rebellion in Witu.

Mādjid's decision that led to the foundation of Dar es Salaam, the present capital of Tanzania on the mainland, taken in 1862, has been obscured by differing claims. The French claim that the idea was initiated by the French consul is surely exaggerated. The British claim, originated by (Sir John) Kirk, is that Mādjid thought of it as "a place to retire to when consuls trouble him or when he is kicked out of the island". These seem to leave out of account the facts that Arab, Indian and Swahili traders were increasing in number of the mainland, and that the harbour of Dar es Salaam in its landlocked bay was far more convenient than the open roadsteads then in use at Bagamoyo and Mboamaji. Building seems to have begun only in 1865-6, and included a palace for the *sultān*, parts of which still stand. Here, in September 1867, Mādjid gave a "dinner in the European manner" for the American, British, French and German consuls, apparently by way of a formal inauguration.

There are several descriptions of Mādjid, notably by Richard Burton and Fr Horner. He had a light complexion and pleasing manners, and generally resembled his distinguished father. He sat to hear causes and complaints three times a day, in a long, bare reception hall paved with black and white marble from Marseilles, and with some dingy chandeliers and "three rows of common wooden bottomed chairs". There were French clocks and bureaux, cheap prints, gaudy china and shabby artificial flowers. The *sultān*, nevertheless, took great interest, as his father had so broadmindedly done, in both explorers and missionaries. A learned ornament of the court who attracted even Burton's respect for his learning was the Shāfi'ī *kādī*, Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kahtānī.

Mādjid died in 1870, and was succeeded by his brother Barghash (*q.v.*).

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

AL-MADJISTĪ [see BAṬLAMYŪS]

MADJLIS (A.), a noun of place from the verb *djalasa* "to sit down" and, by extension, "to sit", "to hold a session"; starting from the original meaning of "a place where one sits down, where one stays", thence "a seat" (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, index), the semantic field of *madjlis* is of very wide extent (see the dictionaries of Lane, Dozy, Blachère, etc.). Among the principal derivative meanings are "a meeting place", "meeting, assembly" (cf. Kur'ān, LXVIII, 17/23), "a reception hall (of a caliph, high dignitary or other personage)" and "a session which is held there", "a hall in which a professor's courses are given or a judge's sentences delivered" (hence "praetorium, tribunal"), or further where the debates of an assembly take place (hence "council").

1. In social and cultural life
2. In Ismā'īlī usage
3. In Indian Shī'ī usage
4. In the sense of representative institutions
   A. In the Middle East and North Africa
   B. In Afghānistān
   C. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

1. In Social and Cultural Life

From the pre-Islamic period, *madjlis* designated an "assembly or council of the tribe's notables" (see BADW, III, c) and this institution is still alive (see e.g. J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 55), sometimes under another name (see MAMĀ'A, below, 4. B. In Afghānistān, NUʿMA in Suppl.) In various states of the Middle Ages, an elaborate governmental structure contained a series of *madjlis*s: councils given precise powers (see notably al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ*, index, 421-3). This usage plainly justifies the adoption of this term to designate in the contemporary age any council (*madjlis al-baladiyya* "municipal council", *m. al-wuzarā'* "council of ministers", etc.), an elected assembly (*m. ta'sīsī* "constituent assembly"), a chamber of deputies (*m. al-nuwwāb*), a senate (*m. al-shuyūkh* or *al-a'yān*), etc. The historical account of the legislative assemblies and parliaments in the Muslim countries will be the subject of section 4 below, and the present notice will be limited to a brief survey of the *madjlis*s which played a rôle in the social, religious and intellectual life of the Muslims of the Middle Ages.

The first to be considered is that of the sovereign who dedicated part of his activity to "public or private meetings (*madjlis*, pl. *madjālis*), where political and judicial decisions were adopted, plaintiffs, panegyrists and other visitors gathered, and questions of literature or law were debated—for this was also regarded as a normal function of the head of state" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 37). These sessions followed a ceremonial which varied according to the dynasties and the character of the monarchs.

The etiquette of the court under the Umayyads is not well-known, and it is not known exactly what respective place was occupied by the representatives of the different social classes regularly admitted to the caliph's *madjlis*. For the 'Abbāsid period, we possess a mutual falsely attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, the *Kitāb al-Tādj* (ed. Ahmed Zaki Pasha, Cairo 1914; French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le Livre de la couronne*, Paris 1954), cf. F. Gabrieli, *Intorno al carte e trattato Sassanidi nel Kitāb aḫlāq al-mulūk di al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *RSO* xiii/3 (1932), 197-247), which sets forth, mainly for the people and part of the aristocracy unfamiliar with the customs, the rules of royal protocol of the Sāsānid court which it was proper to adopt, and supplies us with information derived from Islamic history only on the entertainment

sessions. For the Fāṭimids (see M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 355-420), the information is more detailed. The caliph habitually held a public audience on Mondays and Thursdays each week and sat on a golden throne separated from those attending by a grill (*shubbāk*) and a curtain (*sitr*) which was raised after he was seated. Among the title-bearers with public and private functions who had their places, according to their rank, in the reception hall, there must be noted the presence of a *ṣāḥib al-madjlis*, a high-ranking eunuch entrusted with organising the session and advising the dignitaries as soon as the caliph had taken his place on his throne (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-8; cf. B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York, etc. 1974, i, 202-8). We also possess some information on the status of the people admitted into the audience chamber: for Muslim Spain, e.g., it consisted of elements constituting the *khāṣṣa* (see AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-'AMMA), for Tunisia in the time of the Ḥafṣids, see R. Brunschvig, *op. laud.*, ii, 28-9.

In these public audiences, plaintiffs and petitioners were present, but poets and scholars who were admitted to the ruler's presence also participated, and for those who solicited the same honour it was an occasion to be introduced to this privileged circle by the mediation of someone already established at court, to recite a panegyric and receive an immediate reward.

The crowning of this process was well on the way when the ambitious man was retained at the royal table after the public audience or at another time of the day. The majority of caliphs actually were accustomed to surrounding themselves with a group of *nudamā'* (pl. of *nadīm*), companions who had in theory to respect quite strict rules, of which one can gain an idea from the *Ḳitāb al-Tādj* (12-20, tr. 39-48) and to possess a certain number of qualities and kinds of knowledge that al-Mas'ūdī detailed in his *Akhbār al-nudamā* (see *Murūdj*, viii, 103-4 = §§ 3249-50).

A long account will not be given here of the entertainment evenings which many of the Muslim rulers organised regularly and in the course of which they *gave themselves up to "pleasure" or lahw* provoked by the music, singing and drinking. The *Ḳitāb al-Tādj* (32-9, tr. 59-66) enumerates those who, surrounded by women slaves and eunuchs, hid themselves behind a screen and those who showed themselves shamelessly to their familiars and to the musicians and singers, among the latter, al-Rashīd is said to have been the first to follow the example of the Sāsānids and establish divisions. This work makes no allusion to the presence of poets and story-tellers in these sessions, which were evidently distinguished from the meals of which al-Mas'ūdī speaks and during which a certain dignity surely reigned. As R. Blachère says with reference to Sayf al-Dawla (*Mutanabbī*, 130), during intimate meetings known as *madjālis al-uns*, "the cups were passed round, the social barriers fell, giving way to a semi intimacy where protector and protégés treated one another with simplicity, at times even with familiarity", without too much casualness, it seems. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 102 = § 3229) supplies some details on the conversations held in the *madjlis* of al-Mu'tamid and mentions that their proceedings were recorded in writing, poetry occupied an important place there, as al-Ṣūlī confirms, who, describing a meeting of this kind around al-Rāḍī (see *Akhbār ar-Rāḍī billāh wa'l-Muttaḳī billāh*, French tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946, i, *loc. cit.*), indicates the place of each of the guests designated by name, cites the subjects approached and reproduces the verses recited on this occasion.

This is not the place to dwell on the rôle of poetry considered as an instrument of government and propaganda by some monarchs, always inclined to make use of the eulogies which were presented to them by versifiers of talent. Often skilled in stirring up rivalries, the caliph would put into competition poets, story tellers, grammarians or *fuḳahā'*, to rejoice in the victory of some and sneer at the discomfiture of others. The ruler's *madjlis* also became a circle which J. E. Hencheich (*Les voies d'une création. Essai sur la poésie arabe à Bagdad dans la première moitié du IIIe/IXe siècle*, thesis Paris 1971, 130; idem, *Politique arabe*, Paris 1975, 22 ff.; idem, *Le cénacle poétique du Calife al-Mutawakkil . . .*, in *BEtO*, xxix [1977], 33-52) describes as "a court of legitimation", adding that "the creator confronts there a well-informed prince, formidable men of learning, uncharitable colleagues; in short, criticism is made immediately and pronounced without appeal. On the other hand, it plays a basic rôle in the diffusion of masterpieces: the scholars comment on them, the musicians are inspired by them, the listeners spread their renown". These general considerations inspired by the study of a limited period of the history of poetry in Baghdād are perfectly applicable to the majority of courts of Muslim sovereigns who were friends of letters and the arts to any extent and concerned about their reputation as patrons.

In addition, before even the dismemberment of the 'Abbāsid empire was accomplished, parallel to the caliph's *madjlis*, there were some literary groups directed by provincial governors and high dignitaries who had it at heart to gather around them, to ensure their prestige, poets and scholars frequently attracted by ethnic or politico-religious affinities, but also for purely material reasons, for the isolated man of letters or scholar could only live sparsely, if he were without fortune. In any case, if he were not particularly ambitious, he had to appeal to a patron, who, in default of the caliph, he could find in the *provinces*, then at the *court of the dynasts* who flourished from one end to the other of the Muslim world.

This necessity was undoubtedly prejudicial not only to the quality of the work at least of the poets, but also to their dignity, for they could not help but compromise themselves, to obey the tastes of the patrons and their entourage, and to adopt at times a politico-religious attitude contrary to their own convictions. In any case, the study of patronage in the history of Arabo-Islamic civilisation (which remains to be undertaken, for it has only been so far sketched out, e.g. by R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 544-51) would be really instructive; based on the literary groups and salons in evidence from the Middle Ages to our own days, it would provide a global idea of the influence that the latter exercised on the evolution of literature.

In a society where, as R. Blachère (*Mutanabbī*, 130) writes "the life of the *adīb* occupied an important place, no-one could aspire to public admiration, if he were not also a man of the world, an agreable conversationalist with a lively mind and prompt at repartee, skilled in creating situations which he could turn to his advantage". These remarks, valid for the *madjālis* of kings and princes hold

good for those who, at an inferior social level, stayed deeply in the home of well-to-do poets and writers and even in the shops of merchants who practised in their own way a form of patronage. So some *madjālis* were and still are constituted which are real literary salons, where good speech is honoured and extemporisation reigns.

When the person who "held session" was a professor, his *madjlis*, which could possibly be transformed into a cōterie, was the place (mosque, *madrasa*, personal home, etc.) where he dispensed his teaching; the same term designated the whole body of his audience, the session during which he dictated his course and, finally, the course itself: his lessons, once recorded by his pupils, were "published" most often under the heading *amālī* "dictations" (see TARBĪʿ), but also at times *madjālis* (see SEZGIN, *GAS*, ii, 83-5); one of the most famous works of this category is the *Kitāb al-Madjālis* or *al Amālī* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]. (Ed.)

2. In Ismāʿīlī Usage.

Here, *madjlis* referred to a formal session of religious instruction, the place of it, and also to the lecture or sermon read in it by a *dāʿī* [*q.v.*] to the faithful. These lectures were known more properly as wisdom sessions (*madjālis al-ḥikma*). In the Fāṭimid age, their preparation and delivery twice weekly was the official duty of the *dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt*. Outside the capital Cairo, they were read by his deputies (*mawsūb*). The sessions were the occasion for the payment of a religious duty known as "the [fee for] confidential discourse (*mudjālasa*)". According to al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), the *dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt* prepared the lectures, submitted them to the caliph for approval, and then read them seperately to various groups of different sex, social and religious rank. Describing later Fāṭimid practice Ibn al-Ṭuwayr states that they were drafted by the chief assistants (*nukabāʾ*) of the *dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt* employed in the Dār al-Ḥikma and read by him, if possible, to the caliph who would affix his mark of ratification (*ʿalāma*) to the text. Collections of such lectures are extant like the *Taʾwīl daʿāʾim al-Islām* of Kāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the *Madjālis Mustanṣiriyya*, of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Wahb al-Māfirī (wrongly ascribed to Badr al-Djamālī), and the *Madjālis Muʾayyadiyya*, containing 800 lectures of al-Muʾayyad fī ʾl-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1077, see on this work Brockelmann, S I, 326). On the other hand, the *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa ʾl-musāyarāt* of the Kāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) is a kind of account of sessions held with the caliph al-Muʿizz (ed. H. al-Fiḳī, I. Shabbūḥ and M. al-Yaʿlāwī, Tunis 1978). In the post-Fāṭimid age, the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* assumed the teaching function of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī ʾl-duʿāt*, and collections of *madjālis* of some of them have also been preserved.

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3. In Indian Shīʿī usage.

This term is especially used in the Indian subcontinent for the Shīʿī mourning assemblies held during Muharram to commemorate the tragedy of Karbalāʾ. These assemblies are organised in private homes or, more properly, in the *imām-bārās* [*q.v.*], where miniature replicas of al Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ, made out of paper or other material, are kept throughout the year. The *madjlis*, though dating back to earlier times, acquired real prominence in the 12th/18th century with the impetus given to it by the *Nawwābs* of Awadh or Oudh (1722-1856). Under these rulers, Lakhnaw [*q.v.*] or Lucknow, which was the seat of administration, became the undisputed centre of Shīʿī culture in India and a place where the *madjlis* found its full development. Since then, the *madjlis* has retained much of its traditional character. The central theme of the ceremony is the recital, in prose or verse, of the events connected with the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, followed by lamentations and the beating of the breast, in which the whole assembly takes part. The service ends with the distribution of sherbet, sweets or food to all those present in the *madjlis*. An important outcome of the institution was the emergence of individuals performing distinct functions in the *madjlis* proceedings. As related by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar, these included the *ḥadīth-khwāns* (*ḥadīth* reciters), recounting the virtues of the Prophet's family the *akhbār-khwāns* (narrators of anecdotes), describing the misfortunes of those martyred at Karbalāʾ, the *marthiya-khwāns* (reciters of elegies), whose poetic narration of the events was accompanied by gesticulations and facial expressions; and the *rēz khwāns* (singers of dirges), who were accomplished musicians. Among these various activities, the staging of dirges, in particular, enjoyed much popular appeal, despite its disapproval by the religious leaders. In its literary role, the *madjlis* contributed to the development of the *marthiya* in Urdu, as illustrated by Anīs (1802-74) and Dabīr (1803-75), the recognised masters of that genre [see MARTHIYA, 4. In Urdu].

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4. In the sense of representative Institutions.

A. In the Middle East and North Africa.

The terms *Madjlis* (Arabic), and *Meclis* (Ottoman Turkish) *Meclis* (Modern Turkish) and *Madjles* (Persian), meaning "Parliament", appear in various word-combinations as indicated below. In Arabic, the synonym *Barlamān* (borrowed from the French) has also been in frequent use as has *Pārlemānt* in Ottoman Turkish (from the Italian), *Parlamento* in modern Turkish (mostly used for parliaments outside Turkey) or *Pārlemān* in modern Persian (from French). *Madjlis* (usually in *Madjlis al-nuwwāb*, or *Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) assumed this connotation in the 19th century, as the concept of parliamentarism became widespread, thanks to the impact of Western influence on the Middle East, without, at least initially, implying parliamentary government. While it is not certain when the term was first used in this sense, its first official use appears to have been in 1866, with the promulgation of Khedive Ismāʿīl's *Ḳānūn-nāmah-i madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb al-miṣriyya* of Rabīʿ I 1283 (see below, under (xvi) *Egypt*).

This following article attempts to outline and evaluate the advent and fate of parliamentarism in the Ottoman Empire, Republican Turkey, Iran, Arab states and Middle Eastern countries with Muslim

minorities, such as Israel and Cyprus. In certain countries, parliamentary bodies were convened in response to growing demands for political participation by individuals or groups impressed by Western patterns of democratic government, who hoped to use such bodies as national instruments for obtaining (or preserving) independence, overall progress and especially for curbing absolutism. The above were established by local rulers, usually in response to popular demands. Sometimes, they were established by the local ruler on his own initiative, originally in an advisory capacity only; in this latter case, these bodies eventually showed greater political awareness and demanded more than anticipated. During the colonial period, especially in Arab areas under British and French control after the First World War, parliamentary institutions were set up by the foreign Power. Elsewhere, as in Iran and Turkey, they were established by independent régimes, generally during the first half of the 20th century. On the whole, the latter proved to be more durable than the former. However, when adapted to the social, economic and political realities of the country, all such parliaments did continue to function, even those which were colonial creations, as in Lebanon or the Maghrib.

Parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa, whether dating from the colonial or independent era, in general were modelled on Western patterns and functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness, especially during the first half of the 20th century. Most parliaments in Arab states were considered mainly consultative bodies by the government. In recent years, under the new, revolutionary, highly centralised régimes they have lost much of their effectiveness (after having been challenged by Islamists and right and left-wing groups). In many cases, party competition has all but disappeared and the role of parliament (if at all extant) in the initiation of legislation and public policy-making has diminished, as have its representational attributes. In reality, parliaments in Iran and most Arab states—eagerly hailed by nationalist movements both as symbols of emancipation and desirable vehicles for political expression—had failed, largely because of their inability to resolve or even regulate the sharp conflicts rooted in socio-economic, ethnic and political differences. Such parliaments had indeed identified with the status quo forces. On the other hand, that of Turkey, with a longer parliamentary tradition, has maintained its importance to date (1978).

In summary, parliamentary institutions in each of the countries discussed below have reflected the local political culture of the time. Their impact on national affairs, however, has been merely marginal in most cases, as parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa (Turkey and Israel excepted) have rarely provided political leadership, except through legislation. Their probable main function has been to *legitimise* the new states, *moderate* internal conflict by allowing argument and *integrate* diverse elements. Most Middle Eastern parliaments have succeeded only partially in carrying out these functions, especially the last one.

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(i) *The Ottoman empire*

The first Ottoman parliament was inaugurated in 1877, although local parliamentary institutions had occasionally convened prior to that time in certain parts of the Empire, such as Egypt (see below). Earlier, in 1845, a General Assembly, or *Medjlis-i 'umūmī*, was convened in Istanbul by 'Abd al-Medjīd, seating one Muslim and one Christian from each province. It met for two months, concerning itself with improvement of local matters. However it could hardly be considered as more than a mere forerunner of a genuine parliament. Ottoman reformists ("The Young Ottomans"), had indeed discussed the principle of representation, especially since the mid-nineteenth century many thought of it as a cure for the Empire's ills.

The First Ottoman Parliament. Convocation of a parliament was one of the stipulations of the 1876 Constitution, granted by 'Abd al-Hamīd II [*q.v.*] at the instance of Midhat Pasha [*q.v.*] and his supporters. The Sultan convened a parliament for two principal reasons: firstly, Ottoman reformists and liberals were firmly convinced that a Western-style parliament, anchored in a written constitution, was essential for curtailing absolutism and propelling the Empire on the road to its salvation, secondly, representatives of the European Powers, then meeting in the Constantinople Conference, would thus be impressed with the Ottoman Government's earnest desire to rule more democratically and guarantee individual freedoms more effectively.

The 1876 Constitution stipulated that parliament, or *Medjlis-i 'umūmī*, would comprise an elected Chamber of Delegates, *Medjlis-i mab'ūthān* and an appointed Senate literally a Chamber of Notables, *Medjlis-i a'yān*. The former Chamber, although intended to play the major role, was nevertheless limited chiefly to debating, since initiation of legislation was to be a prerogative of the Ministers who were not responsible to the *Medjlis*, also, a Member of the Chamber of Delegates could initiate a bill only via the Grand Vizier's office, which then forwarded it for the Sultan's approval, while the Sultan retained the right of veto. Voting on the budget was the sole meaningful task of the Chamber of Delegates, and even this could be circumvented. Consequently, the Chamber's real importance was not in its powers, but rather, in its very establishment as a debating forum rendering it a possible restraint on despotism.

According to an *irāda* dated 28 October 1876 (the draft of the electoral law was promulgated only in 1908) elections for the Chamber of Delegates commenced in December 1876 and continued throughout the Empire for several weeks—with the noteworthy exception of Egypt. Tunisia, Montenegro and Serbia (these had special international status and were consequently excused) and of Mount Lebanon (where the Maronites and Druzes refused to vote, lest it affect their special status). In theory, every 50,000 male Ottoman subjects were to elect one delegate. In practice, members of various administrative councils wrote in the delegates of their choice on the ballots. Muslims and non-Muslims alike (although the latter were subject to a quota). All ballots were checked at the provincial governor's office by a public committee headed by the governor himself, they were then counted and despatched to Istanbul for verification. Elections in the capital itself followed a slightly different procedure.

The *irāda* stipulated that the Chamber of Delegates comprise 130 Members. However, only 119 were elected and attended the first session; in the second, which commenced in December 1877—after new elections had been held—there were 115 delegates, including 55 who had attended the first session as well. All sessions convened in Istanbul, where the Chamber—along with an appointed Senate of 31 (4 others were appointed subsequently)—met from 19 March 1877 until 13 February 1878, when the Sultan dissolved parliament. It appears that 'Abd al-Hamīd II considered reconvening it, but then changed his mind. Parliament was not to convene again until 1908.

Senate meetings were closed to the public and little is known of them (other than that it debated several bills passed by the Chamber), sessions of the Chamber of Delegates were open, however. These dealt with foreign demands on Ottoman territory and subsequently with the Turco-Russian War—all with patriotic spirit. They discussed bills presented by

Ministers, passing a number of them with certain changes. Most significant were the Provincial Administration Law, the Municipalities Law and the Electoral Law for the Chamber. They debated finances (e.g. they sharply criticised the Baghdad Railway concession) and made some pertinent observations thereupon to the Ministers. Their most noteworthy contribution, however, was most likely the constant stream of criticism of the Government's handling of the war, bureaucratic mismanagement and administrative corruption. These manifestations of an independent stand received coverage in the local press, which commented approvingly on their lively character.

Many Members of the Chamber of Delegates were former government officials, including several members of the administrative councils supervising the elections. Socially, most seem to have been of the middle and upper middle classes, hence their interest in administrative reform and their conservative approach to most socio-economic issues. On the religious and ethnic levels, they were much more of a mixed gathering. In the first session, there were 71 Muslims, 44 Christians and 4 Jews, in the second 64 Muslims, 43 Christians and 6 Jews. They belonged to various ethnic groups throughout the Empire: a contemporary observer counted ten. Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgars, Albanians, Bosnians, Vlachs and Jews. There was an even greater diversity of languages, though Turkish was the official language of proceedings. Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, they were not unrepresentative of the Empire's overall population. Despite their disparate character, they succeeded in cooperating and in publicising personal, local and national grievances to such an extent that the Sultan was prompted to send them home.

Parliaments in the Second Constitutional Period. The 1876 Constitution was reinstated (it had never been officially abrogated) in August 1908, after the Young Turk Revolution; parliament was thus revived. The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WA TERAḲḲĪ DJEM'IYYETI] and other groups sought to assert themselves—and limit the Sultan's powers—via the Chamber. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II re-inaugurated parliament in Constantinople on 17 December 1908, it functioned until April 1920, when the last Ottoman parliament was dissolved.

Elections were held according to an electoral law which modified the *sūdde* of 28 October 1876 but retained the limited franchise and voting through administrative councils. The CUP was in conflict with other groups in the Chamber which opposed it on either ideological or ethnic grounds (Greek members, for example). Still, it generally held an uneasy majority, useful during the historical meeting of Chamber and Senate, sitting as a single National Assembly (22 April 1909) which decided to depose 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II after his counter-revolution had failed. This was one of the high points in the annals of parliaments of the Second Constitutional Period. A partial result of this decision was the debate and subsequent passage of various amendments to the 1876 Constitution, rendering the Chamber an important component of the state. Concurrently, the once unconditional sovereignty of the Sultans was restricted, their prerogative to appoint Ministers and nominate others to high office became the right of parliament or the cabinet. Even the cabinet itself was made responsible, and to some extent subservient, to parliament.

During its early years, the Chamber debated and passed numerous laws, chiefly of a financial, administrative, or judicial character (list and summaries may be found in Sarrou—see Bibliography); during the First World War, several laws of military significance were considered. However, the CUP itself, in firm executive control, strove to curtail the powers of parliament, achieving only limited results. The CUP enjoyed more success in passing legislation in the Chamber from 1909 onwards. It was generally aimed at centralising the Empire's administration and strengthening their own position at its head. Examples are the Laws of Vagabondage and Suspected Persons, Public Meetings, the Press and Printing, Associations; and the Prevention of Brigandage and Sedition. These were intended to curb individual as well as public opposition and to limit the freedom of the press. Such measures did not pass without determined opposition; the Chamber included a group which resisted these restrictions, along with the limitation of the Chamber's powers in favour of the Sultan, whom the CUP manipulated. In April 1912, new elections were held with the CUP obtaining strong support, reportedly by pressure and bribery. Yet another Chamber was inaugurated in May 1914, which prolonged its tenure in April 1918 (by amending the Constitution), after its four-year term had ended. However, in December 1918, Meḥemmed VI dissolved parliament. Elections were held a year later; the new Chamber convened on 12 January 1920, adjourned itself in March and was dissolved on 11 April 1920. It convened briefly, again, in March 1921, however, for all practical purposes, the sessions of parliament in Istanbul had come to an end.

The composition of parliament during the Second Constitutional Period was no less heterogeneous than in 1877-8. The nationalism of the Young Turk leaders had a marked ethnocentric tenor, bolstered to a degree by their Islamic policy. Consequently, increasing preference was shown to Turks and Arabs in the elections, although the Turks, a minority in the Empire, constantly maintained an absolute majority in the Madjlis. The CUP was suspicious of Arab and Armenian nationalism, on the one hand, and impatient with Greek and Albanian criticism within the Chamber, on the other. The following table (from Fatma Ahmad—see Bibliography) demonstrates this trend.

Bibliography. For the reconstructed records

Ethnic Representation in the Ottoman Chambers during the Second Constitutional Period

Year	Turks	Arabs	Albanians	Greeks	Armenians	Slavs	Jews	Total
1908	147	60	27	26	14	10	4	288
1912	257	68	18	25	13	9	4	284
1914	244	84	—	23	24	—	4	259

of the 1877 Chamber's proceedings, see Hakkı Tarık Us, ed., *Meclis-i meb'usan 1293 1877 zabt ceridesi*, Istanbul 1939-54, i-ii. The verbatim records of the Young Turk parliaments were printed in *Tahrirat-ı Vekayi'* and distributed by the *Meclis-i meb'usan*. A register of all the meetings of the Young Turk parliaments the laws discussed and their contents, and their approval or rejection, with dates, was published regularly as *Meclis-i meb'usanda ictima'atdaki kanunlar ve mesa'il-i tesri'iyenin mufassal defteridir* (Istanbul). A parallel publication summed up the Senate debates. The laws passed are available in *Meclis-i umumi defterleri*, in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, cf S. J. Shaw, in *IJMES*, vi (1975), 99. The Public Record Office, London, under FO 195/93, has a collection of documents relating to the Young Turk parliaments 1908-14, several with English translations. 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(ii) *Turkey*

Turkey's Grand National Assembly (GNA), or *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, forged during Turkey's War of Independence, was soon given a legal basis; attention to legality has, in fact, characterised this body throughout its existence. Mustafa Kemal and his advisers were careful to maintain legal continuity: When the GNA opened as a Constituent Assembly in Ankara, on 23 April 1920, twelve days after the Chamber in Istanbul had been dissolved (see *Ottoman empire*, above), it comprised no fewer than 92 Members of the dissolved Chamber, including its erstwhile president (who now became vice president of the GNA). Nevertheless, the GNA may be considered as a distinctly new institution. As early as 20 January 1921, the GNA adopted a provisional constitution for Turkey entitled *The Law of Fundamental Organisations*, which vested all legislative authority and executive power in the GNA and charged it with governing the state.

The amendment of 29 October 1923 declaring Turkey a republic and the 1924 Constitution institutionalised the above in a more detailed manner. All powers were centred in the unicameral GNA which was to be elected by universal male suffrage. The GNA would elect the President of the Republic, who in turn, would appoint the Prime Minister. The GNA reserved the right to approve the latter and his Cabinet, all of whom were responsible to it. The size of

the GNA remained fluid, adjustable to population fluctuations. Until 1945, the GNA housed (with brief exceptions) a single party, the People's Party (later renamed the Republican People's Party [see JUMHŪRIYYET HALK FIRKASI]), several experiments with including additional parties were short lived. During the post-1945 era, several parties have vied for power in the GNA.

The 1961 Constitution (passed by a Constituent Assembly convened after the military intervention of 27 May 1960 and subsequently approved by a popular referendum on 9 July 1961) greatly resembled that of 1924, with certain modifications concerning the GNA. It became a bicameral body comprising a National Assembly (*Millet Meclisi*) of 450 members, elected for a maximum term of four years and a Senate (*Senato*) of 150 members elected for six years (with one-third renewed every two years). This Senate included 22 of the ex-officers who had engineered the 1960 intervention (and became Senators for life), another 15 appointed by the State President, as well as all surviving former State Presidents. The National Assembly was the more important body of the two, as Cabinets had to obtain its vote of confidence, in addition, it had the right to initiate and support legislation in the event of a dispute with the Senate. The powers of parliament and the cabinet were considerable, however, a Constitutional Court, established at that time, was able to rule on the constitutionality of parliamentary laws and decisions (among its other powers).

There have been several changes in the laws governing parliamentary elections. Up to 1945, elections were indirect and thus liable to manipulation. Women were enfranchised in 1934. Between 1945 and 1950, with the transition to a multi-party system, the electoral laws were modified. In 1946, direct elections replaced indirect ones (first applied in the 1950 elections) and a secret ballot and public vote-counting were guaranteed. In 1950, supervision of elections passed from the executive to the judiciary. The simple plurality system continued until the 1960 military intervention, when a modified system of proportional representation was instituted for elections to the National Assembly. According to the new electoral laws passed by the Constituent Assembly in April-May 1961, each of Turkey's 67 constituencies (identical to its administrative districts) was assigned its share of the 450 seats, proportional to its population. Each party received a number of seats relative to its vote in each constituency. In the Senate elections of 1961, the party winning the majority in a constituency carried all its seats (Istanbul and Ankara excepted). Since 1964, the Senate elections system was adapted to resemble that of the National Assembly. Since 1961, all Turkish citizens aged twenty-one or over (barring convicted criminals) could vote; candidates for the National Assembly had to be literate and aged 30 or over, for the Senate—university graduates aged 40 or over. Membership in the GNA was considered incompatible with service in the state bureaucracy, the armed forces or the judiciary. Democratisation of the electoral process was bolstered by the requirement that parties hold primary elections six weeks before voting day and that party representatives participate in the supervision of the balloting.

Parliamentary history in the Republic of Turkey appears to be divided into three major periods, 1923-46, 1946-60, 1961 to date (1978). During the first period, the single-party era, general elections to the GNA were held in 1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939 and 1943. The GNA was not only identified with the cadres of the People's Party but was, to a certain extent, an extension of the party itself, co-operating with it in a single minded effort towards rapid modernisation. The second period ranges from the beginning of the multi-party era until the first military intervention. General elections to the GNA were held in 1946, 1950, 1954 and 1957. This period witnessed the orderly transfer of power from the ruling party to the Democrat Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTI], which obtained and kept a comfortable majority in the GNA for ten years (1950-60). While opposition within the GNA had been negligible during the first period, it was active indeed during the second. Although several smaller parties had a minor share in electoral competition and parliamentary contests, most of the campaigning was undertaken by the two mass parties, the Republican People's Party and the Democrat Party; their rivalry for power engendered a constant see-saw in parliamentary debates on legislation and general policy. The third period commenced with the establishment of a bicameral system under the new constitution. General elections to the National Assembly were held in 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973 and 1977, general elections to the Senate in 1961 and partial elections in 1964, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1979. The see-saw continued, this time between the Republican People's Party and the Justice Party (heir to the Democrat Party in many respects), although with three principal differences:

(a) The relative liberalisation of political party activities, initiated in 1961, enabled several radical groups to form legal parties, stand for election and enter parliament. Examples were: the socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, active since 1961, in parliament since 1965, the Republican Peasant's Nation Party [renamed Nationalist Action Party], active in its pan-Turk ultra nationalist character and in parliament since 1965, and the strongly Islam-oriented National Salvation Party, active (under a different name) since 1970 and in parliament since 1973. All this reflected a diminishing of the national consensus and increased the difficulties of passing legislation, especially since some of the other parties broke up as well.

(b) For the first time in Turkey's parliamentary history, coalition cabinets were required in order to obtain votes of confidence in the National Assembly. While the Justice Party obtained an absolute majority in the general elections of 1965 and 1969, in those of 1961, 1973 and 1977 the Republican People's Party obtained only a relative majority (see table of Election Results below) and rather unstable coalition cabinets had to be formed. This hindered meaningful legislation in both Houses and encumbered policy-making in the Cabinet (although the parliament and cabinet still could—and did—move decisively in times of national crisis, as in Cyprus, in July 1974).

(c) Frequent elections were held, scarcely a year went by without an election for the National Assembly, the Senate or local authorities. Thus public excitement never abated; on the contrary, it increased, often to the point of physical violence. In deed, violence appealed to several extra-parliamentary groups, small but vocal and active, supported by those who had despaired of obtaining speedy socio-economic and other reforms by parliamentary means, especially during the years of coalition government stalemate. Consequently, political processes in contemporary Turkey appear to continue

on two different levels, only one of which is centred in the GNA and follows the parliamentary rules-of-the-game : the other level is extra-parliamentary, radicalised and favours violence.

The GNA has attracted many well-educated persons, approximately 70%-80% of its members in all sessions combined, had studied at the university However, the socio-economic and occupational composition of parliament in Turkey reflects more accurately the transition to a multi-party régime and the changes brought about by modernisation The key-date for this process is 1950, as it was then that a counter-élite was largely substituted for the Kemalists Analyses conducted separately by Frey and by Tachau (see Bibliography) have established that prior to 1950, the GNA comprised—in descending order—former government officials, retired officers, lawyers, merchants and businessmen, and educators. After 1950, the main groups—again, in descending order—were lawyers, merchants and businessmen (i.e., the groups with more experience in a competitive system) followed by former government officials and retired officers Before 1950, a much larger proportion of the GNA came from the more developed areas in Western Turkey, since then, there has been a much more equitable distribution. In the sessions between 1927 and 1943, 63% or more of the membership had already served in parliament, since then the proportion has dropped to below 50%, with new members entering not only for natural reasons but also thanks to new ideologies enjoying some popular support The above indicates a broadening of the Turkish political élite, as expressed in the GNA as well as a freer élite circulation and greater competition between rival élites, reflecting the growth of pluralism in Turkish society and the increase in its upward mobility during the multi-party era. Electoral participation has been quite a crucial factor, as it has generally been rather large, between 64.3% and 89.3% (56.2% 81.0% for the Senate) Voting has usually been heavier in the rural, less developed areas in Central and Eastern Anatolia, perhaps because of the influence of local landlords This status-quo factor has been offset, however, by the considerable internal migration from village to town and city, on the one hand, and to a lesser extent, by the impact of Turkish workers returning from Europe, on the other. In recent years, the Justice Party and the National Salvation Party have been particularly strong in rural, less developed areas and have consequently enjoyed electoral support there. The Republican People's Party, enjoying more electoral support in the cities, has benefitted in recent elections from population migration into the cities. It is not easy to predict how all this will be affected by the military intervention of 12 September 1980, one of whose first measures was to dissolve both Houses of Parliament in Turkey

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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN TURKEY 1950-1977 (by parties, percentages and seats)

Date	Voting Participation %	Democrat Party %	Democrat Party Seats	Democratic Party %	Democratic Party Seats	Freedom Party %	Freedom Party Seats	Justice Party %	Justice Party Seats	Nation Party %	Nation Party Seats	National Salvation Party %	National Salvation Party Seats	Nationalist Action Party %	Nationalist Action Party Seats	New Turkey Party %	New Turkey Party Seats	Republican Nation Party %	Republican Nation Party Seats	Republican Peasants Nation Party %	Republican Peasants Nation Party Seats	Republican People's Party %	Republican People's Party Seats	Republican Reliance Party %	Republican Reliance Party Seats	Union Party of Turkey %	Union Party of Turkey Seats	Workers Party of Turkey %	Workers Party of Turkey Seats	Independents %	Independents Seats	Total Seats
1950	89.3	53.3	408	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39.9	69	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.8	9	487
1954	83.6	56.6	490	—	—	0.6	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.8	—	—	—	34.8	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.5	10	535
1957	76.6	47.3	419	—	—	3.8	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.0	4	—	—	40.6	173	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	2	602
1961	81.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	34.8	158	—	—	1	—	—	—	13.7	65	—	—	14.0	54	36.7	173	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	—	450
1965	71.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	52.9	240	6.3	31	1	—	—	—	3.7	19	1	—	3.2	11	28.7	134	—	1	—	—	3.0	15	3.2	—	450
1969	64.5	1	—	—	—	—	—	46.5	256	3.2	6	—	—	—	—	3.0	1	1.2	6	—	—	—	—	27.4	143	6.6	15	2.8	8	6.7	2	5.6	13	450
1973	66.8	—	—	11.3	45	—	—	29.8	149	0.6	—	11.8	48	3.4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	33.3	185	5.3	13	1.1	1	1	1	2.8	6	450
1977	72.4	—	—	1.9	1	—	—	36.9	189	—	—	8.6	24	6.4	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	41.4	213	1.9	3	0.4	—	0.1	—	2.5	4	450

Notes: The Democrat Party was forbidden to participate in politics after the 1960 military intervention. The Democratic Party is a new group which seceded from the Justice Party.
The Nation Party and the Republican Nation Party were run by the same leadership-core, essentially.
The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.
The Workers' Party of Turkey, closed down in 1971, re-entered electoral contests in 1977.

SENATE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY, (by parties, percentages and seats)

Date	Voting Participation %	Democratic Party %	Democratic Party Seats	Justice Party %	Justice Party Seats	Nation Party %	Nation Party Seats	National Salvation Party %	National Salvation Party Seats	Nationalist Action Party %	Nationalist Action Party Seats	New Turkey Party %	New Turkey Party Seats	Republican Nation Party %	Republican Nation Party Seats	Republican People's Party %	Republican People's Party Seats	Republican Reliance Party %	Republican Reliance Party Seats	Union Party of Turkey %	Union Party of Turkey Seats	Workers Party of Turkey %	Workers Party of Turkey Seats	Independents %	Independents Seats	Total Seats
1961	81.0	—	—	34.5	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.0	27	12.5	16	36.1	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.9	—	150
1964	66.2	—	—	50.3	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.5	—	1.6	—	40.8	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.3	1	52
1966	56.2	—	—	56.9	35	5.3	1	—	—	—	—	2.4	1	1.9	1	29.6	13	—	—	—	—	3.9	1	0.0	—	52
1968	66.3	—	—	49.3	38	6.0	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.2	—	27.1	13	8.6	1	—	—	4.7	—	2.7	—	53
1973	65.3	10.4	—	31.0	22	—	—	12.3	3	2.7	—	—	—	—	—	33.6	25	5.9	1	2.1	—	—	—	2.0	1	52
1975	58.4	3.1	—	40.6	27	—	—	8.9	2	3.2	—	—	—	—	—	43.4	25	—	—	0.5	—	—	—	0.1	—	54
1977	73.8	2.2	—	38.5	31	—	—	8.4	1	6.8	—	—	—	—	—	42.5	28	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	—	50

Notes: In 1961, elections were held for all 150 Senate seats that were earmarked for election (other Senators were appointed).
Since 1964, elections were held in about a third of the constituencies, for a third of those seats and for those that had become vacant.
The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.

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(iii) *Iran*

No significant representative institutions existed in Iran until the 1906 Revolution, when the Iranian Parliament was established, reflecting the basic intention of the Fundamental Law of 30 December 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 8 October 1907 (both principal components of Iran's first Constitution) to curb the absolute monarchy of the Kādjārs These laws, largely patterned after the Belgian Constitution of 1831, provided for a National Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis-i shūrā-yi milli*), to which was added a Senate (*Madjlis-i Senā*) in 1949 (first meeting in April 1950) The former body was not only much older, but also far more influential in public life than the latter. It was empowered to discuss all national affairs, pass laws, approve the budget, grant concessions and ratify treaties The all-Muslim Senate, half of whose 60 Members were nominated by the Shah, was largely intended as a check on the Assembly's powers

Up to the 1978 revolution, the National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, excluding the armed forces and convicted criminals but since 1963 including women, who might both vote and be elected. Election was by simple plurality in constituencies A number of seats were earmarked for Armenians, Assyrians Jews and Zoroastrians (but only a Muslim might be Prime Minister) In 1957, the number of seats was increased from 136 to 200; it was subsequently raised to 219 and currently (1978) stood at 268 The Assembly's term of office was extended from two to four years (the Senate's term was four years as well) in 1956 The last elections under the Shah's régime were those of 20 June 1975 for the 24th Assembly and the 7th Senate These were held on one day, whereas formerly they had lasted for weeks and even months. Furthermore, these were the first held under the single-party system. In those elections, all Iranians aged twenty and above could vote in the Assembly elections in 173 constituencies, those aged twenty-five and up could vote for the Senate as well. There were 6,805,647 votes cast for the Assembly, about 51 % participation, and 5,834,666 votes for the Senate in 30 constituencies, amounting to nearly 50 % of eligible voters Twenty women entered the Assembly and one the Senate

The 24 Iranian Assemblies from 1906 to 1978 have had an uneasy and sometimes tumultuous history of to fighting and of struggling with the Shah for power The First Assembly began as a nationalist and reformist parliament, which improved fiscal controls and dealt with the administration of justice (including anti-bribery measures) and the organisation of municipalities and provincial councils. Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh forcibly dissolved it in June 1908 The Second Assembly, elected in November 1909, moved in the same direction as its predecessor, reorganising the state bureaucracy, but passing laws on education, health and taxation as well. When it rejected an ultimatum from Tsarist Russia, it too was dissolved in December 1911 The Third and Fourth Assemblies which met during and immediately after the First World War were short-lived and achieved but little. Beginning with the Fifth Assembly, elected in November 1921, Iranian parliaments had to contend with the forceful personality of the new ruler Rīdā Khān, who became Prime Minister in 1923 and the new Shah in 1925. Rīdā Shāh banned all political parties and ensured the subservience of the Assemblies by influencing the elections, silencing potential opposition and circumscribing opportunities for reaching national prominence through the Assembly Turnover decreased and capable, ambitious persons sought other avenues to power during the term of the Sixth until the Thirteenth Assemblies

The abdication of Rīdā Shāh in August 1941 immediately released suppressed energies and brought about the creation of political parties and groups and a flurry of Assembly activity Constant bickering also characterised the Fourteenth Assembly, elected during wartime, which introduced many new faces (nearly half the Members) Unruly behaviour and lack of legislation caused the new Shah, Muhammad Rīdā Pahlavī, to convince parliament to grant him the right to dissolve the Assembly and add a Senate (1949) Meanwhile, nationalist fervour led to the election of a veteran Member of the Assembly, Muhammad Muṣaddiḳ, as Prime Minister (1951) Muṣaddiḳ worked against the Shah, nationalised oil (which worsened Iran's economy for a time, as it brought about an international boycott) and alienated many of the Shah's sympathisers. Muṣaddiḳ, however, enjoyed less certain support in the Assembly than he did amongst Tehran's population His dissolving of the Assembly was countered by a pro-government coup, supported by pro-Shah forces. Muṣaddiḳ was arrested and political parties were banned.

More than half the membership of the Eighteenth Assembly, elected in 1954, was new The Shah consolidated his power and Assembly Members were invited to join one of two court-sponsored parties In 1961, the Shah dissolved parliament indefinitely and began to rule by decree (promulgating some 1000 laws in two-and-a-half years). A popular referendum approved the Shah's progressive new plans for a "White Revolution", calling for the re-distribution of land, improvement of agriculture and industry, and increasing literacy. When a new Assembly was elected in September 1963, the Hizb-i Irān-i Nuvīn party predominated This party comprised technocrats and former civil servants, it supported the Court (probably having been initiated by it), identifying with the policies of the Shah and his Ministers Later on, the Rastakhīz Party followed suit This co-operation, which characterised all subsequent assemblies, was justified by continuous economic growth and an increase in military power

In Assembly-Shah relations, the Assembly was in ascendance in 1906-25, when it was a partner in the removal of the Kādjār dynasty and again in 1941-53, when a nucleus of its leaders even succeeded in temporarily exiling the Shah The Shah subdued the Assembly in 1926-41 and again since 1954, mostly because of his prestige and central position, his executive control over legislative recruitment and endemic divisiveness within the Assembly Even then, Muhammad Rīdā Shāh has consistently praised the positive role and great importance of parliamentary democracy in Iran. In actual practice, the Assembly had had a long (although mixed) record in legislation, as well as in criticism of the Cabinet and administration (although not of the Shah and armed forces)

The character of the *Madjlis* was determined by the electoral laws, by the bargaining which ensued, and sometimes by official manipulation, but even more so by Iran's socio-economic and political

realities. Indeed, at least until the early 1960s, most political parties in the *Madjlis* were recognisable by their affinity to the person of a leader, rather than their being held together by a cogent ideology. Socio-economic ties were, characteristically, more relevant. Originally, the electoral law institutionalised the situation, by stipulating that the Members of the *Madjlis* were to be elected under a system of indirect balloting, which curtailed popular voting, placing it under the supervision of electoral committees representing six social groups (or classes, *tabakāt*): nobles, landlords, men of religion, businessmen, traders, and farmers. The 1963 Electoral Law substituted workers and peasants for the first two groups, nevertheless, several members of aristocratic families continued to be elected to the *Madjlis*. Other characteristics were, however, no less evident among *Madjlis* Members: in general, Members of the *Madjlis* had to be well-to-do, in 1906, they were required to be property owners and pay a minimum annual tax. Later on, it was still necessary to be a person of means, in order to assume campaign costs. In addition, they had to be somehow identified with the "Establishment" headed by the Shah and his Court—with the exception of the first few Assemblies, which were essentially revolutionary, and of groups in the Assemblies immediately following the Second World War, which included outspoken members identifying with leftist, ultra-nationalist and extreme religious factions.

The average educational level of *Madjlis* Members has risen steadily: university degree holders made up 52 % of the total in the 21st Assembly (1963-7). Landlord representation, although still strong, is declining against an increase in the members of the technical and free professions, with clear emphasis on former aid to high ranking government employees (69 % of the membership in the 21st Assembly). Mullahs have all but disappeared from the *Madjlis* in recent years. Even so, the *Madjlis* remains an elitist institution, although less so than the Senate. J. A. Bill (in his article, in Lenczowski—see Bibliography) has calculated that during the years 1906-67, the 'Forty Families' of Iran have held, between them, 66 seats in the Senate and 410 seats in the Assembly. It is this elitism in membership that secured prestigious character for the Iranian *Madjlis* and warranted—no less than the formal constitution—its participation in the conduct of public affairs. After the "Islamic Revolution" of 1979, the new *Madjlis* opened on 28 May 1980.

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(iv) *ʿIrāḳ*

The parliamentary history of ʿIrāḳ commenced virtually simultaneously with the inception of the British Mandate. Following the signing of the Anglo-ʿIrāḳī Treaty of 10 October 1922, King Faysal I, in a Royal Decree dated 21 October called for elections to a Constituent Assembly. These elections were held *in two stages during 1923 and the first Constituent* Assembly, numbering 100 members, was inaugurated by Faysal on 27 March 1924. The Assembly's main task was to ratify the 1922 Treaty, to draft an Organic Law—approved by Faysal on 21 March 1925—and to adopt an Electoral Law. When this was accomplished, the King dissolved the Assembly

The Organic Law and the 1924 Electoral Law regulated between them the elections to the Chamber (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and the functions of parliament Elections were to be held by administrative departments, in two degrees with every 20,000 male citizens, aged 20 or over returning one Elector. Barred were criminals, the insane, those not paying a minimal state or local tax, policemen and soldiers —unless on leave The Electors, aged 25 or over, elected the Members of the Chambers by simple majority vote, one Member for every 250 Electors Provision was made for the election of minority ethnic groups in three of ʿIrāḳ's constituencies, as follows: one Christian and two Jews in Baghdād, two Christians and one Jew in Mosul, one Christian and one Jew in Baṣra

The Organic Law—the basic for ʿIrāḳ's first constitution—established a bicameral parliament (*Madjlis al-umma*), partially based on the British model, consisting of a Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-aʿyān*) The former was elected, as above, for four years, its membership, originally 88, was increased to 108 in 1935, 118 in 1943 and 135 in 1952 The Senate was appointed by the King for eight years, with half the Senators concluding their term of office every four years (they could be reappointed) The number of Senators, 20 at first, was not to exceed a quarter of the Chamber's size Deputies had to be aged 30 or over, Senators 40 or over Both Houses were supposedly equal, although only the Chamber had the right to pass the budget and vote on a no-confidence motion in a Minister or the entire Cabinet Both Houses passed legislation although it was generally initiated in the Chamber, through several standing committees; joint sessions resolved disagreements Both Deputies and Senators enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Cabinet was to be made of Deputies and/or Senators, no Minister could serve more than six months without being (or becoming) a Deputy or Senator Parliament was to convene in Baghdād for four months a year, from November to the end of February (in practice, it frequently sat for longer periods, due to unfinished business).

In July 1925, Faysal nominated the first Senate and convened it together with the recently-elected Chamber for an extraordinary session. Since then, parliamentary life has been characterised by a great deal of controversy. One type of conflict was between the Chamber and the King—first Faysal and then his son, Ghāzī (since 1933). The two attempted to influence, if not manipulate, the general elections held in 1928 1930, 1933, 1935 and 1937, in order to ensure a more compliant parliament, they then tried to assert their power, in defiance of the Chamber The Chamber invested no little effort in asserting itself against both the King and the British, who were suspected of plotting to perpetuate and even enhance their special status as Mandators of ʿIrāḳ.

Later on, another type of conflict unveiled on political and socio-economic grounds. In ʿIrāḳ, as in Syria and about the same time, the two-degree electoral system favoured the influential landowners and their urban allies. Furthermore, the constituency system often helped the same families and groups to obtain perennial representation. With the advent of political parties chiefly after the Second World War, the power of the established, conservative circles within the Chamber was challenged. Heated arguments were carried on concerning the internal socio-economic situation and ʿIrāḳ's foreign policies towards Arab states and international alignments. Most effective decision-making in ʿIrāḳ took place outside parliament—to a greater extent, perhaps, than in certain other Middle Eastern states This continued even after ʿIrāḳ had formally obtained its independence in 1932 While parliament was characterised by haranguing the King and the Cabinet of Ministers continued to be the true foci of power, with the British still very influential; since the mid-1930s the military became increasingly involved in politics as well While the parliament's low status owed more to the then-prevalent political culture in ʿIrāḳ than to anything else, certain corrective steps, principally of a formal nature, were attempted, especially in electoral reform

During the early 1940s, electoral reform had been increasingly suggested as a palliative, the Chambers elected since 1939 appointed committees to debate the subject In 1946, a new electoral law for the Chamber was promulgated. Essentially, it was based on the 1924 Electoral Law, although it modified constituency zoning, increased the representation of ethnic minorities (six Christians and six Jews) and imposed legal restrictions on the arbitrariness of local officials supervising the elections. It did not, however transform the two-degree system into a one-degree system as was vociferously demanded by those desiring democratisation of the popular vote, this was achieved only by a 1952 decree, later

incorporated into the Electoral Law of 1956. The 1952 decree set membership in the Chamber at 135, including eight Christians (but no Jews) re-dividing ʿIrāḳ into 72 constituencies. The decree also insisted upon secret ballots and regulated the ways and means of electoral propaganda.

Considering the electoral reforms of 1946, 1952 and 1956 as a whole, one tends to attribute them, at least in part, to the increasing pressure of ʿIrāḳi political parties on public life. Of moderate consequence before the Second World War and banned during the War itself, parties were permitted to function once again in 1946: old and new ones alike increased their activity both in and out of parliament. Concomitantly, the Government and its supporters, obviously considering these parties as rivals, took steps to limit their chances of success in the elections and their power within the Chamber. Various parties boycotted the elections of 1947, 1948 and 1952. The January 1953 elections were particularly unsuitable for free voting several parties were banned, the press severely censored and martial law imposed in Baghdād. The mood was such that only 57 seats were contested, the others were filled without opposition. As a result, Nūrī al Saʿīd's Constitutional Union Party came within one seat of winning an absolute majority.

Opposition to suppression and repression by the government became pronounced among various political parties and groups. Kurdish strongholds in the north, Shīʿīs in the Lower Euphrates Valley and residents of the main cities and environs of Baghdād, Mosul and Baṣra. Political and socio-economic ideologies within and without parliament concerning ʿIrāḳ's joining a Western pact (later named "The Baghdad Pact"). The Government decided on new elections, which were duly held on 9 June 1954. These were the first direct elections to be held with ʿIrāḳ not under martial law, thus allowing free electioneering by all major political parties. Although the balloting was not secret, the Constitutional Union Party, still the largest parliamentary group, obtained only 50 seats, losing its majority, but all conservative groups together still managed to obtain a majority (counting many Independents) however, the Government considered this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 12 September of the same year. With most parties split over the issue of boycotting the elections, only 13 out of 135 seats were contested. Consequently, the Opposition was heavily defeated; only 7 out of the 32 Opposition Members of the Chamber elected in June were returned again in September. Many, perhaps most of the independents elected in September were partial to Nūrī al Saʿīd's policies. The Cabinet enforced its position by issuing, on 22 September 1954, an Association Ordinance. This effectively banned some political parties and restricted the activity of others.

Holding three general elections within twenty months and eliminating much of the opposition from the Chamber of Deputies, the Government succeeded in making most opposition extra-parliamentary. The above Association Ordinance drove many *exiles* and *soldiers underground*. *The 1954 Chamber* was even less representative than several of the preceding ones, so that in the following general elections, on 5 May 1958, only 27 seats of the then-expanded Chamber of 143 were contested, the press hardly reported the voting, which was very sparse, in any case, even though women were enfranchised for the first time. Consequently it is hardly surprising that when the military revolution occurred soon afterwards, on 14 July 1958, none came to the Government's assistance.

With the end of the monarchy, the ʿIrāḳi parliament passed into history as well. One of its last acts had been to approve the Arab Union of ʿIrāḳ with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on 13 May 1958 (the Union's constitution provided for a joint parliament with 20 delegates from each component). The Arab Union, too, disappeared with the 14 July revolution. During the following years, succeeding governments and their spokesmen repeatedly mentioned the establishment of some sort of parliament but no practical steps towards this end have been taken. A National Council of the Revolutionary Command, formed soon after the revolution, has assumed both executive and legislative functions; its title has changed, but its powers have not. The Provisional Constitution of 27 July 1958 mentioned no parliament. The Interim Constitution of 29 April 1964 spoke of vesting legislative power in a National Assembly. However, this has remained a dead issue so far. A law promulgated on 24 December 1964 amended the constitution with the aim of instituting an advisory body for legislation (each member to be elected by 70,000-100,000 inhabitants). In February 1967, the Government issued an electoral law, with the (unfulfilled) intention of holding elections before May of the same year. When it became effective on 16 July 1970, the Provisional Constitution of September 1968 had an amendment which mentioned the eventual convening of a National Assembly. On 15 November 1972, President al-Bakr issued a National Charter—the basis for a permanent constitution—which once again spelled out the intention of having a 100 member National Assembly, to be nominated by the Revolutionary Command Council. The latter did indeed approve a law instituting such an Assembly in July 1973. It was to be elected by the various political, economic and social organizations in ʿIrāḳ and would legislate in all non-military and non-security matters. ʿIrāḳ's 1974 Constitution repeated this intention. Such ʿIrāḳi leaders as ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim in 1962, ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif in 1965, Prime Minister al-Bazzāz in 1965 and others promised to restore parliament—but to no avail. The Revolutionary Command Council retained all executive and legislative powers.

Revolution leaders of republican ʿIrāḳ have hesitated to restore parliament at least partly because of its very modest success during the monarchy. Parliamentary history in ʿIrāḳ may be divided into two principal periods before and after independence in 1932, however, its character remained essentially the same throughout both periods. Elections appear to have been mismanaged to such an extent that relations between Chamber and Cabinet were anything but productive of healthy criticism. None of the 59 Cabinets serving from 1921 to 14 July 1958 was ever brought down by a no-confidence vote. A principally landed oligarchy, mostly conservative in outlook, generally supported preservation of the status quo. Political parties, to the extent that they were allowed to run in parliamentary elections, were sometimes corrupt and frequently ineffectual within the Chamber. Indeed many important decisions were made outside the Chamber, with obvious results for the future of parliamentarism in ʿIrāḳ. Only on 20 June 1980 were general elections held in ʿIrāḳ for a National Assembly. For 250 seats, 540 candidates ran. This was however, intended

to be mainly a deliberative body, with the final decisions remaining with the Revolutionary Command Council staffed by the Ba'th.

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(v) *Syria.*

The history of parliament in Syria is a turbulent one, not uncharacteristic of the country's political culture in recent years. Indeed, the Syrian parliament has been both an agent of and a contributor to the politics of instability. At first, parliament was dependent upon relations with the authorities of the French Mandate, then, after complete independence was achieved at the end of the Second World War, it became subject to political vicissitudes constitutions have been proclaimed and abolished and parliaments convened and dissolved

When Fayṣal entered Damascus in October 1918, with the declared intention of setting up an Arab government, a Syrian Congress was convened, holding three sessions between 3 June 1919 and 19 July 1920 This first experiment at parliamentarism in Syria even considered the draft of a constitution (although it did not have the opportunity to approve it) providing for a bicameral legislature (among other stip-

ulations). Its work was cut short, however, by the armed intervention of the French forces, which instituted the Mandate over Syria.

The parliamentary history of Syria under the French Mandate centres around the struggle between Syrian nationalists, who desired a constitutionally-guaranteed parliament endowed with independent powers, and the French authorities, who sought to limit them. At first, the French authorities experimented with Representative Councils in the various "states" of Syria. Elected in two degrees, these Councils were regarded by Syrian nationalists as partial and even subservient to the French. The 1925-7 revolt convinced the French of the need to reach some accommodation with the Syrians. In February 1928, the French High Commissioner Ponsot charged a moderate provisional government with holding general elections for a Constituent Assembly. These were held in April and the Assembly first met on 9 June. It elected a leading nationalist, Hāshim al-Atāsī, as its Speaker and a draft-commission of 27 to prepare a constitution. The nationalists, although not clearly in the majority, were the only group well-organised in a National Bloc (*al-Kutla al-aṭaniyya*). They inscribed their own views into the Constitution, which was approved by the Constituent Assembly in August 1928. The French objected to several paragraphs, but the Assembly stood firm. The High Commissioner therefore adjourned the Assembly, in February 1929 *sine die* and dissolved it in May 1930. He then proceeded on his own to proclaim the same Constitution, with a few minor changes.

Among its other provisions, the 1930 Syrian Constitution established a 60-member unicameral Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis*), elected every four years and meeting in two sessions of two-and-a-half months annually, from mid-March and from mid-October. Voting was in two stages, each adapted to Syria's administrative divisions, resulting in quite an accurate representation of local, religious and socio-economic interest; it also assisted a well-established oligarchy in obtaining and maintaining control of parliament. Every Syrian male aged 20 years or over was able to vote and every literate Syrian male aged 30 years or over could be a candidate. The number of seats in the Chamber increased over the years according to Syria's population growth. The Chamber's duties were: to legislate, elect the President of the State (for a five-year term), approve the budget and vote confidence in the Government.

The first Chamber, elected in March 1932, met on 7 July of that year. The main subject of dispute between nationalists and moderates concerned relations with France on the nature of Syrian statehood. The Chamber was adjourned again in November 1933 and dissolved in 1934. Only in November 1936 were general elections held. The Chamber was to consist of 86 members, of whom 16 were to represent minority religious denominations and another represented Bedouin tribes. The National Bloc had an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, which convened in December. They elected Hāshim al-Atāsī as State President. The Chamber's most important achievement was to approve a treaty with France, signed by both the Syrian Cabinet and the French High Commissioner but never ratified in Paris. Hopes for Syrian independence were dashed once again—and nationalists both within and without the Chamber reacted accordingly. In July 1939, the High Commissioner suspended the Chamber again, as well as the Constitution, in view of the tense international situation.

The Second World War, in particular the fall of France, strengthened the hand of those Syrians striving for independence. After the Free French and British forces had occupied Syria and Lebanon in 1941, General Catroux, representing de Gaulle, proclaimed Syria's independence on 28 September. Early in 1943, the French, surrendering to nationalist demands, restored the Syrian Constitution of 1930 and ordered general elections. These were held in July and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National Bloc, now led by Shukrī al-Kuwwatlī. The new 114-seat Chamber met on 17 August electing al-Kuwwatlī State President. One of the main tasks of this Chamber was to bring about a full French retreat spelling total independence.

The vicissitudes of Mandatory Syrian parliaments continued in independent Syria as well. The first Chamber of independent Syria was elected in May 1947 and sat until dismissed by Colonel Husnī Za'īm, who seized power at the end of March 1949. The 1947 Chamber increased in membership to 140, was elected according to the new Electoral Law of 29 April 1947, which provided a seat for every 6,000 voters or fraction thereof exceeding 3,000 (in reality, only 135 members took office). A local journalist, Habīb Kabḥāla, reported later (in his *Dhikrayāt nā'ib*) that this very mixed parliament was merely "a bundle of contradictions" in social composition, organisation, literacy and dress. This certainty could have applied to its ethnic make-up also, for representation took into account the mosaic of minorities. Representation of the National Bloc, which had had a majority in the 1947 Chamber, dwindled to a mere 24 out of 135 seats, while the opposition commanded 53 and the independents 58 seats. Distribution of representation by district and religious denomination was as follows (based on George Haddad—see Bibliography):

The Syrian Chamber of 1947, According to District and Religious Denomination

	Muslims	*Christians*	*Druzes*	*Jews*	*Total*
District					
Damascus	24	4	—	1	29
Ḥims	6	2	—	—	8
Hamā	5	1	—	—	6
Aleppo	30	7	—	—	37
Ḥawrān	5	—	—	—	5
Djabal al-Durūz	—	1	3	—	4
al-Lādhikiyya	16	2	—	—	18
Euphrates	11	—	—	—	11
al-Dhazīra	6	1	—	—	7
Bedouin Tribes	10	—	—	—	10
Total	113	18	3	1	135

Further analysis indicates that the Muslim members comprised 100 Sunnīs, 12 ʿAlawīs and one Ismāʿīlī, while the Christians consisted of seven Greek Orthodox, two Greek Catholics, two Syriac Orthodox, one Syriac Catholic, two Armenian Orthodox, one Armenian Catholic, one Maronite and two other Christians.

The electoral decree of 10 September 1949 stipulated a seat in the Chamber for every 30,000 inhabitants, or fraction thereof exceeding 15,000 and lowered the voting age to eighteen. Nevertheless, membership was set at 114—100 Muslims and 14

Christians—thus modifying the overall ratio only insignificantly. This Christian presence in the Chamber (and in Syria in general) most likely prevented the Chamber from proclaiming Islam as state religion in the 1950 Constitution, adopting instead a formula which established Islam as the religion of the Head of State (essentially repeating the text of the 1930 Constitution). No less significantly, in the November 1949 elections Syria proved to be the first Arab state to enfranchise women (albeit only those holding at least an elementary school certificate). In November 1949, elections were held for a Constituent Chamber, rapprochement with Iraq being one of the main electoral issues. The National Bloc and several other parties boycotted these elections, suspecting the military of mismanaging them. The People's Party thus achieved a plurality of 50 seats, while another 5 seats apiece were won by the Republican and by the Renaissance Party respectively and another 34 (nearly half of the total membership) by independents. The most useful task of this Constituent Chamber was most likely the drafting and subsequent approval of a new constitution on 5 September 1950, following which the Constituent Chamber became the Chamber of Deputies.

The 1950 Constitution did not differ essentially from that of 1930, insofar as the legislature was concerned. The unicameral Chamber of Deputies was to be elected every four years by direct universal suffrage of Syrians aged eighteen and over; candidates, however, had to be male. The Chamber was to sit twice a year for a total of five-and one-half months in public sessions (unless otherwise decided). Legislation was the Chamber's prerogative (although it could also be initiated by the State President). The Chamber elected the State President for a five-year term, Chamber interpellations and votes of confidence controlled the Cabinet, whose Ministers could be Members of the Chamber. All Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

Adib al-Shishakli, the Colonel who had engineered the third coup d'état in 1949, dissolved the Chamber on 29 November 1951, sensing correctly that it could hamper his dictatorship. Under his guidelines, a draft for a new constitution was prepared and approved by a popular referendum on 10 July 1953. The 1953 Constitution strengthened the Executive at the expense of the Legislature. The three principal limitations on the attributes of the Chamber were: (a) The Chamber no longer elected the State President, (b) The Constitution abolished the post of Prime Minister and made the Cabinet responsible to the State President alone, and (c) The Chamber was to convene from October to February only, during the remainder of the year, a token Chamber, composed of 25% of its total membership, would deliberate and legislate.

Under the provisions of this constitution, elections to a new Chamber are held on 9 October 1953. Suffrage was universal: any Syrian citizen aged 18 and over could vote and any Syrian citizen aged 25 and over could stand for election. One member would be elected for every 30,000 inhabitants. Not unexpectedly, Shishakli's own party, the Arab Liberation Movement, obtained 72 out of a total of 82 seats, one of the remaining seats went to the Syrian Social National Party and another nine to independents. However, the 1953 Constitution and the 1953 Chamber remained only brief episodes in Syria's parliamentary history. After Shishakli's downfall on 25 February 1954, the Chamber of 1949, dissolved in 1951, re-convened. One of its first acts was to re-establish the 1950 Constitution and restore the parliamentary regime in Syria.

General elections were held again, on 24-5 September (with a new round, for undecided seats, on 4-5 October) 1954, for a new Chamber of 142 members (26 Muslims—including 9 Bedouins—and 16 Christians). This time, however, no special seats were earmarked for any religious or other groups. Apart from dealing with internal issues, this electoral campaign was largely concerned with Syria's joining a Western-inspired defence treaty. The elections themselves were characterised by their free atmosphere; secrecy was enforced for the first time. The results were as follows: People's Party—30, the Ba'th—22, National Party—19, Popular Syrian Party—2, Cooperative Socialist Party—2, Arab Liberation Movement—2, Communists—1, and independents 64 (or 45% of the total membership). The Chamber met in November 1954 and functioned until Syria's union with Egypt in February 1958, it came closer than any preceding Chamber to completing its four-year term and legislated energetically. It ceased to exist with the establishment of the United Arab Republic, when Syrians sent 200 of the joint parliament's 600 members to Cairo (see *Egypt, below*).

After Syria seceded from the UAR, on 28 September 1961, its separate parliamentary life was soon restored. General elections were held on 1-2 December, with a simultaneous referendum on a new provisional constitution (approved by a 97.6% majority). Voting for the Chamber was secret and free, despite Egyptian appeals to boycott the elections; participation reached 63%—the highest in Syrian parliamentary elections. The outcome was again a sharply-divided Chamber, lacking a comfortable working majority: the People's Party received about 22% of the vote, with 14% for the National Party (heir to the National Bloc), besides 32% independents and several smaller groups. The Cabinet, based on broad right-of-centre support in the Chamber, aimed to rescind the nationalisation decrees and the agrarian reform of the UAR era. Displeased military groups repeatedly intervened in politics, leading to the dissolution of the Chamber, at the end of March 1962 and then to the seizure of power by the Ba'th Movement, in March 1963.

The Ba'th, in power since then (despite factional strife and personal changes), has altered perceptibly the structure and functions of parliament, rendering it subservient to the Executive. At the beginning of the Ba'th régime, a National Council of the Revolutionary Command (*al-Madjlis al-watani li-kiyadat al thawra*) was established, comprising military officers. Under a provisional constitution, this council—both executive and legislative—exercised the real power. In 1964, it was renamed The National Revolutionary Council (NRC) and was expanded to 95 members, mostly civilians: 20 ranking Ba'th officials, five members of the former National Council of the Revolutionary Command, five representatives of the military, 14 trade unionists, 13 peasants, seven women representatives, seven representatives of the teachers' union, five selected from the free professions, two university professors and 17 "progressive citizens". NRC, Syria's parliament could enact laws (its main function), pass the Budget, amend the constitution, supervise referenda and elect a five-man Presidential Council—the principal executive body. In February 1966, NRC was expanded from 95 to 134 members, ousting

30 and adding 69, thus changing the balance of power. Two weeks later, a military coup by Ṣalāḥ al-Djadīd put an end to this experiment and dissolved NRC legislative authority was henceforth vested in the President's office and in the Cabinet. However, on 1 May 1969, a new constitution was promulgated by the Regional Command of the Baʿth. This stipulated the establishment of a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al shaʿb*), to be elected for a four-year term, by a method to be determined. Its main attributes were to be the drafting of a permanent constitution, approving laws, debating the budget, ratifying agreements and treaties, electing the State President, and interpellating Ministers. This constitution, however, was never put into practice.

During the rule of Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, from 1970 to date (1978), the character of the Syrian parliament was changed to suit even more the socialist ideology of Asad's faction within the Baʿth Under the amended Provisional Constitution of 1971—promulgated as permanent on 31 January 1973—legislative powers are vested in a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al shaʿb*), comprising 173, then 186 and finally (since 1977) 195 members, elected by popular associations and trade unions, with the proviso that at least half of the members be peasants and workers. The People's Assembly is elected every four years by secret ballot in constituencies, convening for three sessions annually. In theory, the People's Assembly passes all laws; the State President, who may veto its laws, must nevertheless submit to the Assembly's will if it passes the same law again by a two-thirds majority. In addition, the Constitution grants the People's Assembly the following powers: to approve the candidate for Presidency of the Republic, debate government policy, withdraw confidence from Ministers, approve the budget and ratify all foreign agreements and treaties concerning state security. In practice, the Assembly has generally limited itself to discussing matters of internal relevance, displaying little if any independence of the Executive. The Syrians were not unaware of this: in the 1973 and 1977 elections for the People's Assembly, only a small part of the eligible voters participated.

The People's Assembly nominated by Syria's President, Ḥāfiẓ al Asad, in February 1971, consisted of 87 Baʿthists, or just over half of the total 173; another 36 represented the General Union of Peasants. In the Assembly elected on 25 May 1973, the Baʿthists numbered at least 111 out of a total 186, while another 46 labelled themselves independents, 97 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers. In the Assembly elected on 1-2 August 1977, Baʿthists numbered 125 out

Occupations of Members in the Syrian Chamber, 1919-1954

Chamber of	1919		1928		1932		1936		1943		1947		1949		1953		1954		Totals	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Public service																				
Central Admin.	5	24	6	12	9	16	9	9	6	5	1	1	6	6	6	9	4	5	53	7
Judiciary	1	5	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	6	5	2	2	3	4	3	4	22	3
Local Admin.			2	4	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	1	1	4	3	25	3
Professors											3	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	10	1
School Teachers											2	2	4	4	2	3	4	3	12	2
Gov't, Doctors and Engineers													2	2	1	1	1	1	4	1
Diplomats											2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	8	1
Military			2	2			3	3	3	3	1	1			1	1			12	2
'Ulamā'	2	10	4	8	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	2			2	2	17	2
Total public	8	38	15	29	16	28	23	24	15	14	21	17	24	23	17	23	20	20	164	22
Private																				
Lawyers	2	10	7	13	3	5	10	10	12	10	18	15	15	14	11	16	26	26	103	14
Physicians			3	6	1	2	4	4	3	3	5	4	4	4	5	12	5	4	33	4
Journalists and Writers			1	2	3	5	1	1	4	4	6	5	5	5	1	1	5	4	26	3
Other Free Professions							1	1							5	4	3	2	7	1
Merchants and Bankers	1	5	3	6	3	5	3	3	3	3	6	5	7	7	2	3	5	4	37	5
Industrialists									7	6	3	2	2	2	3	4	2	1	16	2
Rural Landlords	7	33	23	25	23	40	30	31	42	38	40	33	30	29	16	24	33	32	234	31
Tribal notables	1	5	6	12	7	12	19	20	18	16	20	17	13	12	6	9	21	16	113	15
Professional Politicians	2	10	4	8	2	3	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	3			4	3	27	4
Total private	13	62	37	71	42	72	74	76	94	85	101	83	81	77	50	75	103	80	596	78
Total Known	21	100	52	100	58	100	97	100	110	100	122	100	105	100	67	100	128	100	760	100
Unknown	38		20		12		9		13		14		9		15		15		145	
Total Seats	59		72		70		106		123		136		114		82		143		905	

(Source: Winder, in *MEJ*, xvii (1963), 50)

of a total 195; another 36 labelled themselves independents, and 99 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers.

The history of Syrian parliaments is not easily divided into distinct periods. Nevertheless, it may be divided into three main eras: (a) The French Mandate, during which time the Chambers were distinguished by the struggle for Syrian sovereignty and independence; (b) Independence, when Chambers were marked by even deeper internal strife with determined efforts by the Cabinet and the party (or parties) to gain power, at the Chamber's expense, against equally determined opposition, and (c) Dependence, first on Egypt, during the UAR years, then on the guidelines set for it by the Ba'th-military coalition which governed Syria after the UAR broke apart. One may conclude with some justification that the role of parliament in Syria has diminished from one era to the other, at least regarding its impact on public decision-making.

Syrian parliamentarians were characterised by factors besides distinct and religious denomination (which were relevant during the first two eras of the Chamber). An investigation of these periods based on Winder—see Bibliography) concludes as follows: (a) Parliamentarians were youthful—the median age (at time of entering each Chamber) was between 39 and 46, this was perhaps chiefly due to a fairly large turnover, (b) The proportion of Members with university education rose consistently, reaching 46 % of the Chamber in 1954. there was also a steady rise in the proportion of those exposed to Western culture, particularly with respect to facility in foreign languages and (c) With regard to occupations of members rural landlords have continuously comprised the largest single group the tribal notable group was regularly second or third in size. Together they dominated the Chamber and generally appeared to form a conservative, pro status quo force. Lawyers were, no doubt, an important group, gradually increasing in size and becoming second only to the landlords. On the other hand, very few Members were either *'ulamā'* or military officers.

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(vi) *Lebanon.*

The Lebanese parliament was first initiated by the French Mandatory authorities in 1922 It was intended to support the Mandate, but gradually became more independent and attracted various leaders of public opinion, thus enabling it to work for independence during the Second World War Its weakness, however, became increasingly more apparent since the achievement of Lebanese statehood in 1943 and of complete independence in 1945 —when the French departed and all responsibilities of government passed into Lebanese hands

Although the Lebanese parliament contributed only modestly to policy-making and was inefficient as a check on both the executive and the bureaucracy, it has been an integral part of the political system nonetheless Its powers have been hampered constantly by the lack of public consensus on central issues, the personal character of politics, the important role of religious communities and the peculiarities of the electoral system These constraints have hindered the Lebanese parliament from fulfilling the role of conflict resolution, rather, it has assumed a role of conflict-accommodation which, in practice, frequently meant conflict-postponement

Lebanon's Constitution, unwritten guidelines (usually called the "National Pact" of 1943), government structure, parliamentary system and elections, as well as many of the laws, are peculiarly suited to an involved complex of rivalries and based on the desire to maintain an equilibrium between them —with at least a semblance of consensus The electoral system in particular has harmonised with traditional pluralism. Constantly relying on the need for compromise, the Lebanese parliamentary system has consequently displayed weakness Checks and balances are considered essentially desirable in democratic regimes. However, distribution of key positions in Lebanon among various religious denominations, although allowing for much-needed compromise, does not necessarily ensure smooth effective functioning either within or without parliament

The character of the Lebanese parliament was essentially determined early during the French Mandatory period. In March 1922, the Mandatory authority instituted a consultative Representative Council of 30 members, to be elected in two degrees voting by male suffrage. Seventeen of its seats were earmarked for Christians and 13 for Muslims Thus representation by denominational groups became institutionalised in the legislature, it was soon to be the main organisational feature of the entire public administration. A second Representative Council was elected in 1925 Two days after the promulgation of the 1926 Constitution, it became Lebanon's Chamber of Deputies A 16-member Senate (seven of them appointed by the State President, the others elected) was established to check this Chamber; the two houses fused in 1927

In 1926, the Representative Council adopted a constitution which, as amended, has essentially remained in force to date. The main provisions concerning the legislature were as follows, in addition to the Senate, elected for six years, a Chamber would be elected, in two degrees, for four years, its two annual sessions would be of two and two and one-half months duration, respectively The formal powers of parliament were legislation (which could also be initiated by the executive), approving the budget and taxation electing the State President, for three years (since 1929—for six years); supervising the Cabinet (by interpellations and no-confidence votes) and amending the constitution

The unicameral body, the Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) still kept its partly-appointed character for some time, undoubtedly in order to ensure compliance between one third and two-fifths of the membership was appointed by the Lebanese President and Cabinet Since the 1943 general election, the entire Chamber is elected The final denominational ratio in parliament dates from 1943, the year when the Chamber sat it at 30 Christians and 25 Muslims and Druzes This ratio of 6 : 5 has remained unchanged, although the actual numbers have varied There were 55 members after the 1947 elections (the first after the evacuation of the French), followed by 77 (1951), 44 (1953) and 66 (1957) The number of members was set at 99 for the 1960 elections and did not change for the 1964, 1968 or 1972 elections (no elections were held in 1976, due to the civil war) The following is the official, pre-determined breakdown by religious denominations

Denominational makeup of the Lebanese Chamber (1960, 1964, 1968 and 1972 Elections)

Christians		*Muslims and Druzes*		*Grand Total*
Maronites	30	Sunnis	20	
Greek Orthodox	11	Shī'is	19	
Greek Catholic	6	Druzes	6	
Armenian Orthodox	4			
Armenian Catholic	1			
Protestant	1			
Smaller groups	1			
Total	54		45	99

This ratio no longer reflects the demographic breakdown of Lebanon's population (the last census was taken before the Second World War). This has been only partly offset by frequent changes in the number of electoral constituencies and the resultant re-zoning Since 1960, these have corresponded to the state's administrative districts a serious attempt has thus been made to represent Lebanon's regions fairly and still keep the religious denominations reasonably happy Each district now elects from two to eight Members of the Chamber (the only single-Member district is Ṣaydā) according to a pre-determined breakdown by denomination (roughly reflecting the assumed ratio) For example, the district identical with the city of Tripoli elects four Sunnis and one Greek Orthodox Similarly-composed slates of candidates (in the above example, of four Sunnis and one Greek Orthodox) run against each other Single candidates may also compete, although they have consistently met with little success Every eligible voter in the district, whatever his denomination, votes for the candidate or slate of his choice, provided he observes the denominational breakdown prescribed by law An obvious advantage of the system is that, on the one hand, it compels candidates to ally themselves with others from different denominations and on the other, to show moderation and refrain from antagonising any particular denomination in the district. A possible drawback is that many Members of the Chamber are rather tame individuals who have run as compromise candidates Political parties competing in these elections are under the same constraint in forming slates of candidates by denominations, thus possibly limiting their activities

Emphasis on a denominational "key system" has

served as an obstacle to structural political change —for better or worse, depending on one's viewpoint. It has also bred antagonism, hardly mitigated in the Chamber by the above electoral arrangements· loyalty to affiliation to a religious denomination is only one variable in parliamentary politics When Members do not vote by religious denomination, they take sides according to the least interests of their constituencies There are also ideological differences in the Chamber, of which the longest-standing has been support for Lebanon as a separate political entity versus a union or federation with one or more Arab states. Furthermore, there is competition among the political parties, which frequently, although not always, are identified with the respective denominations; in the 1960s, only one-quarter to one-third of the Members were officially affiliated to parties Within the wide scope of denominations, new finds smaller, feudal-loyalty groups as well Personal parties are also often identified with denominations (chiefly Christian) as are several ideological ones, such as the Phalangists or Progressive Socialist Party, the Ba'th and several others, however, are not so, identified

Under the aggregate pressure of denominational, local, ideological and party competition, as well as personal rivalry, the Lebanese Chamber has been fragile and cautious—and consequently limited in policy-making It expects that a good share of the decision-making and executive policies be carried out by a Cabinet, whose Ministers are drawn from the Chamber and which works closely with the State President Even legislation has been a lengthy and sometimes inconclusive process, although its overall record is impressive during the years 1953-72 the Chamber passed 2,136 bills (or an average of 119 annually) The Chamber has often skirted divisive issues, at least insofar as decision making is concerned. On the whole, its role appears to have been chiefly deliberative, argumentation in the Chamber displays a high level of competitiveness within the framework of political and cultural pluralism However, this has afforded satisfaction only to the participants themselves rather than to those Lebanese who have no access to it and to disenfranchised groups, such as the Palestinian refugees who have been largely instrumental in using extra-parliamentary, increasingly violent ways to make themselves heard By 1975 they had succeeded in fracturing the delicate minimum consensus concerning Lebanese polity and shattering the precarious status-quo of which the Chamber had been both an exponent and an advocate. It is symptomatic that two earlier serious national conflicts—in 1952 and 1958—were settled by the Chamber's agreeing on the election of a State President During the civil war (since 1975), the Chamber has met several times, in order to elect a new State President (in June 1976), it has accomplished little else, however, not really succeeding at resolution of the conflicts which keep violence alive. Its inability to agree on action in urgent issues has prevented the Chamber from taking a stand, also, on an important suggestion of President Farandjiyya (in a speech on 14 February 1976) He then suggested altering the Muslim-Christian ratio in the Chamber from 5 : 6 to 1 : 1, the Chamber, however, has not even debated this.

The socio-economic composition of Lebanese Parliaments has had little to do with the rate of voter participation. While countrywide participation has usually been between 50 and 60 per cent (women were enfranchised in 1953), rural turnout has regularly been proportionately higher than the urban, possibly due to recruitment by landowners and local leaders. In addition, rural districts have had a slight relative edge in the seats allocated them in the Chamber. The reason seems to be that the Lebanese Chamber is an exclusive club, reserved in practice for those with better-than-average education who can afford the registration fee and campaign expenditures. Indeed, every slate of candidates includes at least one who finances the campaign, he is generally a prosperous businessman hankering for political power (incidentally, this has provided an avenue for the nouveaux riches to penetrate the power system, avoiding a cleavage between the political and economic elites). The outcome, however, has been that the well-to-do generally represent the poor Even among the former, however, there are meaningful differences in socio-economic make-up, as the following table (based on Hudson and Harik, see bibliography) indicates·

The shift is most interesting landlords comprised the largest single group between 1943 and 1953, lawyers predominated in 1957 The business and professional groups made up more than half the membership between them Otherwise stated, the top political elite in the first decade of the Republic failed to hold its own in parliament, the typical Member of the Chamber nowadays is an educated person of upper or middle income, actively engaged as business, law or some other free profession.

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Socio-economic composition of Lebanese Chambers

	1943		1947		1951		1953		1957		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Landlords	31	53	29	53	36	45	18	41	22	33	26	27	28	26	26	27	20	14
Lawyers	23	39	17	31	29	36	20	43	26	39	27	27	30	30	44	27	38	27
Businessmen	19	32	14	25	28	35	12	27	10	28	27	32	31	31	45	27	48	34
Professionals	15	25	15	27	23	29	13	30	19	29	43	43	42	44	48	29	35	25

(In several cases, the figures may add up to more than the number of Members or to more than 100 %, as more than one occupation was listed)

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(vii) *Jordan*

The Emirate of Transjordan, carved out by ʿAbd Allāh in 1921 and recognised by the British as such in May 1923, has displayed strong British influence in its parliamentary structure and procedure, both during the Emirate itself and in the subsequent independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan (further Jordan)

As early as July 1923, ʿAbd Allāh formed by decree a Committee to prepare an electoral law for a representative assembly The law was ready in June 1924, although the entire Assembly project was postponed, reportedly due to British discouragement of the idea In October 1926, a group of notables was convened to prepare another electoral law, meeting with similar results. More tangible progress was achieved, however, after the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty was signed on 20 February 1928. In accordance with

this Treaty, an Organic Law was promulgated on 16 April setting up a Legislative Council (*Madjlis tashrī'ī*), to be elected for three years by two-degree male suffrage. It was to consist of 28 Members, with guaranteed representation for the Christians (3), Circassians (2) and Bedouins (2). There was no Cabinet responsibility towards the Council. Laws passed by the latter required the approval of both the Emir and the British Resident, while the Council could not override the Emir's veto.

Despite repeated protests by nationalists that the Council was in effect merely consultative and unrepresentative of the people, it remained the basic instrument of parliamentary activity until 1946. In actual practice, it demonstrated greater independence than had been anticipated. The first Council demanded and obtained immunity and freedom of debate for its Members and was dissolved by the Emir on 9 February 1932, when it refused to approve the financing of the Desert Patrol. The lesson was not lost and the following four Councils appear to have been considerably less oppositionist towards the Emir.

Following the new Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 22 March 1946, which recognised Jordan's independence with 'Abd Allāh as its King, a new constitution and an appropriate electoral law were promulgated. The constitution provided for a bicameral National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*). The Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) was to consist of 20 Members (12 Muslims, 4 Christians, a tribal representatives and 2 for the Circassians and Shehans), elected by all male Jordanian citizens aged 18 or over. Candidates had to be at least 30 years of age, they were required to deposit a sum of money which would be forfeited in case of failure to be elected. The Senate (*Madjlis al-a'yān*) was to number precisely half the membership of the Chamber and was to be appointed by the King, for eight years, from among more mature persons (at least 40 years of age), with half the Senators completing their terms every four years (as in 'Irāk).

General elections were held on 20 October 1947, over the objections of nationalist circles that the King retained too much power under the 1947 Constitution and the Cabinet was not responsible to the Chamber. The only party running, the government-sponsored *al-Nahḍa* ("Revival"), obtained 4 seats, other seats were won by independents, also identified with the Establishment. In general, this Chamber —dissolved on 1 January 1950—was no different in character and tone from the Legislative Councils it had superseded.

More substantive change occurred after Jordan's annexation of a part of the West Bank in 1950 and the granting of citizenship (including the franchise) to its inhabitants. Since then, the political history of Jordan has been largely the struggle between an embattled monarchy and its Palestinian subjects. One of the fronts of this struggle was the Chamber (a cautious nomination policy prevented clashes in the Senate), practically the sole forum for uninhibited criticism and unhampered propaganda. General elections were held on 11 April 1950, with high voter participation, reportedly about 70%. With the increased number of eligible voters, the Chamber's membership was increased in 1950 to 40, equally divided between East Jordanians and West Bankers. The latter also obtained 7 seats in the Jordanian Senate, whose membership was expanded to 20. The system favoured East Jordan by minimising representation of the more populous West Bank. Nevertheless, the West Bankers—who were more politically-conscious and less attached to the Royal House than the East Jordanians—ultimately altered much of the Chamber's character. Most of the Chamber's West Bankers introduced an ideological dimension both into electioneering and the Chamber's deliberations through their relations with political parties. This was so even when those parties were not legally permitted to run, which was virtually the general practice (since 1957, all parties have been banned). The following table illustrates the party affiliations of Members of the Chamber during the first twelve years after the enfranchisement of the West Bankers (based on Abu Jaber, see Bibliography).

The first Chamber to comprise West Bankers (Jordan's second since independence) had a nucleus of six or seven oppositionists, all West Bankers who, although a minority in the Chamber, often took the lead in the debates. Briefly stated, this Chamber behaved much as did the first Legislative Council in 1928. It refused to pass the budget and consequently was dissolved by the King in May 1951, with new elections called for 29 August. Although 'Abd Allāh was assassinated on 20 July 1951, the August 1951 elections were held on time (with a voter participation of about 50%). In the new Chamber, the Opposition was even stronger and numbering about 24 of the 20 West Bankers. It was also more vociferous and passed a new constitution on 8 January 1952, which made the Cabinet (singly and jointly) responsible to parliament: a two-thirds majority no-confidence vote in the Chamber was to result in the dismissal of the Cabinet. Furthermore, the 1952 Constitution provided for legislation in both Houses and a joint session in case of disagreement; the King's veto could be overriden if each House re-adopted the law by a two-thirds majority. Foreign treaties and financial agreements were to be ratified by parliament. Immunity was reaffirmed and interpellation of Ministers introduced.

Parties in the Jordanian Chamber 1950-1961

Party	Second Chamber 20/4/50-3/5/51	Third Chamber 1/9/51-12/6/54	Fourth Chamber 17/12/54-26/6/56	Fifth Chamber 14/10/56-20/11/61
National Socialists	10	11	1	11
Communists	2	2	2	3
Ba'th	2	3	—	2
Arab Constitutional	8	9	17	4
Community (*al-Umma*)	2	1	—	1
Muslim Brethren	—	—	4	4
Liberation (*Tahrīr*)	—	—	1	1
Independent Candidates	16	14	15	14
Total	40	40	40	40

The increase in the legislature's powers and concomitant curtailment of those of the Executive were noteworthy, even though in practice King Husayn and the Cabinet frequently succeeded in circumventing these constitutional provisions during the turbulent years which followed. Nevertheless these provisions remained a frame of reference for the Opposition, which soon demanded and passed a constitutional amendment that established a simple majority (instead of two thirds) as sufficient for a vote of no-confidence. Alarmed, the Palace dissolved the Chamber in January 1954, and reportedly rigged the general elections of 26 October 1954 (in which participation was about 57%). This election brought in a more compliant Chamber (half of the Members of the previous Chamber were defeated and only 3 out of 28 Opposition Members were re-elected). Consequently, about 35 (of the 40) Members were loyal to the Government; much of the opposition became extra-parliamentary, with foreign elements allegedly inciting mob violence.

The general elections of 21 October 1956 almost entirely concerned foreign issues, and brought in the most radically nationalist Chamber until then. Most matters involved a traditional, pro Western orientation versus a Pan Arab (i.e., pro-Egyptian) policy. The King, favouring the former trend, won this contest of ideologies and succeeded in replacing some of the more radical Members of the Chamber. Meanwhile, the Chamber's membership had been raised to 50 and that of the Senate to 25. Elections to all subsequent Chambers were reportedly influenced by the Government and the Chambers were considerably more conservative politically. Although not always docile (several had to be dissolved), Chambers generally did find a *modus vivendi* with King and Cabinet.

In the general elections for the Sixth Chamber, held on 21 October 1961, only about a tenth of the electorate participated. Under the new Electoral Law of 22 May 1960, the Chamber's seats had been increased to 80 (with 20 earmarked for Christians and 9 for Circassians) and the Senate's to 30 (in both cases, half of the seats were earmarked for West Bankers). However, only 20 seats were contested in the 1961 elections. The Chamber was dissolved on 5 October 1962, general elections for the Seventh Chamber were held on 24 November. These elections were free in nature and about 70% of the electorate participated. The Chamber was still politically moderate, perhaps due to the official ban on political parties. Still, it was bold enough to bring down the Cabinet in April 1963 and was consequently dismissed. During this period, the Ba'th had taken over in both 'Irāḳ and Syria, firing the imagination of Pan-Arab nationalists in Jordan as well. Elections for the Eighth Chamber were held on 8 July 1963 and for the Ninth on 25 April 1967. Both elections yielded fairly conservative Chambers, probably the result of manipulation, with 21 and 7 candidates, respectively, returned unopposed.

Since the Six Day War of June 1967, there have been no parliamentary elections in the Israeli-held West Bank, although some West Bankers visited 'Ammān and assumed their seats in both Chamber and Senate several times. Since 1967, the ratio between East Jordanians and West Bankers has been maintained through the tactic of having Members decide how to fill vacant seats. Ḥusayn has continued to appoint Palestinians to the Cabinet, although the key Ministries have gone to East Jordanians. Lately, seeking to broaden its popular East Bank representation, the Jordanian Cabinet—acting on instruction from King Ḥusayn—decided (1 April 1973) to amend the state's electoral law in order to grant women both passive and active voting rights for the Chamber. Keeping Jordan's options open concerning its future relations with the West Bank, the Chamber—on the King's initiative—passed a constitutional amendment which empowered the King to dissolve the Senate as well and to postpone general elections for a period of up to one year. On 5 February 1978, the two Houses were called upon to approve another amendment, empowering the King to postpone the elections *sine die* and, meanwhile, to reconvene parliament as required.

However, the semblance of a king governing in consultation with his people had to be maintained. On 23 April 1957 Ḥusayn requested his government to enact a temporary law, providing for a National Consultative Council to assist the Executive. The new Council, nominated by the Governorate by Governorate, ought to comprise legal and competent persons, representing various public sectors. On 27 April, a royal decree promulgated the law instituting the National Consultative Council (*al-Madjlis al-watanī al-istishārī*). It stipulated that the Council would be composed of 80 nominated Members, men and women, Jordanians, aged 30 or over, not simultaneously employed elsewhere, nor Senators. Its duties were to study and discuss all draft laws and advise the Cabinet before it approved them. The Members of the Council had full authority to demand explanations from the Ministers, on any subject, and to speak freely. The Council would be formed every two years. The King had the right to dissolve it at any time, or relieve a Member of his position. The Council was to be dissolved automatically when the suspended parliament was revived, after new elections.

There are apparently three main periods in Jordan's parliamentary history. During the first, when the country was still called Transjordan, the Emirate's Legislative Council was generally compliant with 'Abd Allāh's wishes. During the second, commencing with independence and the annexation of the West Bank, the Chamber of Deputies (although not the Senate) witnessed the growth of a real Opposition. The Opposition, comprising part of the West Bankers' contingent, was concerned less with socio-economic affairs than with essentially political ones, chiefly relating to foreign policy, such as the non-recognition of Israel, a tougher border policy and the strengthening of Jordan's relations with one or more of the Arab states. The third era begins in 1967, when Jordan rules the West Bank no more and West Bank connexions with the parliament in 'Ammān, although still extant, become weaker and less frequent.

The character of the Jordanian legislature has been markedly conservative, particularly during the first period, although later on as well, due to the regulation that gave the right of vote to tax-payers only. The Legislative Councils elected between 1931 and 1946 always comprised the same people (or their relatives)—all belonging to thirty-six leading families. In the Chambers of Deputies elected between 1947 and 1967, despite the addition of the West Bankers and the increase in the number of Members, only 230 individuals, representing 183 prominent families, occupied the available 437 seats (details correct only for candidates originally elected, not for replacements).

This explains why the socio-economic character of the Chambers in the second period varied but

little As to the educational level, West Bankers surprisingly had only a slight edge over the East Jordanians in the Chamber, perhaps because the latter sent some of their best men there (the less educated came from amongst the Bedouin) Even these differences disappeared by the mid-1960s with the overall increase in the educational level of the Chambers, as illustrated in the following table (based on Abu Jaber—see Bibliography)

Comparison of the level of education of members of the Second and Fifth Jordanian Chamber of Deputies

Level	Second Chamber 1950-1951		Fifth Chamber 1956-1961	
Elementary	5	12.5%	3	7.5%
Secondary	10	25.0%	13	32.5%
College	21	52.5%	23	57.5%
Illiterate	1	2.5%	1	2.5%
Unknown	3	7.5%	0	0
Total	40	100%	40	100%

Bibliography The proceedings of the Legislative Council have appeared as *Mudhakkarāt al-madjlis al-tashrīʿī al-Urdunnī*, ʿAmmān 1929-1946 Since 1947, they have appeared, in ʿAmmān, as *Mudhakkarāt madjlis al-nuwwāb* and *Mudhakkarat madjlis al-aʿyān* The laws passed by the Jordanian parliament are published in the official gazette, *al-Dustūr al rasmiyya* or its *Mulḥak* (supplement) An English translation of many of them has been published by C R W. Seton, *Legislation of Transjordan 1928-1930*, 1 n, London n.d [1932] See also Ghanimi, *Le constitutions* ..., 385-422, Davis, 505-24, Davis[2], 235 66, E. Wright, *Abdallah's Jordan 1947-1951*, in *MEJ*, v/4 (Autumn 1951), 439-60, *Constitution of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in *ibid*, vi/2 (Spring 1952) 228-40, King ʿAbdallah of Jordan, *My memoirs completed* (*al Takmilah*). Washington, D C 1954, 13-22; Ghanimi, *Nuove costituzioni* , 54-70 R K Blandin, *Jordanie*, Givors 1955, 99-102 Levin, 93-128, *al-Sayyid* Ṣabrī, 279-87, Godchot, 263-87, France—Présidence du Conseil—Direction de la Documentation, *Constitution de la Fédération arabe (Iraq et Jordanie)* (19 *Mars 1958*), Paris 1958 (= *Notes et Études Documentaires*, 2413); A Dearden, *Jordan*, London 1958, 95-209, 125 ff., G L Harris, *Jordan its people, its society, its culture*, New York 1958, 90-3, R Patai, *The Kingdom of Jordan*, Princeton, N.J. 1958, 46-7, 92-5, Munīb al-Mādī and Sulaymān Mūsā, *Taʾrīkh al Urdunn fi ʾl ʿasr al-ḥāḍir*, n p 1959, B Shawdran, *Jordan a state of tension*, New York 1959, 171-7, 291-2, 340-2, G Sparrow, *Hussein of Jordan*, London 1960, 43-4, 108-16, 142-3; idem, *Modern Jordan*, London 1961, 41-55; Ye Ortov and N Sashko, *Gosudarstvennoy stroy Yordanii*, Moscow 1961, 37-50, King Hussein, *Uneasy lies the head*, n.p. 1962, 153 ff , Muhammad Khalil, I, 43-75, *Sovremennaya Yordaniya* (*spravochnik*), Moscow 1964, 235-9, A H H Abdī, *Jordan a political study 1948-1957*, London 1965, 66 ff , 88 ff , 96 ff , 117 ff., 130-1, 142 ff., 185-7 France—Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement—Directam de la Documentation, *Constitution du Royaume de Jordanie Hachemite* (*texte mis à jour en 1965*) Paris 1966 C Bailey, *The participation of the Palestinians in the politics of Jordan*, unpubl. Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, New York 1966, 101 3, 117-24, 138-9, Peaslee[3], II (1966), 534-57, A. M Gorchon, *Jordanie réelle*, N P. 1967, i, 358 68, Ḥasan al-Ḥasan, *al-Anzima* . . , 299 323, P J Vatikiotis, *Politics and the military in Jordan*, London 1967, 47-51 al Marayati, *Middle Eastern constitutions* , 139 97, K S Abu Jaber, *The legislature of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan a study in political development*, in *MW*, lix/3-4 (July-Oct 1969), 220-50, W Sands *The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, in Ismael, ed , *Governments* , 283-303, Abbushi *Political systems* , 267-84; Nasser H Aruri, *Jordan a study in political development [1921-1957)*, The Hague 1972, 200-13, 122-7, 133-8, 148-50, 274-82; Blaustein and Flanz, eds , *Constitutions* . . , vii (1972) *Jordan*, *Madjlis al-umena al Urdunnyya fi khamsin ʿāmᵃ*, ʿAmmān 1972, Gholam H Rasi, *Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, in al-Marayati, ed., *The Middle East* , 130-54, P Snow, *Hussein a biography*, London 1972, 98 ff R E Nyrop *et alii*, *Area handbook for the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, Washington, D C 1974, 136-7, 139-40, 155 ff , M Haas, *Husseins Königreich Jordaniens Stellung im Nahen Osten*, Munich 1975, 15-26, 201 ff , Bailey, *Cabinet formation in Jordan*, in A Sinai and A Pollack, eds , *The Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank a handbook*, New York 1977, 102-13; Ḥuzṭāʿ al-Madjālī, *Mudhakkirāti*, Jerusalem n d ; M ʿA B Shirdan, *al-Urdunn bayn ʿahdayn*, n.p , n d.

(vii) *Saudi Arabia*.

Saudi Arabia has not yet established anything resembling a parliament, although the matter has been occasionally mentioned among the ruling circles as something to be dealt with in the future The King has delegated authority to various councils and committees, although no representative institution has been set up to date (1978). The King retains most powers and is a *Madjlis* unto himself (as vividly described in *Time*, 29 May 1978, p 23) The Ministers, headed by the King, fulfil the function of a legislative as well as executive body A Ministry of Justice co-ordinates laws and regulations with the injunctions of the *sharīʿa*

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(ii) *Kuwait*

Independent since June 1961, Kuwayt soon began to introduce some changes in the paternalistic, absolute rule of its Amir. In 1938, a Consultative Assembly had been established. Although headed by the Crown Prince and mostly nominated, it voiced criticism of foreign concessions in Kuwayt. It was dissolved soon afterwards because of anti-British sentiment expressed by its nationalists. Following a decree of the Amir on 26 August 1961, an electoral law, decreeing a Constituent Assembly, was issued on 7 October 1961, granting the franchise to all literate male citizens aged 21 or over, candidates were to be literate male citizens, aged 30 or over. Elections were held that December for 20 seats in the Constituent Assembly; Ministers constituted the other members. The Assembly first met on 20 January 1962 and drafted a constitution, promulgated on 11 November.

The constitution provides for a National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*), elected every four years, comprising 50 members. The right to vote is granted to literate male citizens aged 21 or over, with ten constituencies each electing five members. Candidates stand as individuals (as no political parties are allowed); they must be male citizens aged 30 or over. The Assembly is in session eight months per year. The main powers of the National Assembly are legislature (although the Amir has the right of veto), discussing general policy and ratifying foreign agreements. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity. Ministers are responsible *singly* before the Assembly and *collectively* before the Amir alone, this means that the Assembly cannot topple the Cabinet by a no-confidence vote. Both this and the right-of-veto reflect the paternalistic attitude of the Amir towards the National Assembly.

The first elections were held on 23 January 1963, then in January of 1967, 1971 and 1975. The electoral base was very narrow, only about 50 000 Kuwaiti citizens having the right to vote. In every Assembly, several members formed an opposition, noted for its leftist views, to the Amir and his government, although a minority, they were usually educated, articulate and active, often demanding more powers for the National Assembly. In April 1963, they requested abrogation of the defence arrangements with Great Britain and rapprochement with Egypt or Syria. In December 1965, seven opposition members resigned from the National Assembly, protesting limitations on individual liberties and on the Kuwayti press. Late in 1972, an opposition group succeeded in persuading the Assembly to refuse the ratification of Kuwayt in the Oil Participation Agreement. The Amir, who had had enough of such activities, suspended the constitution and the *National Assembly* on 29 August 1976.

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(x) *Al Bahrayn*.

The Shaykh of al-Bahrayn held both executive and legislative power until independence was declared in August 1971. Soon afterwards, the Amir announced his intention to draft a written constitution. After some consultation, he promulgated a decree on 22 June 1972, establishing a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of a constitution, a later law, promulgated on 16 July, specified the manner of election to the above Assembly. It was to comprise 22 members, elected in 8 districts by all male citizens aged 20 or over, excepting the military, the police and criminals; candidates had to be aged 30 or over and literate. In addition, the Assembly was to include another ten members nominated by the Amir and his Ministers. Both the above laws closely followed the Kuwayti model, as did the subsequent constitution.

Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held on 1 December 1972, after a fairly heated campaign in which candidates appeared to consider seriously statements by the Amir concerning the advantages of democracy. This mood probably helped bring about the very large voter participation of 88.5%. Efforts by leftist groups to influence the electorate failed, while moderate, conservative candidates generally succeeded in these elections. The Shī'ī minority cast bloc votes for candidates of their own denomination. Consequently, elected members were mostly Shī'ī (14 out of 22), young (12 of the 22 were *under 39 years of age*) and *well-educated* (8 of the 22 were university graduates and another 2 had studied at universities for two years or more). The Amir and his Cabinet, always cautious in maintain the Sunnī-Shī'ī balance, corrected the above ratio by their own nominations (so that the Assembly comprised 21 Sunnīs and 21 Shī'īs).

The Constituent Assembly, which was first convened on 16 December 1972, approved a constitution in June 1973—essentially the draft submitted by the Cabinet, although several additional safeguards for constitution and Assembly were worked in. This constitution provided for a National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-watanī*) of 30 elected members (the second legislature was to have 40) and no more than 12 Ministers, to be elected every four years. The Assembly's powers were mainly legislative, although one of its attributes was the authority to grant conces-

sions concerning the natural resources of al-Bahrayn.

The first election to the National Assembly, held on 7 December 1973, was even livelier than the Constituent Assembly campaign. About 250,000 people had the right to vote. The number of constituencies had been increased from 8 to 10, half of which elected two members each and the other one member each. Not unexpectedly, this gave rise to charges of gerrymandering. The issues ranged from socio-economic (women's suffrage, unemployment, inflation) to religious (Shī'īs versus Sunnīs) to political (various ideologies competed, although parties were banned). A count of those sympathetic to the nationalists and the socialists indicates radicalisation in the make-up of the National Assembly, as compared to that of the Constituent Assembly. Consequently, the December 1973 Assembly displayed independence towards the Amīr and even criticised his policies, therefore, the Amīr dissolved the Assembly on 26 August 1975. By 1978, it had not yet been re-convened.

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(*ai*) *Kaṭar*

The Shaykh of Kaṭar maintained all executive and legislative powers until a April 1970, when a provisional constitution was promulgated (even before Kaṭar became independent). This provided for a Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis al-shūrā*), comprising 33 members: 30 elected, 3 nominated by the ruler (in practice, from his own family) and ten Ministers. Kaṭar was divided into ten constituencies, each electing four members, the ruler himself ultimately selecting three out of each four. Candidates had to be born Kaṭar citizens, aged 24 or over, with no criminal record. No political parties were allowed, as elections were meant to be personal. The Consultative Assembly is elected for three years (with the option of another three-year extension). It meets eight months per year (with at least one meeting each month) and is to deliberate and pass laws submitted to it by the Cabinet, to approve the budget, and to discuss overall policy-making in Kaṭar.

Kaṭar became an independent Amīrate in September 1971, an amended Provisional Constitution was promulgated in April 1972. On 23 April, the Amīr nominated the first Consultative Assembly. In May 1975, its term was renewed by the Amīr for another three years. It appears to have consistently obeyed the Amīr. The only constraints over his powers are Islam and family relations.

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(*aj*) *United Arab Emirates.*

The United Arab Emirates, a federation of seven former Trucial Coast principalities [see AL IMĀRĀT AL-'ARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA in Suppl.], was established, after protracted negotiations and some initial difficulties, on 2 September 1971. A provisional constitution was agreed upon on 18 July 1971 and extended for another five years in November 1976. This constitution and other agreements declared that although the patternalistic rule of each Amīr was to continue, matters of federal interest were to be settled by the Supreme Council (*al-Madjlis al-a'lā*) of the seven Amīrs, aided by an appointed federal Cabinet.

Legislative authority was vested in the Federal National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-ittiḥādī*), comprising 40 members delegated by the seven states according to the following distribution:

Abū Ẓabī	8
Dubayy	8
al-Shārika (Sharja)	6
Ra's al-Khayma	6
'Adjmān	4
Fudjayra	4
Umm al-Kaywayn	4
Total	40

The mode of selection was left to each member state (in practice, they are nominated by the respective Amīrs). The Assembly's term is two years; sessions commence each November and last for six months. Its main functions are to debate the federal budget and drafts of laws presented to it by the federal Cabinet. The Cabinet must inform the Assembly about international agreements. Voting is by simple majority and Assembly Members enjoy immunity. The President of the United Arab Emirates—who has continuously been the Amīr of Abū Ẓabī—may dissolve the Assembly.

In actual practice, the Federal National Assembly is merely a consultative body, debating mostly matters of internal interest to the federation. Its character is largely determined by the fact that all members are appointed by the Amīrs, who select males from their own families or from among the community of wealthy merchants and businessmen, interested in preservation of the status quo. In addition, the powers of the Federal National Assembly are limited, in practice, by the fact that each state legislates individually according to the *sharī'a*. Abū Ẓabī even has an Advisory National Council (*al-Madjlis al-istishārī al-waṭanī*) of its own, comprising 30 nominated members, although with no meaningful power.

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(xiii) *'Umān.*

The Ibāḍī Imām of 'Umān (and Muscat) is its Sultan as well In these two capacities, he functions as an absolute ruler The Sultan and his family have not yet considered (1978) the establishment of parliamentary institutions in 'Umān, nor have they promulgated any sort of constitution.

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(xiv) *Yemen*

The Yemen Arab Republic (formerly Yemen sometimes referred to as North Yemen) has had a fairly recent and brief parliamentary history Under the Imāmate, the Imām was no absolute ruler, subject to the Kur'ān and the *sharī'a* He alone held executive, legislative and judicial powers and there were no representative institutions Although Yemen joined with Egypt and Syria in a United Arab Republic on 8 March 1958 it did not send any representatives to the National Assembly of the UAR in Cairo The revolution of 26 September 1962 gave birth to the Republic and touched off a six-year civil war. The republicans promulgated their first constitution on 27 April 1964, which also provided for a Consultative Assembly to be selected from among Yemen's learned men for a three-year term Its main tasks were to be passing laws and advising the government on public policy During the civil war, however, this constitution was not put into practice

Since March 1963, Yemen had a legislature, the 65-member consultative National Council, nominated to afford a fairly wide occupational and geographical representation It comprised 20 *shaykhs* (tribal and rural), 9 *'ulamā'*, 8 more persons with formal education and 8 merchants. The Council's first task was to elect the President of the Republican Council —who was also to be State President, and head of the republican government at Ṣan'ā'. In the summer of 1970, its membership was increased to 63, including 12 Royalist representatives

Several provisional, Islam-oriented constitutions were drafted, beginning with the one promulgated on 3 October 1962. The permanent constitution of 28 December 1970 described Yemen as "an Arab Islamic state", with the *sharī'a* as the source of all legislation. It established a Consultative Assembly (*Madjlis shūrā*), as a legislative body to supervise the Executive The Assembly comprised 159 members, of whom 139 were elected and 20 nominated by the Executive. Voters had to be at least 18 and candidates, 25; the Assembly's term was set at four years.

The first elections to the Consultative Assembly were held in February-March 1971, without the participation of political parties (banned in the Republic) Elections were two-degree: villages and tribes selected their representatives, which then elected 159 Members of the Assembly. After nomination of the remaining 20, the Assembly met to select a three-man Presidential Council—which, in actual practice, was responsible for nearly all major decisions, while the Consultative Assembly offered advice only when asked to do so

After a bloodless military coup in Ṣan'ā' on 13 June 1974, the Military Command Council suspended both the constitution and the Consultative Assembly, a new, provisional constitution was promulgated, granting the Military Command Council both executive and legislative powers Nevertheless, the Consultative Assembly was re-convened in November 1974, under the pressure of tribal chieftains, then suspended again in September 1975, without much achievement Its critics argued that it had been a forum for self-interested cliques, with no real understanding of national development. Brief and unstable in its history, parliamentarism in Yemen appears in lack a firm foundation to this very day

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(xv) *South Yemen.*

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (sometimes called South Yemen) was established on 30 November 1967, upon the departure of the last British troops from Aden This withdrawal followed the failure of the British to bring about a Federation of South Arabia between the Colony of Aden and the former Protectorates bordering it. The issue had been hotly debated in the Legislative Council, the only apparent representative institution in the Colony of Aden, Inaugurated in 1947 as an entirely nominated body, it was changed in 1955 to include an elected element—largely because of pressure by the Aden Association (a group formed in 1950-1 to promote greater Adenese participation in the government, which consequently advocated independence) In the 1955 elections, 4 of its Members were elected; and in 1959 and 1964, 12 (out of 24)

The Front for the National Liberation of South Yemen has ruled the new state since 30 November 1967. Soon becoming the sole legal party and renamed the National Front, its General Command circulated a draft of a constitution in order to obtain reactions, in November 1970, this constitution was promulgated It vested legislative powers in the Supreme People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-Sha'b al-*

a'dā) of ten members, elected for three years. Of these, 86 were to be elected by all those aged 18 or over, through local councils, under the supervision of the General Command of the National Front, and another 15 by the Trade Union Federation. A quota was reserved for women among the 66 (though they could run independently as well).

The formal powers of the Supreme People's Assembly were fairly wide-ranging, election of the state President and Cabinet, debating and passing of laws, including the budget and development plans, ratification of international agreements and the announcing of a state of emergency. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

As the local councils required for the elections were not in existence in 1970, a provisional Supreme Peoples Assembly was nominated by the National Front. It first met between 31 July and 4 August 1971, in order to elect certain state officials, as directed by the National Front. Insofar as can be ascertained, this nominated Supreme People's Assembly has continued to meet regularly, passing laws presented to it by the Cabinet and debating and approving economic plans. However, the Assembly's constant subservience to the National Front has minimised its effectiveness considerably. The first elections in South Yemen to the Supreme People's Assembly were held on 28 December 1978. It is not known whether its powers versus the National Front have changed since.

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(xvi) *Egypt*

Egypt was the first part of the Ottoman Empire to experiment with parliamentary bodies (in 1866). Earlier, in 1829, Muḥammad ʿAlī had instituted a Consultative Council (*Madjlis al-mashwara*), although it was merely an advisory board, meeting only once a year. Ismāʿīl was the first to endow Egypt with a representative assembly modelled on Western European parliaments, even though he undoubtedly intended it to remain solely advisory. This body, the "Assembly of Delegates" (*Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) was constituted in November 1866 by Khedivial decree (for the text of this decree, see Bibliography—*Ḥadīkat al-anbāʾ al-nuẓāmiyya li-madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb al-miṣriyya*). The 75 members, Egyptians aged at least 25, were to be elected for three years, indirectly, so befitted a partially illiterate population; in addition, it enabled the Khedive to exercise better control over the results. This intention was also manifested in the paragraphs prohibiting Delegates from receiving petitions, limiting them to debate over purely internal affairs and to proffering advice on projects submitted to them by the Khedive's Council of Ministers (*Madjlis al-wuzarāʾ*). In any event, all decisions had to be ratified by the Khedive, who nominated the Assembly's President and Vice-President and had the exclusive right to convene, adjourn and dissolve it. The Assembly's name was changed to *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* at the end of Ismāʿīl's rule, although its functions underwent no essential changes. These Assemblies were convened for several weeks per year, most likely in order to impress Egypt's creditors—especially the European Powers—with the supposed liberal-constitutional views of its rulers. However, the general ferment in Egypt in the late 1870s and 1880s led to the Assemblies demanding a greater share in decision making, which they did obtain in February-March 1882. Soon afterwards, however, the Assemblies were adjourned, during the events leading to the British armed intervention, they were never convened subsequently.

Soon after the British Occupation, Lord Dufferin issued a special report suggesting the institution of a Legislative Council (*Madjlis shūrā al-ḳawānīn*) and a General Assembly (*al-Diyamiyya al-ʿumūmiyya*), both of which functioned from 1883 to 1913. The first was to consist of 30 members of whom 14, including the President, were to be appointed by the Khedive and his Ministers, the other 16 were to be elected for 6 years by indirect balloting. It would debate (but not initiate), legislation and discuss the budget. The second was to consist of eighty-two members, including the Ministers, the Legislative Council and another 46 members elected for 6 years from among candidates over 30 years old, literate and who paid at least £ E 50 per annum in direct taxes. The first body met 5 times per year and the second—at least once every two years to debate more important matters including new taxes. While these partly-appointed bodies were less representative than the Assembly of Delegates, they had a greater share in approving government expenses.

These bodies were superseded by a unicameral Legislative Assembly (*al-Diyamiyya al-ṣāḏiriyya*), according to a Fundamental Law, issued on 2 July 1913, initiated by Lord Kitchener, then Great Britain's Consul-General in Egypt. In addition to the Ministers and 66 elected members, this Assembly was to include another 17, nominated in order to guarantee minimal representation for the Copts, Bedouins, merchants, physicians, engineers and teachers. Elections were to be indirect, with candidates aged at least 32, literate and paying a minimum amount of taxes. The mandate of the members was to be for six years, with one-third of the membership renewed every two years. Most important amongst the prerogatives ascribed to the Legislative Assembly were that no new law could be passed before it had been debated and no new tax imposed before it had been duly approved. The Assembly met several times during 1914, although its convocation was postponed again and again following the outbreak of World War I and it never reconvened subsequently.

The Constitution of 29 April 1923, superseded by a less liberal one on 22 October 1930, was reinstated on 12 December 1935. Essentially modelled on the 1830 Belgian Constitution, it provided for a monarchy largely in control of parliament. The latter was to be bicameral, comprising an Assembly of Representatives (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*) and a Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*). The former was to be elected for five years by indirect balloting; candidates were to be at least 30 years old and literate. Two fifths of the latter were appointed and three-fifths elected by indirect balloting. The term of office was ten years, with half of the Senators, appointed and elected alike, leaving every five years. Senators had to be at least 40 years old and enjoy a certain social and economic status. The King and either House had the right to initiate legislation. Every law had to be passed by both Houses; the King had the right of veto, although it could be over-ridden by a two-thirds majority. The Assembly had a slight advantage over the Senate in discussing the budget and voting confidence in the government; however, unlike the Assembly, the Senate could not be dissolved but merely adjourned.

Attempts by King Fu'ād [see FU'ĀD AL AWWAL] to increase his prerogatives at the expense of Parliament—despite opposition by the Wafd Party—culminated in his promulgating a new constitution by Royal Decree, on 22 October 1930. The new constitution raised obstacles to parliamentary censure, increased the proportion of appointed Senators from two to three-fifths (60 out of 100) and empowered the Executive to legislate during the parliamentary recess. In addition, the Assembly of Representatives could not initiate financial laws, while the King could do so. Modifications in the electoral law favoured the King and his supporters; the number of Representatives was reduced from 235 to 150.

The 1923 Constitution was reinstated, on 12 December 1935, with all its former parliamentary attributes, it remained in effect until the Revolution of 23 July 1952. The constitution was formally abolished on 10 December 1952 and political parties disbanded on 13 January 1953. Since April 1954, the new régime had declared repeatedly its intention to return to some form of parliamentary rule. The new constitution of the Republic of Egypt was promulgated on 16 January 1956 and approved by a popular referendum. It provided for a 350-member unicameral National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*), to be elected every five years by general, secret and direct balloting, controlled by the National Union (established in May 1957 and the only political grouping permitted). For the first time, women were granted the passive and active franchise, although voting was compulsory for males only. Voters had to be aged 18 or over, with no criminal record; candidates had to be 30 or over and literate. Some 2,528 candidates filed papers, although only 1,318 were approved after a screening by the National Union, including 5 out of the 16 female candidates (of the 5, two were elected—the first women to serve in any Arab parliament). Elections were held on 3 July 1957.

Most, although not all legislation was vested in the National Assembly; legislation was, in fact, its only significant attribute. It first met from July 1957 to February 1958, when the United Arab Republic (UAR) of Egypt and Syria was established. The 1957 parliament was dissolved and a new provisional constitution for the UAR was promulgated on 5 March 1958, providing for a joint National Assembly, to be convened in Cairo, with 400 Egyptian and 200 Syrian members. The first UAR National Assembly, mostly nominated by Djamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.], duly met on 21 July 1960. Its powers and tasks approximated to those of the 1957 National Assembly, although legislation continued to be promulgated largely by presidential decree.

The joint parliament was dissolved when the UAR broke up on 28 September 1961. The 1962 founding of the Arab Socialist Union (as successor to the National Union) and the Constitution of 25 March 1964—which later was the basis (with a few modifications) for that of 1971—determined anew the prerogatives of parliament. The new National Assembly first met on 26 March 1964. Its first act was to ratify the provisional constitution. It met regularly and was renamed The People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-Sha'b*) in May 1971. Its 350 members are elected for five years by general, secret and direct balloting in 175 constituencies (two members in each). Candidates must be approved by the Arab Socialist Union, at least half of those elected must be peasants (owning no more than 25 acres of land) and workers. Another 10 members are nominated by the State President. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity, although they may be deprived of their seats by a motion of twenty members and a subsequent vote of two-thirds of the Assembly. The President of the Republic, his Ministers and members of the Assembly may initiate legislation. Proposed laws are studied and screened in parliamentary committees and subsequently submitted for voting in the plenary.

The most recent People's Assembly elections to date (1978) were held on 28 October 1976, with a second ballot on 4 November for those candidates who did not obtain 51% of the vote in their constituencies in the first round. There were about 9,500,000 registered voters; participation was compulsory for men and optional for women. There were 1,531 candidates of whom more than half were running for the first time. About 56% of all the candidates were independents, while concerning the others, a novel situation had arisen. The Arab Socialist Union was then, officially, still the only party allowed to contest the elections. In 1976 however, it served more as an organisational framework, within which several parties were competing with one another (a situation legalised, *post facto*, by the June 1977 Party Law). In 1976, these were the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt (centrist) the Socialist Liberals (right-of-centre), and the Patriotic Progressive Unionist Alignment (left-of-centre). In the first round, the first won 280 seats, the second 12, the third 2, and independents 48. After the remaining 8 seats were decided, in the second round, the State President appointed another 10 Members (all of the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt), and several independents and others crossed the lines; the final allegiances were as follows:

The Arab Socialist Party of Egypt	312
The Socialist Liberals	12
The Patriotic Progressive Unionists Alignment	3
Independents	34
Total	360

On 29 June 1977, the People's Assembly adopted the new Party Law, liberalising the situation within limits and legitimising certain groups, which had previously been forced to act clandestinely. The debate within the Assembly became livelier, regarding both legislation and policy-making, and frank criticism was expressed more frequently. The government however, remained secure as the Assembly's support. On 22 July 1978, President Anwar al-Sādāt

announced the formation of his own party, the National Democratic Party, which 306 of the Arab Socialist Party Members in the People's Assembly joined on 21 September 1978. Following this merger, the National Democratic Party became the ruling party in the state and in the People's Assembly (subsequently winning a handsome majority in the 7 June 1979 general elections to this body)

The history of parliamentary institutions in Egypt may be divided into three principal periods. The first, from 1866 to 1914, is the stage of experimentation with Western parliamentary models, advising the ruler and largely dependent on him (or on the British Occupation, after 1882), with no political parties playing any significant role. The second, from 1924 to 1952, represents the closest approach in Egypt to a multi-party representative body, debating policy, passing legislation and in frequent conflict with the executive, particularly until Fu'ād's death and Fārūḳ's accession in 1936. Even so, during this period, only one parliament completed the five-year term allotted to it (1945-50). The Wafd Party, victorious in the elections (1924) with 150 out of 211 members, frequently (although not always) repeated its victories, thus compelling the King to dissolve parliament. The third period, from 1957 to date, represents a move towards the single-party parliamentary model (with a reported turnout of over 90 % of the voters and nearly 100 % support), generally subservient to the executive power of the President of the Republic. This has been particularly evident since 1967, when the Assembly empowered the President of the Republic to issue laws by decree, indefinitely. During the late 1960s, some 6,000 such laws were issued annually. However, the situation has changed somewhat since the Assembly elections of October-November 1971, particularly due to the relative liberalisation of the regime under Anwar al-Sādāt—one sign of which has been the renewal of multi-party activity. Consequently, opposition to the State President is being voiced more freely now (1978) and the standing of the People's Assembly has risen, even though it has to its credit few crucial policy-making decisions.

Due to the limited role of parliament in the decision-making process, Egyptian parliamentarians can hardly be considered a very important component of the country's political elite, except, perhaps, during the multi-party era. Nevertheless, the socio-economic make-up of Egypt's Assemblies may serve as an indication of the shift in the balance of power. To some extent, this has been determined by the electoral system—indirect balloting in the first period, which facilitated the decision of public functionaries. Indirect balloting during the multi-party period, subverted by the power structure and the wealthy (as Egyptians were the first to admit), enabled constant re-election of the politicians and the rich. The single-party controlled election system under the Republic enabled those trusted by the new régime to enter parliament.

While no definite studies of the socio-economic composition of the Assemblies are available, some incomplete data confirm the trends influenced by the electoral system. In the first Assembly, elected in 1866, there were 58 *'umdas* out of a total membership of 75, the proportion of *'umdas* decreased from one Assembly to the other. Since 1924, parliament has become more broadly representative, although land owners, businessmen and professionals (chiefly lawyers) played an important and possibly decisive role. In the Republic, the Assemblies of the late 1950s and early 1960s comprised a relatively large proportion of lawyers, businessmen, bureaucrats, officers and landowners, but very few workers and peasants. For example, according to the calculations of H. Hopkins, 332 *ff.* (see Bibliography), the Assembly of 1957-8 comprised one-third lawyers and businessmen, nearly one-third senior civil servants, ex-Ministers, former officers and landowners, and about one-third village *'umdas* and *shaykhs*—but very few peasants and even fewer workers. This situation was reversed by legislation in the Assembly elected in 1964, where only 76 members—out of a total of 360—had served in previous Assemblies. Out of the 350 elected members, about 114 had registered as *fallāḥīn* and another 75 as workers. Other groups —academics, journalists, lawyers, physicians and Bedouins—numbered considerably fewer. The Christians elected were under-represented (one Copt and one Greek), this was partially corrected by allotting 8 out of the 10 appointed seats to Christians. Since 1964, more than half (actually, 50 % to 60 %) of the membership has comprised workers and peasants, although few indeed hold important positions (such as Ministers or chairmen of parliamentary committees).

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(xvii) *Sudan*

Sudan's parliamentary history commenced later than that of Egypt and several Maghrib states, the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, set up in 1899, did not provide for development of any meaningfully representative institutions. It was only in September 1943 that the British authorities, aware of rising nationalist sentiment, announced their intention of setting up an Advisory Council (*Maǧlis istishārī*), comprising 28 members elected by all of Sudan's northern districts; another 2 elected by the Chamber of Commerce; and 8 others nominated by the Government General (to secure representation for social and economic groups). The Governor-General himself was to be the Council's president, the civil, financial and legal secretaries were to be full members. The Advisory Council was inaugurated on 25 May 1944, despite the protests of Egypt, which had not been consulted and of some Sudanese, who criticised its partially-nominated character, its being restricted to advisory functions and the exclusion of representatives from southern Sudan. Nevertheless, at retrospect, the creation of the Advisory Council may be seen as the first serious

British attempt to come to terms with Sudanese nationalism.

After the end of the Second World War, Sudanisation proceeded swiftly and comprised representative bodies as well. A joint British-Sudanese administrative conference met for several months during 1946 and 1947, suggesting the foundation of a Legislative Assembly and Executive Council, based largely on the British model. As the Egyptian government was reluctant to commit itself to a project which endangered its future ties with Sudan, the British went ahead alone and on 14 June 1948 authorised the governor-general to promulgate an ordinance establishing the above institutions. According to this ordinance, the Legislative Assembly (*Dawʿiyya tashriʿiyya*), elected for three years, was to represent all of Sudan; the inclusion of the south in the Assembly was a significant step in Sudanese integration. It provided for 52 elected members to represent the north and another 13 to represent the south. The governor-general could nominate up to 10 members, several were to present the executive. Of the 65 elected members, 10 would be elected directly in towns and the others by indirect elections in the rest of the Sudan. Voters must be Sudanese, male and aged 23 or over; candidates must be Sudanese, male and aged 30 or over. An Executive Council (*Majlis tanfidhi*), comprising between 12 and 18 members (at least half of them Sudanese), headed by the leader of the Legislative Assembly, was to supersede the governor-general's Council. The governor-general still retained important powers, vetoing decisions of the Executive Council, the right to legislative by ordinance, and excluding certain matters from the Legislative Assembly's competence. Nevertheless, Sudan's parliament had come into its own. The elections held in November 1948 were boycotted by political parties favouring union with Egypt. The first Legislative Assembly met on 15 December 1948, with the Umma party—favouring self-determination for the Sudan and amicable relations with the British—in the majority. Another influential group was that of the north Sudan tribal chieftains—self-styled Socialist Republicans.

The first Legislative Assembly, using both Arabic and English, debated economic matters, such as the Budget, local affairs, labour legislation and the introduction of Arabic in the administration and education of southern Sudan. Its most immediate concern however, was relations with Britain and Egypt in the context of Sudan's own political future. A "Self-Government Statute" was enacted by the Legislative Assembly on 23 April 1952, providing for an entirely Sudanese Cabinet responsible to a bicameral parliament—a Chamber of Deputies (*Majlis al-nuwwab*) and a Senate (*Majlis al-shuyukh*), the governor-general would retain some authority on internal affairs—particularly in public services and in southern Sudanese matters—and exclusive powers in foreign relations. After initial strong opposition, Egypt eventually accepted the Statute. In the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, however, Egypt made a bid for popularity in the Sudan against the British and suggested several modifications in the Statute, which the British could not reject. An elaborate plan was worked out for a maximum three-year transition period from self-government to self-determination. This provided, among other arrangements, for a specially-elected Constituent Assembly to decide between complete independence for the Sudan and links with Egypt. An internal commission supervised the elections to this Assembly, in November-December 1953. Voting was by constituencies; voters had to be 21 or over and resident in their respective constituencies for a period of not less than six months. The National Unionist Party won a decisive victory in both Houses (51 out of 97 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 22 out of 30 elected seats in the Senate).

The new Sudanese parliament, meeting as a Constituent Assembly (*Majlis taʾsisi*), was convened on 1 January 1954. The majority National Unionist Party, formerly assumed to favour union with Egypt, correctly interpreted the mood of the country and gradually changed direction. On 19 December 1955, the Chamber of Deputies declared Sudan's independence; the Senate declared its support three days later. A transitional constitution, largely based on the 1952 Self-Government Statute, was adopted and the Republic of Sudan was proclaimed on 1 January 1956. The struggle for independence gave way to translating sovereignty into practical terms, which meant parliamentary debates and decisions on numerous issues, including relations between North and South Sudan. Sudan's parliament was rather hampered by a spirit of factionalism, expressing itself through groups leaving the political parties and forming strong new *rapprochements*.

Parliament was dissolved on 30 June 1957. General elections were held between 27 February and 9 March 1958, with the number of Members of the Chamber of Deputies raised from 97 to 173, to be elected by constituencies of 50,000-70,000 inhabitants each. The Senate remained the same 30 members of whom 30 were elected. The new parliament met on 20 March 1958 with the Umma party holding 63 seats; it formed a Coalition Cabinet with the People's Democratic Party, a group which had broken away from the National Unionist Party. The disparity between these two partners, the constant bickering between the other factions and rumours of corruption in high circles discredited both parliament and government. The military, led by Ibrahim ʿAbbud, thereupon seized power on 17 November 1958. Among its first acts were to suspend the transitional constitution, ban political parties and dissolve parliament. The work of the Legislative Assembly ceased; moderate legislative powers were granted to a Central Council, two-thirds of whose members were elected by provincial councils and one third nominated by the President of the Republic. The Central Council's term of office was two years; the first Council, which convened on 15 November 1963, served a shorter term, as less than one year later, in October 1964, civilian rule was restored following a popular revolt.

The new elections held in northern Sudan during April-May 1965 were based on the 1958 Electoral Law, with a few modifications, most important of which were: institution of a unicameral legislature (the Senate was done away with), reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18, and enfranchisement of women. Fighting in the south led to postponement of elections to March-April 1967. Now that independence had been achieved, the main issues were the state of the economy, the character of Sudanese society and the question of the south. In 1965, the Umma Party achieved the largest plurality (92 seats) in the north, while the National Unionist Party was second with 73. The other parliamentary groups were much smaller and the Legislative Assembly (meeting again as a Constituent Assembly) included 18 independents as well. A coalition cabinet of the

two largest parties, supported by the People's Democratic Party and the Muslim Brethren—all four forming a so-called United Front—was characterised by friction among the partners and among the various party components. Disagreements were so frequent and serious and parliamentary work was so hampered that the Cabinet decided to dissolve the Assembly in February 1968.

General elections were held in April-May, 1968 for an enlarged Assembly, seating 225. The National Unionist Party and the People's Democratic Party had merged into a Democratic Unionist Party and obtained 101 seats, the Umma Party obtained 73. Other seats went to smaller groups, including 10 independents. Again, the two largest parties formed a coalition cabinet suffering from essentially the same discord as the preceding one. Efforts at approving a permanent constitution failed and bickering prevailed. It was against this background of disillusionment with parliamentary democracy that the "Free Officers", led by Colonel Dja'far al-Numayrī, seized power by a bloodless coup on 25 May 1969. The constitution was suspended, the Legislative Assembly dissolved and all parties banned. The government which had seized power soon vested all executive and legislative powers in a ten-man Revolutionary Command Council, nine of whom were military officers.

It took some time until the new military régime of the Democratic Republic of Sudan felt secure enough to experiment with parliamentary institutions. On 12 August 1972, al-Numayrī announced that a People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-Sha'b*) of 307 members would draft a new constitution, after which it would disband and new elections would be held, based on the constitution. In September-October 1972, 175 members were elected and another 32 nominated by al-Numayrī including 13 women. On 12 April 1973, the first permanent constitution was approved by the People's Assembly it became effective on 8 May 1973, superseding the 1954 provisional constitution. The first People's Assembly, acting as a legislature, was elected—according to the 1973 Constitution—under the supervision of the Sudanese Socialist Union, the only legal party. Candidates for the Assembly were nominated by the Sudanese Socialist Union, they had to be members of the party, Sudanese citizens aged 21 or over, literate and not deprived of their political rights. The Assembly itself is elected for a four-year term and sits for at least six months annually. Constitutionally it has vast legislative powers, it may approve the budget, confirm the government's action and vote no-confidence (by a two-thirds majority). The Assembly elected in 1974 comprised 250 Members. 125 were directly elected from geographical constituencies, 70 elected by occupational organisations (workers, businessmen) and popular associations (youth and women's unions), 30 by provincial People's Councils, and another 25 (no more than 25% of the total) nominated by the State President. The Sudanese Socialist Union has been very active in the Assembly elected in 1974 and is responsible for legislation and general policy.

The cease fire agreement of April 1972, ending a 17 year civil war between North and South, granted Southern Sudan its own, separate Assembly. First meeting in April 1974, it enjoys wide autonomous powers, the head of its Executive Council is the Vice-President of the Republic. Southern provinces also send delegates to the People's Assembly in Khartoum.

Sudanese parliamentarism has been too brief for any detailed evaluation. Commencing with a stage of preparation and guidance by the British, the bicameral legislature got off to a fair start, although it was rather hampered both by the north-south dichotomy and by factional bickering. Its development has been twice interrupted—first between 1958 and 1964, then since 1969. Both interruptions—the result of military interventions—led to the establishment of unicameral legislatures, subservient to the respective heads of the military régime, although still indicating perhaps that parliamentarism had struck sufficient roots in the Sudan so as not to be wholly eradicated. This is also confirmed by the fact that all parliamentary elections held under civilian rule were generally carried out smoothly and fairly.

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(xvii) *Libya.*

The Kingdom of Libya was established on 24 December 1951, largely as a result of the inability of the Great Powers to agree on the future of this area, which had been vacated by a defeated Italy. Prompted by the United Nations, a 60-member National Constituent Assembly (referred to as *Djam'iyya wataniyya* or *Madjlis ta'sīsī*) of Libya met, beginning 25 November 1950 and resolved, on 3 December, that Libya should be a federal kingdom under the Amīr Muhammad Idrīs, henceforth called King Idrīs I. By October 1951, it had also adopted a constitution, considering that the new state was made up of three rather disparate components—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Strong rivalry existed between the first two: Tripolitania was the most populous, Cyrenaica the base of the Sanūsiyya (q.v.) and of its then leader, Libya's Idrīs I.

The constitution provided for legislative assemblies in each of the three provinces and for a federal National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*). The latter was bicameral and consisted of (a) The Chamber of Deputies (*Madjlis al-nuwwāb*), directly elected on the basis of one member per 20,000 male inhabitants aged 21 or over (candidates had to be 30 years or over and literate). The first Chamber comprised 55 members: 35 from Tripolitania, 15 from Cyrenaica and 5 from Fezzan. (b) The Senate (*Madjlis al-shuyūkh*), comprising 24 members aged 40 or over, equally divided among the three provinces: four Senators were nominated by the legislative assembly of each province and the remaining 12 by the King. The main task of the National Assembly was to enact legislation on issues of national significance, such as foreign affairs (local matters were essentially left to the respective legislatures of the three provinces). The King, or either House, could initiate legislation, although the privilege of initiating financial laws remained with the Chamber alone. The King could veto legislation and dissolve the Chamber at his own discretion. The Chamber's usual term was four years and the Senate's eight, with half the latter leaving every four years. Ministerial responsibility was to the Chamber only, where a two-thirds majority was required for a no-confidence vote.

On 7 April 1962 and 25 April 1963, legislation was passed in both Houses of the National Assembly to alter the 1951 Constitution and change Libya from a federal to a unitary state, based on its ten administrative districts instead of on its three provinces (which thus lost their special privileges). All of the Senate, rather than half of it, was to be nominated by the King. The Chamber was to be elected as formerly, although women were enfranchised and the number of seats was raised from 55 to 103. Some of these changes were a response to nationalist pressures for a unitary rather than federal state and an expression of the government's desire to decrease local and provincial rivalries and conflict between the National Assembly and the King and Cabinet.

The first elections to the Chamber were held on 19 February 1952 (based on the Electoral Law of 6 November 1951). The principal issues were relations with the Arab States and the Western Powers. Candidates opposing the King and the new régime grouped together in a National Congress Party, based on Tripolitania and supported by Egypt, its platform was strongly nationalist and opposed foreign bases in Libya. Elections were held on time in all constituencies, despite rioting. The National Congress Party won in and around the city of Tripoli, but lost elsewhere. Forty-six out of the 55 Members of the Chamber supported the King and government; the National Congress Party obtained only 7 seats. The first duly elected National Assembly convened in Benghazi on 25 March 1952. Subsequently, it met regularly and was concerned with debating and passing legislation. Although Assemblies were generally compliant, not infrequent criticism of government internal and external policies was voiced, particularly in the Chamber—frequently expressed by interpellations.

The successive general elections of January 1956, January 1960 (with secret balloting imposed on the whole state), October 1964 (with women voting for the first time and the number of constituencies increased to 125) and May 1965 (after King Idrīs had dissolved the Chamber on 25 February 1965) were

held on a personal (or family) competition basis (as political parties were not permitted to function legally) in the 1963 elections the number of constituencies was decreased to 91, all successful candidates were apparently pro government—16 ran unopposed.

One of Libya's main problems during the first two decades of statehood was a lack of personnel trained in the skills required for running the state. Nevertheless, the many skilled Libyans serving in the National Assembly or its administration sufficed to cause Mu'ammar al-Kadhdhāfī to annul the constitution and dissolve the Assembly after his coup of 1 September 1969 (the Assembly was, obviously, also one of the bases of power of the King he had deposed). All executive and legislative authority was vested in the Revolutionary Command Council Libya's provisional constitution, promulgated by the new régime in December 1969, reaffirmed that the Revolutionary Command Council of the Libyan Arab Popular Republic (as the state was now called) holds sovereign power and is to promulgate laws and decrees. Al-Kadhdhāfī declared, in January 1971—and has reaffirmed since—his intention of convening a legislative assembly, but has not done so to date (1978). This postponement is compatible with his views, as expressed in his *Green book*, that parliament is not sufficiently representative and that direct participation by the masses is preferable. A National Congress (*al-Mu'tamar al-kawmī*) of the only legal party, the Arab Socialist Union, represents trade unions, professional groups and popular associations. Its main task is to debate the ideological premises of the régime and ratify its policy decision. However, this 618-member body, established by decree on 15 November 1975, has to date apparently convened in January 1976 only. Since then, it seems to be in cold storage (ostand, again following the principle of direct participation, al-Kadhdhāfī has been convening (once or twice per year) a "General Assembly of the People". First called in March, 1977, this 970-member *Madjlis* is selected in 178 constituencies by popular councils and trade unions. It is officially supposed to discuss all policy-matters, but in effect it approves (and legitimises) the decisions of the Libyan leadership.

Libya's parliamentary history, which came to an end with the abolition of the monarchy in September 1969, was brief, but not necessarily a total failure. The National Assembly's greatest merit was in its assisting King and government in welding together Libya's disparate areas into one unitary state. During its first decade, at the very least, it also curtailed the Monarch's autocratic tendencies. The ban on political parties and, since 1965, the almost complete subservience of the National Assembly to King and Cabinet, minimised whatever significance the Assembly still had in public life and paved the way for those who eliminated it in the military coup.

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(xix) *Tunisia*

Under French rule, Tunisia had experimented with several French-imposed semi-representative

advisory institutions. The Consultative Conference (*Conférence Consultative, Hay'a istishāriyya*), established in 1892 (with defined powers since 1896), comprised only Frenchmen, elected by universal direct suffrage since 1905, from 1907 on, they were joined by 16 Tunisians, nominated by the French Governor General (*Résident général*). At first, the French and Tunisians met together, and later (since 1910) separately. The main task of the Consultative Conference was to advise concerning the budget.

In 1922, the French replaced the Consultative Conference with the Grand Council (*Le Grand Conseil de Tunisie, al-Madjlis al-Kabīr li-Iyālat al-Tūnisiyya*) Elected for six years, it comprised two sections possessing equal rights one of 56 French members, elected by the French in Tunisia and the other of 41 Tunisians, elected by other Tunisians The task of the Grand Council was to discuss the budget, in case the two sections differed, the decision rested with an Upper Council (*Conseil Supérieur*), comprising the Governor General, several Ministers and ranking secretaries, as well as seven members from each of the Grand Council's two sections. The Grand Council could also raise and discuss any economic or financial matters, but not political or constitutional ones Although the powers of the Council were limited and minimal, the Vichy Government was still wary and abolished it on 21 November 1940, transferring its authority to a Consultative Committee (*Comité Consultatif*) of 5 Frenchmen and 5 Tunisians

After the end of the Second World War, the Grand Council was re-established, its make-up and powers were altered on 15 September 1945 After then, it comprised two sections, French and Tunisian, each numbering 53 Members elected for six years. The franchise for the French section was extended to include all Frenchmen and Frenchwomen in Tunisia, aged at least 21 (candidates—at least 25), with direct voting and proportional representation The franchise was also somewhat extended for the Tunisian section as well, including all Tunisian males aged at least 25 (candidates—at least 30), who either paid direct taxes, were war veterans, or had completed secondary school Voting was in two stages Although the Grand Council essentially remained concerned with economy and finance, its powers were increased to cover advising the government on all legislation—although the government could still bypass it in urgent cases. Even so, the Grand Council was not convened from the end of 1952 until 1954, when its powers were slightly extended.

Tunisian nationalists were obviously not happy with the limited powers of the above-mentioned Conference, Council and Committee, nor with their selective representation, which disenfranchised many Tunisians and afforded preferential voting to the French minority As early as 1921, the Destūr Party demanded the creation of a representative assembly, to which Ministers would be responsible When the Neo-Destūr was set up in 1934, it demanded the establishment of such an assembly as an instrument of national sovereignty and for limiting the arbitrary government of the Bey or of France Consequently, the Neo-Destūr rejected the reforms suggested by the French in March 1954. These reforms provided for a legislative assembly, including French representatives, with full powers in social and economic matters, to be elected by universal suffrage Under the pressure of the Neo-Destūr and more radical nationalists led by Ṣāliḥ ben Yūsuf, the Bey signed a decree, establishing a Constituent Assembly, on 29 December 1955

The Neo-Destūr, a "dominating party" (in Duverger's sense) has continued since to consider itself as the instrument of "national will". Hence in order to dominate the 98-seat Constituent Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-Kawmī al-Ta'sīsī*), it insisted on an electoral law (promulgated on 6 January 1956) which would favour it over smaller parties and groups All Tunisia was divided into 18 constituencies and the slate of candidates obtaining a relative majority of the vote in each was considered as "winner take-all".

Complete independence was the main issue in the 25 March 1956 elections to the Constituent Assembly The National Front, led by the Neo-Destūr Party, won an impressive victory (597, 823, out of a total of 620,569 votes, or 97 84 %) Consequently, it induced the Assembly to pass regulations granting considerable parliamentary powers to the Assembly, its Bureau and six committees. Adoption of these regulations enabled the political bureau of the Neo-Destūr to control the proceedings of the Assembly efficiently and to delay the formation of any meaningful opposition within it. The wide and often unanimous support of the Assembly was skilfully exploited by the Neo-Destūr, especially by its leader, Habīb Būrgība, who was also the Assembly's first Speaker in April 1956, he left this post to become Prime Minister The party utilised Constituent Assembly support to extend the powers of the Assembly beyond those of the Bey, his government and the French, on the one hand, and to achieve full independence for Tunisia, on the other The Constituent Assembly increasingly considered itself sovereign; one of its most significant steps was to proclaim the republic on 25 July 1957 No less significantly, it established the norms for future Assemblies, both by its own practice and by adopting the June 1959 Constitution.

This constitution grants the National Assembly (*Madjlis al-umma*) wide powers, limited, however, by the very essence of Tunisia's presidential regime the State President is elected by universal suffrage and neither he nor the various Ministers are responsible to the National Assembly The National Assembly is elected in constituency voting for five-year terms by all Tunisian citizens aged 20 or over (candidates must be 30 years or over) In theory, it is the only legislative body and its members enjoy parliamentary immunity However, the State President also has the right to initiate legislation—taking priority over the Assembly; he may also enact decrees while the Assembly is in recess (subject to the Assembly's subsequent confirmation). Thus, further restrictions are imposed upon the Assembly's legislative prerogatives.

The National Assembly elections of 8 November were, in many respects, similar to the 1956 Constituent Assembly elections Once again, a National Front led by the Neo-Destūr ran without serious competition However, Tunisia was independent in 1959 and women were enfranchised for the first time Separate polls determined the composition of the Assembly and elected the President of the Republic The National Front won in the Assembly and Būrgība was elected President. All 90 Members of the National Assembly belonged to the Neo-Destūr Party or were independents sponsored and supported by it. As a result main policy decisions were initiated and controlled by Būrgība and the party in the 1959-64 Assembly, in this respect, the National Assembly in Tunisia may be considered as an extension of the Neo-Destūr Party, renamed the Socialist Destūr

Party in October 1964. However, as Tunisia achieved full independence and secured its place in international relations, internal affairs increasingly took precedence, and wide divergences of opinion became apparent in the Assembly, both because of the various interests represented in the single party and because the Assembly could not help but be influenced by the extra-parliamentary demands and reactions of those socio-economic and political groups excluded from the official political game.

Much of the above holds true for subsequent National Assemblies as well. In the Assembly elected on 6 November 1964, the Socialist Destūr Party again held all 90 seats (a majority of the outgoing Members of the Assembly including its only woman were re-elected). The 2 November 1969 National Assembly elections (increased to 101 seats) were essentially a repetition of earlier ones, with heavy voter participation and the election of the party's own candidates, even though the issues debated at this time chiefly concerned the government's economic policies, which had led to considerable controversy. Consequently, economic problems occupied much of the attention of the National Assembly elected in 1969. The results of the elections of 5 November 1974 to the Assembly (increased to 112 seats) were no different from previous ones. The party obtained all seats, although 71 of its Members were elected for the first time, including many representatives of the younger generation. Concurrently, several Members who had opted for a more liberal political and economic régime, thus opposing the line of Būrgība and the party leadership, had been dropped from the candidates' list.

Although there is no detailed statistical breakdown of the Members of all National Assemblies in Tunisia available material indicates several characteristics. As mentioned above, all Assembly members were selected from within the single party; the top party leadership—identical with Tunisia's political leadership—had occupied the Assembly. The first National Assembly, elected in 1959, comprised 12 members of the party's political bureau, 9 Ministers, the director of Būrgība's Cabinet, 8 former Ministers, 4 former governors, the secretary-general of the Neo-Destūr youth and 7 former and then current party political commissioners. Members of that Assembly were remarkably well educated: 31 had graduated from French universities, and another 25 from modern secondary schools; thus 56 out of the 90 had had a good French education. Most of the others had had traditional education; only one was illiterate. Professionally, the Assembly comprised 15 lawyers, 15 businessmen, 14 manual or clerical workers, 12 professors, 12 farmers, 7 physicians, 6 school teachers, 5 senior civil servants and 4 others. While later elections obviously introduced new members, the essential characteristics of the Assembly elected in 1959 have not changed substantially.

The parliamentary history of Tunisia since the 1950s indicates that the Constituent and then the National Assemblies have generally been of secondary importance in the single party. The latter has been the real focus of most important decisions, even in legislative matters. The Assembly's work is scheduled by its Bureau, usually after due consultation with the party. Assembly control is minimal, as nearly all its work is done in committees; on the average, only fifteen plenary meetings take place each year, mostly to approve legislation submitted by Būrgība. On the whole, the Assembly has displayed docile subservience, rarely demonstrating a will of its own or even reflecting differences of opinion within the party itself.

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(xx) *Algeria*

The French, who ruled Algeria from 1830, introduced several moderately-representative institutions on 23 August 1898 The decrees establishing the Financial Delegations (*Les Délégations financières*) —intended to represent economic interests—which existed until 1945 The franchise changed several times, while candidates consistently had to be French citizens aged 25 or over, residing in Algeria at least three years. All were elected for six-year terms, half of them leaving every three years Two of the three Delegations comprised 24 European Members each, a third, with 21 (later 24) non-European Members, included six who were nominated Each Delegation was concerned solely with its own economic interests. Delegations served in an advisory capacity only, concentrating on the budget United into one body by a decree in 1918, their powers remained unaltered During 1945-1947 they were transformed into a Financial Assembly (*L'Assemblée financière*) of 37 elected members with broader representation but the same essential capacities

The Financial Assembly was obviously unsatisfactory to proponents of Algerian nationalism, particularly during the period following the Second World War. All legislation was still passed by the National Assembly in Paris or by the French Governor-General in Algeria. Pressured by Algerian nationalists and by its own Algerian and French Members, the National Assembly in Paris approved a new Statute for Algeria (*Statut Organique de l'Algérie*, or *al-Ḳānūn al-asāsī*), setting up an Algerian Assembly on 20 September 1947

This Statute provided for an Algerian Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-Djazā'iri*) of 120 Members, elected for six years—with half renewed every three years —in two separate "colleges" of 60 members each The franchise was granted to all French citizens of legal age (although participation of Muslim women was deferred) in two-stage constituency voting. Candidates were subject to the same criteria but had to be at least 23 years old. Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Assembly was to convene in Algiers, for three sessions per year, each lasting not longer than six weeks (probably to prevent it from becoming too powerful) Much of its work was to be done in six committees. As legislation for Algeria remained the prerogative of the National Assembly in Paris, the Algerian Assembly's function was chiefly to apply—with some modification— French laws and regulations to Algeria The Algerian Assembly could also transmit its proposals to the National Assembly in Paris

The first elections to the new Assembly under the Statute were held in April 1948, with partial elections to February 1951 and January 1954. It soon became evident that the Statute satisfied no one, it was too much for the local French and too little for the Muslims. Nationalism, expressed in moderate to extreme anti-French terms, was the main issue in the elections Nevertheless, the Nationalists obtained only 16 seats in the 1948 Assembly and even fewer in subsequent elections—perhaps because the two-stage voting, the constituency system and the enfranchisement of French citizens only favoured upholders of the status quo, supported by the French Administration. The three Assemblies devoted much time to economic and financial matters—particularly Algeria's annual budget; they were also responsible for instituting social security throughout the country. However, debate moved increasingly towards politics, largely as a result of the rise to nationalist, anti-French campaigns, now impelled into extra-parliamentary activity after the total failure of the nationalists in the 1954 elections This appears to be the main reason for the Assembly's dissolution on 12 April 1956. Algeria's sole parliamentary representation remained in the National Assembly in Paris alone, which (in 1957-8) was concerned with drawing up a new constitution for Algeria providing for a Federal National Assembly However, this concept was never put into practice because of growing unrest and violence in Algeria.

Parliamentary life revived only after the end of the war in Algeria, the Evian Agreements spelled out the necessity for electing a representative assembly A Constituent National Assembly was elected accordingly on 20 September 1962, first meeting on 25 September Its powers included legislation, promulgation of a constitution and selection of a provisional government. It comprised 196 Members, about one-third of whom had been guerilla leaders and another 16 European Algerians The 60-Member Front for National Liberation (known by its French acronym—FLN) dominated the Constituent Assembly, which had elected Ahmad Ben Bella Prime Minister, and dedicated only part of its time to legislating, as Ben Bella and the government were busy decreeing laws. However, the Constituent Assembly did initiate a fruitful exchange of opinions, with free criticism, meeting increasing disapproval from Ben Bella and his close advisers Thus there was a marked difference between the level of tolerance for the opposition during the first year of the Assembly, presided over by liberal-minded Farḥat 'Abbās and during the second, when others presided. In the second year, political debates became increasingly infrequent and most attention was focused on economic matters, in which there were fewer differences of opinion.

Elections to the National Assembly took place in September 1964, in accordance with the August 1963 Constitution, approved by popular referendum on 8 September This aimed at legitimising personal rule in Algeria, as well as the predominance of the party over the National Assembly. The constitution declared FLN as the only legal party and consequently empowered it to control the National Assembly It provided for a unicameral National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī*), seating candidates endorsed by FLN and duly elected by a general, direct vote for five-year terms. The Assembly and the State President were to initiate legislation; the latter exercised direct legislation under certain circumstances The Assembly was also supposed to control the government's policy making. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly's committees, whose members could interpellate them Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. According to a new electoral law, adopted in the Assembly on 25 August 1964, the number of seats was reduced from 194 to 138, which proved useful to the FLN government in eliminating members who were considered oppositionist. Nevertheless, about 43% of the Members were indeed re-elected. This Assembly, however, was short-lived and its achievements unspectacular, as more and more laws were promulgated by Presidential decree Būmedyen's coup of 19 June

1963 resulted in the suspension of both the 1963 Constitution and the National Assembly.

In June 1975, Bümediyen announced his intention to hold elections for a new representative assembly. Algeria's new constitution, approved by a popular referendum on 19 November 1976, provides for a National People's Assembly, to be elected for a five-year term by direct secret and universal suffrage at the proposal of the single Party's leadership. A number of seats is to be reserved for representatives of peasants and workers. Legislation is to be the prerogative of both the Assembly and the State President, although only the latter may introduce bills on national defence. The Assembly is to hold two annual sessions of not more than three months each, while its sub-committees must regularly. Members are to enjoy parliamentary immunity. A National People's Assembly has not yet been elected to date (1978) and the Council of the Revolution, headed by Hümediyen, is the state's supreme executive and legislative organ.

There is only meagre data available on members of the various parliamentary bodies in Algeria. During the pre-independence era, most were middle-class and were frequently identified with circles co-operating with the French and interested in preservation of the status quo. More specific data are available for the post-independence Constituent National Assembly, which sat for two years, between 1962 and 1964. Among its 194 members, 15 were of European origin; 10 were women. The average age was 39—fairly young as parliamentary bodies go. The occupational breakdown was as follows:

Occupational breakdown of 183 of the 194 Members of the Algerian Constituent Assembly, 1962-1964 (%)

Military	18 %	Students	10 %
Free Professions	18	Workers	7.2
Merchants	14	Party cadres	4
Teachers	12	Salaried	3.2
Peasant farmers	12.6	Officials, clerks	2.6
		Total	99.6 %

(Source: Ansam Salah Bey—see Bibliography).

The "military" component was a direct result of the Algerian war; *many* had probably had a different background initially. The proportion of merchants and clerks seems high for a revolutionary Assembly. Those representing the free professions, on the other hand, comprised a relatively small group, apparently, however, *some* of the military had formerly been professionals. In any event, it was a well-educated body, some 25 % of the Members had had university education and many others secondary school training. More than 75 % spoke French, which was consequently the language used in the Assembly.

Algeria's parliamentary history falls into two main periods: the colonial era, until 1956, when the nature of the Assemblies, determined by the French, remained largely consultative, although some autonomy was acquired gradually; and the brief experience in independent Algeria, with the Assembly controlled by and largely subservient to the FLN.

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(xxi) *Morocco*

Under the French Protectorate, Morocco was an absolute monarchy, in which the Sultan and the French (particularly the latter) ruled without any parliamentary institutions. A first step towards parliamentarism was taken by the Protectorate in 1919, with the establishment of a Government Council (*Conseil de Gouvernement*), comprising the representatives of the French in Morocco, local Moroccans joined during subsequent years. From 1926 on, the Council comprised three French sections (*colleges*), elected by economic groups (agriculture, commerce, industry) and one, nominated Moroccan section. The Council served only as a debating forum and its decisions were purely advisory.

When independence was achieved, King Muhammad V considered the issue of parliamentary bodies. Morocco had had no experience with political elections; even its political parties were divided as to the benefits of immediate representative government. Therefore, the King nominated a 76-member Consultative National Assembly (*Assemblée Nationale Consultative*, *al-Madjlis al-watani al-istishari*) on 3 August 1956, striving to make it as representative as possible of the three major political parties, of the different regions of Morocco and of various socio-economic groups. The King inaugurated the Assembly on 18 November 1956.

The powers of the Consultative National Assembly, amplified by a royal decree on 27 November 1956, were clearly advisory. The Assembly meets twice a year, in spring and autumn. Most of its work is carried out in four (three since 1958) committees comprising between 12 and 24 members each (every member may belong to one committee only). The Assembly's regular term is two years, although the King may prolong it (in 1958 it was prolonged by six months) and Members enjoy immunity. Since the Moroccan Cabinet preceded the convocation of the first Assembly, the Ministers were neither part of the Assembly, nor responsible to it, although the Members of the Assembly could interpellate them. Ministers were responsible to the King alone, who succeeded in imposing his will on the Assembly thanks to both the definition of its powers and to his own standing and prestige. Hence there were large pro-government majorities in practically every vote on all important matters during the Assembly's first two years. Only during its third year were there signs of growing independence—and even increasing criticisms and opposition, probably reflecting the overall political climate outside the Assembly. This seems to have led Muhammad V to allow the Assembly to die a natural death in May 1959; its term was not renewed, nor did the King convene another Assembly during his reign.

Muhammad V's son and heir, Hasan II (mounted the throne in 1961), contributed to the course of parliamentarism in Morocco. On 2 June 1962, the new king promulgated a Fundamental Law, which was mainly a declaration of principles. This was enhanced by Morocco's first constitution, prepared by a commission and submitted by Hasan II to a popular referendum on 7 December 1962. Some 80% of those eligible voted, with a heavy majority in favour (5,706,732 votes to 112,879).

The 1962 Constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature—a Chamber of Representatives (*Chambre des Représentants*, *Madjlis al-nuwwab*) and a Chamber of Counsellors (*Chambres des Conseillers*, *Madjlis al-mustashariʾin*). The former was to be elected for four years by direct universal suffrage and the latter for six years (with half the membership changing every three years)—by and from colleges consisting of local assemblies (two-thirds of this body) and chambers of agriculture, commerce and industry, artisans and trade-unionists (one-third). Both Chambers debate policy and legislate, although the Chamber of Representatives has greater authority. For example, the latter may bring about the resignation of the Cabinet by a vote of censure (Ministers are nominated by the King, who has also the right to dismiss them). While the Representatives have greater authority, legislation in both Chambers is hampered, in practical terms, by their meeting for only two annual two-months sessions. Furthermore, the King may withhold approval of laws indefinitely and may submit laws for popular referendum without prior consultation with the two Chambers. Members of both Chambers enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Although the 1962 Constitution was criticised by both traditionalists and moderniats in Morocco as being too modern or too traditional, respectively, it remained in force for several years, the first two Chambers were elected following its provisions and those of a subsequent Electoral Law.

Elections to the 144-seat first Chamber of Representatives were held on 17 May 1963, following a simple majority system with single-member constituencies, of which 127 were rural. There were 694 candidates running, each was required to deposit 1000 *dirhams* (then about £ 70), to be forfeited if the candidate obtained less than 5% in his constituency. About 73% of the 4,650,000 eligible voted. The Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions, a pro-King and pro-Government group, won 69 seats, four short of an absolute majority. Next came two nationalist groupings, the *Istiklal* with 41 seats and the National Union of Popular Forces with 28, together equalling the number of seats obtained by the Front, with Independants holding the remaining 6 seats. Elections in the 120-seat Chamber of Counsellors were held on 23 October 1963; the Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions won decisively with 107 seats, the *Istiklal* received 11 seats, and independents another 2. Hasan II opened the first Moroccan parliament on 18 November, re-

relinquishing the post of Prime Minister which he had filled until then

The achievements of the 1965 parliament were not particularly remarkable and ended abruptly in June 1965, with the declaration of a state of emergency by Hasan II (all within the framework of the constitution). There followed a pause in parliamentary activity, restored by the 1970 constitution published by the King on 8 July. It was reportedly approved by a 96.7% majority in a popular referendum held on 24 July. These official figures are questionable, however, as many have indicated the strong opposition of most parties and many organisations to the new constitution, largely caused by its differing from that of 1962 in that it further strengthened the powers of the King at the expense of the Prime Minister and parliament. According to the 1970 Constitution, the King was empowered to amend the constitution at will, promulgate decrees in almost any matter (even to declare war) and reject parliamentary bills and requests. Conversely, the nature of parliament was altered; it was now to be a unicameral Chamber of Representatives of 240 seats: 90 elected directly, 90 by members of local councils and 60 elected in two-stage voting by chambers of commerce and industry (including professional and workers' groups), all elected for six-year terms.

As most parties boycotted the 22 and 26 August 1970 elections to the Chamber of Representives, the majority of candidates were independents supported by the government. Many candidates were returned unopposed and the government claimed huge participation despite the boycott. The Chamber comprised 158 independents (nearly all pro-government), 80 members of the pro-government *Mouvement Populaire* and 22 belonging to other parties and groups. The Chamber achieved little during its two-year lifespan and was sharply criticised from many quarters, prompting Hasan II to promulgate yet another constitution.

Morocco's third constitution was promulgated on 10 March 1972, following a popular referendum which approved it on 1 March. It was slightly more liberal regarding parliamentary powers, two-thirds of the unicameral Chamber of Representatives (of 264 seats) were to be elected by direct, universal suffrage and only one-third by two stage voting of local councils as well as professional and employees' organisations. The Cabinet was made responsible to both the King and the Chamber. Nevertheless, the King's position remained pre-eminent, particularly as he had postponed the holding of new elections several times, ruling by decrees in the interim.

Under the 1972 Constitution, elections to the Chamber of Representatives were held on 3 June 1977. For the benefit of illiterate voters, each party was allotted a specific colour for its ballot. Some 82.36% of those eligible voted. Independants, mostly pro-Government, held 141 seats and *Istiklāl* candidates, 49, the pro-Government *Mouvement Populaire* held 44 seats and other groups 30. The King enjoyed a comfortable majority of his supporters in this Chamber, which he inaugurated on 14 October 1977.

The characteristics of Moroccan parliamentarians have not yet been studied in detail. Both the will of the Sovereign and subsequent electoral laws ensured that all Morocco's regions were represented, with rural areas favoured somewhat. Many of the Members were young: according to official figures, about 40% of the Members of 1963 parliament and 60% of those of the 1970 Chamber, were between 25 and 40 years of age. When nominating the Members, the King and his officials strove to strike some balance among political parties, non-political leaders, economic and social groups and diverse occupations. In November 1956, the occupational distribution was as follows: free professions – 10, agriculture – 19, commerce and industry – 17, workers – 26 and religious personalities – 3. In later Chambers the distribution appears to have been more diversified.

Independent Morocco's hither-and-thither experience with parliamentarism at first continued the tradition of the French Protectorate in nominating the whole institution, then moved towards elections, although the King did preserve his special powers in both the written constitutions and in the practice of imposing a two-stage electoral system (for at least a part of the membership) on parliament, ensuring the election of a largely-compliant body. Legislating by decree, without the benefit of parliamentary participation, completed the circle of the King's powers vis-à-vis the elected Chamber. This is all the more remarkable in light of Morocco's multi-party system.

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(xxii) *Mauritania*

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, independent since 1960, had already experience of a legislative assembly under French rule Since 1945, the Governor-General of the Afrique Occidentale Française or AOF (of which Mauritania was a part) was assisted by an appointed advisory council, functionally representative of the federation's major interest groups (military and civil servants, businessmen, Africans) Meaningful measures connecting representative bodies in Mauritania were introduced, however, only in 1946, as part of the new French policy in the region. Representation was then provided on three levels (a) Territorial a General Council (*Conseil Général*), called the Territorial Assembly (*Assemblée Territoriale*) since 1952, has had extensive control over the budget, although it functioned solely in an advisory capacity on any other issue In Mauritania, at first comprised 20, then 24 members, divided into two sections (*collèges*)—the first (8, then 8 members) elected by Europeans and the second (12, then 16 members), by Africans. They were reorganised into one *collège* in 1952 (b) Federal Mauritania sent five delegates, elected from its General Council (Territorial Assembly) to the AOF's General Council, and (c) National (French) Mauritania elected a *député* to the National Assembly in Paris. The winner of the legislative elections of November 1946 was elected by 6,076—or about two-thirds—of all votes cast Several weeks later, Mauritania's first General Council was elected In 1947, the General Council's French section duly elected a *Sénateur* to the French Senate in Paris and its African section a representative in the recently established Assembly of the Communauté Française.

The 1946 French Constitution gave the right of vote to but a few members of certain local associations, trade unions and co-operatives, government officials, wage earners, owners of registered property and war veterans. Consequently, few were eligible to vote in the 1946 Mauritanian elections In 1947, the literate were added and in 1951, heads of households and mothers of two or more children The following table indicates the sizable increase in the number of eligible voters.

By 1956 the franchise was universal, so that the population was not unprepared for the new *Loi cadre*

The *Loi cadre* of June 1956 bestowed a larger measure of autonomy on France's overseas territories, vested in respective elected Territorial Assemblies and in Councils of Government (*Conseils de Gouvernement*), comprising senior French officials and Ministers elected by the Assembly Each Territorial Assembly could formulate its own policies in such local affairs as agriculture, forestry, trade, health and primary and secondary education. In Mauritania's first elections to the Territorial Assembly, held on 31 March 1957 (the first held under universal suffrage), the Mauritanian Progressive Union (Union Progressiste Mauritanienne) won 33 out of the Assembly's 34 seats, obtaining 252,898 out of the 272,474 votes cast. This party represented both the administration and traditional attitudes, as well as tribal chieftains; it had already participated in the 1952 election to the General Council (Territorial Assembly), winning 22 out of 24 seats It was led by Mukhtār Ould Dādda, a lawyer-turned-politician who was to lead Mauritania to independence and serve as its first president

Mauritania's heavy "yes" vote in the De Gaulle referendum of 28 September 1958 signified its approval of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic and its autonomous membership in the new Communauté Française. Mauritania's Territorial Assembly was converted into a Constituent Assembly (*Djam'iyya ta'sīsiyya*), on 28 November 1958, with the task of drafting a constitution Prepared by former administrators, the Assembly approved and promulgated a constitution on 22 March 1959 providing for a 40-seat Legislative Assembly (*Assemblée législative*, *Djam'iyya tashri'iyya*), to be elected for five years by direct, universal and secret voting. The Assembly was to meet for two sessions annually, not exceeding two months each. Its powers were mainly legislative, although it also elected the Prime Minister, who in turn appointed the rest of the

Registered voters, and votes cast in Mauritania in elections for the National Assembly in Paris, 1946 and 1951

Registered voters		*Votes cast, 1946*		*Votes cast, 1951*	
1946	1951	Number	% of registered votes	Number	% of registered votes
16,271	135,588	9,539	58.6	52,181	40.2

(Source: Thompson and Adloff—see Bibliography)

Cabinet. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly, which could bring the Cabinet down by a no-confidence vote. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The first elections to the Legislative Assembly were held on 17 May 1959, with some 326,000 out of about 373,000 participating. This time, the Mauritanian Progressive Union, renamed *Parti du Regroupement Mauritanien* (since 1958), captured all 40 seats.

After negotiations with France, the independence of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1960. A new constitution, required for a sovereign state, was adopted by the Assembly on 20 May 1961 by a vote of 31 to 2, with one abstention. The 1961 Constitution—amended in 1972—was basically a modification of the former one, adapted for a presidential régime. It established the office of a state president, absorbing that of the prime minister, strengthening it at the expense of the Assembly. The 1961 Constitution provided for a 40-seat National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale) (50 seat since 1971 and 70-seat since 1975), elected for five years, legislating only in a limited number of areas, including the budget. The Assembly convenes for one four month session per year. It cannot pass a vote of no-confidence in the President or the Ministers (although it may impeach them). Ministers are responsible to the President but not to the Assembly. The President has priority in legislation and right of veto, but cannot dissolve the Assembly.

In the early 1960s, the Assembly produced much-needed legislation, such as the establishment of an adequate judicial system for Mauritania (1963). It also discussed policy, sometimes displaying an independence of spirit which caused considerable friction between the National Assembly and President Ould Dādda. The latter succeeded in strengthening his position, however, particularly since a constitutional amendment was passed, institutionalising the Mauritanian Progressive Union as the only legal party. Since this action of his, it is the single party (led by Ould Dādda), rather than the National Assembly, which has served as the main focus of power in Mauritania and dominated its politics. This has been at least partly motivated by Ould Dādda's intention to use the party as Mauritania's main vehicle for modernisation as traditionalists still have a strong hold in the National Assembly.

Consequently, in the general elections for the National Assembly held on 9 May 1965, the party, whose name had been changed to Mauritanian People's Party (*Parti du Peuple Mauritanien*, *Ḥizb al-shaʿb*), won all 40 seats; it obtained 445,844 votes or 92.1% of the 447,660 valid votes cast (out of a total of 482,305 eligible to vote). Such results were repeated in the general elections for the National Assembly, held on 8 August 1971, when the party won all 50 seats, obtaining 502,547, out of 502,945, valid votes cast (nearly 100%). Again, in the general elections held on 26 October 1975, the party won all 70 seats obtaining 99.9% of all valid votes cast.

In February 1976, Mauritania participated with fourteen other African states, in Agadir, in the establishment of a Union of African Parliaments (*Union des parlements africains*), whose avowed aim was "to strengthen parliamentary institutions by improving the functions of representative democracy". Mauritania was represented in this new body by one of the Union's Vice-Presidents, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sall, President of Mauritania's National Assembly and by Muḥammad Fall, who entered the Union's Executive Committee. Mauritania's own parliament, however, was suspended following the July 1978 military coup.

Not much is known about the socio-economic composition of the National Assembly, although the 1965 Assembly reflected the administrative character of the single party; 39 out of the 40 members were civil servants. There is every reason to believe that this group has continued to predominate.

The parliamentary history of Mauritania falls into two periods: until independence, the Assembly was virtually led by the French, who even had a special collège within it to protect the interests of France and French settlers. Since independence, it has been dominated by President Ould Dādda and his single party, generally (although not invariably) serving in a rather docile manner.

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(xxiii) *Israel*

Israel is one of the few Middle Eastern states with a sizable Muslim minority sharing in its parliamentary life Upon the establishment of the State, on 14 May 1948, Israel had a population of about 156,000 Arabs, out of some 750,000 people; on 1 October 1978 there were approximately 590 000 (including those in East Jerusalem) out of a total population of 3,708,300 With some variation, the Arabs generally comprised some 70% Muslims, 20% Christians and 10% Druzes (all the above statistics refer to Israel proper and not to territories held by Israel since 1967 Inhabitants of those territories refuse to opt for Israeli citizenship and consequently may not vote in its parliamentary elections)

All Israeli citizens aged 18 and over may vote in elections for Israel's unicameral, 120-seat parliament, the *Kinneset* Elections are universal, direct, equal, and secret, the entire country is considered as one constituency and voting is by proportional representation, so that every vote counts Israel's Arabs have indeed participated heavily in all nine general elections held in 1349, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, and 1977 In all except the first (1949) and ninth (1977) elections, their participation has been relatively greater than that of Jews, reaching a peak of 91.1% of those eligible to vote in elections for the sixth *Kinneset* (1965) Rural Arab voting has consistently been heavier than urban

Slates of candidates are usually put forward by the political parties Arabs, like Jews, vote for the slate of their choice, frequently those comprising Arab, or Jewish and Arab, candidates, generally seating between 6 and 8 Arabs in each *Kinneset* Arabs connected with the Establishment through left of centre parties such as MAPAI (later the Labour Party) and MAPAM have become Deputy Ministers, like Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi and 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Zu'bi, or Deputy Speakers of the *Kinneset*, like Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi Those active in the Communist Party have been prominent in the Opposition. During the past twenty years, Arab electoral support for the Communist Party has increased, probably due to the success of the nationalist Arab image created by this party The following are the percentages of Arab votes for the Communist Party, out of the total Arab vote, in recent *Kinneset* elections: 1959 – 10%; 1961 – 22%; 1965 – 23%; 1969 – 29%, 1973 - 33% (about 48,000 votes), 1977 46% (about 70,000 votes) This party, formerly strongly principally among Christians, has made considerable inroads among Muslims and Druzes in recent years. As a result its representatives in the *Kinneset* have increasingly claimed to speak for all Israel's Arabs and have frequently insisted upon using the Arabic language there (Israel has two official languages—Hebrew and Arabic)

Most (although not all) of the Arab *Kinneset* Members connected with the Establishment have been farmers, one was a Bedouin *shaykh* Those voted in as Communists, however, have generally been townspeople All have been—or have become—professional politicians The education level of Arab *Kinneset* Members, like that of Jewish ones, has risen from one legislature to the next, the Arab contingent has increasingly comprised journalists and writers

Bibliography The deliberations of the *Kinneset* are published, verbatim, in the *Divrey ha-Kinneset*, in Hebrew, and in *Mahadir al Kniset*, in Arabic The laws passed there are printed, in Hebrew, in *Sefer ha-Hukkim*, in Arabic, in *Kitab al-Kawanin*, and, in English, in the *Laws of the State of Israel* The immediate results of parliamentary elections are published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, in *Reshumot —Yalkut ha-Pirsumim* and, later, in detail, in special volumes entitled *Results of election to the Knesset* (Hebrew and English) See also M Wight, *British colonial constitutions 1947*, Oxford 1952, 99 ff ; Davis[2], 229-31, Goldchot, 155-8, Atallah Mansour *Israel's Arabs go to the polls* in *New Outlook* (Tel-Aviv), iii/3 (Jan 1960), 23-6, D Feretz, *Reflections on Israel's fourth parliamentary elections*, in *MEJ*, xiv/1 (Winter 1960), 19 ff , I Kens, *Le parlement israélien*, in *Res Publica* (Brussels) ii/2 (1960), 135-56 B Akzin, *The Knesset*, in *International Social Science Journal*, xiii (1961), 567 82, J M Landau, *Les Arabes Israéliens et les élections à la quatrième Knesset*, in *International Review of Social History* (Amsterdam), vii (1962), 1 32, A. Aram, *Le système électoral israélien*, Geneva 1964, Abner Cohen, *Arab border villages in Israel*, Manchester 1965, M. M. Czudnowski and Landau, *The Israeli communist party and the elections to the fifth Knesset, 1961*, Stanford, Cal. 1965, A. Mansour, *How the Arabs voted*, in *New Outlook*, viii/8 (Nov.-Dec. 1965), 22-5 Peaslee[2], ii (1966), 501 ff , Asher Zidon, *The parliament of Israel* New York 1967, Landau, *The Arabs in Israel: a political study*, London 1969, 108-55 190-201; Czudnowski, *Legislative recruitment under proportional representation in Israel a model and a case study*, in *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (Detroit, Mich.), xiv (1970), 216-48 H H Smith *et alii*, *Area handbook for Israel*, Washington, D.C. 1970, 168 79, E. S Lukhovski, *Israel's parliament the law of the Knesset*, Oxford 1971, Subhi Abu Ghosh, *The election campaign on the Arab sector*, in A Arian, ed., *The elections in Israel—1969*, Jerusalem 1972, 239-52 Landau *The Arab vote*, lo 1st , 253-63; Blaustein and Flanz., eds , *Constitutions* , vii (1973) *Israel*, E E Guttmann and Landau, *The political elite and national leadership in Israel*, in Lenczowski, ed , *Political elites* , 163-99, M Shokeid, *Strategy and change in the Arab vote*, in A. Arian, ed , *The election in Israel—1973*, Jerusalem 1975, 145 66, O Stendel, *The rise of new political currents in the Arab sector in Israel*,

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(xxiv) *Cyprus*

Cyprus is another Middle Eastern state with a large Muslim minority, although estimates vary, the Turkish community there numbers close to 20% of the island's inhabitants—the second largest after the Greek community.

The island was a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571 to 1878. One of the first measures of the British, after they had taken over Cyprus in 1878, was to institute some form of representation for its inhabitants. Their first experiment, in August 1878, was a nominated Council of 4 to 8 members, with official and unofficial appointees in equal numbers. Soon, however, in the March 1882 Constitution, promulgated by an Order in Council, a more representative Legislation Council was appointed. This could initiate discussion in certain matters, although some financial matters were not within its competence. The Legislative Council comprised 12 elected members (9 Greeks and 3 Turks) and 6 appointed members, generally officials, with the British High Commissioner or another senior official presiding and having a casting vote in case of a tie. The members were elected within their respective communities. On 6 February, 1925, the membership was increased to 25: 12 Greeks, 3 Turks, and 9 officials. The British intention appears to have been to be able to offset a collective vote of the Greek majority against the Turkish community. In practice, however, the British officials voted almost regularly together with the Turkish members. This led to no little frustration on the Greek side and to its increasingly introducing extreme politics into the Council, chiefly in its support for Enosis, which the Turks (with frequent British support) opposed with equal determination. Consequently, the Legislative Council, instead of serving for accommodation, sharpened the inter-communal conflict, instead of being a training ground for self-government, it promoted inter-communal strife. The fact that three languages were officially used (English, Greek and Turkish) was no help, either. On 12 November 1931, following disturbances on the island, the Legislative Council was dissolved, all legislative authority being vested since in the Governor, aided by a six-man Executive Council. As from 1933, the Governor was assisted by a handpicked Advisory Council of five Cypriots—4 Greeks and 1 Turk, nominated and merely consultative.

After the end of the Second World War, the British appeared to be more inclined towards granting the Cypriots limited self-government. A Constituent Assembly was convoked by the British on 6 November 1947, to discuss a new constitution. Of the 40 invited, only 18 attended, including 7 Turks and 1 Maronite, because of Greek Cypriot opposition, within the Assembly and without (and some Turkish Cypriot reservations, too), the Assembly was dissolved on 12 August 1948, with the matter left pending. In 1954, 1956, and 1958, new British proposals for a constitution for Cyprus were rejected by the Greek Cypriots.

The Zürich Agreement of February 1959 and its ratification in the London Conference of February 1960 provided the legal and constitutional basis for the Republic of Cyprus. The 1960 Constitution has a marked bi-communal character, institutionalising and legitimising Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot interests. It ensures bi-communal participation on all levels of government, at a ratio of 70% for the Greek, and 30% for the Turkish community. The Cabinet has 7 Greek, and 3 Turkish, Cypriots—who may be Members of the House. Legislative authority is vested in a House of Representatives, elected for five years; it is made up of 35 Greek Cypriots and 15 Turkish Cypriots, elected within their communities. The Speaker of the House is a Greek Cypriot, the Deputy Speaker a Turkish Cypriot. While the President of the Republic (a Greek) or the Vice-President (a Turk) alone may initiate financial bills, the House discusses them. The House's powers are limited further by the absolute right of veto of the President and Vice President in foreign affairs, defence and security, as well as by the establishment of separate communal Chambers of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, which have competence in all religious, cultural and educational matters, and by the decisions of the communal courts in matters of personal status. Both Greek and Turkish are official languages.

The first House of Representatives was elected, according to the pre-independence Electoral Law of 31 December 1959, in 6 multi-member constituencies, each community voted only for its own candidates. The first elections to the House of Representatives were held on 31 July 1960. Those to the Communal Chambers were held on 7 August: the Turkish Cypriots elected, to all the 15 seats of their Chamber, the National Front of Fazil Kuçük.

From the start, Turkish Cypriots stood fast for protecting their constitutional rights, while the Greek Cypriots argued that their rivals were taking an unfair advantage of the constitution. Constant friction continued in the House and other levels of government, sometimes reaching crisis dimensions. As with the Legislative Council a generation earlier, the House of Representatives served to emphasise discord rather than accommodate conflict. Without the moderating British presence, however, legislation slowed down frequently and policy debates turned to bickering. Deadlock sometimes ensued, and in November 1963 Makarios, the State President, proposed various constitutional amendments, the main ones were to do away with the separate voting of Greeks and Turks in passing certain laws, and to abolish the privilege of the State President and Vice-President, separately, of vetoing legislation. The amendments were energetically rejected by the Turkish Cypriots, who argued that the amendments would undermine the régime. When disturbances, late in 1963 and early in 1964, prevented the Turkish Cypriots from attending the House, the Greek Cypriots passed the above amendment, anyway, on 23 July 1965, modifying also the 1959 Electoral Law to make voting general, instead of by communities. The Turkish Cypriots rejected all the above—and the joint House of Representatives ceased to exist, becoming a Greek Cypriot body. The Turkish Cypriots reacted by boycotting the House and instituting their own "Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration" (December 1967).

General elections for the House of Representatives were held on 5 July 1970 (the former House, elected in 1960 for five years, had had its term prolonged, annually, by Presidential decree). The Turkish Cypriots, on the same day, elected their own 15 Representatives to the House, These, however, continued to boycott the House and, together with the 15 Members of the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, formed a joint 30-Member Chamber, part of the Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration After Turkey's military intervention in July 1974, an Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration was established, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Assembly Following the decision, on 15 February 1975, to create a Turkish Cypriot Federated State in the whole area under Turkish control, a 50-Member Constituent Assembly (*Kurucu Meclis*) was elected in the same month, comprising 25 Members of the joint Chamber and another 25 Members selected by various organisations. This body prepared a new, separate constitution for the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, which was approved with a large majority, by a popular referendum, on 8 June. Elections for the President and for the first 40-Member Legislative Assembly (*Yasama Meclisi*) were held on 20 June 1976 The National Unity Party, led by Rauf Denktaş, obtained 30 seats, the Communal Liberation Party 6, the Populist Party and the Republican Turkish Party 2 each

The parliamentary history of the Turkish community in Cyprus falls into three main parts. Under British rule, the Turkish Cypriots sat—from 1882 until 1931—as a minority group together with the Greek Cypriots and the British, usually voting with the British for what they saw as their special interests. In the independent Republic of Cyprus, from 1960 to 1963, they sat with the Greek Cypriots in a House of Representatives, as a minority group, but with special safeguards for their community. Since 1963, first in their own area in the Republic, later in what they consider the Turkish Cypriot Federated State they have maintained their own, all-Turk, representative institutions.

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(J. M. Landau)

B. In Afghānistān.

Afghānistān has known two distinct types of representative assembly the *djirga* and the *madjlis*. Their origins, development and functions are quite different and they are best discussed separately.

The *djirga* is a tribal council operating at all levels from the family upwards and reflecting the collective authority of the group over the individual. At the lowest levels its membership comprises all adult males, at higher levels various units are represented by men chosen primarily on the basis of seniority, but also for skill in negotiation or family reputation. *Djirga* decisions represent a consensus, weighted according to age and reputation. The functions of the *djirga* embrace all matters, but especially the resolution of disputes within the group and the relations of the group with outside organisation. The authority of the *djirga* depends upon the distribution of power within the group concerned. In state affairs, two varieties of *djirga* were employed. One was the permanent council of chiefs, members of the royal family and other notables, which was consulted frequently on all matters of state business and which offered detailed advice. References to such an institution under various names are common from the time of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] Abdālī onwards. The second, usually known as the Loya Djirga, dealt with the most important matters. It was a much larger body, including all men of influence in the region or country, and it was usually summoned to deal with one issue alone and subsequently dismissed. It was called in cases of succession where the legitimacy of the claims of a candidate to the throne were in doubt and where some broad expression of national endorsement was required. In 1747 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī Abdālī was elected ruler by a *djirga* of Abdālī and Ghilzay tribal chiefs and religious figures; to August 1880 ʿAbd al-Rahmān [see ʿABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN] was chosen by an assembly of tribal chiefs, and in February 1919 Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was proclaimed *amīr* by a gathering of tribal chiefs and notables at Kābul. Bačča yi Sakaw legitimised his claim to the throne through the *ʿulamāʾ* and in March 1929 was challenged by his rival, Nādir Khān, to submit his claim to a national *djirga* of all Afghān tribal chiefs. In September 1930 Nādir Khān himself secured confirmation of his own claim to the throne from a Loya Djirga of 286 notables. The Loya Djirga was also used to obtain national approval or confirmation of major policy decisions. According to Munshī Sultān Muhammad, for ordinary purposes ʿAbd al-Rahmān (like his predecessor, Shīr ʿAlī) employed an advisory council of *sardārs*, *khāns* and *mullās*, but in time of war, or other national emergency, ʿAbd al-Rahmān sought the advice and assistance of a much larger assembly (Loya Djirga) of notables and *mullās*. In 1915 Habīb Allāh [*q.v.*] was reported to have called a Loya Djirga to discuss Afghān foreign policy during the First World War, although when the ruler determined to adopt an unpopular policy of neutrality he changed the meeting into a great *darbār*, summoned to hear his decision, not to discuss it. In 1921 Amān Allāh summoned a Loya Djirga, the decision of which formed the justification for the issue of the 1923 constitution, which in turn was submitted to the approval of another Loya Djirga. As well as setting up other permanent bodies (including the Darbār-i ʿĀlī, an assembly of elders chosen in the manner of the Loya Djirga to review the work of each year), the 1923 constitution provided for the summoning by the ruler at his discretion of a Loya Djirga. Amān Allāh made use of this provision. In July 1924, following the Khōst [*q.v.*] rebellion, a Loya Djirga was called to amend the constitution, and in August 1928 another one, 1,000 strong, was called for a similar purpose and to hear Amān Allāh's plans for reform. In 1941 a Loya Djirga was called to endorse Afghānistān's foreign policy in the Second World War following the Allied demand for the expulsion of German citizens, and in 1949 and 1955 Loya Djirgas (possibly representing only certain tribes) were called in connection with the Pakhtūnistān dispute. The constitutions of 1964 and 1977 were also submitted to Loya Djirgas for approval. In keeping with its inclination towards parliamentary democracy, the 1964 constitution considerably reduced the role and importance of the Loya Djirga. The Loya Djirga of January-February 1977, which considered the new constitution and elected Muhammad Dāwūd as President of the Republic of Afghānistān, provides good evidence of the development of the Loya Djirga and its continuing importance as a major source of legitimation. In the Presidential proclamation of 28 December 1976, which announced the summoning of the Djirga, it was stated that "in accordance with the conventions of our society Loya Djirgas in the course of the history of Afghānistān have been convened on sensitive and important occasions and have deliberated vital national issues". The Loya Djirga was described as a supra parliamentary body. Article 65 of the 1977 constitution defined the composition of the Loya Djirga, which was represented as "the supreme manifestation of the power and will of its [Afghānistān's] people". The 1977 Loya Djirga consisted of elected representatives, members of the government, members of the central committee of the only political party, the high judicial council, the constitutional drafting committee, military officers, and other persons appointed by Presidential decree. The Djirga sat for twenty-six sessions and made several amendments to the constitution before finally approving it [see further MIKROA in Suppl., in particular, for the institution on the Indian side of the Frontier].

The institution of the *madjlis* proper has a much shorter history. Until 1923 Afghānistān knew only consultative councils appointed by the ruler from among the notables. The 1923 constitution provided for three national bodies: a council of ministers; the Darbār-i ʿĀlī; and an advisory state council, half nominated and half elected. The state council was the first Afghān institution which possessed some likeness to a Western parliament, but its role was severely limited, and it seems to have played no significant role in Afghān public life. The 1923 constitution also provided for regional advisory councils, an innovation continued under Nādir Shāh. The 1931 constitutions provided for a two-chamber Parliament: the Upper House or *Madjlis-i Aʿyān* consisted of twenty or more (later limited to forty-five) "experienced and far sighted persons" approved by the king, and the Lower House or *Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī* consisted of 116 (later 173) representatives elected for a three-year period. In form, the Afghān parliament bore a strong resemblance to the European institutions upon which it was, no doubt, modelled, although in his defence of the constitution Nādir Shāh argued (in the manner of

the Islamic modernists from the time of Nāmiḳ Kamāl onwards) that the Afghān Parliament was derived from the early Islamic precept of consultation which, he claimed, had survived in Afghānistān in the form of the *djirgas*, which he described as "regular governmental channels of the people of Afghānistān". Between 1931 and 1964 eleven Afghān Parliaments met, being chosen every three years as provided in the constitution. With the exception of the seventh, so-called "Liberal Parliament" (1949-52), all functioned as rubber stamps for government policy. The group of liberals in the seventh parliament did attempt to interrogate ministers and agitated for greater parliamentary power, but the government eventually reacted sharply and imprisoned the liberals. Parliament thereafter reverted to its former docile role. The 1964 constitution also provided for a two-chamber parliament, chosen for a four-year term. The Upper House (Meshrano Djirga) consisted of eighty four members, partly appointed and partly elected, the Lower House (Wolesi Djirga) consisted of two hundred-and-sixteen elected members. Two Parliaments met during the so-called constitutional period: the first (twelfth) sat from 1965 to 1969 and was notable for the presence of vociferous radicals in it and for its attacks on the government of the period, and the second (thirteenth) which sat from 1969 to 1973 showed a smaller number of radicals (traditional leaders having apparently decided that membership of Parliament conferred more power than formerly and exerted their influence to obtain election themselves) but maintained an appearance of hostility to the governments, although their criticisms were of a conservative rather than a radical character. Throughout the constitutional period, Parliament saw its role as destructive rather than constructive. The 1973 revolution brought the parliamentary period to an end. The constitution of February 1977 (articles 48 &4) provided for a single-chamber parliament (the Milli Djirga) elected for four years from men nominated by the single National Revolution Party (*Hizb-i Inḳilāb-i Milli*). Half of the parliamentarians were to be peasants or workers. The Milli Djirga was due to meet for the first time in December 1978, but the April 1978 revolution supervened and, for the time being, has brought to an end the experiments of Afghānistān with parliamentary government.

Bibliography: For constitutional aspects, see the bibliography in *Dustūr: a survey of the constitutions of the Arab and Muslim states*, Leiden 1966, 59. An English translation of the constitutions of 24 February 1977 was provided in the *Kabul Times* of 5 March 1977-26 March 1977 and reprinted by the Afghanistan Council of the Asia Society as Special Occasional Paper no. 7. A preliminary draft was published in *Kabul Times* of 19 January 1977, which issue also contained a list of all members of the Loya Djirga. There is no good study of the tribal institution of the *djirga*. See Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London 1815, D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjāb ethnography*, Calcutta 1883, and F. Barth, *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*, London 1969, 115-18. For the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, see Mir Munshi Sultan Muḥammad Khān, *The constitution and laws of Afghanistan*, London 1900, and Hasan Kakar, *Government and society in Afghanistan*, Austin, Texas 1979, which has a good bibliography of Persian sources. On the reign of Ḥabīb Allāh, see A. Hamilton, *Afghanistan*, London 1906, and L. W. Adamec, *Afghanistan 1900-1923*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967. For the reforms of Amān Allāh, see L. B. Poullada, *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan 1919-1929*, Ithaca 1973, and R. T. Stewart, *Fire in Afghanistan 1914-1929*, New York 1973. On the Muḥammadzay period, see V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, which also deals with earlier periods and has a good bibliography, as has L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973. See also Adamec, *Afghanistan's foreign affairs to the mid-twentieth century*, Tucson 1974, B. Nemāli, *The politics of Afghanistan*, Ithaca 1972, A. Alekseendrov and R. Akhramovič, *Gosudarstvennyy stroy Afganistana*, Moscow 1966, and R. Akhramovich, *Outline history of Afghanistan after the Second World War*, Moscow 1966, and idem, *Afganistan v 1961-66 gg.*, Moscow 1967.

(M. E. Yapp)

C. In India, Pakistan and Bangladesh

Under British rule in India, Muslims were involved in two forms of assembly. There were the sessions of the various Muslim organisations, the most important of which were those of the All-India Muslim League founded in 1906, in which major matters concerning Indian Muslims were discussed and resolutions passed. But for most of its existence the League was not a particularly representative organisation; support was limited in the main to landlords and professional men from provinces where Muslims were in a minority, "*ulamāʾ* refused to join, some Muslims preferred to support the Indian National Congress, others supported regional organisations of Hindus and Muslims like the Unionist party in the Panḏjāb or the Kṛishak Proja Samiti in Bengal. The League's fundamentally limited appeal was emphasised in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1937, when it won a mere 104 out of 489 seats reserved for Muslims. Only in the years 1937-47, as the meaning of Congress government was revealed and as the League began to campaign for a Muslim homeland of Pakistan, did the organisation come to win the support of most Muslims and its sessions to embrace their views. The extent of this support was demonstrated in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1945-6, when the League won 439 out of 494 seats reserved for Muslims.

The second form of assembly in which Muslims participated was the system of legislative councils which the British began to introduce in the second half of the 19th century. These operated at two levels, there being a legislative council for the whole of India and a legislative council in each province. When, from the beginning of the 20th century, the British began to make elections the main way of choosing council members, Muslims demanded special measures to protect them against Hindu majorities, which they feared. Each time the franchise was extended and council powers were increased, that is in 1909, 1919 and 1935, Muslims were given separate electorates and, where appropriate, extra seats to take account of their "political importance". Each time the result was to raise the Muslim proportion of seats above their proportion of the population where they were in a minority, to reduce their number of seats where they formed a large majority of the population, and to destroy the possibility of a majority of seats where they formed a small majority of the population, notably in the key provinces of Panḏjāb and Bengal. Up to 1937, although quick to defend Muslim interests when they saw them

threatened, whether it was the matter of moneylending in the Panjāb or local schools in the United Provinces, Muslims did not in general operate in council politics from a specifically Muslim platform, tending to belong to supra-communal groupings of landlords, local interests or nationalists But all changed after the Indian National Congress formed governments in seven out of eleven provinces following the 1937 elections and the prospect of independence began to loom during World War II. Now Muslims realised that they must either support the Indian nationalist cause or follow the Muslim League Most chose the latter course Between September 1942 and March 1947, helped both by the mistakes of the nationalist leadership and the skill of its own, the League was able to form governments in the provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, Assam, Bengal and the Panjāb.

After the partition of the subcontinent, 40 million Muslims remained scattered in minorities throughout the provinces (now known as states) of independent India, except in Kashmīr where they formed a large majority. The new Indian constitution, promulgated in 1950, abolished the old Muslim safeguards of separate electorates and reserved seats; the law forbade any political appeals on the basis of religion. Nevertheless, distinctively Muslim political parties persisted the relics of the pre-independence Muslim League survived in Kerala and spread to the northern states in the 1960s, in 1957 the Madjlis Ittihād al-Muslimīn revived in Hyderabad and a decade later was petitioning the Government of India for the foundation of a purely Muslim state on India's eastern coast; in 1964 the Madjlis i Mushāwarat was formed to press for specifically Muslim concerns through the political system But, beyond winning a few seats and striking the occasional bargain with other parties at state level, these communal parties had little success in promoting Muslim interests or in winning large-scale Muslim support. Most Muslims have entered both state assemblies and national Parliament as members of the Congress Party, which has come to be seen, among the unsatisfactory alternatives available, as the best protector of Muslim interests Indeed, so firm has been Muslim support that it has been recognised as one of the main sustainers of Congress dominance in Indian politics since 1947 The weakening of their support is marked down as a major cause of the Congress's defeat in the general elections of 1977, the return of their support as a cause of its victory in the general elections of 1980

In the Muslim state of Pakistan, we are concerned less with Muslim representation in assemblies than with the fortunes of assemblies themselves At independence there were the old provincial legislatures inherited from the British period, and these elected a Constituent Assembly whose task was to frame a constitution for the new country and at the same time to act as a national legislature. Framing a constitution proved immensely difficult. Amongst the many problems were those of balancing the claims of East Pakistan, where a majority of the people lived, against those of West Pakistan, and finding an appropriate place for Islam in the country's constitution. The Assembly worked with much rancour and increasing slowness. When in 1954 it moved to curb the powers of the Governor-General, he replied on 24 October of that year by dissolving the Assembly and declaring a state of emergency. In June 1955 the provincial legislatures elected a second Constituent Assembly and on 29 February 1956, nearly nine years after independence, the Assembly adopted Pakistan's first constitution which provided for a federal and parliamentary system of government with a strong centre, adult franchise and direct elections. There was to be one house of Parliament and its members were to be divided equally between East and West Pakistan (see OUSTŪR xiv) General elections were proposed for 1958 but they were not held Politicians squabbled Faction, violence and corruption were rife The public lost all respect for political institutions On 7 October 1958 President Iskandar Mirzā, under pressure from General Ayyūb Khān, declared martial law, abrogated the constitution and dissolved all legislatures. Thus democracy lost its first struggle with authoritarianism in Pakistani life In the first eleven years of its existence, the National Assembly met for a mere 338 days and passed only 160 laws For the rest of the time, the executive had unrestricted power and issued 376 major ordinances

On 1 March 1962 President Ayyūb Khān promulgated a new constitution which provided for two provincial assemblies one for East and one for West Pakistan, and a National Assembly of 156 members whose seats were equally divided between the two wings of the country Members were to be elected by a college of 80,000 "Basic Democrats" who had been directly elected by the people The first meeting of the National Assembly was convened on 8 June 1962, but from the beginning it met with powerful opposition in the country As political parties were forbidden, and as all executive and much legislative power was in the hands of the President, the Assembly seemed less a forum for democracy than a weapon of dictatorship Eventually, opposition grew so great that Ayyūb Khān was forced to declare martial law in March 1969 and to dissolve the Assembly Agitation continued On 25 March 1969 the Commander-in-Chief, Yahyā Khān, took over power from Ayyūb Khān and abrogated the 1962 constitution On 28 November 1969 he reaffirmed a pledge to restore parliamentary government and announced that general elections would be held on the basis of one man, one vote, in autumn 1970 to elect a National Assembly to draft a constitution Further between the East and West wings of the country was now abandoned on the basis of its population East Pakistan could now control 56% of the seats. On 7 December 1970 Pakistan held its first general elections The 'Awāmī League won 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan and therefore had a potential majority in the National Assembly. On 1 March 1971 Yahyā Khān, under pressure from the West Pakistani leader, Zulfiqar Alī (Dju 'l-Fikār 'Alī) Bhutto, decided to postpone the National Assembly, and events were set moving which led to the transformation of East Pakistan into the new state of Bangladesh in December 1971

In 1972 the National Assembly of the now truncated Pakistan began to meet and agreed that the country should have a federal and parliamentary system of government. There were to be four provincial assemblies and two houses of Parliament, a National Assembly and a Senate This, the first constitution framed by a directly elected assembly was adopted on 10 April 1973 and came into force on 14 August The National Assembly was dominated by the Pakistan People's Party whose leader, Zulfiqar Alī Bhutto, resigned the presidency of Pakistan to become Prime Minister In 1977 Mr Bhutto called Pakistan's second general elections for March His party won 155 of the National Assembly's 200 seats. Soon it became evident that the elections had been

rigged on a huge scale. The nine opposition parties which had coalesced to form the Pakistan National Alliance refused to accept the results, launched a mass movement to press for Mr Bhutto's removal and for fresh elections supervised either by the Judiciary or by the Army. On 5 July the Army took the leaders of both sides into "protective custody", declared martial law and disbanded the national and provincial assemblies. The Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia-ul-Haqq (Diyā' al-Ḥakk) promised elections for 18 October. They were postponed. He promised elections again for 17 October 1979. They did not take place. Now, General Zia-ul-Haqq has promised to establish a government of people's representatives who are to be chosen through the "Islamic mode".

In Bangladesh, a Constituent Assembly met on 23 March 1972 which comprised those members who had been elected from Bangladesh to the Pakistan National Assembly and the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly in the general elections of 1970. On 4 November 1972 the Assembly adopted a constitution which provided for a Parliament (Jatiya Sangsad) of one house. Three hundred members were to be directly elected by universal adult suffrage, and a further fifteen seats were reserved for women who were to be elected by the members of Parliament. General elections were held on 7 March 1973 in which Shaykh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman (Mujīb al-Raḥmān)'s 'Awāmmī League won 291 seats. But then, by means of a series of amendments passed between 1973 and 1975, Mujeeb-ur Rahman changed the constitution, creating a presidential and one-party system in which all the powers of government were concentrated in the President, and the power of the legislature in control the executive was virtually destroyed. On 15 August 1975 an army faction killed Shaykh Mujeeb. Martial law was declared, Parliament was dissolved, Shaykh Mujeeb's subversive constitutional amendments were repealed and elections promised for 28 February 1977. These elections were eventually held on 18 February 1979 and produced a majority in Parliament for the Bangladesh National Party, the party of General Zia-ur-Rahman (Diyā' al-Raḥmān), Chief Martial Law Administrator and President.

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(F. C. R. Robinson)

MADJLIS al-SHŪRĀ, the name given to extraordinary, *ad hoc* consultative assemblies in the last century and a-half or so of the Ottoman empire. While it had long been customary in the Ottoman Empire, and in earlier Islamic states, to hold special consultations about urgent matters [see MASHWARA], such meetings appear to have become especially frequent among the Ottomans between the Russo-Ottoman War of 1182-88/1768-74 and, roughly, the abolition of the Janissaries in 1241/1826. Referred to by a variety of synonymous terms, such as *medjlis-i shūrā, dār al-shūrā, medjlis-i meshweret* (or *mashwara*), or *medjlis-i mesheweret*, these assemblies were convened *ad hoc* as need arose, and included a variable list of high-level officials: the grand *wezīr*, the *shaykh al-Islām*, the senior military commanders, top scribal officials, and perhaps others. The place of meeting was also variable: the palace, the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-i 'Alī* [q.v.]), the headquarters of the *shaykh al-Islām* (*bāb-i mashīkhat* [q.v.]), military headquarters on the field, or even provincial administrative centres. The increased frequency of such consultations clearly reflected the gravity of the crises of the time, it may have been related, too, to the decline of the old system of *dīwān* [q.v.]—meaning, in Ottoman usage, conciliar bodies rather than government

bureaux The pattern of convening consultative *madjlises* continued to some degree until the end of the empire (Devereux, 37 ff., 45-6, 96-7, 243-4, Davison, *Reform*, 308-9, 314, 356, 363, 368, 393-4, Pakalın, *OTD*, iii, 361, Findley, 245).

Ottoman histories of the late 18th and early 19th centuries provide many accounts of consultative *madjlises* (e.g. Wāṣıf, i, 99-102, 175-7, 316-9, ii, 9-20, 12-4, 18-9, 21-2, 46-7, 85-6, 104-3, 135-6, 173-6, 224-2, 255, 258-9, 264-6, Shānīzāde, i, 61-6, 199-201, ii, 96-102, iii, 195-9, iv, 2-3, 37-8, 255-8, 291-2, Djewdet, ii, 242-3, 276-8, iii, 35-47, 53-6, 74-5, iv, 254-60, 287-95, 289-92, vi, 32, 53, vii, 28-9, ix, 280-4, 300-2, x, 17-20, xi, 95, 286-7, 272-5, xii, 247-52, 258-9, Mehmed Es'ad, 14-15, Lutfī, i, 291-2, v, 272, cf. d'Ohsson, vii, 228-32, Shaw, *Old and new*, 73-5). These accounts contain some of the most vivid documentation available for any facet of Ottoman history Often, they include what purport to be extended quotations from the participants The remarks may be quite heated, and are sometimes expressed in plain language sharply to contrast with the normal style of the author who quoted them. It is not impossible to find different accounts of the same assembly, in which a given remark will be rendered in "plain Turkish" according to one author, and in highflown Ottoman according to another. In recounting an assembly of 1808, for example, Djewdet Pasha commented on the "reckless" (*lā-ubālīyāne*) way in which 'Alemdār Mustafā Pasha then grand *wezīr*, expressed himself Djewdet went on to quote the 'Alemdār as using the plainest of language to say that his earlier action had been mistaken (*gidişimiz yolsuz ve bilāişimiz yanlış*, Djewdet, ix, 5). Shānīzāde's earlier history recounts the same assembly, but there the same remark is "translated" into Ottoman (*sālifā'l-beyān 'ayn-i khaṭā' ve fesād-i 'khādilmis nekīn-i bī-mūcib olub*, Shānīzāde, i, 63). At moments like this, one senses that the published accounts of the assemblies have their source in minutes that were taken at the meetings, were full enough to record at least some of what was said verbatim, and were preserved in the archives Wāṣıf seems to confirm this, albeit laconically. In introducing an account of an assembly of 1182/1768-9 with the statement that he was transcribing the "copy of the assembly" in full (*şūret-i madjlis 'aynī ile be makalle kayd olunub*, i, 316-7, here, the "copy" itself is sketchy by later standards)

The issues laid before the councils were characteristically ones that the sultan and grand *wezīr* could not decide or did not wish to take responsibility for deciding, alone The sessions appear normally to have begun with the reading of instructions from the sultan and other documents relevant to the issue Discussion would then begin, with the highest ranking participants speaking first Lesser figures were typically reluctant to speak their minds following men of such weight as the grand *wezīr* or the *shaykh al-Islām* Given the insecurity of officials in relation to the sultan and their superiors, and given the traditionally very narrow scope of consultation, there was reason for hesitancy Still, it was common to urge the participants to speak, with strong reminders about the sultan's commands for consultation and about the seriousness of the matter under discussion, and with promises not to hold anyone's statements against him after the meeting (Djewdet, iii, 37-8, 332, iv, 360, vii, 28-9, ix, 302) Such assurances did not allay all fears Yet lively debate could ensue, particularly when the issue at stake meant the choice between peace on unfavourable terms and war with almost certain prospect of defeat. At such moments, the proceedings could become highly dramatic. The *shaykh al-Islām* might become so agitated that he would threaten to take a gun in hand and set out on the *djihād* himself (Shānīzāde, iv, 202; cf Djewdet, iii, 40). The senior military men would answer such effusions with sober talk of what war really meant for a state in the position of the Ottoman Empire (Djewdet, iii, 38-43) Certainly, one of the tensest consultative assemblies occurred at Topkapı Palace in 1241/1826, just prior to the decisive strike against the Janissaries. With the sultan himself hesitating due to uncertainty over the outcome, it was an impassioned speech by one of the participants that incited him to rush into the chamber where the mantle of the Prophet (*khirka-yi sherīf* [q.v.]) and other relics were kept, bring out the banner of the Prophet, turn it over to the grand *wezīr* and *shaykh al-Islām*, and thus symbolically launch the attack (*ibid*, xii, 158)

In general, the accounts of the *madjlises* of the late 18th and early 19th centuries convey a number of interesting points about what such assemblies were supposed to be and do On a comparative note, first, it is worth comment that Shānīzāde 'Aṭā' Allāh (d 1244/1826) already knew enough about parliamentary institutions to compare the Ottoman consultative assemblies with what sound like bicameral parliaments (Shānīzāde, iv, 3). Probably by design, Shānīzāde omitted references to the legislative function of the assemblies of the "well-ordered states" (*düvel-i muntaẓama*), but he did give a recognisable account of such features as popular election of members, majority rule (*ḥükm-i aghlab*), and membership in two "classes", described as government servants and agents or representatives of the subjects (*khademe-yi devlet ve wükelā'-i ra'āyyā*). This comparison of Ottoman assemblies with those of the West is of particular interest as an early illustration of a theme to which later writers often returned [see MŪSĀ]. As for Shānīzāde, his point in making the comparison was to argue—with appropriate reverence to the authority of the sultan and the *sunna* of the Prophet—that Ottoman assemblies ought not to be as large as those of the states he was describing He argued that some of those invited to participate in the larger of the Ottoman assemblies had nothing to add to the discussion. In fact, the issue was not so simple. Particularly as the problems of hand grew more threatening, the Ottomans discovered a variety of needs, of which some reinforced, but others conflicted with, the tradition of a narrow scope of consultation.

One of the first concerns to emerge out of the consultative assemblies of the late 18th century was for greater care in maintaining the confidentiality of proceedings. At first, it appears that there had been little care to have the councils meet in closed session (Djewdet, ii, 243) or otherwise maintain secrecy. By the 1780s, however, great concern had developed over this point. Participants were sometimes made to swear secrecy. Threats were invoked upon those who divulged what they had heard or later criticised decisions they had supported in council (*ibid*, iii, 35, 43, 332, iv, 168, 360; vi, 135, x, 18) Mahmūd II carried out such a threat on at least one occasion, by exiling Kehedjīzāde 'Izzet Mollā, father of the future grand *wezīr* Fuād Pasha, for criticising a measure that he had not opposed in assembly [see 'IZZET MOLLA]

Perhaps the most striking procedural trait of the consultative *madjlises* of this period was the

demand that the participants arrive at their decisions in "unanimity ad opinion" (*ittifāk-i ārā*" or equivalent expressions, Wāṣīf, i, 177, 367; ii, 14, 235, Shānīzāde, i, 82, 64; Djewdet, iii, 58, 43, 333; iv, 360, v, 270; vi, 6, 16, 82, 3, 2, 16, 21, 402). "Consensus" would perhaps be a more exact rendering of what was really desired. Still, the idea of "unanimity" is a striking sign of desire to maintain unity of decision even while broadening participation in decision-making. This desire, like the need for secrecy, would have suggested keeping the consultative assemblies small in size.

By the time of Mahmūd II, however, there were clearly situations where it seemed necessary to enlarge the councils, or even use them as means for mobilisation of mass opinion. One example of this occurred in 1223/1808, when the grand *wezīr*, 'Alemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha, himself one of the provincial *a'yān*, held a great assembly in Istanbul, to which he invited not only high officials of the central government, but also other provincial notables, to conclude an agreement between the *a'yān* and the sultan (Shānīzāde, i, 62; Djewdet, ix, 3, Lewis, 75-8; Shaw and Shaw, 1-3). In the 18cm, with the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, there were *medjlises* to which an unusually large range of military officers and even sark non-officials as the agents (*kethkhudā*) of various guilds were summoned (Shānīzāde, iv, 2, 37, 201), these were the assemblies that Shānīzāde criticised as being too large. By this time, however, the concerns of the government had clearly extended beyond secret consultation into mass mobilisation of Muslim opinion. The "crowded" (*djem'iyyetlū*) assemblies contributed to this purpose by making, or legitimating, decisions that were communicated to the populace through the non-official participants, or by such other means as dispatching circular orders to local officials or sending out public criers (*münādī*, Shānīzāde, iii, 203 6, iv, 201 4, Djewdet, xi, 272 5, xii, 159, al-Shihābī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 102 3).

Appeals to Muslim solidarity are a special illustration, finally, of perhaps the most important feature of the *medjlises*: the emphasis on Islamic ideals and values. Such appeals were a general theme of traditional Ottoman culture, even so, they appear particularly prominent where the consultative assemblies are concerned. It is surely no coincidence that these important assemblies were designated by the term *shūrā* [*q.v.*] or its derivatives, or that Ottomans were quick to cite *hadīth* in support of the consultations or the procedures followed in them (Shānīzāde, iv, 3; Djewdet, iii, 38). More important was the role of the *'ulemā'* in the *medjlises*, and the care taken to verify the conformity of decisions to the *sherī'at* (Wāṣīf, i, 317, ii, 13, Shānīzāde, iii, 199, iv, 37, Djewdet, ii, 41, 45; iv, 158, xii, 149-50, 158, 263-6). That the problems confronting the assemblies could challenge the *'ulemā'* in their capacity as legal scholars became clear on at least one occasion when, in 1237/1822, the *fatwā emīni* [*q.v.*] found that since these was no clear traditional response (*nakl-i sarīh*) on an issue, he would have to reason by analogy (*beyān* [*q.v.*], Shānīzāde, ii, 100, cf. Djewdet, iii, 43). The statement is a harbinger of a later theme of Islamic reformism (cf. A. Murad, *Islāh*, 152 4). A more conspicuous harbinger of the same phenomenon is the perception, which gradually emerged in the assemblies, that the problems under discussion were threats, not just to the Ottoman state, but to the "heart of Islam" (*kalb-i islāmiyyet*) of the entire Muslim community (*dhimmet-i Muhammad*) and would require its combined efforts in response (Shānīzāde, ii, 99-100; iv, 201; Djewdet, x, 19, xi, 273).

During the *Tanzīmāt*, both this Islamic emphasis and the *medjlis-i shūrā* itself, quickly faded as features of Ottoman decision-making. The reasons for the decline of the Islamic emphasis must include the political consolidation of the new civil-bureaucratic élite, as well as the alienation of the leading *'ulemā'* from policies that it seemed impossible, after the Gülkhāne Decree of 1255/1839, to rationalise in terms of defence of the empire as an Islamic state. It is significant in this regard that Djewdet Pasha, who was trained as an *'ālim* prior to his transfer into the civil bureaucracy and who was politically quite conservative, was consistently critical of the capacity of the *'ulemā'* to contribute to the *medjlises* that we have been discussing. If Djewdet's opinion is debatable for the period before the 1830s, it points to a problem in relations among governmental élites, and to a feature of policy, that was unmistakable thereafter (Djewdet, iii, 38; iv, 195, 261-2, v, 27 35, 231, xii, 82 5, Heyd, 63-96, Findley, 61-3).

As for the apparent decline of the *medjlis-i shūrā*, on the other hand, there are signs that this signifies, not a loss of interest in consultation, but rather an adaptation and institutionalisation of the deliberative *medjlis* in a variety of settings. The fact that the term *medjlis* from this time on virtually supplanted the term *dīwān* as a designation for conciliar bodies suggests that the frequent *medjlises* of preceding decades indeed form the major link through which the Ottoman *dīwān* tradition evolved into the 19th century.

As early as 1832 then, we find a military council (*shūrā-yi 'askerī*, Levy, 479 89). A key moment in the proliferation of councils occurred in 1838, when, as part of an effort to abolish the grand vizierate and redistribute its powers, Mahmūd II set up two councils, the Consultative Assembly of the Sublime Porte (*dār-ı shūrā-yi bāb-ı 'ālī*) and the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*medjlis-i wālā-yi ahkām-i 'adliyye*). The latter was supposed, like the imperial *dīwān* of earlier times, to meet at the palace (Lutfī, v, 206-8, 278-9, vi, 92-6, Kaynar, 198 ff., Shaw, *Legislative councils*, 54-7, Findley, 141). Following Mahmūd's death in 1255/1839, the grand vizierate was quickly restored and the various ministers (*nāzir*), whom Mahmūd had begun to appoint on European example in the mid-1830s, were grouped into a "council of ministers" (*medjlis-i wukelā'*) or "privy council" (*medjlis-i khāss*). The *shaykh ül Islām* also served as a member of the cabinet. Of the two councils created in 1838, only the *medjlis-i wālā-yi ahkām-i 'adliyye* survived. It assumed the function of drafting the new legislation called for under the Gülkhāne decree. It also served as the highest court for trying cases under the new legislation. Thus the *medjlis-i wālā* embarked on a long evolution, in course of which it turned, in 1868, into the Council of State (*shūrā-yi dewlet* [*q.v.*], later the *Danıştay* of the Turkish Republic). In the late Ottoman period, the council of state was the most important civil administrative body after the council of ministers; it also normally retained top-level responsibility for administrative justice (Shaw, *Legislative councils*, 57-84, Findley, 172, 174 6, 247-50, 307-9).

The early history of the *medjlis-i wālā*, as well as that of the military council created in 1832, also included important steps in the development of Ottoman ideas of conciliar procedure. Procedural

regulations for the *madjlis-i wālā*, dating from ca 1255/1839, began by citing problems experienced in earlier deliberative assemblies. The document went on to require changes such as circulating documents on important issues prior to meetings, requiring those who wished to speak to sign up in advance and speak in order of signing (thus without regard to rank), and—most important—taking decisions by majority approval (*ekthériyyet-i ārā'*), rather than by unanimity. At this point, Western ideas of parliamentary procedure, known in some measure at least since Shanīzāde, began to be incorporated into Ottoman practice. The fact that a French translation of the new regulations for the *madjlis-i wālā* reached the British embassy almost immediately may be a sign of direct European influence on their formulation (Kaynar, 206-8, Levy, 480-1, Findley, 298-9, 385 n. 129).

As the council of state took shape, the *Tanzīmāt* also witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of smaller, specialised *madjlises*, many of which subsequently disappeared. In part, this is because they served as committees to perform new tasks for which, up to that point, there were no permanent administrative agencies to assume responsibility. Some of the specialised *madjlises* evolved into such agencies. This is clearly how the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture emerged, traits of the pattern also appear in the formation of the Ministry of Justice. In other cases, *madjlises* continued to supplement the regular bureaucratic apparatus where it remained thinly developed (Findley, 176-7, 179, 181, 245, 283). The clearest example of this is the local administrative councils, first created in 1840 and ultimately known as *madjlis-i idāre*. These administrative councils were originally intended to supplant the *dīwāns* of the *kādīs*, at least in the roles that these had acquired in local administration, as well as the *dīwans* of the provincial governors. Emulation of consular institutions created under Muhammad ʿAlī in Egypt and Syria may also have stimulated the development of the Ottoman local councils (Heidborn, i, 264, 67; Maʿoz, 87 ff07, Russell, i, 159, 322 3, 385-8, Guys, 345 9; Barker, i, 144 8, 316 7; Davison, *Adwal*, 98 ff , İnalcık, *Tanzimat'ın uygulanması*, 625 ff., idem, *Application of the tanzimat*, 100 1, 107-10, Kemirumpl, 44 57, Ortaylı, 13 ff, 42 ff) As organised in 1840, the councils included not only the local officials and religious leaders, but also indirectly-elected representatives of the notables. These councils were thus the first Ottoman governmental institutions to include representatives of the people as a matter of system. In 1261/1845, there was even an experiment—clearly following an Egyptian model—with the convening of a consultative assembly in Istanbul, to which each province of the empire was to send two delegates. The Istanbul assembly of 1845 had no sequel in the years immediately following, but the local administrative councils became permanent fixtures. Since they exercised not only administrative functions, but also local responsibility for cases tried under the new legislation of the *Tanzīmāt*, they also represented the starting point of an important organisational development of a different kind: the emergence of what eventually became the distinct system of *niẓāmiyye* courts (see NIZĀMIYA 2. The Ottoman Empire excluding Egypt. ii. The Reform era). Even as the *niẓāmiyye* courts became separate from the local administrative councils, they retained marks of their origins in being known, until the 1860s, as *madjlis* or *dīwān*, rather than *mahkeme* (*Destūr*, I, 610-12, 615-18 Heidborn, i, 226 n. 37), and in continuing until the end to be collegial bodies.

In terms of elaboration of the underlying organisational form, the most important of the organisational progeny of the Ottoman *madjlis-i shūrā* was the Ottoman parliament. The link to the earlier councils appears both in the Ottoman name for the parliament, *madjlis-i ʿumūmī* (see MADJLIS 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section i) and in the adoption, which Shānīzāde had anticipated, of the concepts of *shūra* and *meshveret* to refer to parliamentary government. The parliament also represented the ultimate extension among the Ottomans of the representative principle first introduced in the local administrative councils. In this sense, whatever the shortcomings of the Ottoman parliaments, their emergence indicates the extent to which the scope of political participation, or at least the demand for it, had continued to broaden since the convocation of the consultative assemblies of the 18th century.

Organisations like the Ottoman *madjlis-i shūrā* and its derivatives appeared in other Islamic political centres as well. In Egypt, Muhammad ʿAlī Pasha was as attached to conciliar deliberation as he was to the centralisation of ultimate decision-making. Under him, the development of conciliar institutions advanced to the point that the *dīwāns* —a term referring in Egypt to administrative bureaus—were sometimes displaced by councils with corresponding functions (Deny, 33-4, 108). This happened with his civil and military councils (*madjlis-i ʿālī a malkiyye*, *madjlis-i dīvānīyye*). The former of these was also known by designations including the terms *madjlis-i shūrā* or *madjlis-i meshveret* and was in existence from 1240/1824 25 to ca 1254/1838. As with some of the Ottoman councils, the responsibilities of this council included matters of administrative justice (*ibid*., 108-9; Lane, i, 241-2). Muhammad ʿAlī also had a "cabinet" referred to as the *shūra-yi khāṣṣa* (Deny, 109, 151). Beginning in 1243/1829, there was an annual "general assembly", including leading officials, together with provincial notables and the leading *ʿulemāʾ*. This assembly was known by a variety of names, such as *madjlis-i ʿumūmī*, *djemʿiyyet-i ʿumūmiyye*, *madjlis-i meshveret* (or *shūrā*), and *endjümen-i meshveret* (*ibid*., 110-1). There was also a "comprehensive and regular system of local councils", at least in Syria and Palestine while they were under Egyptian control in the 1830s (Maʿoz, 90, al-Shihābī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 72, idem, *Lubnān* iii, 865; Rustum ii, 358, 80 3204). The local councils of Egyptian-ruled Syria may have provided a model for the Ottoman local administrative councils. Subsequently, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79) when Egypt acquired a "parliament", it was known as the *madjlis shūra al-nuwwāb*. It was in fact an advisory assembly of delegates, most of whom were local notables. This assembly did not attempt to assume any more active role before 1879 (Deny, 525-7, Schölch, 27-32, 77 88, 93 4, 173-85, 188 96, 207 8, 234; see also MADJLIS 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, sections v, Syria, xvi, Egypt.

Kādjār Iran also eventually acquired consultative assemblies resembling, and to some degree inspired by, those of the Ottoman Empire. Like Mahmūd II before him, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh decided in 1858 to rule without a prime minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*). Instead, he appointed a six-man council of ministers, as well as—a year later—two advisory councils, a *madjlis-i shūrā-yi dawlatī* and a larger *maṣlahat-*

khāṣṣa. Both were expressly intended to give larger numbers of people a chance to participate in affairs of state (Bakhash, 4). Of these two assemblies, the *madjlis-i shūrā-yi dawlat* had a membership of higher standing and was expected in some sense to make decisions, while the *madjlis-i khāṣṣa* was to do little more than generate ideas and recommendations. Much as in the earlier Ottoman *madjlis-i shūrā*, however, the members of the councils concentrated on figuring out the shah's wishes and expressing their opinions in the same terms (*ibid.*, 91-3). It is not clear how long either of these two councils functioned; but by 1871, Nāṣr al-Dīn Shāh was moved to reinstate the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, assigning it to Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, ambassador to Istanbul ca. 1859-70 and an important conduit for ideas acquired there (*ibid.*, 43-91. Just prior to this appointment, the shah also created a new deliberative assembly, known as the *dār al-shūrā-yi kubrā*, appointing to it a number of individuals who had served in the earlier councils in 1872. Mushīr al-Dawla went on to reorganise the ministries and set up a cabinet, the *darbār-i aʿẓam* (*ibid.*, 92-4, 96-7).

Over the years that followed, the "cabinet" and the *dār al-shūrā* went through many changes. The *dār al-shūrā* was at times an approximation of the Ottoman council of state (*shūrā-yi dawlat*). Yet it suffered in that both its membership and the purpose of the consultative processes that were supposed to occur in it remained ill-defined. Ten years after the creation of the *dār al-shūrā*, its members were still unclear as to whether they were empowered to initiate legislation. Not surprisingly, the *dār al-shūrā* faded into oblivion in the early 1890s (*ibid.*, 158, 232-65).

In the long run, then, the development of consultative assemblies proved less extensive in Kādjār Iran than in the Ottoman Empire. It should be noted, however, that the meaning of the term *madjlis* / *shūrā* eventually expanded in Iran, too, to refer to parliamentary institutions. By the 1890s, Mīrzā Malkum Khān [*q.v.*] was expounding the concept of a "great national consultative assembly" (*madjlis-i shūrā-yi kubrā-yi milli*) in his journal *Kānūn*. This was to be a representative body with powers of legislation and budgetary review (*ibid.*, 337-39; cf. Algar, 256). The Iranian parliament created after the revolution of 1906 was in fact known as the *madjlis-i shūrāyi-milli* [see MADJLIS. 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, outside Iran].

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(C. V. FINDLEY)

MADJLISĪ, Mullā Muḥammad Bāḳir, known also as ʿAllāma Madjlisī and Madjlisī-yi Thānī (1037-1110/1627-98), an authoritative jurist, a most prolific *ḥadīth* collector, an unprecedentedly influential author in the world of the Twelver Shīʿa. He was also a distinguished expert in bibliog-

raphy, a well-read man to Islamic philosophy and mysticism, and an active authority in politics, social and judicial matters during the late Ṣafawid period. He belonged to a distinguished clerical family; his father, Muḥammad Taḳī, mostly referred to as Madjlisī-yi Awwal [*q.v.*], his ancestors as well as his descendants, have been mentioned among men of knowledge.

Madjlisī, in line with his family tradition, became "eager for learning various Islamic sciences and noble branches of arts right from ... early youth" (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, i, Tehran 1887, 3). He successfully studied Islamic subjects such as *fiḳh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (fundamentals of jurisprudence), commentary of the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* (theology), philosophy, mysticism, etc., under his father and many other professors such as Sayyid Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shūshtarī [d. 1060/1650] and Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Tustarī (d. 1075/1664), the names of eighteen of his teachers and other authorities who granted him certain certificates are given in Musayn Nūrī, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī fī tardjama al-ʿAllāma al-Madjlisī*, Tehran 1887, 22-23 (attached to the first volume of the old edition of the *Biḥār*). At a certain point in life, however, Madjlisī decided to abandon all those fields of knowledge which had then become popular, and to concentrate only on the study of prophetic traditions which were, in his belief, beneficial for him in the hereafter, though they had then a depressed market (*kāsid*) (*Biḥār*, 1, 4)

Henceforth Madjlisī devoted the most part of his life not only to lecturing on the Shīʿī subjects to the students whose number at times exceeded one thousand (*al-Fayḍ*, 13-8; in this book, only forty-nine of them are introduced with some bibliographical information), but also to collecting the scattered and forgotten Shīʿī *ḥadīths* and to compiling them into various Arabic and Persian books. His main work in this field is the immensely voluminous Arabic book *Biḥār al-anwār* whose outline he sketched out in 1070/1659 and completed its compilation as 1106/1694. He also wrote books in Persian, a number of these being translations of different sections of the *Biḥār*. His aim in writing in Persian, as he himself repeatedly mentioned, was to make the prophetic traditions easily accessible to "the masses of believers and common Shīʿa" who had "no familiarity with the Arabic language", hoping that his works "may give life to the hearts and spirits of the dead hearted people" (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, Tehran 1952, 4). In his efforts, in fact, Madjlisī was quite successful because his *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* alone reportedly converted 70,000 of the Syrian Sunnīs to Shīʿīsm (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran n.d., 205)

Madjlisī had very close relations with at least two of the Ṣafawīd monarchs, Shāh Sulaymān (d. 1106/1694) and Sulṭān Ḥusayn (d. 1125/1713). In compiling his book, he received effective financial and other types of support from them, and in return he praised these rulers and dedicated several of his books to them. In reference, for instance, to Shāh Sulaymān, he used many phrases of a hyperbolic nature (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*, i, 1869, 3; the second volume of this book is translated into English by James L. Merrick under the title of *The life and religion of Mohammed as contained in the Sheeʿah tradition of the Hyát ul kuloob*, Boston 1850). He used also highly eulogistic expressions for Sulṭān Ḥusayn (see, for instance, Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, *Zād al-maʿād* 1903, 2-3).

In 1098/1686, Madjlisī was appointed as the official *Shaykh al-Islām* by Shāh Sulaymān. Madjlisī's title was changed to *Mullā-bāshī* on Sulṭān Ḥusayn's accession to the throne in 1106/1694. While holding these highest, institutionalised clerical offices, Madjlisī "personally undertook all proceedings of law and legal matters" (Ḥusayn Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil wa-mustanbaṭ al-masāʾil*, iii, Tehran 1903, 408). He used his power and influence to suppress anything which appeared to him as heresy and infidelity. He ordered the Indian idols of Iṣfahān to be demolished in 1098/1686 (*al-Fayḍ*, 3) and "suppressed the agressors and transgressors who were adherents of sectarianism and innovation, and were enemies [of the right religion], especially the heretic Ṣūfīs" (Yūsuf Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-baḥrayn fī l-iʿtirāḍāt wa-taʿrādjum riḳāl*, Nadjaf n.d., 55). These "aggressors and transgressors" also included Zoroastrians and the Sunnīs (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, chs. 3 4, *b*)

During the last four years of his state position under Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Madjlisī was practically the actual ruler of Iran. With his vast power and influence in the country, he undertook so strict a religious policy against the Sunnīs that, in some authors' opinion, it expedited the Afghān invasion of Iran in 1135/1722 (cf *inter alia* Hamid Algar, *Shīʿism and Iran in the eighteenth century*, in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), *Studies in eighteenth century Islamic history*, London and Amsterdam 1977, 288-302, 400-3). It is interesting to note that Madjlisī wrote his famous *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* when the execution of his anti-Sunnī policy was about to reach its culmination. In this book, written one year before Madjlisī's death (1110/1697), he clearly declared the first three Sunnī caliphs, i.e. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, to be hypocrites and unbelievers who deserved God's curse (Tehran 1968, 154-278, 519, and *passim*)

There is no doubt that the culture and tradition of Twelver Shīʿīsm enjoyed an unprecedented florescence through Madjlisī's efforts, and the influence of his teachings and practices on later generations —common believers as well as clerical circles and leaders—is undeniable. One of Madjlisī's fundamental teachings is that the Shīʿī's should have full respect for the rulers. He emphatically warns that anyone "who despises the kings" will suffer abasement, he says that "one who does not obey the kings, has not in fact obeyed God". He also reminds his audience that "the hearts of the kings and those of all mankind are in the hands of God, one must have regard for all tyrannical kings and other oppressors, and it is even compulsory to exercise dissimulation before them, to prevent [oneself] from their harms, and not to expose [oneself] to their wrath" (*ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, 560-7)

Among the distinguished clerical leaders who, following Madjlisī's teachings, had regard for the tyrannical kings by not opposing their oppressive rule and never despising them was Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864) [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whose aloofness from state affairs seems to have been taken as a sign of his asceticism (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djamīl Anṣārī, *Taʾrīkh-i Iṣfahān ya Ray ya bemer-yi djahān*, Tehran 1943). One may also mention Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Iṣfahānī, known as Āḳa Nadjafī (d. 1332/1913) [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as a good example of those Shīʿī religious leaders who followed Madjlisī's pattern of strict religious policy by putting heavy

pressures upon religious minorities in Iran (cf. *inter alia* Abdul-Hadi Hairi, art. *Āqā Nadjafī* to appear in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*). It is not, therefore, unexpected to see that the latter cleric made strenuous efforts to propagate in favour of Madjlisī's ideas by translating into Persian summarising and publishing several volumes of Madjlisī's books (Khānbābā Mushār, *Mu'allifīn-i kutub-i čāp-i-yi fārsī wa 'arabī az aghāz-i čāp tā kunūn*, II, Tehran 1961, nos. 198-203).

Madjlisī's thoughts, teachings, and practices, however popular and influential, have not been secure from the criticism made by a number of Shī'ī religious thinkers since Madjlisī's time. Mīr Lawhī [*q.v.*] for instance, accuses him of the distortion of the sense of some *hadīths*, and suggests its reason to have been either ignorance or wordly interests (Muhammad Mīr Lawhī, *Kifāyat al muhtadī fī ma'rifat al-Mahdī*, ms. no. 1121, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 21-2) 'Abd al-Hayy, another contemporary of Madjlisī criticised him particularly over the Friday Prayer which Madjlisī and his father had revived (Muhammad Bāqir Khwānsārī, *Rawdāt al-djannāt fī ahwāl al-'ulamā' wa al-sādāt*, Tehran 1947, 132) and which 'Abd al-Hayy, *inter alios*, believed that in the absence of the Twelfth Shī'ī Imām should not be performed. He also criticised Madjlisī because "he authorised every imbecile and wicked person to transmit *hadīth* on Madjlisī's authority" ('Abd al-Hayy Radawī Kāshānī, *Hadīkat al Shī'a*, Arabic. ms., Madjlis Library, no. 3770, p. 110). A Persian Sufī of the Kādjar period believed that Madjlisī was inconsistent in his ideas (Muhammad Ma'sūm Shīrāzī Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'ik al-haka'ik*, I, Tehran 1960, 279 ff.) In reference to some of the *hadīths*, quoted from *Bihār*, which indicate the Shī'ī Imāms' humiliation at the hands of contemporary caliphs, a Persian author of our time writes that if any person trusting Madjlisī happened to read some of Madjlisī's writings he (or she) would certainly lose his (or her) belief in the Shī'ī Imāmate. This author is deeply disturbed by the fact that the custodians of Shī'īsm have been able to tolerate and pass in silence over these types of "terrifying results" that Madjlisī has reported against the infallible Shī'ī Imāms ('Alī Sharī'atī, *Tashayyu'-i 'Alawī wa tashayyu'-i Safawī*, Tehran 1971, 189-93).

Since the late 19th century, Iran has experienced a number of anti-government movements, all of which were led by the clerical leaders. The *'ulamā'*'s active participation in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11/1324-9 (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shī'ism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977) and their unquestionable leadership in the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Hamid Rūhānī, *Barrasī-yi tahlīlī-yi nahdat-i Imām Khumaynī dar Īrān*, Kum 1979) were certainly in sharp contradiction with Madjlisī's teachings. Although the *'ulamā'* rose against the political establishments in these revolutions they seem in reality, one may say, to have revolted against the legitimacy of the legacies of Madjlisī.

Bibliography No comprehensive and critical study of Madjlisī's life and work seems to have been yet undertaken. The most informative available biography of Madjlisī is *al-Fayd*, written in 1302/1884 and mainly based on Ahmad b. Muhammad 'Alī Bihbahānī's work still in manuscript entitled *Mir'āt al-ahwāl-i djahān namā*, Persian mss., Madjlis Library, no. 5551, this valuable, original book, written between 1210/1796 and 1225/1810, is skilfully outlined in Abdol Hossein Haeri, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi madjlis-i shūrā-yi millī*, xvii, Tehran 1909, 6-19 Madjlisī's own books may well be rated as the best sources of information concerning his thought as well as his links with the Safawid monarchs. Over 50 Persian books are ascribed to Madjlisī, and 45 Arabic books are also listed under his name, all in *al-Fayd*, 8-9 Madjlisī's major work is the *Bihār*, which was first published in twenty-five large volumes in Tehran in 1305 13/1887 97, and a new edition of it has recently appeared in 110 volumes (Tehran 1956-72). This edition, however readable, finely printed and handily accessible, is not only devoid of any notably valuable editorial work, but since no pagination of the old edition is given in the new edition, the researcher has to face certain difficulties in collating the references to and quotations from the old edition with the new one. An extremely useful alphabetically-arranged guide to the *Bihār* is 'Abbās Kummī's *Safīnat al bihār wa madīnat al hikam wa 'l-āthār*, I-II, 1943, but its abbreviation systems apply only to the old edition. Some of Madjlisī's books have been translated into other Islamic languages; many of his books have also been published, but only forty five of them are listed in Mushār, *Mu'allifīn*, II, nos. 23-42.

In addition to the sources introduced above, see also Muhammad Hurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, I-II, Baghdād 1965, Muhammad b. 'Alī Ardabīlī, *Djāmi' al-ruwāt* I-II Tehran [?] 1952 E. G. Browne, *LHP*, iv. C. de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and part of the East Indies*, I-II, London 1737, Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh Djazā'irī, *al-Anwār al nu'mānīyya*, iv, Tabrīz 1962, 'Abd al-Karīm Djazī, *Rīdjāl-i Isfahān yā tadhkirat al-kubūr*, 1949; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933; Abbe Martin Gaudereau, *Relation de la mort de Schah Soleyman roy de Perse et du couronnement de Sultan Hussein son fils, avec plusieurs particularités touchant l'état present des affaires de la Perse*, Paris 1695, Muhammad 'Alī Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samā' fī tarādjim al-'ulamā'*, Kum 1974, 'Abd al-Husayn al-Husaynī al-Khātūnābādī, *Wakāyi' al-siniīn wa 'l-a'wām*, Tehran 1973, 'Abbās Kummī, *Hadiyyat al-ahbāb fī dhikr al-ma'rūfīn bi 'l-kunā wa 'l-alkāb wa 'l-ansāb*, Tehran 1950, idem, *Fawā'id al-radawiyya fī ahwāl 'ulamā' al-madhhab al-dja'fariyya*, II, Tehran 1948, Muhammad Bākir Madjlisī, *Mahdī-yi mawā'id*, tr. 'Alī Dawwānī, Tehran 1971 (translator's introd.); Muhammad 'Alī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayhānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-ma'rūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa al-laķab*, III, Tehran 1950; Ismā'īl Husayn al-Mīānkūrī al-Kantūrī, *Kashf al-hudjub wa 'l-astār 'an asmā' al-kutub wa 'l-asfār*, Calcutta 1912, Karl Heinz Pampus, *Die theologische Enzyklopädie Bihār al anwār des Muhammad Bāqir Madjlisi, ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Shī'a zu der Safawidenzeit*, diss., Bonn 1970, Waliullāh Shāmlū *Kisas al-Khākānī*, photographed mss., Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, no. 69; *Tadhkirat al-muluk*, Tehran 1953; Muhammad Muhsin Āghā Buzurg Tihrānī, *al-Dharī'a ilā tasānīf al-Shī'a*, Tehran and Nadjaf, 1936- , in over twenty volumes.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MADJLISĪ-YI AWWAL, MUHAMMAD TAĶĪ (1003-70/1594-1659), a prominent Shī'ī religious leader and author of the Safawid period.

Originally, he was on his mother's side from

Djabal ʿĀmil (southern Lebanon) became, according to his son Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [q.v.], Darwīsh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿĀmilī, a great *mudjtahid* of Djabal ʿĀmil, was his maternal grandfather (Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, ii, Tehran n.d., 251), the latter was also called Naṭanzī from his stay in Naṭanz, north of Iṣfahān, for a certain period of time (Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxx, Damascus 1949, 375-3). Muḥammad Bāḳir Khwānsārī [*q.v.*] has held that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's place of origin also on his father's side was Djabal ʿĀmil because Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Djābir, a *mudjtahid* from the same region, was his paternal cousin. This view, however logical and acceptable, seems difficult to combine with the fact that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's son and great grandson claimed descent from Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh of Iṣfahān (d. 430/1038) (*Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-sādāt*, Tehran 1947, 74-5, 130; see also *Nāma-yi dānishwarān-i nāṣirī dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ustādsad tan az dānish warān-i nāmī*, vii, Kum n.d., 1-21) At any rate he himself was born in Ardastān, north-east of Iṣfahān, and brought up and lived in Iṣfahān (Waḥīd Shāmlū *Kashf al-Ḥikāyāt*, photographed ms., no. 69, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 370); and owing to the above-mentioned personal and familial background, he sometimes called himself "al-Iṣfahānī al-Naṭanzī al-ʿĀmilī" (Muḥammad Ṭāḳī Madjlisī, *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī*, i, Tehran 1313, 363).

Having been born into such clerically distinguished family, he began his religious education very early in life. He himself writes that at the age of four he knew about God, prayers, paradise and hell, and used to preach to children according to the verses of the Kurʾān and passages of the *ḥadīth* which his father had taught him (Madjlisī-yi Awwal, *Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, Tehran n.d., i, 903). He studied with remarkable steadiness under a number of teachers, including Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn Shūshtarī. He writes, at the age of sixty: "I spent over fifty years of my life in doing research on the traditions of the Prophet (Muḥammad) and as those of the infallible Imāms ... First of all, I read the ordinary books written on theology (*kalām*), fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), and jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), manually, I studied whatever [works] our Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* and others had compiled" (Muḥammad ʿAlī Kashmīrī, *Nudjūm al-samāʾ fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Kum 1974, 61). Madjlisī-yi Awwal seems to have begun to be exceptionally prolific towards the end of that fifty year period, because he wrote his voluminous work *Rawḍat al-mutaḳīn* within approximately two years, i.e. from ca. 1063/1652 to 1064/1653 (*Nudjūm*, 63, cf. also Muḥammad Ṭāḳī Madjlisī, *Rawḍat al-mutaḳīn fī sharḥ man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faḳīh*, 1973, i, 1-3, this book is being published in many volumes, the twelfth of which appeared in 1979), and translated a substantial portion of it into Persian during the years 1065/1654 to 1066/1655 (*Lawāmiʿ*, i, 363, and *B*, Tehran 1905, 409).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal has been recognised as one of the outstanding Shīʿī *mudjtahids* who, after the accession of the Ṣafawīds to power, began to promulgate the Shīʿī *ḥadīths*, especially in the Persian language. He in fact enjoyed good relations with the Ṣafawīd monarchs. In some of his own writings, Madjlisī-yi Awwal describes a dream he saw while visiting the shrine city of Naḏjaf. He tells us that in his dream ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib urged his immediate return to Iṣfahān in order to prevent the confusions which ʿAlī told him would follow the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I (1038/1628). Madjlisī-yi Awwal, therefore, returned to Iṣfahān a few months earlier than originally planned, the dream was told by one of his friends to Shāh ʿAbbās's heir to the throne, Sām Mīrzā (later Shāh Ṣafī) (Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 132) and must have played a role in the strengthening of his ties to Shāh Ṣafī (d. 1052/1642). The extent of Madjlisī-yi Awwal's intimate friendship with another Ṣafawīd monarch, Shāh ʿAbbās II (d. 1077/1666), can be seen by the fact that, upon the latter's request, he translated his Arabic commentary on Ibn Bābuwayh's *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faḳīh* into Persian. The Arabic title of the book is *Rawḍat al-mutaḳīn* ("The garden of the pious") which addresses itself to the people of piety, whereas Madjlisī-yi Awwal not only dedicated the Persian version, with a great deal of highly eulogistic expressions, to the Shāh, but he also changed its title to *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī* ("The shimmerings of the invincible and just king"), a title that does not honestly represent the contents of the book written on the Shīʿī *aḥādīth* (*Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, *i*, 4-10)

Madjlisī-yi Awwal has been described by many of his biographers as a Ṣūfī, and a number of his books also attest this fact (cf. *inter alia*, his *Taḳwīm al-salāṭīn*, 1893, for a list of his other works, see Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjum al-maʿrūfīn bi ʾl-lḳunya wa ʾl-alḳāb*, iii, Tehran 1950, 460-2). However, his famous son, Muḥammad Bāḳir, and many other authors who considered Ṣūfism as heresy, have attempted to exonerate him from any truly mystical ideas or practices, and some of them have questioned the authenticity of Madjlisī-yi Awwal's authorship of those mystical books which have been ascribed to him (*Nudjūm*, 59-64) Muḥammad Bāḳir writes that his father had close associations with the Ṣūfīs during the early part of his life and that he tactically pretended to be a Ṣūfī in order to lead them to the right path Towards the end of his life, however, he found his efforts to have been useless and henceforth he openly turned against the Ṣūfīs and even declared them unbelievers (Muḥammad Bāḳir Naḏjafī Yazdī, *Sharḥ-i kitāb-i ʿAḳāʾid-i Islām bi lughat-i ʿAllāma Madjlisī*, Tehran 1975, 393-4) Muḥammad Bāḳir's statement, however important and thought-provoking, may well be questioned by the fact that his father's *Lawāmiʿ*, written as late as 1065-6/1654-5, that is to say four years before his death, contains many favourable references to Ṣūfism (cf. i 2, 38, 44, and *passim* in the new edition of vol. i, for an interesting discussion on this particular subject, consult Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Tarāʾik al-ḥaḳāʾik*, i, Tehran 1960, 268 ff.).

Madjlisī-yi Awwal's deep ties to Ṣūfism were also demonstrated by the spiritual stages he was known to have attained and by his asceticism, which became proverbial He, despite his close friendship with a tyrannical ruler such as Shāh ʿAbbās II, claims to have established certain relations with the Shīʿī Imāms and the Prophet Muḥammad, who gave his sanction to the path Madjlisī-yi Awwal was pursuing (*Lawāmiʿ*, new edition, *i*, 1-2) With regard to his attitude towards ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Madjlisī-yi Awwal points out that while paying a visit to the shrine of ʿAlī in Naḏjaf and "becoming occupied with an earnest spiritual striving (*mudjāhadat*), many things which weak intellects cannot bear were unveiled to me (*mukāshafāt*) through the blessing of that honourable [Imām]" ('Abbās Kummī,

Fawāʾid al-riḍawiyya fī aḥwāl ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab al-jaʿfariyya, Tehran 1946, ii, 444).

Bibliography in addition to references given in the text, see MADJLISĪ, MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR (ʿABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ.

(i) Arab countries.

Madjmaʿ, pl. *madjāmiʿ*, lit. "a place of collecting, a place in which people collect, assemble, congregate" (Lane i/2, 459), became in the second half of the 19th century, as *madjmaʿ ʿilmī*, a technical term for Academy of Science, *madjmaʿ al-lugha* being an Academy of [Arabic] language. There is thus a close relationship between both kinds of *madjmaʿ*, since the striving for science takes place in an Arabic language made capable of it.

Whereas *madjlis* (*q.v.*) had been the current term in earlier Arab civilisation for [the place of] an informal literary gathering and developed the meaning of "council", *madjmaʿ* and *nādī* came to be used in the second half of the 19th century for private academies and cenacles or clubs which met to discuss language and literature as well as other problems. The rise of such scientific and literary *madjāmiʿ* and *nawādī* is connected with *al-Nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya*, "the Arabic renaissance". The rise of Arabic as an official language in Egypt under the Khedive Ismāʿīl (war against Turkish), its development in Lebanon, Egypt and elsewhere with a new style of writing, expanded vocabulary and simplified grammar, with translations from western languages, the development of journalism with its needs to write in a clear and easily understandable language; the extension of the reading public and its social background, and of course the progressive modernisation of thought and its direction towards hitherto unknown subjects and problems, all these and other factors were posing a challenge to the classical Arabic language (*al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*). On the one hand, they gave new impulses for its further development; on the other hand, they meant a crisis for the fixed forms which the classical language had taken. These turned out to be inadequate for modern use, and consequently there was a threat to the language. The crisis had a religious aspect, inasmuch as classical Arabic became desacralised and demystified. This was less critical for the Christian than for the Muslim Arabs, whose religious scholars, using Arabic as the language of the Kurʾān, opposed such a modernisation of the language. Among Muslims, the call for *iṣlāḥ* or reform in language is consequently parallel to that for *iṣlāḥ* in religion. It was, however, the modernisation of society itself which finally forced such a modernisation of language. The problem of how to develop Arabic without abandoning the *fuṣḥā* as an essential part of Arabic culture may be considered to have been at the basis of the foundation of *madjāmiʿ* and *nawādī*, which in the beginning were of a private nature. This implied a confrontation between what were called "progressive" and "conservative" views of the Arabic language.

Fāris al-Shidyāḳ appears to have been the first person to suggest founding an academy for the Arabic language (in ca. 1870). The idea was taken up by others and supported and even promoted by journalists who, for professional reasons, were in need of a "modern" Arabic. This call for an academy of language had, besides its linguistic purposes, political and cultural aspects. It aimed at a rehabilitation of Arabic and the Arabs after three and a half centuries of Turkish domination, and represented the rediscovery of a common cultural heritage and a common language of discourse in the *nahḍa*, there was a clear parallel between linguistic and political aspirations, which were directed first against the Turks and later against the British and French. Moreover, as openness existed towards modern science and instruments of knowledge and then assimilation in Arab society. These aspirations, together with the religious aspects, gave to all discussions on science and language a particular acuteness.

(1) Private *madjāmiʿ*.

Several private *madjāmiʿ* of language and scholarship arose as a consequence, though their existence was short-lived. In Beirut, *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Sharḳī* was established in 1882 with the co-operation of Fāris Nimr (1856-1952). In Egypt, the Institut d'Égypte founded by Napoleon in Alexandria in 1797 and transferred to Cairo in 1859 stood as the model for different *madjāmiʿ* in Cairo. Thus a *madjmaʿ* existed there in 1892-3 due to the initiative of Shaykh al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ al-Bikrī (1870-1933). An equally short existence was enjoyed by a *Djamʿiyyat tarḳiyat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* founded by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906), Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914) and Shaykh Muḥammad Rāshid Riḍā (1865-1935). Former students of the Dār al-ʿUlūm, like Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1855-1919) and ʿĀṣif Barakāt Bey, founded the *Nādī Dār al-ʿUlūm* in 1907 with the explicit purpose of 'Arabising' foreign words. This circle disappeared, as well as a similar *nādī* which was founded by Fatḥī Zaghlūl (1863-1914) around the same time. The same fate overcame the *Ladjnat al-muṭālaʿa al-ʿilmiyya* founded by Aḥmad Ḥishmat Pasha when he was Minister of Education, and of which Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1860-1934) was a prominent member. A *madjmaʿ* founded by Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963) (*q.v.*) in 1917 and presided over first by Shaykh Salīm al-Bishrī (1832-1917) and then by Shaykh Abū ʾl-Faḍl al-Djīzāwī (1847-1927) existed from 1917 until 1919 with 18 members, among whom were a Persian, 2 Syrian Christian and 2 Jew. From 1921 to 1925 there existed a *madjmaʿ* in Cairo which was presided over by Idrīs Rāghib Bey Manṣūr Fahmī (1886-1959) and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973) were counted among its members. It had as its explicit purpose the composition of a modern Arabic dictionary, but this was abandoned in 1925 because of the lack of official support.

(2) Official *madjāmiʿ*.

(a) *Syria.* On 8 June 1919, the Arab government of King Fayṣal I in Damascus requested Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī to found and organise an Arab Academy which would replace the *Shuʿbat dīwān al-maʿārif* which had been founded on 2 February 1919. This was an off-shoot of *al-Shuʿba al-ʿilā li ʾl-tardjama wa ʾl-taʾlīf* established some two months earlier. The first meeting of *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, which had been organised on the model of the Académie Française, took place on 3 July 1919 in Damascus, where it was established in the Madrasa ʿAdiliyya. Later, a section was established in Ḥalab (Aleppo). The Academy consisted at that time of eight members and a president, and it administered the *Djamʿiyya Sūriyya* (where courses were given in Arabic) from 17 June 1923 until 15 March 1926. Its constitution (*niẓām asāsī*) was recognised officially on 8 May 1928 and published in vol. xii (1932) of the *Madjalla* of the Academy (pp. 765-8), its "house rules" (*niẓām dākhilī*) followed on the recognition of the constitution. Constitution and house rules have

subsequently been amended. Administratively, the Academy depends on the Ministry of Education, but it has financial autonomy. In 1960 a fusion took place with the Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo.

Besides the active members (*ʿāmilūn*), whose number is fixed at present at fifteen, there are corresponding members (*murāsilūn*) without a fixed number. All members and the president are elected and then appointed by the head of State. Well-known presidents were Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī (1868-1956) and Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī (1893-1968). The president, vice-president and permanent secretary have the direction of the Academy. The Academy has published the *Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿarabī* since Rabīʿ II 1339/January 1921 at first as a monthly and since 1949 as a quarterly. Besides the journal, which has a wide scope of interests, the Academy publishes separate articles and text editions. In addition, it organises lectures (*muḥāḍarāt*) and sends representatives to congresses, etc. abroad. It does not publish special word lists as the Academy in Cairo does. The Academy also administers the *Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya* (al-Ẓāhiriyya) founded in 1296/1878 in Damascus, the historical Archives and the Museum of Antiquities.

Article One of the constitution of 1928 describes the task of the Academy (*Madjalla*, xii [1932], 765) as being to guard and perfect the Arabic language, and to research into the history of Syria and the Arabic language. The *fuṣḥā* and its principles are to be a starting point and norm, since that is the noble language (*lugha sharīfa*) of the Kurʾān and of classical literature, and Arabic is the common patrimony of all Arabs. The aims of the Academy are more specifically

i. To preserve the language (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā salāmat al-lugha*), in particular from the dialectal language, foreign orthography, archaisms and incoherences,

ii. to protect the purity of the language (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā faṣāḥat al-lugha*) against foreign (*daḵīl*) terms and style figures (*aʿdjām*); and

iii. to adapt the language to modern needs.

Bearing these aims in mind, the Academy can be of assistance to authors and translators as far as their use of language is concerned. Unlike the Academy in Cairo, the Academy in Damascus does not consider its decisions with regard to new general scholarly terms to be definite; they are preferences (*tarādjīḥ*) or propositions (*iḳtirāḥāt*) which are submitted to others. The articles in the *Madjalla* are published under the responsibility of their authors, not of the Academy.

Most of the work of the Academy is done in committees (*lidjān*), of which three have been in existence since the beginning: the administrative committee, the linguistic and literary committee (*lidjnat lugha adabiyya*), and the scientific and technical committee (*lidjnat ʿilmiyya fanniyya*) which has as its task the spreading of science and the arts in Syria. Later, more specialised committees were added: for general principles (*al-uṣūl al-ʿāmma*), for the dictionary (*al-muʿdjam*), for the journal (*al-madjalla*), for the neologisms (*wadʿ alfāẓ ʿarabiyya djadīda*), and for the dialects (*al-lahadjāt*). The committees work in closed sessions (*djalasāt khāṣṣa*), either according to a plan which is fixed at the annual meeting of the Academy, or in response to a particular problem. As an example of the latter, one could mention the project to enquire about words which are not found in the great Arabic dictionaries (*al-kalimāt ghayr al-kāmūsiyya*). Representatives of particular professions and groups can be consulted by the committees. Once a year, there is an annual general meeting, with both closed (*djalasāt ʿamal khāṣṣa*) and plenary (*djalasāt ʿamal ʿāmma*) sessions where all members meet together with notable figures (*al-aʿyān*) and men of letters (*al-udabāʾ*). In 1960 the name of the *Madjalla* became *Madjallat madjmaʿ al-ʿarabiyya—Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿarabī al-ʿilmī*.

As to the work which has already been done, Rachad Hamzaoui characterises the attitude of the Academy as trying to maintain the status quo, while introducing reforms where needed. Subjects which have been treated include questions of orthography; (simplification of) grammar; and the banishing of dialectal Arabic. Important work has been performed on modernising the Arabic vocabulary by means of *istiḥyāʾ* (resurgence of pure ancient Arabic words), *ishtiḳāḳ* (derivation by means of *ḥayāt* or analogy conforming to given *awzān* or schemes), *naḥt* (composition of words) and *taʿrīb* (borrowing from foreign languages), in this order of precedence. No definite solutions have been offered for the problems of orthography, grammar and dialectal Arabic. The fact that the *fuṣḥā* was taken as norm could not but restrict in advance the possibilities and means of the modernisation of language as it was striven after.

(b) *Egypt*. On the initiative of King Fuʾād I and the Senate (*Madjlis al-Shuyūkh*), the Minister of Education in 1928 requested that three reports be submitted by Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Aḥmad Ḥāfiẓ ʿAwaḍ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bishrī concerning the creation of an official Academy, and this led to its foundation in 1932. This was accelerated by a previous suggestion made by King Fayṣal I of ʿIrāḳ (1883-1933)—who had already established the Academy of Damascus in 1919—presented by Nūrī al-Saʿīd to the Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem in December 1931, to establish an Islamic University in Jerusalem as well as an Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo. The *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya al-malakī* was then founded independently by a royal Decree of 14 Shaʿbān 1351/13 December 1932, when Muḥammad Ṭalʿat Pasha was Minister of Education in the cabinet of Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī Pasha, which had been in power since the promulgation of the Constitution of 21 October 1930. The text of the constitution of the *madjmaʿ* which was promulgated was modelled on the Académie Française, dating from 1629. Its specific tasks included guarding the integrity of the Arabic language and adapting it to the needs of present-day life. In order to achieve these aims, the Academy was to compose dictionaries and word lists, compile a historical dictionary of the Arabic language, carry out studies on Arabic semantics and study modern Arabic dialects in Egypt and other Arab countries. The Academy was also to treat all those subjects which the Minister of Education submitted to it with the aim of developing the Arabic language. There would be twenty active members on an international basis. The first active members would be nominated directly by the King. Subsequently new members would be elected and then nominated by royal decree, or by decree of the head of state. In addition to the active members, there would be corresponding members. The president of the Academy was to be selected by the Minister of Education from a list of three names chosen by a majority of the members, and then nominated by decree of the head of state.

A royal decree of 16 Djumādā II/6 October 1933 appointed the first twenty members ten Egyptians, among them three Azharites, one Christian and one Jewish scholar, five European orientalists and five scholars from other Arab countries. Some opposition came from religious and conservative circles, and in particular, the presence of five orientalists on the list gave rise to fervent discussions. In the press, protests were made against both the methods and the results of the work of the *mustashriḳūn* with regard to the Arab-Muslim world, they were also thought to be collaborating with Christian missionaries against whose activities in Egypt a press campaign was carried out. As a result, A. J. Wensinck (1882-1939) was replaced as a member by E. Littmann (1875-1958). Authors like Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī (*Nūr al-islām*, iv [1352 A.H.], 595-607) attacked Wensinck because of his articles on Ibrāhīm and the Ka'ba in *EI*[1] (cf. OM, xii [1933], 594 f.). Besides orientalists, Egyptian scholars like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziḳ, who had opposed traditional conceptions of language, culture and religion, were also attacked. Seen in a wider perspective, attacks on orientalists reflect a zeal for total arabisation, though their vast knowledge was recognised, they were not seen as being loyal to the cause of Arabic language and culture and Arab self-affirmation in general during the period concerned. Such attacks notwithstanding, within the Academy the European orientalists—A. Fischer (1865-1949), H.A.R. Gibb (1895-1971), E. Littmann (1875-1958), L. Massignon (1883-1962) and C. A. Nallino (1872-1938)—worked together successfully with the arabophone scholars, although from 1962 onwards non-Arabs could only be corresponding members of the Academy.

The first session of the *Madjmaʿ* took place on 14 Shawwāl 1352/30 January 1934, after which the "house rules" were established and the chief officials were chosen. Presidents were successively Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Rifʿat Pasha from 1934 until 1944, Luṭfī al-Sayyid from 1945 until 1963, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as his successor until 1973. Permanent secretaries of the Academy were Mansūr Fahmī (1886-1959) from 1934 until 1939, and Ibrāhīm Madkūr (b. 1902) from 1960 onwards. The administration is carried out by an administrative director (*al-mudīr al-idārī*). After 1938, the name of the Academy was *Madjmaʿ Fuʾād al-Awwal li 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*. In 1955, this was changed officially into *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*. As a result of the Egyptian-Syrian union of 1958, the two Academies of Cairo and Damascus were joined together in 1960. Their new constitution gave internal autonomy, a moral personality (*shakhṣiyya iʿtibāriyya*) and an autonomous budget to the Academy, the Minister of Education, however, became then the supreme president (*al-raʾīs al-aʿlā*) of the Academy. Its aims were extended toward unifying scientific terms in Arabic, reviving the Arab heritage of learning and stressing its links with the other cultural heritages of mankind, furthering the development of the language in general and in particular its orthography, and simplifying its grammar. The conclusions reached by the Academy should be applied and brought into practice by the Ministry of Education. Later, the Minister of Culture became Honorary President of the Academy. The number of its members rose to 60, 40 Egyptians and 20 representatives of other Arab countries. Apart from its committee meetings, the *Madjmaʿ* holds a weekly meeting for its Egyptian members and an annual conference which is also attended by corresponding members from elsewhere. Whereas the first generation of Academicians consisted of men of a broad culture in language and literature, following generations tended to be more specialised in particular fields such as the sciences, mathematics, law, medicine, *ḥaḍāra*, history, geography and psychology. As a result, later decisions taken by the Academy could imply more radical innovations. Besides the great general meetings, a *madjlis al-madjmaʿ* was established to carry out the decisions of the Academy and to divide the work to be done among the committees. The two Academies of Cairo and Damascus received a permanent secretariat in Cairo, *al-maktab al-dāʾim*. Notwithstanding the fact that the Académie Française is the model for the Egyptian Academy, there are some interesting differences: the Egyptian *Madjmaʿ*'s pan-Arab and also international character, its annual meetings, and its functioning as an Academy not only of language but also of arts and sciences make it comparable to the Institut de France. Its stress on the *fuṣḥā* implies that classical Arab humanism, as transmitted by the pure Arabic language, should be conserved.

Most of the actual work is done by special committees of finances (*ladjnat al-māliyya*), of general principles (*l. al-uṣūl al-ʿāmma*), of mathematics (*l. al-riyāḍiyyāt*), of physical and chemical sciences (*l. al-ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿiyya wa 'l-kīmiyya*), of biology and medicine (? *ʿulūm al-ḥayāt wa 'l-ṭibb*), of social sciences (*l. al-ʿulūm al-idjtimāʿiyya*), of letters and arts (*l. al-ādāb wa 'l-funūn*), of the dictionary (*l. al-muʿdjam*), of the dialects (*l. al-lahadjāt*), of the journal (*l. al-madjalla*) and of the library (*l. khizānat al-kutub*). In their sessions, specialists in various fields can be invited as experts whenever the Academicians are not sufficiently competent. As the number of specialisations has grown, the number of committees has increased and sub-committees have been founded where needed, as well as technical committees. The committees submit annual reports to the President of the Academy, they should keep moreover records of their meetings (*maḥāḍir al-djalasāt*). The conclusions of the committees are provisional until they have been presented to and adopted by the general meeting of the *Madjmaʿ*. Members can publish their work outside the responsibility of their committee or of the Academy, a special part of the *Madjalla* is reserved for this purpose. The Minister of Education has always been very much alert as to the consequences of the decisions taken by the *Madjmaʿ* for schoolbooks.

Special mention should be made of the precious collection of cards (*ṭaṭāsāt*) which have been prepared for the historical dictionary and for the dictionary of technical and scientific terms. Massignon used to lay great stress on this project and the need for a correct organisation of the cards, but it took some time before the system was introduced. August Fischer, whose project of a historical dictionary of the Arabic language was officially accepted by the Academy in 1938, made some 100,000 cards of his private collection available, which were transported from Leipzig to Cairo, but were neglected after his death in 1949. The cards for the scientific dictionary and for the historical dictionary have been differently organised, they have been placed in rooms not accessible for the public, and apparently they have been filled out only partially. In 1948 an office of registration (*maktab al-tasdjīl*) was established with the task of classifying all terms accepted by the Academy.

The Academy has acted as patron for certain works and book publications, and it has given awards to certain manuscripts of quality which could be published as a consequence. The Academy has an international audience and is represented at international conferences dealing with the Arabic language. It has contributed to the organisation of the Union of Arab Academies and to that of the Arab Scientific Union.

In its efforts to adapt the Arabic language to the demands and needs of modern times, it has paid attention primarily to problems of vocabulary and, in particular, to the creation of neologisms. Studies of grammar and especially of morphology serve in part to facilitate this work and to contribute to the making of modern dictionaries. Compared with this, studies on orthography, phonetics, dialects, syntax and stylistics have been less prominent. Work has concentrated on semantics and the grammar of the *fuṣḥā*, the more conservative members have always tended to defend at all costs the integrity and purity of the language. Members try to avoid an accumulation of synonyms. The rule has been established to prefer whenever possible one term to two or more if a neologism has to be made, or otherwise—if it is not possible to find one Arabic term—to proceed by means of a literal translation of the foreign term. Another rule is to study anything which could simplify Arabic writing as well as the rules of syntax and morphology. In particular, the Ministry of Education stresses the need for simplification of grammar. The interest taken in dialect studies derives from the desire better to know the *fuṣḥā*, so that a decision can be taken about the integration of the dialectal Arabic. Attention has been given to the transliteration of foreign words, starting with geographical names. Throughout the discussions, the history of Arabic grammar, the place of the Kur'ān as a norm for the Arabic language, and the role of linguistic norms as such, have come up again and again. Although some attempts have been made to propose a simplification of orthography for the purpose of printing, problems of writing and orthography, like those of phonetics, have hardly been dealt with. Most important has been lexicography (*al-muʿdjamiyyāt*) and the technical procedure of composing dictionaries, this has entailed, besides the creation of neologisms, the evaluation of data of classical lexicography. Through its discussions since 1934 the *Madjmaʿ* has established a sort of linguistic *idjmāʿ* for Arabic, though the discussions themselves have taken place in a non-systematic way.

In the conclusion of his study about the *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* R. Hamzaoui observes two features by which it distinguishes itself from other academies. In contrast to the Academies of Damascus and Baghdād it concentrates completely on the Arabic language and in its decision-making it tries to arrive at a linguistic *idjmāʿ* of its members before giving any authoritative statement. As in the Academy of Damascus, the work of the Academy of Cairo takes its departure from the *fuṣḥā* and aims to ensure a cultural and linguistic continuity from the beginning of Arabic literature until the present day. This often leads to a purist stand, seeking to defend the *ʿarabiyya* against encroachments by foreign languages, in particular modern western ones. This approach to the modernisation of the Arabic language and of Arabic culture in general leads to compromise solutions and the rejection of any radical solutions which may be proposed.

Among the major publications of the *Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* are *al-Muʿdjam al-wasīṭ* (2 vols., Cairo 1960-1) and *Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-Kurʾān* (3 vols., Cairo 1953) as dictionaries. Five volumes of *Maḳāṣir al ḥalaḳāt* (1936-48), four volumes of the subsequent *al-Buḥūth wa 'l-mukhtārāt* (1959-62) as reports on the work being done and papers read by Academicians, the *Madjmūʿāt al-muṣṭalaḥāt al ʿilmiyya wa 'l-fanniyya*, of which eight volumes appeared between 1959 and 1968, and specialised listings of neologisms created by the Academy for particular fields; finally, the *Madjallat madjmaʿ al-lugha al ʿarabiyya* from 1934 onward as the regular journal of the Academy. One special volume was published of *al-Muʿdjam al lughawī al-taʾrīkhī* (*Ḥarf al-hamza ilā abad*), the project of this historical dictionary initiated by August Fischer but later abandoned (Cairo 1387/1967, 53 pp.). Two specimen volumes were published of the great *al-Muʿdjam al-lughawī al-kabīr* meant to be an Arabic *Larousse Encyclopédique*: *Ḥarf al-hamza—akhī* (Cairo 1956, 319 pp.), and *Mawādd min ḥarf al-hamza* (Cairo 1381-2/1962-3, 155 pp. in typescript). Several studies on the Cairo Academy have been published, as is shown in the *Bibliography* below.

(c) *ʿIrāḳ*. The history of *al-Madjmaʿ al ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī* goes back to 1945 when a *laḥnat al taʾlīf wa 'l-tardjama wa 'l-nashr* was established in the Ministry of Education in order to expand the sphere of scientific activities in ʿIrāḳ and to keep up with such activities in the more developed countries. Due to the initiative of Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī and his collaborators, amongst them Fāḍil al-Djamālī, *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī* was founded by the government in 1947 and organised by the Ministry of Education. Its aims were more far-reaching than those of the preceding Committee as mentioned in Article 2 of the Regulations of the Iraq Academy (on 62, 26 November 1947): *Madjalla*, 1 (1950), 10):

(i) to maintain the purity of the Arabic Language and seek to adapt it to the demands of the arts and sciences, and of the affairs of modern life;

(ii) to undertake research and writing in the fields of Arabic literature, the history of the Arabs, the history of the peoples of ʿIrāḳ, their languages, sciences, and civilisation;

(iii) to study the part played by the peoples of Islam in the propagation of Arabic culture;

(iv) to maintain in safe-keeping rare Arabic manuscripts and documents, and revive them by publishing them according to the latest scientific methods, and

(v) to undertake research in the modern arts and sciences, encourage original writing and translation in these fields, and promote the spirit of scientific enquiry in the country.

The *Madjmaʿ* clearly wanted to provide an impetus to the scientific *nahḍa* in ʿIrāḳ, as had been the purpose of the *Madjmaʿ* in Damascus, founded after World War I, for the scientific *nahḍa* in Syria. On 25 June 1949 (on 49), ten Articles were promulgated as an Amendment to the Regulations. The first meeting of the *Madjmaʿ* was held on 12 January 1948 and up to 30 June 1950, 66 sessions were held as well as 159 committee sessions. At this stage, there were two active members, all ʿIrāḳīs. At the beginning of 1949, the *Madjmaʿ* was considered to be a government body, and since by law the accumulation of ministrial or parliamentary functions with any other state positions was forbidden, several members had to leave the Academy; later that year Fāḍil al-Djamālī and Mattā ʿAḳrāwī left ʿIrāḳ on official duty and had to be replaced by

others, though they remained honorary members of the Academy. At this stage also, 26 corresponding members were elected, both among 'Irāḳī and among Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese scholars, four western orientalists also became corresponding members, A. Guillaume, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Marçais and L. Massignon.

The activities of the Academy in Baghdād consisted from the beginning both of purely internal activities and of activities directed towards the outside world giving public lectures, bringing about publications, allocating funds in order to support the publication of books and awarding prizes for essays on particular subjects fixed by the Academy. Since 1958 it has published the *Madjallat al-madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿIrāḳī* on a yearly basis, to which Academicians and other scholars have contributed on a number of scholarly subjects. The public lectures organised by the Academy may be published in its *Madjalla* or separately. Each issue also contains a number of book reviews. In 1956 the Academy was able to acquire a printing press. In its internal sessions, the Academy has established a number of new scientific and technical terms which are published in part in the *Madjalla* and in part on separate lists sent to various Ministries at their request. It should be noted that 'Irāḳ during the early years did not yet possess a university, the University of Baghdād being established only in 1958. Well-known Presidents of the Academy have been Munīr al-Ḳādī as from 1949 onwards, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī from 1958 onwards, and 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Muḥyī al-Dīn since the later sixties, Yūsuf 'Izz al-Dīn being its permanent secretary since that time. The Law no. 49 of 1963 introduced certain changes in the Regulations of the Academy.

The Academy has continued to hold its regular sessions and committee meetings and also to give financial assistance to the publishing of books and to acquire books for its library as well as microfilms of manuscripts. In 1970 the library counted some 25,000 books, more than 300 periodicals and some 400 manuscripts on microfilm. It had developed a card-index system, assigned prizes to winners of poetry festivals and participated in inter-Arab conferences on cultural subjects. The Academy also gave its opinion on cultural treaties which 'Irāḳ was concluding with other countries. The Academy was liberal in giving its publications to numerous official institutions and personalities in the country and abroad, it gave assistance to students and scholars, photographed manuscripts from public and private libraries. Members participated in Committees for the Protection of Monuments, for a Translation Programme, etc. At present the Academy has active members (not exceeding fifteen 'Irāḳī scholars), associate members, honorary members and corresponding members, the last two categories including both 'Irāḳī and other nationalities.

(d) *Morocco.* Although not a *madjmaʿ* in the formal sense of the word, a similar institution in Rabat may be mentioned. After the first International Congress on Arabisation held in Rabat in 1962, a Bureau Permanent de l'Arabisation was established in Rabat and recognised by the League of Arab States in 1968. Subsequently, this became the Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes à Rabat, which was integrated in the ALESCO (Arab League, on the pattern of a regional UNESCO) in 1971, its definite regulations being established in 1973. Since 1964 this Bureau has published *al-Lisān al ʿarabī*, with lists of neologisms and further articles of linguistic interest, it also publishes specialised listings of terms in particular fields with the Arabic, French and English equivalents. The members of the Bureau participate in meetings of the Academies in Damascus, Cairo and Baghdād. In its work on the modernisation of the Arabic language, the Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes follows less conservative lines than the established Academies and appears to work more efficiently. Finally it should be noted that by a *ẓahīr* (dahīr) of 24 Shawwāl 1397/8 October 1977, the king of Morocco created a royal academy (*al-Akādīmiyya al-malakiyya*), which consists of 50 members, 30 of which have the Moroccan nationality while 30 are foreign correspondents. The statutes of the academy have been published in *al-Bahth al-ʿilmī*, xxvii (1396/1976), 225-44.

A Union of Arab Academies was founded in Cairo on 30 March 1957, by Decree no. 1329.

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(J. D. J. Waardenburg)

(ii) Iran

The establishment of the first Iranian language academy (*Farhangistān-i nakhu-i Irān*) resulted from developments representing two separate but related types of concerns, both stemming from the advent of modernisation to the early 19th century, and resulting in the double nature of the activities of the two academies. These two sets of developments were: (a) the desire for purifying Persian from the foreign (mostly

Arabic) words, and (b) the need for new words created by the introduction of new concepts (technical and general). The history of the language academies and related events can be divided into five periods.

(1) Historical background (up to 1921).

(2) The immediate setting (1921-35).

(3) The first *Farhangistān* (1935-41).

(4) Between the two *Farhangistāns* (1941-70).

(5) The second *Farhangistān* (1970-).

(1) *Historical background (up to 1921)* Attempts to write in a Persian devoid of Arabic words go as far back as at least the 4th/10th century. In recent times, the opposition to foreign words was triggered by nationalism, and was strengthened by the relative loss of the status of Arabic as part of the educational curriculum. The first manifestation of this opposition in recent times appeared in the 19th century, when a number of writers and poets wrote in *Fārsī-yi sara* "pure Persian", and some of them promoted it through research on the subject. These efforts continued, and became increasingly more extensive as time went on. During the same century, a new factor was introduced by the need for words to designate concepts brought in by modernization in ever-increasing numbers. When the two factors overlapped, a three sided debate developed. Should the new concepts be called (1) by their European names, or (2) by Arabic names (already in use in the Arabic-speaking countries or Ottoman Turkey, or to be coined in Iran itself), or (3) by native Persian words (existing or to be coined)? In practice, (2) was used most often, and (3) least often, especially at the earlier stages. In addition, a number of loan translations were introduced.

(2) *The immediate setting (1921-1935)* Ridā Shāh Pahlawī took over the government in 1921, and became king in 1925. Because of the encouragement of nationalism by the new régime, and the emphasis on the glories of ancient Iran, the debate on the foreign elements in Persian gained greater prominence. Opposition to loanwords grew and became more certain as their numbers increased. The debate spread to newspapers and journals. The government, and several of its agencies, also became involved, issuing public orders as well as internal memoranda, forbidding the use of European words and names, and even ordering that Persian writings on store signs should be made more prominent than anything in foreign scripts. Foreign words were considered "worse than a foreign army", their use a "literary disaster". The subject came up in parliamentary debates, and Ridā Shāh himself took a direct personal interest.

Ridā Shāh launched a series of reforms, mostly in the outward aspects of life, and practically all conducive to the importation of Western objects and Western institutions. This resulted in a greater need for new words. The need for coining new terms, often in combination with the interest in purification, led to the formation of a number of groups, which differed in longevity, efficiency, and their impact on the language. The first such group seems to have been the *Anjuman-i 'Ilmī* (Scientific Society) formed in the 1920s. In November 1924, the Ministry of War, in consultation with the Ministry of Education, formed a group made up of several high-ranking officers from the *Shūrā-yi 'Ālī-yi Nizām* (Supreme Military Council), as well as civilians from both ministries, charged with coining military terms. The words *hawāpaymā* "airplane", *khalabān* "pilot", *furūdgāh* "airport", and others adopted by the group are now well-established in the language. There were other groups. The longest lived and best organized was the *Anjuman-i Wāzh-i Lughāt wa Istilāhāt-i 'Ilmī* (The Committee for Coining Scientific Terms), founded by Dr. 'Alī Sadīk at the *Dār al-Mu'allimīn-i 'Ālī* (National Teachers' College), since renamed as *Dānishsarā-yi 'Ālī*, of which he had just been appointed dean. This student committee, under a faculty sponsor, adopted a constitution, with a set of principles and guidelines. Active from February-March 1933 to September-October 1940, it adopted about 3,000 terms in all, of which some 400 are said to have become fully-accepted. This committee continued its work even after the establishment of the first *Farhangistān*.

In 1935, the Ministry of Education founded the *Ākādamī-yi Tibbī* (Medical Academy), whose membership was made up of a number of well-known physicians and scholars. The group passed a constitution which listed 10 types of activities for itself, including the coining of medical terms. It was this group which adopted the word *farhangistān* for "academy". (*Farhang*, originally meaning "politeness, knowledge, education", etc., and also "dictionary". In recent decades, it has come to be used also in the sense of "culture", and in the 1930s it replaced the Arabic *Ma'ārif* in the name of the "Ministry of Education". More recently, in the name of the newly-founded "Ministry of Culture", it has been used in the sense of "culture", and the compound *Āmūzish wa Parwarish* has replaced it in the name of the "Ministry of Education".)

(3) *The first Farhangistān (1935-41)* By 1934, the efforts to purify Persian of its foreign element had acquired the proportions of a movement. Starting mostly in some periodicals, it soon spread to the various government offices, and to a major department of the Madjlis. A widespread hunt was on for "pure" Persian words to replace many common Arabic words. The words were found in dictionaries as well as other sources, including the *Shāh-nāma*. Articles written in *Fārsī-yi sara* were accompanied by glossaries, without which readers would have been at a loss, but nevertheless correspondence in this style was often unintelligible. Difficulties often arose in intra-governmental communication, since each person felt free to use "pure" Persian words which he had found, and there was little or no common ground among the many enthusiasts.

Ridā Shāh Pahlawī visited Turkey in 1934, where a movement for purifying Turkish from Arabic and Persian words was afoot, supported by the government of Kemal Atatürk, at whose order the Turkish Linguistic Society had been founded as far back as July 1932 (see section 3 below). Upon Ridā Shāh's return to Iran, approached by a number of purification supporters, he ordered a committee to be selected in the Ministry of War to adopt Persian equivalents for military terms. The Army Staff had already adopted native Persian equivalents for a large number of military terms, which had been reported to the king and put in use. These included the words *afsar* "officer" and *artesh* "army", both now established terms (and both objectionable from the etymological point of view).

The Ministry of Education, which was opposed to the movement, tried to subvert the new committee. Within a few hours after the committee's first meeting, Prime Minister Muhammad 'Alī Furūghī, an experienced politician and a respected scholar, and unsympathetic to the cause of purification, recruited for the task by the equally unsympathetic Ministry of Education, suggested to the king that

a group of scholars be commissioned to study the matter, and to prepare the way for the establishment of an academy (*farhangistān*).

The idea of establishing a language academy was not entirely new. In 1925, the government decided to establish a *Madjlis-i Aʿyān*, which, however, did not last long. One of its coinages was *rāh-āhan* "rail way", a translation of French *chemin de fer*, now a well-established part of Persian vocabulary. The idea continued to come up from time to time, until Furūghī was permitted by the Shah to found an academy. Furūghī charged ʿIsā Ṣadīk with preparing a plan for an academy. He drafted a constitution, based in part on that of the Académie Française. After some changes, it was approved by the Council of Ministeries on 19 May 1935, and sent to the Ministry of Education on 26 May 1934 for action.

Article II of the constitution specifies the responsibilities of the *Farhangistān* in twelve items. Items 1, 2, 4-7, deal with collecting, adopting, and coining words. Items 8-12 concern literature. Item 10 calls for "inquiry into the reform of the Persian script". References to purification of Persian are mild, and almost casual. Item 4 states that the words to be chosen "in all domains of life" should be Persian "as much as possible". Item 3 states the responsibilities of the *Farhangistān* as "pruning (*pīrāstan*) from the Persian language inappropriate foreign words".

The *Farhangistān* held its first meeting on 2 June 1935, chaired by Furūghī. Other ordinary (*paymūsa*) members present included Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [q.v.], ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā [q.v. in Suppl.], Abu 'l-Ḥasan Furūghī, Badīʿ al-Zamān (Furūzānfar), Ḥusayn Gulgulāb, ʿAlī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, Maḥmūd Ḥisābī, Saʿīd Nafīsī, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Ḳarīb, Ghulām Riḍā Rashīd-Yāsimī, ʿIsā Ṣādik, Ṣādik Riḍāzāde Shafaḳ, Ḥasan Sanā', Ḥasan Wuthūḳ, and others. Among members added later were Ibrāhīm Pūr Dāwūd, ʿAlī Akbar Siyāsī, ʿAbbās Iḳbāl Āshtiyānī, Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī, Muḥammad Kazwīnī, Aḥmad Bahmanyār and Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī. Among the associate (*wābasta*) members elected at various times were the Iranian novelist Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāde, and a number of foreigners, including Professors A. Christensen (Denmark) Henri Massé (France), Jan Rypka (Czechoslovakia) and Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḥaykal (Egypt).

The *Farhangistān* adopted its internal by-laws on 4 August 1935, and later slightly modified them. Other by-laws were adopted later. The internal by-laws called for the establishment of seven committees. Although the designations of these committees, and the description of the tasks of the *Farhangistān* found in its constitution, set down a wide variety of tasks for it, in practice it spent all of its time and energy in adopting Persian words to replace foreign words.

According to its constitution, the officers of the *Farhangistān* consisted of a president, to be appointed by the king, and two vice-presidents and two secretaries elected for two years by a majority of the ordinary members. The first president was Premier Furūghī. He resigned as premier a few months later and after that did not attend its meetings. In March-April 1936, Ḥasan Wuthūḳ succeeded him.

Riḍā Shāh was dissatisfied with the speed with which the *Farhangistān* was progressing, and ordered it to be reorganized. This reorganisation took place on 28 April 1938. Several new members were added, and three members, including Wuthūḳ and Dihkhudā, were removed. The presidency of the *Farhangistān* was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Education. The first president under the new system was ʿAlī Aṣghar Ḥikmat. He was succeeded by Ismāʿīl Mirʾāt three months later. Mirʾāt's presidency lasted until September 1941. The committee structure also was changed. Of a total of eight committees, five were charged with coining terms. The work of the *Farhangistān* was now practically restricted, both officially and in fact, to the coining of terms.

Not everyone was in sympathy with the aims and the activities of the *Farhangistān*. Indeed, its founder, Furūghī, himself apparently became involved in it more to keep those whom he considered extremists from controlling it than to help the purification movement. In fact, in a public lecture he gave a few months after the *Farhangistān* began work, he tried to correct what he considered mistaken ideas about the organization's work; e.g. the idea that it was a "word manufacturing plant", and that its raison d'être was "purging Persian of Arabic words completely". In March-April 1937, the *Farhangistān* published an expanded version of this lecture under the title *Payām be Farhangistān* ["Message to the *Farhangistān*"]. Throughout this message, he stressed the importance of Arabic for Persian, and preached moderation in the attempts to purify Persian, and patience in introducing new Persian words and reviving old ones.

The first *Farhangistān* was active for little more than six years (though it continued to exist on paper until ca. 1956). During this time, it invented, revived and adopted over 2,400 words. These words were widely circulated in the press and in book form. The largest number of the words were technical terms in banking, medicine, zoology, arithmetic, geology, physics, botany, geometry, and government. In addition, it adopted Persian equivalents for some 200 Arabic expressions used in Persian, e.g. *nawās* for *djadīd al-bināʾ* "newly built". It also changed some place names, mostly from Arabic or Turkish to Persian, e.g. Muḥammara was changed to Khurramshahr. Ansalī to Pahlawī. In their forms, the words adopted by the *Farhangistān* fall into several categories. (a) simple words, *angal* "parasite", (b) compounds, e.g. *pāyān-nāma* [from *pāyān* "end" + *nāma* "letter"] "thesis, dissertation (for a college or university degree)". (c) words made with affixes, e.g. *dādgāh* [from *dād* "justice" + *-gāh*, a suffix of place] "court", *bandāsht* [from *bar-*, a prefix comparable to the English prefix *re-* + *dāsht*, past stem of the verb "to have"] "detention". A few of the *Farhangistān* words were European loan-words; e.g. *mīn* "mine" from French *mine*. Most of them, however, were made up of native Persian elements, and can be classified to several categories: (a) old words revived, e.g. *pizishk* "physician"; (b) old words given new or specialised meanings, e.g. *dāwar* (originally "judge") "arbitrator", *arz* ("value") "[foreign] exchange", (c) assignment of different meanings to members of a doublet (or triplet, etc.), i.e. the different phonological forms of what was historically a single word, e.g. *āgāhī* "secret police", *āgahī* "advertisement", (d) differentiation of meaning among a set of synonyms or near-synonyms, as in the geological terms *dawr* "epoch", *dawra* "period", *dawrān* "era", *rūzgār* "age"; (e) in a few instances (mostly in place names), a slight change in the form of an existing word making it more Persian in appearance, e.g. from *karantīna* to *karantīn* "quarantine", from *niyābat* (orig. Arabic "pilgrimage") to *Ziyād* (an obsolete Persian masculine name). (f) in a few cases, Persianising the spelling of a word, mostly in place names,

e.g. from *ṭūfān* to *ṭūfān* 'storm', from Tihrān to Tihrān. Some *Farhangistān* words were loan translations. There were three types of these: (a) a simple Persian word given a new (additional) meaning on the model of a foreign word, e.g. *čang*, meaning "clutch" given the additional meaning of "clutch" of a car, (b) a compound Persian word formed on the model of a foreign compound and given the meaning of that compound, e.g. *nakhust wazīr* "prime minister", modelled on the English *prime minister*; and the river named Siyāh Āb, from the Turkish Kara Sū, literally "Black Water"; (c) a word made with an affix in similar fashion, e.g. *hi-nam* "limited company", modelled on the French *anonyme*.

Many *Farhangistān* words have never been commonly accepted, e.g. *anbār* "accumulator" (in physics), *bihnjār* "normal", *pūkāne* "capsule". Some words, however, have clearly come into common use, terms dealing with governmental administration (including names of the various ministries, departments, etc.), names of cities and towns, and a few scientific terms.

A number of words coined by the *Farhangistān*, presumably from native Persian elements, are questionable, or clearly wrong from the points of view of semantics, grammar or etymological history, as pointed out by several scholars. Thus *ashkūb* 'floor (of a building)' is Aramaic; *khāwar* "east" was used by classical writers in the sense of "west" as well as "east", *dastgīr kardan* was chosen for "to capture, arrest", its derivative *dastgīrī* for "municipal assistance". All in all, some of the words coined by the *Farhangistān* show imprecision, unfamiliarity with, or disregard of, Persian grammatical rules, especially rules of word formation, and an absence of consistent principles and methods.

The *Farhangistān*'s words created problems for the people, partly because of the large numbers of new words introduced at short intervals, partly because they were not always fully explained, partly because of the inherent difficulty of substituting new (and often unfamiliar) words for those well-established in the language through centuries of use. Sometimes the new words were misused.

(4) *Between the two Farhangistāns (1941-79).*

During the Second World War, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī abdicated in September 1941, three weeks after Iran was occupied by the British and Russian forces. With the support of the powerful ruler removed, the *Farhangistān* lost its vigour. Its opponents now became active, denouncing it openly in the press. The *Farhangistān* reconsidered some of those of its adopted words to which objections had been made. The Ministry of Education issued a memorandum authorising the return to traditional mathematical terms which had been replaced with newly-coined words in school books.

After the occupation, Furūghī once again became the President of the *Farhangistān* in December 1941 or January 1942. He died on 26 November 1942, and the presidency went to Husayn Sanā', Adīb al-Saltana. After his death in January-February 1954, no successor was appointed to the presidency. The *Farhangistān* ceased to exist even on paper, despite continued occasional attempts to revive it. In the meantime, the need for new terms grew because of expanding education, increased translation activity, etc. After a time, a number of groups were organized was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Educa- for the purpose, but most were short-lived and non-productive.

The inactivity and later disappearance of the *Farhangistān* did not for long weaken the movement for purification. After Riḍā Shāh, the debate on purification was revived, with the opponents once again becoming active and vociferous. They included 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī and Wahīd Dastgirdī, whose journals, *Yādgār* and *Armaghān* respectively, published attacks on the *Farhangistān*. The major spokesman for the opposition was Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda (*q.v.*). The chief advocate of language *reform*—not the same as *purification*—was Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī (*q.v.*), who, however, disagreed with the majority of the proponents of purification. Both of these men became active in this area during Riḍā Shāh's reign. They exerted their greatest influence after his abdication, however, and for this reason it is appropriate and convenient to discuss them at this point. Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda was a well-known, widely respected, influential politician, diplomat, and scholar. In 1935, he had attacked purification in an article published in the journal of the Ministry of Education. His reference to "the intervention of the sword in the work of the pen" as being "contrary to the taste and dignity of Iranians" was taken as an insult to the Shāh, and the article was cut out of the issue and replaced. This paper was reprinted in 1942. On 24 February 1946, he gave a lengthy lecture entitled *Lazūm-i ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi faṣīḥ* ("The necessity of preserving eloquent Persian") at the *Dānishsarā-yi 'Ālī* (National Teachers College) in Tehran. Almost three-quarters of it is given to the question of Arabic words in Persian. Among the points he made were that many Arabic words in Persian had been "naturalised"; that expulsion of Arabic loanwords was a "malicious attempt on the Persian language and Iranian nationality" and would impoverish the language; that purifying Persian would gradually cut off Iranians from the neighbouring Muslim nations, that Arabic was an extremely rich language, that words for new concepts should preferably be borrowed from "the more familiar, easier Arabic words common in Egypt and Syria or those common to old Persian books". Finally he believed that choice of new words should be left to writers, and that "legal and coercive force must not enter it".

The major proponents of purification since the discussion grew serious in the 1930s included Dhabīḥ Bihrūz (d. 1971), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Āzād Marāgha'ī (d. 1946), and Aḥmad Kasrawī Tabrīzī (1890-1946). Kasrawī was the most active of the purification advocates, and the most enduring. He was also the most relentless in ignoring the *Farhangistān* and its instructions even in its heyday during Riḍā Shāh's reign.

Kasrawī was a historian, a linguist, and a jurist. In the early 1930s he also became an advocate of far-reaching social change in all areas of culture. It was in close connection with his extensive writings and lectures on Iranian society and its ills that he pursued language reform. Kasrawī believed that, through the centuries, Persian had come to be a language fraught with problems in all its aspects, including grammar and semantics. The foreign element in it was only one problem. On this subject, he disagreed with those who advocated purification on nationalistic grounds, and those who opposed it on religious grounds. He argued that each language should have its independence, and that its borders should not be left open indiscriminately to foreign words, as Persian has for many centuries been left open to Arabic words. He believed that uncontrolled importation of Arabic words into Persian has been more responsible than anything

else for the current decayed state of Persian—both its vocabulary and its grammar, and this decadence has harmful psychological effects on the speakers of Persian. On the Arabic words in Persian, he believed that those Arabic words that were common in Persian, and for which no native Persian equivalents existed any longer should be retained, that, except for scientific terms, no words should be invented, but people's usage should be followed, that needed new words should be coined from Persian materials (by compounding and affixation); that Persian words selected should be correct, that they should be so formed as to make possible the derivation of other words from them, that there is no need to find a Persian equivalent for each and every foreign word, since many of the latter words were superfluous; that each word should have only one meaning, and that each meaning should always be expressed by the same words, thus eliminating synonymy. Furthermore, he repeatedly emphasised that the question of language reform was a scientific matter and that to undertake such a reform was a scientific endeavour, requiring certain qualifications.

Like Taḳīzāda, Kasrawī was opposed to the establishment of an academy. He felt that language reform should come about through the efforts of writers, who should improve their styles, and thus provide models for the people at large. Kasrawī, however, would permit the establishment of an organisation for coining and selecting scientific and technical terms.

(5) *The second Farhangistān* (1970-). Kasrawī was assassinated in March 1946. For the next twenty years or so, there was a virtual lull in the debate on language purification and reform. The first break in the lull was a lecture by Dr. Muḥammad Muḳaddam of the University of Tehran in December 1963, and an interview with him published in 1966. Muḳaddam believed that Persian was poor in technological and scientific terminology, but was fully equipped to meet its needs; that Persians should not, as was frequently suggested, confine themselves to the language of their literary classics; that, contrary to the suggestion made by many, full use of analogy should be made in the coining of words; that Persian's own resources should be used for the purpose; that the otherwise very simple Persian language has become confused by the Arabic forms in it, resulting in numerous mistakes made even by university students, and that, again contrary to the claim of many, coining new words from Persian resources would not cut off Iranians from other speakers of Persian, since no one was advocating the replacing of Arabic words with Persian in the writings of the past—that, in fact, the other Persian-speaking peoples should welcome the new terms which Iranians would be making available to them.

Soon, discussions of language reform began to appear in the daily press (e.g. *Kayhān*) and in journals, such as *Waḥīd*, *Yaghmā* and *Talāsh*. In 1970, the Ministry of Culture and Art sponsored a conference for discussing the Persian language, held on October 28-30, in Tehran. At the opening session, a message was read from Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, in which he announced that he had already approved the constitution of the Imperial Foundation for the *Farhangistāns* of Iran, which was to be established. He said that the constitution provided for a *Farhangistān-i zabān-i Īrān* ("Language Academy of Iran"). On the last day of the conference, the Minister of Culture and Art presented the members of that *Farhangistān* to the Shāh: Dr. Ṣādiḳ Riḍāzāda Shafaḳ, Ḥusayn Gulgulāb, Dr. Maḥmud Ḥisābī, Dr. ʿĪsā Ṣadīḳ, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz, Djamāl Riḍāʾī, Muḥammad Muḳaddam, Yaḥyā Māhyār-Nawwābī, Muṣṭafā Mukarrabī, Marshal ʿAlī Karīmiū and Ṣādiḳ Kiyā, who was appointed president of the body by imperial order.

In his message, the Shah referred to the old *Farhangistān* and to the new one as an expansion of the old one. Four members of the new one (Gulgulāb, Ṣadīḳ, Hisābī and Shafaḳ) had been members of the old one also. Another member, Bihrūz, had served on one of its committees. President Kiyā had for many years been a collaborator with Muḳaddam in language-reform activities.

The new *Farhangistān* differed from the old one in that it was to be one of several such organisations. The *Farhangistān-i Hunar wa Adab* ("Academy of Art and Literature") was founded soon afterward. However, the Language Academy was the main focus, received the greatest financial support, and became very active.

The new body had an elaborate organisation, consisting of a Council, made up of the ordinary members, four *Pushūhishgāhs* (Research Centres), a library, a phonetic laboratory; and a secretariat. The four *Pushūhishgāhs* were (1) *Wāsha-guzīnī* (Adoption of words), (2) *Wāshahā-yi Fārsī* (Persian words), which was charged with "collecting Persian words and showing the capabilities of this language in making words", (3) *Zabānhā-yi bāstānī wa miyāna wa guyishhā-yi Īrānī* (Old and Middle [Iranian] languages and Iranian dialects), and (4) *Dastūr-i zabān-i Fārsī* (Persian grammar). The first of these centres has been the most active. It began with 13 groups, each responsible for terms in a specific field or fields. By the end of 1975, they had proposed 30,000 Persian equivalents for some 15,000 foreign words.

One feature of the procedure followed by these groups is the publication of lists of words for which Persian equivalents are being sought, in monographs entitled *Pishnikad-i shumā ćist?* ("What do you propose?"). These monographs are distributed worldwide. The proposals received were to be considered when deciding on new terms, which were to be approved by the Shāh before becoming final.

As far as their forms and etymological histories are concerned, the words adopted by the second *Farhangistān* are by and large similar to those adopted by the first one. Several points are worth mentioning, however: (1) greater and bolder use of affixation and compounding; (2) greater consistency among the various adopted words, (3) greater tendency to revive obsolete or archaic words unknown to the majority of Persian speakers, (4) formation of words from Middle and Old Persian bases, e.g. *pardīs* "park" (cf. Mod. Pers. *firdaws* "paradise", and English paradise, and its cognates in other European languages), *pardīsa* "campus" (related to the preceding), and (5) insistence on replacing some quite common words, e.g. *mihrāz* for *miʿmār* "architect", *dāwkhʷāh* for *dāwṭalab* "candidate"; *farhikhtārī* for *farhang*, *āmuzish wa parwarish* for *taʿlīm wa tarbiyat* "education", *pargīr* for *muḥīṭ* and *pīrāmūn* "environment", etc.

Conclusion

A brief comparison between the old and the new *Farhangistān* might be useful: (1) The new one is a far more serious undertaking—as evidenced in its elaborate organisation and procedures. (2) Its work is not

confined to word-making but covers the entire language. (3) Its members, as a group, believe in their work, while the old one was organised and at least at first controlled by people (e.g. Furūghī) not in sympathy with language purification. (4) Its members and those outsiders working with them are professionally more highly qualified than their predecessors, in linguistics and other relevant fields. (5) It is a more open operation, in that it consults the public, or at least the scholarly community. (6) Its work is more systematic, and its procedures more elaborate.

As for the future of the academy, and of language purification, it is difficult to predict after the February 1979 overthrow of the monarchy by a revolution with strong religious overtones. The *Farhangistān* is now inactive, if not in fact defunct. If the atmosphere prevailing during the first nine months of the new régime continues, any undertaking of his type would most likely discontinue, or at least be weakened and restricted. Under such conditions, the activities of any language academy would very likely be confined to the coining and adoption of technical terms.

Bibliography. A short history of the two language academies and similar organisations in Iran and of language reform is provided in M. A. Jazayery, *Farhangistān* in *Academia Irania de la Lengua*, Mexico City (forthcoming), which contains a comprehensive bibliography. A shorter account, from a somewhat different perspective, will be found in his article *The modernization of Persian vocabulary and language reform in Iran* (forthcoming). For a list of the persons writing in pure Persian from the earliest times, see ʿA. A. Hikmat, *Pārsī-yi nagz*, Tehran 1951, where examples of such writings are given. See also M. Ithaqus, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943. Information on the various terminology and purification groups is found in Muḥammad Mubīn Ṭahbāzī, *Nigahbānī-yi zabān-i Fārsī*, in *Yaghmā*, xxiii (1971), 569-75, Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Taʾrīkhī* as *waqʿa-yi lugha dar Irān*, in *Wahīd*, v (1968), 834-8; and in the Jazayery monograph cited above. On the committee at the *Dānishsarā-yi ʿĀlī*, see ʿAlī Ṣadīḳī, *Yādgār-i ʿumr*, Tehran 1959, 75, ii, 105 ff. The constitution and internal by-laws of the *Farhangistān*, lists of its members and committees, and of words adopted up to 20 March 1942, are found in *Wāzhahā-yi now bi-farhangistān-i sāl-i 1939 dar Farhangistān padhīrufta shuda ast*, Tehran 1973 (reprint of the original 1942). A brief analysis of the words approved by the two *Farhangistāns* is given in Jazayery's book and in A. Shakoor Ahsan, *Modern trends in the Persian language*, Islamabad 1976, 111-30. On the developments between the two *Farhangistāns*, see also *Lughat-i buḥūr-i Fārsī-yi farhang*, in *Yādgār*, vi (1948), 1-40. On Kasrawī, see now (in addition to *Bibl.* in the article), Nuṣrat Allāh Fatḥiyān, *Nawāvarī-yi Kasrawī dar zamīna-yi zabān-i Fārsī*, ed. Ḥusayn Yazdānfar, Tehran 1979. For an analysis of Kasrawī's views on and methods of language reform, see Jazayery, *Yādddāshthā-yi dar pīrāmūn-i kūshishhā wa andīshahā-yi Kasrawī dar zamīna-yi zabān*, which appears on pp. 11-47 of that book in lieu of an introduction. On the second *Farhangistān*, see Jazayery's monograph and article cited at the beginning of this bibliography, the Ashan book cited, and the publications of the *Farhangistān* itself. The latter include *Farhangistān-i zabān-i Irān kadaf, sāmān, wasīfa, rawish-i faʿʿāliyyat*, Tehran 1972, and the *Pīshnihād-i shumā chīst* monographs of which four were published, Tehran 1972-6. Samples of its adopted words are found in *Bardbārkā-yi Fārsī-yi barkhī az wāzhahā-yi dawrāghī*, Tehran 1974.

(M. A. Jazayery)

(iii) Turkey

There are two academies in Turkey, the Society for Turkish History and the Society for the Turkish Language, both set up on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (*q.v.*), who supervised their work closely until his death in 1938, whereupon nearly all his estate was divided evenly between them. Both during and after his lifetime, these academies closely followed his views on the interpretation of Turkish history and the reform of the Turkish language respectively. In brief, they maintained that the Turks were an ancient people, connected with Anatolia since the oldest times, with a language of their own and responsible for major contributions to world civilisation. The operational results of this approach, which the academies were expected to foster, were to be an increase in pride among Turks regarding their past and their language and the will again to play a role in world civilisation through rapid modernisation.

The Türk Tarih Kurumu (TTK) or the "Society for Turkish History" had as its predecessor the Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti or 'Committee for Research into Turkish History", founded in 1930. In 1931, this was succeeded by the Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti or "Society for Research into Turkish History", whose own name was changed to Türk Tarih Kurumu (meaning the same) in 1935.

The scope and goals of the TTK were in study the history of the Turks and of Turkey and to publish and disseminate the results of this research. The following methods were suggested for attaining these objectives: 1. Research and investigation of sources relating to the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 2. Translation (into Turkish) and publishing of these source materials. 3. Convening of congresses for discussion of new findings and other scholarly topics. 4. Despatch of scholars (individuals of groups) for investigation of documents which shed light upon the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 5. Cooperation with local and foreign scholarly institutions regarding the study and publication of relevant material.

The TTK, organised like other academies and learned societies throughout the world, is housed in its own building in Ankara, with an impressive library (including archival materials, 901 manuscripts, 189 microfilms, 172 photocopies of manuscripts, numerous local and foreign journals and 73,166 books and offprints, by late 1979) and its own printing press. It serves as the centre for the TTK's manifold activities, which include research, lectures, exhibitions and international congresses —convened approximately once every five years since 1932—as well as publication of the proceedings of these congresses under the title *Türk tarih kongresi umumi bildirileri* (later renamed *Türk tarih kongresi bildirileri*), along with numerous other works. The TTK's conception of Turkish history is maximalist, one of its first publications was a four-volume textbook for secondary schools (*ibid.*), emphasising the overall history of the Turks (and Turkic peoples) throughout Asia and their contributions to world civilisation. The 347 scholarly books—many of which comprise several volumes—published

by the TTK up to late 1979 indicate the Society's wide-ranging interest in the history of the Turks and Turkey (and to a lesser extent, in world history as well). It has published critical editions of historical documents and other archival materials, as well as studies in archaeology and history, with emphasis on the Ottoman and Turkish periods and especially on Atatürk's role, although also considering the history of art and folklore in Turkey. A few of these books were intended for a general readership; in addition to its bibliographies of historical research, the TTK publishes a scholarly quarterly, *Belleten* (1937-) and a twice-yearly collection of documents, *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeler Dergisi* (1984-).

The Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK) or the "Society for the Turkish Language" was preceded by the Dil Heyeti or 'Language Committee', established in 1929 to coordinate and advance—on a more institutionalised level—the language reform which had commended one year earlier upon adoption of the Latin alphabet. In 1932 with the government's blessing, the Committee expanded and became the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti or "Society for Research into the Turkish Language" whose name was changed in 1934 to Türk Dili Araştırma Kurumu (meaning the same, but very obviously displaying the switch from Arabic to Turkish roots). In 1936, its name was finally abbreviated to Türk Dil Kurumu.

The scope and objectives of the TDK were restated several times. Their clearest expression may perhaps be found in the Society's 1943 statutes: 1. To purify the language of foreign accretions and to Turkify it (*türkleştirmek*). 2. To collect Turkish words used in Turkey and elsewhere and publish them in dictionaries of the Turkish of Turkey and of Turkish dialects. 3. To prepare and publish relevant linguistic works along with the above dictionaries. 4. To examine ways and means of coining new words and to prepare a basic grammar of Turkish and a comparative grammar of Turkish dialects. 5. To draw up lists of technical terms for schools and universities and to prepare a dictionary of such Turkish terms. 6. To collect and publish popular proverbs. 7. To investigate the Turkish language from its earliest times and to compare it with other languages, in order to prepare etymological dictionaries. 8. To study documents relating to the Turkish language and the development of other languages, with special reference to their vocabularies and the coining of new words. 9. To study modern linguistic works and to translate them into Turkish.

The TDK, likewise organised similarly to other learned societies, has its own building in Ankara which houses its large library (about 25,000 volumes, 150 different periodicals, 600 manuscripts, 33 microfilms and over 200 volumes of photocopies of 48 books, in 1980) and serves as headquarters for its multifaceted activities in linguistic research. The best-known of these activities has most likely been the coining of new words and terms to replace these of Arabic or Persian origin. While many of these neologisms are indeed words of Turkish and Turkic origin, some are wholly original coinages. These new terms were subsequently filtered into the school system and the press. Since the end of World War II, however, this process has become more moderate. Starting with 1932, the TDK has convened scholarly congresses once every two or three years, which are attended by both local and foreign linguists and educators. The results have been published as *Türk Dili Kurultayı* (later known as *Türk Dil Kurultayı*). Other publications consist of 467 books and brochures (by July 1980) dealing with the following: studies and lectures on language "purification" new spellings, Turkish and general linguistics, Turkish dialects and proverbs, lists of new terms for various areas, dictionaries of Turkish (including a historical "Thesaurus") and certain other Turkic languages (Kirghiz, Uyghur, Yakut and Čuvash), several biographies (of Atatürk and others), literary works and sources for the Turkish language, bibliographies and the following periodicals: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (annual, 1953-), *Türk Dili: Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti Bülteni*, renamed *Türk Dili Belleten* (monthly, 1933-50), superseded by *Türk Dili: Aylık Dergi* (monthly, 1951-).

By a law passed on 11 August 1983 (published in the *Resmi Gazete*, no. 18138, dated 17 August 1983), the Türk Tarih Kurumu and Türk Dil Kurumu, along with the recently founded Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (the Atatürk Culture Centre), have been united in a new, state-sponsored Academy, entitled Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (the Atatürk Culture, Language and History Higher Organisation), located in Ankara.

Bibliography. For the TTK see, in addition to its own publications: E. Z. Karal, *Atatürk ve tarih tezi*, in Afet İnan and E. Z. Karal, eds., *Atatürk hakkında konferanslar*, Ankara 1946, 55-6, Inan, *Türk tarih kurumu'nun kuruluşuna dair*, in *Belleten* xi/42 (1947), 173-9; B. Lewis, *History writing and national revival in Turkey*, in *MEA*, iv/6-7 (June July 1953), esp. 224 ff.; Karal, *Historiography in Turkey today*, in *ibid.*, x/10 (Oct 1959), esp. 320 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 353-5; Halil İnalcık, *Türk tarihi ve Atatürk'ün tarih yazısı*, in *Türk Kültürü* [Ankara], vi (May 1963) 6-11; *Türk tarih kurumu*, Ankara 1970, *Türk tarih kurumu'nun 40 kuruluş yıldönümü*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/138 (1971), 353-8; Afetinan, *Türk tarih kurumu 40 yaşında*, in *Belleten*, xxxv/140 (1971), 513-29; U. İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50 yılında Türk tarih kurumu*, Ankara 1973, Zeynep Korkmaz, *Cumhuriyet dönemında Türk dili*, Ankara, 1974, 61-3; İğdemir, *Yıllarım içinden: makaleler, anılar, incelemeler*, Ankara 1976; *Türk tarih kurumu yayınları, 1979*, Ankara 1980, Karal, *Atatürk ve devrim* (*konferanslar ve makaleler* [1935-1978]), Ankara 1980, 93-102; Suna Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istanbul 1980, 172-5.

For the TDK, see, in addition to its own publicitations: Türk Dil Kurumu, *Ana tüzüğü, çalışma programı ve iç tüzüğü*, Ankara 1943; Rıfkı Esref Unaydın, *Türk dili tetkik cemiyeti'nin kuruluşundan ilk kurultaya kadar hâtıralar*, Ankara 1943; Uriel Heyd, *Language reform in modern Turkey*, Jerusalem 1954, 25 ff.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 427-30; *Dil devrimimin 30 yılı*, Ankara 1962, 79-102; [Tahsin Banguoğlu *et alii*], *Dilde özleşmenin sınırı ve elmalılar*? Ankara 1962. Ahmet Temir, *Türk dil kurumunda altmışın ve bilim işi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, vii (June 1963), 11-14; idem, *Türk dil kurumu tüzüğü üzerine düşünceler*, in *ibid.*, ix (July 1963), 4-11; C. E. Bosworth, *Language reform and nationalism in modern Turkey*, in *MW*, lv/2 (April 1965), esp. 120-4; Emin Ordemir, *Dil devrimimiz*, Ankara 1969, 43 ff., *Türk dil kurumunun 40 yılı*, Ankara 1972; *Türk dil kurumu kol çalışmaları (1932-1972)*, Ankara 1972; Vecihe Hatiboğlu, *Cumhuriyetin ellinci yılında*

Bilimsāl Akatürk ve dil üzerine, Ankara 1973, 29 ff.; Zeyaeddin Korkmaz, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk dili*, 63 ff.; A. N. Kononov, *Ob'ek istorii sov. t'eorii Tur'etskogo yazika*, Leningrad 1976, 71 ff.; F. K. Timurtaş, *Türkçemiz ve uydurmacılık*, Istanbul 1977, 373-419, *Türk Dil Kurumu yayınları, 1932-1979*, Ankara 1979, Sana Kili, *Türk devrim tarihi*, Istedbul 1980, 174-5.

(J. M. Landau)

(iv) India.

Under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and in imitation of the Academies of Damascus, Cairo and Baghdād, the *al-Madjma' al-'Ilmī al-Hindī* was founded in 1396/1976, aiming mainly at expanding knowledge of Arabic in India, furthering studies on the literature, history, sciences and civilisation of the Arabs, publishing valuable manuscripts, publicising the work of Indian scholars, and stimulating the intellectual spirit of the country.

The Academy comprises twelve active members (*shuʿūbāt*) of Indian nationality, 28 corresponding members (*muʿāmilūn*) representing the Arabophone countries (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine [*sic*], Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Kuwayt) and 25 other corresponding members chosen from the Arabists of Iran, Pakistan, USSR, Germany, Great Britain, France, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands.

It publishes twice-yearly a journal, *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Hindī*, whose first issue dated 1396/1976 appeared at the end of 1978 (see the review in *Hamdard Islamicus*, ii/2 [Karachi 1979], 105-12).

(Ed.)

MADJNŪN (A.), pl. *madjānīn* possessed, mad, madman, the passive participle of *djanna* "to cover, conceal", passive, *djunna*, "to be possessed, mad, insane".

Its meaning and usage have been closely related to belief in the Djinn [*q.v.*]. In pre-Islamic Arabia, soothsayers were believed to have received messages from the *djinn* during ecstatic experiences, after which they delivered oracles in short, enigmatic verses of rhymed prose called *sadjʿ* [see KĀHIN], and poets were believed to have been inspired by their individual *djinn*, similar to the Greek idea of Muses (see SHAʿR). Soothsayers and poets were both said to be *madjnūn*, literally 'djinn-possessed' or 'inspired by the *djinn*'. The term *madjnūn* occurs eleven times in the Kurʾān, where its exact, original meaning is not certain, but its usage is significant for the later history of the term. It refers explicitly to Muḥammad seven times and probably alludes to him in the other contexts, where episodes of his life seem to be projected into stories about Moses (XXVI, 27, LI, 39) and Noah (LIV, 9) and into the general statement that each *al* God's Messengers was accused of being a sorcerer (*sāḥir*) or *madjnūn* (LI, 52). In four of the seven contexts where *madjnūn* refers explicitly to Muḥammad, it occurs in accusations against the Prophet quoted from his opponents. "O thou upon whom the Reminder has been sent down, thou art *madjnūn*" (XV, 6), "Shall we abandon our gods on account of a poet (*shāʿir*) *madjnūn*?" (XXXVII, 36), "They turned from him [i.e. Muḥammad] and said 'One who is tutored, *madjnūn*'" (XLIV, 14); "When they hear the Reminder they say, 'Surely he is *madjnūn*'" (LXVIII, 51). In the other three contexts God responds to these accusations, assuring Muḥammad and his companions "Thou art neither a soothsayer (*kāhin*) nor *madjnūn*" (LII, 29), "Thou, by the bounty of thy Lord, art not *madjnūn*" (LXVIII, 2), and "Your comrade is not *madjnūn*" (LXXXI, 22). In the Kurʾān the term *madjnūn*, always in the singular, functions sometimes as an adjective and sometimes as a noun. It occurs only in Meccan passages, only in the context of accusations made against Muḥammad by his opponents (and against earlier Messengers by theirs), and only in contexts involving the question of the source and process of revelation. The primary meaning of *madjnūn* in the Kurʾān seems to be "*djinn* possessed/a *djinn*-possessed person (like the ancient Arāhun soothsayer)" or "inspired by the *djinn*/a person inspired by the *djinn* (like the Arāhun poet)". Muḥammad's opponents in Mecca, seeing the similarity between the form of his messages and the *sadjʿ* oracles of the soothsayers, argued that his messages were not revealed by God but were inspired by the *djinn*. In response to this charge the Kurʾān develops some interesting counter-arguments. Identifying the alleged *djinn* inspirers as "satans" (*shayāṭīn*), the Kurʾān states in LXXXI, 25, that Muḥammad's messages are "not the speech of a pelted satan (*shayṭān radjīm*)", and XXVI, 210-12 adds "The satans have not brought it down. It would not suit them, nor are they able. Indeed, they have been removed far from [even a chance of] hearing it." These two passages allude to the ancient Near Eastern shooting star myth, the Kurʾānic versions of which deny that *djinn* or satans (both terms occur in these accounts) are able to obtain messages from the Heavenly Council to bring down to man. When they try to eavesdrop at the gates of heaven they are pelted and driven away with flaming stars (see XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, LXVII, 5 and LXXII, 8-11). On this myth, see Ibn Hishām, 130, tr. Guillaume, 90; P. A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran*, Leipzig 1928, 30-1, and for *hadīth* references, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 59. Another Kurʾānic argument against the accusation that Muḥammad was *madjnūn* involves two accounts in which it is reported that *djinn* overheard him reciting the Kurʾān and became believers (XLVI, 29-32, LXXII, 1 ff.). That is Muḥammad did not get his messages from the *djinn*, they received the Kurʾān from him (see Ibn Hishām, 261, tr. Guillaume, 193 f., and for *hadīth* references, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 59 f.).

Whether *madjnūn* had secondary meanings in the Kurʾān for Muḥammad and his contemporaries is difficult to say. In his English translation of the *madjnūn* passages, Richard Bell (*The Qurʾān*, Edinburgh 1939, 9) sometimes renders this term as 'mad', "crazy", and "madman" (see, *e.g.*, XXVI, 27 [v. 26 in Bell], XXXVII, 36 [v. 35 in Bell] and LI, 39), thus giving the term some of the various meanings it has in later usage. In the Kurʾān, madness is associated with "satans", in accordance with the ancient Semitic concept of demon-possession (see VI, 72), and, since evil or mischievous *djinn* are identified in the Kurʾān as satans, it is possible that *madjnūn* had this connotation for Muḥammad and his contemporaries. But the *madjnūn* contexts argue against this interpretation since they never respond to the accusation that Muḥammad was *madjnūn* by defending his sanity, but always by affirming that the revelation came from God and not from the *djinn* or satans. The classical commentators on the Kurʾān after little assistance on this question, usually failing to explain the term altogether. Where al-Baydāwī does explain *madjnūn* he interprets it as "inspired by the *djinn*" (*e.g.* in his comments on LI, 39), or he at least connects it with the process of revelation (*e.g.* in his com-

ments on XV, 6 and LXVIII, 2). An analysis of cognate expressions in the Kur'ān also offers little new understanding of the concept *madjnūn*. In late Meccan and early Medinan contexts, *madjnūn* was replaced by the expression *bihi djinnatun* (see VII, 184, XXIII, 25, 70, and XXXIV, 8, 45). This change of terms could be interpreted as a change or development of ideas within the Kur'ān, but this possibility is unlikely since the two expressions seem to be synonymous (cf., e.g., *wa yakūlūnа bi-madjnūn*, in LXXXI, 22, and *wa bi-sāhibihim min djinnatin*, in XXXIV, 46). In contexts where *madjnūn* functions as a noun (e.g. XLIV, 14, LI, 39, 52, and LIV, 9), its meaning seems to be identical with the expression *radjulun bi-hi djinnatun* in XXIII, 25, i.e. both seem to mean "a *djinn*-possessed person". Where al-Baydāwī explains *bi-hi djinnatun* (e.g. in XXIII, 25) he simply gives the synonym *djunūn*, which has the same range of meanings (cf. al-Zamakhsharī on the same verse).

One striking fact about the history of the usage of *madjnūn* is that Muslims adopted the concept and gave it widespread currency, assuming it to be Islamic because it occurs in the Kur'ān, whereas in fact the term never occurs in the Kur'ān as an Islamic concept, but always as an idea of Muhammad's Meccan opponents that is simply quoted and responded to there. (The frequency of occurrence of this pre-Islamic concept in the Kur'ān might be explained by the fact that in all cases except the Noah context it serves as a rhyme-word, and was thus a convenient term to use in contexts involving accusations made against Muhammad by his Meccan opponents and in contexts involving affinities between Muhammad's situation and that of earlier prophets.) Meccan parts of the Kur'ān frequently reflect pre-Islamic Arabian concepts, such as belief in the existence of *djinn* and deities other than Allāh. When the Islamic world-view developed within the Kur'ān, and when required Islamic beliefs and practices were introduced in a series of late Meccan and early Medinan credal statements, some of these pre-Islamic concepts, such as belief in the existence of deities other than Allāh, came to be explicitly rejected, while others, such as *madjnūn* and belief in the existence of the *djinn*, simply ceased to be mentioned in latter parts of the Kur'ān (see A. T. Welch, *Allāh and other supernatural beings: the emergence of the Qur'ānic doctrine of tawḥīd*, in *Journ. of the American Academy of Religion*, xlvii/4 [1979], 733-53). Still, the concept *madjnūn*, along with magic, sorcery, soothsaying and other related phenomena that were a vital part of the Arabian *weltl*-view of Muhammad's time, became part of popular Islamic belief and practice, and these have remained so as modern times (see e.g., E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1836, chs. 2-xii; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1912, lectures 1-5, E. A. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, chs. iv-xi; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Leiden 1931, 99-103). The concept *madjnūn* occurs occasionally in the classical literature, with the same literal meaning as in the Kur'ān, in the *ḥadīth* literature, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, I'tiṣām*, 16, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Djum'a*, 46, and *Ḥudūd*, 22; and J. Robson, *Mishkat al-masabih*, Lahore 1963-6, 815, 1260 f. Al-Ṭabarī records an account in which Muhammad is reported as saying he feared he had become either a poet or a *djinn*-possessed person (*madjnūn*), but then Gabriel appeared to him and informed him that he was a prophet inspired by God (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 1150 tr. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, London 1955, 108). For a contemporary defence of belief in the *djinn* and their influence on man by the al-Azhar scholar, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Hunayn, see his *al-Djinn fi 'l-ḥikam fi-mā'l-djinn*, Cairo n.d. The Islamic philosophers and a few scholars such as Ibn Khaldūn rejected the concept *madjnūn* as related to the world of the *djinn* (see Macdonald, *Religious attitude*, 130 ff.). In later usage, the association of *madjnūn* with the *djinn* has sometimes been lost as this term has come to mean simply "mad" or "insane".

Bibliography: Cited mostly in the article; in addition see the Kur'ān commentaries on the *madjnūn* verses, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Kur'ān*, Cairo n.d., 239; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, i/2, 462; and, for additional *ḥadīths* containing the term *madjnūn*, A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane*, i, Leiden 1936, 374.

(A. T. Welch)

MADJNŪN LAYLĀ, "the Madjnūn of Laylā", or Madjnūn Banū 'Āmir, the name given to the hero of a romantic love story, the original form of which could date back as far as the second half of the 1st/7th Century

1. In Arabic literature

This imaginary character (acknowledged as such even by some Arab critics, see *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ii, 6, 21) has been furnished by the *rāwīs* with an *isnād* and with a complete genealogy, Kays b. al-Mulawwaḥ b. Muzāḥim b. Kays b. 'Udas b. Rabī'a b. Djā'da b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, but according to the evidence, although this filiation could be accepted from the starting point of Kays b. 'Udas, the latter does not have a son named Muzāḥim (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 101, 120, 206). Furthermore, various other less common names have been given to him, al-Buḥturī b. al-Djā'd, Mahdī b. al-Malawwaḥ, al-Akra' or Kays b. Mu'adh (*Aghānī*, ii, 8). Al-Djāḥiẓ splits the character into two parts by distinguishing between a Madjnūn of the Banū 'Āmir and a Madjnūn of the Banū Djā'da (*Bayān*, i, 365, iii, 224, iv, 22), where Djā'da is a descendant of 'Āmir. As for his loved one, she is given the following genealogy: Laylā bint Sa'd b. Mahdī b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥarīth b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir.

The contest of the romance, insofar as it can be extracted from the ancient versions, is relatively simple and commonplace. However, from the start, two opposing traditions have been current: according to one version, the two young people spent their youth together, tending their flocks in the Ḍhabal al Tawbād (which belonged, however, to the Muḥārib; al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-'Arab*, 182, cf. Yākūt, s.v.); according to the other, Kays meets Laylā by chance at a gathering of women, and the effect on him is devastating, he kills his camel as a contribution to the feast, but when a certain Munāḥil arrives, the women turn their attention to him, and only Laylā, who shares his emotion, takes no interest in Kays. Subsequently he asks for her hand in marriage, but her father has already given her away in marriage to a certain Ward b. Muhammad al-'Ukaylī. Gripped by the most violent anguish, Kays loses his reason and sets out to wander half-naked, refusing nourishment and living among wild animals. His father takes him on a pilgrimage to make him forget Laylā, but his madness only inten-

sifies. He does, however, have moments of lucidity when he talks of his lady-love and composes verses which he recites to those curious people who have come to see him. Until his death, he encounters Laylā on only one further occasion.

It is difficult to establish the origin of the story. According to a remark in the *Aghānī* (ii, 7, 10), the factual author would be a young Umayyad who, under the pseudonym of Madjnūn, circulated some stories designed to introduce verses in which he sang of his ill-starred love for his cousin. This identification is, however, isolated, and in any case, the poet is anonymous. The fact that historical individuals such as Nawfal b. Mushāḥil, governor of Medina in 83/702, are mentioned in the traditions relating to the adventures of Kays, suggests that the latter came into existence at about this period, but this is all that can be said on the subject. The author, or rather the authors of the verses attributed to this Madjnūn and the introductory or explanatory tales, will always be unknown, and it may simply be supposed that these creations are owed to the desire of the Arabs of the North, represented by the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, to show that unhappy love affairs were not the prerogative of those of the South, the ʿUdhra in this instance, and that they were capable of producing the equal of a Dhu'l al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*]

From the moment that verses and *akhbār* concerning fictional characters achieved normative status, it is not hard to imagine the role played by inventive narrators and *rumāt* whom al Asmaʿī (in *Aghānī*, ii, 6) also accuses of having concocted this novel, which is included in a long series of imaginative works and fictionalised biographies of which the *Fihrist* supplies a detailed inventory (ed. Cairo, 425-6, of M. F. Ghazi, *La littérature d'imagination*, in *Arabica*, iv/2 [1957], 174 ff.). The story of Madjnūn and Laylā, like many tales of the Middle Ages, has never obtained a definitive form. It is true that transmitters of tradition like Ibn Daʾb, ʿUmar b. Shabba, Ibn al-Kalbī or al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, must at a quite early stage have set down in writing the more or less numerous and disparate elements, but independent *akhbār* continued to circulate orally and to be enriched according to the taste of the narrators. Evidence of this process is furnished by a study of the sources for the recension of the *Aghānī* (n. 1-7), which, after that of Ibn Kutayba (*al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, 353-64 = ed. Shākir, ii, 545-56), is the most ancient and the most developed. Abu 'l-Faradj, in order to bring a successful conclusion to his enterprise, which aspires to be a complete, if not coherent history, takes effective precautions to shield himself from the critics by citing opinions for and against the historicity of the character, then combines, without regard for chronological order, a series of oral and written sources which have been inventoried by I. Y. Krachkovsky, in an article published in Russian in Leningrad in 1946 and translated into German by H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, viii/1 (1955), 1-30 (*Die Frühgeschichte der Erzählung von Macnūn und Laylā in der arabischen Literatur*; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 390).

The story of Madjnun and Laylā seems to have taken precedence over the majority of others of the same genre towards the end of the 3rd/9th century or the beginning of the 4th/10th, the fact that numerous verses taken from it were set to music, plus the importance attached to it by the *Aghānī*, leave no doubt that the vogue which it subsequently enjoyed was not an entirely new development.

In the Arabic literature subsequent to the *Aghānī*, the *akhbār* of Madjnūn recur in a number of works of *adab*, in particular in those which concern famous romances (like the *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ* of Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, ed. Beirut 1972, i, 97-128), but little is known of independent monographs, apart from the *Diwān* and two works which have yet to be edited: the *Nuzhat al-musāmir fī dhikr ba'd akhbār Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Miḥradī (d. 909/1503) and *Bayt al-sāmir fī akhbār Madjnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). It is remarkable, but not entirely unexpected, that the story of Madjnun wa-Laylā should have inspired no literary work in Arabic in the Middle Ages; in fact, it is not until the present day that one sees the theme exploited by several dramatists: Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab (J. M. Landau, *Études sur le théâtre et la cinéma arabes*, Paris 1965, no. 39), Salīm al-Bustānī (*ibid.*, no. 161), Abū Khalīl al-Kabbānī (*ibid.*, no. 406), whose works do not seem to have been performed, or even printed, the *Riwāyat Madjnūn Laylā* by Muḥammad Mundūr Khayr Allāh, on the other hand, has been performed in Alexandria and published in 1898 (and 1904?, Landau, no. 304), the most celebrated work in this connection is the *Madjnun Laylā* by Aḥmad Shawkī (London, no. 527, tr. Arberry, Cairo 1933, see also R. Rubinacci, in *AIUON*, vii [1957], 9-66; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Ahmad Šawqī*, Damascus 1977, 275-82).

It is not known whether it is necessary to place at the end of the 2nd/8th century, since there is no mention of him in the *Fihrist*, a certain Abū Bakr al-Wāhibī, to whom is attributed a recension of the *Diwān* of al-Madjnūn of which a considerable number of manuscripts exists, containing or not containing *akhbār* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 390-3) and which has been the object of some fifteen mediocre publications and of one more scientific edition by Aḥmad Farrādj in Cairo (1958). It is evident that the content of this *Diwān* cannot be considered as the work of a single poet, especially as there has been a tendency, as al-Djāḥiẓ observes (in *Aghānī*, ii, 10), to attribute to Madjnūn Laylā the verses of any unknown poet where reference is made to a Laylā, furthermore, the homonymy with Kays b. Dharīḥ has certainly caused confusion. At all events, R. Blachère, who has analysed this *Diwān* (*HLA*, iv, 658) considers that it "cannot be regarded as occupying an insignificant place in the study of archaic poetry".

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the article, see Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshā*, 207-8, Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 270-2 = ed. Cairo, iv, 170-4; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 274 ff.; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 207-12; Brockelmann, I, 48, S I, 81; T. Husayn, *Ḥadīth al arbiʿāʾ*, i, 171-9, 189-94; M. Kāmil Farīd, *Madjnūn Laylā, taʾrīkhuhu, ʿalākatuhu bi-Laylā*, *ashʿāruhu*, Cairo n.d.; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 657 *bis* (with bibl.), J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 368-78, Sezgin *GAS*, ii, 389-94 (extensive bibl.) (Ch. Pellat)

2. In Persian, Kurdish and Pashto literature

The poems of Madjnūn and the tales of his love Laylā (commonly named Layli in Persian) also became a poet of the Persian literary tradition, where they were used in various ways. Quotations of Arabic lines of poetry ascribed to Madjnūn occur quite frequently in Persian prose works. He was reckoned to be one of the great poets of love (cf

e.g. Mas'ūdī, *Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1347/1968, v 1052) and was celebrated for his *ghazals*. References to him and Layla appear already in the works of many poets before the time when Nizāmī wrote his epoch making poem on their love story. Mas'ūdī [*q.v.*] (d. ca. 432/1040-1) compared in descriptions of nature the rain-clouds, "weeping meaningfully", to the eyelashes of Madjnūn and the lightning, "laughing without meaning", to Layla's lips (v 1727), the eyes of the former and the cheeks of the latter to two constellations (v. 1830). The two names were also associated with items of material culture, according to Anwarī (*q.v.*) (*fl.* middle of the 6th/12th century), a bench (*suffa*) in the hall of one of his patrons had as many mad lovers as Layla (*Dīwān*, i, Tehran 1347/1968, 345); Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] (d. 595/1199) saw in a harp (*čang*) the she-camel of Layla uttering the complaints of Madjnūn (*Dīwān*, ed. Sadjdjādī, Tehran 1357/1978, 144, 476).

These examples show that, at least initially, the romance was not specifically related to mysticism although, as we know, the Ṣūfīs used it as an *exemplum* from the 3rd/9th century onwards (cf. Ritter, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 49 *f.*). To a religious poet like Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century), the subject matter was reprehensible because it symbolized merely mortal love and frivolous poetry (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Tehran 1348/1969, 333, 455). Its development into one of the most popular themes of the Ṣūfī tradition, dealt with in innumerable works written in Persian and in many other languages, needs still to be investigated. The growing importance of *ghazal* poetry and the theory of love to the mystics since the 5th/12th century has undoubtedly furthered this process. Yet Madjnūn and Layla were also to the later poets just one pair of *exempla* out of several others like Maḥmūd and Ayāz, Farhād and Shīrīn (cf. e.g. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. Kazwīnī-Ghanī, Tehran 1320/1941, 29, 38), or the Greek lovers Wāmiḳ and 'Adhrā (cf. e.g. Mas'ūd-i Sa'd, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1339/1960, 198, Sanā'ī *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341/1962, 495, 859). According to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Madjnūn belonged together with Farhād and others to the archetype of "lovers who took to the mountains and the desert because of love" (*Fīhi mā fīh*, Tehran 1348/1969, 30).

The *akhbār* were a rich source of illustrative anecdotes to writers and poets. It was drawn upon by Aḥmad-i Ghazālī (*Sawāniḥ*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1942, 42, 45) and subsequent writers on the theory of love. Among the authors of mystical *mathnawī* poems, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār deserves special mention (cf. M. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 730 *f.*).

In 584/1188 Nizāmī of Gandja composed at the request of the Shirwān-Shāh Akhsitān the *mathnawī Laylā u Madjnūn* in the metre *hazadj i musaddas-i akhrab-i makbūḍ-i maḥdhūf* with about 5,000 *beyts*. This was the third part of the set of poems known as the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*]. The theme was chosen for the first time as the subject of a Persian narrative poem, but the precedent of the treatment of a similar subject of Arabic origin existed in 'Ayyūḳī's *Warḳa u Gulshāh*.

Nizāmī states in the introduction to his poem that he accepted the assignment with some hesitation. At first, he doubted whether this tale of madness and wanderings through the wilderness would be suitable for a royal court (ed. Moscow 1965, 91 ff.). He adapted the disconnected stories to fit the requirements of a Persian romance. They were joined together into a coherent narrative which describes the development of a frantic love affair from the scene of the first meeting of the two lovers till the death of Madjnūn at the grave of Layla. In some respects, the Bedouin setting of the original has been changed under the influence of urban conditions more familiar to the poet and his audience. The young lovers become acquainted at school; the generous Nawfal is a prince in the Iranian style rather than an Arab official. Nizāmī added a second pair of lovers, Zayn and Zaynab, in whom the love between the main characters is reflected. It is Zayn who in a dream sees Madjnūn and Layla united in paradise at the end of the romance.

Several other features mark this new adaptation of the romance. Specimens of nature poetry were used to emphasise, symbolically, important points in the development of the plot: a description of a palm bush in spring where Layla sits in the flower of her youth, of the night at the moment of Madjnūn's deepest despair, of autumn at the time of Layla's death. Much attention is given to Madjnūn's rôle as a poet in several places, *ghazals* are quoted in the text, which in metre and rhyme are adjusted to the prosodic characteristics of the *mathnawī*. It is quite evident that, to Nizāmī, the subject matter was not least interesting because of its emblematic possibilities. His poem is, therefore, a didactic work as well as a narrative. The former quality is noticeable in the frequent asides containing reflections on such themes as asceticism, the vanity of this world, death and, of course, love in its various *aspects, including its transformation into mystical* love. Didacticism is also the main element of the introduction and the epilogue.

This *Laylī u Madjnūn* was the starting-point of a long series of imitations which were written in almost any language of the area where the cultural influence of Persian literature made itself felt. The poets who tried to emulate the model set by Nizāmī borrowed most of its contents and its metre but often also elements of its composition, e.g. the advice given to the son of the poet and the address to the cupbearer which both occur in Nizāmī's introduction. Each of them, however, made an effort to produce an original work by making changes in the episodes of the romances, by the addition of new stories or through a shift of emphasis from one motif to another.

No more than a few of these imitations can be regarded as valuable literary works in their own right and have apparently enjoyed the interest of a wide public over a long period. The *Madjnūn u Laylī* of Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] written in 698/1299 and the very first among them, belongs to a complete imitation of the *Khamsa*. This poem is much shorter than the model (2,660 *beyts*) and puts less emphasis on didactic aspects. New elements of the narrative are among others the prognosis of Madjnūn's fate at the time of his birth and the wish expressed by both lovers to have their eyes picked out by the ravens who prey on the dead bodies left after the battle of the clans. Amīr Khusraw dedicated his work to his spiritual guide Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and to the sultan of Dihlī. The much longer poem of Djāmī [*q.v.*] (3,860 *beyts*), completed in 889/1484, almost exhausts the contents of the original *akhbār*. The beginning of the love story (the meeting of the two lovers is not situated at school but at the camp of Layla's clan) is also closer to the Arabic tradition. The mystical meaning attached to the romance cannot be mistaken, though the narrative as such is given its full due. In the song addressed to the cupbearer of the introduction, Djāmī commemorates

the Nakshbandiyya *shaykhs* and the Timūrid rulers of the past. Contemporaries of Djāmī's were his nephew Hātifī and Maktabī of Shīrāz. The former's poem was a particular favourite with Ottoman poets and was translated into Turkish. The *Layla u Madjnūn* of the latter continued to be read till recent times and was printed repeatedly both in Iran and India.

The great majority of the Persian imitators met, however, with little success. Their poems are at the most extant in few or even single copies. Some of them seem to have disappeared altogether. They have been listed in the following works: A. S. Levend, *Leylā ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1959, 86-96; E. E. Bertel's, *Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 275-300; A. Ateş, *IA*, s.v. "Leylā ile Mecnûn"; A. Mancawil, *Fihrist i mushtamil bar khatti yi farsi*, iv, Tehran 1331/1972, 3100-15.

Some poets of the post classical period wrote, under the title *Cāh-i wisāl*, short *mathnawis* which describe a reunion of Madjnūn and Layla at the bottom of a pit (cf. Munzawī, *op. cit.*, 2735 f.). In a quatrain by Lisānī (9th/15th century), on a painter of miniatures, the emaciated body of Madjnūn as it is commonly represented in Persian art is used as a literary motif (cf. F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, Wiesbaden 1963, 306).

In Kurdish literature, a number of versions of the romance exist which are partly adaptations of Persian or Turkish models and partly original works. To the written tradition belong the works by ʿAlī Ḥaydar Khānī (ed. Baghdād 1950), ʿAbd al-Djabbār Khānī (ed. Erbil 1969) and Ḥarīth Bitlīsī, dated 1170/1756-57 (ed. by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965). Folklore tales about "Leylī ū Mecrūm (or Mecīūm)" have been recorded in various regions. They show remarkable variants, e.g. the treatment of the romance as an astral myth (cf. Rudenko, *op. cit.*). Some versions have been written in the Ghūrān dialect of Persian and in a prosodic form characteristic of popular literature (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, London 1881, 733; Hamza Fuad, *Kurdische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1970). In Pashto, Bāy Khān of Bunēr made a version in stanzas which have the form of *ghazals* (cf. A. Sprenger, *ZDMG*, xvi [1862], 789).

Bibliography: Nizāmī's poem was edited by W. Dastgirdī in the annotated *Khamsa* edition, Tehran 1313-18/1934-9, and by A. A. Alekserzade and F. Babaev, Moscow 1965; Amīr Khusraw's poem by T. A. Muharramov, Moscow 1975. Djāmī's poem by M. Mudarris-i Gīlānī in *Haft awrang*, Tehran 1337/1958, and by A. Afsahzoda, Moscow 1974; Hātifī's poem by Sir William Jones, Calcutta 1788; and the poem by Maktabī in a facsimile edition by M. Dj. Mu'infar, Wiesbaden 1968. See further ʿA. A. Hikmat, *Barrasī wa Zhūlyat-i Shakespīr wa muḳayasa ba Layla u Madjnūn-i Nizāmī*, Tehran 1319/1940; ʿA. Nawāʾī, *Maktabī-i Shīrāzī* in *Yādgār*, iii/5 (1325/1946), 52 ff.; M. Gh. Hilāl, *Layla wa Madjnūn fi 'l-adabayn al-ʿArabī wa 'l-Fārsī*, Cairo 1954; M. Dj. Mahdjūb, *Layla u Madjnūn-i Nizāmī wa Madjnūn u Layla-i Amīr Khusraw-i Dihlawī*, in *Sukhan*, xiv (1342/1963), 620-37; R. Gelpke, *Liebe und Wahnsinn als Thema eines persischen Dichters*, in *Symbolon*, iv (1964), 105-28; Dh. Ṣafā, *Comparaison des origines et des sources des deux contes persans Leylī et Madjnūn de Nizāmī et Varqah et Golchāh de ʿAyyūḳī*, in *Colloque sur poète persane Nizāmī*, Rome 1977; Asʿad E. Kharallah, *Love, madness and poetry. An interpretation of the Madjnūn legend*, Beirut 1980, 97-233 (on Djāmī).

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

3. In Turkish literature

The Turkish poets were fascinated also by the Madjnūn Laylā theme, in the first place, and above all, because they were inspired by the classical version of Nizāmī [*q.v.*] and then later, when taking up a critical position *ad-vis* the versions of other Persian and Turkish poets. Because the theme itself, the combination of the motifs, and, for the greater part, the metre as *well*, were all fixed, Turkish poets were able either to aim at a more existing elaboration of the external motivation, or else to try to draw out the "metaphorical" meaning of the story as included in the material. A comparative study of the poetical aims, which, because of the similarity of the theme, should also take into account *Warḳā u Gulshāh*, is still lacking.

Gülshehri and ʿĀshik Pasha [*q.v.*] had already taken up the theme in the *Munsh'at-i fayr* and *Gharibnāma*. The first of independent Turkish versions starts with the lengthy *mathnawī* [see MATHNAWĪ] written by Shāhidī on behalf of Prince Djem [*q.v.*], and later plagiarised by a certain Kādimī. Already in Shāhidī's poem, as well as in *Madjmūa u Laylī* of the eastern Turkish prince of poets Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] written shortly afterwards, for the contents, see *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, 1964, 341-3. Madjnūn's unrequited love is interpreted as a metaphorical road to the divine reality. At the end of the 9th/15th century, the Ottoman Ahmed Sinān Bihishtī [*q.v.*], who lived for a time in Herat, wrote a mystically inspired version influenced by Djāmī [*q.v.*], to which he added some important alterations in the motifs. At about the same time, Hamd Allāh Hamdī [*q.v.*] and Tūtīnāsī Aḥmed Ridwān composed their arrangements. The 10th/16th century was particularly rich in Laylā-Madjnūn versions. Djelīlī Hamīd-zāde Bursalī (d. after 977/1569-70) wrote his version in 928/1521-22, more or less simultaneously *with his drastically-shortened version of Khusraw u Shīrīn*, apparently concentrated, like the latter, on the external aspects of the action. Two years later Sawdāʾī's arrangement appeared, in whose copy verses by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] have intruded. In 932/1525-6 the Adharbaydjānī Hakīm wrote a version, inspired by Nizāmī and Hātifī [*q.v.*], which he transplanted to his native country (see *PATF* ii, 643) and in which "chance plays an important rôle" (Levend, *op. cit.*, in *EoI*, 235-6). Exemplary for Turkish poetry was the way to which Fuḍūlī treated the subject. In his version, finished in 942/1535-6, Madjnūn appears as the symbol of the religious ideology of love, whose task consists of freeing himself from the beloved. With this epic poem, which is strewn with *ghazals* [*q.v.*] and does justice also to the feelings of Laylā, who remains an earthly figure, Fuḍūlī created an impressive Turkish counterpart to the Persian models, which he now came to equal. In 950/1543-4 Hamdī of Laranda wrote a little-known version again inspired by Nizāmī, Djāmī and Mawāʾī. In 962/1554-5 Ṣālih b. Djelīlī produced a version which slavishly follows Hātifī. Khalīfe (d. ca. 986/1578-9) copied passages from Fuḍūlī's work after having criticised him and Nawāʾī in his preface. An Adharī poet by the name of ʿAṭāyī (11th/17th century?) transformed the story into a fairy tale in which he inserted quotations from Dede Korkut [*q.v.*]. The version of Kādīzāde Fāʾiḳī (d. 1051/1641-2) remained unfinished. The following

survey shows how popular the theme has remained until present times. ʿÖrfī Maḥmūd Agha (d. after 1186/1772-3) wrote a brief tale; the Turcoman poet ʿAndalīb Nūr Muḥammad Gharīb (*d.* 1279/1765-6) made a popular adaptation of the theme in prose and verse, the prince of Khokand, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (1822 42; see *PhTF*, ii, 390) produced an incomplete Čaghatoy version; the Āḏharbāydjānī Nāḳām (d. 1323/1905-6), the Kazakh narrator of epic poems Süyumbay (1837 93, see *ibid.*, ii, 749) and Dhambul (1846 1945; see *ibid.*, 750) made each their adaptions, and finally, there is the first Āḏharbāydjānī opera, based on Fuḍūlī, by the composer ʿÜzeyir Beg Hādjībeyli (1885-1948; see *ibid.*, ii, 686), and the opera-libretto of the Turcoman Karadje Burunov, born in 1898 (*ibid.*, ii, 733).

Bibliography: The most comprehensive description, on which the preceding article is based is A.S Levend, *Arap şiir ve türk edebiyatlarında Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1965; *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii 1964; A Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, *Leylā and Majnūn by Fuzūlī, Translated from the Turkish by S. Hurr, with a history of the poem, notes and bibliography by A Bombace*, London 1972

(B. FLEMMING)

4. In Urdū literature

The story came into Urdu literature via Persian, not direct from Arabic, and it is most frequently called "Laylā Madjnūn". It is found in three main forms. firstly, in casual reference to the lovers, especially in poetry, secondly, in narrative poems telling the story, generally in *maṯnawī*, and thirdly as the plot for early Urdu dramas of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mostly written for various Parsi theatrical companies in Bombay However, failing the discovery of some hitherto unknown masterpiece, the theme seems to have inspired no work of major literary importance

Casual references to the lovers are far too numerous to permit detailed discussion. They date from the earliest period of Urdu to the Deccan and Gudjarāt, and continued into the present century, though with decreasing frequency Nor were they restricted to *ghazal*, or even to secular poetry. For example, Walī Dakanī [see WALĪ 4 in Urdu], in a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the Prophet (*dar naʿt Ḥaḍrat Khayr al-bashar*) includes Laylā and Madjnūn among several famous pairs of lovers, as a metaphorical representation of *fanāʾ fī Allāh*, Walī was, of course, a Ṣūfī (see his work cited in *Bibl.*, 362)

The narrative *maṯnawī* was a favourite poetical form in Dakanī, the type of Urdu current in South India from the 15th to the 18th centuries Several examples devoted to Laylā Madjnūn are extant, they were modelled on Persian works, particularly those of Hātifī, Niẓāmī and Dihlawī, and perhaps also on that of Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, composed around 700/1300 In any case, despite the Persian models, the atmosphere in these Urdu works is distinctly Indian, as can be seen, for example, in the *sarāpā* passages describing the heroine from head to foot. Hāshimī, Bīkīr and Djālibī mention *maṯnawīs* by Ahmad Gudjarātī and Muḥammad ʿAzīz, both poets of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī period in Golconda. These were written in 1046/1636 and 1049/1639 respectively. A late Dakanī *maṯnawī* is *Ḳiṣṣa Laylā wa Madjnūn*, composed by ʿUbayd Allāh Wāʿiẓ b Ishāḳ in Gudjarāt in 1196/1782. It is included in a collection of 12 early Urdu *maṯnawīs* by an unknown editor, under the title of *Bāra ḳiṣṣa*. This collection was very popular, and was published several times both before and after 1837; the later editions, however, tend to modernise the language, bringing it into line with the contemporary Urdu of Northern India.

Dakanī Madjnūn Laylā *maṯnawīs* are characterised not only by their Indian flavour, but also by their concentration on the story, which is told in simple, at times naive, language. The story deviates considerably from the old Arabic versions. Thus Wāʿiẓ makes Madjnūn the son of a Ghaznawid king by an Arab woman whom he marries while on the *ḥadjdj*. The king has to return home before the boy is born, and an astrologer foretells the boy's future, and suggests the *ḥalḳa* for Madjnūn for him. The boy's *murshid* recommends night prayer and Ḳurʾānic reading, and on the basis of the pun between *Laylā* and *layl*, Madjnūn falls in love with an imaginary Laylā and wanders in search of her, his mind affected He hears of a Laylā who is the daughter of a *ḳāḍī* in Egypt He goes there, and stays in the *ḳāḍī*'s house as his pupil He meets Laylā, they fall in love, and then the story continues swiftly to its traditional conclusion with the death of the two lovers The poem is, however, stretched to over 500 verses by a good deal of lamentation by the various characters, some philosophising in which the poet warns of the danger of love; an anecdote in which the Prophet explains God's inscrutability to ʿĀʾisha; and Madjnūn's refusal to accompany the Angel of Death until the latter, after consulting God, returns assuming the face of Laylā to take him away

While the chief Urdu poets of Northern India in the 18th and 19th centuries do not appear to have written narrative poems on the story, it obviously remained popular at least into the 1860s, for Blumhardt (*op cit.* in *Bibl.* 227, 254, 350) records three *maṯnawīs*, one anonymous published in Dihlī in 1804, one by Muḥammad Ṭaḳī Khān Hawas (Lucknow 1862) and a third by Walī Muḥammad Naẓīr (Cawnpore 1886)

It was in the 1860s that theatrical companies proliferated in Bombay Many of the early plays which they staged took their plots from familiar stories, whether Arab, Persian or Indian. The story of *Madjnūn Laylā* enjoyed a considerable vogue for about thirty years as the subject of verse dramas. It is not known who wrote the first, nor how original those published were, *ḥaṭṭ* a playwright employed by one company might be commissioned to revise or adapt an existing play, and there was no law of copyright to prevent the reviser from taking full credit for the play The following wrote Laylā *Madjnūn* plays which are extant (unfortunately biographical information is almost non-existent). Nusrawān Dil Mihrabān Dil Ārām, Munshī Maḥmūd Miyān Rawnak (1825-68), whose play was written 1857-8, Husayn Miyān Żarīf, and Hāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh. Rawnak's play—probably the best of these—was published in Bombay in 1880 in Gudjarātī script, with the double title *Anḏjām-i ulfat*, *yaʿnī Laylā Madjnūn* Like the plays by the other three, it has now been republished in the Urdu script at Lahore

These four plays are distinguished by a certain stagecraft and popular appeal rather than by literary merit With this in mind, the famous Lucknow polymath and novelist, Mirzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (1859-1931) [see RUSWĀ. 5 In Urdu] wrote his *Murakkaʿ-i-Laylā Madjnūn* ("The Album of Laylā Madjnūn"), published at Lucknow in 1885 and at Allahabad in 1887 He had seen plays performed by various touring Bombay companies in Lucknow, including doubtless Madjnūn Laylā plays As he

writes in his introduction, he was dissatisfied with their language, which he found to be not that of Dihlī or Lucknow, but of the Bombay fish market! (Ruswā, *tamhīd*, 5) Encouraged by friends, he wrote this play to demonstrate how dramatic poetry should be. He employed different poetic metres to suit the characters and situations, and envisaged their being set to music, so that the result might be described as an Urdu opera. But on theatrical company would stage it, and critics generally regard it as a failure. 'Ishrat Rahmān (cited in *Bibl*, 279) remarks that it was entirely in verse at a time when prose was playing an increasing part in Urdu drama. The plot, he suggests, had been "worked to death" and had lost its appeal. As a poet of Lucknow who had seen the heyday of the *marthiya* (see MARTHIYA, 4. In Urdu) he was well equipped to write effective passages of melancholy and lamentation. In this respect, the play has much to commend it. But Ruswā was no dramatist, and the story does not lend itself easily to dramatic treatment.

At least one modern Urdu writer has brought Madjnūn Laylā up-to date in a short story. Sayyid Sadjdjād Haydar's collection of short stories *Khayālistān* includes one entitled *Hikāyat Laylā wa Madjnūn* (cited in *Bibl*, 224-61). In it, the two lovers are reborn under modern conditions. Madjnūn follows Laylā about on a bicycle. Laylā is ordered electric shock treatment, and at the time of this treatment, Madjnūn has a fit. He is taken to Mecca to be relieved of his obsession, but prays only that his suffering may never be lessened. Thus ends this "whimsical and delightfully written story" (Suhrawardy, cited in *Bibl*, 222), which forms a fitting conclusion to an account of Madjnūn Laylā in Urdu literature.

Bibliography For Dakanī *mathnawīs* on the story, see Nasīr al-Dīn Hāshimī, *Dakan mēn Urdū*[2], Lucknow 1963, 60-3, 108-13 (including extracts), Djamīl Djālibī, *Ta'rīkh-i-adab-i-Urdū v. Kadīm dawr*, Lahore 1975, 249-50, for the text of Wālī, see *Urdū kī kadīm masnawīn dāstānēn*, ed. Khalīl al-Rahmān Dāwūd, 1, Lahore 1967, 1-10, 81-148 (a critical assessment is given by Muhammad Bākir, *Urdū-i kadīm Dakan aur Pandjāb mēn*, Lahore 1972, 77-85), the reference by Walī Dakanī to Madjnūn Laylā will be found in *Kulliyyāt Walī*, ed. 'Alī Ahsan Mīrahrawī, Awrangābād 1927, J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Hindustanī books in the Library of the British Museum*, London 1889, sections *mathnawīs* published in Northern India in the 19th century. Plays on the story are listed by 'Ishrat Rahmānī, *Urdū drama—tārīkh-o-tanķīd*, Lahore 1957, 222-23. The Laylā Madjnūn dramas of Ārām, Rawnak, Zarīf and Hāfiz 'Abd Allāh are included in the volumes of collected dramatic works of these authors published by the Andjuman-i-taraķķī-yi Urdū in Lahore in recent years; the same society has published Mirzā Muhammad Ruswā's *Murakka'-i-Laylā Madjnūn*, ed. 'Ishrat Rahmānī, Lahore 1963. This includes not only Ruswā's own preface, but a useful introduction by the editor which lists previous dramas on the theme. Sadjdjād Haydar's *Khayālistān* was first published at 'Alīgarh in 1932, and there is a Dihlī edition of 1946. Shāyista Akhtar Bānū Suhrawardy's brief account and assessment of his *Hikāyat Laylā wa Madjnūn* is in her *A critical survey of the Urdū novel and short story*, London 1945.

(J. A. HAYWOOD)

MADJRĪT, mediaeval Arabic name of the city of Madrid (Spain). The Arabic sources seldom mention this place in the Muslim period. According to al-Himyarī, the *hisn* of Madjrīt was built by the Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova, Muhammad I (238-73/852-86). M. A. Makkī believes that its foundation may be dated between 252/866 and 257/871, in the reign of this *amīr*; the year 252/866 marks the beginning of the reign of Alfonso III of the Asturias, whose military activities had the effect of destabilising the region between Médinaceli and Toledo (*al-thaghr al-adnā*), which would thus have been consolidated by the construction of the fortress of Madjrīt as an important element in the military disposition of the region, with a governor appointed by Cordova, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sālim, who imprisoned and executed a rebel from Toledo named Ibn Balīsh.

From its foundation until the period of the *fitna* of al-Andalus (399/1009), the few facts supplied by the ancient sources on the subject of Madjrīt are indicative of its role as a frontier fortress (*thaghr*). In 320/932, it was subjected to an attack by King Ramiro II of León, according to the Christian historian Sampiro. In 324/936, a party of citizens of Madjrīt undertook an expedition into Christian territory and, on their return, they were massacred by the enemy, according to Ibn Hayyān. The *hādjib* Ibn Abī 'Āmir al-Manṣūr (Almanzor), in the course of his campaign against the fortress of La Muela in 366/977, met at Madjrīt the governor of Médinaceli, Ghālib (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr). Ibn Hazm supplies an interesting item of information concerning Madjrīt, the slave of a perfume-seller known by the name of al-Fasīh led an insurrection in this town, pretending to be 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, but he was attacked and killed. J. Oliver Asín believed that this insurrection was inspired by Fāṭimids, on the other hand, M. A. Makkī reckons that the rebel wished to be recognised as the son of the short-lived Umayyad caliph of Cordova al-Mahdī (399/1009 and 400/1010). Thus the rebellion would have taken place in the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Mustakfī bi'llāh (414-16/1024-5).

In the period of the Taifas (*mulūk al tawā'if*), Madjrīt must have been attached to the kingdom of the Banū Dhī 'l-Nūn of Toledo. The king of Castile Alfonso VI took possession of Madjrīt as well as of other fortresses in the region, shortly before the fall of Toledo in 478/1085. It seems to have remained under Christian domination except for a very short period, at the time of the so-called Talavere campaign of the Almoravid *amīr* 'Alī b. Tashfīn (Ibn Abī Zar'). But the Christian city retained a Muslim community (*mudjadjan*) concentrated in a particular quarter (Barrio de la Moreria). There were also Moriscos in Madrid at the time of their official expulsion from Castile in 1610.

The only description of Madjrīt preserved by Arab sources is that of al-Himyarī. It is very short, stating that the place consists of a small town and an impregnable fortress, with a Friday mosque. Also mentioned is the discovery of the skeleton of a gigantic beast in the moat of the town (large fossils are not rare in the valley of the Manzanares), and the extraordinary nature of the soil of Madrid, ideal for the manufacture of solid and durable cooking-pots.

The topography of Madjrīt can therefore only be reconstructed in a hypothetical fashion, by means of the archaeological and toponymic remains of a more recent period. It seems that the Arab *hisn* was situated on the heights of the Palacio Real, on a raised promontory dominating the Manzanares river. Oliver Asín considered that the entire hill must have been surrounded by walls, with the *hisn*

and other military constructions forming a citadel whose Arabic name was apparently al *Mudayna* (*Almudena*), a name preserved by the church of Santa María de la Almudena, to the south-west of the hill, at the extremity of the Calle Mayor. It apparently had two gates, whose existence is known to us from Christian documents: the Puerta de la Vega, to the south-west of the hill, towards the valley of the Manzanares, and the Puerta de la Almudena, to the south-east, linking the citadel with the town or *madīna*. The latter probably had its own surrounding walls, in common with many other towns of al-Andalus. The Arab *madīna* must have extended towards the eastern end of the hill, covering a half of what is currently the Calle Mayor (Platerías), where the gate known as the Puerta de Guadalajara was situated. Its northern extremity was located to the south of the Plaza de Oriente and the theatre of La Ópera. On the other hand, the southern limits of the Arab Madjrīṭ are the object of greater controversy, since to the south the hill of the Palacio Real and the *madīna* overhang a ravine of considerable depth, which today is crossed by means of a viaduct and which opens on a small valley (Calle de Segovia) before climbing again towards other hills (Las Vistillas and San Andrés). Oliver Asín supported the hypothesis that the pre-Arab Madjrīṭ first grew up in this narrow valley and that the walls of the town must have enclosed the valley, on the descent from the hill of *al Mudayna* and the rise towards those of Las Vistillas and San Andrés, as was the case with the mediaeval and modern surrounding walls (see the engraving of *Códice de Wingaarde*, 1563-70). But the archaeologist Basilio Pavón is not in agreement with this hypothesis about the southern limits of Madjrīṭ, he considers that the wall of the second enclosure skirted the northern ridge of the small valley, running parallel to the Calle Mayor, a hypothesis which had already been propounded by E. Tormo. It would be necessary to attribute an origin in the Christian period to the wall which encloses the valley, Las Vistillas and San Andrés, and which would have formed a third southern tier in the fortifications of Madrīṭ. B. Pavón furthermore maintains that the citadel or first tier did not embrace entirely the hill of the Palacio Real; the southern section, currently occupied by the cathedral of the Almudena, would have formed a part of the second tier, as far as the Puerta de la Vega. Almudena or *al-Mudayna* would thus be a toponym designating not only the citadel, but the *madīna* or town with the sense of "small town", in accordance with the text of al-Himyarī.

The site of the Great Mosque is also the subject of various hypotheses. It may have been on the former site of the church of the Almudena or that of the church of San Salvador, which has likewise disappeared and tend to stand opposite the present-day Town Hall; it could also have been on the site where the *mudejar* style church of San Nicolás now stands, a few metres to the north of the extremity of the Calle Mayor. The *Fuero de Madrid* of 1202 also mentions the existence of *azoches* (markets, bazaars), the most important of which was situated along the Calle Mayor. There was also an *almunara* (*al-munāra*), a promenade and place of recreation, as in other towns of the Muslim West, it was most probably located outside the walls.

But the most remarkable characteristic of Madjrīṭ, as also of mediaeval Christian Madrid, was its system of catchment and distribution of subterranean waters, this being the basis of the legend, documented from the 15th century onwards, asserting that Madrid had been built on water. The hydraulic system of Madjrīṭ—and of Madrid until the 15th century—was based on the catchment of water by means of wells linked by large subterranean galleries (*kanāt* [*q.v.*], pl. *kanawāt*) descending from an elevated place towards the town, where they form raw ramifications, on or below the surface, which emerge in public fountains, in gardens or in houses. It is highly probable that this technique was employed in various parts of the Iberian Peninsular in pre-Islamic times, but traces of it have only been preserved in Madrid, a huge complex which has lasted remarkably well over the centuries. This is perhaps a tribute to the quality of the soil of Madrid, noted by al-Himyarī, which is such that even today some public fountains of the town are supplied by this system of water distribution. The *kanāt*s of Madjrīṭ have been studied by Oliver Asín: the two most important canals are the Alto Abroñigal and the Bajo Abroñigal, whose respective sources are situated in two hills which are still known as Canillas and Canillejas, toponyms whose Arabic etymology is to be found in *kanāt*, of which the plural form *khniya* is encountered in the Arabic of al-Andalus. The Alto Abroñigal came to an end by the site of San Nicolás, the church already mentioned, close to the citadel, in the heart of the Arab town. The Bajo Abroñigal terminated at the Puerta Cerrada, on the hypothetical third tier of the town's defences.

It is furthermore quite possible that the name of Madjrīṭ should be associated with this hydraulic system, according to a popular etymology which has it evolving from *madjrā*, canal or water course. The origin of this name does not seem to have interested the Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but as soon as Madrid became the capital of the Spanish Empire at the end of the 16th century, many scholars tried to find Arabic origins for it, helped perhaps by the Moriscos *mabdjara*, *madrasa*, *masārik*, etc. Subsequently, an etymology of clerical origin prevailed: *Matritum* (from the Latin *mater*), of which Madjrīṭ would be the Arabic transcription. In the 18th century, faced with numerous ill-founded theories the Maronite priest Michel Casiri (al-Gazīrī) was obliged to establish a compromise theory, the original name was the Latin *Matritum*, but Madjrīṭ was a word of African origin signifying canal or conduit (*aquaeductum*).

In the 20th century, and in the light of modern philological studies, R. Menéndez Pidal has constructed a hypothetical Celtic name *Magerita* with the sense of "ford" or "long bridge". M. Gómez Moreno claimed to have discovered in Madjrīṭ a terminal *-iṭ* having its origin in the Latin ending *-etum*, collective of abundance. Oliver Asín proposed a brilliant hypothesis, that Madjrīṭ must be a hybrid formed from the Arabic word *madjra*, canal, and from the Roman suffix *-it*, of abundance, Madjrīṭ would thus signify "place where canals are abundant". He considered, however, that the present name of the town comes not from the Arabic name Madjrīṭ, but from *Majrīṭ*, a Roman toponym having its origin in the Latin *Matricum*, the primitive name of the small valley where the Calle de Segovia is currently situated, on the site of a pre-Arab settlement, according to this author. Finally, Joan Corominas has made some adjustments to this theory while retaining the connection between Madjrīṭ and *madjrā*. He rejects the possibility of the use of the collective *-etum* (*-iṭ*) other than in the sphere of plants, and he believes that Madjrīṭ is a

metathesis of the word of Latin origin *matrīd* (from *matricem*), according to a popular etymology which seeks to link it with *madjrā*. He also considers that the current form of Madrid may derive from the Arabic Madjrīṭ by means of an intermediary form *madrid* with an epenthetic *-d*.

The best known native of Madjrīṭ in the Muslim period is the astronomer and mathematician Abu ’l-Ḳāsim Maslama al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*], but other individuals of secondary importance who have been studied by Oliver Asín were also born there. Ibn Ḥayyān and other historical sources of al-Andalus supply some names of governors of Madjrīṭ in the Umayyad period, of particular numerous members of the family of the Banū Shīm, of Berber origin, firmly implanted in the central marches of al Andalus and especially in the region of Médinaceli (*Madīnat Sālim*).

Bibliography: The Arabic sources on Madjrīṭ are: al-Ḥumayrī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1938, and ed. I ʿAbbās, Beirut 1980 (s.v.), Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis min anbāʾ ahl al-Andalus*, ed. M A Makkī, Beirut 1973; *al-Muḳtabas*, ed. P Chalouets, Madrid 1979. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii. Ibn Ḥazm, *Nakt al ʿarūs*, Cairo 1948; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, Fez 1936. The *Fuero de Madrid* was edited in Madrid in 1932.

A seminal work which is still useful for Madjrīṭ (etymology, topography, canals and history) is that of J Oliver Asín, *Historia del nombre de Madrid*, Madrid 1959; M. A Makkī, *Madrid al ʿarabiyya*, Cairo n.d. [1968] basically follows the preceding work, with a few historical novelties. On the topography of Madjrīṭ, reference may be made to E Tormo's slightly out-dated work, *Las murallas y las torres, los portales y el alcázar del Madrid de la Reconquista: creación del Calsfalso*, Madrid 1945, in anticipation of *Madrid árabe* by P Pavón, as yet unpublished. On the *almunaras*: Oliver Asín, *Las dos almunaras*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962), 353-79. On the *ḳanāts*: Cornel Braun, *Teheran, Marrakech und Madrid. Ihre Wasserversorgung mit Hilfe von Qanaten*, Bonn 1974, and R. Goblot, *Les qanats. Une technique d'acquisition de l'eau*, Paris-The Hague-New York 1979. On the etymology of Madjrīṭ: R Menéndez Pidal, *La etimología de Madrid y la antigua Carpetania*, in *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museum de Madrid*, xiv (1943); M Gómez Moreno, *La desinencia -it a propósito de Madrid*, in *ibid.*, xv (1946); Oliver Asín, *El nombre de Madrid*, in *Arbor*, xxvii (1954), 396-426; J Coromines, *Etimología de Madrid*, in *Revista de Filología Española*, xliii (1960), 447-59.

(M. J. Rubiera de Epalza)

al-MADJRĪṬĪ, Abu ’l-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Faraḍī, mathematician and astronomer, born in Madrid in the mid-4th/10th century, died in Cordova in about 398/1007.

The facts which are known do not enable us to trace his biography in detail. He was clearly an important person since Ibn Ḥazm mentions him in his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* (ch. xiv). He clearly established himself at a very early age in Cordova, and was a pupil of the geometrician ʿAbd al Ghāfir b. Muḥammad. It must be supposed that he maintained contact with the circle of Hellenists which came into being in the period of ʿAbd al Raḥmān III al Nāṣir. In 369/979 he carried out some astronomical observations, and it must have been at this time that he adapted the tables of al-Ḵh̲wārizmī [*q.v.*] to the Cordova meridian. Some time later, he apparently brought the *Rasāʾil Iḵẖwān al-Ṣafāʾ* to public attention in al-Andalus. It is possible that he performed the duties of a court astrologer, since it is to him that one attributes the horoscope which, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ed. E Lévi-Provençal iii, Paris 1930, 14-15) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 127-8, *apud* Hoenerbach, *Islam. Gesch. Spaniens*, 259), predicted and described the unfolding of the *fitna*.

His disciples included: al-Kirmānī [d. 458/1066], who introduced the *Rasāʾil Iḵẖwān al-Ṣafāʾ* to Saragossa and the frontier regions of the North; Abu ’l-Ḳāsim Asbagh b. al Samḥ (d. 426/1035, see IBN AL-SAWḤ); Abu ’l Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ṣaffār (d. 426/1035, see IBN AL-ṢAFFĀR); the astrologer Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. 447/1055), to whom so many elegies are dedicated in the *Memoirs* of the Zīrid king ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ẓahrawī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khaldūn of Seville.

The authenticity and the number of works by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī have given rise to numerous discussions. As a general principle we can be sure that the books of a magical or alchemical nature which are attributed to him do not belong to him, since the *ḥadīṯ* Ibn Ṣāʿid does not mention them in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, they should be attributed to his quasi-contemporary and compatriot Abū Maslama Muḥammad . al-Madjrīṭī (on whom see Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 294-8) and to the latter's pupil Ibn Buḵẖrīn al-Madjrīṭī (*GAS*, iv, 298). Among these apocryphal writings, the principal ones are the *Rutbat al ḥakīm*, the *Ghāyat al ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*) and the *Sirr al Maṣnūʿ*.

Books which may be regarded as authentic works of Abu ’l-Ḳāsim Maslama al-Madjrīṭī are therefore as follows. (1) A textbook of commercial arithmetic (*Tamām ʿilm al-ʿadad* = *K. Tatmām al-ʿadad* = *Muʿāmalāt*) which, according to Ibn Khaldūn dealt with sales, valuation and taxation and in which, apparently, arithmetical, geometrical and algebraic techniques are employed indiscriminately; (2) a very short *Treatise on the astrolabe* (not to be confused with that of Ibn al-Ṣaffār), which deals with the technical construction and use of this instrument (B.N. Arabic ms. 4821, fols. 76a-81b, ed. and tr J Vernet and A. Catalá, in *al-Andalus*, xxx [1965], 15-47). (3) An adaptstera of the *Astronomical tables* of al Ḵh̲wārizmī to the Cordova meridian and to the Leginia Calendar, (4) An adaptation or amendation of some tables of al-Battānī [*q.v.*]; (5) Notes on the theorem of Menelaus (*Shakl al ḳaṭṭāʿ*), on which see M. V. Villuendas, *La trigonometría europea en el siglo XI . . .*, Barcelona 1979, and A Björnbo and H. Suter, *Thabits Werk über den Transversalsatz*, Erlangen 1924, 23, 79, 83 and ms. Esc. 972, 2; (6) *Taʿdīl basīṭ al-kura*, which is an Arabic translation of the *Planisphere* of Ptolemy; the two originals are lost but Maslama's work is preserved (a) in a Latin version made from the Arabic text by Hermann of Dalmacia (1143) and edited in Basle in 1536 and in Venice in 1558, and (b) in a Hebrew version, the Arabic translation can be judged thanks to the Paris manuscript which contains Maslama's own commentary, *Taʿdīl Baṭlamyūs fī taʿdīl basīṭ al-kura*, and (7) a work of astronomy attributed by Ibn Ṭaybughā b al-Mujāhid (d. 850/1447) as *al-Durr al-yatīm* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vi, 227, 4).

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MĀDJŪDJ [See YADJŪDJ WA MĀDJŪDJ.]

MADJŪS (coll., sing. *Madjusī*), originally an ancient Iranian priestly caste (OP *magush*, Akk. *magushu*, Syriac *mgūšā*, Greek μάγος) but used in Arabic primarily for Zoroastrians.

This caste was closely identified with the ruling élite in Sāsānid Iran, where their faith was the official religion of the state and where they were organised in a social and religious hierarchy. The priests, called *mōbad*, *hirbad*, *dastūr*, or *sat* depending on context and function, had ritual, judicial and educational responsibilities. The priestly hierarchy with the *mōbadān mōbad* at its apex interlocked with the secular administration, and priests performed notarial duties in the courts, sealing documents and decisions. At the end of the Sāsānid period, *hirbads* appear to have been in control. The public cult with its royal political significance performed in fire temples involved rituals concerned with the fire itself, as well as with animal sacrifices and liturgical recitations. In addition to a hierarchy of village (*ādurān*) and provincial (*warhrān*) fires there were three especially famous temples that of the Farnbag Fire, probably at Kāriyān in Fārs, for priests, the Gushnasp Fire at Shīz in Ādharbaydjān for soldiers, and the Burzēn-Mihr Fire in the mountains above Nīshāpūr for farmers. Other fires are mentioned on seals and in texts, and although fire temples were usually state property, they could be founded and endowed privately. At the personal level, the cult involved ceremonies at the hearth fire, and emphasised the maintaining of a state of ritual purity by performing ablutions with bull's urine (*nīrang*) and cold water, by avoiding dead matter, by tying and untying the sacred cord (*kusti*), and by eating in a state of ritual silence (in *widēf* with only murmuring (*zamzama*). The popular cult included food-offerings at fire temples, the veneration of sacred trees, and public seasonal feasts (*gāhānbārs*) and dances. The bodies of the dead were exposed in the open. Elaborate private rituals contributed to social differentiation, with the standard of observance greatest among the upper classes and declining as one moved down the social scale among the majority of animal Madjūs.

Although the Avesta had been written down in its 21 nasks, the texts were usually memorised and known only by those priests who specialised in specific rituals. Since the Avestan texts were imbedded in their commentary, there was no separate sacred book of scripture or closed canon in terms of authority. Nor was there any doctrinal orthodoxy. Monotheist, dualist, and polytheist expressions co-existed with choice of emphasis and interpretation depending on circumstances. The Zurvanite tendency to assert the ultimate primacy of the god of Time and Destiny appears to have been favoured in the Sāsānid period because of its authoritarian implications, and was associated with the ruling classes. Other monotheist expressions concerning the primacy of Ohrmazd appear in apologetic contexts with Jews and Christians. The most complete dualist expressions are found in the 3rd/9th century Pahlavi literature in a context of polemic with Islam, and these represent Ohrmazd and Ahriman as co-eternal antagonists and creators. Polytheist expressions having to do with the Yazatas as being deserving of worship tended to be reinterpreted by semantic arguments concerning the definition of deity and of worship.

An élitist social ethic honouring establishmentarian virtues provided ideological justification for the hierarchic society of the Madjūs. High values were placed on order, stability, legality and harmony among the functionally-determined divisions of society (priests, soldiers, bureaucrats, and workers, or else priests, soldiers, farmers, and artisans) so each would perform its specific duty towards the others. The justice of rewards and punishments was emphasised at the spiritual, political and social levels, while economic, legal, and religious sanctions were used to ensure the obedience of women and children. Consanguineous marriage (*khwēdōdāt*) was approved as a means of preserving the social exclusiveness, solidarity, and purity of descent of the upper classes. Material wealth was equated with the virtue and goodness inherent in the upper classes, whose destiny at fortune (*khwarnah*) it was to enjoy the good creation of Ohrmazd. Naturally anti-ascetic, their ethic equated poverty with the sin and evil inherent in the lower classes.

Consequently, the Madjūs were vulnerable to the loss of political support and to the rejection of authority and material success by alienated members of their own society. In the Sāsānid period their position was eroded by the internal ascetic, gnostic sectarian movements of Mani and Mazdak and by conversions to Christianity in the west and to Buddhism in the east. Bad religion (*ahramōkīh*) was identified with antinomianism, social disorder, extremist behaviour and dissimulation by the Madjūs, who executed and disinherited unrepentant apostates.

Thus at the end of the Sāsānid period not all Persians were Madjūs, nor were Madjūs confined to Iran proper. They were to be found as administrators, landlords, and soldiers in non-Persian parts of the Sāsānid empire such as al-ʿIrāḳ, Bahrayn, ʿUmān and Yaman, and there may have been Arab Madjūs in the tribe of Tamīm and in Yaman. Outside the Sāsānid empire, there were Madjūs in western India and China, probably as merchants, and local communities in Central Asia with local differences in cult which were not part of the Sāsānid organization.

The fall of the Sāsānid state to the conquering Muslims drastically and permanently changed the status of the Madjūs from that of rulers to that of subjects. Fire temples were confiscated in Bahrayn and al-ʿIrāḳ, while Madjūs were required to pay tribute (*djizya*) wherever they surrendered, at first in Yaman, ʿUmān, Bahrayn, and al-ʿIrāḳ. At first their treatment was inconsistent, and in 20/641 Djaʿd b. Muʿāwiya began to break up the families of Madjūs and forbade the *zawāmma* in the countryside near Baṣra until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf convinced the caliph ʿUmar I that Muḥammad had accepted *djizya* from the Madjūs of Hadjar. This provided a precedent, since there was no Ḳurʾānic basis for treating the Madjūs as *ahl al-kitāb*. Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists them along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided on Muslim theory that the Madjūs were intermediate between the *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture. Their women and the meat of animals slaughtered by them were forbidden to Muslims, and according to al-Shāfiʿī, their blood price was 1/15 that of Muslims. Nevertheless, Madjūs were employed in the administration at Baṣra and in Khurāsān under the Umayyads.

In Iran the Madjūs kept their fire temples, suffered little interference in their cult at first, and were allowed to pay *djizya*. In some places, such as Rayy, Kūmis and Shīr, the peace terms provided for the preservation of their fire temples. However, there was no recognition of the priesthood as the representatives of a religious community by the Muslim state, and since no unitary organisation or hierarchy of priests survived the conquest, leadership devolved on local priests and *dihkāns*.

The loss of political power and support had several consequences for the Madjūs. First, the loss of members by conversion to Islam was added to continuing conversion to Christianity. The descendants of *the Persian soldiers in Yaman (Abnāʾ [q.v.])* were converted to Islam in the lifetime of Muhammad, as were the *marzbān* of Hadjar with some of his followers. A number of *dahāʾin* and units of the Sāsānid army became converted to Islam in al-ʿIrāḳ, and by the time of ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20), the Madjūs of al-Hīra had become Muslim. Generally, members of the Sāsānid establishment became converts in order to avoid paying *djizya*, to keep their property and position, and to join the Muslim army and administration. The Madjūs also lost many members through captivity, since children taken captive were raised as Muslims. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of early mass conversions in Irān. The governor of Sidjistān in 46/666-7, al-Rabīʿ, is said to have encouraged conversion by a combination of persuasion and force, and he required converts to learn the Kurʾān. Kutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] also encouraged conversion at Bukhārā in 94/712-13, built a Friday mosque on the site of the former fire-temple and attracted converts among the poor by paying them two *dirhams* to worship there, although afterwards conversion was discouraged in order to preserve the tax base. Conversion was also discouraged by the Madjūs themselves, who treated apostates as legally dead, disinherited them, and required property to remain within their community. Converts were also subject to discrimination by local authorities, such as Bahram Sīs who, when appointed *marzbān* by the Muslim governor of Khurāsān in 105/725 and charged with collecting taxes from the Madjūs, collaborated with the Christian and Jewish agents to make 30,000 converts to Islam pay the *djizya* and to exempt 80,000 non-Muslims.

Second the advent of Muslim rule subjected the Madjūs to sporadic persecution. About 50-1/670-1 Ziyād b. Abīhi, the governor of al-ʿIrāḳ and the east for Muʿāwiya, sent his cousin ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra to destroy the fire temples and to confiscate their property in Fārs and Sidjistān. Although ʿUbayd Allāh destroyed the fire temple at Kāriyān near Dārābdjird and killed the *hirbads*, the chief *hirbad* of Sidjistān, Shāpūr, escaped with his fire temple at Karkūya near Zarang because the local *dihkāns* and Madjūs appealed to the caliph. There were later extinctions in a village at Kumm by al-Hadidjādj and at Idhadj on the border between Khuzistān and Isfahān in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). Al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) is said to have had a famous ancient cypress tree reputedly planted by Zoroaster cut down in 247/861. In 283/895, the Turk Barūn, who was governor of Kumm, destroyed a pre-Islamic fire temple in the village of Fardadjān near Isfahān, and in 288/901 destroyed the last fire temples in the village of Djamkaran at Kumm. Sometimes fire temples were converted into mosques in places where Arabs had settled or as the result of conversion, although afterwards the Madjūs often continued to venerate sites where fire temples had been.

Third, the Madjūs gave an apocalyptic meaning to the events at the end of the Sāsānid period, interpreting them as signs of the end of the millenium of Zoroaster and the beginning of the millenium of Oshedar, which calculations based on the *Letter of Tansar* would place about 41/661 but which was later identified with the beginning of the era of Yazdadjird in 10/631. The end of the millenium was signalled by the advent of Arab rule and destruction by them, and by the overturning of social classes and values, when the nobles would be powerless, separated from their families and forced to share *their status with people of low origin, and when* people would copy foreign customs. Predictions of the arrival of the liberator, Varhrān Vardjāvand, of the destruction of Muslim places of worship, and of a Roman invasion, may belong to the propaganda of Sāsānid restoration attempts. The Mahdī hopes associated with Abū Muslim have also been linked to Zoroastrian eschatology, the restoration of Zoroastrianism and the end of Arab rule in Khurāsān. It was against this background that a series of risings by Zoroastrian peasants provoked by fiscal oppression in eastern Iran in the 2nd/8th century served as the occasion for the emergence of new antinomian, anti-establishment Zoroastrian sects. This began with the peasant revolt near Nīshāpūr led by Bihāfarīd from 129/766-7 to 131/748-9, who claimed to be a new prophet with a book in Persian, abolished *zanāzan* the use of wine and meat, consanguineous marriage, and fire-worship, and limited dowries to 400 *dirhams*. Although the *mōbads* got Abū Muslim to suppress the rebellion, his sect could still be found near Marw in the 4th/10th century awaiting his return, even though *djizya* was not accepted from them. Madjūs also joined the casing of Sinbādh in 138/755, and followers of Bihāfarīd and Madjūs in Sidjistān and at Harāt and Bādghīs followed Ustādhsīs in 150/767; his sect also survived until the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century. Muslim authors noted four sectarian divisions among the Madjūs: Al-Shahrastānī lists the Kayūmarthiyya, Zarwāniyya, Zarādushtiyya, and Sasyānlyya called Bihāfaridiyya, while al-Baghdādī gives them as Zarwāniyya, Mashiyya, Khurramdīniyya and Bihāfaridiyya, and says that *djizya was only acceptable from the first two*.

Fourth, the inability to execute sinners and apostates themselves produced a change in attitude towards nonconforming members of their own community. Persuasion replaced the threat of force lest sinners be tempted to convert. The nobility of the virtuous poor, whose good works cannot be stolen and who will be rewarded in heaven instead of on earth, appears as a theme in *sadars* literature. This was probably the result of the growing impoverishment of the priests and *dihkāns* as well as an attempt to keep the loyalty of still poorer members of the community, and it reflects a degree of social levelling among Madjūs after the Muslim conquest, although the sincerity of the sentiment was questioned in the apocalyptic *Dādistān-ī dīnīg*.

Fifth, unavoidable contact with unbelievers and the loss of texts led to changes in cult and custom. The more elaborate aspects of ritual purity went unobserved. Madjūs were allowed to sell animals to non-Zoroastrians when survival depended on it, and they began to expose their dead inside an enclosure (*dakhma*) out of the sight of unbelievers. They did not consider it a sin to steal property from non-

Zoroastrians that had been stolen from them. Although they learned to be content with compromises that could not be avoided, they also exerted themselves to maintain their rituals whenever they could.

In spite of their decline in status and in numbers the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries appear to have been a time of relative recovery, stability and consolidation for the Madjūs. Part of the fire at Kāriyān had been taken to Fasā for safe keeping during the Muslim conquest, and from it the fire temple at Kāriyān, destroyed in the 1st/7th century, was restored. Fire was expected from Kāriyān and Shīz to new temples and al-Muʿtasim (218-27/833-42) permitted the restoration of fire temples at Iṣṭakhr and in Farghāna. What remained of the old religious literature was collected and preserved by Āturfarnbag-i Farroḫzādān, *mōbad* of Fārs in the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33). A new didactic, apologetic and polemic literature was produced by Mānushčihr, the leading *mōbad* of Fārs and Kirmān in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, by his brother Zātspram, the *mōbad* of Sīrkān, by Mānushčihr's nephew, Emēt-i Aṣhavihištān, *mōbad* over much of southern Iran in the first half of the 4th/10th century and by his successor, Āturpāt-i Emētān about the middle of the 4th/10th century. The main Pahlavi texts which were produced in this period sought to forestall conversion through intellectual arguments against monotheism and gnosticism, and through using that part of the legal tradition that concerned social behaviour and personal status in order to preserve their distinction from unbelievers and to draw social boundaries more closely around themselves. But authority and solidarity within the community, which depended on the priest's appointment of the heads of households responsible for carrying out family law, was undermined by the facts that the priests themselves were too few and poorly trained, had taken up crafts in order to survive, and had been replaced by those less qualified, in these circumstances, educated laymen were allowed in substitute for those when necessary.

Despite these problems, the testimony of Muslim geographers indicates that Madjūs were still widespread and fairly numerous in Iran and the east as late as the 4th/10th century. There were many villages of Madjūs on the Aras River in Āḏarbāydjān and the fire temple at Shīz survived as late as 333/943. Madjūs were numerous in al-ʿIrāḳ and had a large fire temple on the west bank of the Tigris opposite al-Madāʾin. There were still a few Madjūs in Khūzistān, with several fire temples at the sacred village of Nūdidjān. They were numerous in al-Ḥibāl, where they could be found at Rayy and in villages near Kumm, while there were still fire temples near Iṣfahān. Madjūs were more numerous in Fārs than anywhere else, with fire temples in nearly every village, town, and district, and they were employed as local governors there by the Būyids. However, pressures for conversion, such as the activities of *Shaykh* Abū Iṣḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1034) and his followers, led to conflict and the outbreak of a Muslim-Madjūs riot at Shīrāz in 369/979. Madjūs could be found in Kūhistān, and remained numerous and influential at Kirmān until the late 3rd/9th century. There were Madjūs in the Caspian provinces as late as the 5th/11th century, although in the late 3rd/9th-10th century most of those in Daylam had been converted by Zaydī Shīʿīs and those in Gīlān were converted by Ḥanbalīs. Madjūs still lived in the city of Zarang in Sīstān in the early 4th/10th century, while the fire temple at Ḳarḳūya survived as late as the 5th/11th century. There were several sects of Madjūs in Khurāsān, where there were fire temples at Nīshāpūr, Harāt and near Tūs, there was a village of Zoroastrian donkey-drivers near Marw, although the Karrāmiyya sect [*q.v.*] were converting Madjūs to Islam at Nīshāpūr. To the east, there were fire temples at Balkh, Bukhārā, and Farghāna in the 3rd/9th century, and Madjūs in villages in Turkish territory and in China in the 4th/10th century. There were also new groups of Madjūs settled in northwest India and along the west coast, mainly engaged in trade, from the 2nd/8th century on. By the 4th/10th century there was a fire temple and *dakhma* at Broach, while towards the end of the century Zoroastrian merchants at Cambay came into violent conflict with the Hindus and were driven out.

Although outstanding public differences such as the exposure of the dead and the refusal to use heated baths remained between Madjūs and Muslims, a resonance developed between Islam and Zoroastrianism in the form of common features shared by both traditions. In many cases it is impossible to prove coat similarities were the result of the influence of one religion on the other or, if so, which way the influence went. Such are the shared belief in creation, the torment of the grave, the weighing of deeds at the judgment of the soul, rewards and punishments in Heaven and Hell, angels and demons, the end of the world, the coming of a messianic hero and resurrection. Such also are the practice of five daily times of worship, the requirement of an intention to worship in order for it to be acceptable, the recitation of scripture for the dead and a common aversion to idolatry in both traditions, authoritarian appeals to the interdependence of religion and state were challenged by the antinomian antinomism of sectarian rebels. There was a shared philosophical vocabulary and use of rational arguments between the Madjūs and the Muʿtazila, who argued the same issues from opposite sides, the Madjūs insisting that if there is only one creator he must also be responsible for evil, and arguing for a dualist solution to preserve God's goodness, mercy, and justice, along with human responsibility, at the expense of God's omnipotence. There is also a similarity between the archetypal religious man (*Zarathushtrōtm*) of the Madjūs and the Muslim concept of the *Insān al-Kāmil*, while the belief of the Madjūs in the need to follow the religious example of a learned *dastūr* who is the mediator for the age resembles the concept of the *Imām* of the age and the function of the *mudjtahid* among Shīʿīs.

Other similarities are more likely to be the result of Islamic influence. Zoroastrians came to be described as a prophet whose revelation was the *Dēnkard* and whose miracle was the *Apastā*. Sometime after the 5th/11th century, *khwētūdās* became marriage between maternal or paternal first cousins. Dowry was approximated to Muslim *mahr*. Madjūs began to establish *waḳfs*, but in ways similar to the old endowments for fire-temples. By the 6th/12th century they had adopted the custom of beginning actions such as slaughtering an animal or writing with the phrase "in the name of God" (*pa nām ī yazdān*). Shrines to the *yazatas* were preserved and protected by rededicating them to daughters of Yazdadjird, who disappeared into the mountainside like Shīʿī *Imāms*, as early as the 4th/10th century at Rayy, or later by giving them Muslim form as Shīʿī *imāmzādas*, making pilgrimage to them and slaughtering animals there. Madjūs also began to visit Muslim

shrines on the pretext that they had replaced former fire temples

Customs of Zoroastrian origin can also be found among Muslims, sometimes in secularised form such as the Iranian solar calendar, the celebration of the festivals Nawrūz and Mihrdjān, or astrology The fires lit at Iṣfahān about 323/935 to celebrate Muḥammad's birthday seem to have been inspired by Zoroastrian winter fire festivals Symbols associated with Zoroastrians such as the cup of Djamshīd, wine, the tavern, the old *mōbad*, and the youth came to represent these things forbidden by Islam in Persian poetry with *malāmatī* Ṣūfī connotations. It is sometimes suggested that so many similarities as these may have made conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam easier, although it might also be suggested that many common features were the result of conversion.

The history of the Madjūs in Iran after the 4th/10th century is little-known They are presumed to have survived as local minorities suffering general disasters with the rest of the population, while their traditions were preserved in priestly and learned lay families. In particular, they preserved and transmitted their religious texts which have survived in India, and manuscript colophons indicate the presence of *ḥerbads* at Nīshāpūr and in Sīstān in the 7th/13th century A copy of the *Widēwdād* made in Sīdjistān in 602-3/1205 was taken back to India by a Zoroastrian named Māhyār from Ucch in the Pandjāb who was instructed in the religion by the *ḥerbads* of Sīdjistān for six years. The copy of this text made at Cambay in 723/1323 is the source of the oldest known manuscript of this work. We are also told that in the early 8th/14th century the *nawar* ceremony for making the mouth-masks worn by priests attending the fire was abandoned at Yazd because there was no one left who knew the ritual.

At the same time, Zoroastrians were spreading in Gudjarāt and the Pandjāb, beginning in the 6th/12th century as farmers, weavers, artisans, teddy dealers, and merchants in the coastal trade By then they had returned to Cambay, and by 532/1142 there were Madjūs at Navsari, at Anklēsvar by 666 7/1238, and at Thana about 720/1320. By the 8th/14th century, Gudjarāt was divided into five religious districts (*panthaks*) The sole first-rank fire, the *Ātash Bahrām* at Sandjān, was an object of pilgrimage, while daily rituals were carried out at hearth fires in homes. The oldest secondary type of fire temple or *Dār-i Mihr* was at Navsari from about 536-7/1102 onwards, but did not have a permanent fire, the priest attending it brought embers from his own hearth fire every day There was another *Dār-i Mihr* at Broach in the late 6th/12th century By the 7th/13th century, vernacular Gudjarātī versions of Avestan and Middle Persian texts began to be made

Important changes in the Indian community began with new pressures from Muslims and the Portuguese towards the end of the 9th/15th century. The Zoroastrians who joined the Hindus in the unsuccessful defence of Sandjān against Muslim attack in about 895/1490 left, taking the *Ātash Bahrām* with them in a metal vessel, and eventually settled at Navsari in 922/1516, where a layman (*behdīn*) called Čanga Shāh, who was the local tax farmer (*desai*), persuaded the Muslim ruler to exempt local *behdīns* from the *djizya*. The 10th/16th century saw the rise of the Bhagarīa priesthood at Navsari, based on fees for performing rituals, gifts of endowed property and Mughal patronage in order to control income from fees, in 987/1579 the chief priest at Navsari, Dastūr Mehrdjī Rānā, required his personal permission for other priests to perform rituals The priests from Sandjān were only allowed to attend the *Ātash Bahrām*, and became increasingly impoverished as their numbers grew The *desai*-ate of Navsari remained in the family of Čanga Shāh until 1003-4/1595, when Kaykobād the son of Mehrdjī Rānā combined it with the priesthood This concentration of priestly authority and control, as well as a greater degree of organisation, signals the formation of the Parsī community To give it a backbone of uniform and authoritative content, from the time of Čanga Shāh onwards questions on doctrine and ritual were sent to the priests at Yazd and Kirmān. Their answers survive in the form of letters (*Rivāyats*), the earliest in 883/1478 and the latest in 1187/1773, which provide precious evidence for the circumstances of Zoroastrians in Safawid Iran

By the end of the 9th/15th century, Yazd and Kirmān had become the spiritual if not numerical centres of Iranian Zoroastrianism. The *Rivāyats* reveal the presence in 916/1510 of 500 *behdīns* in Yazd, with 400 more in the villages of Turkābād and Sharīfābād, 700 at Kirmān, 2,700 in Sīdjistān and 2,700 in Khurāsān These figures must represent the minimum adult male population, for we also hear of a group of 3,000 *behdīns* at one place in Khurāsān, while at *behdīns* from Khurāsān had their own congregation at Kirmān in 966/1559 There was also a Gushnasp Fire at Kirmān, and Zoroastrians could still be found in Fārs Local communities appear to have been under the joint leadership of *dastūrs* and *behdīns* In the late 9th/15th century there were only four or five *ḥerbads* well-versed in Pahlawī at Yazd, who performed all the rituals The priests complained of being unable to get *behdīns* to give them the tithe of their income, although the meat offerings at *Dār-i Mihrs* were shared by their owners and the *dastūr* recognised by the officer Relations with non-Zoroastrians were rather ambivalent *Behdīns* were urged to keep their promises and to pay their debts to non Zoroastrians, and the testimony of a non Zoroastrian was accepted in a case between two Zoroastrians before a Zoroastrian judge. However, the robbery and murder of unfriendly non-Zoroastrians were condoned and there are references to forced conversions to Islam both in Iran and in India. There was a reliance on the apotropaic function of rituals performed to repel powerful enemies, the tyranny of rulers, the loss of property, conversion and disease, as well as to gain worldly advantages such as wealth, happy marriages or royal favour Anxious *behdīns* were exhorted to exert themselves and to hope for the best. Although the year 2000 in the era of Yazdadjird fell in 1040/1631, expectations of the arrival of the millenium and of the saviour Bahrām Vardjāvand or of Ōshēdar were expressed throughout the period, including in 883/1478, 939-40/1533, 957/1550, 982/1574-5, 1036/1627, 1051/1641-2 and 1083/1672.

In the 11th/17th century, the Zoroastrians of Iran are described as farmers, labourers, fullers, manufacturers of carpets and, especially at Kirmān, of woollen cloth, and they used their own dialect of Persian called *Darī* among themselves Men wore undyed garments and women were red and green clothing. In ca 1027/1618, Shāh ʿAbbās I [995-1038/1588-1629], who is remembered as a just king, brought 1,500 peasant families from Kirmān to Iṣfahān as labour and settled them across the Zanda Rūd near Djulfa at Gabrābād. In 1027/1618 their district consisted of about 3,000 plain, single-storied

houses along several long, wide straight, tree-shaded streets, and the people worked as labourers and craftsmen in Iṣfahān and the countryside nearby. There was a *dakhma* outside their settlement where they placed their dead fully clothed. Most of them returned to Kirmān when ʿAbbās I died, and ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) turned the district into a suburban resort with palaces, mosques, markets, and baths and moved the remaining Zoroastrians to the other side of Dūlfā. Tavernier estimated the Zoroastrian population of Kirmān at over 10,000 in 1064/1654, many of whom were involved in the wool industry. In 1054/1644 a new *khāne-yi amān* was built at Kirmān by a *behdīn*, and there are references to pilgrimage to the shrines of Khātūn Bānū in Fārs in 1036/1625 and to the shrine of Pīr-i Sabz north-west of Yazd at mid-century. Conditions appear to have worsened towards the end of the Ṣafawid period, when their fire temple at Iṣfahān was destroyed and many of them were killed there. Zoroastrians migrated to India to escape persecution and forced conversion.

The attraction of India as well as the possibilities for the religious integration of Zoroastrians had already been demonstrated by the syncretistic mystical movement of Azar Kayvan (939-40 to 1027/1533-1618) and his followers in Patna, Lahore and Kashmīr in the first half of the 11th/17th century. Their allegorical interpretation of Zoroastrianism allowed them to combine it with Hindu asceticism and Ṣūfī Neo-Platonism. Half of the group were Zoroastrians, including several *mōbads* and a *dahbān*. Their nucleus came from Fārs and had been formed in Shīrāz, where other Zoroastrians from Harāt and Iṣfahān had joined them before they went to India, there they attracted a pair of Zoroastrian merchants in northern India and one from Surat. Some of the Persian Muslims who joined the group may have been recent converts from Zoroastrianism.

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of the largely rural Parsī community in 11th/17th century Gudjarat were being drawn to Surat and Bombay, by new opportunities in commerce as artisans, merchants and as brokers for the Portuguese, French, Dutch and English. One of the most important representatives of this new commercial class at Surat was Rustom Monak (1044-5 to 1131/1635-1719), broker for the Portuguese and Dutch, who was instrumental in securing a grant of land from Awrangzīb (1067-1119/1657-1707) for the English factory at Surat in 1070/1660, achieved the abolition of the *djizya* at Surat in 1083/1672 and served as main broker for the East India Company at Surat from 1111-12/1700 until 1128/1716. The rise of wealthy and influential Parsī merchants, whose reputation for honesty generated credit, encouraged the revival and application of the traditional Zoroastrian work ethic that gave religious significance to worldly success. They also allowed the conversion of household slaves to Zoroastrianism in order to be able to eat what they served. The growth of the urban, commercially-oriented part of the community changed its internal power structure. Beginning in the late 11th/17th century, the authority and control of the Bhagarīs priests and *dasturs* resting on Mughal patronage was challenged by the *behdīns*, with their connection with European interests, in a series of religious disputes. In 1084/1673, in order to break the monopoly of the Bhagarīs priests on endowments and on the fees for performing rituals, the *behdīns* of Navsarī asserted the right to have family rituals performed by priests of their own choice. This issue led to violence in 1097/1686 but the *behdīns* successfully boycotted the Bhagarīs priests by establishing secondary fire temples (*Dār-i Mihrs Āgāsīs*) accessible to laymen for the second-rank rite (*Ātash Ādarān*) encouraged in the *Rivāyats* where they had their rituals performed. In 1102/1691 the Sandjāna priests joined the *behdīns*, and *Dār-i Mihrs* spread in the port cities of Surat, Baḥsar, and Bombay. By the 12th/18th century, *Dār-i Mihrs* were founded in the settlements of Parsī merchants outside Bombay. This quarrel finally ended when the *Ātash Bahrām* was removed from Navsarī and permanently established at Udvada in 1155/1742.

The internal conflict, however, was continued in the 12th/18th century in a controversy over the ritual calendar at Surat, which was in economic decline in the 1140s/1730s with trade shifting to Bombay, while Marāthā control of rural areas deprived the traditional élite of its former sources of income. In 1149/1736 an Iranian *behdīn* encouraged the laymen of Surat to adopt the old-style *Kadīmī* calendar used by Zoroastrians in Iran instead of the Parsī calendar which had fallen one month behind it. This issue tended to pit artisans led by merchant brokers for the French and English against the older merchant oligarchy with its ties to the Dutch, and is an early example of the use of religious reform as a way to attack more conservative authority. In the same year that the calendar dispute broke out, the priests of Surat refused henceforth to marry their daughters to laymen in order to avoid losing their wealth through dowries and inheritance. The Parsī community split permanently into two sects: a Shāhānshāhī majority and a Kadīmī minority, with separate fire temples and no intermarriage. The process of separation was marked by outbreaks of violence between them in 1158/1745, 1196-7/1782-3, 1824 and 1849. In a related issue, the agitation started in 1191/1777 when laymen in Bombay refused to marry their daughters to priests only subsided after 1803.

In the course of the 12th/18th century, the rising Parsī merchant class reduced the grip of the former élite of priests, *dasturs* and *djāmāsps* formed to the early Mughal period, secured the right to choose any priest they wished to perform rituals, acquired a share in communal leadership through a series of sporadic, short-lived *pančayats* that held the power of excommunication, and began to establish secular ties of dependence by redistributing their wealth through charities, private endowments, and by building *dakhmas* and rest-houses. At the same time, Parsīs became increasingly involved with the British as other Europeans were forced out by them. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, Parsī merchants supplied British garrisons and field armies. By the early 19th century, Bombay had replaced Surat as the main Parsī centre and the number of Parsīs at Bombay increased from 3,000 in 1154/1780 to 50,000 by 1864. From the late 12th/18th century onwards, Parsī shipping expanded outside India to Burma, Indonesia, China, South Arabia and East Africa. Parsī merchants who made fortunes in the China trade from 1810 to 1842 began to reinvest them in industries such as ship-building and railroads.

The emergence of secular leadership in the Parsī community is reflected in the composition of the *pančayat* appointed at the request of the British by the Parsī Andjoman in 1208/1787 which contained six *behdīns* and six priests, both Kadīmī and Shāhānshāhī, while the *pančayat* of 1818-36 had twelve *behdīns* and six priests, in addition to controlling

community charities, the latter *panāyat* issued behavioural codes aimed at increasing conformity and eliminating popular syncretism and participation in non-Zoroastrian customs. The code of 1819 forbade Parsi women to attend Hindu or Muslim places of worship, to wear their charms or to perform their rituals. The code of 1823 forbade child marriage and costly rituals at weddings and funerals, while the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 ended polygamy.

In the 19th century, religious reform was an important means by which the new élite of urbanised, educated, westernising laymen, prominent in British and native administration, business and the professions, aimed to control the rest of the community, although they had growing cultural differences with the poor, rural, conservative majority of Parsis. Reform was also a reaction to the threat of conversion by Christian missionaries, which provided the immediate impulse for the foundation of the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha by a group of young, wealthy, educated laymen in 1851 for the purpose of encouraging a return to the original ideals of Zoroastrianism. The same interests led to the foundation of a school in Bombay in order to train the sons of priests for the priesthood in 1854. Modernist reformers and apologists were attracted to the theories of Martin Haug, that the original monotheistic religion of Zoroaster had been corrupted afterwards into ritualistic dualism by the priests. Haug's theories were used to counter Christian criticism by intellectuals who were also attracted to the Theosophical Society. Reformers who favoured rational explanations for the cult objected to the use of texts that no one understood in rituals, while conservative priests insisted on the effectiveness of ritual liturgies and on the importance of purification from pollution, preserving a way of life increasingly limited to themselves and ignored by laymen. These issues became involved in the collision between reformers and conservatives over the role and income of priests called the *frawaḡs* controversy, which mainly involved opposition to expensive, repeated ceremonies for the dead and which is still current and unresolved.

Nevertheless, the Parsi community multiplied in the 19th century. By 1881 they numbered 85,000 in India with 3,000 more abroad, about 10-15,000 of whom were Kādimis. Although intermarriage between the sects was allowed by the 19th century, objections to accepting non-Zoroastrians into the community as converts increased because of fears that lower caste Hindus would be attracted by Parsi charities. Parsis also emerged as the leaders of the world's Zoroastrians as the result of changes in both India and Iran.

Although estimates of the Zoroastrian population of Iran in the early 12th/18th century that range from 100,000 to one million seem exaggerated, there can be no doubt that their numbers declined disastrously due to the combined effects of massacre, forced conversion and emigration in that century. Having suffered massacre and forced conversion at the hands of the Ṣafawī army that repelled the first Afghān invasion in 1133/1720, the Zoroastrians of Kirmān and Yazd joined Maḥmūd's Afghān army during the second invasion in 1135/1722 and also served as officers in the army of Nādir Shāh (1149-60/1736-47). The sack of Kirmān by the Afghāns after the death of Nādir Shāh, one repeated by the Ḳādjārs in 1209/1794, left the Zoroastrian district in ruins. By the end of the century, almost none of the 12,000 Zoroastrians at Kirmān survived, and the Zoroastrian population of Iran is estimated to have fallen to about 50 000 and then to about 30,000 in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), of these, some 8,000 were at Yazd.

The late 12th/18th and early 19th centuries seem to have been a time of unprecedented insecurity, poverty, and discrimination for the Zoroastrians of Iran. The intensity of the oppression they suffered then appears to have been more a reflection of contemporary social problems in Iran, where they served as scapegoats for the frustrations of their Muslim neighbours, than to have been characteristic of centuries-long conditions. However, Zoroastrians were vulnerable to robbery and kidnapping while their murder went unpunished. Although they were required to wear honey-coloured clothing and were officially forbidden to build new or to repair old houses, to wear new clothing, to ride horses, to travel outside of Iran or to engage in skilled crafts or professions that might bring them into contact with Muslims, sumptuary rules were enforced in the usual selective way and exceptions can be found to many of them. Forms of economic discrimination that prevented them from accumulating wealth were probably more effective than social pressures. Zoroastrian merchants were subject to extra taxes, newly acquired property was taxed up to one-fifth of its value and houses were liable to be looted. The actual total *djizya* on the community usually amounted to about 2,000 *tūmāns*, which by mid-century was paid by 1,000 adult males, for whom the individual tax of *ten tūmāns* amounted to ten day's wages for a labourer. The Sharī'a legal provision that favours a Zoroastrian convert to Islam over other Zoroastrian heirs encouraged conversion and resulted in the loss of property. During the 19th century, forced conversions created a population of half-Zoroastrian, half-Muslim *ghadīd al-Islām* at Yazd with distinctive clothing and a separate cemetery.

For self-preservation, the Zoroastrian community turned inwards. The style of fire temples and houses provided a maximum of protection and concealment from unfriendly intruders. The exterior of fire temples resembled private houses, while inside was a confusing maze of rooms, passages, and low doors with the fire chamber behind a blank wall and inaccessible even to *behdīns*. A succession of defensible doorways guarded the entrance to homes, while access over the rooftops was restricted by covering the courtyards to protect the women, children, and valuables. Only property endowed as *waḳf* for the benefit of the benefactor's soul was respected by Muslims. In spite of general illiteracy, religious learning was preserved among priestly families that provided local readership, especially in the villages. From the late 12th/18th century onwards, refugees who escaped to India became objects of Parsi aid and concern and helped to develop trade connections between Yazd and Bombay.

In 1854 the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Society in Bombay sent Manakdjī Limdjī Hataria (1813-90) to Iran, where he found the Zoroastrian community had shrunk to 7,725 people. Yazd was the main surviving centre, with 6,658 Zoroastrians in the city and 24 surrounding villages. Most of these were farmers, but there were also about one dozen merchants at Yazd, while the poorest were artisans, weavers, bricklayers and carpenters. Each spring a group of several hundred Yazdīs went to Tihrān to work as gardeners, even in the royal

palace, and returned in the fall, travelling together for protection. In addition to these seasonal workers there were about 50 Zoroastrian merchants in Tehran in 1854. The community at Kirmān amounted to 932 people, while a few Zoroastrians could be found at Būshīr, Shīrāz and Kāshān. With Parsi aid, fire temples and *dakhmas* were built or restored and traditional councils of elders were transformed into elected *anjumans* of *behdins* at Kirmān, Yazd and their villages, whilst *sad* houses were built at shrines and in Tehran. Schools providing a secular education were started by Manakjī at Yazd and Kirmān in 1857, and some students were sent to Bombay. In 1882 joint Parsi and British pressures finally secured the abolition of the *djizya*. Parsi efforts improved security, freedom of worship, respect and opportunities for the Zoroastrians of Iran, although they were still subject to random violence. Parsi aid also introduced modernising social and religious reforms from Bombay. Manakjī revived abandoned rituals, forbade animal sacrifice, the eating of beef and camel meat, and he discouraged polygamy, the use of cosmetics and Muslim clothing styles as too unmoral. The sons of priestly families took advantage of the opportunity for a secular education in the village schools and left for the cities in order to become physicians, teachers, engineers, bankers and merchants.

While villagers at Yazd remained engaged in the transport of goods from the Gulf across central Iran as camel-drivers and owners until the early 20th century, by the end of the 19th century many Yazdīs were going to work in Bombay and the women they left behind often put themselves under Muslim law to claim a share of their inheritance. Zoroastrians from the provinces were also employed by the Indo-European Telegraph and by Tehran banks in the last two decades of the 19th century. Yazdī merchants grew wealthy through their contacts with India by the end of the century, while their children invested in land and the import-export trade, reinvesting their profits later in industry. Their numbers rose again to about 8,500 in 1879, over 9,000 in 1892 and about 12,000 in 1902, with the largely rural majority still at Yazd and Kirmān. However, modernising changes, new opportunities and wealth had begun to transform the Zoroastrian community by the late 19th century, breaking down village and communal ties and undermining the position of the priests, whose authority began to be challenged by the creation of a new secularly-educated élite of laymen.

The position and even existence of the village-based priesthood has been drastically affected by the increasing urbanisation of Zoroastrians in the 20th century. As a falling water table, rural impoverishment and the lure of employment in cities drew Zoroastrian peasants from the villages south of Kirmān early in this century, Muslims began to move into them. In these newly-mixed villages the remaining Zoroastrians were at a disadvantage in conflicts over water, and moved to Kirmān to escape increasing oppression. By 1962 Zoroastrians had entirely deserted the villages south of Kirmān and lived entirely inside the city, where they numbered 2,585 in 1963 in spite of emigration to Tehran. The villages around Yazd have also become increasingly Muslim as the result of immigration and conversion. The urbanisation of Zoroastrians is still transitional, with the labour force living and working, often seasonally, outside the villages in cities and provincial towns but keeping up some joint family ties and sending part of their income back to support the women, children and old people who remain behind to manage the land. People who have moved to Tehran still keep their houses in Yazd and return for the annual ceremonies for the dead.

Religious usages have been affected by strong Parsi influences, modernisation and changes in social context. Although a bull was sacrificed annually at Yazd until the late 19th century and sheep fat was offered in the fire until the early 20th century, most Zoroastrians in Iran have abandoned animal sacrifices since 1900 and object to killing these animals slaughtered and eaten at seasonal festivals sacrifices. Nor has *gōmēz* been used since the middle of the 19th century, although offerings to water are still made. New Indian-style fire temples open to laymen were built in Tehran in 1906, in Kirmān in 1923 and in Yazd, and the fire now burns in silver vessels, Indian fashion, instead of on stone altars. Old festivals such as *Sada*, nine days before Nawrūz, have been revived and new ones such as the birthday and death of Zoroaster on 6 Farvardīn and 9 Day respectively have been created. While rituals that survive have their meaning subject to reinterpretation, the elaborate details of purification have been observed only by priests since the early 20th century. Unable to live on the fees for rituals, the priesthood has declined in number. There are now only 15 Iranian priests left, all of whom are middle aged or older and no young Iranian priests are being trained. Since they are too few to serve all the fire temples, there are now sometimes kept up by laymen, and since the 1940s communal leadership has developed on the *anjumans* in Tehran.

Several issues currently divide younger, educated, modernised Zoroastrians from the older, more conservative generation. The younger generation objects to inbreeding through marriage between cousins, because of the high incidence of hereditary diseases within the community and favours inter-marriage with non-Zoroastrians, the acceptance of converts, and the re-admission of recent converts to Islam and the Bahāʾī Faith. Their opponents wish to preserve racial purity, and fear that to encourage apostasy from Islam would provoke Muslim violence against them. Although the influence of the Bahāʾīs is credited with improving their own security, most Zoroastrian families have lost members as converts to the Bahāʾī Faith because of its appeal to young people impatient with priestly authority. The practice of interring the dead on a metal stretcher in a grave with cement walls and cover, instead of exposure in a *dakhma* was started at Tehran and Kirmān in the 1930s and was begun at Yazd in 1963. By 1975 a *dakhma* was used only at the village of Sharīfābād. The sects formed during the calendar dispute still exist. Iranian Zoroastrians adopted, in 1939, a seasonal calendar beginning at the vernal equinox, which is close to the Iranian secular calendar, although the community at Yazd reverted to the Kadīmī calendar in 1940.

After receding slightly to about 10,000 in the 19th, the Zoroastrian population of Iran rose to 26,800 by 1956 and by the 1970s to between 30,000 and 35,000, with 19,000 in Tehran and other cities. The younger generation has taken advantage of the opportunities in management and to the professions provided by the economic growth in Iran in recent decades. In the 1960s and 1970s the five major Zoroastrian firms in Iran were all leaders in their fields and Iranian Zoroastrians were encouraged to

return from India. However, the Iranian revolution of 1979 has created anxiety in the Zoroastrian community and uncertainty about the future.

The relative circumstances of the two communities have been reversed in the 20th century, which has been a period of retrenchement for the Parsis. The Ilm-i khshnūm movement began at Surat in 1902 as a combination of Theosophical ideas with ritual purity which was justified as being the esoteric meaning of the Avesta. In a victory for the conservatives, membership was restricted to descent from Parsi families in 1909, the only exception being the child of a Zoroastrian man by a non-Zoroastrian woman. The communal welfare system, supported by the benevolence of the members of the few very wealthy families, leaders in Indian commerce and industry, and providing schools, hospitals, and the cost of marriages and funerals, as well as fire temples and *dakhmas*, became increasingly inadequate to care for the growing numbers of the poor created by rural flight to Bombay. Social and economic changes since independence have eroded the economic base of the community still further. Increasing industrialisation has brought more management opportunities for other Indians than for Parsis; support for communal charities has been reduced by taxation to pay for the state's socialist and welfare programs; and Parsis have been hurt by the effect of prohibition on the toddy industry, which began in Gudjarat in 1937, and of land tenure acts on Parsi landlords with Dobra labour. The Parsi population has fallen from its peak of nearly 125,000 in 1941 to approximately 87,500 in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka by 1976 because of the combined effects of emigration, a rising marriage age and declining birth rate. The community was shocked to discover in 1967, that 40 % of its members were impoverished and that 2,000 Parsis in rural Gudjarāt were on the point of starvation. Zoroastrian rituals are still observed in India, although the number of priests in Bombay was declining by the late 1970s. In addition, the quality of priests has been questioned because appointments to fire temples have been controlled by the patronage of the businessmen who endowed them. To deal with this problem, a programme has been started to train priests at the Cama Athornans school in Bombay, to pay them salaries and to appoint them on merit.

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AL-MADJŪS, the term used by Arabic historians and geographers writing about the Maghrib and Muslim Spain with the sense of Northmen, Vikings, denoting the participants in the great Viking raids on Spain. These raids were manned from Scandinavia, so from Norway, Denmark and to a certain extent also from Sweden, the raiders leaving Denmark, Norway and Ireland, where Norwegian Vikings from the end of the 830s had gained a firm footing and had founded some minor tributary states towards the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In western Latin and Spanish sources they are called, *inter alia*, *Normanni*, *Nortmanni*, *Lordomani*, *Lormanes*, *Almajuses*, *Almosudes* and *Almonides*.

1. The first attack by the Vikings on Muslim Spain took place in 230/844. So early as 1 Dhu 'l-Hiddja 229/20 August 844, 54 Viking long ships (the Norwegian Gokstad ship from the latter half of the 9th century, the biggest ever found, was 23.8 m. long, 5.1 m. broad amidships, had 16 oars and 32 shields on each side, and could take 70 men, *The Viking*, London [1966], 154) appeared, and the same number of smaller ships, in the estuary of the Tagus, anchored there and fought three fierce battles against the defenders. After thirteen days they re-embarkedend sailed southwards. The governor Wahb Allāh b. Hazm had informed the *amīr* 'Abd al-Rahmān II, who advised his commanders to be on their guard. Part of the crew disembarked on the coast of the province of Shadhūna (Sidonia) and occupied the harbour of Cadiz, but the main part of the fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir and encamped on a large island in the river about 20 km. south of Seville. A few days later, on 1 October 844, the inhabitants of the city caught sight of the fleet with their brown sails on the river. They tried to organise resistance, but as the city had no defences, could do nothing. The few ships they sent against al-Madjūs were attacked with showers of arrows and were set on fire. The pirates went ashore in the city, where the main part of the citizens had fled precipitately. Those left behind were killed, even old and disabled people; women and children were taken prisoner, and they tried in vain to set the mosque on fire, without success. The sack continued for seven days. 'Abd al-Rahmān sent troops against the invaders, inflicting on them heavy casualties. In the decisive battle to the south of the city on 11 November 844, more than a thousand of the pirates were killed and four hundred others were taken prisoner; these were killed before the eyes of the others, who in great haste fled to the ships and set sail southward. Thirty abandoned Viking ships were set on fire. The defeat of al-Madjūs was proclaimed all over the country, and 'Abd al-Rahmān even informed the Berber *amīrs* to Morocco and the Kharidjī *imām* in Tāhart. The Viking fleet steered north towards Aquitania after some attempts at landing at Niebla, on the coast of Algarve and in Lisbon; in the meantime, a few Scandinavian ships had made a brief landing on the coast of Asīlā (Arcila [see ASILA]) in northwestern Morocco, about 50 km. below Tangier. On the dating of the descent on Asīlā and the foundation of the town, see A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*, Uppsala 1955, 51-5.

'Abd al-Rahmān II ordered defences and an arsenal to be built in Seville, watch posts to be set up along the Atlantic coast, and warships to be built in greater numbers, according to Ibn al-Kūtiyya. Hence when in 244/858 another Viking offensive, comprising 62 ships, was launched, the Muslim squadrons patrolled along the west coast of the peninsula up to the French coast. Two of the Viking ships sailing in advance were captured off the coast of Algarve, with their cargoes of silver and gold, prisoners and supplies. The rest of the ships sailed on towards the Guadalquivir estuary, but on discovering that a Mus-

lim army was advancing along the river valley, they sailed on to Algeciras (al-Djazīra al-khaḍrāʾ [*q.v.*]), where they disembarked, took the town and burnt down the great mosque. They were soon driven away, but advanced along the coast of Tudmīr (near Murcia) and pushed forward up to the fortress of Uriyūla (Orihuela, 25 km north-east of Murcia). From Algeciras, some of the ships sailed to the northern coast of Morocco, where they took the town of Nakūr, some 30 km. south of Alhucemas Bay, for eight days sacking and taking prisoners all those who did not flee, among those some members of the princely house, later ransomed by the ruler in Cordova. As to the timing of the attack on Nakūr, there is varying information among the Arab authors, mentioning the occurrence (see the long discussion in Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 152-77), but the exact date cannot be established, since it has not been possible to investigate what Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his still-unpublished part of *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* relates about Nakūr. After the attack on Uriyūla, the Viking fleet sailed towards the French frontier, invaded the country, took rich spoils and numerous captives and passed the winter in the Camargue. Then they returned to the Spanish coast, but were met and attacked by Muḥammad I's ships, which set fire to two of the unbelievers' ships and took two more as spoils. More than 40 of their ships had now been lost. The rest joined another Viking fleet which had harried the Balearic Islands, and a few smaller ships found their way up the Ebro valley, or via the River Bidassoa and its valley from Irun on the Bay of Biscay, so that a contingent arrived at Banbalūna (Pamplona) [see BANBALŪNA] and in 245/859 captured the *amīr* of the Basques, Gharsiyya b. Wannāko (Garcia Iniguez), who had to ransom himself for 70,000 gold coins (E. García Gómez-E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre los orígenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *Al-And.*, xix [1954], 309). After this Viking raid, which probably lasted till 247/861, it was more than a century before Muslim annals tell us about further attacks from al-Madjūs.

On 1 Raǧab 355/23 June 966, the *calīfa* al-Ḥakam II received from Kaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal, 94 km. south of Lisbon) a message that a Viking fleet of 28 ships had been seen in the neighbourhood. The Muslims marched on them when, after ravaging the coast, they reached the plain round Lisbon, many were killed in the battle on both sides. The Seville fleet left and found the enemy ships in the mouth of the River Silves, put several of them out of action, rescued the captured Muslims, whom they found on board, killed a great number of the unbelievers and put the rest to flight. News continued to reach Cordova from the west coast about the movements of al-Madjūs until they disappeared. During the same year, al-Ḥakam II ordered Ibn Futays to keep the fleet ready in the Cordova River (sc. the Guadalquivir) and to build ships of the same type as those of the Vikings, in the hope that they would come near the ships.

2. At the beginning of Ramaḍān 360/end of June 971, alarming rumours spread abroad about movements at sea by al-Madjūs al-Urdumāniyyūn (on this term, see below). Al-Ḥakam II immediately sent the admiral of the fleet to Almería to make it ready to leave for Seville and to sail with all the naval forces to the western coastal district, but we hear nothing this time about any landing operation. Ibn Ḥayyān mentions (in A.A. el-Hajji, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with western Europe during the Umayyad period* (*A. H. 138-366/A.D. 755-976*), Beirut 1970, 163, also in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii (1967), 74 f.) that at the end of 360/971 the Vikings made an attack on the west coast but that the Muslim fleet was able to repel them. The last thing we hear in Arabic sources about Viking raids on Muslim territory is a notice by Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 171 n. 2) about a summer campaign by land to Algarve in Ramaḍān 367/June 972, the Muslim army advanced up to the town of Santarém to the north-east of Lisbon and returned to Cordova in the middle of September 972.

In all the previous texts except one, the word *al-Madjūs* is used about the Vikings, but in the text of 971 the phrase *al-Madjūs al-Urdumāniyyūn* is used. The last two texts in Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muktabis* have only been available to the present writer in *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ʿIsà ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī (360-364 H. = 971-975 J.C.)*. Trad. por E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967, 76, 88, 101, 116-7. The translation has on p. 76 *los Mayos*, on pp. 88 and 101 *los Mayos Normandos*, and in the events of 17 September 972 on pp. 116-17 first *los Mayos Normandos* and then only *los Normandos*. So there is a certain doubtfulness here. It is an longer a question about al-Madjūs in its earlier sense. This fits well in with the fact that, in this case, the attackers came from Normandy. The Vikings had, after the treaty of St. Clair in 911, been given the territory in northern France which got its name Normandy from them, and had settled there. They no doubt soon accepted the Christian faith, at least officially, but they sometimes received heathen reinforcements from their original fatherland. In the early 960s, one of these bands of reinforcements arrived from Denmark at the request of Duke Richard I of Normandy, who was in conflict with Count Thibaud de Chartres. When peace was made between them, the Vikings' presence was no longer desired in France. They gradually returned to the northern lands, but encouraged by Duke Richard, they made an expedition against Muslim Spain, in the course of which they also attacked Christian Galicia and in 970 occupied Santiago de Compostela, which they held for some time. It was these troops from Normandy, partly heathen and partly Christian, who are here quite logically described by the double name.

3. Only the term *al-Urdumāniyyūn* (= Normans) is used by Ibn ʿIḏārī as his account of the capture of the town of Barbastro [see BARBAŠTRŪ] in 456/1064, when the inhabitants were treated in a very barbarous way by the Christian army, in which Normans were included. The later geographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī uses in a summary account of this same capture of Barbastro the word *al-Rudjmāniūn* for "Normans" instead (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 68 f.).

4. The Spanish-Arabian author Ibn Dihya (d. 632/1235) relates in his anthology *al-Muṭrib min aš̲ʿār ahl al-Maghrib* that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) after the disembarkation of the Vikings in 844, was said to have had relations with them and sent an ambassador on their country to come to an agreement with them. Ibn Dihya's report is founded on what this envoy told the vizier Tammām b. ʿAlkama (d. 283/896) on his return twenty months later. The ambassador Yaḥyà b. Ḥakam al-Bakrī al-Ǧazāl (d. 250/864) [see AL-ǦAZĀL], who had led a mission to Byzantium in 840, does not give us any details from his journey to the country of al-Madjūs which confirm the authenticity of the report. But even if the journey never in reality took place, it is nevertheless probable

that we have here the contemporary Hispano-Arabic view of al Madjūs. The Viking king's residence, it is related, was situated on a large island in the ocean. There are Madjūs there in great numbers, and in the neighbourhood of this island there are many other islands, big and small, where all the inhabitants are Madjūs. They used to be Madjūs, but now they profess Christianity, after having forsaken the worship of fire and the religion they had before and adopted Christianity, except the inhabitants of some isolated islands in the sea. These last have stuck to their old religion, with its worship of fire, and they continue to marry their mothers or sisters [a trait attributed likewise to the Persian Magians] and practise other infamous deeds. They fight them and make them slaves (Melvinger, *op cit.*, 58-61, with refs.; here it must be stressed that —*pace* p. 60 n. 1., the information about marriage with a near relative seems suspicious, and must be due to a misunderstanding on the Arabic side).

The reason why the Vikings and the peoples or groups of peoples living on the northern fringes of civilisation were described by the Arabs as Madjūs was evidently the fact, as appears from the account by Ibn Diḥya, that their religion reminded the Arabs of that of the Persian Magians. According to Islamic sources, Madjūs denotes ' die Einwohner des alten Persiens, vor allem in ihrer Eigenschaft als Feuerverehrer' (S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Lund 1946, in *Skrifter utg. av K. humanist.-samf. i Lund*, xi, 28). The religion of the Scandinavians and other Germanic peoples was essentially the same. Al-Mas'ūdī mentions in his *Murūdj al-dhahab*, written between 944 and 947 (Melvinger, *op cit.*, 47-8) that in 330/941-2 in Fustāt in Egypt he had come across a book written by Bishop Ghudmār (Gedmar) of Gerona, dedicated to [Prince] al-Ḥakam (II, 350-66/961-76). He states "in that book it is said that the first king of the Franks Kulūdwih (Chlodoweh) was first a Madjūsī and that his consort Ghurtilid (Chrodechild) made him a Christian." According to western sources he was baptised in 496. It is not asserted in the text that he embraced the unspecified heathendom *al-djāhiliyya*. The same author relates in another place (*ibid.*, 49): "Before the year 300/912-3, ships with thousands of men arrived at al Andalus and sacked its coasts, and the inhabitants there thought that it was a people of al Madjūs, appearing every two hundred years ... But I think ... that it was al-Rūs [see RŪS], whom we have dealt with before in this work." In his *K. al-Buldān* (written 276/889), 354, the historian and geographer al Ya'kūbī narrates those who in 229/843 invaded and sacked Seville as "al Madjūs who are called al-Rūs" (*al-Madjūs alladhīna yuḳalu lahum al-Rūs*). Thus even very early Arabic authors linked the Madjūs with the Rūs, and both the above-mentioned authors were widely-travelled and knew from personal experience the conditions not only in the Middle East but also the western parts of the Mediterranean countries (A. A. Vasiliev, *The Russian attack on Constantinople in 860*, in *The Mediaeval Acad. of America, Publs.*, xivi, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, 3-4 with refs.). The author al-Watwāṭ (d. 718/1318) assigns in his scientific and geographic encyclopaedia (Melvinger, *op cit.*, 53) "to Yāfit's (Japhet's) descendants, al-Rūs ... They believe as the Madjūs religion and burn their dead in fire." The Persian Magians, on the other hand, did not burn their dead. The Spanish-Arabic historian and geographer Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 672/1274) writes in *Basṭ al-arḍ fi 'l-ṭūl wa 'l-'ard* (Melvinger, *op cit.*, 62-3) about the great Ṣaḳlāb Island, "whose length is about 700 *mils* (one *mil* = 4000 *dhirā'*) and its extent across the middle about 350 *mils*. There are mountains, rivers, towns, built up areas and a numerous population. It is said that they still adhere to the Madjūs religion and worship fire, as they consider nothing more important than this (sc. fire), because the cold is so severe there." (As is well known, the Muslims in Spain used the term al-Ṣaḳlābī as a general word for slaves, procured in Spain from different parts of Europe, since many of them were of Germanic origin or from Scandinavia, in that way the Germanic tribes became known as al-Ṣaḳlāliba, cf. A. A. El-Hajji, *op. cit.*, 207, n. 1, with refs. and ṢAḲĀLIBA). The geographer al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166) says in his *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* (Melvinger, *op cit.*, 57): "The fourth section of the seventh zone comprises the majority of the provinces in al-Rūsiyya (Russia), the provinces in Finmārk (Finnmarken or Finland), the country of Tabast (Tavastland), the country of Astalānda (Estonia) and the country of al-Madjūs." R. Ekblom (*Idrīsī and the Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer*, in *Namn och bygd*, xix (1931), 65-6) writes "*Madjūs* ist in früheren arabischen Quellen die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung des nordischen Wikinger, die ... mit einem gewissen Recht als Feueranbeter bezeichnet werden konnten. Sie verehrten Thor, den Gott des Donners, sie verbrannten vielfach ihre Toten, und das Feuer spielte eine grosse Rolle bei ihnen ... Um die Mitte des 12 Jahrhunderts waren die Skandinavier christlich. Das einzige Gebiet in Europa, das zu dieser Zeit nicht unter nennenswerten Einfluss des Christentums gekommen war, waren, wenn man vom innern Russland absieht, die Länder östlich der Ostsee. Bei den hier wohnenden finnischen Völkern spielte jedoch das Feuer keine hervorragende Rolle im Kultus. Ganz anders verhielt es sich mit den baltischen Stämmen. Bei diesen war das Feuer heilig, sie verehrten den Donnergott Perkūnas, und Leichenverbrennung war bei ihnen noch im 12 Jahrhundert nicht ungewöhnlich. Was ist natürlicher, als dass die arabischen Geographen die Bezeichnung *Madjūs* auf sie übertrugen. Das Land der *Madjūs* ist bei Idrīsī meiner Ansicht nach das baltische Gebiet, ungefähr das jetzige Lettland und Litauen ..." In al-Marwazī's text it says (28, l. 15, tr. 35) concerning al-Ṣaḳlāliba: "The Slavs ... burn their dead, for they worship Fire" (V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, Arabic text (*ca.* A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary, London 1942). In his commentary, Minorsky writes (116 f.), "... Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 154. The naïve indication that the Slavs burn their dead because they are fire-worshippers may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs *al-Madjūs*. Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Seville in 229/843 *al-Madjūs alladhīna yuḳālu lahum al-Rūs*. In a famous passage I. Faḍlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed, 'the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead', cf. Minorsky, *Rūs*, in *E.I.*...." (cf. Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 82-5 and Corr. to p. 82.) In a review of Dunlop's *History of the Jewish Khazars*, in *Orient*, xi (1958), 136, Minorsky says "P. 189 ... Nor can the term *madjūs* applied to the Northmen of Spain refer to their 'Zoroastrianism', but to the popular explanation of their custom of cremating their dead, see Minorsky, *Rūs* in *E.I.*, Ṭāhir Marwazī ..."

5. R. Brunschvig put forward the hypothesis, that, as the law school of al-Awzāʿī [q.v.] declared as Madjūs all heathen with whom they wanted to become to an agreement, this was the reason why the Vikings harrying in Spain have been called Madjūs in Arabic: "dès leur première apparition sur les côtes d'Espagne en 844, il y a eu entre eux et l'émir de Cordoue des tractations de paix" (*Ibn ʿAbdalḥakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes. Étude critique*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 112, reprinted in *Al-Andalus*, xl [1975], 133 f.). But this hypothesis is groundless. There is no certain proof of relations between the Vikings and the Muslim rulers, and in any case, al-Awzāʿī's *madhhab* had been pressed back in Spain by that of Mālik towards the end of the 2nd/8th century (Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 74-7).

6. Ibn ʿIdhārī relates (*ibid.*, 116 f. with *raf*) that the ruler Hishām I in 177/793 sent ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. Mughīth on a summer campaign to the Rūm country. This expedition is famous in history and one of the most important. He came to Ifrandja (Gerona), besieged the town and made a breach in its walls by using catapults. And he got nearer to the land of al-Madjūs, marched through the enemy's land and stayed there several months, burning villages and destroying strongholds. He attacked the town of Arbūna (Narbonne). It was a great victory, where the value of one-fifth of the prisoners amounted to 45,000 in minted coins. In 179/795 Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, according to the same author (*ibid.*, 14 f.) sent out a commander on a summer campaign against Galicia. The latter was informed that Idhfunsh [Alfonso II el Casto] had asked al-Baghkunush [the Basques] for help and the people in this neighbourhood, viz. al-Madjūs and others. Ibn al-Abbār (*ibid.*, 10 ff.) speaks about his neighbours the Basques and those of al-Madjūs who lived near them and the people round there. In Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muḳtabis* (García-Gómez-Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, 296 f.) it is related about a summer campaign in the year 200/816 against the Prince of Pampelona that in a battle lasting thirteen days many were killed, among others Saltān, the leader (*el mejor caballero*) of al-Madjūs. Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 204) is the only one to mention a campaign against Alava, commanded by the *ṣāḥib al-ṣalāt*ʿ of ʿUbayd Allāh, who invaded the district in August 825/Rabīʿ II 210, caused devastation and finally met with the Asturian forces. "Une violente bataille se déroula au pied d'une montagne que le chroniqueur appelle Djabal al-Madjūs, 'la montagne des adorateurs du feu', ou peut-être 'des Normands'. Elle se termina par la défaite des Chrétiens, et l'on appela par la suite en Espagne musulmane cette campagne l'expédition de la victoire (*gharwat al-fatḥ*)." It is probably here a question of the same peoples who were mentioned in 793, 795 and 816, the territories where they are said to have lived, are not too distant from each other. Of course there can never have been genuine Zoroastrians in those regions, but at present we do not know anything about these so-called al-Madjūs in the neighbourhood of the Basques (cf. Melvinger, *op. cit.*, 116-28, 9-21, 86-115). Lévi-Provençal states (*Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampelune au IXe siècle*, in *Bulletin hispanique* lv [1953], 8) that some of the Basques were evidently still pagan at the beginning of the 9th century, and Cl. Sánchez-Albornoz (*Invasiones normandas en la España cristiana durante el siglo IX*, in *Settimana di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo. XVI. I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo. 18 sq. aprile 1968*, Spoleto 1969, 370) considers it certain that these al-Madjūs were Basque idolaters, maintaining that the name *Saldān* (thus correctly instead of Saltān) is a purely Basque word.

7. As we have seen, the term al-Madjūs was used for tribes living in the north, even when we know for certain that it does not apply to the Vikings (all the textual *loci probantes* are not recorded here). In such cases, the Arabic authors were thinking about the religion in which fire in some from played a prominent part.

8. Al-Madjūs was used in the West as a name for Vikings, evidently because they did not know of, nor did they use, the correct term al-Rūs, which was used by the Arabic-Persian authors. Besides, the latter knew the difference, so far as religion was concerned, between the Rūs on one hand and on the other the Madjūs (= Zoroastrians), who never burnt their dead. The Arabs in the West did not know the crucial difference between Vikings and Zoroastrians in the use of fire for funeral ceremonies, but mostly paid attention in the dominant element of the fire itself. And since the Vikings were neither Christians nor Jews, they were consequently assimilated to the Madjūs because of the role of fire in their religious culture.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: R. Dozy's monograph *Les normands en Espagne*, in his *Recherches*[4], ii, 250-372 and Appendix XXXIV, deals with the various attacks by the Madjūs in Spain. At the beginning of this survey, references are given to earlier literature by Werlauff, Mooyer, Bruce and Kunik. Dozy, Melvinger and El-Hajji have abundant references, Dozy and Melvinger also some Arabic texts; see also A. K. Fabricius, *La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844, in Actes du Xe Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Lisbon 1892. A. Seippel has mentioned all the texts known to him, also dealing with other peoples than the Madjūs, in *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici. E libris quam typis expressis tam manu scriptis coll. et ed.*, Oslo 1896-1928, Norwegian tr. in *Det Norske Videnskaps Akad. i Oslo Skrifter* II. *Hist.-filos. Kl.* 1954, nr. 2 by H. Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*. Overs. til norsk av de arabiske kilder med innledn., forfatterbiografier, bibliografi og merknader, Oslo [1955]; J. Steffanson, *The Vikings in Spain. From Arabic (Moorish) and Spanish sources*, in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, vi (1909), 31-46; F. Lot, *Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe*, i, Paris 1937, 259-62; Husayn Mu'nis (Monès), *Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne musulmane entre 859 et 844 [sic] J.-C.*, in *Bull. de la Société royale d'Études historiques, Égypte*, ii (1950); D. M. Dunlop, *The British Isles according to mediæval Arabic authors*, in *IQ*, iv (1957-8), 11-28; W. E. D. Allen, *The poet and the spae wife. An attempt to reconstruct al-Ghazal's embassy to the Vikings*, Dublin-London 1960. H. Arbman, *The Vikings*, London 1961, 85-8.

(A. Melvinger)

AL-MADJŪSĪ [See ʿAsī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī.]

MADMŪN (A.), passive participle of *damāna* "to be liable"), a legal term meaning the thing for which one is liable or responsible. It occurs in the following connections: *madmūn bihi* "thing pawned"; *madmūn ʿanhu* "debtor"; *madmūn lahu* or *ʿalayhi* "creditor". Liability (*ḍamān* [q.v.]) plays an important role in the law of obligations, the rules which

are applied to the parties involved and to the legal institutions are enumerated in the chapters on contracts

Liability and obligation to restore may arise from the non-performance of a contract, if the object has perished, or from *ta'addī* "transgression" i.e. from illicit acts, when the object is lost or damaged by the unlawful act. The obligation to restore depends on the division of things (*qisḥ*), which are divided either into fungibles (*miṯlī*) i.e. things that can be measured (*makīl*) or weighed (*mawzūn*) or counted (*ma'dūd*), or secondly, are divided into things (*muḳawwamāt*) with a special value (*ḳīma*) and in dividuality i.e. they are *'ayn* species.

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MADRAS, a major port and city on the Coromandel coast of southeastern peninsular India, in lat. 13°4′ N. and 80°15′ E, formerly a governorship of the presidency of the same name (the latter comprising the eastern coast of India from Cape Comorin to Lake Chilka in present-day Orissa, so well as a huge part of the interior of the Deccan, and the northern Malabar coast) since independence the capital of the Indian Union State of Tamil Nadu.

i. Nomenclature. The origin of the name "Madras" has been much debated. Perhaps the two most plausible explanations are offered by *Hobson Jobson* and the Madras glossary. The former (532) points out that the "ancient maps" of the region show Madrasapatanam as a Muslim settlement, and "having got so far we need not hesitate to identify it with Madrasa, a college ... That there was such a Madrasa in existence is established by the quotation from Hamilton, who was there about the end of the 17th century. Fryer's map (1698, but illustrating 1672-73) represents the governor's house as a building of Mahomedan architecture, with a dome. This may have been the Madrasa itself. Lockyer (1711) also speaks of a college of which the building was very ancient, formerly a hospital, and then used apparently as a residence for young writers." The *Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency* (ii, 91) dismisses this idea, however ("*Madrasa*, a Mahammedan school, has been suggested, which considering the date at which the name is first found seems fanciful"), and vol. iii of this work, the *Madras glossary* (144), offers the alternative explanation that "*Madras*", in Sanskrit *Mandarājapattana*, is derived from the Telugu *Mandarāḍu* the name of a local ruler.

Until the early 11th/17th century Madras was a small fishing village. It is not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who landed in Ma'bar [*q.v.*] at the "large and fine city of Fattan" (thought to have been Kaverpattanam, Gibb, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 263-4) in *ca.* 739/1338. Marco Polo, however, writes at some length of the shrine of St. Thomas, built at Malaipur, "the name of which is still applied to a suburb of Madras about 3¾ miles south of Fort St. George" (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ii, 354-9).

ii. History. In March, 1639, Francis Day of the East India Company "obtained a piece of ground five miles long, and one broad" (*Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*, ii, 279) at the small village of Madras, on which to build a town and fort. The land thus purchased, formerly a part of the waning Vijayanagar Kingdom, was to become the nucleus of the modern city of Madras.

Called originally by its founders Fort St. George, Madras remained subordinate to the Chief of the Settlement of Bantam in Java until 1653, when it was raised to the rank of an independent presidency. In 1702 Dāwūd Khān, a general in the service of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], blockaded the settlement for a few weeks, but without success. In 1741 the town was again attacked, this time by the Marāṯhās [*q.v.*], once again unsuccessfully. Fort St. George was expanded and strengthened in 1743, but this failed to prevent Labourdonnais from bombarding and capturing it to 1746. The city, by this time the largest in southern India, was restored to the British in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, although the Government of the Presidency did not return to Madras until 1752. The French made a second, unsuccessful attempt to take the Madras in 1758; the city was occupied, but the *French*, under *Lally*, *failed* to take *Fort* St. George. After two months the French were forced to withdraw by the arrival of a British fleet in the Madras roads. From this time the city, although threatened in 1769 and again in 1788 by the approach of Haydar 'Alī [*q.v.*] of Mysore's cavalry, was to remain in British hands until independence in 1947.

At the time of the 1971 *Census of India*, Madras, the third most important port and fourth largest city of India, had a population of 2,469,449 (*Census of India*, series 19, part X-B); of this number 270,083 (comprising 136,444 males and 93,639 females) were Muslims (*Census of India*, series 19, part II-C-i). The *Census of India* figures are not divided to show sectarian affiliations, but the great majority of Madrasi Muslims are Tamil-speaking, either Rawthar or Labbai [*q.v.*], Sunnī Muslims of the Hanafī *maḏhab* who do not claim Arab ancestry and who predominate in the interior of Tamil Nadu, or else Marakkayar and Kayalar, Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfi'ī *maḏhab* who claim some Arab ancestry and who predominate along the Coromandel coast.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

MADRASA, in modern usage, the name of an institution of learning where the Islamic sciences are taught, i.e. a college for higher studies, as opposed to an elementary school of traditional type (*kuttāb*) in mediaeval usage, essentially a college of law in which the other Islamic sciences, including literary and philosophical ones, were ancillary subjects only

I. THE INSTITUTION IN THE ARABIC, PERSIAN AND TURKISH LANDS

1. Children's schools.

The subject of Islamic education in general is treated under TARBIYA. Here it should merely be noted that the earliest, informal institutions of learning in the Islamic world were probably children's schools, such arrangements doubtless going back to the pre-Islamic period. In Medina, the teachers were often Jews (see al-Balādhurī, 473 below, cf. the name *rabbānī* for the teacher Kur'ān, III, 79; V, 44, 63, Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, *bāb* 10, Ya'kūbī, II, 243); but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca. After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medina (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 172) A contemporary of 'Umar's, Dujbayr b. Hayya, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (*mu'allim kuttāb*) in a school in Tā'if (Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, I, 255) Mu'āwiya, who had acted as the Prophet's scribe, took a great interest in the education of the young They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Kur'ān and the necessary observances of religion. Famous men like al-Hadidjādj and the poets al-Kumayt and al-Turimmāh are said to have been schoolmasters (Lammens, *Mu'āwia*, 329 ff., 360 ff.). The main subject taught was *adab*, so that the schools of the children were called *madjlis al adab* (*Aghānī*², xviii, 102), and the teacher was called *mu'addib*, also *mu'allim* or *muknisib* (al-Mahlī, *Kitāb al-kuttāb*, I, 158, I. 8), in modern times *fakīh* (see Lane, *Manners and customs*, 61) The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools, thus Dahhāk b. Muzāhim, the exegist, traditionist and grammarian, who died in 105/723 or 106/724 had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, where he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yākūt, *Udabā'*, IV, 272-3) As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Bedouin being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Basra (*ibid.*, II, 239) School spread during the Umayyad period, and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Hansberg, *Schul und Lehrwesen*, 4 f.)

For the subsequent development of children's schools, see KUTTĀB.

2. Islamic studies in the mosque, the early period

The *madrasa* is the product of three stages in the development of the college in Islam. The mosque or *masdjid*, particularly in its designation as the non-congregational mosque, was the first stage and it functioned in this as an instructional centre The second stage was the *masdjid-khān* complex, in which the *khān* or hostelry served as a lodging for out-of-town students. The third stage was the *madrasa* proper, in which the functions of both *masdjid* and *khān* were combined in an institution based on a single *waḳf* (*q.v.*) deed

The *masdjid* (*q.v.*) appears early in Islam as a centre for instruction, above all for the inculcation of the sacred texts and scriptures Within the *masdjid*, the focus of learning was the *madjlis* (*q.v.*) from *djalasa* "to sit up" in contradistinction to the near-synonymous verb *ḳa'ada*, which means "to sit down" Learning took place in the *masdjid*, a place of worship, specifically a place of prostration (from *sadjada*, "to prostrate oneself") in prayer before God. From the prostrate position of the prayer, the teacher and his students would then "sit up", and the class, or *madjlis*, would begin. (From the near-synonymous verb *ḳa'ada*, the *ism makān*, sc. *ma'ḳad*, is a bench, upon which one sits from a standing position).

In the new studies associated with the mosque, the learning by heart and the understanding of the Kur'ān formed the starting point and next came the study of *ḥadīth*, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained. The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (al-Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, *bāb* 6, 52; 23, 24, 26, 46). After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in the same way and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of *ḥadīth*s. This process is reflected in the *ḥadīth*s themselves. According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about *ḥadīth*s (*ibid.*, *bāb* 4, 14, 33, 50, 51, 53). the Prophet sits in a mosque surrounded by a *ḥalka* and instructs this hearers, the latter repeat the *ḥadīth* three times until they have learned them (*ibid.*, *bāb* 8, 30, 35, 42) The Prophet sent teachers of the Kur'ān to the tribes, and so did 'Umar in the year 17 (*ibid.*, *bāb* 25). The necessity of *'ilm* is strongly emphasised. Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognised when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, *bāb* 20; cf. *Proverbs*, xviii, 4, *Pirḳe Aboth*, I, 4, 11) and the teachers are called *rabbāniyyūn* (al-Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, *bāb* 10) A special class of students, *ahl al-'ilm*, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (*ibid.*, *bāb* 7, 12). They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islam. In this simple form of instruction, which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions, lay the germ of Islamic studies. The knowledge imparted was *'ilm or ḥikma* (*ibid.*, *bāb* 15).

It was from the study of the Kur'ān and of *ḥadīth* that a science of jurisprudence began to develop, since the principles which were to be followed by the faithful did not always come ready made from the mere reading of scripture Although the early religious scholars, the *'ulamā'* (*q.v.*) (sing *'ālim*), were usually the experts on the Kur'ān and were called *al ḳurrā'* (sing. *ḳāri'*) [see KUR'ĀN, 3 and KURRA'], on the *ḥadīth* (*q.v.*), and were called *al muḥaddithūn* (sing *muḥaddith*), and on Kur'ānic exegesis and were called *al-mufassirūn* (sing *mufassir*) [see TAFSĪR], yet the 1st century of Islam saw the development of the jurisconsult-doctor of the law, the *muftī-faḳīh* The turn of the century was later commemorated as 'the Year of the Jurisconsults", *sanat al-fuḳahā'*, because of a number, generally considered to be seven, who died in and around that time (J Schacht, *Origins*, 245, and see AL-FUḲAHĀ' AL-SAB'A in Suppl.).

We hear of a *madjlis* for studies in the Medina

mosque in the 1st century A.H. (*Aghānī*, i. 48, iv, 162 3). Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, sent by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as *muftī* to Egypt, is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 131); he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al-Layth (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements *fatwās* were issued, had his *ḥalḳa* in the mosque (*Ḥusn*, i, 134). ʿUmar II had before this sent al-Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar, to Egypt to bring them the *sunan* (*ibid.*, 130). He also sent an able reciter of the Kurʾān to the Maghrib as *ḥāfiẓ* to teach the people *ḳirāʾa* (*ibid.*, 131) Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office. The first teachers in the mosques were the *fuḳahāʾ*, as a rule *ḳāṣṣ*, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Kurʾān and the proper conduct of divine service. Their *mawʿiẓa* was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf. al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 19). The instruction started in the mosque of ʿAmr was continued for centuries. In the 2nd/8th century, al-Shāfiʿī taught various subjects here every morning till his death (204/820) (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 138, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 383). It was after this time that the study of *fiḳh* came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give *fatwās* (cf. *Ḥusn*, i, 182-3).

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques. The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islam; the *faḳīh* Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 93/713-4; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1266) discussed Arabic poetry in his *maḳṣūra* in the mosque in Medīna; but it was still thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a mosque (*Aghānī*, i, 48, iv, 18a 3) In the year 256/870, al-Ṭabarī by request dictated the poems of al-Tirmmāḥ beside the *Bayt al-Māl* in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 432). In the chief mosque of Baṣra, the *aṣḥāb al-ʿarabiyya* sat together (*ibid.*, iv, 135). In Baghdād, al-Kisāʾī gave his lectures in the mosque which bears his name At quite an early date we read of special apartments (which were certainly also lecture-rooms) for authorities on the Kurʾān, for, according to al-Wāḳidī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm lived in Medina in the *dār al-ḳurrāʾ* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142).

As is evident from the examples quoted, studies were not only prosecuted in the chief mosques but also in other mosques. In Egypt, not only the Mosque of ʿAmr but also the chief mosques of later date were important centres of study. As soon as the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was founded, a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī began to lecture in it on *ḥadīth* (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 130). During the Fāṭimid period this was continued. In the year 361/972, the Azhar (*q.v.*) Mosque was finished Soon afterwards, the new Shīʿī *ḥāfiẓ*, ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān, lectured in it on *fiḳh* according to his school; in 378/988 al-ʿAzīz and his vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis founded 35 lectureships, and in addition to their salaries the lecturers were given quarters in a large house built beside the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49, Sulaymān Rasad al-Hanafī, *Kanz al-gauhar fī taʾrīḫ al-Azhar*, 32 ff.).

Thus the *masjid* continued to be used for the teaching of one or more of the Islamic sciences, or their ancillaries among the literary arts, well into the 3rd/9th century of Islam. The turning-point in its use came after the *miḥna* (*q.v.*) or Great Inquisition Begun in the last year of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate, 218/833, the *miḥna* extended across the caliphates of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāṯiḳ to the second year of al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, 234/848, a period of fifteen years. The upshot of the *miḥna* was the political bankruptcy of its authors, the rationalist forces represented by the philosophical theologians, and the correlative triumph of the traditionalist forces, its victims, the doctors of the law, a triumph due in great measure to the heroic endurance of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (*q.v.*).

After the *miḥna*, more and more *masājid* came to be founded for legal studies, i.e. as colleges of law. Since the *masjid* could not serve as a lodging place for teaching staff and students—the exceptions being the wayfarer (the *al-sabīl*) and ascetic, poor men who had given up all worldly goods (*zāhid*, sing. *zuhhād*)—*khāns* were founded next to the *masājid* to serve as lodging for students from out-of-town. The outstanding example of this type of arrangement was the extensive network of *masājid khāns* complexes founded in the lands of the eastern caliphate during the 4th/10th century by Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (d. 405/1014), governor of several provinces under the Buwayhids (see BASANWAYH) Such men of power and influence needed the good offices of the *ʿulamāʾ*, their sole sure link with the masses of the faithful. To establish this connection, such men founded for the *ʿulamāʾ* institutions wherein they could teach the Islamic sciences Besides carrying favour with the *ʿulamāʾ*, the powerful founders were performing highly meritorious acts of charity endearing them to the masses and the *ʿulamāʾ* alike

The terminology for legal studies developed before the flourishing of the *madrasa* in the 5th/11th century. It derived from the radicals *d-r-s* The second form of the verb, *darrasa*, used without a complement, meant "to teach law", *tadrīs*, its verbal noun (*maṣdar*), meant "the teaching of law", the function as well as the post of professor of law, the plural, *tadārīs*, or "professorships of law", was of later development, when the holding of several professorships by one doctor of the law became a common practice The term *dars*, meant "a lesson or lecture on law"; *mudarris*, the active participle, meant "the professor of law" It must be kept in mind that these terms had these significations in reference to law, especially when used in the absolute, without a complement. The verb *faḳḳaha* is of rare occurrence, and was not commonly used to designate the teaching of law The term *faḳīh* was used in the sense of "doctor of the law", or "student of law", particularly "a graduate student", in contradistinction to *mutafaḳḳih*, used to designate "the undergraduate". The accomplished *faḳīh* was eligible to become a *mudarris* and a *muftī*; for as a *faḳīh* who had successfully defended his theses in disputations (*munāẓara*), he obtained his licence to teach and to issue legal opinions (*iḏn fī ʾl-tadrīs wa ʾl-ifṭāʾ*)

The college of law therefore began as a *masjid* and was soon joined by the *khān* or hostel for out-of-town students The lodging place next to the *masjid* was especially necessary for the student of law at distinguished, for instance, from the student of the *ḥadīth* Jurisprudence as by now a science whose rudiments had to be learned in a period of years, usually four, and these usually under the direction of one master After this basic undergraduate training, if he was successful and chosen by his master as a *ṣāḥib* or fellow, he went on to graduate studies that lasted an indefinite period of time, some follows working as repetiteurs (*muʿīd*) under their masters for as many as twenty years before

acquiring their own professorial chair. In contrast, the student of *ḥadīth* travelled from one place to another, acquiring rare *ḥadīths*, and collections of *ḥadīths*, from *ḥadīth* masters who often were the last link in the chain of transmitters, holding alone the authorisation to pass on their collections authoritatively to others. The *ḥadīth* student travelled therefore from place to place and collected as many authorisations, *idjāzas*, as possible from as many masters as he could reach. The law student was interested in an authorisation covering a field of knowledge, that of law, in one *idjāza*, the licence to teach law and issue legal opinions, *idjāzat al-tadrīs wa 'l-fatwā*, which he obtained from one master-jurisconsult. The *khān* founded near the *masdjid*, was therefore necessary as a lodging-place for law students away from home.

3. The library as an adjunct to the mosque and other institutions of higher learning.

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned. These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the *muslimūn* or *ahl al-ʿilm* (e.g. al-Khaṭīb al Baghdādī Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 252, cf. iv, 287). Many other libraries were semi public. These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, *falsafa*, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy, the latter were called *al ʿulūm al ḥadītha* or *ʿulūm al-awāʾil* (cf. Goldziher, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1915], phil.-hist. Kl. no. 8, Berlin 1916). The academy, *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*], founded by al Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) in Baghdād, deserves first mention. It recalls the older academy founded in Gundeshāpūr to which al-Manṣūr had invited Georgios b. Gabrīʾēl as head of the hospital, he also translated works from the Greek (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa i, 143-4). In the new academy there was a large library, and it was extended by the translations which were made by men qualified in the above-mentioned fields, there was also an astronomical observatory attached to the institution, in which there were also apartments for the scholars attached to it (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 243, cf. Ibn al Kifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, 98). When the caliph al Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902) built himself a new palace, he had apartments and lecture rooms in an adjoining building for men learned in every science, who received salaries to teach others (al Makrīzī, iv, 192 ff.; *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142).

Private individuals of wealth continued benefactions on these lines. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, who died in 275/888 and was known as al-Munadjdjim, had a palace with a library, which was visited by those in search of knowledge from all lands; they were able to study all branches of learning in this institution, called *khizānat al-ḥikma*, without fee; astronomy was especially cultivated (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 467). In Mawṣil, Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. 323/935) founded a *dār al-ʿilm* with a library in which students worked daily at all branches of knowledge and were even supplied with free paper. The founder lectured on poetry in it (*ibid.*, ii, 420). In the 4th/10th century, al-Makdisī visited in Shīrāz a large library founded by ʿAḍud al Dawla (367-72/977-83) to which people of standing had access. The books were arranged in cases and listed in catalogues and the library (*khizānat al-kutub*) was administered by a director (*ʿarīf*), an assistant (*khāzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif* (al-Muḳaddasī, 449). Similar institutions are known in Basra, Rām-Hurmuz, Rayy and Karkh (*ibid.*, 423, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 3-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 51-2).

In Cairo, they were well known under the Fāṭimids. In their palace, they had a library which was said to be the largest in Islam. It had about 40 rooms full of books and all branches of knowledge were represented; they had for example 2,400 copies of al Ṭabarī's *History* and 18,000 books on the "old learning" (al Makrīzī, ii, 253-5). The vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis founded an academy with stipends for scholars and spent 1,000 *dīnārs* a month on it (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, ed. Tallquist, fol. 108a; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* Cairo 1310/1892-3, ii, 334, cf. al-Makrīzī, iv, 192). It was overshadowed by the 'House of Knowledge' (*dār al-ʿilm* or *dār al-ḥikma*) founded by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005. It contained a library and reading-room as well as rooms for meetings and for classes. Librarians and assistants, with their servants administered it, and scholars were given allowances to study there; all branches of learning were represented—astronomy, medicine, etc., in addition to the specifically Islamic subjects. Al-Ḥākim built similar institutions in al-Fusṭāṭ (al-Makrīzī, ii, 334 ff.). The whole institution was closely associated with Shīʿa propaganda, which is obvious from the fact that it was administered by the *daʿī 'l-duʿāt*, who held conferences with the learned men there every Monday and Thursday (al-Makrīzī, iv, 226, al Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al aʿshā*, ii, 487; see also MAJLIS. 2. In Ismāʿīlī usage). A similar missionary institute (*dār al daʿwa*) was built in Aleppo in 507/1113-14 by the *amīr* Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 360). We may assume that these buildings were also arranged for the performance of the *ṣalāt*.

With the *dār al-ḥikma*, Islam was undoubtedly continuing Hellenistic traditions. Al-Makrīzī mentions a *dār al-ḥikma* of the pre-Islamic period, where the learned men of Egypt used to work (iv, 377). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa also mentions pre-Islamic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic learning was cultivated (*dār al-ʿilm*, i, 104), and the similarity with the Alexandrine *Museion*, which was imitated in Pergamon and Antioch, for example, is apparent (J. W. H. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece*, New York 1909, 48-50). Al-Ḥākim's institution was finally closed with the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty (567/1171). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had all the treasures of the palace, including the books, sold over a period of ten years. Many were burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown into a great heap, which was covered with sand so that a regular "hill of books" was formed. The number of books said to have disposed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000, but many were saved for new libraries (al-Makrīzī, ii, 253-5; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287/1870, i, 200, 268).

Bibliography A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922, M. Meyerhof, in *SB Pr. Ak. W.*, phil.-hist. Kl., xxiii (1930), 388-429; idem, in *EIE*, xv (1933), 109-23, idem, in *The legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, 311-55; J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdād and Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo*, Cairo 1937; Olga Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi nell' età degli Abbasidi*, Florence 1928.

4. The origin and spread of the *madrasa* proper.

Although the *madrasa* proper now began to evolve, there was for a long time much overlapping between

the mosque and the *madrasa*, for even after the appearance of *madrasas*, the regular mosques remained school as before.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled in the 8th/14th century, in the period when *madrasas* flourished most, attended lectures on *ḥadīth* in the Dāmī[1] of Shīrāz and in the Dāmī[2] of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād (ii, 83, 112). In Damascus in 580/1184, Ibn Ǧubayr refers to rooms in the Umayyad Mosque which were used for Shāfiʿī and Mālikī students, who received considerable stipends (*iǧrāt*, *maʾāṯim*) (*Riḥla*, 272, above). In Egypt in the time of al-Makrīzī (9th/15th century), there were 8 rooms for *fiḳh* studies in the Mosque of ʿAmr (al-Makrīzī, iv, 20, 21). In al-Azhar in the 7th/14th century, and later, after the earthquake of 702, many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (*ibid*., 52), likewise in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (*ibid*., 57).

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a *madrasa*, the example six of the Damascus *madrasas* were in the *Umayyad* Mosque (*Ǧ*., ser. 9, iii, 410, 432, 437; iv, 262, 270, 481, others: vii, 230). The *madrasas* were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them. This was the case in Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 104 ff., cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 324).

Though the *madrasa* was an independent institution, the distinction between the *madrasa* and ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less as sermons were also preached in the *madrasa*. In the Niẓāmiyya in Naysābūr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii, 285) and the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād had a *minbar* (Ibn Ǧubayr, 219). In Egypt from 569/1174 to 663/1267 there was only one Friday *ḫuṭba*, but after this time there was usually a *minbar* in the larger *madrasas*.

It was only natural that the *madrasa* should also be called *masǧid* (cf. Ibn Ǧubayr, 48) Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ in the 8th/14th century still wants to distinguish between *masǧid* and *madrasa* and to give more importance to the former (*Madḫal*, ii, 3, 48). The distinction remained however, quite an artificial one, and this is also true of the distinction between *madrasa* and *ǧāmiʿ*.[3] The name *madrasa* was decided by the main object of the institution and the special style of the building. The name *ǧāmiʿ* was only given if the Friday service was held in it.

The connection between mausoleum and mosque was also found with the *madrasa*. The tomb of the founder was placed in Nūr al-Dīn's *madrasa* in Damascus (Ibn Ǧubayr, 284-5), and during the Mamlūk period it was the regular custom for the founders of a *madrasa* to be buried under a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] in it

On education and the *madrasa* in general, cf. also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, Göttingen 1837, von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vienna 1877, ii 479 ff.; Haneberg, *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner im Mittelalter*, 1850; van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arab*., i, 252-69; G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana*, i, 1916, 109 ff., Johs. Pedersen, in *IC*, iv (1929), 383-37; A. Talas, *La Madrasa Nizamiyya et son histoire*, Paris 1939.

While the institutions called the *dār al-ʿilm* developed in Fāṭimid countries into centres of Shīʿī propaganda, the *madrasa* grew up in the east out of similar Sunnī institutions. It is interesting to note that in 395/1005 al-Ḥākim built a Sunnī *dār-al-ʿilm* in Cairo (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii, 84, 105, 106). But after these years, this institution was abolished and its two learned teachers executed. With the growing strength of the Sunna, especially in the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī forms, many educational institutions arose in the east which had a pronounced Sunnī character (al-Muḳaddasī, 632, 363, 415). Many teachers built houses of their own, where they dictated *ḥadīths* and held lectures on *fiḳh*, e.g. a teacher who died in Marw in 420/1029 (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, 232). Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī, born in 277/890, founded in his native town a school with a library with apartments and allowances for the maintenance of foreign students (*ibid*., 263; cf. 294, 345).

In Naysābūr especially, where studies were vigorously prosecuted in the mosque (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit*., 256), many such institutions arose. Thus a special school was built for the Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* scholar al-Šāšī al-Naysābūrī (d. 349/960, *ibid*., 156, cf. 360). Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 393/1003) himself founded a school in which to teach *ḥadīth*, and it was attended by 2,000 scholars (*ibid*., 205). Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015 ?, *ibid*., 210) did the same, likewise Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Kushayrī in 437/1045-6 (*ibid*., 284), and for Rukn al-Dīn al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027) a school was built which surpassed all others (*ibid*., 229). As early as the 4th/10th century, we find al-Muḳaddasī praising the very fine *madāris* of Irḳshahr (*BGA*, iii, 315). In the first half of the 5th/11th century, there were four especially famous *madrasas* in Naysābūr: al-Madrasa al-Bayhaḳiyya founded by al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), when he became a teacher in Naysābūr in 444/1049-50 (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit*., iii, 270), al-Saʿīdiyya founded by the *emīr* Naṣr b. Sebüktigin (governor of Naysābūr in 389/999); one built by Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl al-Astarābādī, and another built for the teacher Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾīnī. A Niẓāmiyya was also built here by Niẓām al-Mulk for the Imam al-Ḥaramayn al-Dīn wayn (al-Makrīzī, iv, 292, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 141-2). It was an event of great importance when Niẓām al-Mulk (456-85/1064-92 vizier of the Saldjūḳ sultāns Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh) founded the celebrated *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Baghdād the building was begun in 457/1065 and on 14 Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 459/22 September 1067 it was consecrated It was founded for the Shāfiʿī teacher Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī.

The Muslim historians are to some doubt about the history of the *madrasa*. Niẓām al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Makrīzī and al-Suyūṭī point out that *madrasas* were already in existence before him and mention the four abovenamed ones; but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations. Al Subkī thinks (says al Suyūṭī) that the new feature was that Niẓām al-Mulk endowed scholarship ins the students. This again, however, was nothing new. But the enthusiasm and energy of Niẓām al-Mulk marked the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the *madrasa* (cf. G. Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh century Baghdād*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv [1961], 1-56, A. L. Tibawi, *Origin and character of al-Madrasah*, in *BSOAS*, xxv [1962], 225-38, H. Halm, *Die Anfänge der Madrasa*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl III, 2, XIX. Deutsche Orientalistentag [1977], 438-48). The sultan and men of high rank were now interested in it, and the type evolved by Niẓām al Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i.e. they were a kind of mosques The type of school

known to us is built as a complete mosque. Since even the older mosques contained living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque, only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. This character is expressed by the name *madrasa*, plural *madāris*; it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word *darasa*, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic.

In the time of Niẓām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the *madrasa* spread in ʿIrāḳ, Ḵurāsān, al-Djazīra, etc. He was not content with the two he founded in Naysābūr and Baghdād. There was also a *Madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Balḵh (Wüstenfeld, *Schäfiʿï*, 240), in Marw al-Rūdh (*ibid.*, 339), in Harāt, to which al-Shāḥāt (d. 485/1092) was called from Ghazna (*ibid.*, 320), and in Marw (Yāḳūt, iv, 509). The great vizier's rival Tādj al-Mulk (d. 486/1093) founded a *Madrasa Tādjiyya* in Baghdād (*ibid.*, 322). In Naysābūr, other *madrasas* were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Maniʿī (d. 463/1070-1, *ibid.*, 277) and a Shafiʿiyya (*ibid.*, 327).

The prosperity of the *madrasas* stimulated by Niẓām al-Mulk in the 5th/11th century survived for a long time to the east. In the 6th/12th century Ibn Djubayr (580/1184) mentions some thirty *madrasas* in Baghdād all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Niẓāmiyya, renovated in 504/1110-11 (*Riḥla*, 229). In 631/1234, the caliph al-Mustanṣir founded the magnificent Mustanṣiriyya as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy-five students and a teacher for Ḳurʾān and one for *ḥadīth*, as well as a physician. Attached to it were a library, baths, hospital and kitchens; there was a clock at the entrance, beside it was a garden where the caliph had a pavilion (*manẓara*) from which he could survey the whole building (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 266-7, Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, p. iv and 29).

The Niẓāmiyya and the Mustanṣiriyya survived the destruction of Baghdād by Hülāgü, both are mentioned at the beginning of the 8th/14th century by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 108-9), and the building of the latter still exists. Ten others are known of the 8th-9th/14th-15th century, all of which were founded for Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs and for the study of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* (L. Massignon, *Les Medressks de Bagdâd*, in *BIFAO*, vii [1909], 77-86 the inscriptions, idem, in *MIFAO*, xxxi [1912]). Although the Tatars in 699/1300 destroyed many *madrasas* (Quatremère, *Hist. des sult maml.*, ii/2, 163-4). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that in the 8th/14th century there were still flourishing schools in the east. The Mongols also built *madrasas*; Hülāgü's mother built two *madrasas* in Buḵhārā where 2,000 students studied daily in each (*JA*, ser. 4, xx, 389; Quatremère, *Hist. sult maml.*, ii/2, 56). The period of greatest prosperity of the *madrasas* in Central Asia was under the Timūrids, notably in Samarḳand, where Timūr built a *ghāzī* "in the Indian style", and his wife a *madrasa* (Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Tamuri*, ed. Manger, 1767, 444 ff., see also Diez, *Kunst der islam. Völker*, 99-100).

In the towns of Mesopotamia and Syria, the movement spread from the 5th/12th century onwards.

In Damascus the two rulers Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (541-69/1146-63) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (570-89/1174-93) displayed a munificent activity in this direction, as did their *amīrs* and relatives. This activity was continued into the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries, so that al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521, *JA*, ser. 9, iii-vii) can give the following totals: seven *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, sixteen *dār al-ḥadīth*, three for both Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, 60 Shāfiʿī, 52 Ḥanafī, four Mālikī and ten Ḥanbalī *madrasas*, also three *madāris al-ṭibb*, all of which belong to the 7th/13th century. The founders were mainly rulers and *amīrs*, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn introduced the *madrasa* into Jerusalem. According to Muḳḥīr al-Dīn (d. 927/1521), there were 51 *madrasas* and monasteries (which were in part used in the same ways as *madrasas*) in direct connection with the Ḥaram area, 29 near it, and 56 at some distance. Of these, some 40 are especially called *madrasa*, one a *dār al-Ḳurʾān* and one a *dār al-ḥadīth* (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jerus. et Hébr.*, Paris 1876, 139 ff.; van Berchem, *Corpus*, ii, 1, cf. for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, Cairo 1310/1892-3, 400 ff.).

Next to Niẓām al-Mulk, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of *madrasas*. He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries which became of great importance in the Muslim world, Syria with Palestine, and Egypt. Even before the fall of the Fāṭimids, in the year 566/1171 he had founded in Cairo the Nāṣiriyya for Shāfiʿīs and the Kambiyya for Mālikīs, for Shāfiʿīs also the Sharīfiyya and notably the great Ṣalāḥiyya or Nāṣiriyya (for the identity of the two, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 232, with *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 142-3), beside al-Shāfiʿī's mausoleum (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 141-2; al Maḳrīzī, iv, 192 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 402-3). Those around him emulated this activity.

During the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of *madrasas* increased in an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn there were two long rows of *madrasas* on the site of the old Fāṭimid palace in Cairo (cf. P. Bavaisse, in *MMAF*, i, 1889, 409 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442) mentions 75 *madrasas*, 14 for Shāfiʿīs, four for Mālikīs, ten for Ḥanafīs, three for Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, six for Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs, one for Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as *dār al-ḥadīth*, while the rite of 25 is not mentioned and four remained unfinished. Of these *madrasas*, according to him, about 13 were founded before 600, 20 in the 7th century, 29 in the 8th century and two after 800.

In Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time, the *madrasa* was also introduced into the Ḥidjāz. In the year 578/1183 4 the governor of Aden built in Mecca a *madrasa* for the Ḥanafīs, and in the following year a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* was also founded there (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 204). Up to the beginning of the 9th/15th century, 12 *madrasas* are mentioned (*ibid.*, 104-7), but others were added (*ibid.*, iii, 277-8, 221-22, 225-6, 352 ff., 417). In the 12th/18th century, they ceased entirely to be used for their original purpose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 229 ff.) *Madrasas* were also built in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 58, 98, 122).

In Asia Minor, *madrasas* spread under the Saldjūḳs; the oldest known date from the 7th/13th century (Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 1897, 256, 280, 278, Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1896, 48-9, 52-3, R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, 1928, 206 ff.).

In Tunis, many *madrasas* were erected under the Ḥafṣids (625-945/1228-1534), the oldest being the Madrasat al-Maʿmād of about 650/1252. In the *Chronicle of Tunis* (al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides*, tr. E. Fagnan, in *Rec. Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Const.*, xxi [1895], see index)

21 are mentioned. The first *madrasa* in the Maghrib was, according to Ibn Marzūḳ's *Musnad*, the Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn built by the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (656-85/1258-86) in Fās in 684/1285 (also called al-Ḥalfiyyīn; see the edition by Lévi Provençal, in *Hesperis*, v [1925], 34 [Arabic] = 44 [French]). Other Marīnids and their successors continued the building of *madrasas* in Fās, Tilimsān and other cities (cf. Pel, *Inscriptions de Fès*, in *Jā*, ser. 21, x [1927], xii [1928]; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, ii, 1927, 465 ff.).

In Spain, according to Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century), there were no *madrasas*, instruction was given in the mosques (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 236), in the following century, however, a large *madrasa* was founded in Granada by the Naṣrid Yūsuf Abū 'l-Ḥadjdjādj in 750/1349 (Almagro Cardenas, *in Boletin de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, cxvii, 490, Marçais, *op cit.*, 326-27).

Ibn Khaldūn (808/1406) testifies to the spread of *madrasas* in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education. In al-Andalus, Muslim culture was dying out and after the decline of Ḳurṭuba and al-Ḳayrawān, education in the Maghrib was on a low level, while the old schools in ʿIrāḳ were no longer of importance. Cairo was a centre of learning to which all made their way, and studies also flourished in Persia (*Muḳaddima*, *fasl* 6 no. 2). This decline in interest in learning soon became general. The learning of the time lacked vitality, and international scholarship was affected by political conditions. In 1517 A.D., Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] says that the lecture-rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small. Some still studied *fiḳh*, but very few the arts (*Desc. de l'Afr.* iii, 378, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Doc.*, ed. Schefer, Paris 2896-8).

3. The constitution of the *madrasa*.

We have seen that, already in the 4th/10th century, there were a number of *madrasas* outside Baghdād, the cultural centre of the Islamic world, but we have also noted the impetus to *madrasa*-building which took place in the 6th/12th century and is associated especially with Niẓām al-Mulk. Even so, as further noted, earlier types of educational institution continued to flourish.

The *madrasa*, combining the functions of the *masdjid* and its nearby *khān* in one architectural unit, brought nothing new to legal studies as such. Nor was the student body more numerous in the *madrasa* than it was in its predecessor, the number in either type of college of law was usually twenty. Nor did the new *madrasa* put an end to the *masdjid* as a college, there last continued to be established as charitable foundations. Indeed, many *ʿulamāʾ* deplored the innovation of the *madrasa* which provided for all the needs of the student, including room and board, and encouraged, according to the *ʿulamāʾ*'s complaints, the worthy and unworthy alike to pursue knowledge for the wrong kind of motivation, a parasitic life of ease, instead of learning for the greater glory of God. Thus the *masdjid-khān* type of college continued to be founded, and many professors of law continued to teach there, as for instance, within the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, whose first *madrasa* was founded only in the first part of the 6th/12th century. This lingering preference for the *masdjid* is not surprising, given the place of the mosque in the Muslim community and the encouragement of the faithful to build mosques. "The Apostle of God ordered ... that *masdjids* be built" (*amara rasūl Allāh ... bi-bināʾ al-masādjid*, Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *ṣalāt*, 13; al-Tirmidhī, *Dīnāt*, *diyamāt*, 65, and also Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, *masādjid* 68; al-Tirmidhī, *op cit.*, *daʿawāt*, 80; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *ṣalāt*, 80).

One should not attach undue importance to the fact that the *madrasa* developed especially on the eastern lands of the caliphate, in ʿIrāḳ, Persia and Transoxania; this does not imply a cultural swing away from Arab Baghdād towards Persian Khurāsān, especially towards Naysābūr, which would be a misreading of cultural history due to anachronistic nationalist sentiment. Since there was no change in the curriculum, or in the teaching staff or students, and since the final product of the two types of colleges was exactly the same, that *is*, the *muftī-faḳīh*, the reason for the change in institutional typology must be sought elsewhere and may be found in the legal status of the two institutions concerned, the *masdjid* and the *madrasa*.

Relevant here is the fact that the legal status of the *madrasa* allowed the founder to retain complete control over the administrative and instructional staff of the institution, and therefore the retention of the power of patronage. For government officials, such as a *wazīr*, it permitted him to attract the support of the rank and file through their religious leaders employed by the founder. For these men, as well as for men of lesser power, the law of *waḳf* permitted them to place their wealth where it could be secured against confiscation.

Moreover, the *masdjid* and the *madrasa* were charitable foundations based on *waḳf*. The founder, the *wāḳif*, was free to found the one or the other type of institution. He could, in his deed of foundation, make any stipulations he wished regarding any aspect of his foundation, whether it be a *masdjid* or a *madrasa*, with only one limitation to his freedom of choice: none of his stipulations were to contravene the tenets of Islam. Legally speaking, he could not appoint the *imām* of the *masdjid*. If the *masdjid* had a professor in addition to the *imām*, the founder could appoint the professor. The *imām*, or the professor-*imām*, was appointed by the caliph alone, or by the caliph with the consent of the people of the quarter where the *masdjid* was located. A *madrasa*, as such, had no *imām*, unless the foundation was a complex including a *madrasa* and *masdjid*. The fundamental difference between the two institutions was that the *waḳf* deed was signed, became a *waḳf ṭaḥrīr* that is to say, a foundation whose legal status is assimilated to the manumission of a slave. As the master, once he freed his slave, had no further rights over him, the founder, once the deed of his *masdjid* was signed, had no further rights over it, other than those legally-valid stipulations in his deed pertaining to the instructional aspects of his foundation.

Thus between the two great patrons of learning mentioned previously, Bādis and Niẓām al-Mulk, the difference is that, while the former founded *masādjid* over which he had limited control, the latter founded *madrasas* over which his control was complete. Niẓām al-Mulk retained for himself and his progeny complete control over his network of *madrasas* in Baghdād, where professorial tenure was usually for life in the *masdjid*-college of law, Niẓām al-Mulk hired and fired professors, some after a tenure of a month or even of a day. The introduction of *madrasas* in Baghdād may therefore be viewed as an encroachment upon the patronage of the caliph, whose control over *masdjid*- and *djāmiʿ*-mosques did not extent to the *madrasa*.

After the *masdjid* and *madrasa*, other institutions came into existence, especially the *dār al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], the first of which was, as already noted above, founded by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī in Damascus. In this institution, the *muḥaddith* was raised to the level of the *mudarris* in the *madrasa*. The *madrasa* founded for one *madhhab* tended to be divisive, since only those students who chose to belong to that *madhhab* were admitted for the study of law and the ancillary sciences. The *dār al-ḥadīth* served to bring together students of all *madhāhib*, and may thus be seen as a further manifestation of the triumph of traditionalism over the forces of rationalism represented by the *dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*] institutions, which soon disappeared from the scene. The *dār al-ḥadīth* must not be confused with either *dār al-ḥadīs* or *dār al-sunna*, occasional terms that referred not to the study of *ḥadīth* but of *fiḳh*, and were used as terms of traditionalism opposing the rationalism of *dār al-ʿilm*.

Education in Islam was religious in nature and an obligation incumbent upon the *ʿulamāʾ*, the men of religious science. The caliph as the successor to the Prophet made it possible for teachers to teach in the Friday mosques where *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*], study-circles, provided instruction in the various religious sciences and their ancillaries. Private individuals endowed institutions of learning, *masdjids* and *madrasas*, which they specified for one or the other of the *madhāhib* as they chose. Muslim institutions of learning, based on the law of *waḳf*, were endowments made by individual Muslims, of their own free will, without interference from the governing power. Even when the founder was a caliph, a *sulṭān*, a *wazīr*, or other official, he endowed his foundation as a Muslim individual, instituting his own private property as *waḳf* for a public purpose. These institutions were not public in the sense that anyone was entitled to attend them. They were set aside for restricted use in accordance with the *waḳf* stipulations of the founder, restricting admission to one or the other *madhhab*.

Founded at first for only one *madhhab*, *madrasas* were later founded for more than one. In the latter case, the students of each *madhhab* were taught separately. The system was as individualistic as the law itself: one *madrasa*, one *madhhab*. There were double, triple and quadruple *madrasas*, meaning that two, three or four *madhāhib* were involved; but the students of each *madrasa* within the conyound were kept separate, each student body following the *madhhab* of its choice.

Madrasas were usually Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī or Ḥanbalī, with very few for the Mālikīs. Spain, predominantly Mālikī, had no *madrasas* as late as the 7th/13th century, as noted above. The earliest *madrasa*, said to be that of Granada, was not founded till the following century. Their sparseness throughout the Islamic world can be explained by the Mālikī law of *waḳf*, which prohibits Mālikī founders to retain control of the trusteeship of their institution. This discouraged founders from endowing *madrasas* as means of sheltering their wealth against confiscation, by retaining control of their institution for themselves and their progeny to the end of their line. Mālikī *madrasas* were founded in North Africa by the sovereigns, whose motives differed from those of private individuals; they were motivated by the prestige brought by their foundations to themselves and to their realms.

Besides the *ḥalḳa*[5] and its study circles, the *masdjid*, the *madrasa*, the *dār al-ḥadīth*, there were also the *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, the *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] and other conventional establishments (*khānḳāhs*, *zāwiyas* [*q.vv.*]), in which learning took place in the Islamic sciences. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 629/1231) lectured in a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād on *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 203) and a *Ribāṭ al-Khātūnī* is mentioned here, which had a library (Ibn al-Kifṭī, ed. Lippert, 269). There are other references to libraries in monasteries (see for Marw Yāḳūt, iv, 529). In the *Khānḳāh Saʿīdiyya* founded in 756/1355, an extensive course of lectures, *fiḳh* according to all four *madhāhib*, *ḥadīth* and *ṣūfī*[6] (al-Makrīzī, iv, 283) was given. In the *Ribāṭ al-Athār* in the 8th/14th century, instruction was given in Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* (*ibid.*, 296), the Ḥanafī *madrasa* al-Djamāliyya (730/1450) was also a *khānḳāh* (*ibid.*, 438 above), they had a common director. There were also institutions of learning consisting of a combination of two or three of the institutions mentioned, as, for instance, a *madrasa-ribāṭ dār al-ḥadīth*. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, this combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Niẓāmiyya in Cairo of the year 757/1356 (Van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, 242 ff.) and in the mausoleums of Barsbāy, 835 (*ibid.*, 365-6, cf. the lyās, *ii*, 21, 22, 41), of al-Malik al-Ashraf Īnāl, 855-60/1451-6 (*ibid.*, no. 272 ff.) and of Ḳāʾit Bāy, 879 (*ibid.*, 432 ff.). In the east, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the same relationship, for example in Shīrāz and in Ḳarbalāʾ (ii, 78-9, 88, 99), and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the *madrasa* the *zāwiya*. In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid *zāwiya* in Fās (i, 84); here also learning and Ṣūfism were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *zāwiya*) and the *zāwiya* still plays an important part in North Africa.

Learning further took place in the hospitals (*māristān*, from the Persian *Bīmāristān* [*q.v.*]) which were also used as schools of medicine, as well as in the private homes of scholars and elsewhere.

6. Courses of instruction and personnel.

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, to which was added the study of the Arabic language. In al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-ʿIlm*), *ʿilm* still means *ḥadīth* but, with the development of the systems of law and theology, these were also taught in the mosques. In the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baṣra, al-Ashʿarī heard al-Djubbāʾī expound the Muʿtazilī *kalām* (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, 231), closely connected with this was methodology (*al-madhākhara wa ʾl-nuẓar* of Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 383). But many different subjects could also be taught. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who taught in al-Manṣūr's *Dāʾimī*[8] in Baghdād, lectured on his history of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246-7). Philosophy proper, however, disappeared from the mosques. In Spain, we are told, *falsafa* and *tanḳīm* were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as *zindīḳs*, and even stoned or burned (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 236). The *madrasas* were mainly established to teach the systems of *fiḳh*, and originally each school was intended to represent only one *madhhab*. Where the four *madhāhib* are represented in one school, one can speak of four *madrasas*, e.g. *al-Madāris al-ṣalāḥiyya* (al-Makrīzī, iv, 209, 282).

The ordinary *madrasas*, however, included other subjects besides the study of *fiḳh* alone. Special mention is made of *naḥw* (al-Ṣāḥibiyya, al-Makrīzī, iv, 205). In the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād and in other

madrasas in the 21st, philological studies were prosecuted (cf Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 423-4; vi, 409). The custom, often occurring before Niẓām al-Mulk's time, of founding a *dār al-ḥadīth* was continued after him, e.g. in Cairo and Damascus. In 604/1207 al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam built beside the Ṣaḳḳāra mosque a *Madrasa naḥwiyya*, exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, 86, 140), and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf. al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 58, Myhrmann, 253). Al Subkī mentions, in addition to the special *ḥadīth* schools, also *madāris al-tafsīr* and *madāris al-naḥw*.

In his *Muḳaddima* (*fasl* 6, nos. 4 ff.), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islamic studies. They are divided into *ʿulūm fikrīyya* and *naḳlīyya*. The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called *falsafīyya* or *ʿaḳlīyya*; the latter are dependent on revelation by the lawgiver (*al-wāḍiʿ al-sharʿī*), and are therefore based on special transmission. The *ʿulūm naḳlīyya* therefore comprise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islam, namely Kurʾān, i.e. *tafsīr* and the seven *ḳirāʾāt* (no 5), *ḥadīth* with the sciences auxiliary to it, including *al-nāsiḵ wa 'l-mansūḵ*, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* (no. 6), *al-fiḳh* with special emphasis on *al-farāʾiḍ*, the law of inheritance (nos. 7-8), *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the principles of law including methods of deduction and the differences between the *madhāhib* (no 9), *al-kalām*, theology, which is *naḳlīyya* in as much as it is really a further development of *al-īmān* which comes under the head of religious duties, but is *ʿaḳlīyya* in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (no. 10), *al-taṣawwuf*, something like practical theology (no. 11) and *taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, interpretations of visions (no 12).

Linguistic sciences are related to the study of Kurʾān and *ḥadīth* (cf nos 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts, *al-naḥw*, *al-lugha*, *al-bayān* and *al-adab* (no 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature.

The *ʿulūm naḳlīyya* are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (no. 13), and are *al-manṭiḳ*, logic which is the foundation of all others (no 17), *al-arithmāṭīḳī*, arithmetic, (including *ḥisāb* etc. (no. 14), *al handasa*, geometry (no. 25), *al-hayʾa*, astronomy (no 26), *al-mūsīḳī*, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc. (see no 23), then there is *al-ṭabīʿīyyāt*, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion—heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral, among its subdivisions, special mention is made of *al-ṭibb*, medicine, and *al-falāḥa*, agriculture (nos. 18-22, cf. no 29). The seventh main head is *ʿilm al-ilāhīyyāt*, metaphysics (no. 27). Magic, talismans, mysterious properties of numbers, etc., also form branches of Muslim learning (nos. 28 ff.)

Medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques and the *madrasas*; about 600/1203-4, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf lectured in the Azhar Mosque, but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in *ṭibb* was also given there (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" were cultivated outside the mosques.

The method of teaching was by lecturing and learning by heart (*imlāʾ*). The first task was to learn the Kurʾān by heart and then to acquire as many traditions as possible. The *ḥadīth* was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 30). Lecturing soon became dictation (*samāʿ*), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Kurʾān (approved al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, *bāb* 34, 36). The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, etc. The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Durayd (Wüstenfeld, *Schäfiʿī*, 127) or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (d. 343/957), who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on *lugha* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 26), but also the text of the poets, like al-Ṭabarī, who lectured on al-Tirmimāḥ in the Mosque of ʿAmr in 256/870 (ibid., vi, 432). Dictation was especially important in the case of *ḥadīth*, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity. It is therefore always said "he dictated *ḥadīth*" (*Ḥuwa almuḥaddiṯu*, ii, 239; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 246). The class of a teacher is therefore *majlis al-imlāʾ* (*ibid.* ii, 213, vii, 74), and his famulus among the students is *al-mustamlī* (cf *ibid.*, vi 282, vii, 74). Problems of *fiḳh* were also dictated (so Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Kutlūbughā, ed. Flügel no 249).

All this meant that reliance on the memory for the learning above all of the Kurʾān and *ḥadīth*, was highly prized, and repetition much cultivated. Jurisconsults were quoted as saying that in their student days they used to repeat each law lecture fifty times or more in order to imbed it in the memory. A school exercise was developed, whereby students quizzed one another or an aid to learning their lesson and as a contest to see who knew more than the other. The term used for the exercise was *mudhākara* ("a calling something to mind with another, conferring with another"). However, the importance of understanding was also recognised, above all as legal studies developed, and this is the lexical meaning of the term *fiḳh* (*q.v.*), which comes to have the technical meaning of "positive law". Thus shift of emphasis to both memorisation and comprehension is illustrated by the saying that "learning is a city, one of whose gates is memory and the other is understanding" (*al-ʿilm madīna, aḥad bābayhā al-ruwāya, wa 'l-ākhar al-dirāya*).

But the most important method developed for legal studies was the method of disputation (*munāẓara*, *farīḍat al-naẓar*), the legal school exercise par excellence. It consisted of (1) a thorough knowledge of *khilāf*, that is, the divergent legal opinions of jurisconsults; (2) a thorough knowledge of *jadal*, dialectic, and (3) *munāẓara*, disputation. The disputant had to know by heart as extensive a list as possible of the disputed questions of law (*al masāʾil al-khilāfiyya*) and have ready answers for them. It was his skill at disputation which earned for him the licence to teach law and to issue legal opinions (*iḏjāzat al-tadrīs wa 'l-fatwā*). The licence he obtained after a long period of study, usually four years of basic studies of law, followed by an indeterminate period of fellowship (*ṣuḥba*), during which he was apprenticed as *muʿīd* or repetitor of his master or otherwise made himself useful to the younger students, sometimes called *mufīd* ("one who imparts useful knowledge") and holding the post of *iftāʾ*.

During the *ṣuḥba* stage of his learning, the graduate student wrote a *taʿlīḳa* which was a compilation of notes from the lectures of his master, often including notes taken from the latter's writings. When such a compilation was original in nature, as to its arrangement and the treatment of the subject-matter, it came to be known by the name of its compiler. The term *taʿlīḳa* is also applied to a compilation of the master, a syllabus on law, from which the master taught his disciples. Some of these *taʿlīḳas* consisted of many volumes, as many

as fifty in one case. Masters who had no *ta'līḳa* used those of others.

The class (*dars*) began with the recitation *at* the Ḳur'ān by a *ḳārī*, with blessings on the Prophet, and other religious formulae (*Maḳṣad*, i, 56, cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, 172 3). At the present day, the reciter as a rule simply pronounces the *basmala* himself. Dictation alone was not everywhere the custom in time, there came to be so many copies of the chief texts that the students were able to get copies for themselves. The text was in this case read aloud and the teacher gave his comments and emendations on the text (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 255). It was only natural that the dictation of texts was first abandoned in philology, it is said to have been dropped as early as the 4th/10th century (Mez, *Renaissance*, 172). This does not mean that dictation was completely abandoned, for the teacher still made his pupils write down his comments, for example, Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d 584/1188) dictated his lessons (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 20) and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained only any remarkable phrases, was used so early as by the teacher of *ḥadīth*, Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/912, *ibid.*, vi, 282).

Ibn Ḵhaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understand the correct methods of teaching (*turuḳ al-taʿlīm*). They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of arranging the *talḳīn* so that it is always combined with explanations, and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects. They laid too much stress on learning by heart (*ḥifẓ*) (*Muḳaddima*, *faṣl* 6, no 2, 29, 30; cf al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, 131-2) Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Ḳur'ān. When the above-mentioned Ibn Kaysān expounded *ḥadīth*s, he also asked his hearers about their meaning Conversely the class was at liberty to ask questions of the teacher Al-Shāfiʿī used to sit in his great *ḥalḳa* in Mecca and say: "Ask me what you want, and I will then give you information on the Ḳur'ān and *sunna*" (*ibid.*, vi, 301, cf al-Muḳaddasī in *BGA*, iii, 379) The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yāḳūt *Udabā'*, v, 272). Ibn Ḏubayr saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdād (279-20) Both practices are still in vogue, and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions

7 The scholastic community: the teachers.

The general designation for master was *shaykh*. When used with a complement, the term designated the master of various fields, as, for instance, *shaykh al-ḥadīth*, *shaykh al-ḳurrāʾ*, for the professor of *ḥadīth* and the professor of Ḳur'ānic studies respectively The term *ustādh* was a kind of honorary title (see Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 113, 209, ii, 271, v, 353, 354 358, 448), it has continued in use till the present day, and in contemporary Arabic usage is the equivalent of the Western term "professor", "holder of a professorial chair" But in distinction from these more general terms, the professor of law had a designation all his own, a term used without a complement, *sc mudarris* He was not referred to as *shaykh al-fiḳh* The term *mudarris* with a complement was sometimes used to designate other professors, *Shaykh al ribāṭ* was used to designate the director, or abbot, of a monastery The *mudarris*, like the *ḥāfiẓ*, was entitled to have a deputy, a *nāʾib mudarris*, who taught during his absence. The *mudarris* could, in fact, have several *nāʾib*s This happened when the professor of law held several posts (*tadrīs*, pl. *tadārīs*), he would teach in one or the other of these posts and line deputies to teach in the others Thus, as the chair for the professorship of law could be divisible, the professorships could be multiple

The term *raʾīs* was applied to any scholar who had reached the summit of his field in his locality. It was used especially in the field of law, biographical notices often express it by saying that "leadership in the school of law ended up with him" (*intahat riyāsat al madhhab*). The terminology used in these notices is indicative of the competition that existed among the jurisconsults *barraʿa fī 'l-fiḳh* ("he excelled in the field of law", *lā yuḥabbu ghubāruhā* ("his dust cannot be penetrated"—comparing the legal scholar to a thoroughbred so swift that other horses in the race fail to keep him in sight, the dust of his hoofs having settled by the time they get to where he was), *hāma ḥilfī al-muqarrī* ("he was the annihilator of his peers"), etc. The titulatures is also indicative of this competition to gain the heights, not only in learning but also in the military and in government *amīr al-umarāʾ* ("prince of princes"), *malik al-mulūk* ("king of kings"), *sulṭān al-sulāṭīn* ("sultan of sultans"), *ḥākim 'l-ḥuḳūḳ* ("judge *of* judges"), *ʿālim al-ʿālamāʾ* ("scholar of scholars"), and even of the term *raʾīs* itself, *raʾīs al-raʾāsāʾ* ("leader of leaders").

In places where the term *raʾīs* designated a post, as for instance in Naysābūr, where there was also a *nāʾib raʾīs*, a sub-leader, or deputy leader, the post appears as one requiring, besides the qualification of leadership, that of non-partisanship, someone capable of acting as peace maker, a moderator between opposing factions among the scholars This, however, was not the head of a guild of masters. Such an organisation was unlikely in a system highly individualistic in character. The concept of a guild or corporation based on juristic personality was unknown to mediaeval Islam, where juristic personality belonged to the natural physical person alone

It has often been said that teachers were organised into a guild, and the usual argument advanced for this assertion is an anecdote cited to Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, v, 246 ff., according to which al-Ḵhaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [q v]) had to have the permission of *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* in order to teach *ḥadīth* in Baghdād's mosque of al-Manṣūr The function of the *naḳīb al-naḳībāʾ* was also confused with the term *raʾīs*, further adding to the concept of a head of a guild of masters No one has claimed to know how the guild worked, which is no surprise, since there was none The *naḳīb* was the marshal of the nobility, the *ashrāf* His function was to investigate all claims to descent from the Prophet's family and to keep rolls of the legitimate descendants of the Prophet, for they were entitled to a lifetime pension There were two *naḳīb*s, one for the Sunnīs, *naḳīb al ḥāshimiyyūn*, and one for the Shīʿīs, *naḳīb al-ʿalawiyyūn*

The above mentioned anecdote has to do with the *naḳīb al-ḥāshimiyyūn*. The Mosque of al Manṣūr was located in the quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra, on the west side of the city, the stronghold of the constituency of the *naḳīb* This constituency was made up of traditionalist *ashʿarī*/ and an overwhelming majority of Ḥanbalīs. Al-Baghdādī had been a Ḥanbalī, had changed over to the Shāfiʿī school of law, but was suspected of Ashʿarism, to which the Ḥanbalīs were highly hostile Al-Baghdādī asked the caliph's permission to lecture in the Mosque, for

it was his declared, lifelong ambition to do so, the Mosque being known as the institution with the highest reputation for the science of *ḥadīth*. The caliph, aware of the hostility of the people of the Bāb al-Baṣra to the lectures called on the *naḳīb*, as the Marshal of the Sharīfs of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter, to see to it that the event would not produce a riot. The *naḳīb* agreed to do so, but reluctantly, since he felt that he did not have enough men to control the assembly if it should get out of hand. An incident did occur, bricks were thrown at the speaker, and turbans were scratched, but the *naḳīb* succeeded in limiting the damage.

Thus permission to lecture in the Great Mosque was sought from the caliph, who alone made appointments to the teaching posts, the *kaṯība*, of the great mosques (there were, at the time, six of these) in Baghdād. The *naḳīb* was not the head of a guild of masters, such as the *ommastius magistrorum* of the Latin West, there was no such guild in mediaeval Islam.

In spite of all flexibility, a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques. This was connected with the question of pay. It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction. In the collections of *ḥadīth* the practice is both supported and condemned, and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned. There are continual references to people who gave lecturers without payment (al-Bukhārī, *Iḏāʿa*, *bāb* 16, Abū Dāwūd, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 36, Ibn Māǧa, *Taǧārāt*, *bāb* 8). The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims, but was found occasionally. Among men of learning we find shoemakers, locksmiths and sandal-makers (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, 227, 231, 267, cf. also Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, 179). It was the rule, however, for the teacher to be paid for his work. This might be a wholly personal donation from a prince or other rich man; for example al-Ṭabarī was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of ʿAmr (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 428, cf. the remarks above on wandering scholars). It was as a rule, however, a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professorial chair, this was especially the case in the *madrasa*s. The salaries of the teachers (*maʿlūm*, also *ǧāmakiyya*, *ǧāmakiyya*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.) varied considerably, according to the endowment. According to al-Maḳrīzī, learned men might have 50 *dīnār*s a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (iii, 364). On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour.

There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques in the *madrasa* at first only one was appointed. A *madrasa* frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e.g. the Ghaznawiyya in Cairo, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 255; Sharīfiyya, originally the Nāṣiriyya, *ibid*., 193, cf. the Masǧid al-Kāsāʾī in Baghdād). In the larger *madrasa*s, however, several teachers were appointed, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed 4 lecturers to the Kamhāyya in Cairo (*ibid*., 193), in this case a definite number (20) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf. *Chron. Monâst.*, ii, 205-6).

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the *madrasa*s, which were built for particular teachers and students. There was probably as a rule no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period. After textbooks had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the *iǧāza*, and so it has remained to modern times. Anyone who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictation; the teacher wrote this permission (*iǧāza*) in the book (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 253; ii, 272). A teacher could also give an *iǧāza ʿāmma*, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 253). It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous *iǧāzāt*, thus ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdād, Khurāsān, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 202). There were special formulæ for the *iǧāza* for *tadrīs* and *fatwā* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, xiv, 322 ff.). Some scholars only gave occasional lectures, and others only dealt with a very limited subject, thus one was appointed to the Niẓāmiyya to lecture in al-Ḥukkārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* because he had attended lectures on this from a celebrated teacher. There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects; often they taught many hours every day (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 282, 383; vii, 176), and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, 258). Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating *ḥadīth* and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (*ibid*., 239).

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute, any one could have an *iǧāza* in one subject while he was still a student in others, and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures of notable teachers. This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect *ḥadīth*s (al-Buḫārī, *Tārīḫ kabīr*, 7, 19, 26). All the biographies of learned men give examples of this, the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece*), and royal courts still played the same part, at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 75 ff.; Ibn Ḫallikān, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, vii, 452, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 205; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vi, 389). Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning; of one of the latter, it is said *rubba šayḫ or šayḫa kānat al-rāḥla* "they used to travel to him" (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 174, *Ḥasan al-muḥāḍara*, i, 207, cf. 141).

The blurring of the distinction between the teachers and the taught only really applied to fields were the authoritative transmission of a text was involved. This occurred especially in *ḥadīth*. In this field one remained, in a sense, a student all one's life, collecting authorisations (*iǧāza*) from the transmission of one or more *ḥadīth*s. There were many instances where an accomplished scholar of *ḥadīth* would seek the authoritative transmission of a collection of *ḥadīth*s, or even of a single *ḥadīth*, from one many years younger than he but who had the *iǧāza* to transmit the *ḥadīth*(s), and was, most likely, the last to receive that authority from its last holder. This situation was due to the oral character of authoritative transmission. The perennial preoccupation of the conscientious *ḥadīth* scholar was to travel in search of those rare *ḥadīth*s, whose rarity was due to the ever-decreasing number of transmitters duly authorised to transmit them. Biographical notices sometimes tell of the authorised transmitter

who had made a collection of such *ḥadīth*s and had waited until he had survived all other authorized transmitters before making them available, at which time he could exact his own price for them. This practice was, of course, condemned. There are well-known *ḥadīth*s not only encouraging the gathering and spreading of knowledge but also condemning those who would gather and conceal it.

On the other hand, the distinction between teacher and taught in the field of law was quite clear. To obtain the licence to teach law, one had to study many years under a professor of law, become proficient in the scholastic method of disputation and build up as vast a repertoire of disputed questions of law as possible, together with solutions to these questions, then one had successfully to defend one's thesis or thesis against the adversary, often one's own master. This long process could take place under one master alone, but it sometimes took place under two, one for the basic four years, another for the graduate, apprentice, period. More rarely, a law student could study under as many as five professors, but the process was always the same: the defense of a thesis or theses which learned him the licence to teach and to issue legal opinions, a licence attesting to his competence in the law as a field of knowledge.

Islamic law is individualistic, this may be seen in the function of the *ḥākim*, the *muftī* and the *mudarris*, as professor of law, as well as in the *madrasa*, the college of law. The *ḥākim* was alone responsible for his legal decision, the *muftī* was alone responsible for his legal opinion, based on *ijtihād*, and individual, personal activity of research to the sources of the law. Likewise, every *madrasa* represented one *madhhab*, a double *madrasa* represented two *madhhab*s where students were kept separate, so also with the triple, and quadruple *madrasa*, and every *madhhab* was represented by one professor of law, who might have under his direction one or several *mu'īd*s and *mufīd*s. Some instances in history illustrate this unicity of the professorial chair in the college of law. In 483/1090, a few months after the appointment of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī to the Niẓāmiyya's chair of law in Baghdād, Abū Muḥammad al-Fīrūzābādī arrived with orders to occupy the chair. Both professors were made to share the chair, and taught law according to an alternating schedule, one teaching one day, the other, the next. A variation on this solution later became standard procedure in some colleges of Damascus, where the professorial chair was assigned to two, three and four professors of law, each retaining a half (*niṣf*), a third (*thuluth*) or a fourth (*rubu'*) of the post and being paid accordingly.

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque, often beside a pillar; this was his *maḥall*, which was inherited by his successors (*ḥiṣṣa al-mutaḥaddara*, i, 135, cf. 181 below, 182, al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 5, Yāḳūt, *Udabā'* iv, 135, Wustenfeld, *Schāfi'ī*, 239). The outward appearance of the class did not alter through the centuries. His hearers sat to a circle (*ḥalka* the listeners *ḥalaḳiyyūn*; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49, ll. 17-50, cf. on the word, Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. maml.*, i/2, 197 ff.) on the ground before the lecturer. The teacher sat on a carpet (*sadjdjāda*, cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 254) or skin (*farwa*). This was described as a symbol of his dignity in his *waṭiyya* (al-'Umarī, *Ta'rīf*, 134). We often find in large audiences that the teacher had a raised seat (for the older period, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 212).

It was not the custom for teachers to live in the mosque. Of course, a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there, al-Ghazālī for example lived in the mosque of the Umayyads, where Ibn Djubayr saw his room. But these were exceptions; al-'Azīz built a dwelling house for the teachers in the Azhar near the mosque (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 49). The earlier *madrasa*s founded by Niẓām al-Mulk often had lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom, and this is also found later. Thus in the Ṣalāḥiyya, the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Djubayr, 48).

Of the teachers, many were also *ḥāfiẓ*s (as in their day were the *ḥuffāẓ*, who were in a way the predecessors of the teachers). The *ḥāfiẓ*s frequently were able to accumulate a considerable number of offices. The chief *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Bint al-A'azz (ca. 700/1300-1) had 17 offices (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1, 137 f.). The teacher could also be a *muftī* (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 136).

The professor of law was assisted by the "repetitor", *mu'īd*, as drill master. The professor of law was also assisted by the *mufīd*, a sort of "scholar in residence" who imparted "useful information", *fā'ida*, pl. *funā'id*, to the students of the institution. The post of *mufīd* was also used in the field of *ḥadīth*, for the same general purpose. There were usually two *mu'īd*s for each teacher. The *mu'īd*'s duty was to read over with the students the lecture after the class and explain it to the less gifted students. The celebrated *faḳīh* al-Bulḳīnī began as a repetitor with his father in-law in the Kharrūbiyya (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 208); it was also possible to be an independent teacher in one school and a repeater in another (al-Nāṣir, d. 669/1270-1, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 189). The Ṣalāḥiyya, which ought to have had 4 teachers with 2 repeaters, was run for 30 years by 10 repeaters and no teachers (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 258, cf. also 210; al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 134-5; al-Ḳalḳashāndī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, v, 464, and Hansberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner*, 25; Wustenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, 1837). As noted above, the counterpart of the *mu'īd* in law was the *mustamlī* in *ḥadīth*, whose function it was to repeat the *ḥadīth* dictated by the professor of *ḥadīth* to a class that could often run into the hundreds and thousands. In the case of such large classes, several *mustamlī*s relayed the *ḥadīth* to those who were not within earshot of the professor.

Other posts in the various institutions included the grammarian or *naḥwī*, who taught grammar and the other literary arts generally, and the various preachers. These comprised *al-khaṭīb* [*q.v.*], who preached the Friday sermon to the *djāmi'*, *al-wā'iẓ* [*q.v.*], who preached the academic sermon and taught *the art of the sermon*, and the popular preachers called *al-ḳuṣṣāṣ* [*q.v.*] and *ṣāḥib al-ḥurṭa*. Other holders of posts included *al-imām*, who led the five daily prayers in the mosques; the elementary school teacher of the *maktab* and *kuttāb*, called variously *al-mu'allim*, *al-mu'addib* and *al-faḳīh* (colloquially, in Egypt, esp., *al-fiḳī*); the monitors, *al-'arīf*, *ḥākim al-ṣibyān*, the copyists of manuscripts, *al-nāsikh* and *al-warrāḳ* (the latter term was also used for the bookseller, it would seem that the *warrāḳ* copied books for sale and hired the *nāsikh*, pl. *nussākh*, to copy for him); the corrector of copied manuscripts, *al-musaḥḥiḥ*; the collator of copied manuscripts, *al-muḳābil* or *al-mu'āriḍ*; and the servitor, *al-khādim*, a manservant who worked for a professor or a rich student while pursuing his own

studies. Most of these functions were performed by students working their way through college.

8. The scholastic community: the students.

Every one was absolutely free to join a *halka* in the mosque in order to hear a teacher. Al-Mukaddasī for example tells us that the learned men of al-Fārs used to sit from early morning till midday and from *'asr* to *soghrib* for the common people (*li 'l-'awāmm*) (*BGA*, iii, 439). But as soon as the teachers developed into a regular class of society, the students (*talaba*, *tullāb*, sing *tālib*) who were systematically training in the Muslim sciences also became a recognised section of the community. Together with the teachers, they formed the guild of the educated, *ashāb al-'imāma* (now *ahl al-'imma* in Egypt). They were able to select their teachers as they pleased; the most celebrated teachers had therefore large numbers of students. Many never finished studying, for they could always find new teachers to study under up to their old age, even if they themselves also taught. The ambitious would only study under (*darasa 'alā*) great teachers and therefore travelled about the Muslim world a great deal (cf. al-Mukaddasī, 237). This travelling, partly as teacher and partly as student, for the sake of *talab al-'ilm* was long kept up in Islam.

When the student had completed his teacher's course, the teacher declared his knowledge mature in the particular subject and the student was able to regard himself as perfect in it (*takharradja 'alayhi*). The relation of student to teacher is patriarchal and the student kisses his hands. This does not prevent quarrels breaking out, and in such cases the teachers might be treated very disrespectfully (cf. Sulaymān Rasad, *Kanz al-djawāhir*, 141 *ff*., 192 *ff*.).

The *madrasa* introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, when a definite number of students (as a rule twenty) was allotted to a particular teacher. Instruction was thus organised on more systematic lines. But even then irregular students were also admitted. It is only in quite modern times that the instruction has been really properly organised.

We hear exceptionally of women students; one was a member of al-Shāfi'ī's *madjlis* (*Husn al-muhādara*, i, 181, below). In the early centuries it cannot have been unusual, for it is several times mentioned in *hadīths*, which reserve special days for women (al-Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, *hadīth* 32, 36, 50).

In the *madrasas* and some mosques, students were offered lodging and certain allowances in addition, food, bread (*djarāya*) and money.

A student living in a mosque is called *mudjāwir* (al-Makrīzī, iv, 54), a word which is also applied to Meccan pilgrims (Ibn Djubayr, 122) and to anyone living in a mosque. The students' apartments are divided into *arwika*, usually according to nations, a word which is derived from the fact that they originally lived in the colonnades. Each *riwāk* is under a *shaykh*. Many students live in *khānakāhs*, other in private houses.

9. Conclusion.

The Muslim system of education in the Middle Ages was based on the *waḳf*, which, as already mentioned, gave the founder a free hand in determining the course of his foundation, as long as his stipulations were in keeping with the tenets of Islam. The historian must be circumspect about generalising for one institution on the basis of the particulars of another. The history of Muslim education must therefore be written on the basis of the deeds of *waḳf*, of which few are extant, and are in any case mostly late in date, as well as on the basis of biographical literature and the chapters on *waḳf* in the *fatwā*-works. These are the main sources to be consulted for the history of institutionalised education, that is, that education which took place in the *djāmi'*, the *masdjid*, the *madrasa*, the *dār al-hadīth*, the *dār al-Kur'ān*, the *ribāt*, the *khānakāh*, the *zāwiya* and the various combinations of these.

For the relation between Muslim institutions of learning and those of the mediaeval Latin West, see the *Bibl.*

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II. In Muslim India

The *madrasas* in Muslim India were institutions of higher learning similar to those in other parts of the Islamic world. Their principal function was to train personnel for government service, more particularly, for the administration of justice. They were either founded and subsidised by the state or established by private individuals. The education provided in them dealt mainly with religious subjects, and was offered by well-qualified teachers.

The real foundations of Muslim education in India may be traced back to the establishment of the Dihlī Sultanate in 1206 and the emergence of Dihlī as an important seat of Islamic learning. Evidence points to the existence of two major *madrasas* in Dihlī in the early years of Muslim rule. One of them was the Mu'izziyya, an institution probably founded by Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36) and named after Muhammad Ghūrī's title Mu'izz al-Dīn. The other

madrasa, known as Nāṣiriyya, was built by Balban while he was working as chief minister to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-64/1246-66), from whom the *madrasa* took its name. As the Mongols overran the heartlands of Islam, many refugee scholars from Central Asia and Persia took shelter in Dihlī, and their presence gave further momentum to educational activities in the capital. Early Muslim education found a strong champion in Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk (752-90/1352-88) who, according to Firishta, built as less than 30 colleges in various parts of his kingdom. The sultan is also noted for having restored a large number of *madrasas* which had fallen into disrepair. Among the institutions founded by him the most outstanding was the Madrasa yi Firūz Shāhī, constructed in Dihlī in 753/1352-3. It was the biggest *madrasa* in the capital, with residential facilities for both teachers and students. It stood on the southern bank of the Ḥawḍ-i Khās, an enormous tank built by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī in 695/1296. It was a double-storeyed building with arched galleries on all sides and projecting windows overlooking the tank, and its façade presented an impressive mixture of Hindū and Muslim architectural elements.

Other important educational centres, besides Dihlī, included Badā'ūn [*q.v.*], a city approximately 250 miles east of the capital. Under the Sayyid dynasty (817-55/1414-51), it rose into prominence as a seat of learning with many schools and colleges. In Āgra [*q.v.*], which acquired importance during Sikandar Lodī's reign (894-923/1489-1517), the latter founded a *madrasa* famous throughout northern India. In addition, he established non-religious schools where Hindūs also could enrol themselves to learn Persian, which now replaced Hindī as the language of lower administration. This, in turn, led to the growth of a parallel school system distinct from the regular *madrasas*.

Education received encouragement in the regional kingdoms which sprang up in different parts of the country during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. Under the rule of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharkī (804-44/1402-40), Djawnpūr [*q.v.*] acquired distinction as an intellectual centre of considerable importance having many educational institutions. Likewise, the Bahmanī kingdom of Deccan was known for its patronage of learning and learned men. Some of its kings, such as Tādj al-Dīn Firūz (800-25/1397-1422) and Muḥammad Shāh III Lashkarī (863-87/1458-82), were great benefactors of education. Maḥmūd Gāwān (d. 886/1481 [*q.v.*]), minister of Muḥammad Shāh, founded in 877/1472 a *madrasa* in Bīdar [*q.v.*] which acquired fame as a great institution. It was a magnificent building equipped with living quarters for students and teachers, and had an attached library containing a large number of books. Though severely damaged during Awrangzīb's campaign against Bījāpūr towards the later part of the 11th/17th century, its surviving remains bear sufficient witness to its superb architecture.

Under the Mughals, educational activities continued to find an important place in the policies of the government. Bābur (932-7/1526-30 [*q.v.*]), during his brief reign, founded a *madrasa* in Dihlī where, in addition to traditional subjects, special provision was made for the teaching of mathematics, astronomy and geography. He also charged the Department of Public Affairs (*Shu'bat-i 'Āmm*) with the task of establishing schools and colleges in the kingdom. The vicissitudes of Humāyūn's (937-47, 962-3/1530-40, 1555-6) fortunes were, no doubt, responsible for the paucity of educational activities seen during his reign. But under his successor, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), numerous *madrasas* were founded by the state as well as by private individuals. Akbar built a big college in his new capital Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], and, in Dihlī, his wet nurse, Māham Anga, founded a *madrasa* in 969/1561-2, which was noted for its architecture. Akbar also laid down that the curriculum of the *madrasas* should include subjects such as ethics, mathematics, agriculture, geography, astronomy, physics, logic, natural philosophy, theology and history. In response to Akbar's policy of religious accommodation, non-sectarian institutions increased in number, providing common education to Hindūs and Muslims alike.

During Djahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-1627), many *madrasas* which had ceased to function or had fallen into decay were restored and revived. The ruler issued an ordinance which required that if a wealthy person as a traveller died without an heir, his property should revert to the state and be utilised for the building and maintenance of the *madrasas*. Shāhdjahān's (1037-68/1628-57) name is associated with the imperial *madrasa* attached to the congregational mosque built by him at Dihlī in 1060/1650. Under Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707), special emphasis was placed on the diffusion of Islamic learning. The foundations of the famous seminary in Lucknow known as Farangī Maḥall [*q.v.* to Suppl.], were laid during this time. The name actually referred to the building granted by Awrangzīb, towards the end of the 11th/17th century, to a family of scholars who made Farangī Maḥall a leading centre of Islamic learning. Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn, author of *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, the syllabus named after him, used to teach at this place. Another well-known institution, opened in Dihlī during Awrangzīb's reign, was the Madrasa-yi Raḥīmiyya. Founded by the noted divine and father of Shāh Walī Allāh (1225-75/1703-62), Shāh 'Abd al-Raḥīm, this *madrasa* specialised in the teaching of exegesis and traditions, and was the forerunner of the modern seminary of Deoband [*q.v.*].

Little is known about the organisation and working of the *madrasas*. The emphasis on religious subjects in their curriculum seems to have remained consistent throughout their history. An attempt was made during Akbar's time to give importance to the instruction of mediaeval rational sciences such as logic, mathematics, medicine and astronomy, but it is doubtful whether this was followed by every *madrasa*. The *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, after its introduction in the mid-12th/18th century, was adopted by the *madrasas* all over the country, thus standardising the syllabus for traditional education. It included Arabic grammar and syntax, logic, philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, scholastics and dialectics, exegesis and traditions.

The cause of traditional Muslim education received a setback in the years following the decline of the Mughal rule. It suffered further reversal with the expansion of English education and spread of Western knowledge and ideas. Nevertheless, many *madrasas* continued to flourish in later times. The oldest among these was the *madrasa* at Farangī Maḥall, another important *madrasa* was that of Deoband, a small town north of Dihlī. It was founded in 1867 by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nānotawī (d. 1879) in conjunction with other *'ulamā'*. The last of the traditional institutions to be mentioned is the Nadwat al-'Ulamā' of Lucknow established

in 1894. Among its founders was the reputed scholar Shiblī Nu'mānī (1857-1914), who remained actively associated with it from 1904 to 1913. All the above *madrasas* have survived up to the present time, despite their limited financial resources and meagre enrolments.

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III. Architecture

The *madrasa* was a response to the specific needs of the Muslim community, it was a custom built structure tailored to serve an institution which was itself a deliberate innovation. Moreover, the *madrasa* was the creation of a self-confident, well-established civilisation near the peak of its achievement: the earliest *madrasas* recorded are those of eastern Iran in the early 4th/10th century, and evidence unearthed by modern historians working on the pre-Saldjūk period in eastern Iran suggests that the "prehistory" of the *madrasa* can be traced for at least one and a half centuries before the official Saldjūk adoption of the institution. It is, however, highly unlikely that these earlier *madrasas* were substantial public buildings. Their very number argues against it. By 416/1025-6 there were twenty *madrasas* in the modest provincial region of Khuttal [*q.v.*], and each was fully endowed with *awḳāf*. The missionary Karrāmiyya movement [*q.v.*] which was at strong as eastern Iran in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries had a strong educational and polemical bias, and both *khānakāhs* [*q.v.*] and *madrasas* were built in quantity by the adherents of this sect. The Ghaznavids also used *madrasas* endowed with *awḳāf* in order to establish Islam in the stubbornly pagan territory of Ghūr, possibly through the intermediary of missionaries from the Karrāmiyya.

Above all, such foundations should be seen within the context of a well established tradition of building *madrasas* in the large cities of the eastern Iranian world. The best documented case is Nīshāpūr, where no less than 58 *madrasas* predating the great Niẓāmiyya of that city (founded as 450/1058) are recorded, though none of them survive, for further details, see above, section i, 4.

The apparently eastern Iranian origin of the *madrasa* makes that the obvious area in which to seek the architectural origins of the institution. Two major possibilities present themselves, and these are not mutually exclusive. The first, espoused by Bartold over sixty years ago, would link the *madrasa* with the Buddhist *vihāra* as attested in Central Asia and Afghānistān. This area had been saturated in Buddhism in the centuries immediately preceding the Muslim conquest and it seems not surprising that a Buddhist institution combining the functions of worship, education, communal life and burial should have flourished in the almost very area associated with the earliest *madrasas*. Bartold's prescience was confirmed by the discovery of one such site at Adakhna-Tepe just across the Oxus to the north-east of Balkh. This consisted of a monastery and stupa complex, the whole comprising two equal halves joined by a gangway and each measuring some 50 m square. Both elements use a four-*īwān* plan focused on a central courtyard. The monastery element consisted of temple structures, cells for the monks, and a large assembly hall, plus various ancillary rooms. All this was linked by corridors. In its essentials, and even more in its four-*īwān* plan, this 7th-8th century monument comes remarkably close in spirit to a *madrasa*, though the Muslim emphasis on education is somewhat more marked. Numerous other Buddhist sites have been excavated in Soviet Central Asia over the last two decades, among them Ak-Beshim, Airtam, Kalai-Kafirnigan and Kuba, while perhaps the most important Buddhist site in the Iranian world was just south of the Oxus—the Nawbahār of Balkh.

The other architectural source which has been proposed for the Iranian *madrasa* is the typical Khurāsānī house. Godard, the champion of this theory, was forced at the outset to assume an unbroken continuity of tradition between the mediaeval and the modern houses of the area. He then compared this domestic form with that of later *madrasas* and concluded that it was the private structure that had generated the public one. While the literary evidence gives ample warrant for the functions of a *madrasa* being carried out in private houses, no such houses which can be shown to have served this function have survived. Neat as Godard's theory is, it cannot be more than speculative.

The formal, as distinct from the informal, history of the *madrasa* is commonly taken to begin in 460/1067 when the great Niẓāmiyya madrasa was inaugurated in Baghdād. In short succession a whole series of state-sponsored and largely state-financed *madrasas* sprang up throughout the Saldjūk empire (see above, section i, 4). Two related factors deserve special emphasis here. One is the whole hearted state support for these buildings, which is reflected in the name Niẓāmiyya which they bore. They represent, in short, a state investment of the first magnitude. The other is their carefully calculated location in the major cities of the Saldjūk realm. From this one may deduce that each was designed to serve as a provincial centre with a wide catchment area embracing the smaller towns and villages of the region. Such a function presupposes buildings of considerable scale and capacity.

The context behind the sudden spate of building activity, which significantly enough was confined to the Saldjūk empire, era probably to be connected with the resurgence of Sunnī orthodoxy, spearheaded by the Saldjūks after their entry into Baghdād in 447/1055, as a counter to the propaganda efforts of militant Ismā'īlī Shī'ism organised by the Fāṭimids from al-Azhar (founded in 359/970) [*q.v.*] and other

centres (see above, section i, 3). In fact the Sunnī orthodox *madrasa*-building activity soon stimulated a Twelver Shīʿī counterpart movement, for according to the *Kitāb al-Nakḍ* the later 6th/12th century saw Shīʿī *madrasas* appear in Rayy, Kum, Kāshān Āba Warāmīn, Sabzawār and elsewhere. One of the *madrasas* at Sāwa had indeed been found as early as the mid-5th/11th century. The form of these *madrasas* is as obscure as that of their Sunnī counterparts, but to judge by the later consonance between Sunnī and Shīʿī *madrasas* in the Iranian world, there was probably no formal distinction between them.

The number of *madrasas* erected within a short space of time throughout the Saldjūḳ empire at the order of Niẓām al-Mulk and by others is itself a clear indication that some kind of blueprint had been developed for this purpose. Unfortunately, none of these early Iranian *madrasas* has survived, in fact the earliest extant Iranian building of this type is the Madrasa-yi Imāmī of 725/1325 in Iṣfahān. It is a compact structure (some 92 m × 72 m at its widest extent) employing the standard Iranian 4-*īwān* plan, but the modifications to the traditional layout are significant. The *īwāns* no longer rear above their flanking arcades, the roof-line is now unbroken. This simple change entirely reverses the traditional pattern, in which the *īwān* was the dominant feature and dwarfed the flanking arcades. Two stories of continuously niched façades, behind which the cells for student accommodation were located, form the principal accent of the elevation and engulf the central *īwān* on each side. The question is, of course, whether such massy, cliff-like façades also characterised the elevations of the first Niẓāmiyya. The example of the Madrasa Imāmī, the known Saldjūḳ predilection for the 4-*īwān* plan, and the need to accommodate substantial numbers of students living in the building as distinct from visiting it, all combine to suggest that the first official Iranian *madrasas* were indeed fairly similar to their Ilkhānid descendants.

So far the discussion has assumed that the more important of these early *madrasas* were purpose-built structures intended solely for the students accommodated in them. Other possibilities have, however, been aired. Perhaps the most extreme is that the buildings generally accepted as the major urban mosques of the Saldjūḳ period—those of Ardistān, Qazwīn, Gulpāygān and so on—were actually *madrasas*. This theory runs counter to common sense, for it does not account for the result that absence of Friday mosques in these centres. More intrinsically likely is the proposition that the larger mosques contained an inbuilt *madrasa* element in the provision of a second storey around the courtyard. On occasion, the niched façades of these upper storeys could indeed lead to separate chambers, but the extremely diverse functions discharged by a Friday mosque in a large city means that a wide range of other purposes can be suggested for such rooms. Elsewhere in the Islamic world such joint foundations were labelled as such; cases of mosque-*madrasas* (see above, section i, 2) as mosque-mausoles and various other combinations abound in Mamlūk Cairo. A further argument against the *madrasa* function of the upper storeys of large urban mosques in the Iranian world is provided by the well-documented practice of adding self-contained *madrasas* to established mosques (e.g. Iṣfahān and Mashhad). There would have been little need for such new foundations if the mosques in question were already serving *inter alia* as *madrasas*. If one bears in mind the noted imprecision of the Arabic terminology of building types, and also the virtual interchangeability of these types, it will be clear that no firm conclusion as to the form of the pre-Mongol *madrasa* in Iran is warranted. Rather does the evidence suggest that the forms of the *madrasa* were scarcely less varied than those of the mosque itself. But the sad lack of standing buildings hangs like a cloud over any discussion of these early *madrasas*. Their organisation, personnel, curricula and financial arrangements can be followed up in minute detail in the literary sources, but the all-important question for the student of architecture, namely the precise material form which they took, remains obscure.

With such a plethora of literary evidence available, it is ironic that Iran should retain not one pre-Mongol *madrasa* that is universally accepted as such. Two Saldjūḳ buildings have been identified by some as *madrasas*, but others deny this. The more controversial of them is a mud-brick ruin at Khārgird [*q.v.*] whose damaged inscription specifically identifies it as a foundation of Niẓām al-Mulk. Its principal surviving feature is a broad and deep *ḳibla īwān* with at least one room of comparable depth flanking it on either side. Little sense can be made of any other part of the structure, but the dimensions of the courtyard in front of the *īwān* might well be about 22 × 28 m. In favour of the identification as a *madrasa* may be cited the very fact that Niẓām al-Mulk is cited in the inscription as the *official founder*, although a mere *mayḥt* actually carried out the work of supervising construction. Why should this august personage, the pivot of the Saldjūḳ state, take an interest in Khārgird? The family of Niẓām al-Mulk hailed from Sabzawār, and he himself was born in Ṭūs, so there can be no question of explaining his connection with this monument by his desire to erect a public building in his native town. Khārgird was a small town of secondary importance. Moreover, this structure is, as Herzfeld noted, very small for a courtyard mosque of its period, and the row of windows high up in the *ḳibla īwān* would make much better sense in the context of the cells on the first floor of a *madrasa* than as an element of mosque architecture. These various factors suggest that the most natural interpretation of the ruins is to see them as the sole surviving trace of Niẓām al-Mulk's axiomatic programme of building *madrasas*, though against this it must be admitted that the presence of supplementary *miḥrābs* does suggest a mosque rather than a *madrasa*. The flanking halls have also been cited as evidence that this is a mosque, but this feature occurs consistently in Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas*. To summarise, the evidence seems to incline towards interpreting the Khārgird structure as a *madrasa*, but without fresh evidence there is no clinching the matter.

The other putative *madrasa* is a shoddily-published structure found in excavations at Rayy in the late 1930s. Godard himself, the source of all the information available, at first expressed himself with reserve as to its function but eventually shed such caution and treated the identification as a certainty. Nevertheless, he produced no arguments to offset his earlier qualms about the eccentric orientation of the structure and its equally atypical emphasis—by means of the differential size of the *īwāns*—on the east-west rather than the north-south axis. It must also be admitted that the 16 habitable spaces which together parcel out the ground plan do not correspond in their layout to any known *madrasa*. All this being

admitted, it would be still more accurate to say that as mediaeval bours of this kind is known either, that 10 of the ground floor spaces could well have functioned as cells accommodating one or several students, to say nothing of the capacity of an upper floor, and that cases of the faulty orientation of religious buildings are legion in mediaeval Islam and that the difficulties of that kind presented by this building disappear if one assumes that the west *īwān* is intended to function as if it faced south-west, the direction of the *ḳibla*. Finally, and most significantly of all, the presence of a *miḥrāb* is not easily explained away. Unfortunately, Godard's plan does not mark it, so that to identify it as a *miḥrāb* is itself somewhat hazardous. Nevertheless, despite the fact that in its present *locus*, on display in the Tehran Museum, it is largely a figment of the restorer's imagination, the published photograph of it *in situ* shows clearly enough the Kūfic Kūfic inscription which it bore. The presence of a *miḥrāb* with a Kur'ānic inscription in a private house takes somewhat more explaining than does the eccentric orientation of a *madrasa*. Even so, it may be felt that the building at Ray presents rather more problems of identification than does its counterpart at Khargird. Whatever conclusion is reached, it is regrettable that the undoubtedly seminal rule of Iran in the early development of the *madrasa* is so unjustly obscured by the lack of early surviving specimens whose claims to be *madrasas* are not disputed.

It is with some relief, therefore, that one turns to an examination of the surviving *madrasas* whose identification as such is incontrovertible. The earliest of these, two *madrasas* of Gümushtigin in Boṣrā, bears a disappointingly late date—530/1136—and is located in Syria, an area which has not yet entered the discussion. It is followed in brisk succession by some fourteen surviving *madrasas* in Syria all dated or datable before 700/1300, and the literary evidence confirms that these are only a fraction of what was built in this period and has since vanished—82 *madrasas* are mentioned in the detailed chronicle of mediaeval Damascus, for example, and 46 in the more summary account of mediaeval Aleppo (see above, section I, 4).

These numbers, impressive though they are, need not, however, be interpreted as confirmation of the primacy of Syria in the architectural development of the *madrasa*. Nor, *pace* Creswell, can this honour be claimed by Egypt without further ado. He lists some 19 *madrasas* in Cairo dated before 700/1300, and of these a scant four have remained. From the undoubted fact that the latter group includes the first cruciform four-*īwān madrasa* to survive he has built an elaborate edifice of argument designed to establish the innovatory role of the Egyptian *madrasa*.

As will shortly be apparent, however, the area with the largest number of surviving *madrasas* datable before 1300 is Saldjūḳ Anatolia, which boasts no less than 30 examples, 9 of these datable in the 6th/12th century. Egypt and Syria together cannot match the latter tally, and indeed have only a third as many *madrasas* datable before 700/1300. Yet these buildings figure not at all in Creswell's history of this architectural type. Common sense dictates that the Anatolian *madrasas*, built in an area culturally dependent on Iran and geographically close to it by patrons who themselves sprang from Great Saldjūḳ stock would be likely to reflect the Saldjūḳ *madrasas* of Iran, whose decisive role in the formation of the genre has never seriously been questioned. Iranian influence may in any case readily be detected in the plan types, brickwork and tile decoration of much of Rūm Saldjūḳ architecture. The historical background outlined above encourages the assumption that it is precisely in these unfortunately vanished Iranian Saldjūḳ *madrasas* that the essential original lineaments of the official *madrasa* are to be sought. Hence the paramount historical importance of the Anatolian Saldjūḳ *madrasas* as the closest surviving relatives of the Iranian type. Many of their features are duplicated in contemporary Syrian *madrasas*, which may be seen as a parallel and coeval group.

Returning to the Boṣrā *madrasa*, one notes that, like most Syrian *madrasas*, it is diminutive, for all that its patron was a senior *amīr* serving the Atabegs of Damascus, its external dimensions do not exceed ca 16 × 17 m. On this tiny scale, there is scarcely room for a proper courtyard, and the space which would normally be designated as such is domed, a feature which was to recur a century later in some of the Saldjūḳ *madrasas* in Konya and elsewhere. Two lateral *īwāns* open off this space, while a prayer hall and a kind of narthex to the north, the latter reached by narrow entrance vestibules to east and west, fill up most of the remaining area. In this single-storey building, the only space left over is the area flanking the prayer hall, which yields two rooms per side. Since these each average less than 4 m square, the total number of students accommodated in this *madrasa* can scarcely have exceeded a dozen. Such a building will simply not fit the popular image of officially sponsored *madrasas* located strategically throughout the Saldjūḳ empire and serving, at least in part, significant political ends.

Later Syrian *madrasas* rejected many of the solutions found in the example at Boṣrā. Perhaps the most distinctive local characteristic was to be the laterally developed prayer hall entered by a triple archway and vaulted in a variety of ways (*Dār al-Ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], Damascus, between 549/1154 and 569/1174; Madrasa Khān al-Tutun, Aleppo, 564/1168-9; Madrasa of Nūr al-Dīn, Damascus, 567/1172; and Madrasa of Shādbakht, Aleppo, 589/1193 among others). Sometimes the central bay of the *maṣṭaba* is domed, with groin vaults covering the flanking bays (Shāfi'ī Madrasa, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, 595/1199) though tunnel vaults for these bays are commoner, but in other examples all these bays are groin-vaulted (Ādiliyya Madrasa, Damascus, completed 619/1222-3) or domed (Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, Aleppo, 616/1219-20, Djāmi' and Madrasa of al-Firdaws, Aleppo 633/1235-6). Recurrent features of these buildings include a *miḥrāb* which projects on the exterior of the *ḳibla* wall, a mausoleum or on occasion even two, occupying an angle of the building, a tank in the centre of the courtyard, and utilitarian accessories like wells and air-shafts. Most of these *madrasas* have *two īwāns* but only one—the example at Boṣrā—has a pair of *īwāns* facing each other across an empty space. Altogether exceptional is a joint foundation: the *Ghāzī-cum-madrasa* of al-Firdaws, Aleppo, which not only has two large *īwāns*—back to back but also two small but self-contained courtyard units, each with a pair of *īwāns* facing each other across the court, an intimately domestic arrangement encountered earlier in palaces and caravanserais.

The emphasis on one rather than several *īwāns* may reflect the fact that the great majority of these buildings—all but seven of the 22 *madrasas*

in Damascus and Aleppo which pre-date 700/1300 and are recorded in the literary sources—were erected to serve a single *madhhab* and therefore required only one location for teaching. But this is merely supposition, for the two-*iwān madrasa* at Boṣrā was built to serve the Ḥanafī *madhhab* alone, while the two-rite Sulṭāniyya *madrasa* at Aleppo (founded 620/1223-4) has no *iwān* at all. It therefore seems equally possible that any causal connection between the number of *iwāns* in a Syrian *madrasa* and the number of *madhhabs* which it served is more apparent than real. This conclusion seems all the more appropriate when it is remembered that neither Anatolian nor Iranian *madrasas* attest any consistent connection between the number of *iwāns* in a *madrasa* and the number of *madhhabs* which it serves. Against this wider perspective the Egyptian cruciform four-rite *madrasa* is nothing short of freakish, reflecting perhaps a conciliatory religious policy on the part of the founder. Not surprisingly it remained very rare, the overwhelming majority of mediaeval *madrasas* throughout the Islamic world were built to serve a single *madhhab*.

A cursory examination of the Syrian *madrasas* is enough to establish that the provision of student accommodation was not a major priority. The information available on this score is unfortunately not very precise, for most of these buildings are long since disaffected and modern houses have encroached on them. But the Boṣrā *madrasa*, as noted above, suggests in the gross disproportion between public and private space that the structure was purpose-built to accommodate no more than a handful of students, and that its catchment area was probably no wider than Boṣrā itself. Nūr al-Dīn's *Dār al-Ḥadīth* in Damascus also seems to have had no more than four rooms, and although the other surviving Syrian *madrasas* are more generously provided with student cells, not one of them approaches the larger Maghribī *madrasas*, let alone those of Iran, for capacity. The Khān al-Tutun *madrasa* in Aleppo probably had ten cells, while the Nūr al-Dīn *madrasa* in Damascus, and the Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* in Aleppo, had 16 disposed in two stories. If so, they had the most generous housing capacity to be found in surviving contemporary Syrian *madrasas*. The most unusual solution of all, however, as noted above, was the introduction of two minute courtyard houses, each one complete with several irregularly shaped cells, on either side of the great double *iwān* of the *dīwān-cum-madrasa* of al-Firdaws, Aleppo. But even this very carefully designed building leaves inexplicably little space in the layout for student cells. One is driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the patronage directed towards the building of *madrasas* in Syria was deliberately kept on a small scale, possibly because nearly all of them were built to serve (exclusively?) a single *madhhab*, or else, they might have been meant more as oratories for the daily use of the local population than as *madrasas tout court*, a practice recorded in Maghribī *madrasas*.

Some or all of these factors may well have been operative in Ayyūbid Syria. But they are scarcely enough to account for the phenomenon of such large numbers of small *madrasas*. The answer seems rather to lie in local circumstances. To begin with, the topography of these *madrasas* is itself revealing. They are crammed into the nooks and crannies of ancient, densely populated cities, where building space was at a premium. There would be no question here of a state-inspired blueprint imposed regardless of local conditions. Sociologically, too, the picture differs from that presented by Iran, ʿIrāḳ or Anatolia. The patrons are not the sultans themselves but lesser *amīrs*, their wives or mothers, or local notables. Such people were well to do but not necessarily rich or with free access to public funds. Thus the buildings had, so to speak, a wider social base than their equivalents elsewhere in the Islamic world. Sometimes the endowment even specified the conditions of use for example, that the teacher appointed was forbidden to teach anywhere else. This individual approach is reflected in the very varied layout of these *madrasas* which show the architect grappling with a unique site. For Ayyūbid patrons, it seems, small was beautiful. Small was also functional. Since *madrasas* were built by the score in the larger cities it would have been wasteful to give them a large capacity, just as it would have been wasteful to decorate them lavishly. What decoration there is, however, maintains a high level of quality and is not off by the consistently fine stereotomy of Syrian tradition. The stone vaulting of the time deserves particular commendation. Thus these *madrasas* were firmly rooted in a topographical, sociological and artistic context which depended little on external influence.

Perhaps the main distinguishing feature of these Syrian *madrasas* is the inclusion of a mausoleum (*turba* [*q.v.*] or *turba*). Indeed, it is doubtful whether the connection between the *madrasa* and the mausoleum was ever closer than it was in Ayyūbid Syria. Once again epigraphy provides a clue for this, for inscriptions in the Sulṭāniyya and Aṭābakiyya *madrasas*, located in Aleppo and Damascus respectively, refer to the recitation of the Ḳurʾān there. Provision was made for this recitation to be unceasing—an Islamic parallel for the Christian custom of paying for masses to be said for the souls of the dead. Burial in a *madrasa*, then, was—like burial in the neighbourhood of a saint—intended at least in part to confer *baraka* upon the dead. It was in Syria rather than in Egypt that the exaltation of the mausoleum at the expense of the *madrasa* proper can first be traced, time and again it is the mausoleum which has the favoured site of the street façade, with the *madrasa* modestly tucked away virtually out of sight. In sheer surface area, the mausoleum is apt to rival, if not exceed, the *madrasa*. Small wonder, then, that it has even been suggested that the terms *turba* ("mausoleum") and *madrasa* were interchangeable in this period. On the other hand, the notion of ensemble which underlies a modern term like "funerary *madrasa*" is belied by the epigraphic evidence, which suggests that the *turba* element and the *madrasa* element both had their own foundation inscriptions. This practice has often obscured the original intention of the founder, for it has resulted in many now free-standing *turbas* being identified as simple mausolea rather than as part of a funerary *madrasa* (*e.g.* Farrukh Shāhiyya and Amdjadiyya *turbas*, Damascus). Conversely, it sometimes happens that the inscription of a *turba* may mention the *madrasa* of which the mausoleum was part, and may indeed be the only surviving evidence that such a *madrasa* ever existed (ʿIzziyya *madrasa*, Damascus).

The intimate symbiosis of *turba* and *madrasa* is epitomised by a curious joint foundation in Damascus. The Farrukh Shāhiyya *madrasa*, with the mausoleum of ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh attached, dates from 578 or 579/1182-3. A generation later, in 628/1230, another *madrasa* was built beside it and this

tion was provided with a mausoleum, which housed the son of ʿIzz al-Dīn, al-Malik al-Amdjad. Father and son, then, are buried in adjacent *turbas*; the *turba* of the former is, perhaps appropriately, the larger of the two. Similar pairs of tombs survive in Damascus and later in Mamlūk *madrasas*. If the *madrasas* of Ayyūbid Syria were analysed from the purely formal point of view, with no backward glance at their eastern origins, the obvious conclusion would be that a major, if not indeed the primary, purpose of the institution was to contain a monumental mausoleum. Is it fair to assume, then, that the term *madrasa* did not have a consistent meaning throughout the mediaeval Islamic world? Certainly, Ayyūbid Syria provides evidence suggesting that the term did not connote one single type of building. Thus the *Dār al-Hadīth* or al-Ashrafiyya in Damascus (634/1237) is called a *madrasa* in its foundation inscription, and in its sequence of entrance vestibule, prayer hall and *turba* conforms to the standard type of contemporary *madrasa* as illustrated by the Murshidiyya *madrasa* in Damascus. Conversely, the Kitābiyya, also in Damascus, is defined in its foundation inscription as an institution for teaching *hadīth*, but is identical in form to the Murshidiyya. As in Iran and Egypt, it was common for a private house to be converted into a *madrasa*, but more ambitious conversions are also recorded and it is these that testify yet again to the loose boundaries between mediaeval Islamic building types. Thus the Halāwiyya *madrasa* in Aleppo was successively a church and a mosque before it became a *madrasa*, while the Marīdāniyya served in turn as a *madrasa*, burial ground and mosque. Thus the mere fact that a structure was founded with a given purpose in mind was no guarantee that it would continue to function as such, especially if the value of its endowment fell, it might easily shed some functions or acquire additional ones. The absence of any sign of student cells in many of these admittedly half-ruined Ayyūbid *madrasas* invites speculation that at least some of these foundations were never intended to be residential.

If the Syrian *madrasa* tradition, as it developed during the scant century of its heyday, is analysed as a whole, the sheer variety of types encountered cannot fail to make an impression. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these differences are not casual or contingent on the local topography, but rather reflect a basic uncertainty about the ideal form such buildings should take. For a long time, Syrian architects were sidetracked by the influence exerted by the mosque. The prestige of that long-established model helps to explain why ideas derived from mosque design permeate these *madrasas*. They were after all religious buildings. The Shādbakhtiyya *madrasa* in Aleppo (589/1193) is essentially a mosque writ small, especially in its laterally developed domed *maṣallā*, and to judge by the plan alone, the teaching function of the building is plainly secondary.

Since Fāṭimid Egypt was officially Shīʿī, it was impossible for the explicitly Sunnī *madrasa* movement to establish itself there, or for that matter anywhere else in the Fāṭimid domains, before the fall of that dynasty in 565/1170. Within five years of that date, however, under the militant orthodoxy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn there were already as many *madrasas* in Cairo, swiftly to be followed, no doubt at least partly for propaganda reasons, by examples at Mecca and Medina. However, the long start which Syria had enjoyed in building *madrasas* seems to have resulted in a more lavish provision of these buildings on that area than in Egypt, whose the total recorded before 700/1300 is only 31, about a third of the comparable figure in Anatolia or in Damascus alone. These figures are enough in themselves to cast doubt on the supposed primacy of Egypt in the architectural development of the *madrasa*.

The building of *madrasas* in Cairo gathered new momentum with the coming of the Mamlūks. The largely vanished Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* (660 a/1262-3) of Sultan Baybars was a gigantic *4-īwān* structure with a stalactite portal probably of Syrian inspiration, a theme repeated in the deep niches with *muḳarnas* hoods which articulated its façade. This building inaugurates, if indeed it was not preceded by some comparably magnificent earlier *madrasa*, the distinguished tradition of Cairene *madrasas* with splendid façades and interiors to match. Anatolia was about a generation earlier in this development, so far as surviving evidence indicates, while Syria lagged behind.

This notable degree of splendour can be explained on both political and economic grounds. Mamlūk *madrasas* in Cairo are overwhelmingly the product of royal or high official patronage, a fact consistently reflected in the names they bear and in their lavish decoration. Outward splendour would be the natural corollary of such patronage. But it would be inaccurate simply to treat these buildings as instances of conspicuous consumption, even though the lengths to which an *amīr* or sultan would go to secure a fashionable site with ample street frontage do suggest such a conclusion. Many of them were endowed far more generously than their size and therefore the scope of their activities dictated, and while these endowments (*awḳāf*) were inalienable under Islamic law, that same law permitted any surplus from an endowment to be applied to the benefit of the descendants of the original endower. The more lavish the endowment, therefore, the more such a foundation would approximate to an investment. Not surprisingly it was among the first concerns of an *amīr*, upon reaching power, to found some charitable institution, nor was there any bar to his adding piecemeal to its endowment over the years.

Perhaps the most ambitious of these multi-purpose Mamlūk foundations, and the one which seems to have set the fashion for such institutions, is the *māristān* tomb and *madrasa* of Sultan Ḳalāwūn, the whole built in a mere thirteen months (683-4/1284-5). As to the case of the Ṣāliḥiyya (639/1242), its internal arrangements are at odds with its façade, which at nearly 70 m is exceptionally long and to which in a sense the whole building is subordinated. Mausoleum and *madrasa* are rendered by a long corridor which led to the now largely-vanished hospital. It is no doubt significant that the Mausoleum, now enlarged by a functionally dispensable courtyard, occupies a far larger proportion of the inscribed tomb and *madrasa* portion of the ensemble than it did in the Ṣāliḥiyya. The *madrasa* itself has a generous courtyard with two *īwāns* on the longitudinal axis and cells disposed laterally. Its most notable feature is without doubt the *īwān* which is divided into three naves and therefore explicitly associated with the traditional architecture of the mosque. Interestingly enough, Ḳalāwūn's son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, himself built a mausoleum-*cum-madrasa* cheek by jowl with his father's great foundation, and in this later ensemble (695-703/1295-1303), the mausoleum is relegated to a subsidiary role beside a substantial *4-īwān madrasa*.

This latter building has the peculiar distinction of being the first known cruciform *madrasa* intended to serve all four *madhāhib*.

By common consent, the masterpiece among these Mamlūk ensembles, (150 × 68 m.), and certainly the largest of them was the mosque, *madrasa* and mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥasan (757-64/1356-63). Its lofty portal, originally designed to have flanking minarets, and with a spacious vestibule behind it, bears the unmistakable imprint of Anatolian Saldjūḳ architecture, but most of the detailing within is typically Cairene. At first sight, the layout seems familiar enough, focussed as it is on an ample 4-*īwān* plan. But—and here again foreign influence, this time from Iran, must be taken into account—this cruciform plan is employed, exceptionally in the case of Egypt for a mosque, while each *madhhab* has its own *madrasa* in one of the corners between the arms of the cross. The sultan's own mausoleum, a gigantic dome chamber, extends the full width of the *ḳibla īwān* and is placed (emphatically not in Iranian fashion) directly behind the *ḳibla* wall. It therefore usurps the position of the domed sanctuary in the classical Iranian mosque. The building thus epitomises the vitality and versatility of the traditional 4 *īwān* formula.

Several prestigious Mamlūk buildings in Cairo, such as the various funerary *madrasas* of Sulṭān Shaʿbān and his family, followed the lead of the Sulṭān Ḥasan ensemble. But its principal impact on later buildings was through its 4-*īwān* schema, which henceforth was to be repeatedly used for mosque architecture until the Ottoman conquest. In other words, the architecture of the *madrasa* had now come to influence that of the mosque. Indeed, the unprecedented expansion of the *ḳibla īwān* into a full-scale *maḳṣūra* in later Mamlūk buildings (e.g. the Kʾit Bay complex) can only be explained by such a process. Presumably the decisive factor was that the mosque thereby gained a large unbroken space for the *muṣallā*, which—unlike mosques with arcaded or columned *maṣāllās*—allowed all the congregation to see the *miḥrāb*. This inherent advantage of the *īwān* schema had not been seized at the time that the Ḳalāwūn ensemble was built, and thus the *ḳibla īwān* there is treated like a traditional *muṣallā* and parcelled up by arcades, a device continued in the mosque-*madrasa* of Barḳūḳ (786-8/1384-6). Moreover, even as late as the funerary *madrasa* of Barḳūḳ (801-15/1399-1412), a set of domed bays forming miniature compartments take up the areas normally reserved for *īwāns*. The liturgical distinction between the *ḳibla īwān* and the subsidiary ones was expressed in architectural terms too. The former was vaulted, and thereby given the illusion of still greater spaciousness, while the scale of the latter was reduced and their ceilings were now flat.

For the *madrasa* to influence mosque design was indeed a momentous change, it signalled a new relationship between the two buildings. Earlier, the dependent status of the *madrasa* had been vividly expressed by the way it had been tacked on, very much in the manner of an afterthought, to the parent structure. Examples abound, they include the *madrasa* of 507/1113-14 beside the Great Mosque of Urfa and a trio of *madrasas*—those of the amīrs Ṭaybars (709/1309-10), Akbugha (740/1340) and Djawhar (before 844/1440)—attached to the Azhar mosque in Cairo. Henceforth, however, these two institutions could combine their functions within a single building (which was highly desirable given the chronic shortage of space in Cairo) and with minimum trespass of one upon the other. For it is noticeable that in the Sulṭān Ḥasan complex a novel solution for the *madrasa* has been devised: not only does each *madhhab* occupy a corner of the building, but certain aspects of the traditional full-scale *madrasa* are retained even on this miniature scale. The cells for students are clustered on two sides of a diminutive courtyard, except in the case of the Mālikī *madrasa* situated in the western corner, where the exigencies of the site bisected the space available. Since the Mālikī rite enjoyed relatively less popularity than the other three (though the Mālikī professor was allotted the prestigious *ḳibla īwān* in the funerary *madrasa* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir), this solution was not as unjust to that *madhhab* as might at first appear. Furthermore, the small size of the student cells meant that their numbers and dimensions could be readily adjusted to fill the space available, thereby obviating the need to encroach on the mosque proper. Presumably, however, the four *īwāns* were used for teaching purposes outside the hours of prayer, the association between *īwāns* and teaching had been rooted for a good two centuries in Syria and thence Egypt, thus the Mamlūk historian al-Maḳrīzī, in his description of the mausoleum and *madrasa* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, lists the four lecturers—one from each *madhhab*—who were first appointed to teach there, and specifies the *īwān* allotted to each one. The lack of subsidiary *miḥrābs* in the lateral *īwāns* is sufficient indication that their role as places for prayer was not paramount.

At the mosque-*madrasa* of Barḳūḳ, built a generation later (786-8/1384-6) the emphasis is reversed in favour of the *madrasa* without any fundamental change in plan. Thereafter, while true 4-*īwān* mosques or *madrasas* remained the exception rather than the rule in Egypt (e.g. the foundations of Djamāl al-Dīn of 811/1408 and Sulṭān Ināl of 860/1465), the principle that the same building could serve both functions was unassailable. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century Mamlūk architecture a marked propensity to use *īwāns*, though the combinations varies widely—one, two or three *īwāns* may be used in conjunction with courtyards, halls, mausolea or sets of smaller chambers, acute shortage of space was no doubt a contributory factor in these developments.

The diminutive scale of many Circassian Mamlūk foundations necessarily excluded ample accommodation for students, but to make up for the difficulties inherent in lateral expansion many of these foundations extended upwards instead, comprising two or even—in the case of the 4-*īwān* funerary *madrasa* of Amīr Surghatmish (757/1356)—three stories which, in the latter example, all contain cells for students. The case of the tiny but elegant *madrasa* of the Amīr Mithḳāl, datable to the period between 761/1362 and 776/1374, and measuring a mere 10 m. per side, shows that the practice of allocating separate stories to the functions of worship and to those of teaching and/or accommodation had already established itself in pre-Circassian times. Relieved of the requirement to fit student cells into the ground floor of a cramped, awkward site, the architect could create an ordered and even ample layout by expanding the 4-*īwān* plan to take up virtually all the available space, with special emphasis on a laterally placed *muṣallā* which stretches the full width of the building. Without a comparably bold solution such a building would be undesirably cloistered, indeed claustrophobic. An airshaft

(*malḥaf*) is another means of countering the unduly inward-looking quality of such buildings. In the Muṯḳāliyya, store-room take up what little area remains on the ground floor, while the two upper floors are reserved for living and lecture rooms and a library. The mezzanine floor is not continuous but is confined to the lateral ḫwāṣṣ which have wooden ceilings of their springing and above this are closed by *maḳṣūra* grilles giving into the rooms behind. Thus was created the so called "hanging *madrasa*", a natural development from earlier "hanging" or "suspended" mosques in the same city. The funerary *madrasa* of Zayn al-Dīn (697/1298) may have been a forerunner of this type. Like many other Mamlūk *madrasas*, the Muṯḳāliyya was sited close to the private quarters of its patron—indeed, as at Nīshāpūr centuries earlier, a private house (*baʾt*) was frequently turned into a *madrasa* after its owner's death and named after him (e.g. the still-surviving *Madrasa al-Ghaznawiyya* in Cairo, dated 774/1372-3, and this case can be supplemented by a dozen literary references). In both types of building, the two-*īwān* plan is normal though not mandatory. The interdependence of private home and *madrasa* is highlighted by the absence of staircases between ground and first floor in the original composition. It seems, therefore, that the *madrasa* proper can only have been reached via such private quarters as adjoined it, presumably those of the *amīr* himself. The *madrasa* in turn would have provided access for buildings behind it.

Among the surviving *madrasas* in Cairo one type is clearly predominant—the funerary *madrasa*. So traditional was this kind of building in Cairo that (to judge by surviving structures) it was the *madrasa tout court* that remained exceptional. In the earlier funerary *madrasas*, the mausoleum occupied such a significant portion of the ensemble that it is appropriate to describe such structures as joint foundations. Five such monuments survive dated between 697/1298 and 725/1325 alone, and they were only gradually superseded by foundations of still wider scope. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *madrasa* was a convenient means of justifying the mausoleum—for the latter building type of course flouted Islamic orthodoxy. An early example of this process is the vanished *madrasa* built in conjunction with a magnificent mausoleum near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) in 572-5/1176-80. This ensemble conferred an implied legal recognition on the cult of mausoles, after all, if a funerary *madrasa* could be erected in honour of the founder of one of the four major *maḏāhib*, the practice could henceforth safely be regarded as unimpeachable. Nevertheless, the mausoleum continued to provide the true *raison dʾêtre* of such monuments, and visually it almost invariably usurps pride of place. This is particularly evident when the ensemble includes two mausolea instead of one (funerary *madrasa* of Sālār and Sanjar al-Dāwūdī, 703/1303-4), although later in the century such double mausolea appropriately enough take second place to the *madrasa* itself (*madrasa* of Khwānd al-Baraka, also known as that of Shaʿbān, 770/1368-9). The inclusion of minarets, which by this time were too common in the city for fresh ones to be anything but redundant, may also have been designed to ward off pious disapproval. Even so, it was the minaret and the mausoleum, not the *madrasa* itself, which gave these buildings their distinctive stamp externally. Perhaps the competition of these already well-established building types was one of the factors which prevented the *madrasa* from developing its own instantly recognisable form. A modest edifice in the name of al-Malik al-Ḍāhir Baybars (713/1313), described as a *masjid* in its inscription, even though the new demolished rooms on the roof, the striking resemblance to the slightly later Muṯḳāliyya and the historical evidence all point to its being a *madrasa*, epitomises the simplicity and austerity of the *madrasa* once shorn of such parasitic structures. It is the first Cairene *madrasa* to have the *iwān* roofed in the Anatolian manner. This feature continues in later *madrasas* and results in the courtyard shrinking to the level of a large room (*madrasa* of Kāʾit Bay, 880/1475).

These remarks should not be construed to suggest that Cairene *madrasas* served exclusively educational, religious or funerary purposes. A casual reminiscence set down by al-Maḳrīzī indicated that the *madrasa*-mausoleum of the Amīr Ḳarāsunḳur was used as a hostel by couriers of the *barīd* service preparing for their return journey to Syria and elsewhere. The same source mentions a *rubāṭ* for women attached to the *madrasa* and mausoleum of the Amīr Sunḳur Saʿdī (715/1315). But above all, the *madrasa* provided a focus both for the relentless emulation of the Mamlūk *amīrs* in architectural projects and for their desire to make financial provision for their descendants.

Just as the *madrasas* of Syria in the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries yield valuable data not available from Egypt as monuments, so reciprocally do Mamlūk Egyptian *madrasas* fill the information gap in Syria. The sudden decline in *madrasa* building in Syria after 648/1250 can safely be associated with the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty, whose power was centred there.

This decline is not reflected solely in *madrasas*; it is a widespread characteristic of later mediaeval architecture in Syria, and is only to be expected given the henceforth provincial status of the area. After the death of Baybars, whose own really career adequately explains his interest in Syria, it was very rare for a Mamlūk sultan to undertake an important building project in the province. Jerusalem, on the other hand, by virtue of its exalted status in the Islamic world, continued to benefit from the architectural patronage of the Mamlūk sultans right up to the death of Kāʾit Bay.

Syrian *madrasas* of the Mamlūk period, then, are significantly below the level of contemporary work in Cairo. Moreover, they were built in significantly smaller numbers than under the Ayyūbids, for under the Mamlūks the emphasis of patronage shifted to mausolea and funerary mosques. Even so, it is well-nigh impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between either of these categories and the *madrasa*; there is no significant difference in layout between the tomb of Shaykh Nakhlawī (730/1330), the funerary mosque of Sīdī Shuʿayb (ca. 800/ca. 1400) and the funerary *madrasa* of Shaykh Ḥasan Rāʾī al-Ḥimṣī, all in the same city (863/1459). Single-tomb structures combined with a much larger laterally developed *muṣallā*, sometimes with a vestibule continued to be built, and these could equally well bear the name mosque (Turuziyya, Damascus, 825/1423) or *madrasa* (Diḳmaḳiyya, Damascus, rebuilt and enlarged 822/1419). Thus in Mamlūk as in Ayyūbid times, the term *madrasa* did not connote exclusively one kind of building or one particular function. Other continuities may readily be noted. The Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* in Damascus, for example, dated 767/1277-8 and containing the

mausoleum of Baybars, is essentially still in the Ayyūbid architectural tradition. Its steep narrow portal, focussed on a *muḳarnas* vault ending in a scallop-shaped niche, does however find its natural parallels in other Baḥrī Mamlūk buildings in Cairo. Some *madrasas*, such as the Turūnṭā'iyya in Aleppo (794/1392) and two such portals, neither in any way integrated with the principal features of the building. This *madrasa*, incidentally, combines in a new way many of the standard features of earlier Syrian *madrasas*: around its spacious central courtyard are disposed a *muṣallā* extending the entire width of the *ḳibla* side, arched colonnades with rooms above on the two long sides and a huge *īwān*, presumably for teaching, occupying all the north side. The role of mosque played by many Mamlūk *madrasas* in Syria is advertised by the addition of a minaret (Madrasa Ṣafāḥiyya built by the *ḥāǧǧ* Ibn al-Ṣafīḥ as 869/1464 and Madrasa Anṣāriyya, both in Aleppo).

Attention so far has been focussed on the Mamlūk *madrasas* of Damascus and Aleppo, and the evidence cited makes it clear enough that these buildings fall substantially below the standards set by contemporary Cairene *madrasas*. Another local school flourished in Tripoli (*madrasas* of al-ʿAǧamiyya (766/1365) and al-Ḵẖāṭūniyya (774/1373-4), but this too could not rival Cairo. As noted above, it is in Jerusalem that most of the best provincial Mamlūk architecture is to be found, and thus is as true al *madrasas* as of any other building type. Particularly worthy of note is the sparse but exquisite applied and architectonic decoration of these buildings, including stellar vaulting (Madrasa al-Dawādāriyya, ca. 697/1297), niches with radial or *muḳarnas* vaulting (Ḵẖāṭūniyya, 784/1383 and Salāmiyya, ca. 700/ca. 1300 respectively) and entrance recesses with trefoil heads (Tashṭimuriyya, ca. 783/ca. 1384, Muṭahariyya, 885/1480-1). These and other Jerusalem *madrasas* (e.g. the Ḏj̲awhariyya, 844/1440 and even the early Ottoman Risāsiyya, 942/1540) concentrate attention upon the entrance. This feature is easily explained. Streets were very narrow and the buildings bordering them constituted a succession of cliff-like façades. No one building, however, had a street frontage of any substantial length. Thus the custom developed of leaving most of the façade plain and confining applied and *architectonic ornament to the entrance and perhaps* the windows. The doorway itself tended to be much smaller than the slender, lofty entrance rooms into which it was set, and was normally crowned by a *muḳarnas* composition enclosing the inevitable epigraphic panel trumpeting the name and titles of the founder.

The self-same shortage of space which had conditioned the characteristic local exterior façade ensured that in residential *madrasas* the cells were disposed on two or even three stories. There is even a case of a *madrasa* being extended over the roof of an adjoining *ribāṭ* (Ḏj̲awhariyya *madrasa*, 844/1440). In such cramped conditions it is not surprising to find that the 4 *īwān* plan used on more spacious sites in contemporary Cairo is apt to be reduced, for example by the suppression of lateral *īwāns* as in the Muṭahariyya *madrasa*. Here the portal gives on to a vestibule which leads into an *īwān* facing a courtyard, probably once covered, with a *ḳibla īwān* opposite.

There can be little question that the most important of these Mamlūk *madrasas* built outside Cairo is the Ashrafiyya erected in Jerusalem by Ḳā'it Bāy in 887/1482. This was the third extension and rebuilding of the monument, which was already a major institution staffed by an indefinite number of shaykhs, *fuḳahā'* and 60 Ṣūfīs, all salaried. Several reasons combine to lend it special distinction. To begin with, it attests the patronage of the sultan himself, a rare occurrence—as already noted—in provincial Mamlūk *madrasas*. Secondly, its location in a favoured site along the inner façade of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf would confer *baraka* on it to an unusual degree. Earlier in the Mamlūk period, several *madrasas* had been erected along the Ḥaram, but the visual impact of the Ashrafiyya is much greater. Ḳā'it Bāy's patronage must however be assessed against a wider context than the purely local ambience of the Ḥaram, or indeed of Jerusalem itself. A short time previously, he had erected *madrasas* within the precinct of the Ḥaram in Mecca (882-4/1477-9) and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Like his foundation in Jerusalem, these buildings are so designed that their windows look out upon the sacred enclosures in each case. Thus the Ashrafiyya falls into place as one component in a religio-political master plan expressing imperial Mamlūk involvement in the holy places of Islam. The foundations of al-Walīd I nearly eight centuries before provide an obvious parallel. Finally, the Ashrafiyya possesses intrinsic distinction on account of its architecture alone. Seen as a whole, the inner façade of the Ḥaram emphasises the motif of arcading above all others. The architect of the Ashrafiyya was therefore constrained to reject the model presented by earlier Mamlūk *madrasas* in the city, with their emphasis on high blank façades and block-like design. An open-arcaded façade had no functional justification in a *madrasa*. But this device did permit the Ashrafiyya to blend fairly naturally with its surroundings; not content with the prime site which the *madrasa* already occupied, as close as practicable to the Dome of the Rock, Ḳā'it Bāy took the major step of sanctioning the extension of the *madrasa* façade, which until then had remained flush with the open arcade fronting the inner side of the Ḥaram enclosure, so that it projected well beyond the arcade. It was a brutally simple way of drawing attention to his new foundation. Earlier *madrasas* bordering the Ḥaram enclosure and indeed forming with the Ashrafiyya a continuous band of monuments, such as the *Tankiziyya* (*729/1328*) the *Ḥaladiyya* (*783/1380*) and the *ʿUthmāniyya* (840/1437), had by contrast all respected the extant portico. The Ashrafiyya was regarded in its time as one of the three jewels of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, a distinction expressed in symbolic fashion in 882/1477 when, like these other two buildings, it was specially illuminated to celebrate the visit of a Mamlūk *amīr* to Jerusalem. Nor is this all. A detailed analysis of the building shows that its silhouette was very carefully designed to make an impact from a few selected viewpoints; it would be interesting to look for comparable evidence of sensitivity to the urban skyline on the part of Islamic architects elsewhere. The immediate source for this unwonted emphasis on the skyline, as for the presence of a minaret which is exceptional in the Syrian context, is likely to be Cairo. Cairo, too, as will be shown below, provides the fullest context for the recast, not to say deformed, cruciform *īwān* scheme encountered at the Ashrafiyya.

The ensemble takes an unusual form which is due only in part to the exigencies of the site. At ground floor level it comprises three elements. The most important of these is a large assembly hall (*maḳʿad*)

whose capacity and spatial extent are much reduced by the architect's decision to retain in his remodelling (the original piers of) the arcade enclosing the Haram. Here congregated the judges, *fuḳahāʾ* and other notables connected with the *madrasa*. Behind the hall is a series of three adjoining square or rectangular rooms whose western walls abut the Baladiyya *madrasa*, they neatly subdivide an awkward lateral corridor of space. The third component of the ground floor layout is the entrance complex, which comprises a vaulted porch open on all four sides and leading to the entrance itself flanked by stone benches (*maṣāṭib*), which opens into a tripartite vestibule within. The first floor is ingeniously and tightly planned to serve as a self contained *madrasa*. As such it immediately recalls, for example, the Djawhariyya *madrasa* in Jerusalem itself, which like the Ashrafiyya is intimately dovetailed with a pre-existing structure, or the Muḥibbiyya *madrasa* in Cairo. The first floor unit divides naturally into two areas, one north of the minaret above the staircase and the other west of it. The latter area consists of an L-shaped open air terrace (*iṣṭaba*) with twenty rooms, disposed roughly on uneven pairs, to the south and five identical rooms plus a washroom (*mutawaḍḍaʾ*) to the west. Even if the larger rooms are excluded and only symmetrically repetitive chambers are identified as student cells, the number of resident students which were catered for here can scarcely have been less than twenty. Its sister foundation in Mecca had (according to one account) forty students attended by four lecturers (*mudarrisūn*) plus a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*), Kurʾān reciters (*ḳurrāʾ*) and, somewhat surprisingly, muezzins. The area north of the minaret comprises another open air terrace to the west, lavatories with a reservoir, and a remarkably compact cruciform *madrasa* adjoining the terrace to the east and thus placed directly above the *maḳṣūra*, comprising a rectangular hall some 22.7 × 22.1 m. in area. The east *īwān* of this takes pride of place among the others since it is the one which looks out on to the Haram. It has in effect been transformed into an open loggia offering spectacular views over the Haram. This architectural form, known as *maḳʿad al-ṣayf*, has a wide distribution in domestic architecture throughout the Near East, and may parenthetically be compared with similar forms in contemporary Renaissance architecture, it underlines yet again the deep roots of the *madrasa* in domestic prototypes. But this development, for all its domestic flavour, also had religious implications, for the view from this loggia was over one of the holiest sites in the Islamic world. A note of luxury is struck by a huge stained glass window and is echoed throughout the complex—in the two-tone (*ablaḳ*) masonry, the polychrome marble flooring of the *īwāns* and inner courtyard (a practice frequently encountered in late Mamlūk Cairene *madrasas*), the veneered wooden ceilings of the *īwāns*, the lead sheeting of the roof and in its carpets and lamps, whose beauty, in the words of a contemporary historian, was "unequalled elsewhere". In short, there is ample evidence that the Ashrafiyya was a metropolitan import into the local architecture of Jerusalem.

In the earlier part of this section the discussion focussed on literary references in the earliest *madrasas*. This emphasis was dictated by the lack of surviving structures. It is unlikely that future excavations will substantially illuminate this crucial early period. After all, the written sources indicate clearly enough that the early, pre-Saldjūḳ, *madrasas*, in keeping with their private and non official character, were of a domestic nature. Frequently a house became a *madrasa* without, it seems, any structural alteration, or served impartially as house and *madrasa* by turns. It follows that excavated ground plans will not be enough in themselves to prove that a given pre-Saldjūḳ structure functioned as a *madrasa*. Even in the Saldjūḳ period itself, the two Iranian buildings identified by some as *madrasas* (the ruined structures at Khārgird and Ray) have aroused a controversy still out last to-day. In this situation it seems sensible to accept that the architectural history of the *madrasa* before 530/1136 (the date of the example at Bosrā) is irretrievably lost, no matter how rich the documentation of its character as an institution may be.

Such a conclusion inevitably confers particular evidential value on the earliest considerable group of *madrasas* to survive, namely the examples in Saldjūḳ Anatolia, where 30 surviving examples permit a more searching and reliable analysis of trends than do 15 Syrian ones. These Anatolian buildings have been quite unjustifiably neglected in the history of the genre, Creswell's obsession with absolute chronology and his bias towards material from Syria, Palestine and Egypt led him to over-estimate the role of this area in the development of the *madrasa*, and his views have dominated subsequent discussion. However, the Anatolian *madrasas* are the best available guide to the nature of the building in Saldjūḳ Iran, thanks to the work of Ruzan and Sozen, they are much better known as a group than any others in the Islamic world. Some 80 of them datable before 905/1500 survive, and this figure can be supplemented by a further 38 vanished buildings of the same period recorded in the literary sources. In both categories, incidentally, the numerous Ottoman buildings, which form a separate study, are excluded, the grand total of Anatolian *madrasas* surviving or recorded in this period is probably about 200. The preponderance of surviving over vanished buildings is highly unusual in the mediaeval Islamic world and is unlikely to reflect the true state of affairs. But the two sets of figures do complement each other significantly. They confirm what may be deduced from other sources—that building activity was most concentrated in the 7th/13th century, that is, under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. Forty-one surviving and 27 vanished *madrasas*, that is almost half of the entire recorded output of Anatolia in the period 1200-1500, date from this century. The comparable figures for the 8th/14th century, 22 and 25, comprising about a quarter of the output of the period as a whole. The Karamānids [*q.v.*] were the principal patrons responsible for new *madrasas* in this period. In the 9th/15th century the rate of construction declined still more sharply by a further 70%. Even the 6th/12th century saw more construction than this, with nine surviving buildings and a further six so far recorded in the literary sources, but of course the decline of Beylik *madrasas* in the 9th/15th century directly mirrors the growth of Ottoman power. Indeed, the earliest Ottoman *madrasa* to survive, that of Sulaymān Pasha at Iznik, predates 759/1358 and was itself preceded by a now vanished *madrasa* at Bursa. With the 9th/15th century, Ottoman *madrasas* began to be erected over much of Anatolia.

The turbulent political history of 6th/12th century Anatolia is perhaps sufficient explanation for the

slow spread of the *madrasa* in this area and period. But with the consolidation of Rūm Saldjūk power, the movement gathered such momentum that it long outlasted the disintegration of the Saldjūk state. Clearly, it had deep roots in the society which it served.

Not surprisingly, therefore, and in contrast to the situation in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and for that matter in the Maghrib, these mediaeval Anatolian *madrasas* were not confined to a few large cities. The surviving examples alone are distributed among 39 cities, towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of the land, while the literary sources add a further dozen localities. In the fullest sense, therefore, this was a popular movement. Naturally this did not exclude a concentration of *madrasas* in a few key centres. Konya, as the Saldjūk capital, obviously took pride of place, though only seven of its 24 *madrasas* have survived. Next comes Mardin, the Artukid capital, where surprisingly enough 11 of the recorded 13 *madrasas* remain, similarly, Kayseri retains 9 of its 11 recorded *madrasas*. These are without doubt the three major centres of the time. However, quite a number of towns had between four and six *madrasas* erected in this period—Sivas, Sivrihisar, Akshehir, Tire, Aksaray, Erzurum, Diyarbakir and Karaman. Thus there is ample evidence to indicate that the intensive building activity of a few centres was complemented by provision in depth at a good many more. Finally, seven sites are recorded with two or three *madrasas* apiece. Such a remarkably even spread of facilities throughout the land may best be explained by the interaction of two complementary trends: a centralised building programme and—though probably to a lesser degree—a popular fashion for the *madrasa* as an institution, or at any rate as a suitable object of modest architectural patronage.

It is in fact these Anatolian buildings which provide the best evidence of the multi-functional nature of the mediaeval *madrasa*. In so doing, they are a reminder that the form of these buildings is not an infallible guide to their function. Many a building now conventionally termed *madrasa*/*medrese* (and subsumed in the present discussion) was actually intended to serve as a medical school, a mental hospital, an *'imāret* or an observatory, and it frequently allotted substantial space to a mausoleum. The two former functions may be combined in the sense that each is discharged in separate but adjoining premises, as in the Çifte Mināre *madrasa* at Kayseri or the Kayhawsīziyya at Sivas, though the mental hospital (*bīmārkhāna*) of Melike Yildiz Khātūn at Amasya is a single self-contained foundation. Nothing in its layout would exclude its identification as a *madrasa*. In the case of long-dissolected, aneplgraphic buildings, therefore, a *madrasa* type layout should not automatically be taken to signify that the building really was a *madrasa*.

The rich quantity of Anatolian material available prompts a variety of conclusions. The most important of these is perhaps that no single type of arrangement was dominant. This in turn invites speculation that the evolution of the genre was by no means complete. In some *madrasas* (Tokat, Karahisar), a whole cluster of rooms of varying shapes and sizes mirror the uncertainties of the architect. In many of these buildings, too, the notional purpose of a *madrasa*—to house students making a theological education as a first step to joining the *'ulamā'*—obviously comes a poor last to such other functions as providing a place of prayer, an elaborate façade, a mausoleum (or even two, as at the Boyalikōy *madrasa*), a minaret, a bath, a fountain or halls for public gatherings. Not surprisingly, the cells are usually tiny, a scant three paces per side. But it is their paucity that is most striking. Even the most splendid of all domed Anatolian Saldjūk *madrasas*, that built in Konya in 672/1273 by the vizier Djalāl al-Dīn Karatay and bearing his name, has no more than a dozen cells. The most capacious *madrasa* of the period, on the other hand—the Çifte Mināre in Erzurum, which at 35 × 48 m is the largest Anatolian *madrasa* of this period—still has a mere 19 cells on each of its two storeys and therefore lags far behind the larger *madrasas* of the Maghrib or 'Irāk. In the 8th/14th century, the capacity of the average Anatolian *madrasa* declined still further. Saldjūk Anatolia shows just as clearly as do Syria, Egypt or Iran the growth of the multi-purpose foundation, and several Anatolian *madrasas* were built in conjunction with structures serving another purpose altogether. Thus the *madrasa* at Cay bears the same date (677/1278) as the caravansarai which adjoins it. Presumably as in the case of similar though later joint foundations (those of Amīr Mirdjān in Baghdād, 756-9/1356-9 and Shāh Sultān Husayn in Iṣfahān, 1105 35/1694 1722), the revenues of the commercial establishment were intended to finance the running costs of the *madrasa*. It was common enough, too, for a *madrasa* to adjoin a mosque (Ziyādiyya *madrasa*, Diyarbakir, 595/1198; Hādjdjī Kilīç *madrasa*, Kayseri, 647/1249-50). This fact is not necessarily mirrored in the plan of the *madrasa*, however, for the Khwānd Khātūn *madrasa*, Kayseri (635/1237-8) provides the usual facilities for prayer even though there is a mosque right next door. Perhaps the most diverse group of buildings erected by a single Anatolian patron in one building campaign is the complex of Ibrahim Beg at Karamān (836/1433) comprising mosque, *'imāret*, *dār al-hurr*[2], *madrasa*, *tābkhāna* and *mausoleum*, though the complex of Ismā'īl Beg at Kastamonu (ca 880/1475) runs it close, comprising as it does a *madrasa*, mosque, tomb, *'imāret*, caravansarai and bath. Such buildings make most sense in an Ottoman context.

Any attempt to characterise the mediaeval Anatolian *madrasa* must therefore reckon with this very varied background, but encompassing and overriding all these no doubt individually significant variants are two broad categories into which the entire body of mediaeval Anatolian *madrasas* may be fitted. These are the open type, with a courtyard, and the closed type with a domed area replacing that courtyard. Of the 53 surviving *madrasas* in good repair, 38 are of the open type and 15 are domed. The all ruined *madrasas* are deliberately excluded from these calculations because most of them are too fragmentary to be placed with confidence in either category. Even so, here too the predominance of the open plan is unmistakable, for of the ruined *madrasas* whose original layout can indeed be established, eight are open and only two are closed. That the open plan should dominate is only to be expected, given the popularity of this form in non Anatolian *madrasas* and the fashion for courtyard houses in the ordinary Iranian world which produced the earliest *madrasas*. The closed, domed *madrasa*—which may have anything from one to four *īwāns*, very occasionally has two storeys (Karamān, *madrasa* of Ibrāhīm Beg), and may or may not have a portico around the central space—is not so easily explained. Its *raison d'être*, incidentally

a more rewarding subject than its architecture, therefore deserves separate consideration

The most convenient explanations—that the form is dictated by function or by climate—will obviously not do After all it is the domed, not the open, *madrasa* that is exceptional in Anatolia. Nor can regional preferences be invoked, for the type occurs with tolerable consistency throughout the country An important factor in its genesis may well have been that interchangeability of building types so typical of mediæval Islamic architecture The association of the *madrasa* with burial and worship would make it natural for the forms of mausoleum and mosque *to be integrated into the structure of the madrasa* —as indeed happens—and eventually *to assert* influence upon its form Moreover, it can scarcely be coincidence that it is precisely the *madrasas* of smaller surface area which attain the domed type. If very few students were to be accommodated in the building, the need for a substantial courtyard would diminish. In such a situation, the building would gain extra dignity and monumentality by the placing of a dome over the central space, while the memory of the courtyard would be retained by means of a skylight and/or a fountain. This ablutions fountain or *ṣhādirwān* readily brings to mind the *impluvium* of the *atrium* in a Roman house, and thus underlines yet again the domestic origins of the *madrasa*. The integrating power of a central dome may also have been a relevant factor in the growing popularity of the domed *madrasa*. Two further considerations, which are perhaps only at first sight mutually exclusive, may be borne in mind. First, the compact *madrasa* with large central dome and smaller domed or vaulted areas surrounding it cannot fail to recall the standard type of mid-Byzantine church which was widespread in Anatolia at the time of the Turkish conquest. Nor is this resemblance simply a matter of external silhouette, the rear *īwān* flanked by dome chambers in the domical *madrasas* of Konya brings to mind a Byzantine church space flanked by *diaconicon* and *prothesis* Secondly, when these domed *madrasas* are seen not simply in their contemporary context but against the later background of Ottoman architecture, especially mosques, their emphasis on an integrated multi-domed and vaulted space may be recognised as prophetic. Indeed, some of these domed *madrasas*, such as the Inče Mināreli *madrasa* in Konya or the Taṣh *madrasa* in Akṣehir, actually incorporate earlier mosques in their structure. The close link with mosque architecture is incidentally not to be seen in the courtyard *madrasa*, which in Anatolia at least developed quite separately; but whatever the origins of the idea, its development was formidably consistent right up to the Ottoman culmination

Anatolian courtyard *madrasas*, like those of domed type, do not readily fall into formal sub categories, although attempts have been made to analyse the buildings on the basis.

Certain generalisations about these buildings may be made It is clear, for example, that the typical rectangular *madrasa* kept the façade short in relation to the sides. This had the advantage of concentrating student cells on the long sides and separating them physically from the rooms serving other functions. Most cells had a fireplace and a cupboard, but sanitary facilities were communal and there was usually no provision for meals to be cooked on the premises. Equally characteristic is a tripartite division of the building parallel with the major, that is the longitudinal, axis, as in contemporary caravansarais. At the far end of that axis, marking the *kibla* and continuing the major chord first sounded by the portal, is a wide *īwān* or dome chamber serving as the mosque and frequently flanked by a subsidiary vaulted or domed room on either side Evidently some honorific intent lies behind this placing, though it must be conceded that the mosque was sometimes located elsewhere in the *madrasa* (for example, next to the entrance vestibule at the Čifte Mināre *madrasa*, Erzurum) When the *madrasa* form was used for an observatory (Waǧīdiyye *madrasa*, Kütahya, 734/1374), a small opening in each of the lateral dome chambers served for star-gazing In a *true madrasa, these two chambers most likely* functioned as classrooms and for the library; smaller rooms flanking the entrance perhaps accommodated the professors. In *4-īwān* plans the *kibla īwān* is typically the broadest and the most richly decorated of all, and it has a similar pre-eminence in two-*īwān madrasas*, in which the *īwāns*, as in Iranian Saldjūḳ building of that type, are confined to the longitudinal axis. However, the form of the *īwān* within these buildings—as distinct from their exteriors—does not follow Iranian precedent, in that its façade comprises the arch alone without a framing *pishṭāḳ*

The discussion so far has by implication highlighted the originality of these Anatolian *madrasas*, but the dearth of contemporary comparative material from elsewhere forbids any very positive statement on this score. Even so, one may set against the occasional echo of Syrian *madrasas* or of Iranian buildings, a growing sense of confidence in forging a local style. Imported ideas are rapidly given Anatolian garb, as the late of Persian elements shows. Minarets become stumpier and stockier than in Iran, with them of well-articulated balconies. In *4-īwān* plans, the *īwāns* are diminished and subordinated to the emphasis on continuous arcades surrounding the courtyard, and a pronounced longitudinal axis —at odds with the centralising function of the *4-īwān* plan—makes itself felt. It should also be pointed out that the first four-rite *madrasa* to survive in all probability not, as is often thought, the Mustanṣiriyye in Baghdād but the Mas'ūdiyya in Diyarbakr, founded in 590/1194. Such a detail symbolises the central importance of mediæval Anatolia to an understanding of *madrasa* architecture.

Ottoman *madrasas* inevitably look somewhat tame when measured against the output of the preceding centuries, but what they lost in unpredictability they amply made up for in symmetry and scale, characteristics hitherto undervalued. Long uncluttered façades are preferred, and this change is symptomatic of the severity which was to replace the luxuriant idiom of Saldjūḳ and Beylik architectural ornament But it is more than a matter of stylistic preference The typical Anatolian Saldjūḳ and even Beylik *madrasa* was a self-contained foundation, even if its *raison d'être* was as often funerary as educational. Exceptions are not hard to find, but they are distinctly recognisable as such With the advent of the Ottomans to supreme power, the joint foundation—typically a mosque-*cum-madrasa*, but frequently a still larger *complex*—becomes commonplace, and sometimes several *madrasas* cluster around a mosque, such an ensemble is conceived as an architectural unity and often executed in a single building campaign.

These changes left their mark on the *madrasa* Its function as a place of prayer was now positively subordinated to its role as an educational institution, and this change is swiftly mirrored in its architecture

The *īwān* is demoted and by degrees removed, and in its place appears the dominant dome chamber, the Čelebi Mehmed *madrasa* Merzifon (817/1414), illustrates an intermediate stage of this process, with its compact, square layout focussed on a central courtyard, ideally adapted to a cruciform *īwān* plan, but the *īwān*s no longer dominate the arrangement, for behind each of them rises a powerful, foursquare domed unit

The closer relationship between mosque and *madrasa* in this period was to have still more far-reaching results There was less need to provide ample facilities for prayer, as the *masǧid* or *muṣallā* occupies a smaller proportion of the surface area. Innovations in mosque design are swiftly reflected in the planning of *madrasa*s—for example, in the provision of a mediating cloister, each bay domed, between courtyard and cells. Above all, the *madrasa* was now readily conceived as a mosque writ small with proportions reserved. Thus the domed *muṣallā* shrinks to a few metres square, although it is symbolically singled out by virtue of its isolation at the far end of the courtyard or even by its projection from the rest of the *madrasa*, as at the *madrasa* of Bāyazīd II at Edirne and, still earlier, the Murādiyya and Yeshil *madrasa*s in Bursa Instead, the courtyard enclosed by cells on three sides takes pride of place The resultant U (or reversed U) shape soon became standard in the Ottoman *madrasa*

Perhaps the most important change of emphasis in Ottoman *madrasa*s vis-à-vis their predecessors lies in the hugely increased numbers of student cells. The designer had a free hand and did not have to tailor his plan to an awkward and immutable site, so that as a result, perhaps, space is used quite prodigally; the cells are now domed, and often have two windows apiece. The courtyard has not only a central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of regimentation which the plan exudes (*madrasa* of Bāyazīd II, Istanbul) In their size, their internal logic, their simple square or rectangular silhouettes, these Ottoman *madrasa*s bear the unmistakeable imprint of imperial patronage, hence their architects had no need to grapple with the intractable sites that had put earlier architects on their mettle.

The recognition that the form of the Ottoman *madrasa*s gradually stagnated should not blind one to their visual impact. It is a truism that an instinctive feeling for space permeates the buildings of the period, and *madrasa*s are no exception. This explains why they are so often sited so that they can be viewed from all sides, and why the domed *masǧid* is set apart from the rest of the building by some device or other It also explains why in so many *madrasa*s at least half the surface area is wasted —from the narrowly utilitarian point of view—by a vast empty courtyard, why the cells are placed only on the ground floor, and why domed cloisters lead from cells to courtyard. Clearly it was less important to cram the *madrasa* full of students than to ensure that those who lived there had room to breathe Consequently, when an Ottoman sultan, such as Mehemmed Fātih, wished to accommodate students on the grand scale, he built no less than 16 *madrasa*s, even though the total number of rooms was only 250 This can fairly claim to be the first Turkish university Architecturally speaking, the culmination of this trend may be seen in the Sulaymāniyya complex, whose 18 buildings are conceived as a single entity and, perched on one of the city's highest hills, command a matchless view

The sheer size of these Ottoman *madrasa*s departs decisively from the Arab tradition It finds its natural counterpart, however, in the later *madrasa*s of the eastern Islamic world. Their origins pose unsolvable problems In the early part of this section, the remarkable dearth of Iranian *madrasa*s datable before 751/1350 was emphasised Their absence from the tally of surviving monuments is all the more puzzling since representatives of nearly all the other major building types have survived in abundance, and since *madrasa*s are plentiful among the standing monuments of Syria and Anatolia from the 6th/12th century onwards This situation suggests that Iranian *madrasa*s may indeed have survived—but not under that name It is well known that throughout the mediaeval period and throughout the Islamic world the function of teaching was frequently discharged within the mosque (see above, section I, a) This is not to say, of course, that many of the Iranian mosques of this period were *madrasa*s, and even those which might have been centres of religious instruction could clearly never have functioned as residential *madrasa*s because their design did not include cells for that purpose. Perhaps, then, it is a mistake to assume that a *madrasa* must connote a residential as well as an educational function Indeed, since *madrasa*s were apparently built all over the country in large numbers, the majority of them might be expected to cater for local students who would not require accommodation within the building Only the largest and most prestigious institutions, whose reputation would attract students from far afield—like the Baghdād Niẓāmiyya or the Mustanṣiriyya—would need to make ample provision for students in residence.

The difficulty, of course, lies in identifying such "hidden" *madrasa*s. Inscriptions might provide the requisite clues, in fact, Sauvaget interpreted the Ardistān *ǧāmiʿ* as a *madrasa* on the strength of a Kufic inscription in the *bāb īwān* mentioning the ways (*maḏāhib*) of reaching God. But this is to go too far Rather would it be justifiable to infer from that inscription that at least the *bāb īwān* of that mosque may have been used for teaching purposes in the Saldjūk period. Such Iranian mosques as have rooms of various kinds on the first floor might be regarded as *prima facie* candidates for residential *madrasa* status, in addition to their primary role as communal places of worship, but unfortunately published plans are virtually without exception confined to the ground floor and give no hint as to the disposition of the upper level. The lack of formality which characterised mediaeval Islamic teaching methods enabled virtually any mosque to perform the teaching and religious functions of a *madrasa*, special lecture rooms were not required. This close functional correspondence between mosque and *madrasa* clearly favoured composite foundations, or at any rate the use of one building for several distinct purposes, and such a concept was of course widespread in other categories of Islamic architecture

Enough has been said to highlight the difficulties of matching the physical and literary evidence about the early history of the *madrasa* in the Iranian world. In this area the earliest *madrasa* identified as such by inscriptions is the example dated 571/1175-6 at Shāh-I Mashhad in north-western Afghānistān Ruined as it is, it nevertheless yields much useful information. To begin with, its splendid ornament proclaims it to be a monument of the very first importance, and in size alone, the building is re-

markable for its time measuring as it does some 44 m. per this. This far exceeds the dimensions of 6th/12th century *madrasas* further west, but it was to find many subsequent parallels in the Iranian world. Nothing on such an ambitious scale survives from the following two centuries, and the obvious question is why this exceptionally large and expensive building was erected in an area which was always remote. The minaret of Dāmghān [see DAMGHĀN] may provide the necessary clue. The role of that tower as a beacon of Islam in a context which until recently had been pagan goes far to explain its site, size and epigraphy, and the *madrasa* of Shāh i Mashhad, with its fifteen inscriptions, may have been intended in similar vein to stamp an Islamic presence on a stubbornly pagan countryside.

Ilkhānid *madrasas* are on an altogether smaller scale, but before they are considered, one building from an area hitherto neglected—ʿIrāḳ—deserves notice. Already in the late 6th/12th century, Ibn Ḏjubayr [*q.v.*] had recorded some thirty *madrasas* in Baghdād alone, all of them in the eastern sector of the city. All of them, however, were eclipsed by the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* there, widely regarded in its own time and subsequently as the exemplar of the genre and its fullest, finest expression. Its endowments (*awḳāf*), too, exceeded those of other *madrasas*. To a later age, it is the obvious symbol of the rejuvenated late ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and several factors suggest that this symbolism was deliberately intended at the time. The *madrasa* was built in Baghdād, which for six centuries and been the spiritual and intermittently the political centre of the Islamic world. It proclaimed the essential unity of orthodox Islam. Its patron was the caliph himself, who lent his name to the building. It was the first *madrasa* specifically designed to serve each of the four major *madhāhib*, as well as containing facilities for the two fundamental ancillary disciplines taught in a *dār al-ḥadīth* and a *dār al-Ḳurʾān*. Both *madhāhib* had its own plan of worship. Thus the building explicitly claimed universal status. The long band of foundation text, inscribed in letters a foot high, that unfolds, in defiance of Islamic custom, across its exterior façade, advertises this claim for all to see. In size alone the building was unprecedented, an oblong of *ca.* 105 × 44 × 49 m. The solemn festivities of its inauguration in 631/1233 after six years of construction set the seal on its pre-eminent status among the *madrasas* of the Islamic world, whilst architecturally speaking, the monument is a triumph of technique. It is built according to a complex system of proportional relationships and modular units. Both the ground plan—a modified four *īwān* layout—and the elevations were based on a grid of 10 and 30 Byzantine feet respectively. Thus the unit of measurement (one Byzantine foot = 31.23 cm.) used for Hagia Sophia was still employed seven centuries later in the heart of the Islamic world, an astonishing tribute to the tenacity of Hellenistic influence in Muslim science. In addition to providing accommodation on two floors for a large staff and for some 300 students, the *madrasa* included a celebrated library (as did several Seldjūḳ *madrasas* in Merw), a kitchen, a *ḥammām* and a hospital.

The original layout of the Mustanṣiriyya was increasingly obscured in later centuries by numerous modifications, but the study of a closely related building has clarified most of these problems. The building in question, the so-called "Abbāsid palace", is in all probability the Bighriyya *madrasa* of 653/1255 and *sanas*—to judge by the manifold improvements of detail which it incorporates—to be the work of the same architect as was responsible for the Mustanṣiriyya. The fragmentary state of this later building is all the more regrettable in view of the ambitious scale of what survives.

The variety of forms attested by the few surviving Ilkhānid *madrasas* suggests that no one type predominated in this period. To judge by Timūrid and Ṣafawid buildings, it was the Madrasa-yi Imāmī (already discussed) and the custom-built *madrasa* added to the Friday Mosque of Iṣfahān from 768/1366-7 that best expressed the officially approved layout of such buildings, the latter being a two-*īwān* courtyard structure. The *madrasa* of Diyāʾ al-Dīn in Yazd, otherwise known as the Zindān-i Iskandar and datable to the 8th/14th century, is of substantially lower quality than the two Iṣfahān *madrasas*. Indeed, it is constructed of mud brick. Despite subsequent modifications, enough survives of the original layout to suggest that the *īwāns* on two adjoining sides of the courtyard were complemented by another pair opposite. Apart from this, there is little observable regularity in the plan; its rooms are indiscriminately oblong or square, broad or narrow, multi-recessed or with unbroken walls, and are bundled together with outright carelessness. The Shamsiyya *madrasa* of 1 or 766/1365, also in Yazd—indeed, the literary sources record the names of about a score of 8th/14th century *madrasas* built in that city—is an incomparably more soigné variation on the same theme. Here the design is tauter and fully integrated, each half a mirror reflection of the other, the portal *īwān* announces the major axis, which continues without interruption until it terminates in the square mausoleum which adjoins the *madrasa* proper but projects well beyond it, and long lateral halls flank the portal *īwān* in a forerunner of Timūrid buildings at Khargird and Gāzur Gāh in Harāt.

The Timūrid period was unquestionably the golden age of the Iranian *madrasa*. Khurāsān and Transoxiana were the forcing ground for new developments, though competently-designed *madrasas* were also built in southern Īrān, and features from that area are sometimes incorporated into the monuments of the north-east, like the *bādgīr* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at Khargird. The four-*īwān* type predominated and was executed on a scale consistently more spacious than had earlier been the norm anywhere in Islam. This ambitious scale often generated comparably ambitious decoration, the finer *madrasas* of the period yield nothing in the quality of their ornament to contemporary mosques, and occasionally even strike out in new directions, as in the murals with trees, streams and birds in the *madrasa* of Tīmūr Āghā at Kihsan (844/1440-1). Such was the prestige acquired by this kind of *madrasa* that it became the model for nearly all the notable *madrasas* erected in the Iranian world in subsequent centuries, numerous *madrasas* in Ṣafawid Iṣfahān, Shaybānid Bukhārā and even Mughal India, illustrate this dictum.

It was in the Timūrid period, then, that the consonance between mosque and *madrasa* became so marked that there is little to distinguish them so far as external and internal façades are concerned. What goes on behind the façades, however, is very different in the two cases. Within the general format of the four-*īwān* plan, there was ample room for experiment in the placing of mosques, mausolea, lecture halls and residential accommodation. A side-

effect of the greatly expanded size of these foundations was that room could now be found for a wide range of ancillary units, such as libraries and *khānakāhs* for example, and for differentiated summer and winter chambers. Sometimes—as at Ghughdūwān, Khargird and in the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* at Bukhārā—the complex contained a mosque, and often a lecture-hall as well. Sometimes both units were mosques (as at Turbat-i Djām) or lecture halls. In other *madrasas*, such as that of Ulugh Beg at Samarkand, dated 820-3/1417-20, the mosque extended the full length of the *ḳibla* side opposite the portal *īwān*. By contrast, a trio of *madrasas* in the Mashhad shrine (Dū Dar, Parīkhān and Bālā Sar) have the mosque situated in one of the courtyard *īwāns*—indeed, the Dū Dar *madrasa* even has a second mosque in a corner of the building. There was no general rule governing the siting of the mausoleum in these royal Timūrid *madrasas*, but the examples of the Gawhar Shād and Sultān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā *madrasas* in Harāt, and that of Firūzshāh at Turbat-i Djām, show that they could be the single dominant feature of the entire complex. Indeed, the fashion of the time firmly favoured the incorporation of mausolea into *madrasas*, and free-standing mausolea of high quality are exceptional. As a curiosity, the siting of a diminutive *madrasa* in the entrance complex of the Ziyāratgāh Djāmī is noteworthy. In smaller *madrasas*, such as those of Mashhad, the incorporation of mosques and mausolea seriously overbalanced the ensemble and cut down the space available for student cells. But these cases are somewhat unusual, since the architects had to make do with a site which was already heavily built up and therefore had to sacrifice symmetry to expediency.

The new emphasis on scale implied almost by definition a corresponding emphasis on external façades. Minarets are used to mark the corners—e.g. the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* at Samarkand and numerous later examples such as the Mīr-i ʿArab *madrasa* at Bukhārā, 942/1535-6, and the portal is now apt to be recessed and thus streamlined with the curtain walls of the façade rather than projecting from it. Sensitivity to the setting of the monument made it natural to group such buildings together, notably in the Rigistān at Samarkand (Ulugh Beg, Shīr Dar and Tilla Kari *madrasas*) or the Lab-i Ḥawḍ complex at Bukhārā.

As in Ottoman times, again, there was a tendency for these very large *madrasas*, all endowed by royal patrons or high officials of state, to cluster together in the major cities. Thus the original plan conceived by Niẓām al-Mulk, whereby *madrasas* would be built in large numbers but distributed evenly over a wide geographical area, was reversed. In Iran proper, Kum, Mashhad and Iṣfahān account for nearly all the significant post-Ilkhānid *madrasas*, while similar concentrations may be observed in Samarkand, Bukhārā, Harāt and Khīwa. The latter city, with its quartet of highly traditional *madrasas* erected between 1811 and 1910 (Pahlawān Maḥmūd, Allāh Kulī Khān, Amīr Khān and Islām Khᵛādja) shows how fossilised the Timūrid manner had become.

A more appropriate anvil for the *madrasa*, however, is provided by the buildings of Ṣafawid Iṣfahān. Several *madrasas* of medium size were erected there in the course of the 11th/17th century, such as the Madrasa-yi Nadda Kūčik, built in 1058/1648 by the grandmother of Shāh ʿAbbās II and with accommodation for 67 students, the Madrasa-yi Ṣadr, and those of Mullā ʿAbd Allāh (1085/1677) and Kāsagarān (1104/1693). But these are only of secondary interest when set beside the two *madrasas*, which flank the great dome chamber of the Masdjid-i Shāh, let alone the great Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh (1138-26/1706-14). The two *madrasas* in the Masdjid-i Shāh are lengthwise conceived, and with their miniature garden courtyards make a delightfully Mjou impression; and they exploit the available space to the full for student cells. The Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh, sited in an originally idyllic environment fronting the Čahār Bāgh, injects a new dynamism into the traditional four *īwān* layout by means of a large extra dome chamber in each of the cardinals, and the cells, too, are unusual in their tripartite division: a vestibule and a terminal recess bracket the cell itself. The main prayer chamber here is not easily distinguishable from that of the Masdjid-i Shāh, and the continued intermingling of the two forms in Iran as attested by several joint foundations in Ḳādjār times.

Although dependence on Andalusia is a constant of Maghribī architecture, little trace of Spanish influence can be detected in the ground plans of the local *madrasas*. Indeed, since the *madrasa* movement was primarily an eastern Iranian one which by degrees moved westwards, it would be only logical to assume that in this particular genre of building it was atypically the Maghrib that influenced Andalusia. The only surviving physical evidence of the Andalusian *madrasa* confirms this supposition. This is the structure built by the Naṣrid monarch Yūsuf I in 756/1349, sc. in the golden age of the Marīnid *madrasa*. Though largely demolished in the 18th century, the prayer hall was excavated and restored from 1893 onwards; it has nothing to differentiate it from its Marīnid contemporaries in Morocco. Of the *madrasa* built by the Almohad ruler Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) in Spain as elsewhere in his dominions, nothing survives, nor is there any record of further Naṣrid *madrasas*, so the question of reciprocal influences between Andalusia and the Maghrib in this genre cannot be regarded as finally settled. Valuable as this literary evidence is, its very paucity is instructive, for it suggests the virtual absence of one of the major Islamic building types in Muslim Spain. Yet that area was unquestionably the foremost centre of Islamic art west of Egypt. In fact, however, this dearth can easily be explained. By the time that the *madrasa* had established itself in the eastern Islamic world, the great days of the Cordovan caliphate were long over, and the fate of Muslim Spain sealed. The cities of the north, Toledo, and even Cordova itself, had been lost. With the splendid exception of the Alhambra, significantly a secular rather than a religious monument, little architecture of note was erected in the Iberian peninsula in the last three centuries of the Muslim presence there.

Although, as already noted, the *madrasa* genre is first recorded in the eastern Islamic world in the late 3rd/9th century, it was not for another 150 years and more that the full weight of official backing had resulted in *madrasas* being erected in most major towns of the area. Theoretically, the fashion could have spread to the Maghrib around that time. Yet it is doubtful whether the Almoravids had at their disposal the necessary administrative expertise to launch and execute a programme comparable to that of Niẓām al-Mulk. It seems that the Maghrib in any case produced only a tithe of the buildings erected in Iran during the same period, and in the

context of each limited building, *madrasas* would obviously have claimed less priority than mosques. Moreover, the Almoravids—as their name itself indicates—were noted primarily for building *ribāṭs* [q.v.]. Not only is there no mention of their building *madrasas*, it seems, rather, that it was precisely in these *ribāṭs* that some of the teaching function later performed by the *madrasa* were carried out. The consonance of plan between the two institutions leaps in the eye. Moreover, the early and marked association of the *madrasa* with the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, and to an only slightly lesser extent with the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī ones, would perhaps not immediately have struck a chord in the predominantly Mālikī Maghrib. Ironically enough, the first recorded *madrasa* (in late 3rd/9th century Nīshāpūr) was in fact Mālikī, but in subsequent centuries that *madhhab* noticeably lagged behind the others in the number of *madrasas* allotted to it. It is perhaps relevant that the religious message preached by Ibn Tūmart, the ideological founder of the Almohad dynasty, was disseminated in mosques rather than in special educational institutions. Hostile as he was to the prevailing orthodoxy of his time, it is not surprising that he did not use the *madrasa* as an instrument for his preaching, since that institution was itself the very emblem of orthodoxy by his time. Finally, one may perhaps adduce the generally conservatism of Maghribī society as a reason for the late spread of the *madrasa* movement to this area.

Thus the fashion for building *madrasas* probably reached the Maghrib late—too late, for example, to make an impact on Andalusia. The references to the late 6th/12th century *madrasas* built by the Almohad ruler al-Manṣūr are somewhat unspecific—indeed, the statement of Ibn Sa'īd that there was no *madrasa* in 7th/13th century Spain partially contradicts them—and the first securely dated *madrasa* in the Maghrib, the Sharāsha'iyya, was built in Tunis by the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā' in 647/1249, and within a decade was followed by the Ma'rūfiyya *madrasa* built by his widow. Neither has survived, and thus the Ṣaffārīn *madrasa* in Fās, founded by the Marīnid sultan Abū Yūsuf in 670/1271, is the earliest Maghribī example to survive. Its location may be seen as prophetic, since for some reason the institution of the *madrasa* took deepest root in Morocco, and specifically in Fās, where most of the round dozen Maghribī *madrasas* predating 1700 are situated. Moreover, the majority of these *madrasas* are the work of the Marīnid sultans and were erected between 670/1271 and 757/1356. Several Algerian *madrasas* belong to the same group. This sudden efflorescence of a building type which had hitherto been virtually unknown in the area demands some explanation. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Marīnids, unlike their more illustrious predecessors the Almoravids and Almohads, were not swept to power by a wave of religious fervour. Their uncomfortable consciousness of this deficiency may have led them to make restitution of a kind by providing the patronage for religious buildings. *Madrasas* fitted the bill admirably. They were much less expensive than mosques, a very relevant factor since the Marīnid empire was much smaller than that of their predecessors. Marīnid mosques would have suffered by comparison with those of the Almohads, Marīnid *madrasas*, being effectively a new genre, were safe from such unwelcome comparisons. Moreover, they underlined the orthodoxy of their patrons and thus provided a counterweight not only to Shī'ism and to the Almohad movement but also to the increasingly popular Ṣūfism. Indeed, a crucial epigraphic document indicates that the Marīnid sultans were actuated by motives which had much in common with those of Niẓām al-Mulk over two centuries earlier. The very first surviving *madrasa* in Morocco, the Ṣaffārīn *madrasa* in Fās (670/1271) mentions in its foundation inscription the need to resurrect the forgotten religious sciences, a clear attack on Almohad heterodoxy.

"Praise be to God, Master of the Two Worlds! Who exalts the status of men of learning, Who recompenses with a generous hand those who devote themselves to acts of piety, Who by means of *madrasas* revives the vanished traces of *fiḳh* and of religion, using as His instrument those of His good servants whom He has specially singled out for His guidance and ennobled by His solicitude and by His care. . ." Finally, the desire to make Fās an intellectual centre—the sultans Abū 'l-Ḥasan and Abū 'Inān both prided themselves on being men of learning—may help to explain not only the concentration of *madrasas* in that city during the Marīnid period but also the endowment of several *madrasas* with fine libraries in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Ṣaffārīn, Fās, Bū'Ināniyya, Fās).

These *madrasas* all obey a well defined schema. Their dimensions are smaller than those of any other groups of *madrasas* elsewhere in the Islamic world, ranging from 35 × 36 m (115 × 118 ft.) to 14 × 14.5 m (46 × 47.5 ft.). Perhaps their exclusive use by a single *madhhab* made larger buildings unnecessary. Around a central courtyard are grouped on the ground floor a mosque, galleries facing each other along the lateral axis and an entrance vestibule which is frequently open onto the courtyard along its entire length. Unlike the universal practice elsewhere in the Islamic world, the courtyard façades of these various halls are not marked by colonnades or *iwāns* but are fenced off by an unbroken curtain of wooden panels. On the first floor, a narrow gallery overlooking the courtyard gives on to the cells in which the students lived, sometimes in the earlier *madrasas* those cells are also ranged behind the galleries on the ground floor.

No *madrasas* with facilities for all four *madhhabs* incorporated into their ground plans are known in the Maghrib. One legal school—the Mālikī—maintained a virtually unchallenged dominion over the Maghrib throughout the mediaeval period. Perhaps this exclusiveness, which made it unnecessary for architects to provide separate teaching areas reserved for other *madhhabs*, was the factor which kept the *madrasas* of this area small.

This diminutive size gives such buildings an essentially human scale which well expresses the informality of teaching in the mediaeval Islamic world. They are made even more inward-looking and cloistered by the downward pitch of their roofs as seen from the courtyard. Yet the organisation of space within the building is by turns ingenious and dramatic. On the first floor the needs of circulation and accommodation are admirably dovetailed, the corridor which encircles the courtyard and gives access both to individual cells and to the corner staircases is kept so narrow that two people can barely squeeze past each other in it. This frees extra space for accommodation. At the same time, it is no mere walkway but has some aesthetic distinction. The openings at regular intervals along its shaded length allow the viewer to catch partial glimpses of a courtyard bathed in sunlight. Most Moroccan *madrasas* have a central pool with a

fountain. Given the somewhat cramped dimensions of these courtyards, the presence of rippling water sets space into motion to a degree that would not be possible in larger expanses. This introduction of nature into the ordered, man-made world of architecture is typically Islamic. These fountains serve a further, more directly scenic, function too. For anyone within the halls bordering on the courtyard, the view into that courtyard is firmly directed by the act that the only entrance to these halls is a single arch. On the major axis of the *madrasa* this arch frames the fountain, which thus becomes the centrepiece of a carefully calculated composition.

Most Moroccan *madrasas* were produced either under the Marīnids in the 8th/14th century or under the Sa'dians or Filālī sultans in the 11th/17th century. Since these two periods also saw a much greater production of mosques and mausolea than other periods, it is unlikely that the building campaigns of the two periods in question themselves constitute evidence that a specific penchant for *madrasas* can be attributed to the patrons of the time. But the political background outlined above provides the missing explanation. Given the role of the *madrasa* in training the politically influential Mālikī *'ulamā'* it is not surprising that the patrons of these buildings —when their names are recorded—should include the sultans themselves (e.g. the Banū 'Inānīyya *madrasa* in Fās, Salé, Meknès and Algiers) and their high officials, and that they should have been lavishly endowed, as their luxurious decoration indicates.

More often, however, their names reflect their relative size (*al-Kubrā*, "the greater", or *al-Sughrā*, "the lesser"), their location in a quarter dedicated to a certain trade (*al-'Attārīn*, "the perfumers, or as in Fās and Meknès, *al-Saffārīn*, "the metalworkers"), and occasionally even those who taught there (al-Mighīlīyya is named after its first professor, Mighīlī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yalīlī) or the subjects in which the *madrasa* specialized (thus the Sbā'iyya *madrasa* derives its name from the study of the methods of reading the Kur'ān). Like so much religious architecture in Islam, these *madrasas* are often sited in the midst of bazaars—though there seems to be no connection between the presence of a *madrasa* in a particular quarter of the bazaar area and its endowment. Thus, while certain trades or crafts might singly or in concert put up the money for a mosque, the foundation of *madrasas* seems to have been the result of official patronage.

That the teaching function of these *madrasas* was paramount is suggested by the almost total absence of the patron's tomb in them. One may note as exceptions the case of the 10th century Sulaymānīyya *madrasa* in Tunis, founded by one 'Alī Pasha and containing the tomb of his son Sulaymān and earlier the case of the vizier Ibn Tafragīn who was buried in the *madrasa* he had founded in 765/1364. Both this official had significantly enough spent some time in Egypt, where this practice was widespread.

Such oriental influences, though rare, are of crucial importance. A later Tunisian *madrasa*, the Muntasirīyya (837-40/1434-7) again demonstrates Egyptian influence in the unusual feature of a rectangular bastion or salient placed in the middle of each of the courtyard façades. These projections do duty as portals to significant parts of the building and are thus explicable as interpretations—though in a different idiom—of the *īwāns* in cruciform disposition found in *madrasas* further east. The lateral lecture halls of the Bū 'Inānīyya *madrasa* in Fās also seem to be a local interpretation of the *īwān* scheme. Yet another derivation from eastern models may be the use of the *madrasa* as one element in a larger complex. A typical example of this fashion is the *madrasa* built in Tlemcen in AD 754/1354 by Sultan Abū 'Inān in association with the mosque, tomb and *sīdīya* of Sīdī al-Halwī, or the mosque, tomb and *madrasa* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm built in Tlemcen by the Zayyānid Abū Hammū II. The Shurbādj *madrasa* in Fās (721-3/1321-3) is situated right next to the mosque of the Andalusians; but as if this juxtaposition were not enough, it was by 750/1350 given dependencies significantly larger than itself. These included a now vanished guesthouse, the Dār Abī Nāhasa with 21 rooms, a large ablutions hall and—most important of all—another *madrasa*, that of al-Shārāyīn, which still survives. This latter phenomenon of paired *madrasas* linked by a passage cannot but recall the Sālihīyya complex in Cairo. Also relevant in this connection was the Kadīma *madrasa* built by Abū Hammū I in Tlemcen in AD 710/1310 for two pious brothers, for it comprised two halls, each with a house attached. Thus it seems that the principle of separate premises for separate courses was accepted even when there was no question of different *madhāhib* being accommodated within a single building. For all their strong local character, then, these Maghribī *madrasas* attest the strength of eastern Islamic influences in this genre of building.

In many cases, the connection between a mosque and a *madrasa* is so close that the obvious conclusion to draw is that the mosque served *inter alia* as the oratory for the *madrasa* (e.g. the Walad al-Imām mosque, Tlemcen, erected in AD 710/1310 next to the Kadīma *madrasa*). Conversely, the oratory of many a Maghribī *madrasa* served as the mosque for the quarter where it was built. Accordingly, many of these *madrasas* have minarets, and one even has a *minbar*, thereby qualifying it to be a *djāmi'*. It has even been suggested that the *madrasa*, by dint of becoming the most typical and widespread structure of the later mediaeval Maghrib, began in its turn to influence the layout of the mosque itself, specifically in its preference for square rather than rectangular courtyards, shallow rather than deep prayer halls and monumental portals on the major axis of the building. Something of the same process has been noted in Mamlūk Egypt, where the cruciform plan developed in the *madrasa* was subsequently adopted quite widely for mosques.

Although the casual visitor to these Moroccan *madrasas* is apt to believe, after walking around half a dozen of them, that they follow a standard pattern, such an impression is quickly modified on closer examination. Their layouts suggest that while the architects in question had a firm grasp of the essential constituent elements of a *madrasa*, they were unable to impose a preconceived solution on the sites allotted to them. These *madrasas* are located within an extremely cluttered urban setting, and so they commonly betray the various shifts of their designers to make the most of a difficult site. In these circumstances, it would be idle to expect to find a model which was more or less faithfully copied, or even a consistent, rational development of plan in these *madrasas*. Even so, all the Moroccan buildings of the genre share an emphasis on interior rather than exterior façades in that they focus on a central courtyard, and their decoration is extraordinarily consistent in medium and orna-

mental repertoire alike. In these respects, then, it is justifiable to point to their marked generic similarity, which easily asserts itself over such contingent factors as site and size. Moreover, most of the Moroccan *madrasas* were erected—as noted above—in less than a century, from 670/1271 to 757/1356, a period which also encompasses the surviving work in Algeria and Spain.

Externally, their most striking characteristic is a negative one: they lack a monumental façade. This is an novelty in Islamic architecture, but it is a feature which recurs so consistently in these buildings that it seems justified to regard it as a deliberate principle. The only exception is itself so consistent that it proves the rule: virtually every *madrasa* has an elaborate portal, usually a densely carved overhang or hood on brackets, a kind of awning executed in wood. By its marked projection—sometimes as much as two metres—and its commanding height above the bustle of the street, it signals the entrance of the *madrasa* from a distance. The tortuous alleyways of these Moroccan towns would discourage any more marked emphasis on the façade, there is simply no point of vantage from which a general view of the building could be enjoyed. In addition, one or two *madrasas* have a porch in front of the main entrance (e.g. the Bū ʿInāniyya, Fās, where the vault is crowned by a pyramidal roof). This is more in the nature of the *īwān* of eastern Islamic bazars than a monumental enclosed construction like the porch of mediaeval parish church, for it is simply a vault or dome spanning the street and supported by the walls which define that street. Most of these *madrasas* abutted on to the principal streets of the town, streets that were nonetheless so narrow that even a slightly projecting porch would have created an obstacle in traffic.

In common with contemporary local domestic architecture, these *madrasas* nearly always contain a bent entrance, partly to ensure that the interior of the building is sundered from the outside world—a matter of some as well as proximity. Corridors leading off the entrance passage from left to right respectively give access to the latrine area and a staircase leading to the upper storey (ʿAṭṭārīn and Mukhāṭiyya *madrasas*, Fās), though other locations for the latrines do occur. The standard practice is to provide a series of cubicles around a subsidiary courtyard with a central fountain. This latter feature means that the area can serve for ablutions as well, and it is doubly proper therefore that it should be physically separated from the rest of the *madrasa*.

Several *madrasas* have minarets (Saffārīn, Fās, *madrasa* of Fās al-Djadīd, Bū ʿInāniyya, Fās) and this may serve as a reminder that the institution often served as an independent place of prayer. Often enough it was located very close to a mosque so that there was no need for a separate minaret. Indeed, the interplay between mosque and *madrasa* was close and continuous. Just as the *madrasa* functioned as an oratory, so too did the mosque function as a place of teaching. This is especially relevant when it is remembered that most Moroccan *madrasas* are in Fās, which boasted in the Karawiyyīn mosque [*q.v.*] the foremost centre of learning in the western Maghrib. Lectures in the Karawiyyīn would therefore supplement the teaching of the *madrasas*. Indeed, in some sense the *madrasas* acted as an overflow facility for the earlier and more prestigious institution. This was clearly part of the function of the Miṣbāḥiyya *madrasa*, which was situated very close to the Karawiyyīn and whose students, mostly drawn from southern Morocco until recently, were enrolled in studies in the mosque. The Ṣahrīdj and Shāʿiyyīn *madrasas* illustrate the same phenomenon. Similarly, most Tunisian *madrasas* are found in Tūnis itself, where the students could benefit from the teaching offered in the other great Maghribī university mosque, the Zaytūna. To concentrate the teaching function in a single urban centre in this way obviously made good sense from the economic point of view, and it meant also—since in both cases the centre in question was also the capital city—that the educational activity of mosque and *madrasa* alike would be directly under the eye of the sovereign. Once again, then, the inherently political nature of the *madrasa* asserts itself.

In view of the diminutive size of these Maghribī *madrasas* vis-à-vis equivalent institutions further east in the Islamic world, the emphasis laid on the prayer hall—which functioned concurrently as a lecture hall, as indeed did many mosques outside the regular hours of prayer—is noticeable, and is especially relevant in the context of the preceding remarks. It seems, in short, that these *madrasas* functioned quite widely as neighbourhood mosques. The case of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* in Fās, though admittedly exceptional, offers supporting evidence for this theory. It is placed midway between the old city, clustered around the Karawiyyīn mosque, and the new foundation of Fās al-Djadīd, which at that time (732/1350) had not yet been given a Friday mosque. Thus the minaret of the Bū ʿInāniyya would pass on the *adhān* given in the Karawiyyīn mosque which was too far away to be audible in Fās al-Djadīd, and the Friday prayer would accordingly begin there at the ordained hour. The foundation inscription of the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* (originally named al Mutawakkiliyya after one of the titles of its founder) specifically states that the building has the advantage of serving as a *djāmiʿ*. Thus *madrasa* has many of the appurtenances normally reserved for Friday mosques—a *minbar*, a *maḳṣūra*, a mortuary and a Kurʾān school, plus a unique external clock with a set of songs presumably intended to mark the divisions of the daily prayers. It even has a subsidiary entrance in the rear of the building, as well as an unusual division of the main entrance into two sections, one of which is intended for those with bare feet and is accordingly provided with a treadoil of running water. The same idea is applied within the building, for a water channel runs laterally across the façade of the prayer hall and is crossed by a slab of marble at each side. The building is raised above the level of the bazaar and is reached by a staircase provided with benches, but its roots in everyday life are aptly emphasised by the shops which line its main façade. It is precisely in its flexibility and in its multiple functions that the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* approximates most closely not to other *madrasas* but to the classical type of mediaeval Friday mosque, as much a community centre as a place of worship.

Although the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* is unique in the Maghrib in its comprehensive range of functions it is typical in that it is a royal foundation. In this particular case the ruler bore not only the expense of building but also financed the provision of water and endowed the salaries of the staff, the board and other expenses of the students and the upkeep of the building by making over to the institution a formidable list of properties.

Various methods are employed to emphasise

the role of the prayer hall in the Maghribī *madrasa*. It was the constant concern of the architects to give this hall pride of place in the overall layout, and the majority of them achieved that aim by means of axiality. Sometimes, as in the Ṣaḥrīj and Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasas*, Fās, the entrance, courtyard and mosque were all disposed on the major chord of the building, and in the former case even the elongated rectangular pool played a spatial role. More often, the exigences of the site and the predilection for a bent entrance meant that this axial emphasis could assert itself only at the entrance to the courtyard (al-ʿUbbād *madrasa*, Tlemcen, Misbāḥiyya *madrasa*, Fās). So firmly did this axial arrangement establish itself that it was even maintained when it ran counter to the correct orientation of the prayer chamber, as in the ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, Fās, where in order to mark the *miḥrāb* accurately, the *miḥrāb* has to be placed to the right of the entrance instead of opposite it as the internal logic of the layout demands.

The placing of the chambers for students varies quite markedly. In the earlier *madrasas*, all the living accommodation was confined to the ground floor (Ṣaffārīn *madrasa*, *madrasa* of Fās al-Djadīd). In the following decades, it continued to be standard practice for the more commodious *madrasas* to provide, in addition to the main accommodation at first-floor level, at least some student accommodation on the ground floor. It is here that the ornate wooden lattice-work screens known as *mashrabiyyas* come into their own. Placed between the arcades or other openings of the court, they close off from the public gaze the sections of the *madrasa* which serve for student accommodation. The bleakness of the latter area is therefore masked by a lavish exterior. Symbolically enough it is only the outer, namely courtyard, face of these *mashrabiyyas* that is richly carved; the inner face is plain as perhaps befits the sparse facilities offered to the students. Between these screens and the cells runs a corridor, for all the world like the cloister of some mediaeval western monastery. These screens continue on the upper storeys where their principal function is obviously to decorate the interior façade rather than to seal off the student cells. Sometimes the corridors or galleries are located only along the lateral walls of the courtyard (ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, Fās; Tāza *madrasa*), but they often extend to three sides, especially to the later examples of the genre, and there is even an isolated case of a *madrasa* with student cells arranged uneventy but on all four sides of the ground floor (Sahʾīn *madrasa*, Fās). The extra height required for a suitably imposing prayer hall meant that there was frequently no room for student cells above it, and there is even a case of a prayer and assembly hall located on the first floor (Miṣbāḥiyya, Fās).

Nothing testifies more forcibly to the inadequate publication of these buildings than the widely divergent figures given for the number of student cells which they contain. Often enough these statistics are confused with the number of students which the *madrasa* could accommodate. This figure is in itself wide open to discussion. According to some estimates, a typical cell can hold as many as seven or eight students. However, this is clearly an inaccurate guide for rooms at the smaller end of the scale; indeed, cells measuring no more than 1.50 × 2 m. are quite frequently encountered and it would clearly be difficult to accommodate more than one or at the most two persons in such a room. That many cells were intended to house only a single occupant is clearly indicated by the custom that the student "pays" for his room by buying the key for it from his predecessor. Besides, in many cells the floor space was reserved for living as distinct from sleeping accommodation—a feature which will be discussed in more detail shortly. Within a given *madrasa*, moreover the size and layout of individual cells will often fluctuate quite markedly. This is especially apt to occur when the *madrasa* has walls built at acute angles because of the spatial constraints of the site. While windowless cells are known, it was standard practice to provide tiny windows, often with metalwork grilles, opening on to the corridor, the main courtyard, a subsidiary courtyard (especially in post-Marīnid *madrasas*), or even—though rarely—on to the street.

The spartan fittings of these cells do suggest that the provision of maximum sleeping space was a priority of the designer. There was no bedding to clutter up valuable space. Students slept under a blanket on a mat. Often projecting shelves below the ceiling function as bunk beds; they are reached by wooden bars mortared diagonally across the corners of the rooms so as to form a simple ladder. Sometimes a small table is provided—the students were, after all, issued with paper, pen and ink. A narrow slot beside the door permitted the daily ration of flat bread to be distributed with maximum speed. Since that ration was fixed at one piece per student, the amount of bread set aside per day for the *madrasa* provides the necessary clue in calculating the maximum occupancy for which the building was designed. This quantity of bread was made available daily, according to the requirements of the *waḳf* which financed the institution, irrespective of whether the building was fully occupied or not; in practice, therefore, it often happened that at least some students would have extra rations.

The largest of the mediaeval *madrasas* in Morocco is the Miṣbāḥiyya for which a tally at 227 rooms has been proposed, with 23 on the ground floor alone and the balance in the two upper storeys. A two-storey design is commoner, however, and therefore the ʿAṭṭārīn *madrasa*, in which Bel counted 34 cells, or the Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa*, whose capacity has been estimated at 100 students, are more representative. These are large numbers for buildings designed on such an intimate scale, especially when it is remembered that the prayer hall of such a *madrasa* could serve as the *masdjid* not only for the students and staff but also for the people of the area. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the students lived a hard life—frequently cold, cramped and underfed.

With the fall of the Marīnids, the golden age of the Maghribī *madrasa* was over. Not only are there comparatively few surviving *madrasas* of later date, but the majority of them are either attached to mosques or shrines, and dominated by them, or they are intrinsically of very little interest (Rabat, Ceuta, Tangiers and Ksar el Kebir/Alcazarquivir). Only two deserve closer inspection—the Ben Yūsuf or Yūsufiyya *madrasa* in Marrākesh, dating to 970/1564-5, and the Sharrāṭīn *madrasa* in Fās, dating to 1071/1670, both royal foundations. Their interest lies in their plans rather than in their decoration or structural techniques, for in these latter respects they are disappointingly derivative.

Although the Ben Yūsuf *madrasa* is traditionally believed to have a plan based on that of the Marīnid *madrasa* whose site it occupies, it has a degree of

integration and symmetry foreign to its predecessors. Externally, is forms an almost perfect square but for the projecting polygonal *mihrāb* The internal disposition is admirable in its clarity and economy. Broadly speaking, the arrangement is tripartite, with a large portioned courtyard—containing a substantial pool instead of the usual fountain—acting as the focus of the design and the student cells relegated to the flanking tracts. The oratory, placed as usual along the main axis, is also divided into three parts, a device already encountered in Marinid *madrasas*. The arrangement of the cells, however, is novel, for instead of lining a long corridor they are clustered symmetrically in sixes or sevens around a series of seven small courtyards or *dawāyas*. These are accessible via a cloister-like corridor which encloses the courtyard on three sides and also leads into the patio for ablutions. A similar arrangement is followed on the first floor, so that the *madrasa* contains about a hundred rooms.

A comparable lucidity of planning informs the Sharrāṭīn *madrasa*. Here too the polygonal *mihrāb* projects forcibly, breaking the even thrust of the perimeter wall. This wall is stepped in three places but is otherwise straight. Exceptionally, three separate entrances give access to the corridors which debouch into the courtyard Each of the three lesser courtyard façades is broken by three bays, and the whole elevation rises to an unprecedented three storys. Student cells, mostly arranged around somewhat noisome *dawāyas* more like pits than courtyards, occupy three of the four sides on the ground floor, traditionally, students from various parts of the country—the Tafilalt, the Rif and eastern Morocco—congregate around the appropriate *dawāya* as that each courtyard becomes in some sense a local microcosm The oratory on the fourth side is similar to that of the Bou Yūsuf *madrasa*. Despite the proximity of the building to the Karawiyyīn, the *mihrāb* is seriously out of true, facing as it does the north-east The high walls, cramped courtyard and blank spaces of the building give it a somewhat oppressive atmosphere Its history does not belie this impression, for the *madrasa* was erected on the site of a Marinid foundation, the Madrasa al-Labbādīn, which Mawlāy al Rashīd had ordered to be demolished because its students had brought women there and given themselves over to debauch. Despite the radial symmetry of its plan, the building falls far below Marinid standards so far as its decoration is concerned. The large capacity of them two later *madrasas* and their eminently logical layout put them in a category of their own among Moroccan *madrasas* and make them a worthy coda to a distinguished tradition

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(R. HILLENBRAND)

MADRID. [See MADRĪṬ].

MADURA an island north of East Java, separated from Java by a narrow strait to the north of Surabaya, it is 2,113 sq. miles in area, and has 2,385,300 inhabitants, among them 2,378,047 Muslims (1971). It is divided into four *kabupatens* (regencies): Pamekasan, Sampang, Sumenep (Sungenap) and Bangkalan, all of them being districts in the Indonesian province of East Java.

In the course of history, many of the Madurese settled in adjacent areas of East Java, so participated in the government sponsored transmigration programme to other islands The Madurese language is spoken as "native" idiom by approximately 9 million people. It knows different styles according to the status of the speaking and the addressed person, but the differences are not so great as in Javanese, Balinese, or Sundanese The traditional literature is written to a mixture of Madurese and Javanese, due to the strong influence Javanese culture and language have exercised on Madura. The customs of the Madurese, too, are similar to the Javanese, although they seem to be less refined.

Geologically, Madura is related to North Java, consisting of the same limestone rocks as the hill range around Surabaya and Rembang Fauna and flora, too, are similar to East Java, but the soil is much less fertile. Of great economic importance is the breeding of domestic animals, especially cattle, which at the same time gives provision to the most popular sport, i.e. bull racing, which originally may have been connected with the annual division of the

sawahs, or rice-fields. Another source of income is fishing and trading. As skilled sailors and shipmakers, the Madurese have developed their own type of vessels (*perahu Madura*)

Islam is the religion to which the Madurese generally adhere, but as in other Indonesian societies, *adat* law still exercises its influence. In pre-Islamic times, Madura was divided into two main parts: Western Madura with traditionally close relations to Surabaya, and Eastern Madura with Sumenap as its most important centre. The rules of Sumenap is said to have played an active role in the transition period between the kingdoms of Singasari and Majapahit which was characterised by the turbulences caused by Kubilay Khān's military plans. In both East and West Madura the ruling families are said to have had matrimonial relations with the court of Majapahit. Thus the first (legendary) ruler of Sampang, Lembu Peteng, is described as a son of the Majapahit king Bra Vijaya and the famous "princess of Champa" who confessed Islam. One of his grandsons, according to tradition, was the later Sunan Giri, one of the "nine *walis*" (*wali songo*) who spread Islam in Java. In Sumenap, a certain *adipati* Kungduruhan, presumably a son of the first Muslim ruler of Demak, Raden Patah (d. 1518), played a role during the second and third quarters of the 16th century. These were probably the first Muslim rulers in Madura. After the final fall of Majapahit in 1527, Sumenap participated in fighting the still "heathen" kingdoms in the eastern corner of Java which were supported by the Balinese king of Gelgel (Klungkung). The court of Arya Bava (Bangkalan) embraced Islam in 1528, and the crown prince and later ruler *panembahan* Lemah Duwur, tried to keep peaceful relations with Demak. Later he married a daughter of Adi Vijaya, the *sultān* of Pajang (1548-82), and matrimonial relations with the Javanese *sultāns* continued to exist after Pajang was succeeded by Mataram (1589). Descendants of (West-) Madurese nobility were influential in Mataram, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. The relationship between Sumenap and Mataram, however, was less fortunate: after the whole of Madura was conquered by the army of Sultān Agung in 1624, the ruling family of Sumenap was extinguished. A Javanese prince, Angga Dipa (from Jepara ?) became governor, residing in Sumenap.

After 1670, the situation in Madura became turbulent again. After the defeat of Makassar [*q.v.*] by the Dutch admiral C. Speelman in 1667 and 1669, part of the Makassarese nobility and their soldiers fled to Madura and other areas in North Java to earn their livelihood as pirates. In 1670, *raden* Truna Jaya, a descendant of the last ruler in West Madura, was allowed by the *tumenggung* of Mataram Amangkurat I (1646-77), to reside in Madura, which he soon got under his control. For different reasons not all of them being quite clear, Truna Jaya, who was spiritually supported by the Sunan Giri, joined the Makassarese pirates against the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie, VOC*) and their ally, the *susuhunan*. After having destroyed most of the North Javanese ports (except Jepara) and appeased the Makassarese in 1676, Truna Jaya turned to the interior of Java with his forces, which included part of the Makassarese nobility. In 1677 he lost Surabaya after it was attacked by Speelman and Mataram troops, and he established new headquarters in the old royal town of Kediri in East Java. In the same year he sacked the *kraton* (palace) of the *susuhunan*. After the old *susuhunan*'s death, his son Amangkurat II (1677-1703) took stern measures against his former protégé Truna Jaya and attacked Kediri. Truna Jaya escaped, but finally, at the end of 1679, he was taken prisoner and a few days later killed by the *susuhunan*.

After 1683, the V.O.C. virtually ruled over East Madura, this was legalised by Mataram in 1705, and in 1743 the V.O.C. extended its suzerainty over the whole island. Having old grudges against Sultān Agung and the house of Mataram, the Madurese were in favour of Mataram's being divided in 1755. In the "Javanese War" of 1825-30, they sided with *pangeran* Dipa Negara. This led to a limitation of the local rulers' power by the Dutch, until in 1885 the island was put under direct Dutch rule. During the revolutionary years after World War II, Madura was part of the republican territory as acknowledged by the Linggajati Agreement in 1947.

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(W. H. RASSERS - [O. SCHUMANN])

MADYAN SHU'AYB, a town of north-western Arabia lying inland from the eastern shore of the Gulf of 'Akaba, it is mentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers as lying on the pilgrimage route between the Hidjāz and Syria, which there went inland to avoid the mountainous coast of the Gulf.

The name is connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (LXX Μαδιαμ, Μαδιαν, in Josephus Μαδηνῖται, ἡ Μαδηνὴ χῶρα) but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement, and besides, it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes. In the Old Testament, a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in 1 Kings, xi, 18 where "Ma'on" may conceivably be read). On the other hand, Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii, 2, 1) knows Madiane as a town on the Erythraean

Sea, as does Eusebius (*Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, 276); to Ptolemy (vi, 7, 9) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called Modiana or Modeuna while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name Madiama, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town. In Muḥammad's time there is only one reference (in Ibn Isḥāḳ) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zayd b. Ḥāritha thither. There are occasional references in the poet Kuthayyir (in Yāḳūt), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's journey to Ayla. According to Yāḳūt also, Madyan was occasionally the residence of the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān, and visits to him there by the poet Ibn Ḥarma (*q.v.*) are mentioned. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days journey from Tabūḳ, it was the second station on the pilgrim's road from Ayla to Medina and was a dependency of Medina. In the 3rd/9th century al-Ya'ḳūbī speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. Al-Iṣṭakhrī says it is larger than Tabūḳ and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shu'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then began to decline gradually. In the 6th/12th century al-Idrīsī says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty resources; al-Makrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* describes Madyan as affording its inhabitants only a modest livelihood, with declining trade, and as having various remarkable ancient buildings and ruins still standing there (ed. Būlāḳ 1270/1854, i, 186-8).

It was only in the 19th century that the district of Madyan began to be visited by western travellers like Rüppell and Burton, and was only described in detail in this present century by Musil and Philby, with a preliminary investigation of its antiquities being undertaken recently by a team led by P. J. Parr. The mediæval town probably lay in the middle reaches of the Wādī 'l-Abyaḍ (or Wādī 'l-'Afāl, in its lower reaches are called), which carried the ancient pilgrimage route southwards. On the western side of the wādī, in lat. 28° 30' 30" and 16 miles/25 km. north-east of Maḳnā (Ptolemy's Makna) on the 'Aḳaba Gulf coast, in the archaeological site known locally as Maghā'ir Shu'ayb "the caves of Shu'ayb", referring to a large necropolis with tombs carved into a very soft and friable limestone, hence much worse-preserved than those at Petra. As Musil and Philby correctly surmised, the tombs are Nabatæan, the surface pottery is largely Nabatæan and Roman, and a fragment of a monumental inscription in Latin has been found. Parr's expedition also noted extensive areas of ruins nearby on the eastern side of the wādī, and the participants in the expedition prefer to locate the Islamic Madyan at these tattas sites of al-Maḥṭaṭa and al-Mā'ūn.

In the Ḳur'ān, following the Old Testament, there are repeated references to Madyan as a people (for example, in the stories of Moses' stay with them (XX, 42; XXVIII, 22 ff., 43), where his father-in-law (Jethro in the OT) is still anonymous, or in one of the stereotyped legends of prophets in which the Madyan are punished because they would not believe their prophet Shu'ayb (VII, 85-91, XI, 85-98, XXIX, 35-6). Thus Shu'ayb was later identified with the father-in-law of Moses, for which there is no authority in the Old Testament, but in the early sūras (XV, 78, XXVI, 176-91; XXXVIII, 12/13) it is not the people of Madyan but the *aṣḥāb al-aykа* "men of the thicket" who reject the divine message brought by Shu'ayb. A. F. L. Beeston has recently suggested that these last were the devotees of the Nabatæan deity Dusares or Dhu 'l-Sharā (*q.v.*) (and Musil noted that the lower part of the Wādī 'l-Abyaḍ was full of dense undergrowth) and that they must nevertheless have been closely connected with Madyan, despite the Muslim exegetes' distinguishing of two separate missions for Shu'ayb, the version of Shu'ayb's mission in the Meccan sūras might be considered as that intended for an audience familiar through its trading links with the cult of Dhu 'l-Sharā in northwestern Arabia, and that of the Medinan sūras for one familiar only with the general existence of Madyan. See *The "Men of the Tanglewood" in the Qur'ān*, in *JSS*, xiii (1968), 253-5, and also C. E. Bosworth, *The Qur'ānic prophet Shu'ayb and Ibn Taymiyya's epistle concerning him*, to *Muslim*, lxxxvii (1974), 123 ff., and SHU'AYB.

Bibliography: Levy, in *REJ*, liv, 45 ff. (on Josephus); Ibn Mujāwir, ed. Wüstenfeld, 394; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 208; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 316-17; Iṣṭakhrī, 12, 20, Muḳaddasī, 155, 178-9, tr. Miquel, 161, 212-13; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 341, tr. Wiet, 199-200; Yāḳūt, iii, 557; iv, 431 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 86; Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 142, 328, 333; W. P. E. S. Rüppell, *Reise in Nubien, Kordofan und den peträischen Arabien*, Frankfurt 1829, idem, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt 1838-40, Sir Richard Burton, *The gold-mines of Midian and the ruined Midianite cities*, London 1878, idem, *The land of Midian (revisited)*, London 1879, esp. ii, 184 ff., Th. Nöldeke, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii, cols. 3079-82; A. Musil, *The northern Ḥeǧāz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 109-20, 278-88; H. St. J. Philby, *The land of Midian*, London 1957; A. Grohmann, *Arabien*, Munich 1963, 56-9; P. J. Parr, G. L. Harding and J. E. Dayton, *Preliminary survey in N.W. Arabia, 1968*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Archaeology, London*, x (1972), 23-61, A. Al-Wahaibi, *The northern Ḥijāz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1350*, Beirut 1973, 140-5.

(F. BUHL - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

KITĀB **MAFĀKHIR al-BARBAR**, the title of an anonymous work written to the greater glory of the Berbers of Morocco and al-Andalus, existing in a ms. of the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat (cote 1020 D). E. Lévi-Provençal published from this, as *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge—Nubadh ta'rīkhiyya fī aḵhbār al-Barbar fī 'l-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā* (Collection de textes arabes publiée par l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, i, Rabat 1934), the following extracts, a chapter from Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis* on the relations of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir (*q.v.*) with the Berbers of the Maghrib (pp. 3-37), a passage from Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik al-Warrāḳ's *Mulūḥa fī aḵhbār al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus wa-Fās* on Zīrī b. 'Aṭiyya and his son al-Mu'izz (37-42), an extended section on the revolts, the Berber chiefs and kings in Spain and the Maghrib, stemming in large part from Ibn Ḥammādūh al-Sabtī's *Muḳtabas* (43-60), with the intercalation of passages borrowed from Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Maḍāʾ al-Maghīlī's *Kitāb Anāṣīl al-Barbar* (48-52, 57-8), from al-Warrāḳ on the Almoravids (53), from Ibn Bassām's *Dhaḵīra* on the Barghawāṭa and the Almoravids (54-7) and from Abū 'Alī Ibn Raghīk on the Almohads (59-60), concise biographies of scholars, writers, poets, saints and even false prophets of the Berbers (60-78);

a passage from Ibn Ḥazm's *Jamhara* on the Berber tribes established in Spain (78-80), and finally, a list of the Almoravid governors of al-Andalus according to al Warrāk's chronicle (1-2).

The only indication about the anonymous author comes from the biography of the *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ b ʿAbd al Ḥafīm, where it is said that the latter was alive in 712/1312, the very year in which the compilation was put together. But we have here quite clearly the case of a Berber who, although a good Muslim, is especially proud to belong to a people whose entitlement to glory he undertakes to proclaim, since many people consider this people as "the most erring people, the most ignorant, the most lacking in good qualities and the farthest from virtuous deeds" In order to achieve this aim he eschews retailing all the history of the Berbers since the time, so he says, when they settled in the Maghrib after having *fled* from Syria in the wake of David's killing of Goliath, and limits himself to recalling their part in al Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir's expedition against Algeciras in 368/978 9, but he nevertheless intends to speak of "their kings during the Islamic period, their ahnāf, their rebels, their genealogies and some of their famous men". This programme seems then to have been carried out

Lévi-Provençal thinks that Ibn Khaldūn probably used this *Kitāb Mafākhir al Barbar* and his opinion is substantially shared by Maya Shatzmiller, who has recently drawn attention to the existence, in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat of a ms (cote K 1275) whose contents she has studied in a note *Une source méconnue de l'histoire des Berbères: le* Kitāb al-Anṣāb li-Abī Bayyān in *Arabica*, xxxi/t (1983), 73-9 It is quite certain that the fragments published by Lévi-Provençal belong to this ms, so that the problems posed by a compilation of this kind can now be examined with greater sureness. Moreover, Lévi-Provençal had published *Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, ii/t (1954), 17-43, based on a text which appears equally in the ms in question, and he considered that the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* could well be attributed "with likelihood to Ibn ʿIdhārī", but Mme Shatzmiller comes very near to attributing to Abū Bayyān (654-745/1256-1344) the authorship of the compilation which she describes

(Ed.)

al-MĀFARRŪKHĪ MUFADḌAL b Sa'd, author of the local history of Iṣfahān in Arabic entitled *Risālat Maḥāsin Iṣfahān* The work appears to have been written during the reign of Malik Shāh (465-85/1072-92) Nothing is known about al Māfarrūkhī's life, but it is apparent from the wealth of poetry contained in the work and from the frequent use of rhymed prose that he was an *adīb* He cites his father, Abu 'l Faḍl Sa'd, as his *shaykh* and quotes several of his poems.

He claims descent (92) from one Māfarrūkh b. Bakhtyār who in turn was descended from Aḍhurmāhburān b Ẓāhurmānda, whom he describes as completing the building of the walls of Dīnyar, the fortified nucleus of pre-Islamic Iṣfahān, one hundred and seventy years before Islam. Samʿānī claims (*al-Ansāb*, fol 302b) that the *nisba* al-Māfarrūkhī relates only to *mawālī* of the original Māfarrūkh, but the genealogies of earlier bearers of the *nisba* seem in several instances to go back to Māfarrūkh himself (cf Abu Nuʿaym, *Akhbār Iṣfahān*, i, 234-5, ii, 142, 272, 343). On his grandmother's side, al-Māfarrūkhī claims descent (25-6) from a poet in the retinue of ʿAḍud al-Dawla named Abū Muslim Ṭāhir b Muḥammad, himself allegedly descended from Abū Muslim the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary A final ancestor cited on his maternal grandmother's side was related to a one-time governor (99).

Al-Māfarrūkhī's book reflects his education in *adab* and familiarity with court culture Unlike other local histories of the period, it pays little attention to religion and contains no biographies of *ʿulamāʾ* Instead, it contains poetry in praise of Iṣfahān, descriptions of the area's points of interest, tales from the pre-Islamic period, and encomiums of Būyid and Saldjūkid rulers

An 8th/14th century Persian translation of the work contains many interpolations that postdate al-Māfarrūkhī's composition These have been identified by Browne

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MAFIA, the name of a group of Islands off the Tanzanian coast in approximately 8°S and 40° E. They consist of a main island commonly known as Mafia Island, but by its inhabitants as Chole Shamba (Swa 'Plantation Chole'), a very small island known as Chole or Chole Mjini (Swa 'Town Chole'), Juani; Bwejuu; and Jibondo The only references in Arabic literature are in Aḥmad b Madjīd al-Nadjdī's log books, where it is called Manafiyya, and in the anonymous *History of Kilwa*, where it occurs once as Manfasiya, four times as Manfiyya, and three times as Manfasa. In Portuguese there are further references in a new text *Crónicas dos Reyes de Quiloa* ("Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa"), where it is generally spelt Monfia, and in other historians and archives In Swahili, Freeman-Grenville has published a traditional history of the town of Kua, Juani Island, Mafia; a variant version of this by Amur Omar Saidi, a former *liwali*, has been published by D W. I Piggott, and another version by T M Revington Az Kisimani Mafia (Swa 'at the well of Mafia"), H. M Chittick has excavated the remains of a mosque and other buildings, he has likewise cleared the palace and a number of mosques at Kua, Juani Island.

No consecutive history can be established for the main island. The founder of Kilwa, ʿAlī b of Ḥusayn b ʿAlī, retired to Mafia in his old age, and set up his son Muḥammad as ruler in *ca.* 386/996 He was succeeded by his brother, Bashat, who ruled for four and a half years. The third ruler of Kilwa, Dāwūd b ʿAlī, also made Mafia his residence, after abdicating at Kilwa in favour of his son. In the reign of Dāwūd b Sulaymān of Kilwa (? *ca* 526-68/1131-70) Mafia is mentioned as a mere appanage of Kilwa. It is not mentioned again until the reign of Sulaymān b al-Ḥasan II (*ca* 1204 1308) when it revolted It was recovered *post* 1311 by his son, al-Ḥasan b Sulaymān II (*ca* 1310 33) When the Portuguese took Kilwa in 1505, Mafia passed quietly into their hands They bartered goods for local produce, cattle, ghee and gum copal They had a small blockhouse, but its site has so far not been identified In 1653 the islands were pillaged by the King of Pemba, who was forthwith punished by Francisco de Saixas Cabreira. When the Portuguese lost Mombasa to the ʿUmānī Arabs in 1698 Mafia again quietly changed hands,

and when, after a brief comeback (1728–9), the ʿUmānīs again expelled the Portuguese from Mombasa, several Portuguese residents in Mafia deemed it wiser to become Muslim. Under the ʿUmānīs, Arabs gradually acquired the southern part of the main island, turning it over to coconut plantations, for which its sandy soil is especially favourable.

The excavations carried out by Chittick show that Kisimani Mafia was important from the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries, but that it thereafter declined. According to the diary of Lt (later Admiral) J. B. Eustace, the last inhabitants departed after the disastrous cyclone of 1872. In Kua it has been shown that most of the buildings belong to the 12th/13th century. The site covered some thirty to forty acres, including the palace, and there were at least seven mosques and two cemeteries. It is now totally deserted. There are also late mediaeval Islamic remains on Chole and Jibondo Islands.

In ʿUmānī times, the islands were ruled from Chole. When the Germans took the islands over when German East Africa was proclaimed in 1885, they built a headquarters there and a street of shops, which still survive. The administrative headquarters were in 1911 transferred, however, to Kilindeni, on the main island, and this is the present seat of government. The greatest number of the inhabitants, in all about 26,000, live in the northern part of the main island. They are almost all Muslims. Some aspects of their society have been described by A. P. Caplan. Regrettably, there is no description of the state of Islamic learning, albeit clearly there is a class of *hierati*, at other levels witchcraft practices abound.

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Mafrūshāt (A.), that which is spread out (on the ground or on a bed), bedding

In mediaeval times, there was no adequate, single term for designating furniture and furnishings; this idea was expressed rather by the term *farsh* (meaning not only "that which is spread out" but also, by extension, the more solid domestic objects which filled the role of "furniture" according to western concepts—whence the adjective *mafrūsh* "furnished, provided with furnishings" [see Athāth in Suppl.]) or else by collocations of words such as *farsh* and *āla* (lit. carpets, mattresses and utensils), *farsh* and *athāth* (carpets, mattresses and domestic articles), etc. Carpets, mats and cushions played an important part in domestic interiors, at this time. Complete furnishing ensembles were often put together through the use of various cushions, set around low oriental tables which were quite unsuitable for the use of chairs and stools (seats of this kind existed, but had restricted functions; they were rarely used at meal times [see Athāth]), and by use of cushions there were formed circles (*halka*, with its *sadr* or place of honour, often a seat or a throne, *serir*, *takht*, to palaces) for gatherings of friends, family celebrations, literary discussions, etc. The use of rigid seats and of sofas and couches was more limited, and that of cushions, for sitting upon, more widespread (but this depended on the circumstances and the social setting). People leading a simpler life made do with sitting on very simple cushions or on a carpet or mat, but rarely on the actual earth. However, in the gatherings of high society, the persons farthest from the *sadr* received the lowest seats and had to make do with a single cushion (other persons each got two cushions one on top of the other, or a cushion folded into two—quite a social hierarchy!) or a carpet. Actually to sit on the earth was considered, in such social groups, to be a sign of mourning.

In many households, the carpets and mats were protected by means of a lining, and it was difficult to distinguish the carpets from the mattresses, but *better-off households had clearly-distinguishable* mattresses which were placed on beds with frames (a rare and expensive piece of furniture). On the carpets [see Arsāʾ in Suppl.] were placed other domestic articles which served as mattresses, seats and bedding at one and the same time, according to the so-called "oriental" way of life. Mattresses (*bardha*ʿa, *fadjʿ*, *farsh*, *firāsh*, *hashiyya*, *imtaʿ*, *mudarraba*, *marfad*, *martaba*, *matraḥ*, *mifrāsh*, *farrāsha* and *infisa*) were usually placed on the ground. Cushions (*bardha*ʿa, *dāʾira*, *hashiyya*, *hanbāza*, *kifʿa*, *miḫadda*, *mirfaʿa*, *misdaʿa*, *misnad* or *misnada*, *mutaswara*, *namrak*, *tunfisa*, *tuḫʿa*, *wisāda* or *wisāda*) varied greatly, they were distinguished by their functions (cushions for the back, for sitting on, for leaning on with the elbow and pillows) and by their shapes (big, small, elongated, round, rectangular, etc.). Often, however, their original function had become changed. Thus *miḫadda*, properly "pillow", might be used for sitting upon, and *wisāda*, properly a much larger cushion often used for supporting the back, might be used for "pillow", as the spoken language of mediaeval Egypt, *miḫadda* was used for all kinds of cushions and the word *wisāda* had almost disappeared from usage so that, in order to designate a pillow, resort had to be made to a pleonasm, *miḫadda li ʾl-khadd* "pillow for the head", lit. "for the cheek". "Offering" a cushion (to someone who had been invited) was literally "throwing down" (*tarāha*) a cushion, but this verb was also used, by extension, in the meaning of offering someone a chair, stool, etc., and thus symbolises the transition between a purely "oriental" mode of life and the use, in certain circles, of solid furniture.

Sedentary civilisation was always proud of its luxury cushions (see J. Karabacek, *Susondscherd*, Leipzig 1881, e.g. 72, 81: cushions covered in embroidered tapestry), and sometimes it accused the ancient Arabs of never having had any of them (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, i, 347–8 and n. 85). But this accusation was far from the truth; the Bedouins had their own kinds of cushion (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Fikh al-lugha*, Beirut 1881, 130–1, and

other sources). The arts of weaving, making tapestries and embroidering cushions were widespread amongst Bedouins, country-dwellers and city-dwellers all through the ages. Iconographic evidence of the richness of shapes and functions of mattresses and cushions, as well as the forms and colours of curtains, is given in well-known miniature paintings (e.g. in the series illustrating the works of Dioscorides and al-Ḥarīrī). Curtains and hangings had been known amongst the Arabs since pre-Islamic times, their role in Islamic sedentary civilisation was even more important, as much for the daily life of the greater part of the various social classes as for the palaces and their modes of behaviour (see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898-9, iv, 75; Ps.-Ḍābiṭ, *K. al-Ṭāḍ*, tr. Pellat, Paris 1954, 56 ff.; al-Washshā', *al-Muwashshā*, Cairo 1953, 230-1; al-Shābushtī, *K. al-Diyārāt*, Baghdād 1966, 40, 43, 45, 110, 370, 388, 424; al-Kāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, Kuwait 1959, passim; W. H. Worrell, in *Ars Islamica*, i [1934], 219-22; M. Canard, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 383; D. Sourdel, in *REI*, xxix [1960], 138; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 87, 178, 255). The term *mafrūshāt* (modern Turkish *mefruşat*) still appears today in the labelling and signs of shops which sell curtaining, decorative fabrics, cushions, etc.

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(J. SADAN)

MAFṢŪL (A.), a term used to denote certain juridical categories of landed estates in Syria in the time of the Mamlūks. The word has no connection with the Arabic root *f ṣ l*, but is derived, according to al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii, 256, "from the Frankish" *nastal*.

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MAGHĀRIBA (A., pl. noun), denotes the Arabic-speakers of the Muslim West (Maghrib, pl. Maghārib), as opposed to those of the East (Mashriḳ, pl. Mashāriḳ), known as *Mashāriḳa*. This division of Arabic-speakers into *Mashāriḳa* and *Maghāriba*—which is a continuing process, discernible in the contemporary dialects, variously categorised as Oriental and Maghribī—may be traced from its origins. The frontier between the two major groupings—Muslim Spain included, in spite of its special circumstances and its separate destiny—is still located to the east of Tripoli, at Labda, which accounts for the peculiar situation of Libya, constantly divided between its Maghribī and Oriental associations.

The Arabs who settled on a permanent basis in the West rapidly became sufficiently Maghribised or Hispanised to appear different from their racial compatriots who had remained in the East, as is indicated by a considerable quantity of concordant evidence. From the middle of the 2nd/8th century onward the Arab colony which established itself in the province of al-Kayrawān (the *Ahl Ifrīḳiya*) became aware of its specific local identity (see M. Talbi, *al-Maghrib min al-fatḥ ilā nihāyat al-ruḳ' al-awwal min al-karn al-ḥādī ʿashar al-mīlādī*, in no. 4 of *Silsilat al-dirāsāt al-siyāsiyya*, CERES Tunis 1979, 107-30) in violently opposing, at the time of the great Khārijī insurge of 122/740, fellow-Muslims who had come from the East to support it, while regarding it, it is true, with all the contempt hitherto reserved for Berbers alone. A similar evolution, with opposition between indigenous Arabs (*baladiyyūn*) and "foreigners" arriving at a later stage, is also to be observed in Muslim Spain, although the distinction became blurred in the course of time (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, Paris 1950, i, 44-53, 83, 110, 345). In the East, the Maghribī (pl. Maghāriba) in turn created the impression of a poor relation, and this old mediaeval reflex is so tenacious that it continues to the present day, with varying nuances and in varying degrees, to colour Mashriḳ-Maghrib relations at all levels, including that of music. In spite of all the developments that have taken place, the Maghrib still admires the Mashriḳ and imports from it, much more than it exports to it, cultural consumer goods such as books, films and records.

We are concerned here with a very ancient phenomenon which deserves analysis and explanation, and to which no overall study has yet been devoted. The following are examples dating back to the first two centuries of Islam. Abū Muḥammad Ibn 'Imrān al-Tudjībī (d. 402/743 *or* 745), resident in Tunis, cherished a genuine feeling of exile in this "barren corner", that is the Maghrib (M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 43), the Tunisian Ibn Farrūkh, who studied in 'Irāḳ under Abū Ḥanīfa (80-150/700-68 [*q.v.*]), was humiliated on account of his Maghribī demeanour (*Ri 'l-maghāribiyya, ibid.*, 50); Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 212/827 [*q.v.*]), who became one of the most eminent teachers of al-Kayrawān, was allowed to attend lectures given by Mālik (d. 179/796 [*q.v.*]) on a group of Egyptians, because he was too intelligent to remain in the class of the Maghāriba (*ibid.*, 50), etc. The Maghrib was that visibly subject to an inferiority complex *vis-à-vis* the Mashriḳ, a fact which led Ibn Basām (d. 542/1147) to write indignantly: "The people of our lands are eager to ape the Orientals ... to such an extent that if a raven were to croak in those distant horizons, or a fly to hum in the furthermost extremities of Syria or 'Irāḳ, they would fall on their knees as if before an idol, and recite all this like words of Scripture" (*Dhakhīra*, ed. Cairo 1358/1931, I/i, 2).

This explains why the dominant direction for the movement of elites has above all been established as from the West to East. For purposes of demonstration, it may be noted that al-Makkarī (d. 1041/1041 [*q.v.*]) compiled a list of 307 Andalusians who visited the Orient (*Nafḥ*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1968, ii, 5-704) as against 148 Orientals who made the reverse journey (*ibid.*, iii, 5-149). An even more significant fact is that no great poet of Damascus, of Baghdād or of Cairo, in fact, no poet at all, ever set out on the road to the Maghrib. The *riḥla*, a journey usually with the combined objectives of pilgrimage, of study and occasionally also of trade, took place, for evident religious cult and cultural reasons, in an eastward direction. The traveller usually returned to his own land endowed with knowledge and prestige.

But it very often happened that a traveller settled permanently in the Orient. Thus Maghribī colonies were formed in the major eastern metropolises which marked the pilgrimage routes, particularly at Alexandria, at Cairo, at Kūs, at Damascus, at Medina and at Mecca. In the absence of a systematic general study, their history is still fragmentarily and hyper-

leetly understood. It may, however, be assumed that if the Maghribī presence was felt, and at times concentrated, in the East, it never played in history and in society a role equivalent to that of the Persians or the Turks. In particular, there was no Maghribī shu'ūbiyya, and no influence on institutions or on the style of life.

Berber women were highly regarded in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid courts. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) requested some of them from his governor of Ifrīkiya (M. Talbi, op. laud., 33); Abū Dja'far al-Mansūr (136-58/754-75), himself the son of a Berber mother, Salāma, married a woman from al-Kayrawān, Umm Mūsā, mother of the future caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). Rāḥ, originating from the Nafza tribe, was the mother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil (138-72/756-88), the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain; Ḳaṭūl was the mother of al Mu'taḍid (279-89/892-902), and Karāṭīs was the mother of al Ḳāhir (320-3/932-4; M. Talbi, op. laud., 42-3).

In the armies of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs, the role of the Maghribīs, without ever having the importance of the Khurāsānīs or of the Turks, was far from being negligible. Under the leadership of Ṭārik b. Ziyād Berbers played a decisive part in the conquest of Spain. In 98/717 the army of Ifrīkiya (djaysh Ifrīkiya), led by al-Mughīra b. Abī Burda al-Kurashī, participated in a major assault, which ultimately met with failure, on Constantinople (Abū 'l-'Arabī, Ṭabaḳāt, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 22; Ibn 'Idhārī, Bayān, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 49). In Baghdād it was from the time of the reign of al Mutawakkil (232-47/847-62) that the Maghāriba began to play, in the army and under officers drawn from their own ranks, a considerable role. They received pay equal to that of the Turks (al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, ed. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1968, ix, 155), and, with the latter, they nominated al Mosta'īn (248-52/862-66) as successor to al-Muntaṣir (247-8/861-2; al-Ṭabarī, ix, 256). They abandoned him subsequently, taking an oath of loyalty, again in partnership with the Turks who played the rule of a driving force, to al Mu'tazz (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 287) and participated actively in the civil war which broke out between 251/865 and 252/866 (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 290, 295, 304-39). In 255/869 they took part in the dethronement and assassination of al-Mu'tazz, who was unable to pay their salaries and those of the Turks, and, from this moment onward, they ceased to occupy the forefront of the stage.

It is not until the time of the Fāṭimids that the Maghribīs are seen making a massive influx into the Orient. The Fāṭimids owed their victory to the Kutāma Berbers [q.v.], and the latter followed them to Cairo and to Damascus, forming the spearhead of their army and of their Ismā'īlī propaganda. Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī, the conqueror of Egypt, gave them positions of authority at all levels of powers. "In all functions, without exception, Djawhar appointed a Maghribī as partner to the official who already held the post", writes al-Maḳrīzī (Ittiʿāẓ, 78). Between 361/972 and 363/974, the Kutāma were the instigators of numerous riots in Cairo. In 386/996 they imposed their chieftain, Ibn 'Ammār, on the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1020). In Damascus, the presence of the Maghāriba also led to trouble. The most serious riot, in which they clashed with the indigenous population, broke out in 401/1069. The town and the Great Mosque suffered severe damage.

Numerous representatives of the Maghribī élite were not content with visiting the East; they settled there. Obviously, an exhaustive list cannot be presented here. For purposes of illustration, the following are among the most eminent: al-Turṭūshī, born in Tortosa in 451/1059 and died ca. 525/1131 in Egypt, where he exercised wide influence as a faḳīh and mufti; Ibn Djubayr, the celebrated author of a riḥla, born in Valencia in 540/1145 and died in 614/1217 in Alexandria, where he gathered around him a circle for the study of tradition and of Ṣūfism; Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (560-638/1165-1240 [q.v.]), the most famous and most controversial of the Ṣūfīs, born in Murcia and buried in Damascus in the turba of the distinguished family of the Ibn al-Zakī, who had welcomed him; the historian 'Abd al Wāḥid al-Marrākushī who, born in Marrakesh in 581/1185, took the road to the East in 613/1216 and died there some time after 621/1224, having lived successively in Egypt, Baghdād, the Ḥidjāz and Damascus; Ibn Marzūḳ (ca. 710-81/1310-79 [q.v.]), who, born in Tlemcen, left in 773/1370 for Cairo where he enjoyed high repute and became ḳāḍī, preacher and teacher; Ibn Khaldūn who, born in Tunis in 732/1332, settled permanently in Cairo (784-808/1382-1406), without ever relinquishing his Maghribī clothing, al-Makkarī who, born in Tlemcen in 986/1578, left in 1027/1618 for the Orient, where he composed at the request of his students in Damascus his much-praised Nafḥ al-ṭīb, dying in Cairo in 1041/1641.

Among the contemporaries, the following may be noted: Bayram al Tūnusī (1840-89), author of the Ṣafwat al-i'tibār, who settled in Cairo; the amīr 'Abd al-Ḳādir (1807-83) who, freed and given a pension by the French authorities, in 1855 chose to live in Damascus where he played an appreciable moderating role; 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Wardlighī al-Maghribī (d. 1895), who was one of the most eminent teachers of al-Azhar, and 'Abd al Ḳādir al Djazā'irī (1887-1945), a distinguished member of the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Finally, it may be recalled that the founder of a religion—that of the Barghawāṭa [q.v.]—Yūnus b. Ilyās b. Tarīf (227-72/842-84), sought his inspiration in the Orient (M. Talbi, Ḥérésie, acculturation et nationalisme des Berbères Barghawāṭa, in Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère, Algiers 1973, 217-33), and that the founder of a school and of a state, Ibn Tūmart [q.v.] (ca. 471-524/1078-1130), there brought together the elements of the doctrine which gave birth to the Almohad movement.

The presence of Maghāriba in the East was not confined exclusively to distinguished individuals. It also comprised populous colonies of merchants, students and various types of émigrés. Information on these colonies is very scanty. Only that of the Ifrīḳiyan Jews who settled in Cairo between the 11th and 13th centuries is fairly well-known today, through the medium of the Geniza documents, edited by S. D. Goitein (A Mediterranean society, i, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, ii, Berkeley-Los Angeles -London 1971, iii, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1978; and Letters of medieval Jewish traders, Princeton 1974). These documents reveal a well-organised and perfectly-structured world, endowed with efficient means of communication and of currency transfer, all of this in the service of important commercial operations covering not only the whole of the Mediterranean basin but extending as far as the Indian Ocean. The recent study by J.-C. Garcin has in addition underlined the decisive role played by

the Maghāriba in the restoration and reinforcement of Sunnism in Egypt after the fall of the Fāṭimids. At Kunā (*qv*) on the pilgrimage route and a day's march to the north of Kūs (*qv*), they settled in large numbers. "The town to a large extent owed its new prosperity to the prestige which it acquired when saintly persons, most of them Maghribī, settled there, died there and were buried in its cemetery which became a place of pilgrimage in its own right. These ascetics and mystics were distinguished by their Sunnism, and it was through them rather than through the direct influence of circles in Alexandria or Cairo that the Sunnī 'counter-reformation' spread among the people" (*Un ordre musulman Qāʾī*, Cairo 1976, 161). This example is not unique. Louis Pouzet, in a well-documented article (*Maghribīn à Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle*, in *BEO*, xxvii [1977], 167-99) stresses how the Maghāriba, installed in large numbers in Syria, "where able to profit from circumstances relatively unfavourable towards them (exile and partially enforced emigration, personal difficulties of a doctrinal kind and otherwise, political agitation and upheavals in the very land of their *nisba*, etc.) to establish a presence of the very highest level for some of them, and quite prestigious for the 'Maghribī colony' in Damascus as a whole" (196). In the 18th century, the presence of Maghāriba in Cairo is seen to be more numerous and varied than ever: students at al-Azhar having at their disposal a *riwāḳ* of their own and constituting a pressure-group which could shew itself formidable on certain occasions; traders executing a monopoly over the marketing of certain products such as oil or *ḥarbāḳa*; etc. (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1974, i, 171, 191, 441, ii, 52, 419, 452, 470-6, 507, 518). Their number is estimated at 15,000 or 20,000 persons, firmly installed in certain quarters such as that of the Ibn Ṭūlūn Mosque. On his arrival in Egypt, Bonaparte clashed with them; unable to dislodge them from Cairo, he contemplated utilising them and decided to raise a 'Maghribī battalion" constituted of "energetic scoundrels, no pitiless as their chief" (A. Raymond, *Tunisiens et Maghrébins au Caire au dix-huitième siècle*, in *CT* [1959], nos. 26-7, 364-5). This enterprise failed, since the Maghribīs were among those who responded most enthusiastically to the call for resistance. The establishment of the French in North Africa gave rise to a vast migratory movement, essentially in three phases: 1881-5, 1890-1908 and 1909-14 in general; Algerians settled in Syria, and Tunisians in Constantinople, in Egypt and in Tripolitanie (P. Bardin, *Algériens et Tunisiens dans l'Empire Ottoman de 1848 à 1914*, Paris 1976).

Recent history provides further examples of the continuity of the Maghribī presence in the East. The Tunisian nationalist leader al-Shaykh al-Thaʿālibī, visited Egypt in 1896, met the reformist scholar Muḥammad ʿAbduh, was influenced by him and introduced his ideas in Tunisia (N. A. Ziadeh, *Origins of nationalism in Tunisia*, Beirut 1962, 97 ff.). Later, when the Arab League was created, President Habīb Bourguiba, then leader of the Néo-Destour Party, travelled secretly to Cairo in March 1945. With the Moroccan Istiḳlāl and the PPA (*Parti Populaire Algérien*) he established there, in 1947, the "Bureau du Maghreb" before returning to Tunis on 6 September 1949.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the body of the article, information may be gleaned from all sources of a historical or geographical nature, in particular from the *Riḥla* and the *Ṭabaḳāt*. (M. Talbi)

AL-MAGHĀZĪ (also *maghāzī l-nabī*, *maghāzī rasūl allāh*), a term which, from the time of the work on the subject ascribed to al-Wāḳidī (*d.* 207/823), if not earlier, has signified in particular the expeditions and raids organised by the Prophet Muḥammad in the Medinan period.

The first such sorties is reported by al-Wāḳidī to have involved a party of thirty men led by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, which in 1/623 briefly intercepted a Ḳurashī caravan heading for Mecca from Syria on the coastal route (other accounts differ). The last was an expedition in the direction of Syria by an army of 3,000 men under the command of Usāma b. Zayd in 11/632, immediately following the Prophet's death. For al-Wāḳidī (largely followed by Ibn Saʿd), the compass of the term *al-maghāzī* appears to have included important *ghazwas* (such as those of Uḥud, al-Khandaḳ, al-Ḥudaybiyya, Khaybar, Mecca, Ḥunayn and Tabūk, Badr is elsewhere styled a *ghazwa*, but not by al-Wāḳidī), small-scale *sarāyā*s (such as that of Ḥamza), acts of assassination of individuals (notably Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf), and such other significant events of the period as the pilgrimage of 9/631, the *ḥujjat al-wadāʿ* of 10/632, and the death of the Prophet in 11/632 to this narrower sense of events in the Medinan period, principally expeditions, raids and assassinations numbering in excess of eighty, but also in a broader sense of the Prophet's biography and background, the term *al maghāzī* came to be rooted in the Islamic reflective tradition at an early stage and was perpetuated in later works both for the more serious purposes of ʿIlm, e.g. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (*d.* 463/1071), al-Ḳalāʿī (*d.* 634/1237) and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (*d.* 734/1334), and on a popular level, particularly with poetic embellishments reminiscent of chansons de geste (*see* Paret).

It is this broader sense of the term *maghāzī* which appears to have been prevalent in respect of the earliest Muslim transmissions relating to the period of the Prophet (*see*, for example, the comments by Sezgin, 231, 275). Moreover, while Sachau's suggestion that the term *maghāzī* was a calque on the "struggles" of Christian spiritual athletes (*Das Berliner Fragment*, 448) may be unconvincing, it is nonetheless apparent that it was the term *maghāzī* that characterised the early transmissions and that the term *sīra* emerged only later as signifying a literary genre relating specifically to the Prophet (a 1899, Hartmann (*Die angebliche sīra*, 32) opined that Ibn Isḥāḳ "hat keine *sīra* geschrieben" and it has since been proposed (Hinds, *Maghāzī and Sīra*) (1) that not just Ibn Isḥāḳ but *all* transmitters and compilers before Ibn Hishām (*d.* 218/834 or 213) who dealt with material about the period of the Prophet in general regarded that material as being about *maghāzī*; (2) that Ibn Hishām, in using the term *sīra*, was simply introducing the bulk of the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Isḥāḳ with a term which was in the idiom of his own time and (3) that it was probably al-Wāḳidī (*d.* 207/823) who was the first to view *maghāzī* and *sīra* as fields of study which were related but could somehow be differentiated—a view in which he was evidently followed by Ibn Saʿd (*d.* 230/845). Those scholars who concerned themselves with *maghāzī* and pre-deceased Ibn Isḥāḳ (whose probable date of death was 150/767) included notably ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (*d.* 94/714), al-Zuhrī (*d.* 124/742) and Mūsā b. ʿUḳba (*d.* 141/758) (for further names and details *see* Horovitz; al-Dūrī, *Baḥth*, 29-7, 61-123; and

Sezgin, 276-87); in addition, a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is ascribed to each of seven compilers who died after Ibn Isḥāḳ, but before al-Wāḳidī (viz. Maʿmar b Rāshid (d. 154/770), Abū Maʿshar Nadjīḥ b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 170/786), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b Abī Bakr (d. 176/792), ʿAlī b Mudjāhid (d. 182/798), Yaḥyā b Saʿīd al-Umawī (d. 194/809), al-Walīd b Muslim al-Umawī (d. 195/810), and ʿAbd Allāh b Wahb (d. 197/812)), while the few works dating from the same period which contain the term *sīra* in their titles bear no relation to the Prophet (see Hinds for references).

Just how broad the scope of these early *maghāzī* works was is difficult to determine, since (apart from a few papyri) they survive only in later recensions (in the case of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ) or as fragmented citations in later compilations (in the case of the other works). While the existing recensions of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work are restricted in scope to the period and background of the Prophet, it has been proposed by Marevits (*The earliest biographies*, 155 ff.) in respect of the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Mūsā b ʿUḳba that that work may have included material relating not only to the period of the first four caliphs but also to the Umayyad period. Although Schacht (*On Mūsā b ʿUḳba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, 296) did not accept this proposal, other evidence has since became available to support the view that, in early Islamic times, the subject matter of *maghāzī* was drawn at least from the period of the first four caliphs in addition to that of the Prophet. This evidence is to be found in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* contained within the *Muṣannaf* of the Yemeni *muḥaddith* ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī (126-211/744-827), where the majority of the reports bear the *isnād* Maʿmar b Rāshid from al-Zuhrī and presumably reflect the view of those two authorities about what constituted the proper subject matter of *maghāzī*. The account starts with the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus b. Bukayr's recension of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Maghāzī*), moves on to the background of the Prophet and the main events of his lifetime, and then touches on various events after the Prophet's death, these events include the *bayʿa* of Abū Bakr at the Sakīfat Banī Sāʿida, Abū Bakr's appointment of ʿUmar as his successor, the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the *shūrā*, the *ghazwa* (sic) of al-Ḳādisiyya, and the marriage of Fāṭima.

The published papyri shed little light on the general character of early *maghāzī* works. The earliest relevant document so far known is an eight-line papyrus text dated by Grohmann to the early 2nd/8th century, which contains some details about the battle of Badr (*Arabic papyri from Ḥirbet el-Mird*. Louvain 1963, 82-4, 105). Kister (*Notes on the papyrus text*) has pointed out that the last section of the Chicago papyrus (Or. Inst. 17635) dealing with Badr, Buʾr Maʿūna and the B. al-Naḍīr, which is dated by Abbott to the late 2nd/8th century and attributed by her to Maʿmar b Rāshid (i, document 3), is textually almost identical with a passage in Abū Nuʿaym's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (Hyderabad 1320, 176), where the *isnād* ends with Ibn Lahīʿa—Abū ʾl-Aswad (d. 131/748)—ʿUrwa b al-Zubayr; Kister himself is inclined to ascribe authorship (sic) of the papyrus to Ibn Lahīʿa (d. 174/790). The early 3rd/9th century Heidelberg papyrus on the meeting at al-ʿAḳaba, the conference of Kuraysh in the *dār al-nadwa*, the *hidjra*, and the expedition against Khath'am, which has an *isnād* going back to Wahb b. al-Munabbih, is accorded the Arabic title *maghāzī Rasūl Allāh* by Khoury, although this phrase nowhere appears in the text itself.

It is therefore clear that only the eight-line Khirbat al-Mird papyrus can conceivably be regarded as being from the earliest (i.e. pre-ʿAbbāsid) period, and this is obviously too truncated to provide any definitive picture of the shape of the *maghāzī* works which are reported to have existed at that time. Otherwise, we have only citations at one remove or more in later works, and later references to the existence of early *maghāzī* works. One such report, which has been noted in modern studies, is given by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), with an *isnād* going back to al-Zuhrī, according to which the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, on seeing one of his sons with *ḥadīth al-maghāzī*, gave orders for it to be burned and enjoined him (instead) to recite the *Kitāb Allāh* and know and act according to the *sunna* (*Anonyme arabische Chronik, Band XI*, 172; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 206 (Eng. tr. 191-2), Abbott, i, 17). Goldziher, while remarking that there seems to be "nothing against admitting the existence of such literature in early times", also comments that "the text of this account unmistakeably bears the stamp of those circles who condemned unauthenticated *maghāzī* in favour of authentically recommended traditions", and in this connection he goes on to cite the saying attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal that "three things have no *asl*: *tafsīr*, the *malḥam* and the *maghāzī*" (see also Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 57).

The purport of, and the climate of opinion about, the study of *al-maghāzī* from the second half of the 2nd/8th century onwards are, however, matters requiring further research and only a few brief additional comments can be made here. Ibn Isḥāḳ is reported to have committed his material on *al-maghāzī* to writing for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, who instructed his son al-Mahdī to study the subject with that compiler (Abbott, i, 89; Watt, *The materials used by Ibn Isḥaq*, 31), and Hārūn al-Rashīd's chief *ḳāḍī*, Abū Yūsuf, who had been Ibn Isḥāḳ's pupil (Abbott, i, 92), is said to have been interested in *maghāzī*, *tafsīr* and *ayyām al-ʿarab* (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 207). It is apparent that one practical application of the study of *maghāzī* was in that area of *fiḳh* called *siyar*, which was concerned with the rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims, apostates and rebels. The term *siyar* appears in the *corpus iuris* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī (*kitāb al siyar, bāb al-ghazw wa ʾl-siyar*), is supposed to have been used by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) was the name by which the work of al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774) was known to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfiʿī, and figures in the titles of two works by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), it was, moreover, a term which, as the 8th/14th-century lexicographer al-Fayyūmī explains, "took over from [the term] *al-maghāzī* on the tongues of the *fuḳahāʾ*". While this seems in general to be true, the same type of material also appeared elsewhere under other rubrics: the appropriate section in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik is entitled neither *maghāzī* nor *siyar* but *djihād*, in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī the *kitāb al-djihād* includes the sort of material that the *fuḳahāʾ* were styling *siyar*, but the work also includes a *kitāb al-maghāzī* (as noted above), the later al-Bukhārī has separate books on *djihād* (bāb 1; *faḍl al-djihād wa ʾl-siyar*) and on *maghāzī*, but he seems to be the exception in this respect among the 3rd/9th century compilers of *ḥadīth* material—the other compilations contain books on *djihād* (and, in some cases, *siyar*) but not

on *maghāzī* (his references, see Hinds, *Maghāzī* and *Sīra*). This declining interest in *maghāzī* as such was accompanied by the emergent view that Ibn Isḥāḳ had drawn material from Jews and Christians (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 401, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahḏīb*, ix, 45) and that he and [at least some] other *aṣḥāb al-maghāzī* had Shīʿī inclinations (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400). In addition, the Ḥanbal is reported as having said that Ibn Isḥāḳ's handling of *isnāds* rendered him unsuitable as an authority for *ḥadīth* (*Tahḏīb*, ix, 43), and the same consideration may have been behind his reported denunciation of al-Wāḳidī as *ḥaddāth* (*Tahḏīb*, ix, 364)

There remains the question of how useful the *maghāzī* material is for the purpose of historical reconstruction of the early Islamic period. Here it may be remarked that that there are considerable chronological and other discrepancies between the accounts available, these have been discussed most recently by Jones (*On the chronology . . .*) and Kister (*The expedition of Dīʾr Abī ʿAbla*). In many general terms however, Watt sees "little ground for doubting the truth of the main events of the *maghāzī*" and is of the opinion that "the *maghāzī* material (in the special sense of the main outline of events, and omitting all anecdotes) . . . is an essential foundation for the biography of Muḥammad and his times" (*The materials used by Ibn Isḥaḳ*, 28). On the other hand, Sellheim has attempted to discern the main tendencies of Ibn Isḥāḳ according to "layering" of sources (*Quellenschichtung*), involving an original layer which reflects historical reality, a further layer made up of legendary material about the Prophet, and a top layer reflecting political tendencies of Ibn Isḥāḳ's own time (*Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte*) Such an approach is not wholly incompatible with Schacht's conclusions that an *isnād* cannot alone guarantee the authenticity of a work ascribed to an author of the early 2nd/8th century and that in general "the more perfect the *isnād*, the later the tradition" (*JRAS* [1949], 147). From this standpoint, Schacht has examined the short Mūsā b. ʿUḳba text (an edition of the 4th/9th century) published by Sachau and has challenged Sachau's view that the text contains no elements from the ʿAbbāsid period Schacht has seen the growth in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of traditions ascribed to Mūsā as typical of the way in which spurious information was put into circulation, and has concluded that "the whole of the standard biography of Mūsā in the later works is without documentary value, particularly the touching picture, taken seriously by Sachau and Horovitz, of his regular lectures in a circle of pupils in the mosque of Medina This presupposes the concept of Medina as the home of Islamic learning, a concept which was as yet unknown to Shāfiʿī (d. 204)" (*On Mūsā b. ʿUḳba's kitāb al maghāzī*, 299)

More recently, Wansbrough, who also doubts the feasibility of historical reconstruction of the Islamic period up to *ca.* 200 A.H., has viewed the *sīra-maghāzī* literature (as he terms it) as an Islamic adaption of Biblical salvation history: In his opinion "the earliest expression of Islamic soteriology consisted in membership of the *umma*" and it is in the *sīra-maghāzī* literature "that the earliest formulation of Muslim identity is contained" (*The sectarian milieu*, 89), the conceptual matrix in this (as in scripture and *sunna*) being polemic (103). Wansbrough sees a transition from the *sīra-maghāzī* literature, where *ecclesia* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is historically articulated, to the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature, where *nomos* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is "idealized and hence shorn of its historical dimension" (83), for him, the Ibn Isḥāḳ-Wāḳidī-Bukhārī development from *sīra* to *sunna* marked a passage from loosely structured *narratio* to concise *exemplum* (77-8). In modification of this view, however, it should be remarked that the signification at *sīra* was also close to that of *exemplum* and that the passage was rather from *maghāzī* to *sunna* via *sīra*, the *sīra* material being essentially *maghāzī* material viewed in a new light It can also be noted that, while the narrowing down of the scope of the *maghāzī* to the period and background of the Prophet seems to have been conventional from the 3rd/9th century onwards, it is nonetheless difficult to discern a point at which al Wāḳidī's even narrower definition gained any exclusive currency It seems rather that the two senses of *maghāzī* co-existed. in the broader of the senses, the term echoed an earlier scope which had been yet broader (note particularly the title of al-Kalāʿī's work) and seems to have been used more or less synonymously with the term *sīra* as a genre label, the narrower sense appears to have been a more technical one, i.e. the *maghāzī* "proper", as distinct from the *mathālib* for example. The term *sīra* while occurring as a genre label more or less synonymous with *maghāzī*, also came to signify preeminently the account of the Prophet's life and background as transmitted by Ibn Hishām on the basis of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ—the *maghāzī* which became *sīra* as *exemplum*, only to be largely superseded by the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature

Bibliography: For a general survey, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 237-56, 275-302; Sezgin is incorrect when he suggests (306) that Ibn Ḥadjar *Tahḏīb*, i, 167 ascribes a work on *al maghāzī* to Wahb b. Munabbih (the references is to *maghāzī* material from ['Abd Allāh] b. Wahb)—for further critical comments on Sezgin's remarks about Wahb b Munabbih and *al-maghāzī*, see R G. Khoury, *Wahb b Munabbih. der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23*, Wiesbaden 1972, Teil 1, 12. Sezgin is also incorrect in saying (38) that the *Fihrist* (see 228, 9) attributes a work on *al-maghāzī* to Hushaym b. Bashīr

The main surviving texts (other than major chronicles) dealing with *al-maghāzī* are Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* extant portions (mainly in the recension of Yūnus b. Bukayr) ed. by M. Ḥamīd Allāh under the title *Sīrat Ibn Isḥāḳ* (Rabat 1976) and by S Zakkār under the title *Kitāb al-Sīyar wa 'l-maghāzī* (Beirut 1978); al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. J. M B Jones, London 1966 (for a version in German, see J. Wellhausen, *Muḥammed in Medina. Das ist Vakidi's Kitab al Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, Berlin 1882), ʿAbd al Razzāḳ b Hammām al Ṣanʿānī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, in vol. v of *al Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1970-2, Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawīya* pp. ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1955 (for a version in English, see A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad. a translation of* [Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn] *Isḥāḳ's Sīrat rasūl allāh* (SH), London 1955); Ibn Saʿd, *life* Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Durar fī ʾkhtiṣār al-maghāzī wa 'l-siyar*, ed. Sh Dayf, Cairo 1966; al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifāʾ fī maghāzī rasūl allāh wa 'l-thalātha al-khulafāʾ*, i, ed. ʿAbd al Wāḥid, Beirut 1968; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-'l-shamāʾil wa'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356; al Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al amīn al maʾmūn al-maʿrūfa bi'l sīra 'l ḥalabīya*, Būlāḳ 1875 (with

al-Sīra al-nabawiyya wa'l-*Khabar al-muḥammadiyya* by Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān in the margin)

Other references: M. Hartmann, *Die angebliche Sira des Ibn Isḥāḳ*, in *Der islamische Orient. Berichte und Forschungen*, i, Berlin 1899, 32-34; E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā Ibn ʿUḳba zur Kenntnis des ältesten arabischen Geschichtsliteratur*, in *SBPr AK. W* (1904), 445-60; Caetani, *Annali* i-ii/1; J. Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Isḥāḳ. Literar-historische Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1925, J. Horovitz, *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, in *IC*, i (1927), 537-59; ii (1928), 22-30, 164-82, 495-526; R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur: arabische Dichtungen über die muslimischen Kriegzüge zu Mohammeds Zeit*, Tübingen 1930, J. Schacht, *On Mūsā b. ʿUḳba's kitāb al-maghāzī*, in *AO*, xxi (1953), 288-300, W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956 (339-43 for list of expeditions and dates), N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, *Historical texts*, Chicago 1957 (particularly 14-29, 65-79, 87-90), A. A. Duri, *Al-Zuhrī: a study on the beginnings of history writing in Islam*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 1-12, J. M. B. Jones, *The chronology of the maghāzī —a textual survey*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 245-80; idem, *Ibn Isḥāḳ and al-Wāḳidī: the dream of ʿĀtika and the raid to Nakhla in relation to the charge of plagiarism*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 41-51, al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿinda 'l-ʿarab*, Beirut 1960 (particularly 29-33); Watt, *The materials used by Ibn Isḥāḳ*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Lewis and Holt, London 1962, 23-34; M. J. Kister, *Notes on the papyrus text about Muḥammad's campaign against the Banū al-Naḍīr*, in *AsO*, xxxii (1964), 233-6; idem, *The expedition of Bīʾr Maʿūna*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. Makdisi Leiden 1965, 337-57; R. Sellheim, *Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte—die Muḥammad-Biographie des Ibn Isḥāḳ*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 33-91; Kister, *On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih*, in *BSOAS* xxxvii (1974), 545-71; J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu: content and composition of Islamic salvation history*, Oxford 1978; M. Hinds, *Maghāzī and Sīra in early Islamic scholarship*, in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet*, colloque de Strasbourg, 23-24 octobre 1980, Paris 1983, 57-66. (M. Hinds)

MAGHĪLA, a Berber tribe belonging to the great branch of the Butr and related, if one is to believe the ancient Berber traditions cited by Ibn Khaldūn, to the tribes of Darīsa, Saṭṭūra, Lamāya, Matmāṭa, Ṣadīna, Malāḳūs and Madyūna who lived, in the early Middle Ages, in eastern Barbary.

It is also apparently in the same region that the ancient habitat of Maghīla is to be sought in the period in question. According to the Berber traditions cited by various early Arab historians, the Maghīla after coming from Palestine into North Africa, reached Lūbiya [Libya], from where they made their way to the Maghrib, establishing themselves, before the Arab conquest, in the mountainous regions of this land, probably in the Djabal Dahar and Djabal Tebaga in south-eastern Tunisia. Vivien de Saint-Martin has suggested seeing in the Maghīla the Libyan tribe of the Mecales or Imacles of Corippus (6th century A.D.). This hypothesis appears very probable, despite the opposition of Stephane Gsell. Similarly, another hypothesis of Vivien de Saint-Martin and J. Desanges appears highly likely, according to which the Mecales of Corippus and the Maghīla of the Arabic sources were none other than the Makhlues of Herodotus, a Libyan tribe who lived, in the 5th century B.C., in south-eastern Tunisia. It is there, to the south-east of the Shott al-Djerid, that J. Desanges places the Makhlues and the Mecales. As for the Maghīla, we lack proof of Arabic sources on their habitat in eastern Barbary in the 1st-3rd/7th-9th century, however, Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates them, in his geographical work composed *ca.* 232/846-7, among the Berber tribes of the east, counting them alongside well-known eastern tribes such as the Hawwāra, Darīsa, Warfadjūma, Machta and Nafūsa.

Algeria. The Arab historians and geographers note the existence of two groups of the Maghīla in this country. One of them occupied, in the 8th/14th century, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the countrysides from the mouth of the Chélif on the west as far as the town of Mazouna on the east. It seems that formerly the possessions of this group of Maghīla were larger and that they extended towards the east as far as the environs of the town of Aghīr, where al-Bakrī locates, in the 5th/11th century, "at the entrance of the great desert", the town of Tāmaghīt, whose name seems to be strictly linked to that of Maghīla. Further to the west, al-Bakrī places, at two days' journey from Tāhart, a castle which also bore the name of Tāmaghīt. It is again in the environs of Tāhart that there is to be found, according to al-Bakrī, at a distance of five *farsakhs* from the sea, very near Oued el Khamis, to the north of the town of Mazouna, a locality called Kal'a Maghīla Dalīl, also doubtless named after a section of the Maghīla who lived there. On the west side also, the limits of the territory of the Maghīla exceeded, in the 5th/11th century, those of the 8th/14th century. Indeed, it is in the territory of the tribe of Maghīla that the town of Aslou was situated, which was to be found immediately to the east of the mouth of the Tafna, and to the east of the island of Arashkūl, Rachgoun on our maps. It is from one of the ports of the Algerian Maghīla that there set sail, in 238/755, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya, in order to disembark at al-Munakkab (Almuñecar) in al-Andalus. In our opinion, the port is none other than Marsā Maghīla, an anchorage situated a little to the west of Ténès, which is noted in the geographical work of al-Bakrī.

Another Algerian section of the Maghīla lived, in the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries, in a region situated in the province of Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldūn says that the Zanāta tribe of Banū Ifran domiciled in this region, supported by Berbers of the tribe of Maghīla, revolted in 144/765 against the ʿAbbāsids, "having chosen as their chief Abū Kurra the Ifranid, or rather the Maghīlid". In another passage of his work, Ibn Khaldūn however puts in doubt Abū Kurra's belonging to the Maghīla. He says only that the Banū Ifran and the Maghīla lived alongside each other, the Banū Ifran being stronger and more numerous. According to another passage of Ibn Khaldūn's work, the Maghīla professed the Ṣufrī faith. They lived always in the lands which depended on the town of Tlemcen towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, and al-Bakrī cites an Arabic poem which speaks of the losses of this tribe in a war which took place in 338/949-50.

Morocco. In Morocco also, there were, according to al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Khaldūn and other Arab mediaeval authors, two branches of the tribe of Maghīla, of which the remnants lived in the

8th/14th century dispersed in the triangle formed by the towns of Fās, Meknès and Sefrou. One of these branches occupied the region situated to the south-east of Fās, where the mediaeval Arab geographers place, halfway between Fās and Meknès, the fortress called Maghīla. Al Bakrī also locates there a district called Maghīla, which, in his period, was under the command of a certain Mūsā b. Djalīd. Al-Bakrī places to the south of Fās, on the road leading from this capital to Sidjilmāsa, two localities doubtless inhabited by the Maghīla, of which one was called Maghīlat Ibn Tidjānīn (its population professed the Ṣufrī faith), while the other was Maghīlat al-Kāf. It seems that these two fortresses belonged to the same branch of the Maghīla as that which was governed Mūsā b. Djalīd. They were also perhaps the same Maghīla as those who, united with the Awraba and Sadīna, supported the cause of the Idrīsids from the arrival of Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh in the north of present-day Morocco. Another branch of the Maghīla occupied, in the 5th/11th century, the district of Maghīla which al-Bakrī locates to the south of Oued Ouergha, to the north-west of Fās and which has to be distinguished from the district of Maghīla situated to the south west of the same town.

It may further be added that it is to the tribe of Maghīla that Ibn Abī ʾl-Maḥāsin al-Maghīlī belonged, author of a genealogical work devoted to the Berbers and quite frequently cited in the Maghribī chronicles.

Bibliographie. Bakrī, *Description*, 66, 79, 81, 111, 143, 147, 155-6 (tr. 137, 159, 164, 218, 274, 280, 294); ʿAbd al-Hakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, ed. A. Gateau, Algiers 1947, 34, 35; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, tr. i, 172, 221, 248-9, 301, iii, 196, iv, 438; Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ar. text, 91, tr. 66, Jean-Léon l'Africain (Leo Africanus), *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 247 and n. 360; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, Ar. text, 57, 76, 78, tr. 65, 87, 89; J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'antiquité classique à l'ouest du Nil*, Dakar 1962, 107, 113-4, and maps no. 4 and no. 8; H. Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875-81, i, 349; Stephane Gsell, *Hérodote*, Algiers 1915, 130-8; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, Paris 1962, i, 114 and n. 338; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Arabica occidentalia*, i, *Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 23; Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*, Paris 1863, 55.

(T. Lewicki)

al-MAGHĪLĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, reformist *faḳīh* of Tlemcen, chiefly famed for his persecution of the Jewish community of Tuwāt (Touat) in the Algerian Sahara and for the advice he gave to Sudanic rulers. The general outline of his career is fairly well established, but many details remain obscure. He was born in Tlemcen ca. 1440 of Berber stock and studied under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tha'ālibī (d. 875/1470) and Yaḥyā b. Yadīr al-Tadalīsī (d. 877/1472). At an uncertain date he took up residence in Tamantīt, then the principal fortified town (*ḳaṣr*) of the Tuwāt oasis, which was closely linked to Tlemcen and to the towns of the Sudanic belt by the ties of commerce.

The prosperity of the Jewish community there and in the neighbouring oasis of Gurāra, and the connivance of the Arab chiefs in ignoring the letter of the law in regard to these "protected persons", aroused his ire. He wrote a treatise (*F fi aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*) asserting that the Jews of Tuwāt had broken their pact (*ʿahd*) with the Muslims, and thus forfeited their protection, by not paying *djizya* regularly in a state of "abasement and humiliation" (*al-ghilī wa ʾl-ṣaghīr*) and by "rebelling against Islamic laws" (*al-tamarrud ʿalā ʾl-aḥkām*) through too close an association with their Muslim overlords. He also claimed that the existence of the Tuwāt synagogue was contrary to Islamic law and demanded its destruction.

Both he and the *ḳāḍī* of Tamantīt, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAṣnūnī, who opposed his views, sought the support of North African scholars. The majority favoured al-ʿAṣnūnī's interpretation, but the support al-Maghīlī received from two Tlemcen scholars, the historian al-Tanasī and the theologian al-Sanūsī (al-Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib*, Fās 1315/1897 ff., ii, 170-201, tr. in *Archives Marocaines*, xii [1908], 244-65, who adds his own view which supports theirs), was sufficient to encourage him to rouse a mob to destroy the synagogue. He also offered seven *mithḳāls* of gold for every Jew killed.

Not long after these events which probably took place shortly before 1490, al-Maghīlī left Tuwāt, possibly expelled on account of his unwelcome zeal, but this is not clear. It may be at this period that he visited Fās, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish his influence with the Waṭṭāsid sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh (Ibn ʿAskar, *Dawḥa*, 96, is the one source to report this bizarre episode). He then left North Africa for *Bilād al-Sūdān*, stopping first at the important commercial centre of Takidda (Tezzida, identified with Azelik to the west south-west of the Air massif) to teach and preach, and passing on to Katsina and Kano, thus burgeoning city-states. He had contact with the ruler of Kano, Serīki (*sarkī*) Muḥammad Rumfā, as early as 879/1491-2, when he addressed him a letter on "deterring people from forbidden acts" (text in Būnā's edn. of *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, misleadingly titled *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* [a different work by al-Maghīlī], 73-7). He evidently resided several years in Kano, for a family there still claims descent from him (and "Sharīfian" status), and it is no doubt while he was there that he wrote his longer treatise of advice for Muḥammad Rumfā (published under the inverted title (*Tādj al-dīn fī mā yadjib ʿalā ʾl-mulūk*, Beirut 1932).

The date and duration of his visit to Katsina are not known, but before the close of the century he was in Gao advising the Songhay ruler Askia Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr after the latter's return from pilgrimage. His replies to that ruler's questions legitimised the Askia's seizure of the goods and chattels of his predecessor, Sunnī ʿAlī, and strengthened his claims to sovereignty over a wide area of Muslim territory in the Sudanic belt. On hearing of his son's death in Tuwāt at the hand of a group of Jews, al-Maghīlī called on the Askia to arrest all Tuwātīs in his realm and only the opposition of the *ḳāḍī* of Timbuktu, Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar, prevented persecution. He subsequently returned to Tuwāt and died there under unknown circumstances in 909/1503-4 or 910/1503-6.

His known writings total twenty-six items, mainly on topics of *fiḳh* and *tawḥīd*. He also had an interest in formal logic (*manṭiḳ*). He exchanged verse polemics with al-Suyūṭī, who declared its study forbidden, and wrote a treatise called *Manaḥ al-Wahhāb fī radd al-fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-manṭiḳ*, which was widely studied in West Africa. The treatises he wrote during his Sudanic tour were known to the 19th century reformers of

Māsina and Sokoto ʿUṯmān b. Fūdī (*q.v.*) used his arguments concerning the anathematisation (*takfīr*) of Sunnī ʿAlī to justify his attacks on the Hausa rulers and other passages of the "Replies" were quoted to show that Bornū was a "land of unbelief".

The Kunta (*q.v.*) revere him as one of the four "regenerators" (*mudjaddidūn*) of the 10th century of the Hidjra. They, and all other Kādirīs of West Africa whose affiliations go back through the Kunta *silsila*, consider him an important link in the chain, though the chain can be shown to be chimerical, and it is doubtful if al-Maghīlī himself had received the *wird* of the order.

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(J. O. HUNWICK)

MAGHNĀṬIS, Maghnāṭīs, Maghnāṭīs, Arabic rendering of ἡ μαγνῆτις (λίθος), indicating 1. the magnetite and 2. the compass.

1. The Magnetite and Magnetism

The magnetite (lodestone, magnetic iron ore, Fe_3O_4) is a very widely-spread mineral, well-known since antiquity, and found in huge quantities in individual deposits as well as a finely alloyed constituent of almost all kinds of volcanic rock. The Islamic natural scientists, geographers, cosmographers and encyclopaedists transmit much information about its properties. The magnetite is first of all "the stone which attracts iron" (see e.g. al-Khāzinī, *Mafātīḥ*, ed. Van Vloten, 162 f.). Al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, Haydarābād 1355, 218-19, has a circumstantial chapter on it. According to him, *maghnāṭīs* shares with amber (*kahrabāʾ*) the property of attraction, but is more satisfactory than the latter for extracting particles of iron from the human body. The name is correctly explained as being Greek, while *arsmāṭīsā* (ἀδάμας or ἀδαμάντινον) and *abraḥālīs* (λίθος Ἡρακλεία) are given as synonyms, although the first, as is well-known, indicates the diamond; for the confusion of the magnet and the diamond in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, see E. O. von Lippmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, i, Berlin 1923 (new impression Wiesbaden 1971), 182, 234, 213 ff. Referring to earlier authors, al-Bīrūnī records that the blue magnetite—which he did not know himself—was considered to be the best; it was burned by many people and sold as *ḥaidjāra* (haematite). According to the same author, the black-brown, and further the iron-coloured, were equally appreciated. The richest deposits known to him were those of Zābidja in south-east Anatolia. From the fact, however, that ships in the China Sea (*al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar*) were kept together by vegetable fibres, but those in the Mediterranean Sea carpentered with nails, he concludes that the richest deposits of magnetite occur in the submarine mountains of the China sea, since it is exactly there that the nails would be attracted by magnetism and ships would disintegrate. In the mountains of Zābulistān (*q.v.*, in eastern Afghānistān) magnetite is said to occur as solid rock, on their sun-lit outer surfaces the power of attraction would be weak, but in the inside strong, as al-Bīrūnī himself had ascertained by means of a collaborator.

Other denominations of the lodestone, based

on confusion, are *ḥāʾit* or *ḥaǧar al-baṣa* (i.e. the haematite, which results from converting magnetite or other minerals), *adamas al-iḏṭirāri* (i.e. the diamond ἀδάμας *ovatos* "indomitable", from which *iḏṭirāri* can possibly be explained), *lāhi* (see below), *baramiḏ* (possibly through Romance *calamita*, derived from κάλαμος, but cf. for this E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte der Magnetnadel bis zur Erfindung der Kompasses (gegen 1300)*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iii/1 [Berlin 1932], esp. 15-20)

The notion that lodestone and iron are connected as the lover and the beloved, was spread very widely: iron is "obedient" to the stone because of a divine power inherent in the latter, and is attracted to it like the lover to the beloved (al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAǧāʾib al-maḫlūqāt. Kosmographie*, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 239, below), between the two exists a profound *inclination: when* iron "smells" the magnet, *it moves* towards it until it clings to it and holds on tight to it, as the lover to the beloved (*op. cit.*, 210, cf. also *Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ii, Beirut 1376/1957, 210 f.). This image was expressed poetically by Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. Pétrof, 8, 20-9, 9, cf. R. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 249-52. In other comparisons, the *tertium comparationis* is formed by the swiftness of reaction: the "phlegm" (*balġam*) combines with the soul quicker than iron with the magnet (M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 99). This conception is connected with certain theories developed by Ḏjābir b. Nayyān in his *Kitāb al-Raḥma*. "The strongest factors existing in this world are the delicate spiritual things which cannot be observed with the senses, but only with the intellect, like the stone which attracts iron through an immaterial power that can neither be felt nor seen: it permeates the solidness of brass (*ṣufr*) which finds itself between it (i.e. the magnetite) and the iron" (Ar. text in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge*, iii, Paris 1893 [reimpr. 1967], 144-5; French tr., *ibid.*, 173). Thus the Arabs were aware that the magnetite is efficacious through other bodies. A few sentences further on it is said: "We found (?) a magnetite which lifted a weight of 100 *dirhams* (= 312, 5 gr. according to W. Hinz, *Islamische Maße und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 3). We left it alone for a while and then tested it with another piece of iron, which however it did not lift. We thought this to be heavier than the 100 *dirhams* which it had lifted earlier. But when we weighed it, it had a weight of less than 80 *dirhams*, so its power had decreased, although its mass (*ǧirm*) had remained the same." From these observations it was rightly concluded that in course of time the lodestone loses part of its power of attraction. Thus the carrying capacity of the magnet used by "Geber" was quite considerable; for further quantitative indications by al-Ibšīhī and al-Tīfāšī, see Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 33.

Iron filings, put in a pan which one keeps in one hand while with the other a magnetite is moved backward and forward underneath the pan, follow these movements. Also, when the stone is brought near to a needle, it attaches the latter to itself, and likewise other needles which are strung to the first one, so that finally all of them are joined as it were to a string by an "immaterial power"; in the same way rings can be hung to one another (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, Ar. text 106, Ger. text, 154).

Next to its attractive power, the magnet has also a repelling power: when held over an ant-hill, it drives the ants away. When smeared with the saliva of a fasting man, it loses its attractive power. This power disappears also when the magnet is rubbed with garlic or onions, but when cleansed from garlic and put in the warm blood of a freshly-slaughtered billy-goat, the power returns (al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAǧāʾib*, 238, al-Dimašḳī, *Nuḵbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, Arabic text 73 f., French tr. 85; Ibn Kutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, Cairo 1346/1928, 108; (Pseudo-) Madjrīṭī, *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig-Berlin 1933, 399, 15-6, tr. 406). The following observation of Ibn al-Faḳīh (*BGA*, v, 67, 134) is also worth noticing. When a knife or sword is rubbed against the rocks of a mountain near Āmid, they carry iron and attract needles more powerfully than lodestone. The latter itself does not possess attractive power, but when a knife or sword is rubbed against it, *it attracts iron. This power is said to be preserved* for a very long time, namely a hundred years. As Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, i, 36) remarks, magnetism is preserved in sword and knife because they are made of steel: they are a "permanent" magnet.

The question of the causes of interaction between magnet and iron has apparently also been studied in a more general way. No less a person than al-Rāzī wrote an essay entitled *Kitāb ʿIlal: diqāḳ ḥaǧar al-maġnāṭīs li ʾl-ḥadīd wa-ʿilm ḥalāʾihi fī ʾl-ḫalāʾ*, "Book on the cause of the attraction of iron by the magnet, containing an extensive treatise on empty space". For this work, which unfortunately is lost, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 320, 11-2, and, for a shortened title, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 301, 24-5. The essay probably examines whether and how the magnet is effective through empty space. Al-Tīfāšī recognized the chemical relation between iron and magnet from which the effectiveness is to be deduced. According to him, the attractive is based on reciprocity; deep inside, the lodestone has transformed itself into iron, for both minerals have the same nature which explains the inclination and love to each other "since the beginning of their existence" (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, i, 34 f.). According to al-Ṭuġrāʾī (*apud* Wiedemann, *i*, 699), the lodestone belongs to the stones which contain spirits.

It was believed that there existed a number of other stones with attractive power, apart from the iron-magnet the gold magnet which attracts gold, and when calcified, possesses the efficacy of the iron magnet, the silver magnet which is extraordinarily powerful (at a distance of five ells it attracts an ounce of silver); the brass and copper magnet, which, among other things, are used as a remedy against epilepsy, the lead magnet, ugly and evil-smelling, the flesh magnet, so-called because, if put on fish, it sticks fast to it and, if pulled away, rips off pieces of it; the hair magnet which attracts hair and, if moved over the head, tears it off; finally, the sand magnet, which pulls out finger-nails (J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, Ar. text, 109 ff., Ger. text 155-9). Other magnets are enumerated by al-Dimašḳī (*Nuḵbat al-dahr*, Arabic text 74-7, French text 85-9), who remarks *inter alia* that gold is the magnet of mercury, when they come together, gold attracts the mercury and mixes with it; when filings of gold, lead, copper, iron and tin are mixed and mercury is then added, the latter goes in search of the gold filings and mixes with them, but not with the other filings because a "magnetic friendship" (*ṣadāḳa maġnāṭīsiyya*) exists only between mercury and gold. A number of similar magnets are catalogued by al-Kazwīnī (*op.*

rit, 235 f.) under the term *lāḳiṭ* ("gleaning, collecting"), like *lāḳiṭ al-ghubār*, *l. al-rayāḥ*, *l. al-ḥaṣā'ir*, etc.

It is hardly to be wondered that, already in early times, all kinds of legends were coupled to the attractive power of the *maghnāṭīs*. Al-Dimashḳī, for instance, relates that in the "monastery of the idol" (*dayr al-ṣanam*) an iron idol is floating free in space under a cupola. This statue is said to be the work of Vabālīnus (Apollonius of Tyana), who had constructed a cupola from lodestone in such a way that the magnetic power was acting upon the statue so evenly from above and from the sides that it was floating exactly in the middle of the space (*apud* Wiedemann, i, 359). Al-Kazwīnī, *Āṯār al-bilād*, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 63, relates a similar story from the town of Sūmanāt (Somnath) in Gudjarāt. The secret was only disclosed when Sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin visited the temple and one of his companions took out one stone after the other from the cupola, the floating idol then sank to the floor. Christians in the West believed that Muḥammad's coffin was either made of some naturally magnetic substance and hovered in the air under a dome whose walls were covered with iron, or was made of iron and floated freely thanks to two magnets fixed in the roof and in the floor of the tomb (see Ch. Pellat, *Note sur la légende relative au cercueil de Mahomet*, dans *Bull. des Ét. arabes*, xxiii, Algiers 1945, 112-13, repr. in *Études sur l'histoire socio-culturelle de l'Islam*, London 1976, xii). For other examples—both classical and talmudic—of free-floating idols and other objects, see J. Löw, *Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*, ed. A. Schreiber, Hildesheim 1969, 131. Of ill fame were the magnetic mountains or islands which extracted the nails from the ships and sank them, for instance in the Red Sea (al-Kazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 172) or in India (*ibid.*, 239; Roska, *op. cit.*, Ar. text 108 f., Ger. text 155; Ibn al-Diazzār, *Kitāb al-I'timād fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 85a, 7-10). Magnetic mountains became best known through the stories of Sindbad the Sailor.

The reciprocal relations between electric and magnetic phenomena were not known. However, the Arabs were aware of the parallel, already drawn by Galen, existing between the transmission of the efficacy of the electric fish (i.e. of the electric ray *raʿsh*, Ar. *raʿsh*) and that of the magnet (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, i, 32). The Arabs themselves perceived an highly unsatisfactory the fact that their efforts to explain magnetism in a physical way remained unsuccessful. A regretful observation of Ibn Buṭlān (*apud* Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 313, 9-11) makes this clear: "Does iron strive for the stone out of longing, or does the stone attract iron by force? How painful (*ḥabīb*) is it for us not to understand this without any doubt, although we observe it with our senses."

In medicine, the lodestone does not seem to have been applied widely, although it is found in almost all pharmacopoeias (see D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1976, 274). It is potent for draining away thick mucus and, if held in the hand, for removing spasms and pains in hand and foot. It is administered to those who have swallowed iron filings or rust in order to attract and remove them. Strewn on gaping wounds in pulverised form, it convients them. In cases of gout caused by heat, it allays the suffering if applied after being rubbed with vinegar. He who wears a lodestone round his neck will have a good memory and does not forget anything. Used in pulverised form as an eye make-up, it stimulates love relations. It helps a pregnant woman to have an easier confinement, worn in a sandring, it brings good luck, etc.

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(A. DIETRICH)

2. The compass

The Arabs of the East became acquainted with the compass through Chinese sailors, without however at first giving it a special name, there was considerable traffic between the Persian, etc. ports and Southern China. Thence it came to Syria and thus to the Mediterranean ports of Europe. The compass had very probably, however, already reached the north of Europe by the trade-route of the Russian rivers as early as the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. This explains why the compass was known earlier in the north than in the south of Europe, and perhaps explains also why the Normans were able to undertake long

voyages by sea (cf. R. Henning, *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. deutscher Naturforscher etc*, 84th Versammlung, 1912 [1912], 95).

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south, as Mecca lay to the south of most places, as Syria etc. the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] corresponded almost exactly to the south

The oldest passage in which the word *ḥaramī* perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (*calamita*) occurs is given by Doay for the year 239/854 in his *Supplément*, ii, 337, who found it in *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*) edited by him. Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (*MSOS*, Berlin, x/1-2 [1907], 268). From the fact that in narratives of travels of the 9th century A.D and that in al Mas'ūdī (923) the directions are given in the same way as on mariners, G. Ferrand concluded that the compass was already in use then. The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of Ḥarīrī, it is in his *Lubāb al-adab* (ed. Browne and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī). A captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a *magnāṭīs*. A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetic fish at sea is made by al-Makrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270, i, 240, Cairo 1324, i, 357. *Z f Phys.*, xiv [1924], 286)

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640/1242 by a certain Bayāsī al-Ribḍākī in the *Kitāb Kanz al-tujjār fī ma'rifat al-aḥjār*. A needle which has been rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw, etc. Sometimes a cross made of two straws is used. The arrangement is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction, the latter is then quickly withdrawn. The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the *ḳibla*. The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance. By the turning, the often very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely. The turning is, however, not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water

Al-Zarkashī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small, beautifully-painted, wooden fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed. In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a *miḥrāb* drawn upon it is also used. Finally, an apparatus just like our compass is described. Two magnetic needles are placed symmetrically on the centre under a circular piece of paper. Under the centre of the paper a funnel is placed which turns on a point, the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called *bayt al-ḳibla* "vessel, box for the *ḳibla*", or *bayt al-ibra*, "house of the needle", according to Niebuhr, the same name is still given to the compass. At the present day, similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial. Another very full description is given by a certain Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasanī in his *al-Nuḳūsh al-ghariba* (cf. E. Wiedemann in the *Z für Physik*, xiii [1923], 123; there is a manuscript in Beirut in addition to those mentioned here. Whether the Cambridge one was written in 1103 or 1588 cannot be ascertained with certainty). The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand. One end of the needle no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it

An important passage in an anonymous work "Preparation of the bowl (*idra*) to ascertain the *ḳibla* and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, no. 5812). Here the point of the needle points south, the eye to the north (the rubbing [*ḥakk*] of the needle explains the peculiar modern name *ḥikk* for the compass)

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish *e.g. pusula* from the Italian. We will only note that on the rhomb-card the south is called *al-ḳibla* and also *al-janūb* (cf. thereon, for example, K. Foy, *Die Windrose bei den Osmanen und Griechen und Benutzung der Bahriya des Admirals Piri Reis vom Jahr 1520*, in *MSOS*, Berlin xi/2 [1908], 234 ff.)

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the first part of the *Bibl.* to section i above, see J. Klaproth, *Lettre à M. Al. de Humboldt sur l'invention de la boussole*, Paris 1834; E. Wiedemann, *Über Geschichte des Kompasses bei den Arabern*, in *Verhandl. der physikalischen Gesellschaft*, ix (1908), 764-73; id. (1909), 262-6, xxi (1919), 665-7; *Z. für Physik*, xiii (1923), 23-26, xiv (1923), 240, xxiv (1924), 266-8, G. Ferrand, *Notes sur l'histoire orientale* (*Contribution à l'histoire de la boussole*), in *Publications du l'Institut des hautes études marocaines, Mélanges René Basset*, i, 1923, 1-16, W. C. Brice, *Compasses, compass and Kanabis*, in *JSS*, xxix [1984] 169-78.

In the *Beiträge*, ii, the earlier literature is collected. Thus is also done in other works e.g. by Clément Mullet on the compass. Of special importance are the works of A. Schück (*Der Kompass*, etc., Hamburg 1912, 1915 ff.), which also deal with the Bussole in China. (E. Wiedemann)

MAGHNISA, modern Turkish form Manisa, classical Magnesia, a town of western Anatolia, in the ancient province of Lydia, lying to the south of the Gediz river on the northeastern slopes of the Manisa Dağı which separates it from Izmir or Smyrna (lat. 38° 36' N., long 27° 27' E.)

In Greek and then Roman times, Magnesia ad Sipylum was a flourishing town, noted amongst other things for the victory won in its vicinity by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria in 190 B.C. and continued to flourish under the Byzantines (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* xxvii, 476-3). After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, the Byzantine emperor John Ducas retired to Magnesia and held out there till 1255, it was also the seat of a bishopric, which seems to have disappeared however by the 14th century.

Out of the ruins of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Rum, a Turkmen chief Ṣārū-Khān (d. 1345) established himself in the town in 1313 and made Maghnisa the capital of his *beylik*, one which endured for over three-quarters of a century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, ii, 218-24, tr. Gibb, ii, 447-8, visited what he calls Maghnisiyya during Ṣārū-Khān's reign, and stayed in a *zāwiya* or hospice of one of the local *fityān* (i.e. of the Akhīs [*q.v.*]). he praises its *ajnād* and its ammunition. The Ulu Djāmi' of Maghnisa dates from this period also, and re-uses Byzantine materials. The Ṣārū-khān-oghullari [*q.v.*] continued to hold the town till 792/1390 or the next year, when the Ottoman Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] conquered it and gave it to one of his sons. After Timūr's victory at Ankara in 803/1401, Timūr gave Maghnisa to his grandson Muḥammad (see Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed.

Calcutta, ii, 466-7), and the town was then briefly restored to the descendant of Şārū Khān, Khiḍr Shāh Beg; but the latter was deposed and killed by the Ottoman Meḥemmed I in 813/1410.

Under the Ottomans, Maghnisa, from its nearness to the capital Istanbul, was often governed by the sultan's eldest son and regarded as a stepping-stone to further advancement. After his abdication in 848/1444, sultan Murād II retired to Maghnisa, leaving it to combat the Hungarian Crusaders but returning after his victory at Varna later that year (Von Hammer, *GOR*[1], i, 351, 357); the remains of his palace and garden are still visible.

Concerning the tax-paying population of the town, we possess figures for 937/1530-1 and again for 983/1575-6 Compared to other Anatolian cities, Maghnisa during the 10th/16th century experienced only moderate growth, from 1,356 taxpayers (about 6,000-7,000 inhabitants) at the first date to 1,995 taxpayers (about 7,000-8,000 inhabitants of the second one). This is all the more noteworthy as Maghnisa during this period continued frequently to house the courts of Ottoman princes, so that much public construction took place in the town. The Khātūniyye mosque was built in the name of Prince Shāhinshāh's mother Hüsnüshāh, while the Sultāniye mosque, which possessed shops and taxation rights in Urla near Izmir, was founded by Kānūnī Süleymān's mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān As the last Ottoman prince residing in Maghnisa, sultan Murād III [*q.v.*] had the Murādiyye *külliyye* or complex constructed by his chief architect Koǧa Sinān (994/1586)

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, the area between the Gediz Çayı and the Büyük Menderes rivers produced grapes and figs for consumption in Istanbul. To assure a regular supply for the Ottoman capital, a large number of official rescripts prohibited both wine-making and the exportation of raisins Throughout the 11th/18th century, the exportation of cotton was equally forbidden But for reasons not completely understood, this prohibition was reversed in the 1620s Export trade in cotton particularly developped in the course of the 12th/18th century, when the area was controlled by a family of *a'yān* as notables known as the Kara ʿOthmān Oghullari (see below) The French traveller Pittas de Tournefort, who visited Manisa about 1700, stated that the cotton trade was the only major activity visible in the town [see on this trade, EUROPE 2. In the Ottoman empire]

When Ewliyā Čelebi visited Maghnisa in 1082/1671-2, he was much impressed not only by the historical buildings, particularly by the Murādiyye mosque, but also by the opportunities for entertainment. Apparently the coffee houses of Maghnisa could rival with their more famous counterparts of Aleppo, Cairo and Damascus. Ewliyā also mentions the existence of more than 3,000 shops, made from two covered markets But he equally reports that one of the covered markets had been partially converted into a mosque. This observation, if correct, may indicate that business life in Maghnisa was in fact stagnating.

From the 11th/17th century onward, Manisa was increasingly eclipsed both politically and commercially by Izmir [*q.v.*]. The latter had been first a minor port in the 10th/16th century, containing less than 500 tax-paying inhabitants. But the transit trade in Persian silk lead to Izmir's rapid growth, and Maghnisa took on the characteristics of a minor regional centre, which specialised in the marketing of agricultural goods However, a certain amount of textile manufacture survived into the 1890s, and so did the tanning industry, which had already been famous in the 11th/17th century.

In the 12th/18th century, Maghnisa became the capital of a powerful family of *derebeys* [*q.v.*], the Kara ʿOthmān-Oghli family [*q.v.*], whose authority stretched from beyond Şārūkhān itself as far as the Sea of Marmara to the north. It was not until 1244/1829 that the central government was able to replace members of the family (whose administration is praised by the English traveller G T. Keppel, *Narrative of a journey across the Balcan . . . in 1829-30*, London 1831, ii, 294-301) by its own nominees

Late 19th century population figures reflect the relative decline of Maghnisa, now in the *wilāyet* of Aydın, compared with Izmir; Cuinet assumed that the former contained 35,000, the latter 200,000 inhabitants, and Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1898, estimated Maghnisa's population at 36,252, of whom 21,000 were Muslims, 10,400 Greeks, 2,000 Armenians, etc. During the Turkish War of Independence, the town suffered heavy destruction, and the first census of the Turkish Republic credits Manisa with only 23,664 inhabitants By 1950, the late 19th century level of 35,000 had again been reached, by 1975 the town had increased to 78,114 inhabitants.

Bibliography [In addition to references given in the text). See in the first place, for greater detail Besim Darkot and Çağatay Uluçay, art. *Manisa* in *IA*, with extensive bibliography. For Maghnisa in the Ottoman tax registers, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu tahrir 165, pp 2 ff., and Ankara, Tapu ve kadastro genel müdürlüğü, Kuyudu kadime 125, pp 4 b ff On the foundation of Ḥafṣa Sulṭān, see Kuyudu Kadime 571, pp. 13b ff On the prohibition to export grapes, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defterleri 47, p. 147, no. 359 (990/1582), 71, p 290, no 560 (1001/1592-3) Concerning the 11th/17th century exportation of cotton, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme müdevver 6004 *passim*

Further references include Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Amsterdam 1718, ii, 195-6; G Wheeler, *Voyage de Dalmatia, de Grèce, et du Levant* . . ., The Hague 1723, i, 254-5, Kātib Čelebi, *Diyāla-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732-3, 335; W Turner, *Journal of a tour in the Levant*, London 1820, iii, 142, R Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, Oxford 1825, i, 330 ff ; C MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828, a residence of sixteenth months in the Turkish capital and provinces* . . ., London 1829, 180 ff . Ch Texier, *Asia Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*, Paris 1882, 263-3; *Aydın vilāyeti sālnāmesi 1300-1301*, n.p , n.d., 141-2, W. M Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 108, 118; V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographie administrative, statistique descriptive et raisonée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1894, iii, 335 ff ; *Murray's handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc*, London 1895, 80-1, *Baedeker's Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Balkanstaaten*[3], Leipzig 1914, 346-8, Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 68 ff., Çağatay Uluçay and Ibrahim Gökçen, *Manisa tarihine genel bir bakış*, Istanbul 1939, Kāmil Su, *Mimar Sinan'ın eserlerinden Murādiye Camii*, Istanbul 1940, Uluçay, *Manisa'daki Sarây-ı*

Amira ve Şehzadeler türbesi (849H 1456H), Istanbul 1941; idem, *XVII. asırda Sarıhan'da eşkıyalık ve kalh harekatleri*, Istanbul 1942; Gökçen, *XVI ve XVII yüzyılda deri sanatları üzerinde bir araştırma*, Istanbul 1945; idem, *Manisa tarihinde vakıflar ve hayırlar (hicri 954-1260)*, Istanbul 1946; idem *15 ve 17 asır mollerine göre Sarıhan'da Türkler ve Türkmenler*, Istanbul 1946; idem, *Sicillere göre XVI ve XVII asırlarda Sarıhan kasrve ve yolcuları*, Istanbul 1946; idem, *Manisa tarihinde vakıflar ve hayırlar (h. 1260, miladi 1850'den sonra)*, Istanbul 1950; Ibrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın annesi Hafsa Sultan'ın vakfiyesi ve Manisa'daki hayır eserleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, viii (1969), 47-56; G Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 158-9, 317-21.

(V. Mikhaïlov - [Suraiya Faroqhi])

MAGHŪSHA, the town of Famagusta in Cyprus (see CYPRUS).

The Mycenaean town of Alasya was located on or near the mound of the Pedhyas, at Enkomi village. Its successor, the port of Salamis, only 1½ miles to the east, became a great metropolis during the Roman empire. Restored by Constantius II on a much smaller scale after the severe earthquakes of 332 and 342, with the new name Constantia, it survived until Arab Muslim raids of the 7th century led to its transferral to Ammochostos (Maghūsha) 6 miles to the south (for Alasya, see Hill, i, 36, 42-9, and P. Dikaios, *Enkomi' excavations 1948-1958*, Mainz 1969-71; for Salamis and Constantia, see Hill, i, *passim*, and V. Karageorges, *Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, London 1969). The town passed to Guy de Lusignan in 1192. The Genoese occupied it between 1373 and 1464, the Venetians took the town from the Lusignans in 1489. The Ottomans conquered it after a prolonged and extremely costly siege of eleven months in 1571, with tens of thousands of lives lost. After the Turkish conquest much Latin property was turned over to the Orthodox; however, from 1573 the latter were forbidden to live in the walled town, as in Rhodes. In 1607 a Tuscan naval expedition of eight galleys and nine galleons failed in a surprise attack upon the town (Hill, iv, 48 ff.). The Knights of Malta, as well as English, Dutch, and Tuscan pirates, regularly harassed Levantine shipping for more than a century after 1572. A famine in 1640 and plague in 1641 are known, as well as severe earthquakes in 1557, 1569, and 1735 (Hill, iv, 67 f.). No area was more vulnerable to malaria, plague, and locusts.

The Ottomans failed to revitalise their great prize Maghūsha, but it is obvious that by the last quarter of the 15th century the town had already been reduced to a third-rate commercial centre. The harbour remained a prize worth fighting for, but the Ottomans were unable to transform it into a useful naval base. Its growth was further limited by official ambivalence, the Porte sometimes dreamed of using the naval and commercial potential of Maghūsha, but at other times appeared terrified that the prize would fall to enemies who might again use it against them. Although the Ottomans never had the energy to restore Maghūsha, they guarded the fortress too zealously to allow economic development, and the small garrison became the greatest part of the population.

After the fall of Acre as ʿAkkā (*q.v.*) (1291) to the Mamlūks, the ascent of Lusignan Maghūsha was meteoric. Little more than its good harbour was noted by W von Oldenburg in 1211 (C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 14). An anonymous Englishman (1344) called the town "a paradise of delight" with "plantations and gardens irrigated with water brought into them artificially ... It has a parish, Cathedral, and Metropolitan Church like unto Amiens. There reside in it merchants of Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and Saracens from the Soldan's dominions, dwelling in palaces, which are called 'Loggas', living in the style of counts and barons, they have abundance of gold and silver. All the precious things of the world may be found in their hands." (Th. Megabgab, *Supplementary excerpts re Cyprus ...*, ii, 56 ff., *Itinerarium ciusdam Anglici Terram Sanctam*, in P. G. Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, iv, Florence 1925, 446-7). Seized by Genoese treachery in 1373, and held by them for a century, the town lost much of its local trade. Then a series of disasters—disease, earthquakes, locusts, and shifting trade routes—left the town crippled. Nicolai de Martoni (1394) observed: "The city of Famagusta is large, as large, I reckon, as the city of Capua, and his fine squares, and houses very much like those of Capua, but a great part, almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship. The said city has finer walls than I have seen to any town ..." (Cobham, 32 ff.; *Evres de l'Orient Latin*, iii [1895], 807 ff., 857 f.). Long before 1435 when Pero Tafur visited it, the aristocracy had abandoned Maghūsha for Lefkōsha on Nicosia, and most trade and economic activity had followed thereafter. "This place is depopulated on account of the bad air and bad water", particularly because of the nearby lake Constanza (Cobham, 31; *Andanças é viajes ...*, in *Colección de libros españoles raros o curiosos*, Madrid 1874, viii/2, 139). Venetian rule (1489-1571) did not bring any improvement; despite efforts to rebuild the town, its population probably never rose above 6,000 (Hill, iii, 507, 729 n., 878). As Martin von Baumgarten (1508) found, Maghūsha was "remarkable for its harbour and fortifications" but Lefkōsha was "famous for its largeness". The silk merchant of Douai J. le Saige (1512) was astonished to see such a strong town with the walls "freshly repaired" and "a grand boulevard"; he found excellent produce along the coast, although only trade with Venice was permitted (Cobham, 52, 57, *Peregrinatio*, Norib. 1594, 159). Pīrī Re'īs mentions a beautiful castle, and inner and outer harbours at the only large port on the island (*Kitāb-ı Bahriye*, ed. Y. Senemoğlu, Istanbul, ii, 883). Maghūsha's economic distinction lay in its harbour, as various travellers noted, Cyprus had no other. Indeed, few harbours if any in the entire Levant could provide better protection from the elements or could give shelter to more vessels. Since the Mediterranean between the gulfs of Antalya and Iskenderun was reputedly extremely dangerous, vessels which otherwise might have followed the coastline closely all the way to Rhodes preferred rather to strike out from Iskenderun, Tripoli or Alexandria for the south coast of Cyprus, sail round it, and then sail on to Rhodes. According to Jacques de Villamont (1589), the capital of the province was Lefkōsha, but "... on account of its fine harbour and incomparable fortress the Pasha generally lives at Famagusta for the safety of his person and galleys" (Cobham, 176; if the *pasha* did reside there, it was contrary to regulations). After visits in 1598 and 1599 Cotovicus wrote that it "has a remarkable and most safe harbour ... It is fairly spacious and

populous ... the only defence which Cyprus has" (Cobham, 195; cf. Loredan (1476), who called it "the key and heart of Cyprus", despite its unhealthiness, in Hill, iii, 727 ff.) According to R. Pococke there was very little trade there, but an aqueduct brought very good water from three or four miles away, the surrounding villages had relatively fertile soil, and "all provisions are cheap" (Cobham, 253, in Pinkerton, ed., *A general collection of ... voyages ...*, London 1811, i, 576-7) Three villages produced silk and mulberries, and madder root was another product. By the 18th century silting had made the harbour too shallow for larger vessels, and according to J. M. Kinneir (1814) "This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree, that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety" (Cobham, 412; *Journey ...*, London 1818, 276) W Turner Kinneir "The port was admirable, being about one quarter of a mile in length, and something less in breadth, sheltered by low rocks, even now that the port is 'mostly choked up', ships which winter in Cyprus always go there in another in safety" (Cobham, 435).

The Jew Elias of Pesaro (1563) found that ophthalmia was a common fever from late June to mid winter; but the townspeople were described as clean, and careful to protect themselves from contagion, especially from the plague, quarantine often lasting forty days The houses were fine and well built, the roads well maintained, and there were fountains of running water at every street corner. The castle reminded him of that of Pesaro The food was excellent, and the bread the best he had ever eaten The twenty-five local Jewish families completely controlled all money lending in Cyprus, and anyone wanting to borrow money had to come there. Interest was 20% per annum when gold and silver were pledged, 25% if wool, thread, or silk was pledged, and profits were often higher (Cobham, 73 ff., translation of Hebrew letter by M Schwab, in *Revue de Géographie*, v [1879], 221 ff.)

When Jacques de Villamont reached Larnaka in 1589 he was told not to try to go to Maghūsha because plague had long been raging there and the inhabitants of both the town and its surroundings were nearly all dead (Cobham, 175) The Dutchman Jan Somer (1596) compared the town in size to Amsterdam, although not so populous, disease had reduced the place, despite a rich agricultural hinterland (*Beschrafninge van een Zee ende Landt Reyse ..*, Amsterdam 1649, 11) André Thevet (1590) chided those who wrote thei "... the Turks made themselves masters of Famagosta, and slew all the Christians Latin and Greek, edith the sword, so that old and young without exception felt the violence of these infidels And still you see that the Greeks and others live in entire liberty" (Cobham, 178) Ottoman policy neurotically aimed to close off the fortress, foreigners were treated as spies. When de Stochove wanted to see the town in 1631 he was advised "that it was almost impossible to go in without meeting some unpleasantness", for the *pasha* was a malicious man and absolutely no one could enter without his consent, as he examined only the outer walls (Cobham, 217) In 1683 de Bruyn found that the Ottomans "... guard the city so jealously that no stranger is allowed to set foot in it ...", he was harassed when he simply tried to approach the walls (Cobham, 236, 241-2; *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, Delft 1698, 365 ff., 374 ff., with map) In the 18th century, most of the small population of the town must have been soldiers, some Christians settled in houses with gardens half a mile to the south in a village called Marash (Varosha) R. Pococke (1738) on mentered a settlement of Christians who "are not permitted to dwell within the city" To the west was a large fertile plain inhabited mostly by Muslims because it was relatively "secure from the privateers", while Christians, who were not enslaved by them, lived near the sea. Most of the sparsely-inhabited town was destroyed by a severe earthquake in 1735, making both the mosques of S. Sofia and S George unfit for use so that S Catherine's church became the principal mosque The town walls were severely damaged. The Swedish visitor Frederic Hasmiquist (1751) estimated the population as 300 inhabitants, "chiefly Turks", who "occupy the miserable ruins." (Cobham, 254-5; in Pinkerton, ed., *op cit*, i, 577-8 Cobham, 307, *Iter Palaestinum*, Stockholm 1757, 178 ff.)

Archimandrite Cyprianos (published in 1788) described the Ottoman occupation of Maghūsha in some detail the inhabitants " ... remained in their houses, and appeared at the time to be the owners, yet afterwards the Turks dispossessed many of them, on the pretext that they were tenants only, not owners", when the Greeks of Maghūsha petitioned the vizier Mehmed Pasha they were permitted " .. to live as Greek Christians, on condition that on Christian of the Latin Church should be found among them for to the Latins he would grant neither church nor house, and those who remained in Cyprus were obliged to frequent the Greek churches, and forbidden to hold property in the island", Greeks were allowed to buy, sell, and inherit houses, fields, and property not already occupied by Turks In 1815 W Turner reported: " ... of its numerous palaces and churches not one remains entire" It had only a hundred people, including three Greek families They lived in ruins, in low houses, mostly of mud, and no-one cultivated the countryside Nearby was a village of Christians living surrounded by gardens (Cobham, 347 ff., 434-5) The estimate of 3,000 Muslims, 5,000 Greeks, and 200 Armenians attributed to the governor Ṭaʿfat Efendi seems too large (M. Louis Lacroix, *L'Univers. Histoire et description des tous les peuples Iles de la Grèce*, Paris 1853, 68). The last Ottoman census reportedly showed 500 Muslims in the walled town and 2,200 Greek Orthodox in the suburbs. At this time, Maghūsha was used as a place of banishment for those under political or religious clouds, hence Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and the Bahāʾī leader Ṣubḥ-i Ezel [see BAHĀʾ ALLĀH] spent time there in exile.

According to the census of 1881, Maghūsha with Marash (Varosha) was the fourth leading town of Cyprus with 2 609 inhabitants, of whom 1 845 were Greek Orthodox (71%), 727 were Muslim (28%), 8 were Roman Catholic, 22 Maronite, 1 Armenian Gregorian and 8 Church of England and Protestant; there were no Jews There were 556 adult males over 20, one per 3.32 people, of those 184 were Muslim (one per 3 95) and 482 Christian (one per 3 50) (*Cyprus Gazette*, no 82 [4 April 1882 census], 3 March 1882, 17 June 1882). By 1891 the population had grown 30% to 3,367, but the Muslims had increased only 15% to 835, falling to 25% of the town's population (*Cyprus Gazette*, no 342, 15 May 1892). By 1900 the population had increased to 3,825, 47% larger than in 1881 The Muslims had grown only 18% to 856, while the Christians had increased 58% to 2,969. Of 1,094 adult males 811 (3 66 per

capita) were Greek Orthodox and 283 (3.02 per capita) were Muslims (*Cyprus Gazette*, no. 697, 26 April 1902, 30 August 1901).

In the second half of the 19th century, Maghūsha was filthy and malarial, "in utter absolute ruin", according to Samuel Brown, *Three months in Cyprus during the winter of 1878-9*, London 1879, 19. To Mrs. Scott-Stevenson "... it seemed the most desolate town I had ever been in", even the dogs seemed "dull, and without energy to bark at us" (*Our home in Cyprus*[2], London 1880, 278). Although the third busiest harbour on the island, its entire trade came with coasting vessels, for large vessels called only at Larnaka and Limassol. The small suburb of Varosha to the south, equally pestilential, had extensive and luxuriant gardens and was the site of a pottery factory. The district was the leading one for fishing on the island (48 small boats caught 7,198 oke of thirty four kinds of fish in 1889, the most important being sea bream (*sarpa*), *isfirwa*, *mavromali* and *sharos*, *Cyprus Blue Book*, 1889 90, 329). In that year the single Muslim school had 67 boy students and 13 girls. The municipal budget under the British was disproportionately smaller than the other towns. Initial British interest in making a new harbour flagged until 1895, when the proposal was raised again, and in 1899 a loan of £ 254 000 to dredge and improve the harbour and to construct a narrow gauge railway to Lefkosha was authorised by the British government. After its completion in 1906, interest in the port increased very slowly until after World War I. In 1931 with 8,979 inhabitants it was the fourth largest town of the island, and by 1946 it was the third largest, with 16,294, of whom 13,106 were Greek Orthodox, 2,699 Muslim, and 115 Armenian Gregorian. In the latter year, 2,273 of the 3,048 inhabitants of the walled town were Muslim.

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(R. C. JENNINGS)

MAGHRĀWA, a major confederation of Berber tribes belonging to the Butr group and forming the most powerful branch of the family of the Zanāta.

The ascendancy, real or imaginary, of this confederation is traced back to Maghrāw, who is said to have been, according to the mediaeval Berber genealogists, the ancestor of the Maghrāwa as such. Following the Arab and Berber sources utilised in the 8th/14th century by Ibn Khaldūn in his *History of the Berbers*, the "cradle" of the Maghrāwa and "the ancient seat of their power" was the territory located on the Chélif in the north western part of what is now Algeria, probably bounded by the Mediterranean to the north, the mountain of Wanšarīs (Wānsharīsh, currently Ouarsenis) to the south and Tlemcen to the west. Leo Africanus [q.v.] says in his *Description of Africa* written in about 1525-5 that the "Magrawa (Maghrāwa) mountain" stretched over a distance of some 40 miles (approx. 64 km), "close to the town of Mustuganim" (Mostaganem). The Maghrāwa have left a relic of their presence here in the name of Cap Maghrawa situated 104 km. to the east of Mostaganem and 56 km. to the west of Ténès. It should be added at this point that, according to Abu 'l-Fidā[3] (1273-1332), Mostaganem served the Maghrāwa as a port. Leo Africanus extols the dignity and the courage of the inhabitants of the Magrawa mountain, who were probably descendants of the Maghrāwa of mediaeval Arab sources. The Maghrāwa lived in this land in a nomadic state, but they also possessed (at least in the 7th/8th/13th-14th centuries) fixed dwellings and fortresses. In the 4th and 5th/10th-11th centuries, the individual segments of this confederation were spread throughout North Africa, from Morocco in the west to Tripolitania in the east.

Little is known of the origins and earliest history of the Maghrāwa. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1076), they arrived in North Africa in ancient times and established themselves "on the frontier of Ifrikiya, alongside the Maghrib" (i.e. in eastern Algeria), while the region which later, in the Middle Ages, became their homeland, in other words the territory located on the Chélif, constituted in ancient times the domain of 'Adidāna, father of Zanāta. If Ibn Khaldūn and his sources are to be believed, there is no doubt that the confederation of the

Maghrāwa already existed immediately before the Arab conquest of North Africa, probably in the first half of the 1st/7th century, if not much earlier, alongside two other major Zanāta branches (or possibly confederations), these being the Djarāwa, the people of the famous Kāhina, and the Banū Ifran. In all probability, the origins of the Maghrāwa could be traced back still further towards the beginning of the Christian era, through linking their name, in accordance with a hypothesis propounded by J. Desanges, with that of the Moorish peoples known to Pliny as the Macurebi and to Ptolemy as the Makkhourēbi. The latter seems to attribute to the main mass of the Makkhourēbi a very large coastal zone situated between the Zaccar and the Grande Kabylie, in the Roman provance of Mauritania. In spite of the quite different localisation of the Maghrāwa and the Makkhourēbi (the latter tribe mostly occupied territory a little to the east of the cradle of the Maghrāwian confederation in the Chélif), the hypothesis of J. Desanges appears wholly acceptable and it seems that the Maghrāwa belong among those exceptional Berber tribes of the Middle Ages whose names are attested in the ancient Greek and Latin texts. It may further be added that another segment of the Makkhourēbi is mentioned by Ptolemy among the peoples of inner Libya (i.e. of southern Barbary). Ptolemy locates it, in fact, on the central reaches of the Draa. It is probably this group of the Maghrāwa which is encountered, in the 4th-5th/10th-11th century, in the neighbourhood of Sidjilmāsa and which succeeded in founding a kingdom with this city as its capital. There will be further mention of this kingdom below.

The Maghrāwa were related, if Ibn Khaldūn is to be believed, not only to the Banū Ifran and the Djarāwa, but also to the large Zanāta tribe of the Banū Irniyān. It seems furthermore that the genealogy of this tribe is linked to that of the Lawāta Berber group, in particular the Lawātian tribe of the Sadrāta. Among the numerous branches and subdivisions of the Maghrāwa confederation mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and other mediaeval Arab authors, the first that should be mentioned is their royal clan which was called Wanzāmar or Warzamār (variants: Wazmār, Wartazmār, Wartāzmar or Wartazmīr). Also belonging to the Maghrāwa, according to Ibn Khaldūn and the Berber genealogists quoted by this author, were the Banū Sindjās, the Banū Righo, the Banū Laghwāt and the Banū Warrā (var. Warrāk), although according to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, the best Zanāta genealogist of the 8th/14th century (a native of the Maghrāwa town of Timrūghat, situated in the region of the Chélif), these four tribes formed part of another branch of the Zanāta family. According to other Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, there were yet more tribes belonging to the confederation of the Maghrāwa. Those were the Banū Zandāḳī (Zandāk), the Banū Warsīfān (or Warsīfān), the Banū Zadjdjāk, the Banū Izamratan (also Izmartan or Izmarti), the Banū Sāʿd and the Banū Ilīt (var. Ilant). It is interesting however, to note that Ibn Hawḳal includes, in his list of Berber tribes compiled after 976-7 A.D., the Banū Sindjāsan (Sindjas), the Banū Zandāḳī and the Banū Warsīfān among the Zanāta tribes unrelated to the Maghrāwa. There are also certain Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldūn who mention the Banū Sindjāsan (Sindjas) and the Banū Warsīfān without indicating their membership of the Maghrāwa confederation.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Franks (in this case, Romans) had imposed the Christian religion on the Maghrāwa, likewise on the Djarāwa and the Banū Ifran. Later, probably towards the end of the 7th or at the beginning of the 8th century A.D., the Maghrāwa tribes became converted without difficulty to Islam. They were governed in this period by an ancient and powerful dynasty, later known as Banū Khazar and owing its name to Khazar b. Hafṣ b. Ṣūlāt b. Wanzamār (Wazmār) b. Maghrāw. Ibn Khaldūn gives us a list, in his *History of the Berbers*, otherwise very incomplete of the princes of this family which ruled the Maghrāwa in the central Maghrib, at Fās, at Sidjilmāsa and as Tripolitania. Another even less complete list of the *amīrs* whose origin dates back to Khazar b. Hafṣ is provided by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn in his history of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. According to these lists, Ṣūlāt b. Wanzamār was the contemporary and almost of the caliph ʿUthmān (644-56) in fact, he was apparently taken prisoner in one of the battles that took place between the Arabs and the Berbers at the time of the first Arab invasion of North Africa (26/647-8). Sent to ʿUthmān and pardoned by the caliph, he became a Muslim, and on returning to his country he was proclaimed chief of his tribe (according to a passage in Ibn Khaldūn's *History of the Berbers*, he had previously been chief of the Maghrāwa and of other Zanātian peoples). If this tradition is correct, the Banū Wanzamār must have been a Maghrāwian family which lived, around the middle of the 7th century A.D., in eastern Barbary, bordering on Ifrīḳiya, thus in the land which would have been, as stated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, the original cradle of the Maghrāwa in ancient times.

After the death of Ṣūlāt who survived, in all probability, into the second half of the 7th century, the government of the Maghrāwa passed to his son Hafṣ, who is considered by Berber tradition as one of the greatest princes to rule over the Maghrāwa. He also became, following this tradition, the chief of other Zanāta tribes. The tribes in question were probably the remnants of the great Zanāta confederation of the Djarāwa of Aurès, formerly ruled by Kāhina [*q.v.*], remnants who went to join their Maghrāwa relatives of the central Maghrib. The power of the Maghrāwa also increased during the reign of Khazar, son of Hafṣ. He lived in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and gave his name to the historical dynasty of the Banū Khazar. A tradition quoted by Ibn Khaldūn states that this powerful prince took advantage of the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara [*q.v.*] in the Farthest Maghrib (in 122/739-40) and of the weakening of the Umayyad Arab governors of Kayrawān which resulted from it, to extend his authority over all the Zanāta nomads of the central Maghrib, with the exception of the powerful tribe of the Banū Ifran, masters of Tlemcen. The Arab sources tell us nothing of Maghrāwa involvement in the Khāridjite movement. However, this would not seem impossible, in view of the fact that a little later a member of the Maghrāwa, Nāfiʿ b. ʿĀṣim al-Zanātī (or Nāfiʿ b. ʿĀṣim al-Maghrāwī) was appointed governor (probably of a segment of the Maghrāwa) by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart (168 AH/784-823), and that in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century) and in a list of Zanātan Ibāḍī *shaykhs*, compiled in eastern Barbary in the 7th/13th centuries, there are found numerous Maghrāwa individuals belonging to the Ibāḍī sect. Khazar b. Hafṣ died after the fall of the Umayyads of the East (132/750), leaving control of the confederation

of the Maghrāwa to his son Muḥammad b Khazar. The last named made war against the Banū Ifran, from whom he captured, in about 172/788-9, the town of Tlemcen. It was during the reign of this prince that there took place the foundation of the kingdom of the Idrīsids in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā by Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [q.v.] with the support of the powerful Berber tribes of Awraba, Ṣanhāja and Maghīla (172/788-9). In 173 or 174/789-91, Idrīs invaded the central Maghrib and accepted the submission of the Maghrāwa, whose *amīr* surrendered to him the territory of the Chélif and the town of Tlemcen; the latter later became the capital of another Idrīsid principality. Muḥammad b. Khazar also assisted Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh to snatch from the ʿAbbāsids all the provinces of the central Maghrib. Later, to 197/812-13 we find him pledging loyalty to Idrīs II. As for the Maghrāwa, in this period they continued in possession of the plains of the central Maghrib, as well as the open country round Tlemcen, which they shared with the Banū Ifran. Throughout the 3rd/9th century they *remained vassals of the Idrīsid state. It was probably* also in this period that the dynasty of the Banū Khazar founded Madīnat Banī Khazar, "the city of the Banū Khazar" in an arid plain of the central Maghrib. We do not know the exact position of this city, which is mentioned by Ibn Ḥammād in his biography of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, "the man on the donkey". This Khāridjite chief sought refuge there after his defeat in the year 335/946-7.

This situation continued unchanged until the formation of the Fāṭimid empire. When the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh sent to the Maghrib, in 298/910-11, an army which took possession of the Idrīsid dominions and compelled the Idrīsid princes to recognise his authority, the Berber tribes of the central Maghrib, led by the Maghrāwa and other Zanāta tribes, rose in revolt against this sovereign. The rebels were commanded by the Maghrāwa prince Muḥammad b Khazar, one of the grandsons of that Muḥammad b Khazar b Ḥafṣ who was *amīr* of the Maghrāwa towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. Ten years later, in 309/921-2, the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh sent an army against him which was however routed by the Maghrāwa. The following year, ʿUbayd Allāh dispatched against Muḥammad b. Khazar a fresh army commanded by his son Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim. At the approach of this army the Maghrāwa of the central Maghrib (or the majority of the tribes of this confederation) led by Muḥammad b. Khazar fled into the desert, having traversed the Moulouya. They took refuge in the territory of Sidjilmāsa, thus in the region where Ptolemy had located, in the 2nd century A.D., the homeland of a group of the Makkouridh, ancestors, as stated above, of the mediaeval Maghrāwa. Some time later, Muḥammad b. Khazar returned at the head of the Maghrāwa tribes to the central Maghrib, towards the former homeland of these tribes in the region of the Chélif. On this occasion, Muḥammad b. Khazar took possession of the territory of Chélif and of Ténès, expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimids from the Ṭāb and captured the town of Oran, where he installed, as governor, his son al-Khayr. He also conquered other sites in the central Maghrib, and subjected the whole of this land to the authority of the Umayyads of Spain. However, this success did not last long. In 315 or 316/927-9, the Fāṭimid army commanded by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, son of ʿUbayd Allāh, set out to pacify the central Maghrib. This army routed the Maghrāwa and forced them again to flee into the desert. But in 333/944-5, Muḥammad b. Khazar, who had regained his position as the most powerful chieftain of the central Maghrib, attacked the western provinces of the Fāṭimid empire for the second time. He benefited in fact from the revolt of the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib and of Ifrīḳiya, who professed the doctrines of the Khāridjite sect of the Nukkār (Nakkāra) and rebelled against the Fāṭimids. The insurgents were commanded by the famous Zanātian chief, the Nukkārite *imām* Abū Yazīd [q.v.]. It seems that at least some of the Maghrāwa, who were predominantly Sunnī, acted in collusion with Abū Yazīd, and that Maʿād b. Khazar, brother of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, was a loyal supporter of the Nukkārī chief. Maʿād b. Khazar was taken prisoner, in 340/951-2, by the Fāṭimid sovereign Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and suffered the death penalty. Another of the brothers of *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, Fulful, embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids. However, the Maghrāwa who occupied the territory of Chélif collaborated at this time with the army sent to the central Maghrib by the Umayyad *caliph of Spain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir*. In 333/944-5 two Maghrāwa expeditions took place against the Fāṭimid provinces of the central Maghrib. These expeditions were commanded by the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his third brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar and by his two sons al-Khayr and Ḥamza. They were directed primarily against the Fāṭimid garrisons of Biskra and of Tāhart (Tiaret). Also participating in the second expedition was the Umayyad army commanded by the Berber general Ḥāmid b. Yaṣāl. These two expeditions had a successful outcome for the Maghrāwa and their allies, the Umayyads of Spain. In fact, Biskra and Tāhart were captured by Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his son al-Khayr and by their allies (*ca.* 333/944-5). However, soon after these victories and the success of Abū Yazīd (whose army even succeeded in conquering Ifrīḳiya, the nucleus of the Fāṭimid empire), the military forces of this empire regrouped under the command of Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and routed the Berber warriors of Abū Yazīd in a battle near Makkara (Bord[j] Magra), then turned against the Maghrāwa. Muḥammad b. Khazar surrendered to al-Manṣūr in 335/946-7. According to one source, he subsequently broke faith with the Fāṭimids, and it was only in 342/953-4 that he returned to the Fāṭimid camp and abandoned for ever the cause of the Umayyads. His position towards the latter dynasty was again equivocal in 347/958, at the time of the expedition of the Fāṭimid general Djawhar who set out for the central Maghrib with the object of pacifying this land, but ultimately, intimidated, he took part in this expedition. After this he paid a visit to the caliph al-Muʿizz at Kayrawān where he died in 350/961-2, aged more than a hundred years. According to another source, Muḥammad b. Khazar embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids soon after 340/951-2 and remained loyal to this dynasty until his death. As for al-Khayr, son of Muḥammad b. Khazar and chief of the land of Laghouat, he did not share the pro-Fāṭimid policy of his father and remained a loyal supporter of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova, except for a certain period *ca.* 334/945-6, during which he recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph. In fact, in 340/951-2, he sent his son Futūḥ to Spain, to the court of the Umayyad caliph. Futūḥ was accompanied on this journey by the *shaykhs* of Tāhart and of Oran, supporters of the Umayyads. Subsequently, this delegation returned to Africa.

After the death of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Khazar,

the supreme command of the Maghrāwa passed to Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, grandson of this *amīr* and son of al-Khayr. Even during the lifetime of his grandfather, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr had forged links with the court of Cordova, obtaining from the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the year 344/955-6, the governorship of Fās. However, he requested from this caliph, in the same year as his appointment, permission to embark on a holy war in Spain. Having received this permission, he set out for Spain, leaving his cousin Aḥmad b. Bakr at Fās to act as his lieutenant. Later, after his proclamation as chief of the confederation of the Maghrāwa, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr harassed the Fāṭimid possessions in the central Maghrib at the instigation of the caliph al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76), successor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. It should not be forgotten that the Fāṭimid empire had extended its boundaries westward largely by virtue of the victorious expedition of the general Djawhar in 347/958. In fact, at the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr over the Maghrāwa, that is *ca.* 351/962, the Fāṭimid influence had already advanced to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, while that of the Umayyads of Spain was confined to the districts of Ceuta and of Tangier. Now Muḥammad b. al-Khayr succeeded in pushing back a considerable distance towards the east the zone of Fāṭimid influence established by Djawhar. In fact, he conquered a large part of the central Maghrib, creating in this land a sizable, albeit ephemeral, dominion of the Maghrāwa under the control of the Umayyads. This dominion lasted some ten years, until the Fāṭimid governor of Ifrīḳiya, Zīrī b. Manād (who belonged to the major Berber family of Ṣanhādja, hostile to the Zanāta in general and to the Maghrāwa in particular) was entrusted by al-Muʿizz with the mission of blocking Maghrāwa expansion in the central Maghrib. Zīrī b. Manād also received from al-Muʿizz authorisation to appropriate all the territories in the Maghrib that he could seize from the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. In 360/971 Zīrī b. Manād gathered a powerful army (composed mainly of Ṣanhādja warriors) which he put under the command of his son Bulukkīn (Buluḳḳīn/Buluggīn), this army was ordered to attack the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. The first clash took place on 15 Rabīʿ II 360/15 February 972, probably near Tlemcen. The battle was keenly contested, and ultimately a terrible defeat was inflicted on the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, who was commander-in-chief of the Maghrāwa army, took his own life rather than face capture and seventeen of the *amīrs* of the Maghrāwa and Zanāta were lost. In spite of this defeat, which contributed considerably to the consolidation of Fāṭimid authority in the Maghrib, the Maghrāwa soon rallied behind al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, son of their prince killed in the battle of Tlemcen. Their forces were rapidly joined by the army of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, former Fāṭimid governor of the Zāb, who allied himself with al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and thereby reconquered the authority of the Umayyads of Spain. Three months later, the two allies inflicted a crushing defeat on the Fāṭimid army which attacked them near Tāhart. Despite this success, the Maghrāwa and the army of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn (who had meanwhile become commander-in-chief of the coalition) were soon forced by another Fāṭimid army to evacuate the central Maghrib, crossing the Moulouya and taking refuge in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. First of all, they reached the littoral of Ceuta and Tangier which remained, as stated above, under the domination of the Umayyads. From there they made contact with the caliph al-Ḥakam II. It was thus that a section of the tribes which had formed the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa left their homeland in the central Maghrib, not to return until about a century later, after their expulsion from Morocco by the Almoravids. Among the Maghrāwa *amīrs* tracing their origin from the princely family of the Banū Khazar who set out to seek new territories in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā after their war with Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, Ibn Khaldūn mentions, besides Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, the close kinsmen of the latter, these being Zīrī b. Khazar, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya (brother of the last-named), Khazrūn b. Muḥammad and Fulful b. Saʿīd. They are all encountered in 365/975-6, in the entourage of the general Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, who was appointed by al-Ḥakam II governor of the Maghrib on behalf of Cordova. As for Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, he received from al-Muʿizz in 362/972, the mandate to govern Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib as dependencies of the Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt.

Thus, after the year 972, the history of the majority of the tribes that had previously constituted the confederation of the Maghrāwa was closely linked with the country that is now Morocco, where the various princes of the Banū Khazar family established three states: those of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa and of Aghmāt. We shall begin with the history of these dominions, subsequently considering other segments of the Maghrāwa who remained, after 362/971, in the central Maghrib and in Ifrīḳiya, or those who returned, after the conquest of Morocco by the Almoravids, to central and eastern Barbary.

A. Morocco. 1. *Fās*. Bulukkīn b. Zīrī was not content with the expulsion of the Maghrāwa and their Zanātān allies from the central Maghrib, from Tubna, from Baghāya, from al-Masīla, from Bisḥra, from Tāhart, etc., but pursued them, with great success, towards the interior of present-day Morocco. He finally caught up with them near Sidjilmāsa and defeated them in battle. The *amīr* al-Khayr b. Muḥammad fell into the hands of the Fāṭimids and was put to death. After this battle, Bulukkīn b. Zīrī retraced his steps and returned to central Morocco where he carried out a massacre among the Zanātān tribes. Al-Khayr b. Muḥammad left a son named Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, whom a group of Moroccan Maghrāwa entrusted with the command. Besides him, the sources mention two other powerful and influential *amīrs* who enjoyed, in this period, considerable authority among the Maghrāwa. These were two kinsmen of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, namely Zīrī and Mukātil, sons of ʿAṭiyya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar. These three *amīrs* led the Maghrāwa after 972. It seems that some years later, the Maghrāwa of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā divided into two groups, a northern and a southern, both obedient to the Umayyads of Cordova. The sources provide a list of the Maghrāwa princes belonging to the first of these groups who were to be found, in 365/975-6, in the entourage of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. This list includes Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, whose name is followed by those of Bakkar b. Sayyid al-Nās, Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya, Khazrūn b. Muḥammad and Fulful b. Saʿīd. The southern group of the Moroccan Maghrāwa were commanded by another prince of the Banū Khazar family, Khazrūn b. Fulful b. Khazar. This prince set out in 366/976-7 to conquer Sidjilmāsa, a town gov-

erned by the amīrs of the Mikānāsa family of the Banū Midrār. After the seizure of Siǧilmāsa, Khazrūn received from the ḥāǧib of Cordova, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the mandate to govern this town which remained in his family, as will be noted below until the arrival of the Almoravids.

Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad seems to have still been the head of the Banū Khazar family in 369/979-80, when Bulukkīn b. Zīrī b. Manād undertook a new expedition to the borders of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. This prince fled to Spain, where he requested the support of the ḥāǧib al-Manṣūr who governed Spain on behalf of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (366-99/976-1009). The latter responded to his appeals and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under the command of Diʾlaf b. ʿAlī b. Hamdūn. The Andalusian army, which included Maghrāwa and Īfran contingents, advanced to a position near Ceuta. Bulukkīn b. Zīrī declined to give battle and withdrew on take possession of the remainder of Morocco. Later, in 375/985-9, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr is mentioned at the head of a list of Maghrāwa amīrs who rallied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, around the flag of Abū ʾl-Ḥakam ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī ʿĀmir, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. However, it is not he, but his cousin Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya who are noted on this occasion as being among the Berber princes most loyal to the Umayyad cause. It seems that Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad lost the leadership of the southern group of the Maghrāwa in 375/985-6 or shortly after this date, to Mukātil b. ʿAṭiyya. After the death of the last-named in 378/988-9, it was his brother Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya who was proclaimed leader of the northern group of the Moroccan Maghrāwa. This amīr had in addition been appointed (by the Umayyad ḥāǧib Ibn Abī ʿĀmir) king of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā before this date, in 377/987-8. Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya founded a kingdom in the north of this country and made the town of Fās the capital of this dominion, which remained in the possession of his successors until the arrival of the Almoravids. He settled the Maghrāwa (of the northern group) in the outskirts of the town. It should also be remembered that the family of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya was descended from ʿAbd Allāh who was the brother of the powerful Maghrāwa amīr Muḥammad b. Khazar, king of the central Maghrib who, as stated above, was a supporter of the Fāṭimids and died at Kayrawān in 350/961-2.

Some years after his appointment as sovereign of the Maghrib, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya went to war against the Ṣanhāǧa (acting on the orders of the ḥāǧib al-Manṣūr) and substantially increased the size of his eastern provinces. In 382/993 he travelled to Cordova at the invitation of al-Manṣūr. It seems that the reign of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya was a period of some instability, with this prince and his Īfranid rival Yaddīl b. Yaʿlā changing places on the throne of Fās according to the vicissitudes of war. In fact, on his return to Fās from Cordova, Zīrī saw his place taken by Yaʿlā and it was only at the cost of a murderous struggle that he recovered his throne. Because Zīrī constantly had in mind the reconquest of the territory of Chélif, and perhaps also the restoration of the ancient Zanāta and Maghrāwa kingdom of the Banū Khazar in the central Maghrib, he found the location of Fās too remote for the capital of the future state. Therefore he decided to construct a new capital his himself and for the principal chieftains of the confederation of the Maghrāwa. In 383/994 he founded the city of Wadjda (Oujda) on the borders of Morocco and present-day Algeria and installed himself there, accompanied by his court and his household troops. In the same period, he decided to reject the authority of Cordova, and ultimately the relations between him and al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir were broken. Al-Manṣūr sent an expedition against him commanded by the Ifreidman Wāḍih, an encounter took place on the banks of Wādī Radāt and the Andalusian army was defeated. Al-Manṣūr then organised another expedition and appointed as commander his own son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. This time, Zīrī was defeated on two occasions in 387/997. He tried to take refuge in Fās, but the residents denied him access to his capital, which ʿAbd al-Malik entered shortly after. Zīrī was compelled to withdraw by way of the Sahara, after which he attempted to found a state in the central Maghrib, in the territory belonging to the kingdom of the Zīrīd Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn. Thus in 388/998 he mounted an invasion of this part of the Maghrib. After the victory of the Ṣanhāǧan army commanded by Hammād b. Bulukkīn, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya took possession of Tīhart, Chélif, Tēnès and al-Masīla. It is interesting to note that to these towns he ordered that prayers be offered for the Umayyad caliph Hishām and his ḥāǧib al-Manṣūr. He also laid siege to the town of Ashīr, capital of the Ṣanhāǧa, but he died in 391/1000-1, before taking this town.

On the death of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, the Maghrāwa of northern Morocco proclaimed his son al-Muʿizz chief of this branch of the confederation. This prince, who did not share his father's hostile attitude in regard to the ḥāǧib Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, had already, in 390/999-1000, been established by the latter at Fās in the rôle of Umayyad governor. Subsequently, the son of the ḥāǧib ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who became after the death of al-Manṣūr his successor in the court of Cordova, appointed al-Muʿizz, in 393/1002-3, to govern Fās and the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. In 396/1006, al-Muʿizz received from Cordova letters of investiture for Fās and for the whole of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā with the exception of the land of Siǧilmāsa, the preserve of the Maghrāwa dynasty of the Banū Khazrūn who were, like the amīrs of Fās, subject to the Umayyads of Spain. Al-Muʿizz died in 417/1026 or, according to another source, in 422/1030, during his reign, the kingdom of Fās enjoyed a period of peace.

His successor was his paternal cousin Hamāma b. al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya who had been appointed governor of Fās by al-Muʿizz in 416/1025, before the death of this amīr. Hamāma was able to consolidate his power in regard to Spain. However, in 424/1032-3, war broke out between this amīr and the rival dynasty of the Banū Īfran who possessed a kingdom with its capital at Shalla (Salé) on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The Īfranid prince Abū ʾl-Kamāl Tamīm b. Zīrī marched against Fās and captured this town. Hamāma retreated towards the east and reached the towns of Wadjda and Tēpha in the eastern part of the kingdom of Fās, where he stayed for five years. Having mustered powerful contingents, he advanced on Fās in 429/1037-8. Abū ʾl-Kamāl was forced to withdraw from Fās and return to Shalla. Later, in 430/1038-9, Hamāma continued the anti-Ṣanhāǧa policy of his predecessors by attacking the Ḥammādid prince al-Muʾnis (419-46/1028-54) who came to meet him and secretly paid large sums of money to the Zanāta troops of Hamāma. The latter, becoming aware of this and fearing the defection of his troops, returned to Fās, having declared his submission to the Ḥammādids. He died in 432/1039-40 or 433/1041-2.

Altar his death, power passed to his son Dūnās. Having suppressed a revolt by one of his cousins, this prince subsequently devoted all his efforts to the embellishment of Fās, which was now becoming a large commercial city. He died in 452/1062, leaving the throne to his son al-Futūḥ. But the rights of al-Futūḥ were contested by his brother ʿAdīsa. The latter took control of part of the capital, while al-Futūḥ established himself in the other part. The two brothers engaged in a war which lasted three years, at the end of which ʿAdīsa was killed and al-Futūḥ was able to reign effectively in Fās. However, his was not a long reign. In fact, he was driven from Fās in 454/1062 by the Ḥammādid sovereign Buluḳḳīn b. Muḥammad (447-54/1055-62). After his departure, the Maghrāwa chose one of his kinsmen to succeed him, Muʾnaṣṣar (or Muʿannaṣar) b. Ḥammād b. Muʿannaṣr b. al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya. He was proclaimed *chief* in 455/1063 and was soon obliged to wage war against the Almoravids, who were beginning to invade Morocco. Defeated by them in a major battle the same year, he took refuge with the Berber tribe of Sadīna, leaving Fās to fall into the hands of the warriors of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. But some time later he returned, deposing the lieutenant installed by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and regaining control of his capital. When the Almoravids laid siege to Fās, in 460/1067-8, Muʾnaṣṣar attempted a sortie, but he did not return from the battlefield. The people of Fās then proclaimed as prince his son Tamīm. But the capital was taken by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn two years later (462/1069-70), and the new sovereign was put to death by the Almoravid king, who also ordered the slaughter of more than three thousand Maghrāwa, Banū Ifran, Zanāta and Miknāsa living in Fās. Those who escaped the massacre took refuge in Tlemcen. Another group in Maghrāwa from Fās fled to al-Damna, a town situated in northern Morocco, on the frontiers of the land of Ghomāra. But the Almoravid king laid siege to the place in 463/1072-3 (or according to another source, in 471/1078-9), he captured the town and crushed the Maghrāwa. Al Bakrī mentions, in 1068, yet another group of northern Maghrāwa living near the highway leading from Ceuta to Tetouan, on the fringe of territory belonging to the Berber tribe of the Maḡḡāsa. There they possessed a market which they called Sūḳ Banī Maghrāwat ("Market of the Banū Maghrāwa!") It is not known whether this group survived the conquest of Fās and al-Damna by the Almoravids. However, it is by no means impossible that this small tribe should have succeeded in crossing the Mouloua and returning to the Chélif, the ancient cradle of the Maghrāwa.

2. *Sigilmāsa*. At the instigation of the *faḳīh* of Cordova Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, a Maghrāwa chief named Khazrūn b. Fulful b. Khazar embarked in 366/976-7 on the conquest of Sigilmāsa, which for two centuries had been governed by *amīrs* of the Miknāsa family of the Banū Midrār [*q.v.*]. This thief, who was one of the most influential members of the princely family of the Banū Khazar, proclaimed in Sigilmāsa the sovereignty of the Umayyads of Spain and sent to Cordova the head of the last prince of the Midrārid dynasty. After this, Khazrūn received from al-Manṣūr the governship of Sigilmāsa which he retained until his death. He was then replaced by his son Wānūdīn. The latter was obliged to defend himself against the invasion by the Algerian Ṣanhāḍa of the Maghrāwa al-Aḥṣā. For a certain period of time he was thrown into disgrace by al-Manṣūr, whose son and minister al-Muẓaffar gave the government of Sigilmāsa to Ḥāmid b. Yaṣal, but later, in 396/999, his authority was confirmed by the Umayyads. At the time of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, he declared himself independent, conquered the region of Dar*ʿ*a (Dra in our maps) and in 407/1016-17, took possession of Sūfrūy (Sefrou), which was one of the dependencies of Fās, and of the valley of the Wādī Malwiya (Moulouya). Al-Muʿizz b. Ziri, sovereign of Fās and master of Ṣufrūy (and perhaps also of the region of the Moulouya), under attack from Wānūdīn who conquered a large portion of his dominion, attempted not only to recapture these provinces but also to deprive Wānūdīn of his capital. The same year (407/1016-17), he mounted an expedition with a powerful army, but was beaten by the troops of Sigilmāsa and led back to Fās only the remnants of his force. His son and successor Masʿūd was defeated, stripped of his dominions and killed by the Almoravids, who put to the sword all the Maghrāwa who had taken refuge in the region (445/1053-4). Ten years later (in 455/1063) the sons of Wānūdīn and the remnants of the Maghrāwa residing at Ṣufrūy were dispersed in their turn. Finally, in 463/1070-1, the Almoravids seized by force the settlements of the region of the Moulouya. In this way, the domain of the Banū Khazrūn family was utterly destroyed.

3. *Aghmāt*. Another segment of the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa which entered Morocco *ca.* 972 founded a small kingdom at Aghmāt on the plain of Marrākush near the foothills of the High Atlas, in the period when the last princes of the family of Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya were the rulers of Fās. Nothing is known of the history of the Maghrāwian dynasty which reigned at Aghmāt, but it seems to have been just another branch of the great Maghrāwa princely family of the Banū Khazar. The last of the Maghrāwa *amīrs* of Aghmāt, named Lakūt, (Lakkāt, Laghūt) b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī, was killed by the Almoravids in 451/1059. He was apparently been married to the wise and beautiful Zaynab bint Isḥāḳ of the Berber tribe of Nafza who became, after the death of Lākūt, the wife of the Almoravid *amīr* Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar. The latter subsequently, in 453/1061, handed over Zaynab to his kinsman Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn.

4. *al-Sūs*. After the arrival of the Maghrāwa in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā in *ca.* 972, an *amīr* of the family of the Banū Khazar, named Muḳātil and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, the brother of the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Khazar, set out, probably at the head of a group of Maghrāwa, towards the south where he occupied territories in the province of al-Sūs. According to the list of Berber tribes compiled by the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal, he was present in this area in the period following 366/976-7. This picture is completely unknown to us. He may in fact be none other than Muḳātil b. ʿAṭiyya, brother of Zīrī (sovereign of Fās), mentioned *ca.* 365/975-6 and residing, in this period, in the north of Morocco, as stated above.

Despite the crushing defeat inflicted on the kingdoms of Fās, of Sigilmāsa, at Aghmāt and of al-Damna, the Almoravids did not succeed in exterminating all the branches of the Maghrāwa in Morocco. In fact, the remnants of this confederation stayed in this country where they are mentioned again, in the 6th/12th century, by Ibn Khaldūn. Among these remnants attention should be drawn to the Banū Warrī, a substantial branch of the Maghrāwa. In this period, families belonging to this tribe were widely dispersed in Morocco, particularly in the environs of Fās and in the Sūs. According to Ibn

Khaldūn, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the Marīnid sulṭān Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb deported to the territory of the Chélif the chiefs and almost all the families of the Banū Warrāṭ who resided in the region of Fās. Another Maghrāwān branch, the Banū Sindjās, also occupied in the 8th/14th century numerous places in Morocco.

B. Algeria. 1. *Tlemcen.* According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Maghrāwān sovereign of Fās, al-Muʿtaṣir b. Zīrī, seized from the Ṣanhādja, i.e. from the Zīrid king Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (366-409/996-1018), the town and province of Tlemcen, where he established as governor his kinsman Yaʿlā, son of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, who had previously (until *ca.* 375/985-6) headed the confederation of the Maghrāwa on the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. Yaʿlā served Muʿtaṣir b. Zīrī faithfully and passed on to his descendants the government of Tlemcen and of all the surrounding country.

His successors lived in peace with the Ṣanhādja dynasty, masters of the central Maghrib, which enabled them to consolidate their authority at Tlemcen, which became an independent state. This situation continued until the arrival in the central Maghrib of the Hilālian tribes of Zughba and Athbadj. In 440/1054-5 the invaders turned their weapons against the Zanāta tribes of the area and captured from them all the open country. The Ḥammādids, who found themselves in this period, after many truces, in a state of war with the *amīr* Bākhtī, a descendant of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr, obtained the support of the Zughba. The war between Bākhtī and the Zanāta on the one hand and the Ḥammādids and the Zughba on the other, lasted a long time. Bākhtī put at the head of his army a vizier named Abū Sūda who belonged to the Zanāta tribe of the Banū Īfran. This general rallied beneath his flag all the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib, headed by the Maghrāwa and the Banū Īfran. The sources mention numerous battles which took place between the Ḥammādids (and their allies, the Zughba and the Athbadj) and the army of Bākhtī. In one of these conflicts, Abū Sūda lost his life (430/1038). After the death of Bākhtī, at a date unknown, the throne passed to his son al-ʿAbbās. It was during this period that the Almoravids, having completed the conquest of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, appeared in the central Maghrib. Their chief, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, dispatched an army composed of the Lamṭūna against Tlemcen and, in 473/1080-1, he seized this town from al-ʿAbbās. Subsequently, he put this *amīr* to death, along with all the other descendants of the family of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and exterminated the Maghrāwa who were trapped in the town.

2. *Chélif.* The emigration of the Maghrāwa of the central Maghrib to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā which took place in 1071 involved only a part of the tribes of the Maghrāwa confederation, who left this country led by al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayr and other *amīrs* descended from the ancient princely family of the Banū Khaẓer. The other Maghrāwa tribes residing in the central Maghrib remained in the territory of Chélif and neighbouring sites, the region which had been, as stated by Ibn Khaldūn, the centre of their settlements. These tribes were obliged, after the collapse of their power in 971, to pay tribute to the major dominions of the central Maghrib as a guarantee against their attacks. Among these Maghrāwa were the powerful tribe of the Banū Warsīfān and the tribes of the Banū Wartazmār (Wanzamār), the Banū Īfīt, the Banū Zadhūdāk and the Banū Sindjās. Later, the Arab sources add to these the Banū Bū Saʿīd and the Banū Warrāṭ. In the 5th/11th century the Banū Warsīfān resided in the neighbourhood of Milyāna, where they lived under the control of their own *shaykhs*, subject in this period to the authority of the Ḥammādids, and the Banū Sindjās, who had their own *amīr*, possessed the region of Medea, known as Lamdāya in the Arabic sources.

After the collapse of the dominions of Fās, of Sidjilmāsa and of Aghmāt brought about by the Almoravids, a Maghrāwa prince named Muʿānṣar b. Ḥammād, who claimed descent from Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, fled from Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn at the head of a group of Maghrāwa and entered the territory of Chélif, subject at this time to the Ḥammādid king al-Nāṣir (434-62/1062-89). It seems that the Maghrāwa tribes of this region recognised his authority, with the exception of the Banū Warsīfān who were unwilling to accept him and who remained loyal to the Ḥammādid governor based at Milyāna. Muʿānṣar b. Ḥammād attacked them and killed a number of their *shaykhs*. He also slew the Ḥammādid governor of Milyāna. Al-Nāṣir was unable to come to the aid of the Banū Warsīfān on account of his struggles with the Hilālian Arabs. So the Banū Warsīfān marched alone against Muʿānṣar, killed him in battle and sent his head to al-Nāṣir. This battle seems to have been only one episode in a long war between the Maghrāwa invaders of Morocco, who were joined by numerous Maghrāwa and Zanāta tribes, and the Ḥammādids which took place *ca.* 460-70/1067-78. In this war, which ended with the decisive defeat of the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta, the Maghrāwa and Zanāta chiefs were decimated. Among these chiefs, mention should be made of Abu 'l-Futūḥ b. Habbūs (or Hannūn), *amīr* of the Banū Sindjās and ruler of Lamdāya (Medea).

The history of the Maghrāwa of the region of Chélif under the domination of the Almoravids is entirely unknown. They seem however to have suffered greatly at the hands of the Lamṭūna. In fact, when ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, a Maghrāwa *amīr* who belonged to the Banū Khaẓer family and traced his origin from the royal family of the Banū Khazrūn of Tripoli, arrived in the territory of Chélif at around the middle of the 6th/12th century, he found there only remnants of the Maghrāwa. He established himself among this people and was greeted with honour by the Banū Warsīfān, the Banū Wartazmār (Wanzamār), the Banū Bū Saʿīd and other Maghrāwa tribes. These tribes, ever loyal to the family of the Banū Khaẓer, the ancient kings of the territory of Chélif and of the entire central Maghrib, were all eager to recognise in his person the rights of this dynasty. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad allied himself through marriages to their leading families and left numerous children, who were known in the territory of Chélif by the name of Banū Khaẓer or Banū Muḥammad, no doubt in memory of Muḥammad b. Khaẓar, the Maghrāwa king of the central Maghrib in the 4th/10th century. The arrival of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in the region of Chélif took place shortly before the establishment of the empire of the Almohads, who became masters of the central Maghrib in 547/1152 after a war against a coalition of Zanāta tribes. Also members of this coalition were the Maghrāwa, in particular the tribe of the Banū Warsīfān (in *ca.* 539/1145). One of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, a certain Abū Nās who was renowned for his piety, received from the Almohads, who treated him with great respect, the government of part of the territory of Chélif and the command of the Maghrāwa in this region.

Such were the origins of a new Maghrāwa state in the central Maghrib. The real founder of this state was Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, grandson of Abū Mis who lived at around the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. This prince conquered the neighbouring territories, including the region of Wānsharis and the town of Lamdīya (Medea) along with the places dependent on them. The dynasty which he founded is known in the mediaeval Arabic sources as Awlād Mandīl (*q.v.*). As for Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān himself he took the field against Ibn Ghāniya, but lost the battle and died in 622/1225, prisoner of this chief.

The successors of Mandīl took possession of Miliana, of Ténès, of Cherchel, of Médéa and a large part of the region of Wānsharis, founding a quite substantial kingdom, much of which was subsequently taken from them by their neighbours, in particular by the Banū ʿAṭiyya, chiefs of the Zanāta tribe of Tōgīta which inhabited the region of the high Chélif. In *ca.* 670/1271-2, the Maghrāwa of Chélif recognised the sovereignty of the dynasty of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād of Tlemcen. However, two years later the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultan Yaghmurasān b. Zayyān ravaged the land of the Maghrāwa and compelled them to cede to him the town of Ténès. Thus began the wars between the ʿAbd al-Wādids and the Maghrāwa *amīrs* which lasted a hundred years. One of the most important episodes of these wars was the expedition of the sultan of Tlemcen Abū Zayyān (703-7/1304-7) and his brother Abū Ḥammū against the tribes of Chélif in 706/1307, in the course of which the ʿAbd al-Wādids subjugated the valley of the lower Chélif and conquered the towns of this region. Nevertheless, the Maghrāwa continued to be the formidable enemies of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. In fact, in 714/1314-5, the *shaykh* of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Bū Saʿīd raised, in the valley of Chélif, the standard of revolt against Abū Ḥammū who had become sultan of Tlemcen after the death of Abū Zayyān. However, he was forced to take flight. Living at about the same time was the *amīr* Rāshid b. Muḥammad, a renowned Maghrāwa warrior who, after the conquest of his land by the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, offered his services to the princes of Bougie. In 703/1303-4 he reached the territory of Mitīdja (Mitidja), where another celebrated Maghrāwa warrior named Munīf b. Thābit came to join him with his partisans. But the latter, decisively defeated, took refuge with his entire family in Spain, where he remained until the end of his life.

Later, at around the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Maghrāwa of Chélif became once more a tribe of some importance. They were at this time subjects or allies of the sultans of Tlemcen, but they sought at every opportunity to rid themselves of this dependence. In this period, their principal centre was the town of Timzīghat or Timzīrat. In *ca.* 749/1348-9, a prince of the Awlād Mandīl dynasty named ʿAlī b. Rāshid (possibly the son of the renowned Maghrāwa *amīr* Rāshid b. Muḥammad mentioned above), took possession of the territory of Chélif and subjugated Miliana, Ténès, Brechk and Cherchel. He also possessed the village of Māzūna. But the revival of the state of the Maghrāwa did not last long. In fact they were attacked, in 752 or 752/1350-2, by the sultan Abū Thābit of Tlemcen, who subjugated the Maghrāwa of Chélif and captured Māzūna, Brechk Cherchel, Miliana and Medea. The Maghrāwa warriors took refuge in the fortress of Aghrū which dominated the towns of Ténès. In as 772/1370, after the death of ʿAlī b. Rāshid, the Maghrāwa of Chélif proclaimed as chief his son Ḥamza, who was the last prince of the Maghrāwa state of Chelif. His reign was of short duration. In 774/1372, the sultan of Tlemcen sent powerful forces to subdue the Maghrāwa. The latter were defeated, and the ʿAbd al-Wādids took control of the town of Timzīghat (Timzīrat) situated in the centre of their territory. Ténès and Miliana also surrendered to the sultan of Tlemcen. In the wake of this defeat, the Maghrāwa of Chélif lost all their power and, to avoid the prospect of slavery, they emigrated from the region in large numbers. In 775/1373, the majority of this people took refuge in the district of Mitīdja. However, it is quite possible that some of the Maghrāwa of Chélif remained in their ancient homeland and that the noble and valiant inhabitants of the "Magraoa Mountain" located near the village or Mostaganem who are spoken of in 1525 by Leo Africanus belonged to the various segments of the Maghrāwa.

3. *Zāb and its environs.* It has been observed above how the Maghrāwa princes of the Banū Khazar dynasty took advantage of the Khārijī jiān revolt of Maysara in 122/739-40 and of the enfeeblement of the Umayyad governors of Kayrawān to extend their authority over all the nomadic Zanāta of the central Maghrib, of which Zāb formed a part. So it was that from this period onwards, different Berber tribes and clans belonging to the confederation of the Maghrāwa began moving into this region. In 326/928-9 the powerful Maghrāwa prince Muḥammad b. Khazar appeared in Zāb, from which he energetically expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimids. Later, in 379/989-90, a Maghrāwa *amīr* claiming descent from the family of the Banū Khazar and named Saʿīd b. Khazrūn b. Fulful, discontented with the personal policies of the Umayyads of Spain who were lavishing extraordinary honours upon the *amīrs* Mukātil and Zīrī, sons of ʿAṭiyya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khazar, deserted the Umayyad party and presented himself at Ashīr at the court of the Zīrīd prince al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn (373-86/984-96) who gave to the turbulent the government of the town of Tubna in the region of Zāb. After the death of this *amīr* in 381 or 382 (991-2), it was his son Fulful b. Saʿīd b. Khazrūn who succeeded him in this rule. In 389/999 this *amīr* rebelled against the Zīrīd prince Badīs b. al-Manṣūr (386-406/996-1016), but after defeat at the hands of the Ṣanhāja army he took refuge in the mountains and subsequently, in 391/1000-1, made his way through the desert to Tripoli.

Among other Maghrāwa individuals who were active in Zāb and the surrounding region mention should be made of three chiefs of the Banū Warzamār (Warzamār), a leading family of the Maghrāwa, these being al-Manṣūr al-Warsamārī and his two sons ʿAbd Allāh and Masʿūd, who made war on Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn (403-19/1013-29), probably in the vicinity of the town of Bāghāya. It is also in this period that the Arabic sources mention the place known as Kudyat Maghrāwa, itself situated in the region of Zāb. According to al-Bakrī (1068), two tribes belonging to the ancient confederation of the Maghrāwa, these being the Banū Ismartī (Ismraṭan, Ismartan) and the Banū Maghrāwa proper, resided in the vicinity of Biskra. The latter tribe was governed by *amīrs* descended from the Banū Khazar family. To the west of the town of Bantiyūs, which lies to the south-west of Biskra, there existed a place known as Sākiyat Ibn Khazar "the irrigation canal of Ibn Khazar", which owed

its name to a prince belonging to the family of the Banū Khazar, possibly the ancient Maghrāwa king Muḥammad b. Khazar who reigned in the central Maghrib in the first half and around the middle of the 10th century. To the west of Bantryūs, al-Bakrī notes the presence of the Maghrāwa in an expanse of desert three or four stages long, on the road leading from Oran to the land of Kastīliya (Bilād al-Djarīd). Maghrāwa are also to be found in this period to the south of Biskra. In fact, it is known that the town of Waghlānat or Wughallān (Ouriel or Ourellai on our maps), situated to the south of Biskra and probably inhabited by Berber Ibāḍī elements, was besieged in 450/1058-9 by the Maghrāwa chief named Abū Zaghīl al-Khazarī, clearly a member of the princely family of the Banū Khazar. Later, in *ca.* 468/1075-6, the Maghrāwa, the Ghumara and other nomadic Zanāta tribes of the Zāb region allied themselves with the Hilālian Arabs and sacked the towns of the Zāb. The leader of these brigands was the Maghrāwa chief al-Muntaṣir b. Khazrūn, master of the Zanāta of Tripoli (of whom further mention will be made below), who made his base at Waghlānat. The inhabitants of Zāb complained to the Ḥammādid prince al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89) who dispatched against al-Muntaṣir his son al-Manṣūr at the head of an army. Al-Manṣūr entered Waghlānat and destroyed the town. Some time later, al-Muntaṣir, for whom ʿArīf b. Sandī, chief of Biskra, had laid a trap, was killed by the latter and his head sent to al-Nāṣir.

It may be added that among the Maghrāwa tribes which inhabited Zāb and the neighbouring regions there were also the Banū Zandāḍī (Zandāḍīn, Zandāk). This was an important tribal group which, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī, lived in the 3rd 5th/9th-11th centuries in the environs of Ṭubna, of al-Masīla (Msila) and of Makḥara or Maḥra (the ancient Macri, the contemporary Bordj Mgra), a town situated midway between Ṭubna and al-Masīla. According to the Ibāḍī historian al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century), the majority of the Zandāḍīa professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect.

Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century) mentions three other tribes belonging to the Maghrāwa residing in the region and vicinity of Zāb these being the Sindjas, the Righa and the Laghwāṭ. The first of these tribes occupied the territory currently known as the Ouled Naïl and the land extending as far as Djebel Amour and the mountain of Rāshid. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Sindjas resided, before the arrival of the Hilālian Arabs, in the plains of Ifrīḳiya, and the latter forced this people, not without difficulty, to take refuge in the mountains and fortresses of the Ouled Naïl and the surrounding regions. In the 8th/14th century, they paid tribute to the Hilālian Arabs who had subjugated them. According to Ibn Khaldūn, in this period they still professed the doctrines of the Khāridjite sect (in this case, Ibāḍī).

The Righa, a nomadic branch of the Maghrāwa which comprised a large number of families, was established in Djebel Aïad and in the plain extending from this mountain to the town of Nīḳāwus (Ngaous on our maps). In the time of Ibn Khaldūn, the Righa of the mountains paid tribute to the *amīrs* of the tribe of ʿAyād, and the families of the Righa residing in the plain of Nīḳāwus were subject to the local Arabs.

The Laghwāṭ, a branch of the Maghrāwa tribe renowned for its valour and its resistance to Arab domination, inhabited in the 8th/14th century, the desert region separating the district of Zāb from the mountain of Rāshid. There they occupied a large settlement which bore their name, Laghouat on modern maps.

4. *Wādī Righ*. A large number of Maghrāwa families settled, probably at about the middle of the 4th/10th century, in the land stretching between Zāb and the territory of Wārḍilān (Ouargla on our maps) where the new arrivals built on the banks of a stream flowing from south to north, numerous towns and villages surrounded by date-palms. In the ancient Arab sources, this territory was called Wādī Arīgha or Wādī Righ, from the name of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Righa, on modern maps this land bears the name of Oued Righ or Oued Rirh. The majority of the Maghrāwa families who inhabited Wādī Arigh were Ibāḍī Khāridjites; they principally professed the doctrines of the Wahbis and the Nukkāris. Alongside the Righa, there were also present in the 8th/14th century some members of the Sindjas clan, who arrived in this territory after leaving their former settlements in Zāb or in Ifrīḳiya. The Ibāḍī historian al-Shammākhī mentions on several occasions the Maghrāwa of Righ. The most ancient reference to the Maghrāwa of Oued Righ dates from *ca.* 362/972-3. Other mentions of the Maghrāwa of Righ occur in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

5. *Eastern Algeria*. A segment of the tribe of the Sindjas resided, in the 8th/14th century, in the region of Constantine. In the same part of Algeria, Arabic sources of this period also mention an offshoot from the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Warrā which gave its name to a mountain and a village situated in the vicinity of Bougie. Finally, a Maghrāwa tribe known as the Banū Ikshan which professed the doctrines of the Ibāḍī sect resided, in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries and possibly also in subsequent centuries, in the plain of Bône, Fahs Būna in Arabic sources. Ibāḍī sources from the 7th-10th/13th-16th centuries mention eight or so important Ibāḍī *shaykhs* belonging to this tribe.

C. Tunisia. A segment of the Maghrāwa tribe of the Banū Izamrātan inhabited the canton of Nafzāwa situated in the south of Tunisia. According to the Ḥafṣid historian Ibn Nāḳūl, quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, this was the tribe of origin of the Berber chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Rand who governed, on behalf of the Fāṭimids, the town of Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), at the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl. In 445/1053-4 he declared himself independent and accepted the submission of Tūzar, Nafṭa, Takyūs, al-Ḥamma and other localities in the province of Kastīliya, he founded the dynasty of the Banū ʾl-Rand. On his death, in 463/1070-1, his son and successor Abū ʿUmar (Abū ʿAmr) al-Muʿtasim succeeded in constituting to the west of southern Ifrīḳiya an important principality comprising Kamūda (Gamouda), Ḳafṣa and Kastīliya, bounded to the north by the regions of Sbeïtla, Kayrawān and Sfax. The capital of this principality was the town of Ḳafṣa, situated in the centre of the territory which it dominated. The domain of the Banu ʾl-Rand existed until 554/1159, at which date the Almohads captured Ḳafṣa and deposed the ruling family.

It seems that the Maghrāwa established themselves in the Nafzāwa in a quite ancient period. In any case, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khazarī, who was probably descended from the princely Maghrāwa family of the Banū Khazar, was appointed governor of the Nafzāwa by the Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhart, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (168-208/

784-813). Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ was an Ibāḍī, as were the majority of the inhabitants of the district of Nafzāwa. Princes descended from the Banū Khazar family were still ruling the Nafzāwa at the time of the Zīrīd al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406-54/1016/62).

It may be added that the Maghrāwa chief Warrū b. Saʿīd, descended from the Banū Khazrūn family an offshoot of the Banū Khazar, was appointed governor of Nafzāwa by the Zīrīd prince Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (406/1009-10). After him, his brother Khazrūn obtained from Bādīs the government of Nafzāwa (401-4/1010-14).

The Maghrāwa and the Zanāta also reached, in the second half of the 5th/11th century, throughout the region of Kastīliya. Ibn Khaldūn refers, in fact, to a raid of Hilālian Arabs against these Berber groups Probably those involved were the same Maghrāwa who took part in a coalition of the Hilālian Arab tribes of Riyāḥ, of Zughba and of Sulaymān which campaigned, in 457/1064-5, against the Ḥammādid sovereign al-Nāṣir.

Among the Maghrāwa tribes inhabiting Ifrīḳiya, mention should also be made of the Banū Sinḍlās, who distinguished themselves by the part that they played in the war of the Zanāta against the Zīrīd and Ḥammādid Ṣanhāǧa. In 514/1120-1 they blockaded Gafsa and ravaged the surrounding area. They also appeared in the Bilād al-Djarīd, where they were attacked by Muḥammad b. Abī ʾl-ʿArab, general of the Zīrīd sovereign ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (509-15/1116-21) The Zīrīd army expelled them from the Djarīd and destroyed their power

D Tripolitania. An offshoot of the Maghrāwa led by *amīr*s descended from the family of the Banū Khazrūn, a branch of the Banū Khazar, established an independent government at Tripoli The history of this state, which existed for almost a century and a half (391-542/1000-1145), is little known in spite of the information provided by Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Tidjānī and other Arab authors. Nevertheless, some facts are available, in particular concerning the first century of the dominance of the Banū Khazrūn.

It has been observed above that Fulful b. Saʿīd b Khazrūn, a Maghrāwa *amīr* descended from the family of the Banū Khazar, was, like his father Saʿīd b Khazrūn, a supporter of the Zīrīds, lieutenants of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya and, like his father governor of the town of Tubna in the Zāb on behalf, of this Ṣanhāǧa dynasty. in 390/1000-1 Fulful b Saʿīd rebelled against the Zīrīd prince Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr Defeated by Bādīs, he took refuge in the Sahara and subsequently marched on Tripoli, a province dependent on the Zīrīds He took control of this land in 391/1000-2 Becoming master of the town and province of Tripoli, Fulful b. Saʿīd was constrained to fight a prolonged war against Bādīs b al-Manṣūr, and requiring military support he first of all recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim whose aid was, however, ineffectual. Therefore, he decided to approach the Umayyads of Spain, and in 399/1008-9 he sent a mission to the court of Cordova, whose sovereigns had always been, since the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61), allies and protectors of the Maghrāwa and their kings, the Banū Khazar However, this approach led to no result, as Fulful b Saʿīd died in 400/1009-10, before the return of his ambassadors from Cordova.

After the death of Fulful, the Maghrāwa and the other Zanāta tribes proclaimed as *amīr* his brother Warrū b Saʿīd This chief was obliged, first of all, to recognise the authority of the Zīrīd Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, who marched on Tripoli and occupied the town, forcing the Zanāta and Maghrāwa warriors to flee. Warrū b Saʿīd was granted a general amnesty and appointment as governor of Nafzāwa (400/1009-10) But in 401/1010-11 he once more repudiated the authority of Bādīs and inaugurated a lengthy war, during which the Maghrāwa and Zanāta ravaged extensive areas of southern Ifrīḳiya and Tripolitania However, they were unable to take control of the town of Tripoli which remained in the hands of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the governor appointed by Bādīs b al-Manṣūr Ultimately, in 404 or 405/1013-15, Warrū b. Saʿīd again offered his submission to the Zīrīds.

After the death of Warrū b Saʿīd in 405/1014-5, the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania were divided into two parties one supporting the succession of Khalīfa, son of Warrū, and the other rallying round Khazrūn b. Saʿīd, the latter's brother It was Khalīfa who emerged victorious over his rival, having taken possession of his camp Khazrūn b Saʿīd made his way to Egypt to the court of the Fāṭimid caliph, where the two sons Saʿīd and al-Muntaṣir spent their youth In this manner, Khalīfa b Warrū established his authority over all the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania This chief pledged loyalty to Bādīs b al-Manṣūr, but after the death of this sovereign and the accession of his son al-Muʿizz (406-454/1016-1062), he rebelled against the new Zīrīd king Groups of Maghrāwa and Zanāta led by Ḥammād, brother of Khalīfa, made incursions into the territories of Gabès and of Tripoli. These raids lasted until 413/1022-3. Soon after this, the new Zīrīd governor of Tripoli, ʿAbd Allāh b al Ḥasan, ceded the town to Khalīfa, who thus restored the domination of the Banū Khazrūn. Subsequently, in 417/1026, Khalīfa b. Warrū made overtures to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir b. al Ḥākim (411-27/1021-36) and obtained from him confirmation as governor of Tripoli The same year, Khalīfa also sent a lavish gift to al-Muʿizz b Bādīs. It is probable that Khalīfa died during the reign of al-Ẓāhir.

It was apparently in the lifetime of Khalīfa b. Warrū that Saʿīd b Khazrūn and his brother al-Muntaṣir, sons of Khazrūn b Saʿīd, returned from Cairo and established themselves to the neighbourhood of Tripoli. At one point, it is not known when or how, Saʿīd b Khazrūn succeeded in taking control of the town of Tripoli, but he was killed in 429/1037-8 After him, his kinsman Khazrūn b. Khalīfa seized Tripoli. But his residence in the town lasted only a year, until December 1038, when he was forced to leave Tripoli in secret to escape from al Muntaṣir b Khazrūn, who arrived at the head of a Zanāta army to secure the accession of his brother Saʿīd b Khazrūn. This chief, proclaimed *amīr* of the Maghrāwa and Zanāta of Tripolitania, governed the town and province of Tripoli for a very long period. It was during his reign, between the years 430 and 449/1038-49, that a lengthy war took place between the Zanāta and Maghrāwa of Tripoli on the one side and the Zīrīd king al-Muʿizz b Bādīs on the other, the latter attacked them at the head of a Ṣanhāǧa army The Maghrāwa and Zanāta routed the first Ṣanhāǧa expedition, and repulsed the second, but were defeated by the third and were compelled to conclude a peace treaty with al-Muʿizz According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muntaṣir again recognised the authority of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs in 443/1051-2, during the invasion of the Banū Hilāl. In fact, he came to the aid of Bādīs at the head of a thousand Zanāta horsemen,

but was beaten by the Hilālians and fled along with the entire *Zīrid* army. Despite the occupation of the plains of Tripoli by the Hilālian Arab tribes, the capital of the province remained in the hands of al-Muntaṣir, who was still in residence there in ca 468/1075-6. It was at about this date that he decided to lead the Arabs of the tribe of the Banū ʿAdī in an assault on the central Maghrib, which was at this time in the possession of the Ṣanhādja dynasty of the Banū Ḥammād. The forces of al-Muntaṣir occupied the towns of al-Masīla and Ashīr, and also the regions of Zāb and Rīgh. Al-Muntaṣir established his headquarters in the small town of Waghlāna, to which reference has been made above; in addition, he remained master of Tripoli. It has also been mentioned above that he was treacherously killed by the chief of Biskra, who recognised the authority of the Banū Ḥammād.

After his death, another member of the Banū Khazrūn family, whose name is not mentioned in the sources, took control of Tripoli. The subsequent history of Tripoli under this dynasty is not known. It is known, however, that the last *amīr* claiming descent from the Banū Khazrūn was expelled from the town of Tripoli by King Roger II of Sicily, who replaced him with Abū Yaḥyā Ibn Maṭrūḥ al-Tamīmī (540/1146). However, according to Ibn Khaldūn, a section of the Banū Khazrūn family was still residing in the plains of Tripoli at the time of the conquest of this land by the Almohads (*ca* 555/1160).

As for the Maghrāwa of Tripolitania, they subsequently took refuge in the Djabal Nafūsa. They were still present in this area in the 8th/14th century, at the time of Ibn Khaldūn, according to whom the dense population of the district was composed of Nafūsa, of Maghrāwa and of some Ṣadāta families. These Maghrāwa seem to have converted to Ibāḍism, the religion of the Berber population of the Djabal Nafūsa.

It has been observed above that the Maghrāwa remained, after their conversion to Islam, supporters of Sunnism, with the exception of some branches of the confederation which embraced Ibāḍism. However, it seems that the conversion of this tribe to Islam was for a long time superficial and that certain Maghrāwa tribes were still, in the 5th/11th century, semi-pagan. In fact, according to al-Bakrī (1068), there existed among the Banū Warsīfān the cult of demons known as *al-shamārīkh* (sing. *shamrākh*), to whom offerings were made.

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AL-**MAGHRIB**, the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which Europeans have called Barbary or Africa Minor and then North Africa, and which includes Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

The word *maghrib* means the west, the setting sun, in opposition to *mashrik*, the east, the rising sun (Levant), but as Ibn Khaldūn remarks, the general denomination was applied to a particular region. The extent of this area, moreover, varies according to different authors. Some oriental writers (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī) include in the Maghrib not only Northern Africa but also Sicily and Spain, the majority, however, reserve the name Maghrib for the first of these countries. But they are not in agreement upon the boundaries to be assigned to it on the east. On the other hand they are in agreement about the northern, western and southern boundaries. To the north, the Maghrib is bordered by the Mediterranean. To the west, it extends as far as the Atlantic Ocean, which it hugs from Tangier to the desert of the Lamtūna (Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ) or only, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as far as Safi and the Deren (Great Atlas). To the south it stretches (Ibn Khaldūn) as far as the barrier of moving sands separating the country of the Berbers from the land of the Negroes, that is to say the Erg [*see* ṢAḤRĀʾ] and as far as the rocky regions called *ḥammāda* [q.v.]. Some districts situated outside this limit, such as Būda, Tamentīt, Gurāra, Ghadamès, Fezzān and Waddān, are sometimes considered as belonging to the Maghrib. As regards the eastern boundary, certain authors made it extend as far as the sea of Kulzum (the Red Sea) and thus include in the Maghrib, Egypt and the country of Barḳa [q.v.]. Others, whose opinion is adopted by Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, make it coincide with the actual frontier of Egypt, from the ocean (al-Wāḥāt [q.v.]) as far as *al-ʿArish al-kabīr* between Barḳa and Alexandria. Ibn Khaldūn does not accept this delimitation, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Maghrib do not consider Egypt and Barḳa as forming part of their country. The latter commences only at the province of Tripoli and encloses the districts of which the country of the Berbers was composed in former times. Ibn Saʿīd and later Maghribī writers limit themselves to reproducing with a few variations in detail, the information of Ibn Khaldūn. As for Yāḳūt, he sometimes the Maghrib to the country stretching from Miluna [q.v.] to Sūs (*ed.* Wüstenfeld, iv, 583).

Placed, according to al-Idrīsī, in the third clime, but according to al-Zuhrī (§§ 12, 21) in the 6th *iḳlīm* or *ḳism*[2], the Maghrib is divided into several regions more or less clearly defined. Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-

Wiet, 57 ff.) distinguishes two regions: the Eastern Maghrib from the frontier of Egypt as far as Zawila to Tripolitania, and the Western Maghrib from this point to Sūs al-Aḳṣā; but the division commonly accepted is that into three regions, Ifrīḳiya, Central (*awsaṭ*) Maghrib and Farther Maghrib (Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn, etc.). Ibn Sa'īd adopts a slightly different division: Ifrīḳiya outer Maghrib, and further Sūs. Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] had varying limits, central Maghrib was from Bougie to the Moulouya river (Ibn Khaldūn) and the farther Maghrib from the Moulouya to Safi and to the Deren, to which must be added al-Sūs which forms, as might be said, according to Ibn Khaldūn, an island or country detached from all others and surrounded by seas, deserts and mountains.

At the present time, the term Maghrib is still used in opposition to Mashrik in a sense near to that which it had in mediaeval times, but it also denotes simply Morocco when the full expression al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā is abbreviated. Furthermore, the political union of the North African countries which certain politicians seek is called al-Maghrib al-Kabīr.

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(G. YVER*)

AL-MAGHRIB, AL-MAMLAKA AL-MAGHRIBIYYA, a kingdom of North Africa whose name in European languages (Fr. Maroc, Eng. Morocco, Span. Marruecos) is a deformation of the name of the southern metropolis of the kingdom, Marrākush [*q.v.*].

2. GEOGRAPHY

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary, it corresponds to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā of the Arab geographers [see AL-MAGHRIB]. Lying between 5° and 15° W. longitude (Greenwith) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N. latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 500,000 and 550,000 km². On the north it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic and on the south by the Sahara. On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran. The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side.

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa, it is chiefly oriented to the west. It is, one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary, it is nevertheless a continental country. The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population; the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters. The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances. The geological structure is somewhat complicated. Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps. The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains. The chains are two in number, the Rif and the Atlas. The Rif is the continuation from the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar of the Baetican Cordillera [see AFR]. The Atlas [*q.v.*] chain forms the backbone of Morocco. It breaks into the High Atlas oriented west-north-east, linked by the volcanic massif of Siwā (3,300 m.) to the Anti Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rif, from which it is separated by the corridor of Taza. From these different chains stretch plateaux. Those of the east connect the High Atlas to the Saharan Atlas of Algeria, those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic. Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded, others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins.

In consequence of the obliqua orientation of the Middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side. They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Tensift to that of the Muluya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebou, the corridor of Taza, the plain of the lower Moulouya). The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Ḥaws of Marrākush) and disappears in the heart of the Middle Atlas.

Climate. The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil). This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country, the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain. On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer (Tangier 13°-24°, Agadir 14°-22°), only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest. In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations and even the daily ones increase the farther one goes inland. They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental. The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity. Brought by the west and south west winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer. The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from north to south (Tangier 32 inches, Casablanca 16 inches). It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer. The interior is not so well served. The rains diminish in quantity from west to east. The mountain massifs always form an exception. They condense the moisure in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the

summer. Eastern Morocco on the other hand isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain.

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate. Forests of evergreen oak, of kak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rif. The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Za'ā'ir and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Ma'mūra). The thuya and the argania [see ARGAN] are already more disseminated. Poplars, willows, elms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādīs. The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state. But, as the rainfall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes. The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants. The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfa) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature. The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of western Morocco and practically the whole of eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean. As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the *hammādas* [*q.v.*], although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation.

Hydrography. The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography. Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa. Wādīs (weds) are here more numerous, their courses are longer and their volume larger. A number of them even deserve the name of rivers. The waters flow in these different directions: towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara. The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important. They can be divided into three groups: those of the north (Loukkos and Sebou), those of the centre (Bū Ragrag and Umm al-Rabī'), and those of the south (Tensift and Sous). The Loukkos drains the districts of the Gharb, the Sebou, those of the Middle Atlas, of the Zarhūn, and the southern slope of the Rif. On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles. Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely. It is even navigable in its lower course [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. The Bū Ragrag and the Umm al-Rabī' run for a part of their course through the central plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta". The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation. The Tensift, to the north of the High Atlas, the Wādī Sūs to the south, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādī of northern Africa. The watercourses of the Sahara (Wād Gīr, Wād Zīz, Wād Dar'a) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand. The Dar'a [*q.v.*] alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course. As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid floods. The Moulouya (Malwiyya) alone forms an exception. It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes.

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbary are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring to their train a diversity more marked than in Algeria or Tunisia. The combination of these different elements determines the existence of regions which differ the one from the other in their configuration, their resources, the density and manner of existence of their population. We may distinguish six such regions: Northern Morocco, the basin of the Sebou, Central Morocco, the country of the Atlas, Eastern Morocco, and Moroccan Sahara.

Northern Morocco. Northern Morocco comprises a mountainous zone (the mountains of the Rif properly so-called which are to the north-west continued in the "domes" of the Djebāla (Jbāla) as far as the Strait of Gibraltar) and regions less rugged in character which to the south-east and the west form the transition into the adjoining countries. The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādīs, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed between the rocky promontories. A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds. The Rif, therefore, must seem to be a world very little accessible to influences from without. Arab influence has scarcely grazed it. The population has always vigorously opposed the political measures of the sultans as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there. Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the people of the Rif find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. A number of them gain from temporary emigration an addition to their resources. They are not nomadic but inhabit villages perched on the slopes. Towns are represented only by Shafshāwān (Chechaouen) and Wazzān (Ouezzan), religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Djebāla. Towards the south-east, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Mouloúya. The lack of rain gives to these plains (Sal wān, Gāret) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life. Towards the west the lowlying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the north to the south between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Djebāla. This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor. It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains. A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Kasr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Larache [see the articles SABTA, TANDJA and AL-'ARA'ISH].

The valley of the Sebou. The valley of the Sebou lies between the Rif, the Middle Atlas, the Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic. The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value. The Sebou links up the whole of it. Through its tributary the Innawen, the valley of which leads

in the pass of Taza, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy. The mountain massifs there (Zarhūn, Zālagh mountains of Gerwāwa) offer no insuperable obstacles to communication. The high plains of Sā'is and Meknès are contrasted with the lower plains of the Shrārda and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebou. The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebou and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation. Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains, fruit-trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains, the *merdjas*, temporary marshes produced by the Sebou in its lower course, are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture. This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebou a centre of intensive settlement. The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there. *All types of habitation* are found as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life. Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry). The country villages, douars of huts in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing. Mawlāy Idrīs (*q.v.*) is the sacred city of Morocco, Salā on the borders of the plain of Sā'is and the high limestone plateau lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of slippers. Fās and Meknès are among the great cities of Morocco.

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco. It has resisted all the usual causes of decline. From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebou has been bitterly contested. Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco. Their political significance and role in history corresponds very exactly to their geographical position and economic value.

Central Morocco. Between the valley of the Sebou, the ranges of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta. It concludes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian paenoplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations. Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts: the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Djawr. The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador [see AL-SUWAYRA]. Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukkāla, Shāwiyya) to a width of 50 miles. To the rains and the constant moisture from the vicinity of the Atlantic, the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds the conditions for prosperity. The *hrs* or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bū Ragrag to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals. The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable. The land of the Dukkāla has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco. The towns of the coast, Salā, Rabat, Casablanca, al-Djadīda, Azemmour, Safi, Mogador (*q.vv.*), benefit by the richness of the hinterland. The exportation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there. While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebou opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences.

The interior is much more broken. The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000-2,500 feet. The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Za'ēr and Zayān, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Rahāmna. These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Umm Rabī' overlook on the west side the low-lying coastlands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently on the south-east to the plain of Tadla. This is a depression, over 120 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part. A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tadla and the Hawz of Marrākush, a basin shut in by the High Atlas to the south, the Middle Atlas to the east, the Djbilāt in the north and the hills of the Shiyādma in the west. The economic value of this inner region is very unequal. On the mountains of the north, the rains and streams support forests and the local inhabitants devote themselves to cattle-rearing. The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation is difficult. The Tadla is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains. The plain of the Hawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger. An ingenious system of irrigation [see KANĀT] has transformed the country round Marrākush into a vast palmgrove and resulted in a particularly dense population. Comparatively large towns (Amizmiz, Damnāt [*q.v.*] and Tamesloht) and especially Marrākush have been enabled to rise and prosper. Between this region, already half Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebou, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross. The Zayān, the Za'ēr, the Zemmūr, over whom the authority of the *makhzan* has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fās and Marrākush. These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms.

The region of the Atlas. In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the Atlas, the whole region nevertheless has general characteristics of its own. Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier. Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebou and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sous and the Dar'a. Moister and colder, the

Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas. Both however are great watersheds. From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebou, Gīgū, Umm Rabī', Wādī 'l-'Abīd), from the High Atlas the Tensift and the Tensift. The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor. The high mountains offer little to support mankind. Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (*dīr*) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas. Except in the Middle Atlas, where the nomadic mode of life results in the exodus in the hot season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (Hāha, Shyādma) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled. They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wādīs or scattered along the valleys. There is nothing approaching a town in size. These regions, demanded by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence: they are still almost exclusively the *domain of Berber tribes* (Berāber in the Middle Atlas and Shlūh in the High Atlas). The customs and institutions peculiar to this people (see AMAZIGH) have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa. In particular, their political organisation was zenet rudimentary: municipal republics administered by a *djamā'a* in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas. The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the central power, the authority of the *makhzan* [q.v.] over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs. As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas, they have for long retained an almost complete independence.

Eastern Morocco. Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the central Maghrib, of which it has the distinctive characteristics in it, as in Orania, we have a *tell* zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet. The upper valley of the Moulouya separates them from the Middle Atlas. The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of *gārs*, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the *chotts* (see MATṬ). Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep. The valley of the Moulouya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river. As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Beni Snāsen which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awlād Mansūr, on the coast, of the Trifa, of the Angād which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end). The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character, only the western part of the plain of the Angād with a fertile and well-watered soil lends itself to cultivation. The nomads come here to procure grain. But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary Oujda (see WADJDA), which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it. A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a "march" for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fās have contended. The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains.

The Moroccan Sahara. The Moroccan Sahara is the northwestern corner of the Sahara. There we find the general characteristics of this desert region [see SAHRĀ']. Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for man. In the plain of Sūs [*q.v.*], shut in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable thuyas to grow. The Dar'a, Zīs and Gīr are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pasturage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of the Tafilalt [*q.v.*]. The richness—only relative it is true—of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (*hammādas*) which form the *greater part* of the Moroccan Sahara. These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants. Some lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux; others are permanently settled on the Seus, in the high valleys and in the oases. Sūs contains numerous villages and even towns (Agadīr, Tiznīt, Tarudant); the oases have a settled population in the *ḳṣūr*. Those of Tafilalt, Tamgrut, Bū Denīb and Figīg carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara. But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tafilalt where considerable groups of Arab *shorfā* [see SHURAFĀ'] have been long established in the midst of Berber populations. But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tafilalt, the people of this region have frequently escaped Sharīfian authority.

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II. History.

Morocco before Islam. Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period. We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants. The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock-paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect. At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt. The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language. The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors. They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [*q.v.*]

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the 12th century B.C. of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast. The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves. But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire. The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones. In the middle of the 5th century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated "Periplus" established on the Atlantic coast seven colonies of which one was at the mouth of the Sebou: Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tangier), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments. It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior. She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country. Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania of Marusia, extending along both banks of the Moulouya.

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs. For two centuries Rome administered only the "Province of Africa" directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate. Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A.D. The region to the east of the Moulouya formed part of Caesarean Mauretania. The lands stretching from the Moulouya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator. When the empire was reorganised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain.

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco. On the Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Bū Regrag, and in the interior in the massif of the Zarhūn. The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rif, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome. It was the same with the Sahara. The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 41 A.D. advanced as far as the Wādī Gīr, remained an isolated incident.

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber inroads, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of 10 000 men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle Sala, Zarhūn, Tingis. With the exception of Volubilis [see MAWLĀY IDRĪS], the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast. They were Lixus and Tingis, raised to the rank of *coloniae*, and Ceuta. They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain, to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country. On the whole, however, Rome's influence on Morocco was superficial and has left little trace.

Without any really firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the Donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the 5th century. Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A.D. conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans. Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent. The Byzantines, who in the 6th century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier. The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawāta [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebou, the Miknāsa, in the central district, the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebou to the Sūs; the Haskūra between the Sūs and the Dar'a; the Lamṭa and Lamṭūna [*q.vv.*] on the left bank of the Dar'a. These Berbers were all of Ṣanhādja stock; some professed Christianity or Judaism, but the majority still followed the old nature worship. The Arab conquest brought them a new religion: Islam.

The Introduction of Islam. The Arabs appeared in the extreme Maghrib at the end of

the 1st/7th century. Tradition relates that Sidī ʿUkba, the founder of al-Kayrawān, in ca 65/684-5 undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results. But at the beginning of the following century, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [q.v.] who had just completed the conquest of Ifrīḳiya, took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the local people. He succeeded without much trouble. Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islam and enrolled themselves as the armies which were invading Spain. They were not long, however, in rising against the Arabs. Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 122/740 on the call of the porter Maysara (q.v.). The rebellion was both religious and political in character. With the same readiness with which they had adopted Islam, the Berbers adopted Khāridjī doctrines from the east, teachings which also appealed to their egalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence. The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebou in 124/742 and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy. Berber principalities were organised in the Rīf; to the west, the Barghawāṭa recognised the authority of a certain Ṣāliḥ, founder of a rival religion to Islam, who had composed a Kur'ān, that is a sacred book, in Berber. None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule.

It looked for a time as if the Idrīsid dynasty [q.v.] were to play this part. Idrīs I and his successor Idrīs II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemcen. Ardent champions of Islam, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it. The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islam is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors. Zealous defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their ʿAlīd origin, they fought the Khāridjīs with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy. It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idrīs I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idrīs II, the patron saint of the city of Fās [q.v.]. The building of this city had enduring results. It gave northern Morocco a religious, political and economic centre which it had lacked since the disappearance of Roman rule. Favoured by its position, Fās prospered rapidly. It survived all causes of decline, even the collapse of the Idrīsid power.

The Idrīsids indeed rapidly declined. The various groups which had recognised the authority of the founders of the dynasty were not long in casting it off and fighting with one another. These rivalries were taken advantage of by the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya and the Umayyads of Spain, who during the 4th/10th century disputed the possession of the extreme Maghrib. With the assistance of the Miknāsa, the Umayyads in the end remained masters of the country. They were in their turn ousted by the Maghrāwa [q.v.], whose chief Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, abandoning the cause of the Umayyads, seized Fās, where his descendants ruled for three-quarters of a century.

The Almoravids and the Almohads. The extreme Maghrib seemed to be condemned to anarchy and to be broken up among small factions when the Almoravid invasion came [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. After having first of all subjected all the lands south of the High Atlas, they established themselves solidly on the northern slopes, at the foot of which Yūsuf b. Tashfīn founded Marrākush in 454/1062; these Saharan hordes turned to the centre, east and north of Morocco, sweeping everything before them: Fās, Tangier, the Rīf, Oran and Ténès fell before them. The Berber principalities of the Maghrāwa, the Barghawāṭa and Banū Īfran disappeared. In less than twenty years, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn became sole master of the extreme Maghrib as far as Algiers. To these territories, already vast, was soon to be added half of Spain. Summoned by the Muslim *amīrs* who were threatened by the king of Castile, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn checked the Christian advance at Zallāḳa (479/1086 [q.v.]), then dispossessed the petty Muslim rulers to his own advantage. Morocco was thus extended across the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Ebro and to the Balearic Islands. The fortunes of the Almoravids were, it is true, as ephemeral as they were brilliant. In contact with Andalusian civilisation, the Saharans rapidly became decadent. The rigid orthodoxy, which had been their strength, relaxed; they in their turn were regarded as infidels, "anthropomorphists" (*mudjassimūn*), whom it was lawful and even meritorious to fight. It was in the name of orthodoxy that the Maṣmūda and the Hintāta of the High Atlas under the leadership of Ibn Tūmart and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [q.v.] entered into the struggle against the Almoravids.

This struggle ended in the displacement of the Almoravids by the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN]. In seven years (533-40/1139-46), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin conquered all Morocco, Sidjilmāsa, Oran, Tlemcen, and Ceuta fell one after the other into his hands. Next came the turn of Salé, Fās, and finally of Marrākush, the gates of which were opened to him by the treachery of the Christian mercenaries. Muslim Spain was also conquered with the exception of the Balearic Islands. Even in Africa, the Ḥammādid kingdom of Bougie was conquered in 545-6/1151 s. A few years later (554-5/1159-60), a new expedition led ʿAbd al-Muʾmin into Ifrīḳiya and secured him possession of the interior and of the coast, which he took from the Normans of Sicily, who had occupied it some time before. Morocco in the strict sense of the word was now merely a province in the vast Berber empire. The unification of these territories under one ruler had important consequences for the Maghrib. It facilitated the diffusion in North Africa of the Hispano-Moorish civilisation, which was to be perpetuated in Morocco after it had disappeared from the Peninsula itself. Further, it brought into the extreme Maghrib a new ethnic element, the Arab one. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, as well as his successors, on several occasions deported Hilālī tribes from the central Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya, where they continually created unrest, to the sub-Atlantic plains where other groups of Arabs joined them of their own free will.

The Almohad empire was too vast, it comprised regions of too different a nature, peoples too foreign

to one another to last long united The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides. In the first half of the 7th/13th century the Almohad empire broke up Ifrikiya and the central Maghrib recovered their independence, local dynasties set up in Tunis (Hafṣids) and Tlemcen (ʿAbd al-Wādids). The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who were replaced by the Marīnids [q v.].

The Marīnids Berbers of Zanāta stock, driven by the Hilālī Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Moulouya, the Banū Marīn had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, when the power of the dynasty began to decline By repeated razzias they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco After the death of the caliph al-Saʿīd, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abū Yaḥyā (642 or 643/1243-4) seized Fās, Meknās, Rabat and Salā. The capture of Marrākush (668/1269) by Abū Yūsuf, successor of Yaḥyā, marked the final triumph of the Marīnids. Heirs of the Almohads, the first Marīnids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors. In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. They were successful when Tlemcen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sultan Abu 'l Ḥasan (748/1347). Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure At the end of barely a year, Abu 'l Ḥasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrikiya, the Hafṣids returned to Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādids to Tlemcen, while the sultan's own son Abū ʿInān rose against him in Morocco Attaining to power, Abū ʿInān renewed his father's efforts He re-occupied Tlemcen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (761/1360). The Hafṣids and ʿAbd al-Wādids recovered their kingdoms almost at once.

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion The extreme Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been as often that of Barbary, began to live its own life. The Marīnid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Marīnids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islam in the Maghrib The cult of Mawlāy Idrīs in the 8th/14th and particularly the 9th/15th century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts The Hispano-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Marīnid period The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib. The university of al-Karawiyyīn at Fās attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world Fās, which the Marīnids, abandoning Marrākush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and *madrasas* It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders.

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive. Marīnid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis. The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere. The accession of each sultan was on occasion for outbreaks The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either among the Arabs or the Berbers Powerless in the interior, the sultans were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks. The Marīnids in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 869/1465, after the assassination of the sultan by an Idrīsid *sharīf* The Banū Waṭṭās, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 873/1470, had themselves a wretched existence Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fās and Marrākush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rīf, the Gharb and in the Darʿa and Sūs. The sultans were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition.

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islam Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their impotence against the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib In 813/1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 869/1465 al-Kaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, in 875/1471 Tangier They then secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Aṣīla and Anfā (Casablanca) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast In the early years of the 10th/16th century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agadīr) and Mazagan and took by force of arms Safī [see ṢAFĪ] and Azammūr [q v.] Holding all places of importance except Larache [see AL-ʿARAʾĪSH] they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shawīya, Ḥāḥa, Dukkāla), forced the local people to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrākush Their expeditions had no other end than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their douars burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves.

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also, The latter completed the reconquista by the taking of Granada (1492). Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil The occupation of al-Marsā al-Kabīr (1505) and of Oran (1509) and the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemcen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco.

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment This renaissance of Islam in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrīsid period. The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Ṣūfī teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA] in which the adepts of these doctrines were organised. It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers. The ascendancy

which the religious leaders exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their *zāwiyas*, made them independent of the sultan. They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfil their office of defenders of Islam owing to lack of energy and also of means. The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature; it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally. The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience that created, did not put a check to the political decline until the time when the Sa'dian *sharīf* took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit.

The Sharifian dynasties. a. The Sa'dians [*q.v.*] The Sa'dian *sharīfs* benefited by the prestige *which the religious awakening had restored to* the descendants of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. Coming from Arabia at the end of the 8th/14th century and settling in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a, while another branch of the family settled at Tafilalt (Hasanī or 'Alid *sharīfs*), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south. Thus they were naturally led to support the people of the south, who were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese of Santa Cruz. In 927/1521, the *sharīf* of Tagmaddert, requested by the Muslims to put himself at their head against the Christians, agreed to do so. Supported by the marabouts who gave him valuable assistance, he began hostilities against the Portuguese. The holy war regularly waged secured to his sons, Aḥmad al-A'raj and Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the possession of the whole of southern Morocco up to the *Umm al-Rabī'*. The intervention of the Marīnid sultan in the quarrels which broke out between the two brothers only resulted in his own downfall, being hastened Muḥammad al-Mahdī took Fās in 957/1550, the failing of an attempt to restore the Marīnids in 961/1554, with the help of the Turks of Algiers, secured the definite triumph of the Sa'dians.

The coming of the Sa'dians meant a regular reconstitution of Morocco. Muḥammad al-Mahdī and his successors imposed their authority on the whole country, protected it against foreign foes and increased the extent of their territory by distant conquests. They finally triumphed over the difficulties created by the Turks of Algiers, and at the battle of al-Kasr al-Kebīr in 986/1578 arrested a counter-offensive of the Portuguese. Aḥmad al-Mansūr (986-1039/1578-1620) occupied Tawāt and destroyed the Askia empire of Gao. For half a century, the Moroccans were masters of the Western Sūdān, from the banks of the Senegal as far as Bornū. The plunder taken on this campaign of conquest enabled the sultan to keep a splendid court, the hierarchy of which was modelled on the Ottoman court, and to adorn his capital Marrākush with magnificent monuments.

To the same period also belongs the organisation of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*]. The early Sa'dians had relied for support on the Arab tribes of the south. To these al-Mansūr added the Arab tribes of the region of Tlemcen and Oujda driven into Morocco by the Turkish conquest. These *shrāga* or "orientals," as they were called, received lands around Fās in return for the military service they were forced to give. Reinforced by a regular army formed of renegades, Spanish Moors and negroes, trained by Turkish deserters, the *makhzan* provided the sultan with the means of preserving order and levying taxes; it was thus the essential instrument of Sharīfian government and tended to become the government itself.

This instrument proved sufficient in the hands of an energetic ruler, but was inefficacious in weaker hands and in moments of crisis. The Sa'dians very soon found this out. The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Mansūr broke out again on his death. The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another. One of them, Zaydān, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break up of the empire. Larache was occupied by the Spaniards; Fās cast off Sharīfian authority. The Andalus of Rabat and Salé, enriched by their piracy [see GUESSĀN], formed an independent *republic. Finally, the Sa'dians, although they had* owed their elevation to the religious movement, now found the marabouts rising against them. Delivered from the restraints which the distrust of al-Mahdī and his successors had placed upon them, the latter began to gain more and more hold over the people and contributed to the ruin of the authority of the *sharīfs*. She was in the control of one of them, Sīdī 'Alī, Tafilalt was under the Hasanī *sharīfs*, the Gharb under al-'Ayyāshī, leader of the "volunteers of the faith". In the centre, the power of the *zāwiya* of Dilā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.] increased. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdjī, their leader, victorious over the Sa'dians and over al-'Ayyāshī, lord of Salé and Fās, seemed on the point of founding a new Berber empire from the Atlantic to the Moulouya. Incapable, in spite of the support given them by the English and Dutch, of disposing of their adversaries, the Sa'dians now held only Marrākush and its immediate environs. The last representative of the dynasty died in 1070/1660, assassinated by the *shaykh* of the tribe of Shabbāṭ.

a. The Hasanī *Sharīfs*. The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Hasanī *sharīfs*. The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in the Tafilalt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco. One of them, Mawlāy Muḥammad, had even tried, without success, it is true, to take Fās from the *Dilā'is*. His successor Mawlāy al-Rashīd (1076-82/1664-72) was more successful. He took Fās, disposed of Ghaylān, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the Gharb, destroyed the *zāwiya* of Dilā', reconquered Marrākush, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the Sharīfian empire installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them. They therefore sought to attract to their side the Sharīfian families. They heaped favours on the *sharīfs* of Wazzān, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers.

The work begun by Mawlāy al-Rashīd was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ismā'īl (1082-1139/1671-1727). During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrākush and the Sūs with him. While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will. To the *makhzan* formed by the Shrāga and Udāya, he added a body of black slaves, the *'Abīd al-Bukhārī* (Bukhāri), the property of the sultan, their children were specially trained for military service. The number of effectives in this corps by the end of the reign numbered 150,000

men. The sultan was thus able to reduce to obedience the Berbers of the Atlas and the upper Moulouya. Defeated and disarmed, the latter were kept in control by garrisons placed in *kṣūr* built at the exits to the valleys or commanding the lines of communication. The notables whom the sultan had taken into his service or united to himself by matrimonial alliances fixed their tabernacles to live in peace. The *bilād al-makhzan*, i.e. the country whose tribute was regularly paid, extended over almost the whole of the extreme Maghrib. The pacification of the interior did not cause Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to forget the obligations imposed on every Muslim ruler to fight the infidels. He therefore continued the holy war against the Christians of the coast. He recaptured al-Mahdiyya, Larache, Asfīla, and Tangier, evacuated by the English in 1684, but could not take Ceuta from the Spaniards in spite of a siege or rather uninterrupted blockade for seventeen years. He was no more successful in his enterprise against the Turks of Algiers, who disputed with the Moroccans the possession of the plains of eastern Morocco and the *ṣaḥra* of southern Oran. The expeditions which he directed against the Algerians ended in failure, and the lower course of the Moulouya continued to be the boundary of the Sharīfian empire. In spite of his lack of success here, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl is nevertheless the great figure of the Hasanī dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultans have set themselves to the present day. Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i.e. an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign, who squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknès, the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the local people and of Christian slaves.

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, a reaction set in. For thirty years his sons fought with one another. The real masters of the situation were the ʿAbīd al-Bukhārī, who made and unmade sultans as they pleased. One of them, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the ʿAbīd, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars. The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease. This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin. The authority of the Sharīfs emerged much weakened from it.

Mawlāy Muḥammad (1170-1206/1757-92) succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismāʿīl, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Mazagan in 1183/1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast. Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade. He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by founding for them the town of Mogador [see AL-SUWAYRA] in 1764. Heavy taxes, however, severely impeded the progress of this policy. Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration. It also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under Mawlāy Yazīd (1206-8/1792-4) the country was once more handed over to anarchy. Mawlāy Sulaymān (1208-59/1794-1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the Middle Atlas; in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels. This rebelliousness caused the sultan much misgiving, he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and non-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it. He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians. The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated to Tangier, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans. His successors followed his example. Down to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Marīnids and Saʿdians and even in the early days of the Hasanī Sharīfs. In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultans had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlāy Sulaymān and had no more success than he in overcoming them.

For half a century the domestic history of Morocco was a series of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing. The regions remote from the centre, Rīf, Tafilalt, Fīgīg, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the *makhzan*. In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fās and Marrākush, forcing the sultans when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat. The empire broke up more and more. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1312/1873-94) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse. His reign resembled that of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was continually in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down *kṣūr*. He re-established order in the region of Oujda, forced the people of the Sūs to recognise his *khalīfa*, reduced to obedience the Zaʿīr and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the *makhzan* country by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuwāt. But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again.

Morocco and the Christian powers. The situation was the more critical, in that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of indifference to the European powers. It increased the cupidity of some and aroused the cupidity of others. In spite of their desire for isolation, the sultans had not been able to break every link with Europe. They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the "presidios" of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria. The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the Sharīfs' hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco. ʿAbd al-Kādir [*q.v.*] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the *makhzan*. This hostile attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844. The Sharīfian army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded. The moderation of France alone enabled the *makhzan* to come fairly well out of this unfortunate escapade. Henceforth, the relations between France and Morocco remained peaceful, although the impotence of the Moroccan government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the Deri Znāsen

campaign (1859) and the Wādī Gir expedition (1870). Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction from the attacks directed against her garrisons, decided also to resort to arms The campaign of 1859-60, ended by the victory of O'Donnell, revealed the military weakness of Morocco The treaty of Tetuan (1860) granted to Spain, along with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an indemnity of 100,000,000 reals To pay this debt, the Sharīfian government had to raise a loan in London on the esnurity of the Moroccan customs and to accept the control of European commissioners For the first time, foreigners intervened in the domestic administration of the empire The breach thus made was continually enlarged The exercise of the right of protection, the erection of a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, served as a pretext for diplomatic negotiations and for the extension of international control European ambitions were not dissimulated In order to protect itself against them, the *makhzan* tried to play one off against the others and confined itself to granting, as it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), concessions devoid of all practical significance Mawlāy al-Ḥasan excelled in this difficult game and the vizier Bā Aḥmad [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan's successor, displayed no less skill. Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for influence. England wanted to maintain her economic preponderance along with the control of the Strait; France wanted to ensure the security of her Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to the Saharan oases occupied in 1901-2; Spain appealed to her "historic rights", Germany lastly was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire openings for her commerce and emigrants.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate. Such a position could not last. The imprudences of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz precipitated the crisis The whims of the sovereign and his immoderate desire for European innovations displeased the stricter Muslims. The modifications in the fiscal policy made by the *tartīb* [*q.v.*] disturbed the people already taxed to the utmost. Rebellion broke out everywhere. A pretender, the *rūgī* Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], rose in the region of Taza and routed an army sent against him. It was in vain that France by the agreements of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the activities of the *makhzan* against the rebels and to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. On the failure of this effort, France decided to arrange with England and Spain to settle the Moroccan question and prevent the dismemberment of the empire In return for recognition of the protectorate *de facto* exercised by England in Egypt and the granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in northern Morocco, these two powers recognised the right of France to act as her interests best demanded. France hastened to propose to the sultan a plan for reforming the Moroccan administration The intervention of Germany prevented its realisation. On 31 March, 1905, the Emperor William II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech posed as the defender of the independence of the sultan. On the advice of the German representative, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appealed for the constitution of an international conference to study the reforms to be introduced into the Maghrib. The conference met at Algeciras (15 January-7 April, 1906) and affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of the sultan, the territorial integrity and the economic freedom of Morocco. It did not, however, settle the Morocco question. The two international bodies which it decided to set up, the police for the ports and the state bank, both capable of being of great service, could not take the place of the general reforms necessary for the salvation of the empire. Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Europeans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the frontiers increased in number. Not being able to obtain satisfaction for outrages on its subjects, the French government ordered the occupation of Oujda and Casablanca in 1907 The country was then pacified around these two centres and order restored in eastern Morocco and in the Shāwiya to the great benefit of the natives themselves The Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons intervened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied Salwān and a number of strategic points

During this period, war broke out between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, proclaimed sultan at Marrākush and then at Fās Supported by the anti-foreign party, the pretender was victorious All the powers, including France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised to respect the agreement of Algeciras, the international treaties and all the engagements entered into by his predecessors France and Spain announced their intention of not prolonging their occupation of Sharīfian territory The Franco-Moroccan agreements of 4 March, 1910 and the Hispano-Moroccan one of 19 November of the same year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as soon as the *makhzan* should have a force sufficient to guarantee the security of life and property and peace with its frontiers This settlement seemed all the more desirable as there had been occasional friction between France and Germany which had only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the most serious being the affair of the deserters from Casablanca in September 1908 A disquieting state of tension remained between these two powers, although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction to Germany in signifying by the agreement of 8 February, 1909, her willingness not to impede the economic freedom nor hinder the development of German interests

The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the denouement. The sultan's rule was no more effective than that of his predecessors; the exactions of the Moroccan agents in the spring of 1911 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber tribes in the region of Fās Besieged in his capital and on the point of succumbing the sultan appealed to the French They decided to send an expeditionary force to the help of the sultan, but ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the independence of the sultan and any occupation of new territory Vigorously commanded by General Moinier, the military operations had the desired effect Fās was relieved on 21 May, and after certain police operations necessary to secure the peace of the district, the expeditionary force returned to the coast But, while the danger was thus banished from the interior, unexpected complications resulted. Spain, taking advantage of the occasion to take possession of the sphere of influence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904, established herself in Larache and al-Kaṣr Germany feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compensation in her turn and in July 1911 sent a warship to

Agadir. This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally. In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached. After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of 4 November 1911 put an end to the dispute. Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the principle of the French protectorate. There was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of this régime, which the sultan accepted by the treaty of 30 March 1912. This diplomatic document stipulated the maintenance of the sovereignty of the sultan, the representation of and protection by French diplomatic and consular agents of Moroccan subjects and interests abroad, the carrying out, with the collaboration of and under the direction of France, of a number of administrative reforms, judicial, financial and military, intended to "give the Sharifian empire a new régime, while safeguarding the traditional prestige and honour of the sultan, the practice of the Muslim faith and the institutions of religion".

The French protectorate extended over the whole of Morocco, but the Spanish sphere of influence enjoyed by the agreement of 27 November 1912 complete autonomy from the administrative and military points of view, whilst Tangier and its environs were included in an international zone whose status was not, however, definitely regulated till 1923.

The establishment of the protectorate was to have had as its first result the restoration of the authority of the Sharif, whose support was essential for the carrying out of the reforms. This could only be attained by a considerable effort. The central power was weaker than it had ever been at the time when the conclusion of the protectorate treaty put an end to the crisis. The *bilād al-makhzan* was almost non-existent. France had to conquer Morocco for the sultan. The name of Maréchal Lyautey, appointed High Commissioner and Resident General, will remain inseparable from the history of the pacification of Morocco. Very difficult in itself, for it brought the French into contact with warlike tribes, some of whom had never recognised the authority of the *makhzan*, the task was further complicated by events abroad. Order had hardly been restored around the chief towns, Fās, Meknās, Marrākush and communication restored between eastern and western Morocco, when the War of 1914 broke out. For a moment it was feared that the French were going to abandon the interior and fall back on the coast, but the progress of the pacification of the country was only slowed down, not interrupted. All the conquered positions were retained and the rebels held on all fronts. The counter-offensives of the rebels in the Taza corridor, along the Middle Atlas and in Sūs were crushed. The War finished, the offensive was resumed to reduce the districts still unsubdued (Middle Atlas, south of the High Atlas, upper valley of the Moulouya). Three years of difficult fighting (1921-4) ended in the occupation of "all Morocco of value", i.e. those regions of economic, political or military importance. The Rīf offensive in 1925, however, threatened to compromise all the success achieved. A Rīfan chief, ʿAbd al-Karīm, had gathered around him the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and inflicted serious reverses on the Spaniards which forced them to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied. Crossing the Spanish zone, he invaded the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fās. The resistance of the posts echeloned along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checked in the autumn, the Rīfan advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1926 thanks to the combined action of France and Spain. The reduction of the last pockets of resistance in the mountains and the southern regions was completed in 1930.

The administrative reorganisation kept pace with the pacification. The old machinery was retained but submitted to a control which guaranteed the local population against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the *makhzan*. Technical services were created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life.

Thus, within the space of some 40 years, Morocco, which was still a mediæval country, became a modern kingdom equipped with a quite extensive highway network, electrified railways and deep water ports. The remarkable results achieved in all sectors were facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital. Approximately 350,000 Europeans in the French zone and about 120,000 in the Spanish zone participated actively in the economic life of the country and contributed in particular to the prosperity of agriculture, while the towns enjoyed rapid development.

At the same time that the pacification of the country was completed, young people educated in metropolitan universities as well as in the modern establishments founded in Morocco itself, began to agitate. The Berber *ẓahīr* [see MAGHRAWA, 5. f] of 16 May 1930 gave the signal for opposition to French policy and for the struggle for independence. During the Spanish Civil War, Moroccan troops served under the victorious General Franco, as a result, the inhabitants of the northern zone were able to benefit from a more liberal régime. Subsequent events during the Second World War, and in particular the defeat and occupation of France in 1940, had no very serious immediate effect, although they induced the nationalists to pursue their activities with greater vigour, not without encouragement from the Allies; in other respects, the increasingly overt manifestation of national sentiment in the Arabic-speaking countries brought latent aspirations for independence out into the open. 1944 saw the establishment of the *Istiḳlāl* party, to which the sultan Muḥammad V, who had occupied the throne since 1927, showed himself far from hostile; on 10 April 1947, he made a speech at Tangier which disturbed the French authorities. The nomination of General Juin as Resident-General and the reforms immediately effected failed to restore stability; in 1953 France decided to depose the sultan, sending him in exile in Madagascar and replacing him with a less assertive prince, Mawlāy ʿArafa; this decision further exacerbated popular discontent, and acts of terrorism and violent demonstrations followed. As a result, the French government had no option but to recall the sultan and to accept, through the declaration of La Celle Saint Cloud of November 1955, the principle of Moroccan independence, which was officially recognised in the agreement of March 1956. The Spanish government followed the example of France in 1956, but retained the ports of Ceuta and Melilla.

The achievement of independence posed numerous problems to the Moroccan authorities, who were at first obliged, owing to the lack of trained native personnel, to retain the services of thousands of

French and Spanish officials, before appealing to new allies for support. The "Army of liberation" was absorbed into the *Forces Armées Royales* (FAR), and the French and Spanish troops withdrew in 1961, while the American airbases were evacuated.

One of the first concerns of the sultan (who took the title of king in 1957) was to appoint a consultative Assembly, superseded in 1960 by a constitutional Council charged with preparing a Constitution, the latter, which instituted a parliamentary monarchy, was approved by referendum on 7 December 1962 (see NUPDA, xvii). During the same period the *Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendance* (PDI), recently founded, became quite active, but in 1959 a number of its members, together with some independents, joined the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* (UNFP), closely linked to the *Union Marocaine du Travail* (UMT) and the product of a schism within the *Istiḳlāl* provoked by the syndicalist Mahdī Ben Barka.

The first Moroccan government, led by a non-political colonel, was composed of members of the *Istiḳlāl* and the PDI, but after November 1956 the latter were eliminated, and an entirely *Istiḳlāl* cabinet appointed. In 1960, the king took upon himself the functions of prime minister, with the assistance of his son, prince Mawlāy Ḥasan, who was to succeed him after his death to the following year. In the legislative elections held in 1963 after the promulgation of the Constitution, the *Istiḳlāl* and the PDI, now in opposition, obtained respectively 41 and 28 seats, as many between them as the number gained by the *Front pour la Défense des Institutions Constitutionnelles* (FDIC) which had recently been established. On 16 July of the same year, several leaders of the UNFP were arrested for "serious infringement of the law" and for being the founders of a "subversive movement". The charges of conspiracy laid against some hundred individuals were not pressed, but since the two parties boycotted the next elections, the Government won a decisive majority in the regional councils and Chamber of Deputies.

Also in 1963, an armed conflict broke out between Morocco and Algeria on account of a frontier post which the latter had seized. Between 1965 and 1967 relations with France were compromised by the abduction and disappearance in Paris of the leader of the UNFP, Mahdī Ben Barka. These events led the French authorities to institute proceedings against Moroccan secret service agents and specifically against the Minister of the Interior, General Oufkīr, who was sentenced in his absence. The name of this officer was mentioned again in connection with two unsuccessful attempts on the King's life. The first took place on 10 July 1971, at the palace of Ṣkhīrāt (to the south of Rabat), where guests who had gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the sovereign were attacked by cadets of the Military Academy of Aḥermoumzu, about a hundred were killed and 132 wounded, but miraculously the King escaped assassination, in spite of the fact that the conspirators announced his death and proclaimed a Republic, having seized a number of public buildings including the radio station. Forces loyal to the King succeeded, however, in restoring order, and a commission of enquiry, in which General Oufkīr participated, attributed responsibility to a number of senior army officers who were disgraced and shot.

The following year, on 16 August 1972, the King's private plane was attacked over Tetouan by one of the four F 5 fighter aircraft from the base at Kenitra which had been detailed to escort it, one person was killed and two wounded, but the pilot of the Boeing succeeded in landing his plane at the airport of Rabat-Salé, where renewed strafing caused a further 8 deaths and injured 50. The officer responsible for the attack ejected from his fighter, but was arrested and implicated General Oufkīr, who met his death the following night.

The failure of these successive attempts on his life only enhanced the prestige of the Sovereign, who was nevertheless confronted by a new danger. In fact, after the independence granted by Spain to Río de Oro, a section of the population of the Western Sahara refused to withdraw from territory claimed by Morocco and formed the Polisario Front. Since then, from its bases in Algeria, this organisation has continually harassed Moroccan troops immobilised in the south, behind a "wall" which they have been obliged to construct to defend themselves from attacks by an enemy equipped by various nations with the most modern arms and equipment. The expenses incurred as a result of this interminable and violent war have been a considerable burden on the finances of Morocco whose economy is also suffering as a result of the world wide economic crisis.

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(G. YVER[*])

III. Population

a. **Total population and density.** Before independence, it was difficult to fix with any precision the total population of Morocco. The attempts made at a census during the protectorate enable, it is true, comparatively accurate estimates to be made for the greater part of the country.

The total which was usually given was 5 millions, of whom one-tenth (500,000 inhabitants) was in the zone of the Spanish protectorate, but the censuses of 1950 (Spanish zone) and 1952 (French zone) furnished the following figures: Spanish zone, 1,018,117 plus Ifni, 38,295 plus Ceuta and Melilla, 141,303, Tangier (1950), 175,000. French zone 8,003,985, of whom 362,814 were Europeans and 199,156 Jews, a total, accordingly, of 9,368,700 souls. Some years later, according to the census of 1960, there was a total population of 11,626,470 (30% of these being town-dwellers), the Jews were still 159,000, the French 193,000 and the Spanish 125,000. In September 1982, the population had passed the 20 millions mark (20,419,555), of whom 57.3% were rural dwellers. This population is very unequally distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions. The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the Jbāla in the north and the Great Atlas in the south: Gharb, Shāwiya, Tadla, Dukkāla and ʿAbda. The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil. The population of this region is estimated at two-fifths of the total. The mountainous regions, Jbāla, Rīf, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of Kabylia. As to the Sahara zone, outside the belts of oases in the Wādī Gīr, the Wādī Ziz and the Wādī Darʿa (Dra), it is very sparsely inhabited.

b. **Elements of the population.** The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders. As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, see BERBERS. As to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods. It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII. LANGUAGES). The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the Jbāla, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber.

1. Berbers. Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco: in the north the Rīfians and the Banī Znāsen; in the centre the Znāga (Sanhāja and the Brāber (*Baṣa-Mr*), who form the population of the Middle Atlas; the third group is that of the Shlūḥ (see SHILLUH) who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of Sūs. In addition to these main groups, we may mention the Jbāla, arabicised Berbers, to the north-west of Fās, and the Ḥarāṭīn (plur. of the Arabic *ḥarāṭī* [*q.v.*]), who form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases.

2. Arabs. The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country. Up to the 7th/13th century, the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber; it was the great Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*] who was the first to introduce into Morocco Hilālī Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central Maghrib or in Ifrīḳiya; these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the Marīnid dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains as absorbed and arabicised it. Evidence of such assimilation is still found to the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin.

These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups, the Banū Hilāl and the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*]. The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Moulouya as well as the lands south of the Atlas. The Banū Hilāl occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco.

3. Jews. There were formerly about 200,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns. There were

also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas. They also formed the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Dubdū and Damnāt. The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure: it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were judaicised Berbers. The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the 16th century. The former call themselves *pʰlishtim* (Palesthians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrant Jews, who were practically all settled in the towns of the coast and rapidly became europeanised. Since independence, large numbers of them have emigrated, mainly to Israel.

4. Miscellaneous elements. The blacks, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there. In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their domestic virtues, has brought into the population, especially in bourgeois circles, a very considerable amount of negro blood. To the south of the Atlas in the oases, the intermarriage of blacks and Berbers has produced the Ḥarāṭīn. Finally the blacks of the Bilād al-Sūdān, since the Middle Ages, have always been esteemed as mercenaries to form the imperial guards, especially since the taking of Timbuktu by the armies of the Saʿdian sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [q.v.].

Large numbers of Muslims from Spain, whether of Arab origin or descendants of Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, have contributed to form the population of the towns at various times. Cordovans banished by al-Ḥakam I at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century after the "revolt of the suburb" and Muslims expelled from Spain at the Reconquista [see AL-ANDALUS, vi. Appendix].

We must not omit the influence that may have been exercised on the population of Morocco by Europeans (renegades, who had adopted Islam, mercenaries recruited outside Morocco and settled in the country), and finally we may note that frequently the sultans have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople.

IV. Social and Economic Life

a. Country. The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of town-dwellers than Central Barbary and, like the rest of North Africa, might be divided into nomadic and settled: this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers, there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate.

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations. It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search of pasture for their flocks, are nomads. There are however means between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south. But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation.

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Moulouya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco. In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Beni Gil, between Berguent and Figig; on the other side of the Atlas, the Ayt Seddrāt, the Ayt Djallāl, the Id-an-Blāl, the Ayt-u-Mribeṭ, lastly to the south of the Daraʿa (Dra) country, the Rgiba, the Shkārna and the Awlād Dlīm. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Gharb, in the north, the Rḥāmna and the Shyādma, and in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

Nevertheless, Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population.

The type of dwelling varies with the district. In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled, thatched, pitched or a flat roof. In the plains, the cent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical cent called *nuwwāla*. In the Saharan oases, the population collects within a walled area of *kṣūr* (sg. *ksar*, from the class. *kaṣr*), these conglomerations sometimes possess the elements of town-life. The villages are called douar (*duwwār*) in the plains, and *dshar* in the mountains. In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling.

b. Town. Among the towns of his country, the Moroccan distinguishes a certain number that he definitely regards as cities (*ḥaḍarīyya*). These are Fās, Rabat-Sale and Tetouan, which have been more than others subjected to the influence of Spanish culture. It must however be noted that in the majority of the other towns we can still find traces of the existence of colonies formed by Muslims from Spain, especially from the 9th/15th century onwards. The population of the non-*ḥaḍarīyya* towns is found to be composed of rustic elements but little urbanised. This is the case with Oujd and al-Djadīda (country Bedouins) and also with Tangier (countrymen from the hills). Marrākush and Meknès owe their special urban character to the fact that as capitals they have contained the courts of two Sharīfian dynasties, both of Bedouin origin, they are *makhzanīyya* towns in which the standard of civilisation does not reach the refinement of the *ḥaḍarīyya* Spanish towns. The ports Tangier, Larache, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador were for long the only points of contact between Morocco and European influences, politically as well as commercially. Lastly in the mountains, little towns like Shefshāwen, Wazzān, Sefrou, Dubdū, Damnāt, owe their existence to political reasons. The two first were founded as bulwarks against the Portuguese advance in northern Morocco in the 10th/16th century. Damnāt and Dubdū are mainly Jewish towns. As to Sefrou, it seems probable that it is a survival of an old Berber town. We may also mention as towns of secondary importance, on

the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast Arzila (Asīla), Casablanca, which owes its origin to the little port of Anfa, Azemmur, Agadīr in the interior, al-Kasr al-Kabīr, Taza, Taudant. Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e.g. Nakūr and Bādis on the Mediterranean, Tīt to the south of Mazagan, the two Aghmāt and Tinmallal to the south of Marrākush and several others descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī and Leo Africanus.

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or *kasba* (pop. *kṣūr*) which is the seat of authority. Under the protection of the citadel lies the *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter [see MALLĀḤ]. All around spreads the town proper or *madīna* with its great mosque, markets and *ksṣāriyya* [q.v.]. It is surrounded by a rampart (*sūr*) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character. The town itself is divided into *quarters* (*ḥawma*) with streets (*zanka*), alleys (*derb*) and squares (*rahba*).

c. Economic Life. The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who no longer form more than 75% of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock raising, most often combining the two. Those in the high lands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain legumi nous (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruit trees. They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (thuyas, cedars). The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses. In the zones of the south, the population cultivates the date-palm and understands the art of irrigating the land.

The rural industries are very primitive. They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets. The Berbers of Sūs show a certain aptitude at metal-working (arms and jewels). The Sūs no longer exports the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Sa'dians.

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (*sūḳ*) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held. It is in the *sūḳ* that the peasant sells his produce and buys the manufactured articles that are brought by the merchants from the towns. Cereals are preserved in silos (*matmūra* [q.v.]), in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified storehouses, which belong to the community and are called *agadīr* [q.v.].

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated. Each trade, which originally formed a guild (*ḥanṭa*), is grouped in one street which bears its name. In it the articles are made and sold. The stocks are kept in the *fonduks* (Ar. *fondaḳ*) which correspond to the *khāns* and *wakāla* of the east. Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called *rahba*. The monopolies of exporting (*bāka*) corn and hides established by the sultans at the end of the 19th century have been abolished. Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic: cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles. For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate, see the works by Massignon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the *Bibliography*. The very vivid picture drawn by Leo Africanus of the commercial and industrial activity of Fās in the Middle Ages is still very valuable.

The Jews, who devoted themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (goldsmiths, embroiderers), played an important part as brokers. The citizens of Fās, who had a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports.

The Berbers of the Sūs like to settle in the towns as grocers (*ḥallāl*) and having made their fortunes return to the country. Since the war, a large number of them have migrated to France as artisans and labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns.

V. Political Organisation

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultan, whence the distinction between the territory subjected to the government (*bilād al-makhzen*) and the territory unsubjected (*bilād al-sība*). As a rule, the *makhzen* territory included the towns, valleys and plains. The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign [see MAGHRIB].

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (*ḳabīla*). Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a confederation in the strict sense of the word, this is the case with the Ghumāra in the north, the Ḥāḥa, the Dukkāla, the Shāwiyya in the south. The tribe is subdivided into sections (*rub'*, *khums*, *fakhdha*), which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses.

The tribes who own the sultan's sway are governed by a *ḳā'id* appointed by the *makhzen*. His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order. He has under his command a *shaykh* to each section under whom are the *mukaddams* of the sub-sections.

For the distinction between *makhzen*, *ghaysh* (vulgarly) and *sā'iba* tribes, see MAKHZAN.

In the tribes not subject to the *makhzen*, political activity was confined to the *djamā'a* [q.v.], i.e. an assembly of men able to bear arms. The *djamā'a* (*jmā'a*) dealt with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. It administered justice following local custom (Arabic *'urf*, Berber *urref*). It elected a *shaykh* (Berber *amghār*) who was only an agent to carry out its decisions. Alongside of the *djamā'a* of the tribe, there were *djamā'as* of the sections and sub-sections but their powers were limited.

In the towns, the *makhzen* was represented by a governor whose official title was *ḳā'id*, but in certain large towns he was often called *bāshā*. The title of *'āmil* was sometimes given to the governor of Oujda. The *ḳā'id* of the town, generally speaking, had the same powers as the *ḳā'id* of the tribe and acted as judge in case of any violation of the law. He had an assistant or *khalīfa*. Alongside of him, the *muḥtasib* supervised the corporations, fixed their average prices and looked after public morals.

The *ḳā'id* had under his orders the *mukaddams* of the quarter and his police (*mkhazniyya*) carrying out his instructions. Among the officials sent by the

mukkam to each town may also be mentioned the *nadir* or inspector of endowments (*habūs*), the trustee of vacant inheritances (*wakil al-gharabā'*), popularly *bū-mwārī* = *abu 'l-mawārīth*, the collector of local taxes and market-dues (*amīn al-mustafād*). Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs were collected by officials called *umanā'* (sg *amīn*).

Justice (see MAHKAMA, § i) is administered by the *kā'id* or by the *hadi*, as the case may be. The latter deals with questions of personal law; official reports on the cases are drawn up by the *'adūl*. In technical cases he appeals to experts: master masons, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons (*marāfīa ṣnāgar arbab al-fuṣṣa, fallah, beyṭār*).

Landed property takes a number of different forms. In the first place, there are the state-domains; they were either managed directly by the *makhzen* (crown-lands) or they could be allotted to *gīš* tribes in return for the military service for which they could be liable; others of these lands might be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (*ṣahīr* or *tanfīdha*).

The *habus* lands are urban or rural. In the towns, they are not infrequently over half the area. They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, *mulāk* and *gaā* (classic Ar. *ḥuzza*?). In the country, the *habūs* lands consist mainly of fields and orchards. In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments.

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population. These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe, they are called common lands (*bilād ri-mā'a*).

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (*mulk*) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (*mulkiyya*).

The old Muslim imposts (*zakāt* and *'ushr*) have been merged into a single tax, the *tartīb* [*q.v.*]. In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (*maks*), unpopular with the people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (*garība*). In addition to these, the main taxes, there was the *hadiya* or present offered to the sultan on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals. The *ǧizya* or poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and the *na'ība* or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished.

VI. Religious Life

a. The Berbers before Islam. For lack of documents, it is difficult to get any accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco before their conversion to Islam, and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country that we can guess what the primitive religion was. The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship. On animistic practices surviving in modern Islam in Morocco, see below.

b. Conversion to Islam. At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings; but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form. It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians. It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them. The two earliest invasions, that of 'Ukba b. Nafī' in 50/670 and that of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 92/711, could result only in a very partial and superficial islamisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country Islam, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres. The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors; but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on seven different occasions, if we may believe the Arab historians. One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to cast off the authority of the caliphs of Baghdād by adopting the heterodox doctrines of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*; see also ṢUFRIYYA]. The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islam, with their own prophets and Kur'āns. After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maysara [*q.v.*], which was quickly suppressed, the Berghawāṭa [*q.v.*] recognised as their prophet one of their number, Ṣālih b. Tarīf, who gave them a religion and a Kur'ān in the Berber language. This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almohad rulers of the 7th/13th century. This Berghawāṭa movement was the most lasting, we also note that which was created by Hā-Mīm (d. 313/925-6 [*q.v.*]) among the Ghumāra, near Tetouan.

In spite of these reactions, Islam, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who destroyed the religion of the Berghawāṭa and put an end to the rule of the "anthropomorphist" (*mudjassimūn*) Almoravids, that we can date the complete unification of Islam in Morocco. Till then, Islam had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians and who after forcing the people to adopt Islam at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it. It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads or "preachers of *tawhīd*" [*q.v.*].

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of schism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] which it still follows.

c. Evolution of Moroccan Islam. From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islam rapidly acquired features of its own. Islam, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it then attacked in Morocco itself by the

Christians of the Peninsula. The western frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was brought back to its own territory and then thrust farther back. Islam in Morocco, attacked by Christianity and forced to *djihād*, became an active principle. It required all the moral forces of the country, even those of which the orthodoxy seemed doubtful; in order to utilise them, it did not hesitate to absorb them by covering them with a more or less superficial veneer of orthodoxy. It was at this period that the cult of dead and living saints, and to a certain point Sharīfism, which had hitherto only existed alongside of Islam in Morocco, were adopted into it and received a kind of official recognition from the *makhzen*.

Before the Marīnids, Islam had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance. From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted, it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islam to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (*madrasas*), the first of these (*Madrasat al-Saffārīn*) was founded in 670/1260 by the sultan Abū Yūsuf at Fās, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary. The immediate successors of the Marīnids, the Banū Waṭṭās, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idrīs II. The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration. He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders and the aristocracy. When the cult of Idrīs was established, his descendants—more or less authentic—claimed the title of *sharīf* and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence. The power of the Idrīsid *sharīfs* was soon reinforced by that of other *sharīfs* descended from ʿAlī through al-Ḥasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of *sharīfs* in Morocco, the Idrīsid and the ʿAlīd. To the latter belong the two Sharīfan dynasties, the Saʿdīan and FīlālI, the latter still in power. From the moment of their accession to the throne, the influence of the *sharīfs* on the destinies of the country became more and more preponderant.

The phenomenon of Sharīfism is closely connected on the other hand with the development of religious brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA]. Although we find evidence of their existence at the end of the Almohad dynasty (Ruḍāḍida, Māghiriyyūn, Amghāriyyūn), it is only as a result of al-Djazūlī's (d. 869/1465 [*q.v.*]) campaign in favour of a *djihād* against the Portuguese that we find the principles of the brotherhoods, as we know them to-day, first coming into existence.

Islam in modern Morocco. Here we will only give a survey of the principal points of detail in which the people of Morocco differ from the rest of the Muslim community as regards the practice of their religion. With the exception of a few isolated groups, still little studied, who are credited with heterodox or heretical practices (Zkāra, in the neighbourhood of the Banī Znāsen, in eastern Morocco, Bṭāḥwa, in the Gharb, not far from al-Ḳṣar al-Kabīr), all the Muslims of Morocco are Sunnīs and since the Almoravid period have followed the Mālikī rite, which prevailed in the west over that of al-Awzāʿī. It is in the towns that the population observes most strictly the duties of religion. The Bedouins of the plains and the Berbers of the mountains are rather lukewarm Muslims. The Jbāla however, between Fās and Tangier, are very devoted to Islam, show great piety, and Kurʾānic studies are very much in favour with them; it is from them that are recruited a great number of schoolmasters who practise their calling in the plains [see SHART]. It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village.

In spite of the great distance which they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage. A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies at Alexandria and Cairo), the importance of these colonies had even induced the sultan ʿAbd al-Azīz to appoint a Moroccan consul, *amīn al-Maghāriba*, for Egypt.

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islam (*ʿīd kabīr* and *ʿīd saghīr*), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (*mūlūd* class. *mawlid* [*q.v.*]) and that of ʿĀshūrāʾ (10th Muharram). The *mūlūd*, established in Morocco by the Marīnids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet; this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts.

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islam a special character, nor would its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or exaltation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adepts. These religious brotherhoods are fairly numerous: Tidjāniyya, Darḳāwa, Tayyibiyya-Tuhāma, Kattāniyya [*q.v.*] etc. But alongside of these brotherhoods, whose members are almost exclusively recruited from the literate or well-to-do classes of the towns and country, there are popular brotherhoods in considerable numbers, to which preoccupation with religion gives place to charlatanish practices and sanguinary displays. Such are the Ḥamādsha, the ʿIsāwa, the Ḥmādsha, the Dghughiyyīn. Some of these brotherhoods recruit their members exclusively from a particular class of society: thus the Rmā (class. *rumāt*) is a brotherhood of marksmen, and the Gnāwa a negro brotherhood. All these brotherhoods have this feature in common that their founder has become a famous saint (*walī*).

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islam, which found itself obliged to tolerate it. There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the *sayyid* whose tomb is marked by a *ḳubba* [*q.v.*] (chapel surmounted by a dome), more or less elaborate. The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (*ḥawṭ*) which surrounds their tombs.

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways, some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (*baraka*), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (*madjdhūb* [*q.v.*]), the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior in the holy war (*ghāzī, rūmī*), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified—hence his name of *marābiṭ* (pop. *marbūṭ*—French and English

"marabouts") But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *murābiṭ* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *ghazā* in their lifetime. *Murābiṭ* then came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco *walī, sayyid, shaīkh*. But it is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *baraka* of their ancestor. Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram*. The names of great saints have *mawlāy* prefixed, the others the title *sīdī*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lālla*.

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated—modest though they are (*makām, khalwa*)—was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdād, ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Djīlānī (*q.v.*), popularly called al-Djīlālī, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco. But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous Mawlāy Idrīs, founder and patron saint of Fās. Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh, patron of the Djbāla; Mawlāy Abū Salhām, in the Gharb; Mawlāy Abū ʾl-Shitāʾ al-Khammār (Mawlāy Bushshtā), in the north of Fās; Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿIsā, patron of Meknès and founder of the brotherhood of the ʿIsāwa, Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb (Bushʿīb), at Azemmour; Mawlāy Abū Yaʿazzā (Biʿazzā), in the Tadla; Sīdī Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (Sīdī Bel ʿAbbès), born at Ceuta and patron of Marrākush. All these saints who, for the most have been or will be the subjects of articles, and others less famous, are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with in the article MANĀḲIB.

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is in Morocco not confined to Muslims. The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints. Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims revere their tombs: e.g. those of the Rabbī ʿAmrān in Azjen near Warzān and of Rabbī Ben Zmīro at Safi. On the other hand the Jews of Morocco show a special reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country.

The area surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*ḥurm*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum; among the best known are the *ḥurm* of Mawlāy Idrīs in Fās and that of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh in the mountains of the north-west. These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint. They are exempt from state taxes, more than that, the descendants of the saints have the right to levy for their own benefit certain special dues, by a privilege officially recognised by the sultan. The levying of these dues is not the only way by which the saint's chapel benefits his descendants. The principal source of revenue is the offerings of pilgrims when visiting the tomb, this is the *ziyāra*. In general once a year, there is a kind of patronal festival at the tomb of the saint which is called *mūsim* (class. Ar. *mawsim*), a vast crowd, some of them from a considerable distance, gather there to pay their devotions to the *sayyid* and to see the display of fireworks given in his honour. On this occasion the offerings flow in and are shared among themselves by the saint's descendants.

In these circumstances, it is usual for every sanctuary of any importance to be regularly organised. The chapel which contains the tomb and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guest-house, is called the *zāwiya* (*q.v.*). It is superintended by a *mukaddam* who collects and distributes the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *ziyāra*. The *zāwiya* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *ʿarīḍ* and the tenants are called *ʿazzāb*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*habūs*) from pious private individuals.

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *zāwiya*s may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence. The latter is however also very important. The great Moroccan *zāwiya*s are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islam in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts if their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *sharīf*s, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *sharīf* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies. The marabouts who have in this way "infiltrated" into the social category of the *sharīf*s are very numerous in Morocco. A Moroccan *zāwiya* is not only a centre of hagiolatry, it is also in the majority of cases a body of *sharīf*s and the centre of a religious brotherhood or of a branch of one, or of a secondary order affiliated to a brotherhood. The *zāwiya* itself may have offshoots. Many of the establishments of this name are daughters of a mother *zāwiya* and are sometimes at a considerable distance from it.

Hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and *sharīf*ism thus form three special aspects of Islam in Morocco, which are profoundly intermingled, and it is difficult to study them separately. For a detailed account of the principal families of *sharīf*s in Morocco of genuine *sharīf* origin or simply marabouts, see SHURAFĀʾ.

2. Survivals of Berber cults. The cult of saints, accepted and even recognised, as we have seen above, by Islam, is in Morocco much earlier than the introduction of this religion. Indeed, alongside of saints of note, there are others who are essentially popular, in the country as well as in the towns. In the large cities like Fās, the great *sayyid*s venerated by all classes of society rub shoulders with humble marabouts whose names show clearly their popular origin, these are Sīdī ʾl-Makhfī (My lord the Hidden One), Sīdī Amsa ʾl-Khayr (My lord Good Evening) or Sīdī Ḳāḍī Hādja (the reversed gentleman who procures what is wanted) and notices are given of them by hagiographers like the author of the *Salwat al-anfās* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 383 below). The humble, often anonymous *khalwa*s, which abound in Morocco, undoubtedly are to be connected with earlier mythical individuals, already worshipped in the same place before the coming of Islam. Besides this devotion to popular saints, there are the animistic cults, which we see everywhere in Morocco observed by the lower classes of the population: worship of high places, of caves, springs, trees and rocks.

It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawlāy Yaʿḳūb in Morocco, who always has a *ḥubba* beside thermal springs, whose curative virtues are recognised

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islam may be found everywhere in Morocco; they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now well known. They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna, but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islamic practices Many of them are strangely like agricultural customs of the Romans The Moroccan peasant has retained the use of the Julian calendar, no doubt introduced into the country by the Romans, it is of course much more suitable for the needs of agriculture than the Muslim lunar calendar The names of the months are retained in their Latin form with little change January is *yunayr* from the Latin *ianuar(ius)* The beginning of the solar year in Morocco is the occasion of a festival celebrated, especially in the country, under the name of *ʿāṣūra*, the festival of the summer solstice (*ʿanṣara*) is also celebrated and on that day it is usual to have fireworks. Similarly the agrarian rites, which are still scrupulously observed by the peasants of Morocco are completely foreign to the canonical prescriptions of Islam. They are mainly ceremonies of inauguration (of death and rebirth of the land, first day of labour, first day of harvest); rites to protect the crops from the evil eye, or to preserve the *baraka* which they contain while standing, finally special rites to secure rain and good weather. These various ceremonies, to which ethnographers have already devoted detailed studies to which the reader may be referred, are sometimes closely linked up with ceremonies prescribed by Islam, thus the different pagan rites for producing rain (carnival processions, a large spoon dressed in women's clothes and solemnly carried round) do not exclude the worship of saints specially noted as rain-makers like Mawlāy Būshshtā, nor the celebration of the orthodox ceremony of *istisḳāʾ* [*q.v.*].

It is also in the worship of spirits (*djinn*) that we find ceremonies of a strongly Islamic stamp associated with quite profane rites. This cult is especially practised by the lower classes of society, and in the towns particularly by women The *djinns* are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be conciliated to avert their evil influence or fought when one is attacked by them The rites which deal with them are either propitiatory or intended to overcome harm done. In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islam, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them; they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islam into Morocco

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VII. Linguistic Survey.

Two languages are spoken in Morocco: Berber and dialects of Arabic. Berber is the oldest attested in Morocco and we have no evidence of an earlier language being used; as to Arabic, it was introduced by the Muslim conquest of the 1st and/7th-8th centuries. But until the arrival in Morocco of the Banū Hilāl and of the Sulaym (6th/12th century), it seems that Arabic, the language of an essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk Berber; it was only after the occupation of the plains by the Arab tribes that their language spread there. With the exception of the region of the Jbāla to be mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone have remained faithful to the Berber language, while the towns and lowlands are more and more Arabic speaking.

In his *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[9] (162), L. Massignon gives a proportion of 60% of Berber speakers, he retains this figure in the 1954 edn (250), but A Bernard had thought this exaggerated and had reduced it to 40% (cf. *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc*, 1924, 278)

A. Berber

On the language and literature, see BERBERS V-VI, and also LIBYA. 2 Lybico Berber inscriptions

B. Arabic

The Arabic dialects. The Arabic language was introduced into Morocco in at least two stages, first in the 2nd/8th century at the time of the first Muslim conquest, then in the 6th/12th at the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym. Dowa to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Ya'kūb al-Mansūr, Arabic seems to have been spoken almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political. It was the language of religion and law. From the towns, Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al-Idrīsī (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 79, tr 90) already notes that in the 6th/12th century the Berber tribes of the southern hinterland of Fās (Banū Yīsīt, Pandalāwa, Bahlīl, Zawāwa, Maggāya, Ghayāṭa and Salālgūm) spoke Arabic.

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabicisation of the mountainous country of the Jbāla (plur. of *jbāl*, "highlander") while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking. The land of the Jbāla, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza. It was surrounded by a cordon of towns: Makūr, Bādis, Tigīsās, Tetouan, Ceuta, al-Kasr al-Saghīr, Tangier, Arāila, al Kasr al-Kabīr, Basra, Azdjen, Banū Tāwudā, Wafīll, Fās, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region, besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco. the roads from Fās to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bādis, to Nakūr and to Ghassāsa, it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbāla should be the first region of Morocco to be arabicised. The process was further favoured by several other factors: 1 the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Kur'ānic culture, 2. the settlement almost everywhere in the 4th/9th century among the Jbāla of Idrīsid *sharīfs* who, drawn from Fās by Mūsā b. Abī 'l-'Āfiya al-Miknāsī, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture; 3 the tribes of the Jbāla furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabicised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalusia, 4 lastly, the rebellions and civil wars which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the "rising of the suburb" at Cordova (in 202/818) down to the 10th/16th century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbāla either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (resettlement of Tetouan, foundation of Shafshāwan) bringing there, along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished.

a. Urban dialects: *b.* highland dialects; *c* Bedouin dialects, and we may add. *d.* the Jewish dialects.

a. Urban dialects. In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects". There are towns like Casablanca, al-Djadīda, Safi and al-Suwayra (and in a certain degree Meknès and Marrākush) the

population of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town-dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised. The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture. The principal towns with urban dialects are Fās, Rabat-Salé, Tetouan, Tanger, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Tangier, Wazzān and Shafshāwan also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects Meknès and Marrākush have been influenced by the Bedouin elements introduced by the *maḫzen* groups into the dialects of these two old capitals It is interesting to note the case of Azemmour where the old town (Azemmūr al-Ḥaḍar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in more recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawlāy Abū Shu'ayb (*vulgo* Bū Sh'ayb), uses a Berber dialect. The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers. Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdentals of the classical language, the affricative pronunciation (*ʒ*) of *ḳāf*, the frequent attenuation of *ḥāf* in *ḥamza*. In Fās, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ġ* and *ḏāl* assimilate the *lām* of the article and are treated as "sun letters", the simple *ḏāl* is pronounced like the French *j* (= Persian *ǧ*), but when it is geminated, it gives *ǯǯ* in Fās and *dž* in Tangier The *rāʾ* is often pronounced very close to the French uvular *r*.

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fās, we may note the construction *ktūtu* 'I has written it" for *ktebt* + *h*, and the use of an invariable relative *dyāl* representing the old dialectal *dīk* Tangier and Tetouan have a preposition *n-*, "to" which is used before nouns (*n-əd-dār* "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns To translate "of", Marrākush *mən* ?, the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs: *aškuṭ* "because", *ḥəlli* "only".

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefix of the present indicative *ka-* in the north, *ta-* in the south Fās uses one almost as much as the other.

b Highland dialects These are at least as well known as those of the towns In 1920 G. S Colin published notes on that of the Tsūl and the Brānes in the north of Taza; in 1932, E. Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha since then Colin had an opportunity of studying those of the Banī Ḥōmmar (near Tetouan), of the Mestāsa (near Badis) and of the Ghzāwa (near Shafshāwan)

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects The tribes which use them belong to two political clans probably originally of different racial origin the Ghumāra, the old inhabitants, and the Ṣanhāǧa, the invaders. In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries, but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects

1. The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shafshāwan and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumāra; 2. the southern dialects, from Wazzān to Taza, ated by two great classes of tribes first the Ṣanhāǧa tribes of the valley of the Wargha Ṣanhāǧa of the Central Wargha, Ṣanhāǧa of the Sus and of the Shade, of Moṭṭāḥ and of Ghaddo, secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanāta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza. Mernīsa, Beḥaes, Trāl, Maghrāwa and Meknāsa. It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanāta and Ṣanhāǧa peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest the Ṣanhāǧa of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumāra We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes: 1. an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabicisation of the Ghumāra and that of the Ṣanhāǧa-Zanāta, 2. the non-identity of the Berber substrata.

To the two main groups Ghumāra and Ṣanhāǧa Zanāta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south the highlanders of the region of Sefrū to the south of Fās (Bhālil, Banī Yāzgha etc.), and the Ghiyyāta to the south of Taza; they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fās-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the 6th/12th century we know from al-Idrīsī.

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterised by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post-palatal occlusives We find the interdentals *ṯ* and *ḏ*, which do not represent the classical interdentals, *kāf-ṯāʾ* and *dāl-ḏāl* have given in these dialects *t* and *d* respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated, but after a vowel we have *θ* and *ð*: *bənt* "daughter", plur. *bnāt*; after a vowel also *ḥāf* is pronounced as a spirant like the *χ* of modern Greek. The representative of the group ض ظ of the classical language is usually *ḍ*, sometimes hardened to *ṭ*, but among the Ghumāra we have *ḏ̣* (= emphatic *ḏāl*) The sound *ṭ* is fairly common The short vowels are commoner than in the towns, many of the short vowels *a* and *u* of the classical language are preserved; this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects *aR*¹ *R*² *u R*³ and a few *aR*¹ *R*² *aR*³.

As to morphology, the fem. personal suffixes *-a* (< *-at*) and pl. *-am* (< *-hum*) are characteristic they are the complement of the series begun by the masc. *-u*, *-o* (< *-hu*). Among the northern Jbāla we find the use of a suffix *-ṣā* marking the plural it seems really to be a borrowing from Latin. The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in *-ayn*: *ẖahrāyn* "two months", *yədāh* "his hands". The relative, pronoun and adjective, is *d*. The classical construct state (*iḍāfa*) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases it is in general replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition *d* "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing

Almost everywhere the prefixes of the and pers. com. and of the 3rd pers fem. of the imperfect are *də-* (and not *t-*). *dəktəb* "they writes", the writes". The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type *məf'ūl*: *məbyūḍ* "sold", *məkyūl* "filled up". Finally, we may note a few

traces of a passive of the form *f'āl yaf'āl hbāl* "to be taken". As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word *fū* "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic.

In spite of their divergences, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated. The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Bedouin group. It is the townsmen who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects, used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts, added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands, suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbāla still seem coarse and quaint to the townsmen. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguist finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills, perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, i. preface, p. XXVIII).

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Bedouin group are the following:

— loss of the classical interdentals,

— pronunciation of *ḥāf* as *k* or *ḳāmaṣa* (and not *g* as among the Bedouins),

— tendency to the syllabic grouping $R^a\ R^a\ ə\ R^a$, when R^a is not a laryngal nor a sonant,

— rarity of the construct state,

— suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. in *-e*, *-o* (and not *-ah*, as among the Bedouins),

— relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with *dyāl* = *dār dyāl-i*, "my house",

— diminutive of $R^a\ R^a\ ə\ R^a$ or $R^a\ ə\ R^a\ R^a$ becomes $R^a\ R^a\ əyyə\ R^a$- *kisyyeṛ*, "little dog",

— diminutive of adjectives of the types $R^a\ R^a\ ə\ R^a$ (< class. *af'al*) and $R^a\ R^a\ ī\ R^a$ becomes $R^a\ R^a\ ī\ R^a\ ə\ R^a$ *ḥmimar*, 'a little red', *ḥbiba*, "a little large",

— plural of the adjectives $R^a\ R^a\ ə\ R^a$ (< class. *af'al*) becomes $R^a\ ū\ R^a\ ə\ R^a$- *kḥal*, "black" (plur.),

— reductions of the plurals $C^1\ C^2\ ə\ C^3$ to $C^1\ C^2\ ī\ C^3\ ə\ C^4$ *mfāṭīḥ*, "keys",

— use of a verbal prefix to mark the indicative present: *ka-* or *ta-* in the towns and *ka-*, *ka-*, *a-* in the hills,

— in the singular of the perfect, the feminine person is in general used for the masculine: e.g. *ktebti*, "thou hast written" (m.), whence we find in Rabat for the plural, an analogous form *ktebtiw*, "you have written",

— in the vocabulary, *shḥāl*, "how much?", *dāba*, "now", *lbā* (*rbā*, *khā*), "to do", are characteristic,

— in the imperfect of the defective verbs, the plural is formed on analogy of the singular *yebkāw*, "they remain", *yebkīw*, "they weep".

a. Bedouin dialects. These are in Morocco the dialects of the plains the Atlantic plain from Azrū to Mogador with its continuations into the interior, the valley of the Moulouya, the plateaux of eastern Morocco and the region of the Moroccan Sahara (Wād Ghīr, Wād Zīz etc.); they are still little known. That of the Dukkāla of the north (Ūlād Bū 'Azīz, Ūlād Frej), corresponds in almost all its details to the dialect of the Ūlād Brāhim of Saïda (Orania) on which W. Marçais has written a monograph. There is no doubt that on examination one can divide the Bedouin dialects into groups characterised by more or less conservatism. Those which have most chance of having preserved their original character are those of the tribes of the Saharan steppes who have remained relatively stable and intact: Ben Gīl, Mḥāya, Dhwī Manṣ, Ūlād Jrīr, etc. In any case, the following are the main characteristics of these dialects: *firstly*, the *ḥāf* is pronounced as *g* (= *ḥāf ma'ḳūda*), and it is already this pronunciation which Ibn Khaldūn characterises the Bedouin dialects of his time. The *ḏāl*, *ḏāl* and *ḍād* are retained with their later dental value. The short vowels are indistinct: the sound *ə* is almost completely absent and many short unaccented vowels sound practically like a labial *ə*. Characteristic are the appearance of an extremely short transitional vowel of *u* character, which is developed after *ḥ*, *ġ*, *ḫ* and *ḳ* placed before a consonant or at *d*, e.g. *ḥəbbāṛ*, "great" (plur.), *gə'ad*, "he sits down", *ḫəṛāfa*, "tale", *ġəzāl*, "gazelle", *ḳəṛṛa*, "saddle-bag", *rəġ'ūg*, "thin" (plur.), a similar sound is found after *bb*, *ff*, *mm* and *ḥḥ*, *ġġ*, *ḫḫ*, *ḳḳḳ*, e.g. *lugrubbu*, "the crows", *ssuffəkhtu*, "a blow", *rummməna*, "pomegranate", *ssukkəṛ*, "sugar", *ḫuddəma*, "piece (of cloth)", *mukhkhəṛ*, "sound", by analogy the combinations *ww* and *jw* when the *w* corresponds to a classical *mdw*, are reduced to *mm* and *jj*, e.g. *lmmə'iḳa*, 'the (little) place', *lejjə'id*, "the entrails".

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms *yḳtub*, "he writes", plur *yḳtubu*, *mḳəbḳəṛbi*, "Moroccan", *mukhkəla*, "musket", *bġəmi*, "my cow".

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is *-ah*. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is *nāt* or *tāt*, from the classical *mata*; according as the word before it is feminine or plural, this preposition becomes *nāt* (*tāt*) or *nāṭ* (*tāṭ*).

It does not seem that the Bedouin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present. In the plural personal terms of the detective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong: *glā-yāglā*, from the verb *glā* "to fry"; *nsā-yənsā*, from the verb *nsā* "to forget".

We may also note the use of a preposition *ḥ-*, "to": *gāl ḥas*, "he told us".

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Bedouin dialects: *ḥa-āb*, "to wish", *pāmṣa*, "yesterday", *ḫarwəḥ*, *ḫurk*, "now", from the classical *ḫa'l-waḥi*.

d. Jewish dialects. The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish, many have also learned Arabic for business reasons. Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former call *foraceros* (Span. "foreigners"), according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic [see JUDAEO-ARABIC and JUDAEO-BERBER].

c. Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i.e. Berber, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known The results of the examination are very meagre the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesimal; this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated.

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabicised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic, only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the Jbâla country

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Bedouin dialects and are still found in Berber A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative; but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata.

Certainly, Berber has the scheme *ta- — t* which forms nouns indicating trades (*ta-ssnawt*, "trade of a mason") and names of abstract qualities (*ta-hdimt-t*, "roguery"), it is however curious to note that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance and is only used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive.

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indisputable traces of Berber influence; plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e.g *Ah-en Kaddûr* "Kaddûr's brother", with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, *-in*.

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber substratum makes its influence most felt. Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Bedouin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools), they have often retained in Arabic the Berber prefix a-, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also, alongside of the singular in *a-*, we usually have a Berber plural in *a—an* also retained. It is curious, by the way, but infallibly to find in the highland dialects words of Arabic origin with the Berber prefix. These must be Arabic words borrowed and berberised at a time when the Jbâla still spoke Berber and which have been retained just as they were in their Arabic dialect after being arabicised, e.g. *a-bfir*, "ditch", plur. *a-bfirân*, in Tangier the nave of the mosque is called *a-blâd*, at Babet two words imported from Europe have a Berber form *a-bûf*, "the sultân's bast" and *a-tây*, "tea".

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the *makhzen*: *afrâg*, "a wall of cloth surrounding the sultan's camp"; *ngâdi*, "a pasture reserved for the sultan's animals", *azfel*, "lash to punish the guilty"; *mzouar*, "syndic (*nakîb*) of the Sharîfs".

The Bedouin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects, their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains. Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed from them a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Bedouins; they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of *hâ* as *g*. The Bedouin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture, but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow.

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of "European" loanwords. They come from the vocabulary of a higher culture and relate to the flora (to cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods; but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin

These "European" loanwords are naturally found in larger numbers in Northern Morocco, which has been more subject to Mediterranean influences which, through refugees from Spain, have been felt as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas. The Bedouin dialects have escaped these influences (cf Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mosarabes*, Madrid 1888; Schuchardt, *Die romanischen Lehnwörter im Berberischen*, Vienna 1918, G S Colin, *Etymologies maghrébines*, in *Hesperis* (1926-7), A. Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanisch-arabischen* (chs. II, III, and *Excurs*), Leipzig 1917).

In spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Bedouin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature the forms sing *u—*, plur *u—u* in the first persons of the imperfect. Now this fact is attested to the 6th/12th century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i.e. in languages from which Hilâli influence is clearly excluded; it is also found in Maltese, it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east. The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables, this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects, but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it.

It is in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic (use of *inghi*, "in order that", *mtâ'*, "of", first persons of the aorist in *n—* (sing.), *n—u* (plur.)); but we have to wait till D de Torres to find a few phrases transcribed (cf French tr Paris 1636, 241, 323, 339). Mouette, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a *Dictionnaire arabesque* in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf *Relation de la Captivité* Paris 1683, 330-62). The first grammatical notes were collected by Höst (cf *Efterrätninger* . . , 1779, ch 8, p 211-110), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (*op cit*, 128-33) It is to Fr. de Dombay that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects; the dialect which he deals with is that of

Tangier (*Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae*, Vienna 1800). Since then, there have been a number of studies: for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 207-13; for later works, see the bibliography in *Textes arabes de Rabat* by L. Brunot and the *Bibliographies marocaines* given periodically in *Hespéris*.

2. Literature of the Arabic dialects. Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical. The only texts in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects.

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished: the first extending down to the beginning of the Saʿdian dynasty, the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldūn gives at the end of his *Muḳaddima* among the specimens of the poetry of the towns. To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (*Mawlidiyyāt*) and collected in numerous collections existing in manuscript. From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco; these were collected and classified by al-Hāʾik, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetouan. All these poems belonging to this first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Kuzmān (6th/12th century [q.v.]) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called *zadjal* [q.v.], which had this in common with the *muwashshah* [q.v.], that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based on the quantity of the syllables, but it differed from the *muwashshah* in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language.

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable and the use of the Spanish dialect.

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse and by the use of a special language called *melḥun* [see MALḤŪN].

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fêtes, lullabies), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epigrams and proverbs: see S. Blarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children); L. Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, in *Hespéris* (1928) (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject).

III. Other Languages. A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered.

a. Classical Arabic, the official language, is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences; it is never the language of conversation except on the radio and television. But, thanks to these two methods of communication and to the fact that religious studies which are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fās) and also among the Jbāla (Kurʾānic studies and especially *ḳirāʾāt*), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect. The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels as a result of the process of elongation, e.g. classical *ḍahīr*, plur. *ḍahaʾir*, "decree of the sulṭān", borrowed by the popular dialect in the form *ḍāhēr*, whence a dialect plural *ḍwāhēr*. Several Kurʾānic expressions or phrases of exegesis hence passed into everyday language as adverbs: *bellāti* "guilty" (taken from Kurʾān vi. 153), *b-el-tāwīl* "slowly", lit. "in commenting on", *wa-kīla* "perhaps".

b. Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the 9th/15th century and especially in the 10th/16th took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetouan and Rabat-Salé. Mouëtte, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic; his remarks is probably true only of the towns already mentioned. The descendants of these emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islamic culture. Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology.

c. In the palace of the sulṭān, many black servants of both sexes still spoke Sudanese dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco.

No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages; one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consist simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables. One should not, finally, omit to mention that the use of Spanish and, above all, French, which spread during the protectorate, remains as widely spread—if not more so—since independence, and is not without an appreciable effect of dialect vocabulary.

(G. S. Colin)

VIII. Intellectual life

More especially since the end of the Middle Ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of civilisation. From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state that it began to show independence in this respect also. The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the 7th/13th century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islamic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west. In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholars which it has produced in various branches of *ʿilm*, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islam the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country. However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture. Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the 19th century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim East, has hardly interested the West.

The characteristic feature of this culture, which is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanging. In this country, where tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same. It has already been remarked that, until recent times, the Moroccan *fakīh*, whether he were magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharīfian government, possessed the same stock of knowledge as a *faḳīh* of the periods of the Marīnids or Sa'dians. The same instruction had been given him and by the same methods. He received first of all an elementary education in the Kur'ānic school (see KUTTĀB), he learned the Kur'ān by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar. Next he became a student (*ṭālib*), and the *ṭalab al-'ilm*, which he studied, was governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones. He first of all studied the "mother-words" (*ummahāt*), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the *Murshid al-ma'ūn* of Ibn 'Āshir and the *Ājurrūmiyya*). It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (*sharḥ*) or glosses (*ḥāshiya*) on works (*matn*) of established reputation and exclusively Islamic in character. The whole trend of his studies was toward a better knowledge of theology and law.

The result was that in most cases in Morocco men of learning were almost entirely jurists and that they differentiated between purely Islamic sciences (*'ulūm*) and profane learning (*funūn*), with some contempt for the latter. One understands also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna, theology, law and *uṣūl*.

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances. The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier. The foundation of Fās and the building in this city of the great Mosques of the Ḳayrawānīs (Djāmi' al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior. A little later, Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribī scholars and even for a certain number from Spain. But it is from the Marīnid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fās as an intellectual centre dates. It was the metropolis of learning in the country from the 8th/14th century. Not only did the Marīnid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or *madrasas* around the Djāmi' al-Ḳarawiyyīn and mosque of New Fās, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it still jealously claims to-day. In the Marīnid period, *madrasas* were also multiplied outside Fās: Meknès, Salé and Marrākush had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns.

In addition to the part played by the *madrasas*, there was the activity of the *zāwiyas*, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and Sharīfism in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to establish themselves in Morocco in the 10th/16th century. The *zāwiyas*, religious centres, headquarters of the *ribāṭāt*, naturally became centres of teaching. At the time when Fās could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the *zāwiyas*, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous; e.g. the *zāwiya* of al-Dilā' [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the Middle Atlas, the *zāwiya* of Tamgrut in the land of Du'ra and the *zāwiya* of Wazzān [*q.v.*] in the north. The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or *shaykhs*, who taught in the motherhouse of their order.

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islamic and profane sciences.

It was not till the Muslim West adopted the Mālikī rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of *'ilm* in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain. In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were continued and the Maghribī students down to the 7th/13th century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course. The East did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later. At this period, besides, the islamisation and arabicisation of the Berber masses was still too recent. Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrās b. Ismā'īl, of whom much that is recorded is legendary, the famous reformer Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], creator of the Almohad movement and author of several *risāla*s or *'aḳīda*s on his teaching, the *ḳāḍī* Ṭayyib (476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*]), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and the *Maghārib al-ma'ārif* with a collection of biographies of learned Mālikīs, entitled *al-Maḥārik*.

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable. The best known are for *ḥadīth* Ibn Barrī (8th/14th century), Ibn Faḳīhār (9th/15th century), the scholar of Meknès Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919/1513); 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḳāḍī (d. 1082/1671); 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Idrīs Mandjra (d. 1279/1765-6); Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Fāsī (d. 1214/1800 [*q.v.*]); for *ḥadīth*: Yaḥyā al-Sarrāḍ (d. 808/1405-6); Sulaymān al-'Āṣimī (d. 956/1549); Riḍwān al-Djinnī (d. 991/1592); Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Ḳaṣṣār (*d.* 1012/1603-4); Idrīs al-'Irāḳī (d. 1228/1823), for *fiḳh*: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sughayyir, commentator of the *Mudawwana*, al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Zarrūḳ (9th/15th century) commentators of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, al-Wansharīsī (d. 955/1548); al-Mandjūr (d. 995/1587 [*q.v.*]); Ibn 'Āshir (d. 1040/1630-1); Mayyāra (d. 1072/1661 a); for philology: al Makkūdī (d. 807/1404-5); Ibn Zaḳrī (d. 899/1494 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann or in Benchenab's work on the individuals mentioned in the *Iḍḥām* of 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī. Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries; but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco.

Some Moroccan scholars have written works on *adab* or collections of poems, in addition to books of a strictly Muslim character. None of them can

claim any great originality and purely literary *diwāns* are rare. Poetry, as a rule—when it is not didactic (*urdjūza*)— is religious or mystic. At the courts, there were always a few literary men maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists, often very extravagantly, of their patrons.

It is at the courts also, especially from the 8th/14th century, that we find the few historians who have given us original chronicles or compilations. Their works, planned on a singularly curious conception of history, have nevertheless the merit of giving us the only detailed information about the political history of the country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it. Those which date from the Middle Ages are, however, much the best. The kind of work not only did not improve later, but became simply dry chronicles in which events are related in a brief and colourless fashion.

The early historians of Morocco—if we except the Berber genealogists about whom we do not know very much—are contemporaries of the Almoravid dynasty. A little later, the Almohads find a historian in the person of a companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, al-Baydhak [*q.v.*] al-Ṣanhadjī, the interest of whose memoirs contrasts strikingly with many later chronicles. Alongside of the work of al-Baydhak may be placed the chronicles of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān and of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī [*q.vv.*] as of high value. But it was in the Marīnid period that the historian found most favour in Morocco. Leaving out Ibn Khaldūn, whom Morocco is not the only one to claim, we may mention Ibn ʿIdhārī [*q.v.*], a scholar of Marrākush, to whom we owe a history of North Africa and Spain, the *Bayān al-maghrib*, that of Ibn Abī Zarʿ [*q.v.*], author of a history of Fās and the Moroccan dynasties, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, Ibn Marzūḳ [*q.v.*], author of the *Musnad*, a monograph on the sultan Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī, Ibn al-Aḥmar [*q.v.*] of the family of the kings of Granada, author of the *Rawḍat al-nasrīn*. Under the Saʿdians, the principal historians were al-Fishtālī and al-Ifrānī [*q.vv.*], author of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, finally, under the ʿAlawīs, al-Zayyānī and Akansūs [*q.vv.*].

Geography is represented in modern Moroccan literature only in the form of *riḥlas* [*q.v.*] or accounts of the travels of pilgrims, in which the description of the country passed through only occupies an insignificant place. Nevertheless, the geographer al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] and the great travelers Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] were of Moroccan origin.

The biographical literature of Morocco is considerable. The collections of *manāḳib* [*q.v.*] of saints, monographs dealing with families of *sharīfs* or religious brotherhoods are abundant, especially in the modern period. There are also collections by town or century, some of which are of a certain interest, even from the point of view of history. All these biographies have been surveyed in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*. The most notable biographers down to the middle of the 19th century are Ibn ʿAskar, author of the *Dawḥat al-nāshir*, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, author of the *Durrat al-ḥidjāl* and the *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, the historian al-Ifrānī, author of the *Safwat man intashar*, and al-Kādirī, author of the *Nashr al-mathānī* and the *Ilitikā al-durar*.

As to medicine and natural science, Morocco down to the 8th/14th century was closely dependent on Spain. The physicians of the Almoravid and Almohad princes were from Spain, like Ibn Bādja (Avempace) Ibn Ṭufayl and the celebrated Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar). In the modern period, we find at the courts of the sultans several physicians of Moroccan origin who have left works. The chief were, in the Saʿdian period, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, in the ʿAlawid period Ibn Shuḳrūn, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Adarrāk, Aḥmad al-Darʿī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAzzūz al-Marrākushī, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥādjī and ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿAlamī. Finally, two famous Moroccans studied the exact sciences in the 7th/13th century: Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Marrākushī, author of a treatise on astronomical instruments, part of which has been translated by Sédillot, and Aḥmad Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], to whom we owe several works on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

At the end of the 19th century, the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was marked by a kind of renaissance in Muslim studies in Morocco, particularly characterised by the need which writers felt of getting their works printed to make them more widely known. The lithographic presses of Fās acquired a certain importance at this time and began to publish texts which had hitherto circulated only in manuscript. A little later, there appeared at Fās the three volumes of the *Salwat al-anfās* of Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī [*q.v.*], an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrities of the northern capital. At the same time, there was published in Cairo the great Moroccan history of Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [*q.v.*] entitled *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

MAGHRIBĪ, Aḥmad Khaṭṭū, famous mediaeval Gudjerati saint. Born at 757/1356 in Dihlī

and educated there, he migrated to Khattū, near Nāgawr, in Rādjasthān at the instance of his spiritual director, the Maghribī master, Bābā Isḥāk. In 776/1375 Bābā Isḥāk died, and Aḥmad set out on an extended pilgrimage, visiting Arabia, Iran and ʿIrāḳ before returning to Dihlī, where he survived the wrath of Tīmūr in 800/1398 (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntaḵab al-tawārīḵ*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 270-1; Eng tr G Ranking, i, 357-8). He subsequently proceeded to Sarkhēdj, near Aḥmadābād, and there attained enduring fame. According to Mughal historians (Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl Ind., ii, 97; ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*, suppl., Baroda 1930, 78-9), Sultan Aḥmad Shāh I founded the city of Aḥmadābād in 813/1411 on the advice, and with the blessing, of Aḥmad Khattū.

In addition to being well versed in traditional Islamic sciences and theoretical Ṣūfism, Aḥmad was a poet whose Persian verses are cited in the same extant *malfūẓāt* which provide the primary source material for his biography, viz., the *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn* by Maḥmūd Irdjī and another *malfūẓ* by Muḥammad b Abī ʾl-Ḳāsim. At his death on 10 Shawwāl 849/9 January 1446, the saint was buried to a towering marble mausoleum which, with adjacent structures built by later Gudjarāt sultans, elicited praise from the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr on a visit to Sarkhēdj in 1027/1618 (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 212).

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al-Maghribī, Banū, a family of Persian origin who performed in the course of two succeeding centuries (the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries) the influential functions of *wazīr*, *ḥādjib* or intendant (*mudabbir*) at several princely courts throughout the Middle East, in Baghdād, Aleppo, Cairo, Mawṣil, and Mayyāfāriḳīn.

In the collections of *aḵẖbār* concerning the vicissitudes of this family, the respective representatives of four succeeding generations are mentioned in particular. The first three of these are described in the *aḵẖbār* concerning the family and also in this article, as seen from the point of view of the representative of the youngest generation, the *wazīr* Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim. The life of the latter is otherwise better known owing to the historical sources available. Sāmī al-Dahhān, the editor of the *Ḵiṭāb fī ʾl-wuzarāʾ* (Damascus 1948) written by the *wazīr* Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim, has given in his Preface an account of events which affected the family's rather adventurous history, which may be supplemented by the information given by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the historian of Aleppo (see IBN AL-ʿADĪM, and *Bibl.*). The four members of the Banū ʾl-Maghribī family mentioned above will here be discussed from the point of view of the youngest, Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim

(1) His great grandfather, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad

(2) His grandfather, Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

(3) His father, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.

(4) Finally, he himself, Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

1. The great-grandfather, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan filled a post in the so-called *Dīwān al-Maghrib*, an administrative division specially established for the collecting of the *ḵarādj* or landtax of provinces in the regions west of Baghdād. See for this aspect of the ʿAbbāsid administration, D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāsside*, ii, 591. In spite of its Persian descent, the family acquired the name Banū ʾl-Maghribī from its responsibility for the proper functioning of the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*.

2. The grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, discharged *inter alia* the function of *mudabbir* at Baghdād in the service of Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, a high dignitary at the ʿAbbāsid court (cf. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 484 5). At Baghdād, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī became related to a certain Abū ʿAlī Mārūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Awārdjī by having married his sister. Abū ʿAlī Hārūn is known to us as the subject of two eulogies composed by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], see R. Blachère, *Abou ʾl-Tayyib al-Motanabbi, un poète arabe*, Paris 1935, 90-2, and as the author of a pamphlet against the famous Baghdādī mystic al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], see L. Massignon, *La passion de Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr Ḥallādj*, Paris 1975, i, 533-4. As a *ḵātib*, Abū ʿAlī Hārūn was employed in an administrative department under supervision of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*]

In consequence of the overthrow of the latter in 330/942 Abū ʿAlī and also his brother-in-law al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī had to flee from ʿIrāḳ in order to find employment elsewhere. After some time, the grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, was able to find a new job in the service of the Ikhshīdids (*q.v.*) of Egypt and Syria. The family was to stay in Egypt for some years till there was a change in the Egyptian government. In the words of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Bughya*, ms fol. 16b): "Until the power of the one who made himself master of Egypt was renewed"—probably thereby referring to the decease of the Ikhshīdid prince Muḥammad b. Tughdj [*q.v.*] in 334/946, and his being succeeded by his two sons, while real power of government was entrusted to his Nubian slave Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Thus it was probably under the influence of this governmental change that the Banū ʾl-Maghribī departed from Egypt in order to settle in Syria. There, they are found holding office at the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*] court in Aleppo. For most of the rest of his life, the grandfather al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was to remain there as a *ḥādjib*, except that his stay at Aleppo was, at the end of his life, to be interrupted by a sojourn in Byzantine territory as a guarantee or hostage for the Byzantines, who had been requested to release a number of Muslim prisoners of war. Also comprised in this act of redemption (*fidāʾ*) was the deliverance of a second security, a very valuable piece of armour studded with jewels, a *badana* of Sayf al-Dawla himself. This affair of the *fidāʾ* occurred in 354/965 and is an indication of the importance attached to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī as a political personality.

When the last remnants of the ransom had been handed over, the Byzantine authorities gave permission for him to return to his home country. However, soon after his arrival in Aleppo—or, according to some other sources, even before his return—al-Ḥusayn died. In his palmy days, he had been a subject of praise in the poetry of Abū Naṣr b. Nubāta al-Saʿdī (327-405/939-1015, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 304-5).

3. The father Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in his function as a *ḥādjib* in the service of Sayf al-Dawla and his son

Sa'd al-Dawla Abu 'l Ma'ālī Sharīf (reigned 356-82/967-91). Like his father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan also found someone who was prepared to eulogise him, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Nāmī, who was al-Mutanabbī's successor at the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo as soon as the latter had departed to try his luck in Egypt. Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Nāmī is mentioned as this connection by Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughya*, fols. 126b, 126b (see on this poet, Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 506-8)

It was only after a period of many years in the Ḥamdānids' employment that the position of Abu 'l-Ḥasan at Aleppo was to change rather abruptly, when in 358/969-70, a rebellion general, the *amīr* Abu 'l-Fawāris Bakdjūr al-Ḥādjib, tried to overthrow the reigning dynasty, Abu 'l-Ḥasan defected to the camp of the rebels. Hence on the failure of this rebellion, the *kātib* had to flee to Egypt, where he soon acquired new important functions in the Fāṭimid state under the caliph al-'Azīz bi'llāh (*q.v.*). For information about these developments in the careers of the Banū 'l-Maghribī, see Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda al-ḥalab*, i, 270, 278, and al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 157

After a short while, Abu 'l-Ḥasan re-appeared in northern Syria, this time as intendant of the Fāṭimid army (*mudabbir al djaysh*), and with much more power than at the preceding time of the unsuccessful rebellion of Bakdjūr. It was his avowed intention to conquer Aleppo on behalf of his Fāṭimid overlord from the Ḥamdānid Sa'd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Faḍā'il (381-92/991-1002). However, although Aleppo was to suffer a prolonged Fāṭimid siege, the Ḥamdānid capital stood its ground successfully, with support from the north by the Byzantines and helped by corruption amongst the attackers, even the *mudabbir al-djaysh* himself is reported to have accepted bribes in exchange for his secretly given advice to the Fāṭimid general about a final retreat

It is perhaps in this period of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's life that the Syrian poet Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (*q.v.*) addressed to him a *ḳaṣīda*, part of which has survived till our time in the fragment (*Sharḥ Saḳṭ al-zand*, Cairo 1947, iii, 1087-96, rhyme *-ḥumyaru*) the poet explicitly mentions the Persian descent of his *mamdūḥ*, together with other praiseworthy qualities, e.g. his description of Abu 'l-Ḥasan as one who, instead of silver, only wishes to grant gold to his favourites—at the same time scattering pearls of material origin, accompanying his much more excellent pearls of spiritual wisdom. Notwithstanding the wisdom ascribed to him, Abu 'l-Ḥasan failed to realise his political aims in Syria, and was recalled to Egypt. There he appears to have escaped the immediate effect of the Fāṭimid caliph's wrath, possibly as a consequence of the sudden death of al-'Azīz and the accession to the throne of his successor al-Ḥākim (*q.v.*), in 386/996

Once more in Egypt Abu 'l-Ḥasan again succeeded in securing for himself a position of some importance, while his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī (see 4 below) came to be entrusted with a position of influence in the *Dīwān al-Ṣamād*. Soon, however, the fortunes of the Banū 'l-Maghribī were to change again, this time because of their increasing involvement in a number of intrigues and political struggles with an important personality at al-Ḥākim's court, who held the high position of *wazīr al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* (Minister of the Sword and Pen), the Christian Manṣūr b. 'Abdūn. Although initially the Banū 'l-Maghribī could boast of some successes in their intrigues, aimed in particular at the Fāṭimid Christian functionaries, Manṣūr b 'Abdūn finally got the upper hand. He persuaded the capricious caliph to order the execution en bloc of the members of the Banū 'l Maghribī, and accordingly, almost all of them died in 400/1009-10, with the sole exception of Abu 'l Ḳāsim, the representative of the fourth generation of this family (for details about the intrigues, see Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, 81-2).

4. Abu '1-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, "*al-wazīr* al-Maghribī", also called by another surname "al Kāmil Dhu 'l Wizāratayn", was born in Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja 370/ May 981 at Aleppo, according to Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughya*, fol 124-b, whose information should be preferred to al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 158, where instead of Aleppo, Egypt is mentioned as his original home Having escaped from the massacre in Egypt, Abu 'l Ḳāsim at first sought refuge with the Banū 'l-Djarrāḥ [see DJARRĀḤIDS], leaders of a clan of Bedouins who exercised some political influence in Palestine more or less independent of al Ḥākim's authority At his request, the chief of the clan, Ḥassān b al-Mufarrij b Dughfal, granted him protection or *ʿahda* (*q.v.*) upon which the grateful fugitive composed and recited a fairly long *ḳaṣīda*, which can be found in Ibn al Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 86-3

Once in Palestine, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim began inflaming the Bedouins against the Fāṭimid caliph, against whom he evidently felt an unquenchable thirst for revenge At first, his policy proved successful, for even a quite important town like Ramla, which was under Egyptian jurisdiction, had to undergo a siege and subsequent invasion, looting and massacre—all this as it appears, at the instigation and advice of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Not yet satisfied, he also planned and executed the erection of a counter-imamate to that of the Fāṭimids. A Meccan *sharīf* al-Ḥasan b Dja'far who could from his 'Alid pedigree claim a descent at least as authentic as that of the Fāṭimid *imām*, claimed for himself, as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, the honorific title al-Rāshid bi'llāh, all this accompanied by the approval and acclamations of Abu 'l Ḳāsim and his Djarrāḥid protectors. This rebellion was financed by gold and silver taken from the Ka'ba, melted down, and coined into *dīnārs* and *dirhams*, known as "Ka'biyya" ones However well planned, the action of Abu 'l Ḳāsim failed to achieve any result, the counter caliphate proved unstable on account of the readiness of its Bedouin supporters to accept extensive bribes from al Ḥākim. Just in time, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was able to leave his former allies and to escape to 'Irāḳ and 'Abbāsid jurisdiction.

In connection with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's stay in 'Irāḳ, we find in Ibn al 'Adīm, *Bughya*, fol 15b, a rather curious report about the suspicion fastened on him by reason of his name 'al-Maghribī" The 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir bi'llāh wrongly assumed from this a pro-Fāṭimid inclination, the Egyptians being indicated in the east by the term *Maghāriba* from Wāsiṭ, where Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had to remain as long as this suspicion circulated, he sent to al-Ḳādir a *risāla*, in which the original meaning of the name "al-Maghribī" was duly explained, as derived from the *Dīwān al Maghrib*, a Baghdād governmental department Thus having purged his name and political intentions, he was allowed to reside at Baghdād, and was able to begin a completely new career of *wazīr* or *kātib* at different princely courts in the Muslim East.

After his stay in Baghdād, he is reported to have held several offices, at first in Mawṣil under the 'Ukaylid prince Kīrwāsh b al-Mukallad, then at Mayyāfāriḳīn under the Marwānid prince Naṣr al-Dawla b Aḥmad Thereafter, having returned via

Mawṣil, he held for a short while the office of *wazīr* in Baghdād in the caliph's service. But because of his involvement in pro-ʿAlīd riots in Kūfa, he incurred al-Kādir's displeasure, and had to retrace his steps, again seeking refuge at the court of his former protector the Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla.

Finally, at Mayyāfāriḳīn he died in 418/1027 but before his death his ever-scheming mind had already planned that his mortal remains should be carried to Mashhad ʿAlī near Kūfa, without unduly attracting the attention of his opponents, for burial near the holy shrine. To this end, he is reported to have sent letters containing the request that the body of a beloved female slave of his might pass to her coffin through the intervening territories; only after the funeral were the real nature of the coffin's contents known.

From among the *wazīr*'s works, the following may be mentioned here:

(1) A compilation (known only in manuscript) of Ibn al-Sīkkīt's work, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*.

(2) *al-Ansāb al-mutafiḳa* (also in ms.), containing many names for Arab tribes, which by their mutual resemblance or their unusual construction might easily cause misunderstanding or confusion.

(3) *Adab al-khawāṣṣ fī 'l-muḥāḍara min ḥaḳāʾiḳ akhbār al-ʿArab wa-amthālihā wa-ansābihā wa-ayyāmihā* (also in ms.), partial ed. by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1960, with 1 vol. so far published. For further information concerning manuscripts and contents, see Brockelmann, G, I, 117, 353, S I, 600 and Sāmī al-Dahhān's *Preface* in *Kitāb fī 'l-siyāsa*, 25-7.

(4) *Kitāb fī 'l-siyāsa*, ed Sāmī al-Dahhān, Damascus 1948, is a short manual for an unnamed ruler, giving him advice how to attain the ideal form of government. In doing this he should at first understand how to organise his own way of living, and secondly how to behave towards the higher classes of society in his empire, and which qualifications are to be required in order for his subjects to perform certain functions in the ruler's service, for example the ones of chancellor (*ḥādjib*), chamberlain (*ḥādjib ḥudjdjāb*), tax collector, commander-in-chief, police-chief, etc. Thirdly, the ruler should know how to restrain the masses, in view of their inclination to revolt. In conclusion, the author quotes an injunction given by Abū Bakr to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, when the latter was sent with an army to Syria (*cf.* Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 13 H., where a variant text is given). Although the author of the *Kitāb fī 'l-siyāsa* never discloses the identity of the prince to whom the work was dedicated, it may be surmised that the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad, who on several occasions had shown himself such a loyal protector of Abū 'l-Ḳāsim, is meant.

Contemporary judgements upon the *wazīr* are known to us from two sources. A negative appreciation is found in the work of ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ṭālib Dawlḳhala "Ibn al-Ḳārib" who, for a long time, until shortly before 400/1010, had been a tutor employed for the education of the sons of the Banū 'l-Maghribī. Abū 'l-Ḳāsim had been one of his pupils, but after the massacre of the family, ʿAlī b. Manṣūr detached himself from it and composed a *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] full of abuse and strong criticism against Abū 'l-Ḳāsim. In this poem, he accuses the *wazīr* of *sūʾ adab* having been the indirect instigator of his family's ruination through his own intrigues (see for details, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 424-7).

Later on, Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī appears to have criticised this *hidjāʾ* poem. At any rate, ʿAlī b. Manṣūr felt himself obliged to remove the unfavourable impression made, and this among other things [see ABŪ 'L-ʿALĀʾ AL-MAʿARRĪ] was the aim of a letter which he addressed to al-Maʿarrī. This letter and al-Maʿarrī's reaction to it are now available in the annotated edition of Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Risālat al-Ghufrān wa-maʿahā Risālat Ibn al Ḳāriḥ wafīhā fuṣūluhā* (Cairo 1963 and later editions). Al-Maʿarrī's answer to Ibn al-Ḳārib's criticism of the *wazīr* is found in the *Risālat al Ghufrān*, and is characterised by an inclination to gloss over any possible false steps made by the *wazīr*. In particular, Abū 'l-Ḳāsim's intrigues in Egypt are ascribed to his youthful ambition and lack of experience, and their terrible result as being the ultimate effect of crushing Fate (*F. al-Ghufrān*, 534).

Finally, a dirge (*marthiya*) composed by the poet on the occasion of the *wazīr*'s death has survived, having been included in the poet's second collection the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (ed. ʿAzīz Zand, Cairo 1891-5, ii, 434, ed. Bombay 1309/1883-6, 346). In one verse of this poem, the poet seems to acknowledge that a certain measure of criticism against the *wazīr*'s way of life could be justified, cf. l. 7 "If the two angels who accompanied you did write down some small sin, how many an excellent characteristic contrasting this can be found, always wiping it out!" Elsewhere in the same poem, al-Maʿarrī makes mention of the *wazīr*'s precious library which survived its owner. Two centuries later, we find Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) reports its continued existence in his topographical work *al-Aʿlāḳ al khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shāʾm wa 'l-Djazīra* (apud *Kitāb fī 'l-siyāsa*, 109), with the following words: "In Mayyāfāriḳīn there was extant the library which up till the present time is known as "al-Maghribī's Library".

Bibliography: Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ms Topkapu Saray cat 4, fols 142-26b and 1242-126b, where short biographies are given of, in this order, al-*wazīr* al-Maghribī Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his grandfather of the same name, Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Further information in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951, i, index, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 61-4, Ibn al-Sayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-wizāra*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ in *BIFAO*, xxv (1925), 65-6, Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār fī Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira wa 'l-Nīl*, Būlāḳ 1270/1854, ii, 157-8, where in addition some information is given about a few subsequent descendents of the Banū 'l-Maghribī, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 60-4, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no 785 = ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 272-7, Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 412, 414-18 and 418 A.H., M. Canard, *Hʿamdanides* 687, 695, 699, 700, 823-4, 825. (F. SHOOR)

MAGIC (See SIHR).

MAGNESIA. (See MAGHNĪSIYA).

MĀH al BAṢRA, "the Moon of Basra", the district of Nihāwand (*q.v.*), the taxes of which contributed in the support of the military population at al-Basra after the Muslim conquest of al-Djabal. Although Sayf ascribes this arrangement to the time of ʿUmar I (13-23/634-44), according to al-Balādhurī, al-Dīnawar and Nihāwand were occupied by Basran and Kūfan forces respectively after the battle of Nihāwand in 21/642. By the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), the Muslim population at al-Kūfa had increased and required an increase

in revenues for their support, so al-Dīnawar was reassigned to al-Ḥilla and Nihāwand to al-Baṣra. The people of al-Kūfa received the difference between the revenues of these places as an increase in income. Thereafter, Nihāwand was called Māh al-Baṣra and al-Dīnawar Māh al-Kūfa. Nihāwand was also called Māh Dīnār because a local Persian called Dīnār arranged the terms of peace for it with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān after the battle of Nihāwand.

Māh al-Baṣra was one of the districts (*kuwar*) of al-Ḍabal in Muslim administration, and is attested as a main designation on post-reform *dirhams* from 79/698 to 83/702. Arabs had settled in the district by the 2nd/8th century and ʿĪsā and Maʿqil, the sons of Idrīs b. ʿĪsā al-ʿIdjlī, who owned the father of Abū Muslim, lived in Māh al Baṣra. In the 3rd/9th century the taxes of Māh al Baṣra were reckoned at a maximum of 4,800,000 *dirhams*. In 235/849-50 Māh al Baṣra was assigned as *ḳaṭīʿa* by al-Mutawakkil to his son al-Muntaṣir along with many other places. In 314/926, al-Muḳtadir assigned the taxes of Māh al-Baṣra and several other places to Yūsuf b. Abī ʾl-Sādj for his provisions and to finance his campaign against the Karāmiṭa. In 324/936 Tāhir al-Dīlī tried to establish himself in Māh al Baṣra, but was defeated and killed there by the Būyid *amīr* ʿImād al-Dawla. Māh al-Baṣra is attested as a mint designation for both *dirhams* and *dīnārs* from 262/876 until 372/982-3. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries Māh al-Baṣra is described as a fertile, lush, well-watered district producing dhurra, saffron, and fruit, with red heat black clay for seal impressions, buildings of clay and two mosques.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, 305-6; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Cairo 1960, 337; Ibn al Fakīh, 209-20, 259-60, tr. Massé, 253-4, 312-14; Ibn Rustah, 206, tr. Wiet, 128; Kudāma, *Kitāb al Kharādj*, 244, Ṭabarī, i, 2632-34, 2647, 2672; Iṣṭakhrī, Leiden 1927, 199, Yāḳūt, iv, 405-6, Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 49, viii, 162, 316.

(M. Morony)

MĀH al-KŪFA [see DĪNAWAR].

MAHĀBĀD, a town and district (*shahrestān*) in the modern Iranian province (*ustān*) of West Āḏharbaydjān, situated in lat. 36° 45′ N and long 45° 43 E. and lying to the south of Lake Urmia or Riḍāʾiyya. The town comes within the Mukrī region of Iranian Kurdistān, and acquired its present name in the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī (1923-41). Previously, it was known as Sāwaḡ or Sāwdj-Bulāḳ; accordingly, for the earlier history of the town, see SAWDJ BULĀḲ. The present article deals with the post-1945 history of the town.

With a population of 16,000 in 1945, 19,332 in 1956 and 44,000 in 1976, increasing to over 50,000 by 1980, the town of Mahābād has attained importance from its geographical position on a fast moving stream, but above all from its role in recent Kurdish history as an administrative, military and cultural centre. It boasts a purer Kurdish culture and an intenser Kurdish nationalist feeling than the larger centres of Riḍāʾiyya to the north and Sanandadj or Sinna [*q.vv.*] to the south, both of which have significant non-Kurdish minorities. Nearly all Mahābādis are Sunnī Muslim Kurds. Many speak Fārsī and Āḏharī Turkish as well as the dominant Kurdish dialect whith, along with that of Sulaymanī Kurdish in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistan, sets a literary standard for the language [see KURDS, Language].

In 1946 Mahābād became the capital of a short-lived autonomous Kurdish Republic under the leadership of Ḳāḍī Muḥammad and the armed protection of an ʿIrāḳī Kurd, Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī. This was made possible by Mahābād's position between the wartime British and Soviet occupation zones and beyond the reach of the Iranian army. In 1942 a small group of Mahābādis formed a secret nationalist party, the *Kōmala* (Kurdish, "party" or "group", which maintained contact with Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and Turkey. Two years later, Mahābād's leading citizen and Islamic judge, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad, joined and thereafter dominated the *Kōmala*, which in 1945 became the Democratic Party of Kurdistān (*Hizb-i Dimokrāt-i Kurdistān*).

Initially, the Soviet Union supported the creation of a Kurdish entity within the Soviet-occupied Āḏharbaydjān Republic headed by Djaʿfar Pīshavarī in Tabrīz. Kurdish leaders, however, objected, and finally obtained Soviet acquiescence in the proclamation of a separate Kurdish Republic at Mahābād on 22 January 1946. The Kurdish administration under Ḳāḍī Muḥammad was composed of urban and relatively modernised Kurds of Mahābād town. A small army of about 1,000 was recruited in the immediate area, but the main force of the Republic was provided by some 12,000 tribesmen under their traditional leaders, the most formidable of whom was Mullā Muṣṭafā at the head of 1,200 armed Barzānīs from Iraq.

Although the new Republic included all the Kurdish areas bordering the Turkish and ʿIrāḳī frontiers south of the USSR to the fringes of Sakiz and Banah, the Iranian province of "Kurdistān" further south, with Sanandadj as its capital, was still occupied by Iranian forces. An offensive was planned to take Sanandadj in June, but was abandoned on Soviet advice. By that time, the Kurdish experiment had become enmeshed in competing regional and national interests typified by Soviet vacillation between support for Āḏharbaydjān and Kurdish autonomies on the one hand and a desire to play a role in the central government in Tehran on the other.

Under international pressures, Soviet troops withdrew from Iranian Āḏharbaydjān in May. Thereafter, negotiations between Tehran and Tabrīz failed to produce an acceptable formula for regional autonomy. Iranian forces advanced and entered Tabrīz on 12 December. A few days after, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad and his associates surrendered Mahābād. After trial by a military court, the *Ḳāḍī*, his brother and his cousin were hanged in the main square of Mahābād on 31 March 1947. Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī and more than 500 of his followers remained in the Kurdish mountains until June, and then fought their way north to sanctuary in the USSR. There they remained for 12 years until the coup of 1958 in ʿIrāḳ led by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] led to an amnesty and their return to ʿIrāḳ.

After 1947, the central government regarded the area as potentially subversive and maintained a large military contingent in Mahābād until the early 1970s. Peace in the Kurdish areas was maintained through a mixture of military force and subsidies to selected tribal leaders. The policy of protecting the position of tribal leaders delayed the introduction of land reform, which began in other parts of Iran in 1963, until 1970. When land reform did arrive, it reduced the economic power of the tribal leadership, and consequently their political influence. No active agricultural extension programme existed in the Kurdish areas until the middle 1970s, and economic conditions in Mahābād seem to have declined.

Beginning in 1970, Tehran began to put more emphasis on economic development in the Kurdish

areas Mahābād's streets were paved, city water and lighting improved, an irrigation project began near the city and a modern road connecting Mahābād with Rīḍā'iyya and Sanandadj was completed.

In 1974 a truce between Mullā Muṣṭafā Barzānī and the ʿIrāḳī government ended in renewed fighting. Thus time the Kurds received strong backing from Iran, and Mahābād became the unofficial rest area behind the front. Its streets were filled with Barzānī's Pēsh Merga fighters driving captured ʿIrāḳī vehicles, and the bazaar resounded to stories of free spending Kurdish fighters. As the fighting intensified, Kurdish non-combatants from ʿIrāḳ increasingly sought refuge in camps in the Mahābād area.

The 1975 Algiers Agreement put a sudden end to the Kurdish war, and over 100,000 new refugees fled to join the 30-40,000 already in Iran (about 18,000 of these were in the area around Mahābād). Mullā Muṣṭafā, his family and many of his tribesmen settled near Mahābād. By the end of 1975, most of the refugees had returned to ʿIrāḳ and the remainder (about 30,000) had been forced to leave the Kurdish areas of Iran and settle elsewhere in the country. Barzānī was moved to Tehran, and eventually went to the United States where he died in 1979.

Calm returned to Mahābād until the beginning of the Iranian revolution in 1978. Initially, the city united to seek the ousting of the Shah. This unity, however, was quickly followed by strife between Kurds demanding greater autonomy and revolutionary guards supporting Khomeini (Khumaynī). The most bitter fighting occurred in Sanandadj but Mahābād again became the seat of the nationalist Kurdish movement. The city was captured by government forces in 1979, but was returned to Kurdish control as part of a negotiated truce. The area remained chaotic with various groups manoeuvring for power, including the sons of Mullā Muṣṭafā, Idrīs and Mas'ūd, and the 1980 Iran-ʿIrāḳ war added to the complexities as some Iranian troops were moved out to join the fighting in the south.

(W. Eagleton and R. Neumann)

MAHĀBAT KHĀN, military leader in Mughal India. Zamāna Beg (later known as Mahābat Khān) was the son of Ghayyūr Beg Kābulī, a Rīḍawī Sayyid, who migrated from Shīrāz to Kābul during the reign of Akbar and settled there. Zamāna Beg entered the service of Akbar's son Salīm as an *ahadī* (cavalry trooper) and rose to the rank of 500. After Djahāngīr's accession (October 1605) he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and given the title of Mahābat Khān, becoming a trusted noble of that Emperor. He led a rather unsuccessful campaign against Mewār (1608), but rose nevertheless to the rank of 4,000/3,000 by 1610. In 1615 he was awarded *dū aspa sih aspa* rank and was posted to the Deccan. Apparently unable to get on with Shāh Djahān, he was transferred and made governor of Kābul. When Shāh Djahān rebelled in 1622, Mahābat Khān was called upon by Djahāngīr and the Empress Nūr Djahān to command the imperial troops. He was awarded the highest possible rank for a noble, *viz.* 7,000/6,000. He pursued Shāh Djahān to the Deccan, with a force under the titular command of Prince Parwīz and then marched across the empire to eastern India in order to expel Shāh Djahān from that region. He then returned with Parwīz to the Deccan. Although his enhanced power and prestige aroused much jealousy at the court, he was now appointed to Bengal. Provoked by certain demands for accounts and by the humiliation of his son-in-law, he suddenly carried out a coup (March 1626), capturing the person of Emperor Djahāngīr, who now appointed him *wakīl*. His power, however, came to an end within three months. He fled and was on the run when Djahāngīr died (1627).

Mahābat Khān in the meantime made his peace with Shāh Djahān, who after his accession (January 1628) appointed Mahābat Khān governor of Adjmēr and then in the same year sent him to the Deccan as viceroy. In 1629 he was appointed governor of Dihlī, and in 1632 again viceroy of the Deccan. Mahābat Khān won a signal success when he captured Dawlatābād in 1633, but lost much prestige when he failed before Parenda next year, being censured and recalled. He died in 1634 and was buried in Dihlī at the Kadamgāh of Shāh-i Mardān.

Mahābat Khān considered himself an opponent of both the dominant Īrānī and Tūrānī factions in the Mughal nobility; his troops consisted in a large part of Rādjputs. Though lacking a religious education, he was said to be skilled in astronomy and astrology, and to have embraced Shīʿīsm in his old age. His eldest son Amīn Allāh Mīrzāyī (Khān Zamāna) was also an important commander; and another son, Lahrāsp, rose to occupy high offices under both Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb, enjoying the title of Mahābat Khān II.

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2. Modern work: Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1962, 364-87.

(M. Athar Ali)

MAHALL (A., lit "place of alighting, settling, abode"), in the context of Islamic India, widely used in the sense of "palace pavilion" or "hall", and more particularly of private apartments in the palace, the *mahall sarā*—hence also a queen or consort. It seems not to have achieved the same currency in Iran. Here it appears as equivalent to Hindī *mandir*, *mandar* or *mandal*, sometimes replacing these in areas under strong Muslim influence such as Rādjasthān. Much palace terminology is Persian, though specialised Hindī terms like *ṭōdra* for a hall with three adjacent bays to doors, and *thradarī* for one with twelve (3 each side) are applied to Muslim buildings, the latter figuratively as "summer house". Considerations of their architectural development entails a review of the palace layout in which they were set.

i. Dihlī Sultanate. Though none of the Mamlūk palaces have survived, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*q.v.*) has left a description of the *Kughr-i Lāʿ* in Kīlʿa Rāy Pithorā [see DELHI] as used by Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6), comprising two great audience courtyards (*mashwar*) in sequence, with a closed building at the rear. In the first was an immense vestibule (*dihlīz*), and both were overlooked by a domed pavilion (*ḳubba*) near the gate, where the sultan sat to watch games (*Riḥla*, iii, 171). He writes of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's new palace (seen *ca.* 1333-41), the Dār Sarā at Djahān-panāh, to similar terms, noting the platforms (or cells? *dahlīzes*) built on either side of the *dihlīz* for the guard, a platform in the second court for the masters of ceremonies, and room for the people to sit, and beyond the third gate a vast hall of private audience, the Hazār

Ustūn, with painted timber columns supporting a finely-carved roof. Each gate had provision for musicians to signal the arrival of dignitaries, and the third was controlled by clerks who registered entry (*ibid.*, iii, 217–28). His use of *naqārahs* for both courts and the hall is ambiguous, but he later shows that the audience was covered by a great tent (*ḥarga* for P *bārgāh*) at festivals, at the Kushk i Laʿl both courts could be covered by canopies (*sāyasādān*) (*ibid.*, iii, 232, 233, 273). These successively more private areas, with formal guard posts in the first court, were to be essential features of Mughal palaces two centuries later as were raised pavilions and tentage. Of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk I's palace at Tughlukābād we learn that its tiles (*garmsīl*) were gilded so as to shine in the sun (*ibid.*, iii, 214). Reference to the hall flanking his tomb shows that masonry could be extensive, with sculpted *chaḍḍās* eaves above the lintels, sturdy pillars, and cross-bracket capitals reproducing earlier Hindu ones in timber. Fīrūz Shāh's description shows pictures and portraits to have decorated walls and doors. The remains of the palace of Fīrūz Shāh (752–90/1351–88) in his *kōṭlā* (see DELHI, 2) and J. A. Page's account, in *Memoir ASI*, lii, Delhi 1937) confirm the description by Shams i Sirāj ʿAfīf (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, trans iv, *mukaddama* 4). The Maḥall i Ṣaḥn-i Gīlīn was used for receiving dignitaries, the Maḥall-i Chadīdīā-yi Čabīn for court officials, and the Maḥall-i Bār-i ʿĀmm for public audience. The sitting of this fort along the Djamnā [*q.v.*] allowed the private apartments and the *mardān* to benefit from the cooler microclimate, the reflection and the view over the water. Its character can be inferred from the severe, utilitarian style typical of the reign, as seen at the Ḥawḍ i Khās (see DELHI, 2) with plain, battered towers flanking colonnades of double squared piers, vaulted cells, multiple bestlets, and a roof fine relieved by pyramidally hooded roofs on projecting *ḍharokhā* balconies, or an occasional dome. It was whitewashed for royal visits, presumably on stucco, and decorated with garden scenes (*ibid.*, iv, 5, and v, 2). The royal establishment extended to 36 *kār-khānas* handling its material needs.

The form thus established followed an international convention, for an axial recession of courts was used both in the Mongol palace at Khān Bālik (Peking) and in the dominant Muslim models at Baghdād (145/762-3) and Sāmarrā (*ca.* 221/836) [*q.vv.*]. The latter had conspicuous *īwāns* and culminated in a domed throne chamber, both notably absent in Hindustān, where they were replaced by trabeated columned halls derived from a long local tradition, through hypostyle palaces such as Cilla (8th-9th century A.D., *ASI*, xxi [1883], 9 ff. and pl. v) or the open verandahs of the Kōkā's Maḥall at Ranod (*ca.* 1000 A.D., *ASI*, ii [1871], 303 ff.), which already show the characteristic squared columns, crossed bracket capitals, lattices (*jālī*), merlons, and the eaves pent designed to shade the interior and throw off monsoon water. Muslim buildings were to combine these elements with the use of arches and vaults (the first cross vault so found at Tughlukābād) and articulate such halls into an ensemble. The elimination of the *chihil sutūn* as audience hall, perhaps under Fīrūz Shāh, facilitated the integration, though it was still used in camp. The *maḥall* as a setting for elaborate court ceremony (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 221-42) was distinct at this time from the *kushk*, a less formal pavilion, and the *sarāy*, or villa of a *malik* or *shaykh*.

b. Dakhan. At Bīdar [*q.v.*] the palace buildings enclosed in the south of the Fort represent the infusion of a largely Tughluḳid inheritance with direct Iranian influence in a gamut of formal structures that later evoked parallels in the North. Some of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] buildings are now disguised by Barīd Shāhī [*q.v.*] accretions, but most are attributed to Aḥmad Shāh Walī (838/1429 for nine years). They are of stone, faced with stucco and tilework, with finely carved jambs and archivolts of hornblende; traces of timber columns show they were once painted and gilded, on square hornblende bases. The great ruined court identified as the Dīwān i ʿĀmm (Hall of Public Audience) is nearly square, the southern three quarters paved for privileged access, with entry from east and west, and a hall placed centrally to the south seven bays wide by three deep, the middle bay being wider, this has a range of private rooms along the rear, and access to raised *ḍharokhās* facing the yard, probably for ministerial interview, at each end. The court was colonnaded, with an octagonal pool, fountains, and cascade, the upper storey of the hall opened through rhythmically spaced arches filled with terracotta *jālī* work. Tilework on the dados was mainly blue, with polychrome floral designs of Timūrid character, as at Gāzur Gāh (828/1425) on square units (see KĀSHĪ). (cf. G. Yazdani, *Bidar*, Oxford 1947, 62 & and pl. xxiii-xxx) An intermediate court, or *shāhgāh*, immediately to the north, with a multi-domed annexe, leads west into a third, inscribed as the Kaṣr-i Sulṭān, perhaps a hall of private audience, now known as the Takht Maḥall after the turquoise throne really housed in the public hall (*ibid.*, 8, and 66-77, pls. xxxi-xiii). Here too a loggia faced north across the yard above long steps, only three bays wide by two deep, but with wider spans at 5·03 m/16′6″. The broad central bay led to a magnificent octagonal royal hall, once domed 30.30 m/ca′ above the floor, on the caliphal model. Painted in vermilion and gold, it had Hindu niches, and fine tiling, some in relief, and a little in mosaic, framed by the massive arches. A varied but symmetrical complex of rooms around the court includes a *masjid* [*q.v.*] opening through three bays on the west side, and another octagon north of it behind an arcuate *shāhgāh*. The royal hall opens westward to a private court with a *tank*, alcoves, a *ṭabāra* hall (bedroom?) and an elaborate *ḥammām* [*q.v.*] on two levels. Most of the spaces are linked axially, and long rooms are flanked by service spaces in contrasting, smaller rooms; the surfaces are carefully articulated with recesses.

An east west axis links these to another series of courtyards, the main halls invariably facing northwards. The largest, the Laʿl Bāgh, runs north and south, with baths to the north, the Djāmiʿ Masjid along the west, and the three storeys of the Turkish Maḥall to the south, notable for panels of carved stucco (*ibid.*, 57-9, pls. xix-xxi) and multiple niches in the Gagan Maḥall, two courts are set side-by-side, and the halls are partially embedded in the masonry of the ramparts, with ranges of plastered vaults (*ibid.*, 60-2, pl. xxii) in a cluster of small but exquisite rooms rebuilt by ʿAlī Barīd (949 87/1542-79) as the Rangīn Maḥall, a loggia of three bays by two is prolonged by two enclosed bays at each end, and the roof is still upheld by squared timber pillars with tiered capitals in Hindu style, and deep brackets with pendant Hindu bosses at each step, but with arabesques carved on the sides and an early cusped arch where they meet. On the central axis, an arch of black stone inlaid with mother-of-pearl leads through a square

tiled anteroom to a star-shaped chamber inscribed as a *ghāh nishīn* (royal seat) or *khalwat gāh* (cabinet), with a cusped basin, and a semi-octagonal exedra projecting through the bastion. Such placing of retiring rooms behind loggias, the use of octagonal tower rooms, and the integration of water and architecture were to reappear in Shāhdjahān's schemes, perhaps following his successes in the Dakhan of 1039/1629-30. The use of evocative names became a convention among the rival rulers, attested in contemporary records.

The Gagan Mahallat Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] (968/1561) is an audience hall of a new but related type. An arched *ībāra* hall open to the north, once with two timber columns framing the wide central bay, is flanked by narrower rooms of the same depth, and stairs in the length of the rear wall led to a similar upper storey. In front of these rises a hall of double height opening through three immense arches; the central one spanning the full width of the *ībāra*, 60'9" / 18.5 m, provides a dramatic setting for the king in state, while those at the ends, the same height, effectively flout the composition (see Cousens, in *ASI, NIS* xxxvii [1936], pl. xvi-xvii). Ibrāhīm II 'Ādil Shāh adapted the form for his audience hall (1000/1591), now the Āthār Mahall, doubling the end rooms, adding a long hall with end galleries behind, and substituting four slender octagonal timber columns for the arches, reflected in a pool in markedly Iranian style (*ibid.*, pl. lxxvii-lxxx). This in turn was developed in Mahisur [*q.v.*]. The Sāt Manzil (*ca* 994/1585-6), an arched tower of five (*sic*) diminishing storeys, houses pools with small service rooms, an attractive environment behind wooden trellises (*ibid.*, pls. xxvi, xxx-xxxii).

iii. Mālwā. The surviving 9th/15th century buildings at Māndū [*q.v.*], formerly Shādiābad, reflect Tughluk influence but in a distinctly local manner, their dating remains uncertain. The plainness of fine ashlar surfaces, the proportions, and careful placing of openings within the mass, generate a robust and remarkably direct architecture ennobled by its restraint. It thus stands apart from the Hindu tradition, while owing it certain features. The great size of the fort allows the advantage of naturally beautiful sites. The Dīlhāz Mahall, extending 121 m down a causeway between two lakes, presents a range of arched openings to the path, overshadowed by a long *Ghaldjhat* halfway up the façade, and a register of blind arches above with a tiled parapet, as at Gwāliyār [*q.v.*], this suggests two storeys when in fact it conceals vaulting over the series of spacious halls inside, each with six domes alternately carved as lotus corollae. The pavilions ranged deftly along the skyline are *chhatrīs*, with pyramidally hipped Indian vaults, read from the lake as crowning massive towers broken forward from the front. Water is tanked at three levels, twice in pools with graciously curved stepped verges. More typically Muslim are the extensive use of pointed arches the three long, open halls linked by fobbios in between, and their symmetry about a central entry. The grouping of forms on the skyline is Islamic in its aplomb. A local and successful element is the use of long flights of steps to enhance the massing. The building was plastered and set off with blue and yellow tiles. The effect now is calm, but full of entertaining variety (see G. Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy* Oxford 1929, 63-8).

The *Darbār* hall nearby, the Hindōlā Mahall, is by contrast serious, but superbly accomplished. The walls of its T-shaped mass are emphasised by a very pronounced batter, and pierced so deeply by a range of recessed arches rising the full height that the masonry between reads as raking buttresses. The single hall is spanned by six arches carrying cross walls, whether the fallen roof was flat or, as Creswell suggested, vaulted like the Khān al-Mardjān at Baghdad (*Indian Antiquary*, xlvii [1918], 169 ff.), the conception of the audience hall as a closed volume is new. The transverse arm in two stories (integral, rather than an addition as Brown proposed) has a three-aisled hall in one wing above, with fine *dharōkhās* (one to the hall below), and an axial entry beneath (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 70-3). A similar but larger hall, "Gadā Shāh's Shop", ascribed to Mahmūd II (916-37/1510-31), is also roofless, but bears traces of triple longitudinal vaults. A third example is at Warangal [*q.v.*] in the Dakhan, attributed to Shītāb Khān *ca* 905/1500 (*Annual Report*, Hyderabad Archaeological Dept. 1923-6, 11-12). The Kūshk Mahall at Fathābād near Čanderī, identified as the seven-storied palace built *ca.* 849/1445 by Mahmūd I, has comparable transverse arches spanning two tall galleries which cross at right angles, dividing the square plan into four equal halls that open onto the galleries through three tiers of arcades, rather than the outside, a device for procuring shade and cooler air.

The Palace of Nāsir Shāh (*vulg.* Bāz Bahādur) at Māndū, dated 914/1508-9, is more orthodox with three courtyards, a lateral one for entry and two square ones on axis, their rooms set symmetrically behind arcades with *chadjdjās* overhead; in the larger, the alternately broad and narrow spans of a gallery are reflected in a pool, while overlooking a garden far below from a polygonal marble *dawkhā* projecting at the centre (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 92-7).

iv. Gudjarāt. In this rival kingdom, the palace at Sarkhēdj was also built along the stepped margins of an immense tank by Mahmūd I Bēgarā (863-917/1458-1511). The buildings are essentially trabeate, their colonnades united by the *chadjdjā* line. In the best preserved, the colonnade at ground level is matched by one below, with a single bay broken forward as a belvedere facing the water towards either end, the upper level, only one bay deep, opens through onto a courtyard flanked by blank walls. The structure is enlivened by subtle details, largely derived from Hindu prototypes, and an evident delight in building. Arches appear in a secondary role, as infilling in the belvederes, where the spandrels were once fretted. Open *bāradarīs* of 16 or 24 pillars and a hemispherical dome over each bay also rely on systems of lintels. At Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*], Mahmūd built another palace of seven stories (post 889/1484), the Sāt Manzil, in steps on the edge of a cliff, only the lower level remains.

v. The emergence of other forms may be glimpsed in the palace of Čihil Sutūn built at Dawnpur [*q.v.* for illustration] by Firūz Shāh's governor, where the square building surrounded by a verandah rises to a terrace carrying a large *chatrī* whose ridged vault has gently curving hips. A *Mardārī* attributed to Sikandar Lōdī at Sikandra (900/1495) (*ASI* OS, iv [1871-2], 99, cf. *ARASI* [1910-11], 94-6) may form the basis of the tomb of Maryam al-Zamānī (d. 1032/1623) square in plan, it is ventilated by four corridors crossing at right angles to form nine blocks of rooms, with a central entry on each face, and a flat roof over cross vaults, domes, and barrel vaults.

vi. Mughal. Buildings from Humāyūn's reign

(937-47/1330-40) are described by Khwāndamīr (*Kānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. M Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940, Bibl Ind no 760, 63 a, 68, 78) as a series of innovations, mainly incorporating astrological symbolism and a preoccupation with polygonal forms no doubt related to the Timūrid tradition. A portable timber palace in three stories, the Kasr-i Rawān, used at Āgra and Gwāliyār in 930/1533, was hexagonal and was elaborately painted in a different colour each side. He constructed a palace inside the Lōdī fort at Āgra (*q.v.*) and a Dawlat-khāna-yi Tilism on the bank of the Djamnā, built around a central octagonal reception hall with a sunken tank, flooded at will, and a central platform (cf Gulbadan Begam, *The history of Humāyūn*, ed and tr A Beveridge, London 1902, text 31-4, tr 118-24). A smaller octagon adjoined the north, with alcoves, and the *dīwān-khāna* the west facing the *ḥabīs* (*q.v.*), with a garden to the east. Above these were a further three rooms (*bālā-khāna*); the Khāna-yi Dawlat containing the ninefold Cingizid panoply, the Khāna-yi Sa'ādat for prayer, books and portfolios, and the Khāna-yi Murād with a jewelled bedstead. There was also a forecourt, *pīsh-gah*, where a throne could be set. Remarkably, internal stairs assumed no architectural importance until the end of the 18th century.

The one remaining building from the citadel of Purāna Kil'a, (see SHIR 2) begun by Humāyūn but finished by Shēr Shāh, is perhaps in the same tradition, as a two-storeyed octagon of sandstone crowned by a kiosk, about 18 m tall, the Shēr Mandal. The space inside rises as one volume, painted with coloured designs, punctuated by a gallery. It was used as a library and observatory.

A Mughal view of indigenous building may be found in Bābur's comment (935/1528) on the Palace of Mān Singh (1486-1516) at Gwāliyār (*q.v.*) Fort, that it was wonderful, but "sordidly subdivided and without regularity" compared to Timūrid models (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. A. Beveridge, Leiden and London 1905, fol. 340 ff.) Such over-compactness and lack of axial development were to be corrected.

vii. Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 (*q.v.*)) initiated a prolific programme of palace building when he was twenty-two. The camp, in which the court spent much time (see MANZIL) can be taken as an idealised palace plan, to be modified according to the site, but not achieved in solid form until the reign of Shāhdjahān. As described by Abu 'l-Fadl (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, *Ā'īn* 16-18), the royal precinct was a rectangle accessible from the western end, where a great forecourt, flanked by stables and a records office (*daftar khāna*) led up to a rectangle roped off for the court of public audience (*dīwān-khāna-yi 'āmm*); beyond this was a private audience hall (*dawlat-khāna-yi khāṣṣ*) within its own enclosed court, and then another court (*makhādī*) where the Emperor received his closest courtiers in the evening. Still further east, beyond a small guard court, lay the women's quarters (*ghusl-khāna*) with private dwellings, a hall, and a two-storied wooden oratory from which he received the acclaim of the people each morning in *darshan*. All lay on one axis, with a drum house (*nakar khāna*) far on the approach. Both camp and palace were a setting for a strict routine of ceremony and administration observed daily (see *Ā'īn*, i, nos. 72-4, Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, Oxford 1936, 65 ff.; Sir J Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1935, 19-21).

Akbar's first palace at Āgra (*q.v.*), the hunting lodge at Nagar Cayn near Kukrali, was started in 1564. From 972/1564-5 to 980/1572-3 Āgra Fort was rebuilt as Akbarābād, in red sandstone in place of the crumbling Lōdī brickwork, the massive ashlar was to characterise future Mughal work (see BURJ iii, 4). In this case, the optimum position along the eastern parapet overlooking the Djamnā and the main approach from the Dihlī Gate in the west allowed the favoured axis modified by extension along the river. There were "more than 500 buildings of masonry, after the beautiful designs of Bengāl and Gudjarat" (*Ā'īn*, tr ii, by H S Jarrett, Calcutta 1891, 180), and in 1626 Pelsaert confirms that it was built over like a city with streets and shops, princely buildings and residences, with *mahalls* for the ladies (ed W H Moreland and P Geyl as *Jahangir's India*, repr Delhi 1972, 3-4) leaving little room. This aesthetic eclecticism, consistent with the policy of *sulh-i kull* ("universal toleration") must have profited from an influx of craftsmen from both regions, then disrupted, and from Gwāliyār, recaptured in 965/1558. The synthesis is evident in the two buildings, known as the Djahāngīrī Mahall and the Akbarī Mahall (such names in India are unreliable) remaining from Akbar's private apartments, which seem to have extended to the Muthamman Burdj corner in a symmetrical group. Pelsaert (*loc cit.*) mentions the *mahall* of the Queen Mother, three others, and a Bangāli Mahall, with which one of these may be identified; if so, it was built before 977/1569 (see R. Froude Tacker, in *ASIAR* [1907-8], 8 28, but cf. Sir J. Marshall in *ASIAR* [1902-3], 62, and Nur Bakhsh in *ASIAR* [1903-4], 189-71). The trabeated 'Akbarī Mahall" ran in two stories round a square courtyard with flat roofs; a hall was set at the centre of three sides with an axial balcony on the west in the riverside *ḥabīs*, windows overlooking the water corresponded to doorways onto the courtyard, a scheme much used subsequently. The gridded exterior with blind niches is Bengālī in character, like that of the Dihlī Gate. This closed formal is repeated in the "Djahāngīrī Mahall" where many features of scale, construction and decoration show derivation from Gwāliyār, though the vigorous Hindu style is blended with Islamic arches on the upper floor, and lightened by *chajjās* and latticed balustrades, the interior is remarkable for dramatic brackets supporting the ceiling. The buildings east of this court are in a markedly more Iranian style, dominated by four-centred arches and alcoves, with slender columns to the portico, this elegance, and that of the entrance façade, resembles work of the early 1560s at Dihlī (the formal grouping of *iwāns* around a waterside terrace was reiterated at Māndū around the Nīl kanth shrine dated 982/1574-5). On the Shāh Burdj was a small pavilion, uniquely of marble.

Work on the Fort at Lāhawr (*q.v.*), in burnt brick, is recorded in 974/1566, and Akbar's hall of public audience (*dawlat-khāna-yi 'āmm*) was in use by 996/1587, with an open rectangular courtyard of 124 bays, as confirmed in a plan of the Sikh period. Its raised *jharōkhā*, from which the King held audience, survives as a projection from a former bracketed colonnade (cf scenes in the *Padshāh-nāma* in the Royal Library, Windsor, set in Āgra, showing a very similar arrangement; see B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of India*, Oxford 1981, fig. 127). The courtyard subsequently built by Djahāngīr immediately north of this, probably for private audience, completed this axial scheme up to the river Rāwī, the private apartments were to extend from there westward.

The most extensive palace remaining from Akbar's

reign, at Fathpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], was officially founded in 978/1572, and it seems that most of the work, all in red sandstone, was finished within a year. The trabeation allowed the prefabricated panelled technique essential to such rapid erection, and the stone was, as claimed, "wrought with the care of turning wood" in traditional Indian techniques apparently derived from Bayāna not far away (fieldwork by M. Shokoohy, 1981). The site on a ridge running northeast and southwest requires a layout in a series of steps to the south, culminating in the great mosque at the western (i.e. *kibla*) end near the house, *khānakāh*, and *masdjid* of Shaykh Salīm Čishtī. Nearby the oldest royal building, the Rang Mahall (976/1568-9) is traditional in its introverted courtyard plan, with colonnades in two storeys, but the fusion of Islamic and Hindu detail is experimental. The saint's own house (971/1563-4?) imitates a pastiche renamed in the main buildings; its stone-work is carved in imitation of a framed but with cabled angle shafts, perhaps as used in camp. The Dīwān-khāna yi 'Āmm, placed at the north of the ridge has a trabeate colonnade of 111 bays with a deep *chadjdjā* all round, and the royal *dīwānkhāna* is expanded in a pavilion of five bays broken forward into the court on a podium, with a hipped roof and fine *djālīs*. Its surprisingly modest scale is typical of the whole palace, where imaginative massing and exquisite carving achieve delight rather than grandeur. The organisation of the remainder of the palace, now weakened by the absence of the courtyard walls, must have been informal, with frequent lack of symmetry, overlapping masses, and half closed spaces, and an intentness on individual buildings which suggest that the architects as well as the craftsmen worked in a Hindu tradition (cf. Kumbhā Rāna's palace at Čitawr Fort, taken in 975/1568). The purpose of several buildings is uncertain, and their fanciful names are best used for reference alone. The 'Ankh Mičawlī" is a *tibira* flanked by two wings, themselves *tibāras* turned outwards, offering three aspects with double walls for insulation, and with the central roof strutted as at Āgra. The "Dīwān-i Khāss", a four-square building, contains a single column supporting a circular ostrade on astonishing radial brackets, joined to a peripheral balcony by catwalks, an embodiment of the *axis mundi* carrying the seat of the *tchakravartin* or world ruler. A group of buildings around the Anūp Tālāb, a square tank with a *tchabūtra* platform, may be compared with the camp *mahalla*; the colonnaded "Khāss Mahall" with its mezzanine is broken forward as at Sarkhēdj, and the *shāh-nishīn* above is a *sibādari* whose verandah is carefully articulated to the mass by alternately wide and narrow bays, under a roof carved to simulate tiles. A room with a raised throne platform has a *dīwānkhāna-yi darshan* in the rear overlooking the records office courtyard to the south (Rizvi and Flynn *op cit*, 24-40). The Daftar-khāna there is the first surviving statement of the classical Mughal pavilion form. A low podium carries a rectangular *tibāra* surrounded on three sides by broad *chadjdjās* over a colonnade of tall paired columns (outer and inner), grouped in fours to turn the corner, a wider bay accents the corner. The front doorways with arched, latticed lunettes are matched by a triad of windows at the back. The usual coved vault carries a flat roof terrace over the whole (*ibid*, 41-2). The principal Haram Sarāy, larger than those at Āgra, develops the courtyard plan on a single storey, the taller hall on each face rising through it, advanced between walls housing stairs to an upper storey, vaulted in keel form, two are roofed with azure tiles from Multān [*q.v.*]. A "Panč Mahall" of four diminishing rectangular floors topped by a *chatrī* forms a set of wall ventilated platforms, whose screens were destroyed in 1869-72 (*ibid*., 46-53). Broad expanses of paving set off these buildings throughout, and stone rings for tent ropes appear on parapets and at ground level. The awnings for festivals were of velvet, gold brocade, and gold embroidery. The sandstone was picked out in colour, the effect of which can still be seen in the "Nadīn Mahall" at Lakhnaw [*q.v.*].

The Fort at Adjmēr [*q.v.*], 978-81/1570-3, displays much stronger Iranian influence in a highly coherent, symmetrical plan. A strictly rectangular enclosure with a great octagonal bastion at each corner, and a single polygonal gateway broken out on the south, contains one building at the centre. This has a tall, three bayed *īwān* on all four faces, with paired square pillars supporting the *chadjdjā* and ceiling beams on cross brackets. Four square rooms fill the corners in two stories. The central space, which may have served for audience, is bridged by the upper storey, the lack of division between *mardāna* and *zanāna* is puzzling. The proportions are Persian, enhanced by panelling of the yellow brown Khattu limestone with simple pointed arches, whose archivolts are in the style of Mālwā as Khāndēsh, while the interior had tilework chased into geometric friezes.

At Allāhābād [*q.v.*], by the fort founded in 992/1583, only a *bārādarī*, the "Zanāna Palace", has survived. A peristyle of double columns surrounds a central hall, and the terraced roof is set off by latticed knobs.

viii. The buildings of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] at Āgra have been obliterated. His *dīwānkhā-yi darshan* is described as near the Shāh Burdj (later Muthamman Burdj), where he had marble halls built on three sides of Akbar's pavilion. The court of public audience was customarily divided by railings into three areas: that nearest the throne for the nobility, the next three steps lower for lesser officials, and the remainder for retainers. In his eighth year he introduced silver casings for the inner rails, the outer remained red. (A description cited by Nūr Bakhsh, in *ASIAR* [1903-4], 272, is based on a spurious ms.) His courtyard at Lāhawr [*q.v.* for plan], completed by Ma'mūr Khān in 1027/1617-18, is defined east and west by two ranges of single storeyed *tibāra* halls two and three aisles deep, alternating with smaller rooms, their tall porticoes recall those of Adjmēr. A pavilion to the north, perhaps contemporary, is also a three-bayed hall, flanked by two turned outwards as at Fathpūr, though with an arched verandah in front. The garden, centred on a square tank with fountains, introduces another element of the classical palace plan. This court was probably the private audience hall, then known as the Ghusl-khāna (bathroom) through an accident of nomenclature explained by 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhawrī (*Pādshāh nāma*, i, 148), there is a bath just to the west.

ix. In the reign of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], Akbar's *dīwānkhās* for public audience and the old private audience hall at Āgra were pulled down. "all abominations escaped into non-existence, and lovely things reached the zenith of perfection" (*ibid*., *Ir*., 236). If, as it seems, the replacements were built on the same sites, then the old private hall lay against the riverside wall ranged with the private apartments, with the public one in front,

at a Lāhawr. The latter was approached from the Dihlī Gate down the Mīnā Bāzār with its rows of shops and square *čahār sūķ*, and entered from the north on the cross axis by the Akbarī Darwāza. The Amar Singh Gate to the south was primarily for access to the private apartments, like the Hāthī Pōl at Lāhawr.

Shāhjahān adjusted this layout in his first year (1037/1628), he had ordered halls of forty columns (*čihil sutūn*) at Āgra, Lāhawr and Burhānpur [*q.v.*] to protect his nobles at public audience instead of the tents used previously. As that at Burhānpur is ruined, and that at Lāhawr only roughly reconstructed, the hall (*īwān*) at Āgra, renamed the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm, is the remaining prototype for his court buildings, which thereafterward follow its format as an arched, hypostyle loggia, rectangular in plan and set on a podium, with a flat roof, *čhajjas*, and *čhatrīs* at the corners. The work, in red sandstone dressed with polished marble stucco, and with details picked out in gold, is strikingly different from its forerunners. It retains such features as doubled peripheral columns, quadrupled at the corners, and dodecagonal shafts with linked *muḳarnas* capitals and pyramidal bases. The innovations are the preference for a marble surface, the "structural" use of cusped arches in tall framed spandrels, the medium height of the columns, and a consonance of curvilinear detail; the construction is actually still trabeate. Here the hall, nine bays by three, is open on three sides, and arcades on both axes intersect to support coved roof panels. A central, raised *ḏharōkhā* opens through three rounded trefoil arches in the rear wall, its marble intricately inlaid with pietra dura (*parčīn kārī* [*q.v.*]). The great courtyard is surrounded with an arcade of simpler cusped arches. The silver rail now fenced the loggia, and the red rail was of stone.

The courtyard of the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ, dated 1045/1635, is confined on three sides by two storeys of cusped arcades serving rooms for the treasury. the upper floor continues as an open riverside terrace to the east, and the audience hall is now turned at right angles to face down this, with its back to the private apartments. It has no internal columns, being smaller, and backs on to an inner hall (*īwān-i-khāṣṣ*) through three pointed arches. This has a great alcove (*shāh-nishīn*) at either end. The marble of both spaces is panelled above florally carved dados, matched by floral *ḏāḏīs* in arched clerestories, and netted coving surrounds ceilings once plated in gilded silver leaf. The terrace was used at night baths (see HAMMĀM) at its end were set with glass mosaic. Just behind this hall, the Shāh Burj, bastion was rebuilt with an octagonal vaulted chamber in two storeys, the Muṯhammam Burj, used for conference with ministers. Below, a balcony surrounds a central aped cell which opens on the landward side to a matching *shāh-nishīn* with a foliate pool facing a terrace screened by exquisite arched *ḏāḏīs*; above is a *chatrī* with a gilded dome. Beneath the audience hall is a *ṭaḥ-khāna*, the Shīsh Mahall, of two rooms in glass mosaic with a cascade and running water a cool and gently lit *sardāb* [*q.v.*].

Immediately south of this complex is an extension of the riverside terrace carrying the Ārāsṭgāh (bedchamber), built in the same idiom but with piers instead of columns. In front is a pool with boldly sculpted trefoil margins, and on either side, a flawlessly simple screen, behind which is a *shāh-nishīn* pavilion with the high arched, ridged roof derived from Bengal, stopped by a hipped dome at each end, and gilded. The northern one, in marble, was the Bangla-yi Darshan, which replaced the earlier *ḏharōkhā*, followed by a *bangla* tent on the site. These symmetrical but contrasting masses formed a new type of composition, they face a *ṭaḥ bāgh* below with its original parterres, surrounded by the harem quarters in two stories, served by a balcony, and with a *shāh-nishīn* on each axis. The new aesthetic included three mosques of appropriate sizes for the two audience halls and the court.

At Lāhawr Fort [*q.v.* for plan], Shāhjahān's buildings were coeval with those at Āgra, beginning with a very similar Čihil Sutūn. The suite of private apartments set within the great Shāh Burj, *ca.* 231'/40 m across internally, was completed in 1041/1632. It is more accomplished in the Iranian linkages of its planning than in elevation, where it is unresolved. The small *jamā-khāna* is flanked by domed octagonal rooms leading to semi-octagons with apses filling the angles (plan in E. La Roche, *op cit*, v, 202). The *bangla* "Nawlakha" in one side of the court, a *dalān* with eaves curved on both axes, is possibly the first of the genre (internal work above the dado is Sikh work). The royal bedchamber (*Ākʰābgāh*) lay behind a range of shallow rooms facing the Burj (*Pādshāh-nāma*, i, 223-5). Eastward of this group, along the river front, are three further courts: one opening to the entrance yard, *ṭawīl-i dyōrhī* and the Hāthī Pōl, one marked Khilwat-khāna on the Sikh map (not Khalwat as cited by Vogel) which may have been harem quarters, with baths, a small mosque, and a small marble *bangla* on the parapet dated 1055/1645, and one with ranges grouped around a *ṭaḥ bāgh* including the Chīnī Kʰānagāh believed to be one of the buildings for Ākʰābgāh and *ghusl khāna* (see viii above) ordered in 1043/1633-4 (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, cited by Nūr Bakhsh, *op cit*, 1902, 223-4). Jahāngīr's court ends the row, thus reversing the Āgra plan. At Aḏjmēr, the five white marble pavilions along the margin of the Ana Sāgar lake (1047/1637) show the ides of the waterside terrace at its most perfect, as the climax of the Dawlat Bāgh, the new style is at its most precise, though the column groupings recall Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. The prominent Hindu brackets are found too in the black marble pavilion carried out by Ẓafar Khān at Shālamār (formerly Fayḍbakhsh) in Kashmīr in 1039/1630 [see SHALAMĀR].

The Lāl Kiʾṭa at Dihlī [*q.v.* for plan and details], being founded *de novo* in 1048/1638, allowed free development of a riverside palace within the walled format of a rectangle set along the Diwānat to the east. The main approach axis from the Lāhawr Gate in the west passes through a long, vaulted bazaar street with an open octagonal court, of Iranian pattern, to a great square guard court, with a tank at its centre and a *nawbat-khāna* over a triple gate at the far side. This led to the still larger courtyard, a rectangle set athwart this axis and surrounded by arcades (*īwāns*) of separate cells for the *umarāʾ*, serving the Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿĀmm opposite. Neither court is extant. The north and south sides of the guard court received the transverse axis of an open arcaded street, with a canal running from the southern Dihlī Gate. Beyond the audience hall, the main axis ended in a third court in front of the Imtiyāz Mahall (Rang Mahall) on a riverside terrace, the first of a line of harem buildings extending south along the cross axis of the Nahr i Bihisht canal, once fronting garden courts that

provided privacy and accommodation. To the north, however, a group of administrative buildings was inserted on the terrace, offset to the left of the main axis, behind their own courts, an arrangement probably intended to combine the advantages of the mirror-image with easier access for the emperor to both halls.

The new building types are elaborated. The public audience hall in red sandstone, once plastered, still has the nominal forty columns, but the detail is more florid, a raised *ghariḳhā* recess under a round arch has a (later?) *jawāla* of marble advanced forwards. The intīyāṭ Maḥall has three aisles of intersecting cusped arches on cruciform piers, the canal runs down the centre between vaulted rooms at the corners, which form visual stops. *In the* Shāh Maḥall *(now Dīwān-i Khāṣ), also pierced,* the canal is marked by the insertion of narrower and lower bays in the end elevations of the hall and its encircling peristyle, the peacock throne was once housed here. The Khāṣ Maḥall (dated 1058/1648), comprising private apartments (Khwābgāh) linked to the Muṯhamman Burdj, faces each of these with a corresponding elevation. The later Mughal style is represented in the Shāh Burdj pavilion, with baluster columns, depressed arches, and an upward arch of the *chadjdjā* over the centre bay (see plan in Reuther, *op. cit.* pl. xv).

x Further elaboration of these elements can be seen in the Rādjpūt work at Ambēr under the direct influence of Āgra and Dihlī, and in the Djāt palaces of Dīg (*ca.* 1725) near Bharatpūr. The transition to the frivolities of later Mughal palaces is marked by the Kudsiyya Bāgh at Dihlī, built for the mother of Aḥmad Shāh (1161-7/1748-54), of which fragments remain (cf. a print by T. Daniell, *Oriental scenery*, London 1795, i, 3). It was built rapidly from brick and plaster, with applied stucco ornament, the river elevation is in two storeys of arcading, blind below, and with balustered openings on to her apartments above. Octagonal towers at each corner are fully battered above, with cells set on lotus calyces, and capped by bulbous semidomes with vestigial *bangla* eaves; these and other features form the vocabulary of subsequent domestic architecture at Lakhnaw [*q.v.*]. The tradition was to continue with greater vigour in the gradual accretions of Rādjpūt palaces, and in Sikh buildings, until the present century.

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MAḤALLA (A.), a noun of place from the verb *ḥalla*, which means ontably "to untie (a knot, luggage, etc.)", and by extension, "to make a halt", whence the meaning of "a place where one makes a halt, where one settles (for a longer or shorter time)".

This term constitutes the first element of names of towns or villages in Egypt, where a hundred places were designated by an expression formed from Maḥalla followed by an adjective or a proper noun, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak cites more than thirty of them in al-*Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda* (xv, 21 ff.), apart from the city of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [*q.v.*].

Maḥalla also took on the meaning of a "quarter of a town" [see MADĪNA], especially in Turkish (see MAḤALLE), Persian and Urdu. Dozy (*Suppl.* s.v.) even sees in the name of the Jewish quarter of the towns of North Africa, the *mallāḥ*, a metathesis of *maḥalla* (but cf. MALLĀḤ).

Furthermore, the original meaning of "a place where one makes a halt" was preserved in the Maghrib (with a pl. *aḥāl*) to designate a movable camp, then, by extension, the troops on campaign within the territory at least nominally dependent on the sovereign who commands them or entrusts the command to the heir apparent, another member of the family or, exceptionally, to a non-armed man commander. This change in the meaning appears quite early, since it was attested under the Ḥafṣids (see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 90) in Tunisia, where, as in Morocco, before the institution of the protectorate, expeditions so-named were organised periodically. In Tunisia, the *maḥalla* (in French, *mehalla*) was principally formed from auxiliaries levied more or less easily among the tribes, it used to leave the capital following a ceremony of which we possess some detailed descriptions (see e.g. V. Serres and M. Lasram, in *RT* [1895], 333, Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1967, 303), and it was

Fig. 1. Māndū, "Dhahāz Mahall" from southeast (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 2. Ajmēr, Dawlat Bagh Pavilion on Āna Sagar Lake (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 3. Āgra Fort, Dawlat-khāna-yi Khāṣ u ʿĀmm, "Diwān-i ʿĀm" from southwest (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig 4 Āgra Fort, Ārāmgāh, "Khāṣṣ Mahall" over Angūrī Bāgh from west (Photo P A Andrews)

Fig 5. Āgra Fort, "Jahāngīrī Mahall", exterior, land front. (Photo P. A Andrews)

Fig 6 Āgra Fort, "Jahāngīrī Mahall", interior, south hall (Photo P A. Andrews)

generally received with marks of honour by the subject tribes who, moreover, hated to see it strike camp, for it was they who had to provision the troops on campaign

The *maḥalla* constituted an instrument of government. It performed in effect a triple function: to consolidate the authority of the sovereign over the provinces, to ensure the levying of taxes and to suppress rebellions or the insubordination of local chiefs. In the ordinary way, it performed a simple route march, but the collection of taxes sometimes proved difficult and necessitated more than a simple demonstration of force, when the launching of a *maḥalla* had been provoked by the agitation of a tribe, it was settled in its territory, from which it put pressure on the population; finally, when serious troubles broke out, real war operations had to be mounted against the rebels, as for example in 1864 (see Kh. Chater, *Insurrection et répression dans la Tunisie du XIXe siècle*. *La Maḥalla de Zarrouk en Sahel (1864)*, Tunis 1978).

In Morocco, the *maḥallas* performed almost the same functions as in Tunisia, with this difference, however, that a good part of the territory totally escaped the authority of the sultan, who was furthermore constrained in organising one since, from Fez or Meknès, he used to make his way to his southern capital, Marrakesh, via Rabat

In a general fashion, the Moroccan *maḥalla* comprised elements of the three corps of the regular army (see MAYZAN), to which were added some contingents designated by the name of *ḥarka* (*ḥaraka*) and supplied by tribes subject to the sultan. The latter formed the vanguard (or the rearguard where an attack on the rear was repulsed) and explored the terrain, spreading out over a wide area, then came the regular troops charged with protecting the sovereign (who rode under a parasol) and his entourage, who preceded the standards and musicians.

At its resting place the camp contained in its centre the tents of the Sultan, his wives and eunuchs, surrounded by a linen screen, which in Tunisia, bore the Berber name *afrag* (transcribed as *afrāg* [*q.v.*]). Outside this enclosure were placed the ministers, secretaries, musicians, around whom the troops formed a square; within this apparatus, wandering merchants established a market, where all kinds of articles and *victuailles* were to be found, for provisioning was not ensured by regular supervision, it was the tribes who had to supply what was called the *mūna* (*ma'ūna*), i.e. the provisioning, and it was not uncommon for this to be insufficient, in spite of the sacrifices of the populations subject to this obligation, which often reduced them to misery. Nevertheless, some of them preferred to remain dissident, at the risk of possibly seeing a *maḥalla* settle on their territory and help itself to their flocks and cereal resources without pity

Most of the Europeans who visited Morocco before the Protectorate had occasion to describe a *maḥalla*, in particular the one mounted to suppress the rebellion of Bu Ḥmāra [*q.v.*], but the richest source with reference to this is the work of Dr. L. Arnaud, *Au temps des "Mahallas"*, IHEM, Notes et Documents, fasc. no. xii, Casablanca 1952.

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(Ch. Pellat)

AL **MAḤALLA AL KUBRĀ** or MAḤALLA MAṢR is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Ṭanṭa. It lies on the Turʿat al-Miāh canal, a branch of the Baḥr Shibīn.

In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with Maḥalla (see these listed in Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Kāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya* Cairo 1953-68, i, 404-9) the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty. Maspero and Wiet identify it with the Coptic Thabairi (Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, 261), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Maḥalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Coptic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Ṣāliḥ on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town. The earliest author who knew a town called al-Maḥalla or al-Maḥalla al-Kabīra is al-Mukaddasī (55, 194, 196, 200), he tells us that it was a town of al-Rīf built in two parts, one called Sandafā (or Sandafā), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (200) seems to be an error. Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Maḥallat Maḥrūm (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* Brit. Libr. ms.). Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 158, calls the town simply al-Maḥalla and knows a canal called after it. Yāḳūt's statements are confused, for he speaks of a town called Maḥallat Dakalā and of another Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn (iv, 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place. Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn in Yāḳūt—which he also calls al-Maḥalla al Kubrā—forms one town with Sandafā and on the other hand he says that Maḥalla Dakalā between al-Ḳāhira and Dimyāṭ is the largest of the Maḥallas that he knows (cf. also Abu 'l-Fidā', ii, 1be), while the geographer al-Dimashḳī (231) knows Maḥalla Dakalā as the capital of the *kūra* of Dakahlia, Ibn Duḳmāḳ (v, 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little viziership" (*al-wizāra al-ṣughrā*). Under the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ's administrative reorganisations at the end of the 8th/14th century, al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā became the centre of the *wilāya* of the Gharb, under an *amīr ṭablkhāna* (see H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern II Das Delta*, Wiesbaden 1982, 311, 519)

The name Maḥallat Sharḳiyūn is again found in al-Maḳrīzī (ed. Wiet, ii, 207). It is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the 4th/10th century onwards. It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although ʿAlī Pāsha Mubārak quotes some events that took place there, from al-Maḳrīzī and al-Djabartī. In Egypt in the 19th century the town had to give way to Ṭanṭa, which became the capital of the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Gharbiyya, while al-Maḥalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area; ʿAlī Mubārak estimates its inhabitants at 50,000, while the 1914 Baedeker gave it only 33,500. It is at present a centre of the cotton trade, raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories. Of the many individuals who bore the *nisba* al-Maḥallī, the most celebrated is Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī [*q.v.*], who was born here.

Bibliography Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1918, 164 and the bibliography there given; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, Būlāḳ 1305, 18-25; Ramzī, *op. cit.*, ii/2, 10, 15-26

(J. H. Kramers[*])

MAḤALLĀTĪ, Āḳā Khān, Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, last of the Mirzā Ismāʿīlī *imāms*

to reside in Iran and the first of them to bear the title of Āghā (less commonly but more correctly, Āḳā) Khān. Born in 1219/1804 in the village of Kahak near Maḥallāt in central Iran, he succeeded to the imāmate in 1235/1817 when his father, Shāh Khalīl Allāh, was murdered in Yazd. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the Ḳād̲j̲ār ruler, amply compensated the young imām. His lands at Maḥallāt were extended by royal decree, he was given a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in marriage, and he was made governor of Kum, despite his extreme youth. With this appointment came the title Āḳā Khān, subsequently used as a hereditary title by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imāms.

Āghā Khān Maḥallātī led an apparently loyal and tranquil existence until the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1250/1834, and the favour with which the court regarded him was confirmed when the new ruler, Muḥammad Shāh, appointed him governor of Kirmān. But when, in 1252/1836, an attempt was made to replace Maḥallātī with Firūz Mīrzā, a Ḳād̲j̲ār prince, he forcefully resisted his dismissal and embarked on a career of rebellion that ended with his fleeing to India by way of Afghānistān. Despite initial success, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī was soon obliged to withdraw to the citadel at Bam where he surrended after a siege lasting fourteen months. There followed eight months of captivity in Kirmān and a period of retreat at the shrine of Shāh ʿAḥd al-ʿAẓīm before he was able to plead for mercy at the court. He was pardoned on condition that he retire to Maḥallāt. This he did, but in the space of two years he gathered there an army of Ismāʿīlīs and non-Ismāʿīlī mercenaries that enabled him to resume his rebellion. Claiming that he wished to go to Bandar ʿAbbās in order to embark for the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī left Maḥallāt in Radjab 1256/September 1840, striking out with his force south-east across the desert to Yazd and Kirmān. Again he won a number of preliminary engagements, but in 1258/1842 he was decisively worsted in a large battle outside Kirmān and soon after he crossed into Afghānistān.

Āghā Khān Maḥallātī's motives for rebelling against the Iranian central government are unclear. They may have been connected in part with rivalries surrounding the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfī order. Despite the paradox involved to an Ismāʿīlī imām's submission to the guidance of a Ṣūfī shaykh, Maḥallātī was the murīd of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, a claimant to leadership of the Niʿmatullāhī order. When another Niʿmatullāhī affiliate, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, who was Muḥammad Shāh's chief minister, sought to displace Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī espoused the cause of his master with vigour. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī is said to have avenged himself by dismissing Maḥallātī from the governorship of Kirmān, and Maḥallātī to have responded by rebelling (see Masʿūd Mīrzā, *Sargud̲h̲asht-i Masʿūdī*, Tehran 1325/1907, 257-8). It is also possible that the British encouraged him to rebel, for at the time of his second uprising an Iranian army was advancing on Harāt in defiance of British wishes, and a diversion of Iranian attention to the south was clearly welcome in London (see *Correspondance relating to Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1839, 64)

Maḥallātī's links with the British, whom he calls "the people of God" (*ahl-i Allāh*) in his memoirs (*Ṯ̲ikrat-i Ḥāl*, ed Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, Tehran 1325 sh /1946, 56), become fully evident with his arrival in Afghānistān. He was assigned a daily allowance by the British force occupying Kandahār, and his troops aided in the evacuation of the British garrison which took place soon after his arrival.

Accompanying the British to Sind, he continued to supply them with mercenary services, and was instrumental in securing the cession of Karachi to the British by Nāṣir Khān, ruler of Kalāt [see KILĀT] (William Napier, *History of Sir Charles Napier's administration of Scinde*, London 1851, 75)

After a brief stay in Calcutta, during which the British authorities fruitlessly tried to secure him a pardon and safe return to Iran, Āghā Khān Maḥallātī took up residence in Bombay, where he acquired extensive properties and began to accumulate a vast fortune. In this undertaking he was significantly aided by a ruling, handed down by the Bombay High Court in 1866, that placed all the community property of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in the name of their imām and under his absolute control. Maḥallātī died in April 1881, and was buried in a lavish shrine at Ḥasanābād in the Mazagon area of Bombay. He was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, Āḳā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II.

Bibliography. Āghā Khān Maḥallātī wrote an autobiography, *Taʾrīk̲h-i ʿIbrat-afzā*, which was first published in Bombay in 1278/1861, and reprinted in 1325 sh/1946 by Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī in Tehran. A Gudjarātī translation of this work exists. W Ivanow has cast doubt on the authenticity of the *Taʾrīk̲h-i ʿIbrat-afzā*, but his arguments are not convincing (Ivanow, *Ismaili literature: a bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 148-9) Other sources: H Algar, *The revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81; A J. Chunara, *Noorum Mubin, or the sacred seed of God: a glorious history of Ismaʿili imams* [in Gudjerātī], Bombay 1951, 401-23, Muṣṭafā Ghālib, *Aʿlām al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1964, 214-29, idem, *Taʾrīk̲h al-Daʿwa al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1953, 267-9; J N Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953, 364-70, B Lewis, *The Assassins*, New York 1968, 125-17, French tr , Paris 1982, 50-1; Zawahir Noorally, *The first Aga Khan and the British*, 1838-1868, M A. thesis, University of London 1964; Nasrollah Fourjavady and P L Wilson, *Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs*, in *SI* xli (1975), 124-35 (H ALGAR)

MAḤALLE a term commonly used in Ottoman administrative parlance for a ward or quarter of a town As listed in the Ottoman registers [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ], the *maḥalles* are of various kinds Characteristically, the Ottoman *maḥalle* consisted of a religious community grouped around its mosque (or church or synagogue) and headed by its religious chief

In addition to its place of worship, the *maḥalle* normally had its own market, school and water fountain these normally being supported by pious endowments In many provincial towns, the *maḥalle* also had its own outer wall with a limited number of controlled points of access Often the *maḥalle* had its own militia and some form of internal police At times of weakened central authority, rivalries and even armed clashes between *maḥalles* were not uncommon The strong sense of corporate identity of the *maḥalle* is also indicated in a number of other ways, eg for example in processions and ceremonies, with music, torches and flags These were frequently linked with the Ṣūfī brotherhood [see ṬARĪḲA] with which the inhabitants of the *maḥalle* were associated.

Often the *maḥalles* bear ethnic or denominational names, e g of Kurds, Turkomans, Christians, Jews, where Christians and Jews are numerous they may

be subdivided by communities, e.g. Orthodox, Copts, Armenians, or, in the case of Spanish Jews, by their cities or provinces of origin. While many quarters are inhabited by homogenous ethnic, religious, or, sometimes, occupational groups, this is not always so, and the registers list many quarters in which different elements live side-by-side. The quarters inhabited by Sunnī Muslims are normally designated by some topographical name, often that of the main mosque of the quarter. The listing of the adult male inhabitants of the quarter often begins with the *Imām* and other religious functionaries, and ends with an indication of the numbers of religious and other tax-exempt (e.g. blind, and or maimed) persons. In many dealings with authority, the *Imām* of the mosque, or his equivalent, was the representative head of the *maḥalla*. In some documents, the *maḥalla* appears to be headed by a *shaykh*, responsible to and appointed by the Ottoman authorities, possibly on the recommendation of the inhabitants of the quarter. In 1242/1826 a new system was introduced, with the election of a *mukhtār* (q.v.) as headman for urban districts as well as villages.

Bibliography: A. Raymond, *Quarters and movements populaires au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, in P. M. Holt, (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 105-26; idem, *Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratiques au Caire au XVIIIème siècle*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 58-103; Nawāl al-Messīri Nadun, *The concept of the ḥāra as historical and sociological study of al-Sukhayriyya*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xv (1979), 313-28; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton, N.J. 1978, 13-14, 34-41. See further MADĪNA, and the articles on individual cities especially ISTANBUL. (Ed.)

AL-MAḤALLĪ, Abū 'Alī Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī, Egyptian scholar who was born and died in Cairo (b. 791/1389, d. 1 Muḥarram 864/18 October 1459). He is known above all as co-author of the famous Qur'ān commentary called the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* because it was completed by another Jalāl al-Dīn, the famous al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505 [q.v.]) who had been his pupil for some time. According to the latter, al-Maḥallī had commented on the sūras from XVIII (*al-Kahf*) to CXIV (*al-Nās*), as well as I (*al-Fātiḥa*) and a few verses of II (*al-Baḳara*).

Al-Maḥallī, who earned his living as a trader, is said to have had such an acute intelligence that it could "pierce a diamond" and a strict morality so rigorous that he attacked abuses of all kinds and refused the office of chief *ḳāḍī* when it was offered to him. He taught law in the two Mu'ayyadiyya and Barṭūṭiyya *madrasas*, and furthermore utilised his wide and varied knowledge in *ḥadīth*, grammar, logic, *uṣūl*, etc., in a series of works and above all commentaries, none of which, except for the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, have been published, but of which various mss. are extant, since they had a certain success in scholarly circles. These include *al-Badr al-fāʾiḳ fī ḥall Durar al-ghawāṣṣ*, comm. on the *Durar* of al-Subkī [q.v.], of which there exist (as also of others of his works) several mss. in the B.N. Paris (see also Brockelmann, II, 89, II^S, 109, the Baghdādī journal *al-Mawrid*, i/1-3, 212, ii/1, 229, iii/3, 287, v/2, 244), this *sharḥ* was itself made the subject of glosses by al-Walīlī (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 291) and by al-Lakṭānī (see Brockelmann, II^S, 109). One should further mention a commentary on the *Burda al al-Būṣīrī* [q.v. in Suppl.] (see Brockelmann, I, 265, II^S, 309, S I, 69); one on *al-Waḥīd al-nāhawī* by Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya [q.v.] (see Brockelmann, II^S, 138, S II, 127); one on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of *al-Nawawī* [q.v.] (see Brockelmann, I^2, 497); *al-Kawl al-mufīd fī 'l-Nīl al-za'īd* (collection of verses, quotations, also, in part, after al-Mas'ūdī, see Brockelmann, II, 114, II^S, 138), *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* (see Brockelmann, II, 114, II^S, 138, S II, 127; cf. M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans la Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 40); and a commentary on *al-Waraḳāt fī uṣūl al-dīn* by al-Djuwaynī [q.v.] (see Brockelmann, I 389, I^S, 487).

Bibliography: The most detailed biography of al-Maḥallī is in Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 232, borrowed by Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 303-4; see also Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, ii, 39-42; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, i, 269; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjāza*, § 190, 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, 21; Brockelmann, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

MAḤAMMAD al-Ḥādjdj [see al-Dila', in Suppl.].

MAHARI or **MAKARI** [see Kotoko].

al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī (a.) "merits and faults", a literary genre which developed in the course of the first centuries of the Islamic period, having originated within the Arabo-Muslim cultural heritage, although some scholars (Inostrancev, *Iranian influence on Muslim literature*, tr. from Russian by G. K. Nariman, Bombay 1918, 79-85; G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte des älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, 37-8; M. Massé, *De genre littéraire dihat en arabe et en persan*, in *CM*, iv [1961], 137; I. Muhammadi, *al-Adab al-fārisī fī ahamm adwārihi wa-aghrāḍihi al-'āmma*, Beirut 1967, 136-7) have concluded, ill-advisedly, that it was inspired by an ancient Iranian model *shāyist na-shāyist* ("auspicious/inauspicious"). This period witnessed the proliferation of debate, a genre well-known among the Arabs before the advent of Islam (*munāẓarāt* and *mufākharāt* bragging contest; see al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1952, iii, 33, 55-6, M. Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, Cairo 1924, i, 278-307; A. al-Hāshimī, *Dīwān̲ al-adab*, Cairo 1969, i, 234-37, 237-54; Massé, *op. laud.*, 137-47; T. al-Ḥadjīrī, *al-Dīḥāj*, Cairo 1962, 41-58; Sh. Dayf, *al-'Aṣr al-'abbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1972, 457-64, al-'*Aṣr al-'abbāsī al-thānī*, Cairo 1975, 535-40; I. Gérès, *Un genre littéraire arabe, al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, Paris 1977, 6-12). Two categories of debate may be distinguished:

1. Theological debates (*munāẓarāt*), where the Mu'tazilīs were pre-eminent, not only in their combat with other sects and religions, but also in their internal dialectic, prompted, no doubt, by their admiration for plausible reasoning and influenced by the Sophists and by Greek philosophers in general. They made use of dialectic as a very efficacious instrument of analysis, a means of distinguishing absolute truth from relative truths.

2. Secular debates (*mufākharāt*, *munāfarāt*) on a broad range of subjects coming to the fore in a new civilisation loaded with contrasting elements, particularly the conflict between the Shu'ūbīs and the believers in the supremacy of the Arabs, among whom al-Djāḥiẓ (see Gérès, *op. laud.*) is a distinguished example. The antagonists were numerous. Some of them exploited every opportunity for debate, even on trivial questions, a fact which led al-Djāḥiẓ (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 11-25, vi, 7-8) to

describe them as *aṣḥāb al-ḥayawānāt*, declaring that he had no involvement with them.

This state of affairs inevitably had the effect of throwing doubt on the real worth of every idea and every concept, especially in a milieu where rationalism and Greek influence were the dominating forces. This fact was to influence ideas and literature, both in form and in content, most of all among the rationalists and in the case of al-Djāḥiẓ especially.

In his writings, this author shows an expert knowledge of the milieu, in all its aspects and contradictory tendencies. The characteristics of the milieu become associated with ideas borrowed from Greek philosophy, and it is these which must have led al-Djāḥiẓ to the concept which enable him to reply both to dualists and to determinist Muslims and which was to be one of the fundamentals of his doctrine: the relativity of good and evil in this world and the necessity of their co-existence for the optimum benefit (*al-aṣlaḥ*) of creation and especially for intelligent life.

The desire to illustrate and popularise his relativist conception of good and evil induces him to prepare, on the basis of the controversies of his time, a fairly long literary text where there is discussion of the merits and faults of the cock and the dog (*maḥāsin al-dīk wa-masāwiḥ, wa-manāfiʿ al-kalb wa maḍārruh*). This is presented to the reader in the form of a debate between two highly distinguished Muʿtazilīs. One of them (al-Naẓẓām (*q.v.*)) favours and defends the cock (*ṣāḥib al-dīk*), while the other (Maʿmar (*q.v.*)) favours and defends the dog (*ṣāḥib al kalb*), both are vehemently criticised by a certain accuser (*ṣāʾiḥ*) who also censures the two animals and enumerates their vices.

It is not difficult to prove that this innovative debate is the invention of al-Djāḥiẓ himself, seeking out the merits and faults of the cock and the dog and simultaneously prompting the replies made to the accuser (see Gérès, *op. laud.*, 27, 34). He offers this controversy to the reader in a very arousing and attractive literary form. He is the first to present the opportunity of reading, in a book of *adab*, a text of reasonable length commenting on the *maḥāsin* and the *masāwi* of the subject under discussion. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not confine himself to talking of the cock and the dog: he exposes the merits and faults of many other objects known in his time, such as the pig, the monkey, the eunuch and fire (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 36, i, 105 77, iv, 55, v, 5; Gérès, 44 5, 53-4).

With the aid of these examples he aims to convince his readers that everything is relative. And this, he hopes, will make his task easier when he comes to expounding and explaining theoretically and logically, in the course of literary texts discussing the *maḥāsin* and *masāwi* of the cock and the dog, his thesis on the relativity of good and evil with reference to creatures and the necessity of their co-existence, thus proving that they are intrinsically good, in relation to creation and insofar as they are works of God. This enables him simultaneously to destroy the dualist thesis and to prove two of the fundamental Muʿtazilī principles, *al-tawḥīd* and *al-taʿdīl* (divine unity and divine justice) with everything that proceeds logically therefrom, and most significantly of all, free will (see J. Gérès, *Quelques aspects de la pensée muʿtazilite d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *SI*, iii (1960), 73-5). It should be emphasised that this philosophical treatise is presented in the form of a direct response by al-Djāḥiẓ to the attacks mounted by the accuser against the two Muʿtazilīs his having discussed the merits and the faults of the dog and the cock (*Ḥayawān*, i, 203-4. *cf.* Gérès, 33-54).

The method which consists of praising or censuring a certain object is thus nothing more than a logical and natural evolution from debate, owing to the contribution of al-Djāḥiẓ who sought to use it for a theological purpose. This is why the affirmation of the existence of good and of evil (*maḥāsin* and *masāwi*) in every thing is imbued, in his work, with a philosophical and theological significance: all is relative and all is important, and each creation has its place. It is in this sense that the *K. al-Ḥayawān* is to be understood, as it deals with various despicable elements of creation, the wisdom that they contain and their importance for the optimum state of the world. Similarly, in his books and his letters he deals with different social groups, stressing the important and indispensable role that each plays and concluding that each social group has its place (*Ḥayawān*, i, 43-4, 224-10, *al-Maʿāš wa 'l-muʿāš*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i. 117, *cf.* Gérès, 44-54). This realisation comes to be applied in the Djāḥiẓian ethic, which in its principles is reminiscent of the *Aristotelian ethic* (see Gérès, 54-7).

The composition of literary texts containing praise and censure of the same object is therefore not in the case of al-Djāḥiẓ, a worthless and insignificant game which seeks only to prove the verbal abilities of a skilful advocate. However, this will not be understood without a detailed study of the corpus of al-Djāḥiẓ's work, especially the *K. al-Ḥayawān*, the readers of which seem to have been attracted or shocked and even scandalised by the form and content of these texts. Al-Djāḥiẓ immediately acquired a renown which finds expression as much in the very violent attacks of certain later writers (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Fr. tr. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962, 23) as in the imitation of his method, although his imitators failed to understand the philosophical and theological significance implicit in this method and did not include it.

According to the periods in which works adopting the characteristic structure of certain writings of al-Djāḥiẓ were composed, the content and the form vary subject to the influence of the contemporary milieu and accented by dominant trends.

One of these writers who seems to be the most attracted by the Djāḥiẓian method is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaḳī (3rd 4th/9th 10th century), author of a sizable book of *adab* entitled *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwi* (ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902; ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1961). Al-Bayhaḳī is unknown to the ancient Arab biographers, all that can be added to the material contained in the article AL-BAYHAḲĪ in *EP*, is that he was a moderate Shīʿī (Zaydī) and that he ascended the social scale to the point where he was a *nadīm* or companion of kings. Ibn al-Rūmī, who allows him this distinction, composed numerous satires (*hidjāʾ*) against him (see Gérès, 74-9. Ibo al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, ed. M. Sh. Salīm, Beirut n.d., ii, 28-9, ed. M. Kayḥal, Cairo 1924, no. 6, poem no. 233, R. Guest, *Life and works of Ibn Er Rumi*, London 1944, 29, 133, S. Boustany, *Ibo ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son œuvre*, Beirut 1967, index).

The subjects discussed in the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwi* and the ideas which it reveals are virtually identical to those of Ibn Ḳutayba in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, with the exception of the politico-religious tendencies which are to be perceived in the first part (see Gérès, 80-3). The factor which makes this book unique and different from other works of

adab is the precise method with which the writer deals with his subjects and his technique of revealing to the reader his own feelings towards them (*Ibid.*, 79-89). Each chapter (*bāb*) is divided into two opposing sections *maḥāsin al-* / *masāwī al-* The contrast concerns either one single object possessing both merits and faults (e.g. *maḥāsin al-faḳr/masāwī al-faḳr* poverty, see the *K. al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, 98-107, 170-8, 297-307, 364-73, 386-92, 464-9, 599-605, 609-12, 619-23; cf. Gérès, 87-9), or, as is more common, two objects of which one is positive, praiseworthy and full of merit, the other negative, reprehensible and full of fault (*maḥāsin al-rumāḥ/masāwī man tasabbaba*, *maḥāsin al-ǧidd/masāwī 'l-ǧabn* the Prophet/false prophets, courage/cowardice; see 16-34, 111-32, 518-22; Gérès, 85-7).

Then the terms *maḥāsin/masāwī* are not limited to a single connotation; in the first category, they signify merits/faults, good/bad examples, praise/censure; in the second good, positive, virtuous, proper, laudable, qualities and words of that which is *ḥasan* (good)/bad, negative, vicious, improper, despicable, vices and faults of that which is *ḳabīḥ* (bad).

In his introduction (26, cf. Gérès, 91-3), which in general terms is nothing more than a collection of remarks of al-Ǧāḥiẓ in praise of books and of writing, al-Bayhaḳī explains the motives that have led him to give this title to his book and thus to follow this method of exposition. He says: "We have entitled it *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* because the optimal interest of the world, from the beginning to the end of time, resides in the co-existence of good and bad, of harmful and useful, likable and detestable. For if only bad existed, creatures would annihilate one another. And, if there were nothing but good, affliction would disappear and reasoning would have no value."

This explanation is nothing other than the opening of the philosophical treatise presented by al-Ǧāḥiẓ in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* as a reply to the accuser. Al-Bayhaḳī, although he reproduces only the first few lines and seems to dissociate himself from its theological purpose, thus proves that it is precisely the *K. al-Ḥayawān* and the justification advanced for the debate by al-Ǧāḥiẓ that inspire him. His book represents the historic moment at which a logical approach, itself already appearing in a literary form typical of *adab*, became transformed into an independent literary genre (see Gérès, 21-7, 151).

However, as has been seen, al-Bayhaḳī does not in the majority of cases apply the Ǧāḥizian procedure which consists of praising or censuring an object or a subject of some kind; he distorts it whenever it seems to endanger his ideological interest, using the terms *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* as a means of proclaiming in advance, in chapter-headings, his feelings and attitudes towards the subjects discussed.

The criteria which govern his choice of subjects and dictate the positions that he adopts are: his politico-religious principles, moral principles and the socio-cultural and literary tendencies, already given definitive form by al-Ǧāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḳutayba in the *adab* of the 3rd/9th century, whose books are also his primary sources (see Gérès, 79-89).

The author of *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* supports his thinking and his judgments, expressed in advance in the titles, with the aid of chosen fragments of *adab* which illustrate them: quotations in prose and verse, anecdotes, lengthy narratives and traditions (*maḥāsin al-aḥādīth wa-ṣaḥīḥ al-āṯār*, as he himself calls them). Except in the titles, which are the only reflection of his thinking, he makes no personal intervention in the text.

The reader of al-Bayhaḳī's book will be confronted with a testament of the practical philosophy of a 3rd/9th century Zaydī connoisseur of *adab*. It is as a result of the method of contrasting good with evil that we are able to arrive at an understanding of this philosophy, although for others, who do not seem to have studied the work in detail, this method occludes the true position of the author and signifies, in their opinion, praising and censuring (thesis and antithesis) one single object (see A. Dayf, *al-'Aṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-ṯānī*, 540-7, Gérès, 90, n. 2).

This false interpretation is doubtless based on the fact that in a large number of chapters, the opposition of the two sections is a function of the anonymous terms *maḥāsin* and *masāwī* and not of the subjects under discussion, which gives the impression that this is an example of the Ǧāḥizian procedure of praising and censuring every thing.

This false interpretation of the *maḥāsin/masāwī* contrast is not new. It appears in an early work as the pseudo-Ǧāḥiẓ's *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* (ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1898, German tr. O. Rescher, ii. *Über guten und schlechten Seiten der Dinge*, Stuttgart 1922, i. *Das K. al-Maḥāsin wa-l-maṯālib*, Constantinople 1926, the Arabic text has been reprinted in Cairo in 1324/1906-7 and in Beirut in 1969). This author, who seems to have been well-acquainted with al-Ǧāḥiẓ, is the first to imitate al-Bayhaḳī, going so far as to reproduce a substantial part of his work. In fact, the first part of *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* is found in al-Bayhaḳī's work, but in a more complete, exact and correct form (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. ix-x, xiv; cf. Gérès, 102-10, 112-15). The anonymous author reproduces none of the chapters dealing with politico-religious subjects which reflect the tendencies of al-Bayhaḳī. The modifications which he introduces into the plagiarized chapters and passages show that he has not properly understood the method followed by this author and that he has been seduced by the Ǧāḥizian procedure of bestowing praise and censure.

Significantly, he has substituted *wa masāwī* the term *ḍiddihā* (its opposite). Thus for him the opposition is *maḥāsin of . . ./ḍiddihā*. This means that he systematically contrasts the sub-chapters *maḥāsin of* with their opposites, without allowing the reader to deduce whether he will find under the title *ḍiddihā* censure of the same subject praised under the heading *maḥāsin* (good/bad sides of the subject) or a subject antithetical to that which has been praised (praise of the good and of the proper/censure of the bad and of the improper). Thus in the example *maḥāsin al-wafā'/ḍiddihā* (70-6), it is difficult to decide whether it is a case of "praise of fidelity/censure of fidelity" or of "praise of fidelity/censure of infidelity", a confusion which arises from the ambiguity of the pronoun *hā* in *ḍiddihā*. Furthermore, there is the fact that the book is attributed to al-Ǧāḥiẓ, with the object of creating in the reader the impression that he is confronted by the Ǧāḥizian method, consisting of praising and censuring every notion, and that there is nothing here but a simple literary game. This, it seems is the anonymous author's conception of this method.

This is why care should be taken to avoid attributing to him the same intentions and the same motives as those of al-Bayhaḳī. The things that interest him besides the method of contrasting are entertaining subjects and literary texts. The desire to distract and to entertain is even more evident in

the second part of his book, which is borrowed not from al-Bayhaḳī but from other sources (see introd by van Vloten, pp. xiii-xiv, Gérès, 116-18). Here, with the exception of the last two chapters which deal with Persian feasts and with gifts, the subject most prominently discussed is that of women: women famous for various reasons, their beauty, examples of romantic intrigues, their fidelity and their infidelity, their wiles and their relationships with men, etc

Nevertheless, the author applies the contrasting method in only five of the twenty one subjects tackled in this part of the book, and he confines himself, in the others, to presenting the *maḥāsin* (which here signifies the fine examples or beauties) of the subjects under discussion.

Curiously, he uses the method of contrasting in three cases to present that which to him appears good and praiseworthy in opposition to that which seems evil and culpable: fidelity/infidelity of women, reasonable jealousy/excessive jealousy, copulation/impotence. Furthermore, he uses the terms *maḥāsin/masāwi* to reveal, in the title, his judgments and feelings regarding the subjects in question. He does the same in the two other cases, whose titles give the impression that he is conforming to the method which consists of attacking and defending every notion: *maḥāsin/masāwi makr al nisāʾ* (intrigues of women) and *maḥāsin/masāwi ʿ l-ḥabīb* (stealthy approach of a man seeking to seduce a woman: 263 72, 348-56). In the first case, intrigues performed for a reputable purpose are commended with the term *maḥāsin* (good intrigues), and those of which the objective is vicious and reprehensible are deplored (wicked intrigues). It is not impossible that the author intended, in this way, to expose the ambivalent attitude of *adab* and of the Muslim ethic towards intrigue. However, the terms *maḥāsin/masāwi* cannot here be translated by praise and blame. In the second case, a short tale of a successful *ḥabīb* is classed under the heading of *maḥāsin*, on the other hand, attempts which end in failure are classified as *masāwi*. Thus favourable/critical judgment depends on the result of the adventure and not on the conduct itself, in other words, there is no place here for praise and censure of the *ḥabīb*.

These two connotations of opposition characterise the majority of the chapters of al-Bayhaḳī. Thus the anonymous author has brought no innovation to the contrasting method itself, he has however varied the range of themes tackled, placing the accent on amusing, piquant and even erotic subjects, which brings his book closer to the genre of *belles-lettres* than to work of al-Bayhaḳī.

The literary and entertaining aspect which characterises *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād*, whose overall title is also that of the majority of its chapters, and the fact that it bears the name of al-Djāḥiẓ, serve to reinforce the impression that one is faced with the method of praising and censuring every notion, and this element has enhanced the renown acquired by it within this genre.

This reputation seems to have been very widespread in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, as is expressed through the attribution to al-Djāḥiẓ of a letter (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq* [1956] 70-8, cf. Gérès, 120-5) bearing the title *Fī ḏamm al-ʿulūm wa maḏḥihā* ("Censure and praise of the sciences"). Its author systematically applies the original Djāḥizian method, one by one he censures and praises various sciences and professions with the aid of phrases of *waṣf* (description and evaluation) in rhymed prose which he has drawn from books of *adab*, including those of al-Djāḥiẓ. Analysis of the letter shows that this author is seduced by the effects of style and form involved in the method and not by its philosophical and theological connotations, an attitude thoroughly typical of his age.

The same pre-occupation comes to light soon after in the work of one of the most prolific of 5th/11th century authors, al-Thaʿālibī. Living in a period where Arabic culture was shaped by rhymed prose and by systematic pursuit of form and virtuosity, and in a milieu whose sole concern was with the invention of harmonious forms and formulae for the expression of every thought, he found that the Djāḥizian method was the best formula for supplying the needs of the *kuttāb* (scribe and functionary) and the *adīb* ("gentleman") of his age in their professional lives and in their encounters: stereotyped expressions finely-composed in prose and poetry, bearing on the main subjects of *adab* and expressing the two contrary views which people might take towards them or more accurately, which *adab* had already taken towards them.

To this effect, al-Thaʿālibī, in his two identical books *al-Ẓarāʾif wa 'l-Laṭāʾif fī 'l-aḍḍād* and *Yawāqīt fī naʿt al-mawāqīt fī maḏḥ kull ṣāʾiṭ wa-ḏammih* (which a certain Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Maḥdisī brought together in a single edition, published several times in Baghdad and Cairo, the Cairo edition of 1324/1906-7 is the one used here), tackles each of the eighty subjects that are discussed in a chapter divided into two *maḏḥ* . *Ḏamm*: in the first part he offers elegant quotations in praise of the subject, and in the second he gives those which censure it (for example *maḏḥ/ḏamm al-ʿaḳl*, reason, of *al-ghinā*, fortune, etc, 18-28, cf. Gérès, 122, 126-39).

This fundamental pre-occupation of the author excludes the anecdotes and lengthy narrations which characterise al-Bayhaḳī's book and that of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ. For al-Thaʿālibī, passing praise and censure on every subject is a proof of virtuosity and the witness to a great talent (*ḥaḏḳa*), as well as evidence of a profound knowledge of the Arabic literary heritage (18). It is for this reason that he composes several books following this method, in which he repeats himself, to such an extent that in two of them he even reproduces the same themes and the same quotations, while giving to each of them a different title. Furthermore, he dedicates them to two different persons, adding, in the introduction to each, the pretence that in this book he has invented material that is original and totally unprecedented (2-4, cf. Gérès, 132-3).

In addition, he reproduces a large proportion of the materials presented in these books in a third which he entitles *al-Taḥsīn wa-l-taḳbīḥ* (mss. Istanbul, Râghib Pasha 1473, Fayḍ Allāh 2133, edition of the text in preparation), and in which the opposition is presented in a new form: he praises that which is generally regarded as bad and passes censure on that which is generally regarded as good, apparently seeking, once again, to present a book which may appear new and unique in its genre.

In these three books of al-Thaʿālibī, there is nothing to confirm the view that the author was acquainted with the work of al-Bayhaḳī or of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ. On the other hand, it is the direct or indirect influence of the Djāḥizian corpus that seems to be acting upon him, impelling him to follow the method which involves praising and censuring every notion (see Gérès, 138-41).

One of the books of al-Tha'ālibī has been abridged, in the form of an entertainment, by a certain Shihāb al-Dīn al Ibshīhī, who presents his work (unpublished), a single manuscript is known, preserved in Leiden Or 2454) as the abridgement of the *K. al-'Umda fī mash al-shay'* and *Ghurar*, the work involved is probably the *Yatīma*, of which one of the copies bears the name retained by al-Ibshīhī (see Gérès, 141-2)

The procedure, which consists of praising and censuring every thing and which has become synonymous with the display of literary talent, is uncommon among numerous authors of *adab* subsequent to al-Tha'ālibī, who apply it sporadically in their books Thus, al-Azdī in the *Ḥikāyat Abī 'l-Ḥasan* (ed Mez Heidelberg 1902, 21-6 105 6) and al-Ḥarīrī in his *Maḳāmāt* (*al-maḳāma al dīnāriyya*, 27-30 of the Cairo 1326/1908-9 edition)

One of these authors, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwaṭ (631-718/1234-1318) seems to be the most attracted by al-Tha'ālibī's method in its two forms praise/censure on the one hand, on the other, praising that which is bad, censuring that which is good (see Gérès, 145 8). He applies this method systematically throughout his work of *adab* (*Gharar al-khaṣā'iṣ al wāḍiḥa, wa-'l-ṯurar al-nāḍi'a al-fāḍiḥa*, Cairo 1318/1900), dealing with sixteen ethical themes eight virtues (*khiṣāl*) and their opposites (*naḳā'iṣ*) Each of the first eight chapters is subdivided into three parts 1 Praise of the virtue with the aid of chosen texts, 2 Anecdotes stories and poetry concerning individuals who are endowed with this virtue or have become famous for having displayed it, 3 Censure of the virtue Similarly, each chapter of *naḳā'iṣ* is subdivided into three parts 1 Censure of the vice 2 Anecdotes, stories and poems concerning individuals who are afflicted with this vice or have become famous for having displayed it, 3. Praise of the vice

Thus, with the aid of chosen extracts, he discusses the major ethical themes, showing evidence of a well-informed acquaintance with the ambivalent attitudes expressed in *adab* towards the virtues and vices in question, an attitude due not only to Aristotelian thought, which characterises the Dīdactian ethic, but also to the contradiction of tendencies and concepts encountered in the bosom of Islamic civilisation and expressed in the writings of authors of *adab* since the time of al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Kutayba, precisely by means of this procedure consisting of exposing the merits and faults of the subject in question (see G Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba* Damascus 1965, 462-5; Gérès, 65 6)

This literary genre has no doubt attracted many other authors, but, at this time, their writings are still unknown to us.

Bibliography Given in the text.

(I. Gérès)

MAḤĀT (A., pl. *maḥāt*, *maḥawāt*, *maḥayāt*), a feminine noun denoting the large oryx and the addax antelope. Both these meanings merge in the expression *baḳar waḥshiyy* (coll *bakara waḥshiyya* (sing.) "wild cattle" (see BAḲAR)

The root *m-ḥ-w* suggests sparkling whiteness, and *al-maḥā* is applied to rock crystal (*billawr*), pearl (*durr*, *luʾluʾ*) and any bright star (*kawkab*) The almost-immaculate coat of these beautiful, desert antelopes certainly warrants the description *al-maḥā*, the word used to describe *maḥriyya/muwariyya*, *layth*, *labaʾ/labāʾ*, *kawkab*.

The oryx and the addax live in small herds which are dominated by one of the males. From time to time they gather to migrate, and can be observed among the dunes by the Bedouin from a distance. They seem to have reminded them of their own flocks, has they call them *niʿāj al-ramāl* "sand ewes". At first sight, male and female are hardly distinguishable, but they do differ slightly in height and in horn thickness. *Maḥā* and the other names are used without gender distinction, as are the poetical descriptions of them like *ʿayn* (pl *ʿīn*) "with big, black eyes" and *khazm* "with a flat muzzle" The desert folk are very acute in their observations, and they use a more precise vocabulary to describe the animals at different stages of their development. The calf at birth is *baḥaṯ* or *burghaz* but if it is completely white, *mārī* is used As it grows and up to the time of its weaning (*fiṭām*), it is called *faṣīl*, *farīr*, *farḥa* and *ghawghar* A male (bull) calf has the name *arʿāṯ/arḥāṯ* and the adult male *ghāṭ* in the rutting season, its restless and skittish manner as aptly described as *nāghī* "lively" and *mukhārik* "pawing the ground". The old bull, *ḥarḥal*, is often found living alone.

1. The oryx In the semi-desert areas of Africa, Syria and Arabia, several species of oryx are found. Even some of the rare white oryx (*Oryx algazel algazel*) have survived on the northern edges of the Sahara, where it is called *maḥā* in Chad, *mark/mark/ārgiyya* (pl *ārg*) in Mauretania (in the Egyptian Sudan, it is called *abū ḥarīḍ*, and in Tamahaḳ of Ahaggar, *esamh/samh/tesamt*, pl *ssemmen/tasemmin* and *ahem/tehemt*, pl *ihemmen/ihemmen*) The last specimen in Tunisia was killed south of Douz in 1906, but in ancient times it was said to be common in southern Morocco, the high Algerian plains and southern Tunisia From murals in ancient Egyptian tombs, there is evidence that it was domesticated under the Pharaohs and used as a drought animal Pliny says *oryges appellat Aegyptus*, which, considering how Latin was pronounced then, suggests that the name should be compared with Moorish *ārgiyya*

In the Middle Ages, the animal was known in the Sahara by the name of *lamṭ*, and its skin was used to make the famous shields [see LAMṬ]

Now the white oryx has almost completely disappeared from the Sahara This has been caused in fairly recent times by the increasing number and better quality of firearms in the area, and also by the ploughing-up of the desert by incessant motorised traffic The oryx is, after all, a big, heavy creature, short-winded and not very fierce, it used to be that a good *meharī* camel was all that was needed to catch it quickly Saharan travellers in the last century found great herds of oryx which, they said, could be numbered in hundreds, but that now seems an age ago

There are two other species in Africa, with darker coats and clear black stripes, the *oryx gazella* in the south-west and the *beisa* (perhaps derived from *bayḍ* "white") oryx which includes the *oryx beisa beisa* of Abyssinia, o.b. *callarum* of Mozambique, o.b *annectens* and o.b. *callotis* in the south-east and Kilimanjaro None of these brightly-marked antelopes are, however, found in Arabic-speaking countries There has always been a distinct species in Arabia, the *oryx leucoryx* (formerly *beatrix*) known as the sabre-horned or Arabian oryx, which is found as far as the borders of Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and which was the first species to be called *al-maḥā* by the Arabs Their tapering black horns are ringed and curve back majestically like those of their African cousins They are usually more than a metre long and are perfectly parallel, so that when

seen from the side the animal seems to have just one horn. That is why the oryx was thought, wrongly, to have connections with the unicorn, but that mythical animal is in fact to be connected with the rhinoceros (see KARKADDAN)

Probably no other desert wild animal, except the onager (*ḥimār al-waḥsh*), has been described more than the sabre-horned antelope by the pre-Islamic poets and their later imitators. The animal was not used as a principal theme in their *ḳaṣā'id*, but as a background image of the hard desert life and the difficulties in it that the poet would have experienced himself. There are long descriptions of hunting for the oryx and of its death (*ḥarad*), which, incidentally, threw how abundant it must have been. The poet, wishing to emphasize the high moral qualities of the huntsman, by a literary device transfers these qualities to the brave, hunted animal. The scene itself is conventional, but it reflects an idyllic picture of violent hunting in all its details. Sometimes the poet mounts a horse, and then the oryx is soon caught, after a terrifying chase in which as often as not three sahiks participate, and is brought down at the point of a lance. Eulogies of the horse like this are common in Imru' al-Ḳays, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, ʿAlḳama al-Faḥl and a number of others when they write lamentations. On other occasions, he will mount a she-camel, and then the story of the chase ends differently, for the oryx becomes the symbol of this matchless she-camel and it triumphs over all its adversaries by its speed and endurance; it will stop only to rip open a dog or two with its terrifying horns. Such poems are accordingly panegyrics, and al-Dhubyānī has carefully discussed this mechanical literary device in archaic poetry in his *Ḥayawān*, ii, 20, where he says, "when the poem is a lamentation or exhortation it is usual for poets to let the dogs kill the oryx, but in panegyrics, where the camel is said to be an oryx with certain special qualities, it is the dogs that are killed. That is not to say that such events are poetic fabrications, for oryx bulls have often killed or injured dogs, but it usually happens that the hunted animal is the victim in the end, the dogs emerge safe and well and their master has found his quarry."

A more romantic picture is sometimes drawn to show the effect of the four seasons of the life of the oryx, each with its own particular difficulties, struggles and hardships. Such pictures represent the challenges the pre-Islamic Bedouin faced in their daily life, whether they were real or not. The bull, for example, is shown as wandering far in search of a mate and as confronting many rivals in tests of his prowess, here is a picture of the marriage difficulties of an old desert dweller, who could well have turned to abducting young girls. Then there is the agonising plight of the mother who goes lowing after her young calf which has been devoured (*mashā'a*) by beasts of prey. Her search is vain, and she strays from her herd (*ʿāfil, ṣaḥrab, ṣumārṣimār, sirb*) and thus puts her own life at risk. Images like this are used frequently by Labīd b. Rabīʿa al-ʿĀmirī and by al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī among others. They evoke the cruel distress of so many mothers who have wept over the loss of a son killed in a raid, or over the loss of a daughter snatched forcefully away by a hostile clan. Clearly, images like this are not devised by town dwellers, but they are an essential feature of the distant experiences of their nomadic ancestors. Such nostalgic reminiscences of desert life are usually found in poetry up to the time of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and one of the last to use them in his poetry was Dhu 'l-Rumma.

In the Yemen during the Himyaritic period, the ibex (*waʿl*) and the oryx were game animals which were hunted in accordance with ancient cultic rites. Archaeologists have excavated many bas reliefs on which they are depicted (see in the *Bibl.* the important works here of M. Höfner, R. B. Sergeant and J. Ryckmans). Before the dawn of Islam, in the north-erly regions of the peninsula the oryx had a special position as a sacrificial beast (*ʿatīra*) in the ritual, idolatrous offerings performed by the Arabs in the month of general truce, Radjab; the oryx was included with domestic cattle in the list of *radjabiyyāt* (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 525).

There were still about a thousand oryx in Arabia in 1950, but some years later only about a hundred were left, in the remote regions of the "Empty Quarter" (*al-Rubʿ al-khālī*) to the north-west of Aden. Seventy of these were destroyed by motorised safaris with automatic weapons in 1960-2. Faced with such a serious situation, the World Wild Life Fund organised a rescue mission under Major I. R. Grimwood in 1962 and three animals were captured. To these were added one offered by the Kuwaiti ruler and four from King Ibn Saʿūd. These eight survivors formed the nucleus of a small breeding herd set up in a desert preservation in Phoenix, Arizona. At present there is just one small protected herd in a shaykh's park, but apart from these animals, the white oryx, locally the *mahāyā* or *abū sāla*ʿ, can be considered an extinct species in Arabia and the Near East. Some of the *sāfirs* have introduced as a substitute in some areas the oryx-gazelle, which is native to Africa.

2. The addax. In North Africa, *mahāt* also denotes the addax (*Addax nasomaculatus*) a cousin of the oryx. This animal is extremely rare, and is found in a narrow strip of land in the Sahara from Mauretania to the western edge of the Nile. At the beginning of this century, it could also be found in Palestine and Arabia, and it is recorded in ancient Syria and Mesopotamia. The main distinction between the addax and the oryx is the absence of any brownish-red markings on the neck and breast. Other distinguishing marks are its brown forehead, its white tear-pit, its reddish nose and its noticeably long horns (*sīfa/sīfayya*, pl. *sayāfī*). These are straight with a slight backward slope and a two-and-a-half turn spiral, they are fully annulated. Both antelopes enjoy the same habitat and display the same behaviour, but the addax seems generally better adapted to its environment than the oryx. It is more resistant to thirst for, like the camel, it carries a special sac containing an aqueous, slightly acidulous liquid in its belly, and this has been the salvation of many a waterless hunter (Pliny refers to it as *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 27), moreover, its wide, spongy hoof is a great help when it comes to long, sustained journeys across the dunes.

Two vernacular Arab names for the animal are in use, *mahā* and *ḥoer el-waḥsh*, and perhaps echoes of an earlier African term, taken into Latin by Pliny as *addax*, are to be found in its Sudanese and Upper Egyptian names *ʿakash/ʿakas*, *bā ʿakash*, *bā ʿaddas*, the origin and meaning of these names is still uncertain. The Touareg call it *amellal/tamellalt*, pl. *imellalen/timellalen* (from the verb "to be white"), and thus draw attention to the whiteness of its coat. They regard the addax as a choice game animal, and hunt it as soon as the herds mass together in the spring. Observers in the last century said that there could be as many as 300 animals in such gatherings (see G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Berlin

1879-89, I 551). Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, travelling five centuries earlier in the spring of 753/1352 from Tâsarahla to Iwâlaten (Walata), was amazed at the abundance of the herds and by their evident fearlessness of man. He noted that the people of the region hunted the addax with dogs and shot them down with arrows. He added that they were very fond of the stomach liquid, and that they used to slake their thirst from their victims. For his own part, he did not find the meat enjoyable, saying that it was dry and tasteless (*Riḥla*, ii, 290). Because it was relatively slow-footed, it was easy to capture, and the antelope offered the hunter not just venison as his prize but also leather and the stomach liquid. This liquid was said to possess many virtues, and it commanded a high price in the markets in large centres as far away as Tunis. There was also the attraction of extracting bezoars [see BÂZAHR] known locally as *bîd al-mahâ* 'antelopes' eggs", from the viscera. These biliary concretions occur very frequently in the digestive systems of ruminants, and the preparation was greatly valued in the mediæval pharmacopœia for its supposed qualities as an antidote and a aphrodisiac. Jewish pharmacists and druggists from the cities of the Maghrib went about collecting them eagerly from the nomads and then sold them speculatively to sultans and persons of high rank. The addax skin was, by contrast, much less valuable than that of the oryx, it was used only for shoe-making and saddlery. Of course, the trick was not unknown of substituting addax-leather for oryx leather for making the famous impenetrable shields mentioned above.

Before fire-arms and motor-cars arrived, the addax was hunted with dogs, and it was also caught in traps (the spiked-wheel trap and the crossbow trap). The Tibbu of Tenere would encircle a herd and catch beasts in nets in order to eat the succulent marrow from the large bones. To-day there is no longer any question of hunting the addax, for the species has been so drastically reduced. It has disappeared from the vast Western Erg, but there may be an occasional specimen to be found between Ouargla and Ghadamès, and others to the south of Hamada of Tinghert and to the north of Timbuctu and as the regions of Termit and Agadem to the south of Tenere and in the Nubian Desert.

It is surprising to find that the great Arab naturalists have said very little about these two important antelopes, *mahâ'*. Al Ǧâḥiẓ makes a few remarks about them, but these last are only hearsay. One feature which he notes is that the bull is very vulnerable under pursuit because prolonged running triggers off urine retention (*ḥaṣr*), which can prove fatal. He goes on to say that the oryx likes to crunch colocynth (*ḥanẓal*) because its bitter taste helps prevent thirst, that genies may ride it at night, and that it will grow tame in captivity (*Ḥayawân*, ii, 116, vi, 23, 46, 326; vii, 187). Al-Kazwînî seems to have ignored them altogether, and under the rubric *baḥr al-waḥš* [*ʿAǧâ'ib al waḥšiyât*, ii, 203-4), he speaks only of the sand deer (*Cervus sava*), the Persian *gâw-i san*, with its antlers which fall off each year. Al-Damîrî follows him and reproduces the earlier remarks, but seems not to know which animal he is speaking about. Under the rubric *al-baḥar al-waḥšî* (*Ḥayâṭ al-ḥayawân*, i, 142-3), he states that this name denotes all four species *mahâ* "oryx-addax", *aǧyal/waʿal* 'cervidae", *ṣâḫmâr* 'roe-deer', *thaytal/taytal* "buhalis". Under the heading *al-mahâ*, he simply describes the ardour (*šabâb*) of the male in the rut, and then recounts word-for-word what al-Kazwînî had mentioned about the "particular virtues" ascribed to the organs of the cervidae, he drew particular attention to the antlers which were supposed to be useful as an aphrodisiac when powdered (ii 330-1). The poet Kušâǧim [*q.v.*] says, in his *Maṣâyid*, 100-2, that the lowing (*ḫuwâr ghamghama*) of the oryx cow is very much louder than that of the bull and that oryx venison has warming qualities, it makes the blood thick and black, and it should always be boiled with plenty of vinegar. The first Arab he adds, who hunted the oryx on horseback was, according to tradition, Rabî'a b. Nizar b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnân. All this information is repeated in the writings of al-Ḳalḳašandî (*Subḥ*, ii, 44). The Mamlûk Ibn Mangli [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a writer on cynegetics and a hunts man himself in the 8th/14th century, gives some "helpful advice" (*Uns al-malâ'*, ms. Paris B.N., Ar. 2832, fols. 21b, 22a) on how to bring the oryx down once it has been stopped: to thrust obliquely with a sabre, cutting at random, and immediately lifting the blade again in order not to wound the horse. He then recommends trying to hamstring the animal hurl a missile (*ḥaḏḏafa*), one which has a head bristling with spikes and a long haft, between the legs of the galloping animal. The animal should not be killed outright, for there must be a chance of strangling it ritually so that its meat can be eaten lietly. They may also be hunted with a cheetah [see FAHD]. In his *Djawhara fî ʿuḳûm al bayṭara* (ms. Escurial, Ar. 903, fol. 143a, b) Ibn Mangli repeats the sayings of his esteemed master from the preceding century, ʿIzz al Asadî, that good results with cheetahs can be obtained only in Syria, where they are more robust and aggressive.

The Touaregs of the Ait believe that the addax is a good predator on snakes for, according to legend, it is completely immune to vipers' venom. That is why many natives wear a piece of addax skin as a talisman, and they decorate their tents with its horns, skin and fat, which ward off all kinds of reptiles (see H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 75-87).

The gleaming bright, black pupil of the oryx and the addax (*ḥadaḳ al mahâ*), in contrast to the white of the eye, was an image dear to poets. It has earned them the title *al ʿîn*, associated with *ahwar*, pl. *hûr* "very white". It is in fact well-known that the houris (*al-ḥûr al-ʿîn* [*q.v.*]), the wives of the elect in paradise, have languorous antelopes' eyes set in a face with the complexion of pearl or milk. That is the mark of perfect feminine beauty as judged by the Arabs. The Greeks had already expressed their similar aesthetic delight when they gave "great cows' eyes" to their goddess Hera (corresponding to Roman Juno), queen of Olympus, daughter of Kronos, wife of Zeus ("Ηρα Βοώπις). The Greek adjective could metaphorically apply to any beautiful woman, as could the Arabic *mahâ'/mahâ'a*. It is the opinion of philologists that, if the whiteness of the complexion is being described, the comparison suggests the whiteness of pearl or crystal, but if there is a description of beautiful eyes with pupils dark as night set in a milky white complexion, then it is from the oryx and the addax that the image is borrowed (see *LA*, s.v. *m-h-w*).

To conclude, after all this information, it is really frightening to think that the zoological term *mahâ* may soon be no more than a word in the dictionary, reminding us of a species which will have vanished from the lands of Islam, like *naʿâm* "ostrich" and *ḥimâr al-waḥš* "onager"; it will have vanished

just because of man's insatiable, thoughtless greed.

In astronomy, the star al-Farkad (= Phercad) "the oryx calf", is γ *Ursae minoris* this star and the associated β *Ursae minoris* together form *al-farkadayn* (= Ellarcadin) "the two calves", the "guardians" of the North Pole.

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MAHBŪB b. AL-**RAHĪL** AL-**'ABDĪ**, ABŪ SUFYĀN, Ibādī theologian and historian, originally from the Arabic tribe of the Banū 'Abd al-Kays, who lived in the 2nd/8th century and who is cited in the *Kitāb Ṭabakāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Darjīnī (d. 570/1247 [*q.v.*]) amongst the scholars of the fourth *ṭabaḳa* or class. His family came originally from 'Irāḳ (his grandfather al-Mallḥ al-'Abdī was one of the close friends of the head of the Ibādī community in Baṣra, the famous Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī [see AL-IBĀḌIYYA]), and he first lived in 'Umān. Then he settled in Baṣra, where he became a pupil of Abū 'Ubayda. After the death of al-Rahīl b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, head of the Ibādī community in Baṣra after Abū 'Ubayda, spiritual supremacy in the Ibādī world passed to Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Rahīl. In effect, he acted as arbiter over the schism of Khalaf b. al-Samḥ in the Maghrib [see AL-KHALAFIYYA] during the reign of the Rustamid *imām* 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, and wrote a *risāla* (or *kitāb*) to the Ibādī chief 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, called Ṭālib al-Ḥakk (d. 129/747), who set up in South Arabia the first Ibādī *imāmate* and who occupied Mecca and Medina. Maḥbūb b. al-Rahīl became especially known as a historian, and it is to him that we owe the greater part of the traditions about the oldest Ibādī *shaykhs*. His historical work, mentioned in al-Barrādī's catalogue (9th/15th century) under the title of *Kitāb Abī Sufyān*, served as al-Darjīnī's basis for the putting-together of the first four classes of his *K. Ṭabakāt al-mashāyikh*, where he is cited several times.

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MAHDAWĪS, a sectarian group in Indian Islam, the followers of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī (847-910/1443-1505) of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], near Benares, who declared that he was the promised Mahdī [*q.v.*] and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] and other parts of Gudjarāt. He was compelled to leave India, however, and died at Farāh in what is now western Afghānistān, where he was buried. His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc. For a time, they were allowed to profess their faith without official harassment; but in the reign of Muẓaffar II, Sultan of Gudjarāt (917-32/1511-26) they were persecuted, and many of them put to death. The Mughal prince Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] also moved against them when in 1055/1645 he became governor of Aḥmadābād. In consequence of these persecutions, most Mahdawīs began to practise *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] and tried to pass as orthodox Muslims. Their exact number, therefore, remains today uncertain. They are found in small groups in some parts of Gudjarāt, in Bombay, in the Deccan, in Uttar Pradesh and also in Sind, where they are known as Zikrīs [see MIṬKALS in Suppl.]. They believe that Sayyid Muḥammad was the last Imām, the promised Mahdī, and in consequence of his having come they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals, and are often lax in observing the five canonical pillars of Islam. By their enemies they are styled Ghayr-Mahdīs, *i.e.* those who do not believe in a Mahdī still to come, but the Mahdawīs themselves apply this designation to other Muslims, charging them with failure to recognise the Mahdī who has already appeared.

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AL-**MAHDĪ** (A.), "the rightly guided one" is the name of the restorer of religion and justice who, according to a widely held Muslim belief, will

rule before the end of the world. The present article will trace the history of this belief and will deal with the political history of Mahdist movements only in so far as relevant (for the Sudanese movement, see AL-MAHDIYYA).

Origin and early development during the Umayyad age. The term *mahdī* as such does not occur in the Kur'ān; but the name is clearly derived from the Arabic root *h-d-y* commonly used to it in the meaning of divine guidance. As an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term was employed from the beginning of Islām (references gathered by Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 267). Ḥassān b Thābit thus applied it to the Prophet, and Djarīr to Abrahām. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad referred to al-Ḥusayn, after his martyrdom, as "Mahdī son of the Mahdī", and al-Farazdak called al-Walīd in a panegyric the sixth of six caliphs of 'Abd Shams from 'Uthmān who were *hudāt mahdiyyūn* (*Dīwān al-Farazdak*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1936, 83). During the Second Civil War, after the death of Mu'āwiya, the term came first to be used for an expected ruler who would restore Islām to its original perfection. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr claimed the caliphate as such a restorer. Though he does not seem to have been given the epithet al-Mahdī, his career substantially shaped the later image of the expected Mahdī. In Kūfa, al-Mukhtār proclaimed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the Mahdī in this heightened sense. Among his opponents of the Kūfan nobility who fled from him to Basra was Mūsā, son of the Companion Ṭalḥa. He was viewed there as the expected Mahdī by many people who hoped that he would claim the caliphate, but he refused to engage himself in the *fitna*, pointing to the example of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar in the First Civil War (Ibn Sa'd, v, 120 l.). Among the Umayyad caliphs, Sulaymān (96-9/715-17) seems to have been the first one to have encouraged the belief that he was the Mahdī who would restore justice after oppression had become widespread under his predecessors. He is often addressed as the Mahdī in this sense in the panegyrics of Djarīr and al-Farazdak. The latter affirmed specifically that the spine of the religion had been straightened after having become crooked and that all grievances (*maẓālim*) had been removed by the Mahdī, meaning Sulaymān (*Dīwān*, 638, 801). The apocalyptic aspect of al-Farazdak's concept of the Mahdī is revealed by his statement that as many priests (*ḥabr*) and rabbis (*aḥbār*) had foretold the caliphate of the Mahdī (*Dīwān*, 327). Sulaymān's successor, 'Umar II, was also addressed as the Mahdī by Djarīr and because of his recognised piety, was widely regarded so in religious circles. Of the later Umayyad caliphs Hishām was called the Mahdī by Djarīr. Less emphatically al-Farazdak speaks of Yazīd II as a rightly guided one (*rashīd*) (*Dīwān*, 544) and of his son al-Walīd II as al-Mahdī (*Dīwān*, 7).

Among the religious scholars discussions about the Mahdī and his identity can be traced back to the time after the Second Civil War. These discussions developed in different directions in the different centres of learning and influenced the later beliefs about the Mahdī to varying degrees. They were in turn influenced by some related beliefs already accepted and supported by *ḥadīths* attributed to the Prophet. Thus it had been accepted that 'Īsā [*q.v.*] would descend from Heaven before the end of the world to rule and lead the Muslim community in prayer. A *ḥadīth* on the authority of Djābir al-Anṣārī and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, spread in Medina probably in early Marwānid times, quoted the Prophet as stating that "at the end of my community there will be a caliph who will pour out the money without counting it". According to another early Medinan *ḥadīth*, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, the Prophet had said "The Hour will not come until a man from Kahṭān will come forth leading the people with his staff". Predictions concerning this Kahṭānī were evidently known before the rebellion of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath in 80/699, who according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*, 314) and Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, called himself al-Kahṭānī and Nāṣir al-Mu'annīn.

In Medina, conservative religious opinion generally accepted 'Umar II as the Mahdī. This acceptance was facilitated by the fact that 'Umar II was descended through his mother from 'Umar I who, together with his son 'Abd Allāh, enjoyed the highest religious authority among conservative Medinan scholars. Statements attributed to 'Umar I and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar were circulated to the effect that the former had predicted the advent of a descendant of his who would fill the earth with justice. These statements reflect an earlier expectation that a descendant of 'Umar I through male lineage would become the restorer of justice, but they were now applied to the Umayyad (Ibn Sa'd, v, 243). Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 93 or 94/712-13) was alleged to have identified 'Umar II as the Mahdī while the latter was still in Medina long before his reign. A particular effort was made to counter Kūfan claims that the Mahdī would be an 'Alīd. Thus Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was reported in Medina to have said that if there was to be a Mahdī he would belong to the 'Abd Shams. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, the *imām* of the Imāmī Shī'a, was quoted as stating during the caliphate of 'Umar II: "The Prophet belongs to us, and the Mahdī belongs to the Banū 'Abd Shams. We do not know him to be anyone but 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz" (Ibn Sa'd, v, 245).

In Mecca, on the other hand, Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/724-5), a respected *muḥaddith* traditionist residing in the Yemen, was quoted expressing himself more reservedly that 'Umar II was rightly guided but not the Mahdī (*kāna mahdiyyan wa-laysa bi-l-mahdī*), for in the time of the Mahdī, the benefactor would be outdone by the rewards for his good acts and the evildoer would be called to repent. Abū Ma'bad Nāfidh (d. 104/722-3), a *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, quoted his master as asserting that the Mahdī would be a young man (*shābb*) of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The report was transmitted by the highly respected Meccan traditionist 'Amr b. Dīnār (d. 126/744).

In Ḥims, Syrian loyalty to the Umayyad caliphate was expressed in a tradition attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār neutralising the *ḥadīth* of the Kahṭānī: "The Mahdī will be only of Kuraysh and the caliphate will be among them only. He will, however, have a root and a pedigree in the Yemen (*ghayra anna lahū aṣlan wa-nasaban fī 'l-Yaman*)". The tradition, related by Shuraykh b. 'Abīda al-Ḥimṣī (d. after 108/726-7), may go back to the cause of the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath.

In Basra, Abū Kilāba (d. ca. 107/725-6), a prominent traditionist with ties in Syria, supported the view that 'Umar II was truly the Mahdī. He was indirectly contradicted by Abū Naḍra (d. 109/727-8) and Abu 'l-'Ālīya al-'Anazī (d. 108/726-7) who, reporting the *ḥadīth* of the generous caliph in Basra, stated that they did not think 'Umar II was meant. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) opposed the belief in a Muslim Messiah, maintaining that 'Īsā will be the Mahdī. He is also quoted as stating that he did not believe in a Mahdī, but if there was one it was 'Umar

II His contemporary and rival in the religious leadership in Baṣra, Muḥammad b Sīrīn (d. 110/728) maintained that there would be a Mahdī of the Muslim community (*umma*) and that ʿĪsā, after descending from heaven, would pray behind him. He further affirmed that the Mahdī would be more excellent than Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and would equal a prophet in rank. According to another report, he held that the Kaḥṭānī was identical with the Mahdī. Katāda (d. 117 or 118/735 6), prominent disciple of al-Ḥasan, spread the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "There will arise a difference after the death of a caliph, and a man of the people of Medina will go forth fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him rise in revolt against his will, and they will pledge allegiance to him between the *rukn* and the *maḳām*. An expedition will be sent against him from Syria but will be swallowed up (*yukhsafu bihim*) in the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see this, the righteous (*abdāl*) of Syria and the groups of horsemen (*aṣāʾib*) of ʿIrāḳ will come to him and swear allegiance to him. Thereafter a man of Kuraysh will arise whose maternal uncles are of Kalb. He will send an expedition against them but they will defeat them. Thus will be the expedition of Kalb, and disappointment will be for those who will not witness the booty of Kalb. He will then divide the wealth and act among them according to the sunna of their Prophet. Islām will become firmly established (*yulḳī bi-ǧarānihā*). He will remain seven (var. nine) years and then die, and the Muslims will pray over him". This *ḥadīth*, whose first part is patterned upon the revolt of *ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr*, may conceivably go back to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who appears in its *sanad* and claimed to have heard it from Umm Salama, widow of the Prophet. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, called "Bubbā", was chosen by the people of Baṣra as their governor in 64/684 after the death of the caliph Yazīd and the flight of his governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. But he held aloof from all the violent events in Baṣra at this time (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 26ff.), hence it is in fact unlikely that he was responsible for this *ḥadīth*, which aimed at stirring up support for the cause of Ibn al-Zubayr. The latter part of it, including the rise of an Umayyad whose "maternal uncles were of Kalb" and who would send an army of Kalbīs against the al-Zubayr, reflects the expectations at the time which were not fulfilled by history. The element of the swallowing up of a Syrian army, based on Kurʾān warnings of a *ḫasf*, was incorporated from slightly earlier *ḥadīths* spread by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr himself and by two prominent supporters of his, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān and al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿa al-Makhzūmī, as war propaganda during the campaign of Yazīd's army against Medina and Mecca (see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-fitan, bāb al-ḫasf*). Though it does not mention the Mahdī, the *ḥadīth* of Katāda was later generally taken to refer to him, while his Syrian rival became the prototype of the Sufyānī [*q.v.*], the traditional opponent of the Mahdī. Much of later tradition about the career of the Mahdī and the Sufyānī is an elaboration of the various elements of this *ḥadīth*.

In the late Umayyad age, Maṭar b. Ṭahmān al-Warrāḳ (d. 125/743?), a Khurāsānian resident in Baṣra and senior disciple of Katāda, rejected the view that ʿUmar II was the Mahdī, stating that the Mahdī would do something ʿUmar II had not done: he would refuse to accept money returned to the treasury by someone who, after requesting it, found that he had no need of it. Maṭar also transmitted traditions attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār on the effect that the Mahdī was named so because he would be guided (*yuhdā*) to find copies of the original that of the Torah and the Gospel concealed in Antioch. The same Kaʿb tradition seems to have been known also in Kūfa at this time, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Khathʿamī is reported to have transmitted it in the following form: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiḳh*) of ten, and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus, and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel". The following *ḥadīth* was circulated in late Umayyad Baṣra on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "The Prophet said: There will be in my community the Mahdī, if for a short time, seven (years), otherwise nine. My community will then enjoy prosperity as they have never enjoyed. The earth will bring forth its fruit for them and will not hoard anything away from them. Money will at that time be in heaps, and whenever a man will get up and say 'O Mahdī, give me', he will say 'Take'." This *ḥadīth*, which identifies the Mahdī with the generous ruler predicted earlier, was spread, with variants, by Zayd al-ʿAmmī but may in substance go back to his authority, the Baṣran Abu l-Ṣiddīḳ al-Nādī (*d. 108/726-7*). *Another variant of it was transmitted* by Sulaymān b. ʿAbīd al-Sulamī, a Baṣran contemporary of Zayd al-ʿAmmī. Of late Umayyad Baṣran origin is also the topos that the Mahdī would have an aquiline nose and a bald forehead (*aḥad aḳlā*).

Kūfan tradition insisted that the Mahdī would be one of the *Ahl al Bayt* of the Prophet or a descendant of ʿAlī. ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 127 or 128/744-6), the famous Kufan Kurʾān reader disseminated the following *ḥadīth* with a Kūfan *sanad* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "The Prophet said: The world will not pass until a man of my family (*ahl bayt*) will rule the Arabs whose name will coincide with my name (*yuwāṭiʾ ismuh ismī*)". The claim that the name of the Mahdī would agree with that of the Prophet was no doubt made in the time of al-Muḫtār's rebellion in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who is reported, when addressed as the Mahdī, to have referred to his privilege of bearing the name and *kunya* of the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, v. 66). The *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim thus probably goes back to ʿĀṣim's authority, Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, who was known for his pro-ʿAlīd sentiment. By the time of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in Kūfa in 120/738, the thesis of the identity of names was evidently already well-established there, since his supporters did not try to identify him with the Mahdī but with the Manṣūr (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1676), a messianic figure originating in Yemenite beliefs. In Kūfa was also spread the following *ḥadīth* related by Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, on the authority of his father on the authority of ʿAlī. "The Prophet said, 'The Mahdī will be from us, the *Ahl al-Bayt*. God will give him success in a single night (*yuṣliḥuhū fī layla*)'." The descent of the Mahdī from the Prophet was also affirmed in the *ḥadīth*: "The Messenger of God said, 'Even if only a single day of the earth were left, God would send a man from us who will fill it with justice as it had been filled with oppression'." Though the *ḥadīth* was widely spread

among the traditionists only by the Kūfan Fiṭr b Khalīfa (d. 153/770), it may well go back to the Companion Abu 'l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b Wāthila (d. ca. 100/718-19), known for his support of ʿAlī and his Shīʿī sympathies, who claimed to have heard it from ʿAlī. The theme of the generous ruler was taken up in Kūfa by ʿAṭiyya b Saʿīd b Djunāda al-Ḥayyāl (d. 121/739-40 or 127/744-5), considered a Shīʿī who related the following *ḥadīth* on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: 'The Prophet said, 'A man will come forth from my family after an interval of time (*ʿinda nāʾin min al-zamān*) and the appearance of civil wars (*fitan*) whose liberality will be in throwing about (*ḥathyan*) [money]. He will be called al-Saffāḥ (= the generous)' ".

The early ʿAbbāsid age until the time of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*. The ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement aroused and was supported by messianic expectations and the hope for a restorer of religion and just rule from among the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph gave himself the Kūfan messianic name al-Saffāḥ in his inaugural sermon in the mosque of Kūfa in 132/749. He was addressed as the Mahdī of the Hāshimīs by the poet Sudayf (*Aghānī*², iv, 93). The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū Djaʿfar, was also called the Mahdī by his court poet, Abū Dulāma. During his reign the ʿAbbāsid claim to the Mahdīship faced a severe challenge in the rising of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b ʿAbd Allāh in 145/762, who, having long been announced by the propagandа of his supporters as the expected Mahdī, appeared in Medina in accordance with the *ḥadīth* predictions. After the suppression of his revolt, the caliph adopted the messianic name al-Manṣūr and gave his son and crown prince Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh the surname al-Mahdī, presenting him to the public as the promised restorer. The latter after his accession sought to live up to the expectations concerning the Mahdī by releasing political prisoners and handing out liberal gifts, especially in the holy cities.

Traditions about the Mahdī going back in this time reflect these developments. In support of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement in Khurāsān, the Shīʿī Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād (d. 136/753-4) spread the following *ḥadīth* in Kūfa with an *isnād* going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "While we were with the Messenger of God, there came some youths of the Banū Hāshim. When he saw them his eyes flowed with tears and his colour changed. We said, 'O Messenger of God, we have for some time seen in your face something we dislike'. He said, God has chosen for us, the People of the House, the hereafter over this world. The People of My House shall meet misfortune, banishment, and persecution until people will come from the east with black flags. They will ask for charity but will not be given it. Then they will fight and be victorious. Now they will be given what they had asked for, yet they will not accept it but will finally hand it (sc. the earth) over to a man of My Family. He will fill it with justice as they had filled it with injustice. Whoever of you will live to witness that, let him go there even though it be by creeping on snow (*ḥabwan ʿalā ʾl-thalj*)". Even though this tradition, known as the *ḥadīth* of the flags, was recognised by *ḥadīth* experts to have been fabricated by Ibn Abī Ziyād, it greatly influenced the later expectations about the career of the Mahdī and was accepted by Ibn Mādja in his *K. al-Sunan*. A parallel version with a Baṣran *isnād* was disseminated in Baṣra by Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (d. 141 or 142/758-60): "The Messenger of God said, 'Three men, each one the son of a caliph, will fight at your treasure (*ʿinda kanzikum*). None of them will obtain it. Then black flags will arise from the east. Two of them will kill you [brutally] so as people has never been killed'. Then he mentioned something I do not remember. He added, 'When you see him, pledge allegiance to him, even though it be by creeping on snow. For he is the vicegerent of God, the Mahdī'."

The ʿAbbāsid claim to the Mahdīship found some marginal support among mostly Kūfan traditionists. The following statement ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās was spread by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ghaniyya al-Khuzāʿī, a Kūfan originating from Iṣfahān, presumably towards the end of the caliphate of al-Manṣūr or the beginning of the reign of al-Mahdī: "By God, after that (namely after the twelve caliphs predicted in a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet) there will be from us the Saffāḥ, the Manṣūr, and the Mahdī who will hand it (sc. the caliphate) over to ʿĪsā b. Maryam". Probably also a Kūfan was Ibn Djābir al-Aʿmash, who about the same time transmitted a *ḥadīth* ascribed to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "I heard the Messenger of God say, 'The Kāʾim is from us, from us is the Manṣūr, from us the Saffāḥ, and from us the Mahdī. As for the Kāʾim, the caliphate will come to him without his spilling a cupping glass [of blood]. As for the Manṣūr, no flag of his will be turned back. As for the Saffāḥ, he will pour out money and blood in abundance, and the Mahdī will fill it (the earth) with justice as it had been filled with oppression'." Ibn Djābir added that he thought the Manṣūr was Abū Djaʿfar (al-Manṣūr) and the Saffāḥ the caliph al-Mahdī. The tradition was probably, however, not originally coined for the ʿAbbāsids and may well be late. Umayyad Kūfan, going back to Ibn Djābir's authority, the Kūfan Abu 'l-Waddāk al-Hamdānī. A prediction that the Mahdī would be of the descendants of al-ʿAbbās was in the early ʿAbbāsid age attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār by an otherwise unknown Yazīd b. al-Walīd al-Khuzāʿī and transmitted by Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Baghdādī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim.

The predominant mood among the traditionists, however, turned quickly against the ʿAbbāsid pretensions to the Mahdīship in favour of ʿAlid hopes. Traditions supporting the view that the Mahdī would be a descendant of Muḥammad and his daughter Fāṭima spread in the early ʿAbbāsid age outside Kūfa also. In Baṣra, ʿImrān al-Kaṭṭān, a supporter of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and of his brother Ibrāhīm, circulated the following *ḥadīth* on the authority of Kaʿb: "The Messenger of God said, The Mahdī will be from me, with a bald forehead and an aquiline nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice as it was filled with injustice and oppression and will rule seven years'." Similar *ḥadīth*s were spread, on the authority of Abu 'l-Ṣiddīk al-Nādjī, by the pro-Shīʿī Kadar b. Khawwād al-Aʿrābī (d. 146/763-4) and other Baṣrans. In al-Rakka, Ziyād b. Bayān about this time disseminated the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, "The Mahdī will be of my family from the descendants of Fāṭima".

Support for the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh is reflected in the addition of "and his (the Mahdī's) father's name will agree with my father's name" to the *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim by some Kūfan transmitters. Most likely in his favour the following tradition was circulated by Shuʿayb b. Khālid, a Kūfan residing in Rayy. "ʿAlī said while looking at his son al-Ḥasan, 'Verily, this son of mine is a lord as the Prophet called him, and from his spine

will come forth a man who will be called by the name of your Prophet. He will resemble him in character but will not resemble him in shape. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice"'

The Mahdī was, however, identified as a descendant of al-Ḥusayn in a tradition attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and spread at this time by ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 155/772) in Egypt. "A man of the offspring of al-Ḥusayn will come forth from the east. Even if towering mountains were to confront him, he would raze them and take paths in them." This tradition already reflects the expectation of a second rising, after the ʿAbbāsid revolt, in the east. This expectation was now expressed in predictions about an army in white clothes with small black flags led by a man, or a client, of Tamīm named Shuʿayb b. Ṣāliḥ, coming from Khurāsān or Rayy to prepare the way for the Mahdī. The earliest prophecies of this type seem to have originated in ʿIrāḳ but the bulk of them, often greatly elaborated, came from Egyptian and Syrian sources. In Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa fabricated numerous such traditions providing them with various fictitious *isnāds*. In Syria, similar traditions were related on the authority of Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir of Ḥimṣ (d. 162 or 163/778-80), sometimes with an *isnād* going back to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. Others were spread by the Damascene Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam (d. 156/773). Further traditions of this type known apparently in both Syria and Egypt, came from a transmission of Djābir (al-Djuʿfī) from Abū Djaʿfar (Muḥammad al-Bāḳir), perhaps in book form. Since Djābir died in 132/750 at the latest, it is evident that this attribution is spurious. Some of these traditions describe in considerable detail the rise and career of the Sufyānī, his conquest and sacking of Kūfa, his defeats at the hands of Shuʿayb and the joining of the black flags from the Mashriḳ with the yellow flags from the Maghrib at the navel (*surra*) of Syria, i.e. Damascus. The death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh is reflected in predictions contained in the accounts ascribed to Djābir and Arṭāt, that the Pure Soul (*al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*), a descendant of the Prophet, would be killed in the strife about Medina on the Abṭaḥ al-Zayt. The Mahdī will appear in Mecca, receive the allegiance of Shuʿayb, and after further fighting will defeat the Kalbī army and kill the Sufyānī. According to some Syrian prophecies, he will reside in Jerusalem. His reign will last 24, 30, 39, or 40 years and he will be succeeded by caliphs of his family as by the Kalbīs. The Mahdī thus is not closely associated in these traditions with the end of the world, but some of these predict a second Mahdī who would conquer Constantinople and surrender the rule to Jesus upon his descent from heaven.

Despite the rapid spread of traditions about the coming of the Mahdī, opposition to the belief in him as expressed earlier by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did not entirely disappear among the *ḥadīth* scholars. The Yemenite Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Djanadī clad this opposition into a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, providing it with an *isnād* through al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to the Companion Anas, "Matters will only grow in hardship, the world will only increase in backward movement, and the people in greed. The Hour will rise only on the worst of people. There will be no Mahdī but ʿIsā b. Maryam." The *ḥadīth* was given added prestige by the fact that al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) transmitted it from al-Djanadī. Included by the Mālikī in his *Sunan*, it was later interpreted by supporters of the belief in the Mahdī as meaning that no-one spoke in the cradle (*mahd*) except Jesus or that the Mahdī would rule only in accordance with the instructions of Jesus since only the latter, as a prophet, was infallible (*maʿṣūm*). Many *ḥadīth* experts, among them al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, rejected it as inauthentic. Lingering doubts concerning the Mahdī may partly account for the absence of any traditions about him in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Mahdī traditions contained in the canonical Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māḍja, and al-Nasāʾī as well as the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal were, however, numerous enough to provide a solid basis for the popular belief in the Mahdī.

Later developments. Traditions about the Mahdī were gathered also in the post-classical collections of *ḥadīth* like those of al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī and al-Bayhaḳī. The eschatological rôle of the Mahdī became generally more pronounced. The view that the Mahdī would rule the Muslim community at the time of the descent of Jesus was commonly accepted doctrine now that he was identified with the leader of the prayer of the Muslims mentioned anonymously in earlier traditions who would offer to surrender his leadership to Jesus. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Āburī (d. 363/959) in his book on the merits (*manāḳib*) of al-Shāfiʿī could claim a broad, successive transmission (*tawātur*) of Mahdī traditions giving certainly that he would be of the Muslim community and that Jesus would pray behind him. Some of the acts which, according to earlier traditions, Jesus was to perform after his descent were now ascribed to the Mahdī, who would also aid him in the killing of the Dadjdjāl (*q.v.*). The Mahdī was more and more associated, too, with the great Muslim conquests predicted in *malḥama* traditions for the final time of the world, especially those of Constantinople and Rome (Rūmiyya), and was described as the ruler of the whole world. These tendencies are apparent in the traditions quoted by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 438/1046), who composed at least three different collections of *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī.

A new dimension in the career of the Mahdī appeared in the *K. al-Tadhkira* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1272) who quoted some traditions according to which he would first appear to Mūsā in the Sūs in the Extreme Maghrib and only later would receive a second oath of allegiance in Mecca. He would, moreover, gather an army of Berber tribes and cross the straits to al-Andalus, whose earlier plight and spoliation at the hands of the infidels is graphically described. The Mahdī would then preach in the mosque of Seville, receive the allegiance of all the Muslims and conquer seventy towns of the Rūm. Finally, he would sack the Church of Gold (*kanīsat al-dhahab*), but as his followers would quarrel over the division of the staff of Moses found there, the Rūm would gain the upper hand and pursue the Muslims as far as al-Fayyūm in Egypt before the final victory of the Mahdī. These traditions, according to one of which the Mahdī was to appear in 599/1202-3, are of late origin. They probably reflect the appearance of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130 [*q.v.*]) but express the hope for another Mahdī to reconquer al-Andalus. Ibn Tūmart does not mention an allusion to them in his description of the Mahdī. Ibn Khaldūn, however, describes some similar beliefs propagated by western Ṣūfīs, Ibn Ḳasī (d. 536/1142), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 623-4/1226-7) and his disciple Ibn Abī Wāṭil, quoting a work of the latter. These Ṣūfīs,

according to Ibn Khaldūn, predicted that the Mahdī would appear in the Maghrib. He further reports that many people until his own time expected the advent of Mahdī at the fortress (*ribāṭ*) of Māssa and travelled there in the hope of meeting him and pledging allegiance to him. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, a man pretending to be the Mahdī had gained some support there, but had soon been killed by the chiefs of the Maṣmūda. Belief that the Mahdī would arise in Morocco remained widespread there until modern times.

Eastern and Egyptian tradition largely ignored this development. Treatises dealing specifically with the Mahdī, assembling large numbers of traditions from the earlier collections, were produced by late traditionists like Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Maqdisī al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī, author of a *ʿIqd al-durar fī akhbār al-muntaẓar* composed in 658/1260; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who in his *al-ʿArf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* used Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī's "Forty *ḥadīths* on the Mahdī" as a base, adding to it extensively from other sources; and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565), who, besides writing two treatises on the Mahdī, of which *al-Qawl al-mukhtaṣar fī ʿalāmāt al-Mahdī al-muntaẓar* is extant, included a discussion of the subject in his anti-Shīʿī polemic *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa*. The general tendency of these treatises was to harmonise the divergent traditions. A few questions still aroused controversy. While Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī had clearly favoured belief that the Mahdī would be a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, followed by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, held the traditions affirming that the Mahdī would be a Ḥasanid to be better authenticated and argued that God preferred the descendants of al-Ḥasan in this respect since the latter had voluntarily renounced the caliphate out of compassion for the Muslim community while al-Ḥusayn had waged a war coveting it. This argument was refuted by ʿAlī al-Harawī al-Ḳārī (d. 1014/1606) in his *al-Mashrab al-wardī fī madhhab al-Mahdī*, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aydarūsī (d. 1192/1778), himself a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, supported the view that a Ḥusaynid would become the Mahdī. A theological problem arose about the prediction that Jesus would pray behind the Mahdī. Al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1390) argues in his commentary on the creed of al-Nasafī that, according to the sounder view, the Mahdī would follow Jesus in prayer since the latter, as a prophet, excelled him in religious rank. This view was rejected by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī and others with the argument that the initial prayer of Jesus behind the Mahdī was meant to signify his subjection to the *sharīʿa* of Islam, not the superiority of the Mahdī. The latter might therefore, as some traditions indicated, later pray behind Jesus. On the other hand, al-Suyūṭī, followed by al-Haytamī, objected to the traditions raising the Mahdī in rank above Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as in conflict with the consensus that the two caliphs were the most excellent of mankind after the prophets. The objection was rejected by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Barzandjī in his *al-Iṣḥāʿa fī ashrāṭ al-sāʿa* (finished in 1075/1665-6) with the argument that the consensus in this matter did not extend to the future. Influenced by Ṣūfī ideas, they maintained that the Mahdī, being infallible (*maʿṣūm*) as his judgement, would annul the two caliphs.

A Ṣūfī doctrine on the Mahdī had been expounded by Ibn al-ʿArabī in chapter 366 of his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. He described the expected Mahdī, a descendant of al-Ḥasan, as the Seal of the Saints (*khātam al-awliyāʾ*), just as Muḥammad had been the Seal of the Prophets. The Mahdī would impose the law of Islam with the sword and Jesus would be one of his *wazīrs*. He would be infallible in his *ijtihād* without relying on legal analogy (*ḳiyās*), and the *fuḳahāʾ* of the schools would be his opponents while the Ṣūfī saints would be his natural supporters. These views were further elaborated in the Ṣūfī circles dependent on Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought. A different Ṣūfī doctrine, refuted at length by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī, was that of the Indian Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Hindī Makhdūm al-Mulk [*see* ʿABD ALLĀH SULṬĀNPŪRĪ in Suppl.], who taught that both the Mahdī and Jesus would apply the legal doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa. This view was still propagated by a Ḥanafī *shaykh* in Medina in the time of al-Barazandjī, who succeeded in discrediting him. ʿAlī al-Ḳārī also censured the doctrine of the Mahdiyya who believed that their former *shaykh*, who had died in Khurāsān, had been the Mahdī and considered all Muslims denying this claim as infidels [*see* MAHDAWIYYA].

In spite of the support of the belief in the Mahdī by some prominent traditionists and Ṣūfīs, it never became an essential part of Sunnī religious doctrine. Sunnī creeds mention it but rarely. Many famous scholars like al-Ghazālī avoided discussing this subject. This attitude was often probably less motivated by doubts concerning the truth of the belief than by fear of encouraging politically disruptive movements in the Muslim community. Open criticism of the belief like that of Ibn Khaldūn who, in his *Muḳaddima*, undertook to refute the authenticity of all *ḥadīths* concerning the Mahdī, was exceptional.

Shīʿī doctrine. Among the Shīʿa, especially the *more radical groups, longing for a restorer of justice* and religion has usually been most intense. Belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the Family of the Prophet became a central aspect of the faith in radical Shīʿism in contrast to Sunnism. Distinctively Shīʿī was also the common belief in a temporary absence or occultation (*ghayba*) of the Mahdī and his eventual return in glory. As various members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were identified as the Mahdī but failed to fulfill the expectations about him in their lifetime, their followers transferred their hopes to a second coming. The pattern was already set in regard to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whose death was denied by the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*]. They believed that he was hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā and would return to rule the world. Similar beliefs arose around Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's sons Abū Hāshim (d. 98/716), the Djaʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (d. *ca.* 130/748), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762), Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765) and numerous other ʿAlids during the next centuries. The Shīʿī Mahdī was commonly given the epithet al-Ḳāʾim, the first one perhaps Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in his occultation. It has been suggested that the term may be connected with the epithet *ḳāʾem* found in Aramaic Samaritan texts and translated into Greek as ἀναστὰς (*see* G. Widengren, *Muhammad the Apostle of God and his ascension*, Uppsala 1955, 79, P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977, 165). In Samaritan and gnostic usage, the term appears to have the meaning of "the living one". Whatever the origin of the Arabic term, it is clear that in Shīʿī usage it came to be understood as the one who will rise and rule (*see* ḲĀʾIM AL-MUḤAMMAD). It was in common use before the end of the Umayyad age and largely replaced the term Mahdī in Twelver traditions.

Doctrine on the *ghayba* of the Mahdī was greatly developed after the death of the seventh *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim (183/799) among the Wāqifa [*q.v.*], who considered him the last *Imām* and expected his return as the Mahdī. While most of them believed that he had not died and was alive hiding, others held that he had died and would rise from death. They relied on statements attributed to Imām Djaʿfar to the effect that the Mahdī was called the Kāʾim because he would rise (*yaḳūm*) after having died. A book on the *ghayba* was written by one of the founders of the Wāqifa in Kūfa, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭāʾinī. Other books on the *ghayba* are known to have been written by the Kufan Wāqifīs ʿAbd Allāh b. Djabala (d. 220/834), ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Aʿraḏī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭāṭarī (d. 263/876-7), and al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samāʿa (d. 263/876-7). A Wāqifī was perhaps also Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Anmāṭī (Kūfan, first half of the 3rd/9th century), author of a *K. al-Ghayba*. Books on the *ghayba* were, however, in the same period also composed by some Imāmī scholars who believed in the continuation of the Imāmate after Mūsā, like al-ʿAbbās al-Nāshirī (d. 219 or 220/834-5) and the Kūfan Faḍl b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl.

The doctrine of the *ghayba* was thus well-documented by traditions of the *Imāms* before the occultation of the Twelfth *Imām* whom the majority of the Imāmiyya came to consider as the Mahdī after the death of the eleventh, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, in 260/874. Such earlier traditions could now be used and adapted to support the doctrine of the Mahdiship of the Twelfth *Imām*. Of Wāqifī origin was, for instance, the tradition attributed to *Imām* Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza and now applied to the Twelfth *Imām*: "In the Lord of this Order (*ṣāḥib hādhā al-amr*) there will be a precedent (*sunna*) from Moses, a precedent from Jesus, a precedent from Joseph, and a precedent from Muḥammad. As for the precedent from Moses, he will be afraid and watchful (*khāʾifʿ yataraḳḳab*), as for Jesus, it will be said about him what was said about Jesus, as for Joseph, imprisonment and concealment (*al sidjn wa ʾl-ghayba*), as for Muḥammad, his rising with the sword, following his conduct and explaining his traditions". The tradition clearly refers to the imprisonment of Mūsā al-Kāẓim and to the false claim that he had been killed by his enemies. Also of Wāqifī origin were traditions attributed to *Imām* Djaʿfar about the two occultations (*ghaybatān*) of the Mahdī like the following: "The Master of this Order will have two occultations. One will be longer so that it will even be said, 'He has died', and some will say, 'He has been killed'. No one but a few of his followers will remain loyal to him. None of his sons nor anyone else will have knowledge of his place except the client in charge of his affairs". The two absences referred to the two arrests of *Imām* Mūsā who had been briefly imprisoned under the caliph al-Mahdī before his final imprisonment by Hārūn al-Rashīd from which he did not return. Such traditions were now interpreted as referring to the Lesser and the Greater *ghayba* [*qq.v.*] of the Twelfth *Imām*. Twelver Shīʿī doctrine on the Kāʾim Mahdī and on his Occultation, based on traditions attributed to the *Imāms*, was authoritatively elaborated by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī (middle of the 4th/10th century) in his *K. al-Ghayba*, by Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) in his *Ikmāl al-dīn*, and by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) in his *K. al-Ghayba*.

Imāmī traditions about the career of the Mahdī after his advent largely reflect Sunnī traditions. He will be the lord of the sword and rule the world. Jesus will pray behind him after his descent from heaven. Thus did not raise a theological problem as in Sunnism, since the Mahdī, like all other *Imāms*, according to prevalent Imāmī doctrine, excels all prophets except Muḥammad in religious rank. Specifically Shīʿī is the expectation that the Mahdī will force all Muslims to accept the Shīʿī belief. Imām Djaʿfar is quoted as stating: "When the Kāʾim of us rises, he will offer the faith to every opponent (i.e. of ʿAlī, *nāṣib*). Either he will enter to it truly, or he will cut his neck or force him to pay the *djizya* as the non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) pay it now. He will gird himself with a travel bag and expel them from the towns to the countryside (*ṣawāḥil*)". The Kāʾim will also enforce the law as laid down by the *Imāms*, and accordingly prevent Muslims from repudiating their wives except by the *ṭalāḳ al-sunna*. The Mahdī thus was expected to restore the *sharīʿa* of Islam integrally, and this has always been orthodox Imāmī doctrine. More radical doctrine was propagated by the Karāmiṭa (see KARMATĪ), who held that the Mahdī would abrogate the *sharīʿa* and bring a new message. According to al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 62), they interpreted a statement ascribed to *Imām* Djaʿfar, "If our Kāʾim were to rise you would learn the Koʾān anew", in that sense. Similar ideas appear to be expressed in another statement ascribed to *Imām* Djaʿfar, "When our Kāʾim rises, he will bring a different order than what was before (*djāʾa bi-amrin ghayri ʾl-ladhī kāna*)".

Countering Sunnī criticism, Imāmī apologetics endeavoured to prove that the description of the Mahdī contained in Sunnī *ḥadīths* applied to the Twelfth *Imām* and that the longevity of the Mahdī implied in the doctrine of the *ghayba* was not unreasonable in view of revealed data about Khiḍr, Jesus, and the Dadjdjāl, and secular reports about long-lived men (*muʿammarūn*). Such apologetics gained considerable momentum in the middle of the 7th/13th century when several Sunnī scholars supported the Imāmī belief that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Expected Mahdī. In 648/1250-1 the Syrian Shāfiʿī traditionist Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Gandjī al-Ḳurashī, later (658/1260) murdered in Damascus for co-operation with the Mongol conquerors, composed a *K. al-Bayān fī akhbār ṣāḥib al-zamān* in which he proved the Mahdiship of the Twelfth *Imām* relying solely on Sunnī traditions. In 650/1252 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-ʿAdawī al-Naṣībīnī, a Shāfiʿī scholar and former vizier of the Artuḳid al Malik al Saʿīd of Mārdīn, completed in Aleppo his *Maṭālib al-suʾūl fī manāḳib al al-rasūl* in which he supported the imāmate of the Twelve *Imāms* and answered Sunnī objections to the belief that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Mahdī. The Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, shortly before his death in 654/1256 in Damascus, wrote his *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma bi-dhikr khaṣāʾiṣ al-aʾimma* assembling reports from Sunnī sources about the virtues of ʿAlī and his descendants, especially the Twelve *Imāms*, and at the end affirmed that the Twelfth *Imām* was the Lord of the Time, the Expected Kāʾim and Mahdī. In support, he quoted the following *ḥadīth*, terming it well-known (*mashhūr*), "The Messenger of God said, 'At the end of time, a man of my descendants will come forth whose name is like my name and whose *kunya* is like my *kunya*. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice. That is the Mahdī'". He thus avoided one of the major Sunnī objections

to the Mahdiship of the Twelfth *Imām*, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, viz. that the *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim to its expanded form stipulating the identity of the father's name of the Mahdī with that of the Prophet's father Al-Ganǧī, on the other hand, quoted the testimony of al-Ḥurī that this stipulation had been added to the *ḥadīth* by the Kūfan transmitter Zāʾida (d. 160-1/777-8). A problem arose also about the Sunnī *ḥadīth*, related by Ibn Ḥanbal and others, "The Prophet said, 'A community will not perish among whom I am the first, Jesus as the last, and the Mahdī is in the middle (*fī wasaṭihi*)'". This implied that Jesus would remain after the Mahdī and there would be no *Imām* before the end of the world, as against a cardinal Imāmī dogma. Al Ganǧī therefore interpreted the *ḥadīth* as meaning that Jesus should be the last caller (*dāʿī*) inviting mankind to accept Islam but would *not* survive the Mahdī.

Testimony in support of the Mahdiship of the Twelfth *Imām* by these Sunnī authors, as also of later ones like the Mālikī scholar Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ al Isʿāfuṣ al-Mālikī (d. 855/1451), a Maġribī resident in Mecca, and, more recently, the Ḥanafī Naḳshbandī Shaykh Sulaymān b Ibrāhīm al-Ḳundūzī al-Balḫī (d. 1294/1877 in Istanbul), was regularly noted by Imāmī apologists. The works of al-Ganǧī and Ḳamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭalḥa were extensively quoted already by ʿAlī b ʿĪsā al-Irbilī (d. 692/1293) in his *Kašf al-ġumma fī maʿrifat al aʾimma*, which in turn won positive comment from Sunnī authors because of its extensive reliance on Sunnī sources. Further support for the Mahdiship of the Twelfth *Imām* came from Ṣūfī circles. Already Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066) had noted that some Ṣūfī gnostics (*ġamāʿa min ahl al-kašf*) agreed with the Imāmī doctrine about the identity of the Mahdī and his ġayba. The Persian Ṣūfī Ṣadr al Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥammūyī (late 7th/13th century) supported Imāmī doctrine on the Mahdī in his *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*. The Egyptian Ṣūfī al Shaʿrānī, while generally showing no sympathy for Shīʿism, affirmed in his *al-Yawāqīt wa ʾl-ǧawāhir* (written in 958/1551) that the Mahdī was a son of *Imām* al Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī born in the year 255/869 and would remain alive until his meeting with Jesus. His advent could in suspected *after* the year 1030/1621. He based his assertion on the testimony of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿIrāḳī, who claimed to have met the Mahdī, and on a spurious quotation from *Ibn al ʿArabī's al Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* identifying the Expected Mahdī with the Twelfth *Imām*. This quotation of Ibn al-ʿArabī was noted and accepted by both Imāmī and Sunnī scholars. The Egyptian Shaykh al Ṣabbān (d. 1206/1792), in his *Isʿāf al-rāġibīn fī sīrat al-Muṣṭafā wa-faḍāʾil ahl baytih al ṭāhirīn*, censured Ibn al-ʿArabī for supporting such a view against the clear evidence of the traditions accepted by Sunnī scholars. Al-Ṣabbān was in turn taken to task for criticising Ibn al-ʿArabī by Ḥasan al ʿIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī (q.v. in Suppl.), who in his *Masāʾirah al-aswār* (first published in 1275/1858-9) maintained that the Ṣūfī gnostics were the most truthful interpreters of the prophetic tradition. In order to blunt the Shīʿī implications of al-Shaʿrānī's statement, al-ʿIdwī quoted it, adding a thousand years to the birthdate of the Mahdī and suppressing both the date for his advent and Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿIrāḳī's claim to have met him. The Mahdī thus was born in 1255/1839 and was merely a *descendant* of the eleventh *Imām*, not the Twelfth *Imām* of the Shīʿa. Al-ʿIdwī's false quotation of al Shaʿrānī was copied by the Egyptian Shaykh al Shablanǧī in his *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāqib al-mahdī al-muntaẓar* composed in 1290/1873.

In pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism, the terms Mahdī and Ḳāʾim were both used, as an Imāmī Shīʿism, for the expected messianic *Imām*. After the rise of the Fāṭimids, some of the predictions concerning the Mahdī were held to have been realised by the Fāṭimid caliph al Mahdī, the founder of the dynasty, while others would be fulfilled by his successors. This theory was elaborated by the Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) in his K. *Šarḥ al-aḫbār* where he quoted numerous traditions about the Mahdī from Sunnī, Imāmī and Zaydī sources and applied them to al Mahdī and his successors, partially by interpreting them figuratively (see W. Ivanov, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942, 97-122, Ar. texts, 1-31). The name al-Mahdī was henceforth reserved to the first Fāṭimid caliph, while the eschatological *Imām* and Seventh Apostle still expected for the future was only called the Ḳāʾim.

Among the Zaydīs, whose doctrine did not raise the nature of the *Imām* to a superhuman level, Mahdī expectations have generally been weak or marginal. The heresiographer Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ reported that some Zaydī groups (Dārūdiyya) expected the return of Muḥammad b ʿAbd Allāh al Nafs al-Zakiyya, Muḥammad b al-Ḳāsim Ṣāḥib al-Ṭālḳān (d. 219/834), or Yaḥyā b ʿUmar, who led a popular revolt in Kūfa in 250/864. Their views have, however, left no trace in Zaydī tradition. A more serious Mahdīistic movement arose in the Yaman around the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥusayn b al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIyānī (401-4/1010-13), who claimed to be the Expected Mahdī. His death was denied by his family and followers, known as the Ḥusayniyya, and his successors did not claim the title of *Imām* in expectation of his return. The sect of the Ḥusayniyya, opposed by the majority of the Zaydīs, survived until the 8th/14th century. It is characteristic for the insignificance of Mahdī expectations among the Zaydīs that the Sayyid Ḥamīdān (7th/13th century), representing Zaydī orthodoxy, could recognise al Ḥusayn b al Ḳāsim as the Mahdī, who had appeared at the time predicted by the Prophet, while censuring those of his supporters who raised his rank above that of the Zaydī *Imām* before him and refused to recognise those after him (see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 198-201).

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(W. MADELUNG)

al-MAHDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, the third ʿAbbāsid caliph

The son of the caliph al-Manṣūr, he was born, probably in 126 or 127/743-5 to Idhād in Khūzistān when his father was involved in the ill fated rebellion of ʿAbd Allāh b Muʿāwiya [*q v*] against the Umayyads in that area. As soon as he was of age, his father began to train him in political affairs In 141/758-9 he was sent to Rayy as governor of Khurāsān He did not settle in Marw himself or take an active part in the campaigns against the various rebels in the area, but remained in Rayy acting as an intermediary between the Khurāsānī supporters of the régime and the caliph in ʿIrāḳ This role enabled him to build up a substantial following among the Khurāsānīs, who were to be his main supporters in his struggle to secure the succession to the caliphate. In 144/762 he visited ʿIrāḳ briefly to marry his first cousin Rayṭa, daughter of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ, before returning to Khurāsān, where he remained until 151/768 He had his own court in Rayy, and a new administrative quarter was added to the city during the period of his residence

Al-Saffāḥ had laid down that al-Manṣūr should be succeeded at caliph by his nephew ʿIsā b Mūsā, but after his accession al-Manṣūr worked to secure a position for al-Mahdī; in 141/758-9 he was made ʿIsā's heir, while in 147/764 pressure from the caliph, and from the Khurāsānī soldiers stationed in ʿIrāḳ, forced ʿIsā to resign his position and accept al-Mahdī as heir apparent.

On the death of al-Manṣūr, on the Pilgrimage of 158/October 775, al-Mahdī, who was already in Baghdād, succeeded to the throne without opposition. Al-Mahdī's policies were in many ways a continuation of his father's, and like al-Manṣūr he continued to rely on the Khurāsānī army and members of the ʿAbbāsid family as the main supporters of the régime He seems to have emphasized more strongly than his two predecessors the religious nature of his office and the role of the caliph as the champion of Islam. His regnal title of al-Mahdī, a title previously adopted by ʿAlīd pretenders to the caliphate, was an indication of this He also showed his concern for religion by the enlargement of mosques, at Mecca and Baṣra and the Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, by improving the water supply on the Pilgrimage route from ʿIrāḳ to the Ḥidjāz and by organising expeditions against the Byzantines. The concern for the *hadjdj* and the *ghazā* was part of a policy to establish the caliph as leader of the Muslim community as a whole. He also sought to maintain the parity of the religion by vigorous suppression of the *zindīḳs* [*q v*], dualist or gnostic heretics, some of whom were executed.

He attempted to heal the rift which had developed in the family of the Prophet between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlīds and which had led to the rebellion of Muḥammad "the Pure Soul" in 145/762 He invited members of the ʿAlīd family to court and granted them pensions, as well as trying to reconcile their traditional supporters among the people of Medina by recruiting a guard of *Anṣār* and by the distribution of largesse. In the main, this policy seems to have been successful and there were no large-scale ʿAlīd disturbances during the reign

Al-Mahdī's main adviser in his relations with the ʿAlīd was the *wazīr* Yaʿḳūb b Dāwud, who had made contacts with members of the family in prison and who in 160/777 placed his services at the disposal of the caliph Yaʿḳūb succeeded in reconciling with the caliph some prominent ʿAlīd dissidents, and in doing an acquired enormous power, supervising almost the entire administration and most government appointments He failed however, to win over the most active and militant ʿAlīd, ʿĪsā b Zayd, who continued in hiding as a focus for opposition and this failure coupled with resentment felt by many others at court against his influence, led to his fall and imprisonment in 166/782-3.

The power attained by Yaʿḳūb points to the general increase in power of the bureaucracy and the secretaries (*kuttāb* sing. *kātib* [*q v*]) during the reign of al-Mahdī Until this time, the *kuttāb* had acted as individual secretaries to rulers but now, under the leadership of the Barmakid [see AL-BARĀMIKA] family, they came to form an important pressure group at court. From 161/777-8, Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī became tutor and adviser to the young prince Hārūn, later the caliph al-Rashīd, thus becoming one of the most influential figures at court The rise of the *kuttāb* at this time provoked a reaction among the leaders of the Khurāsānī army, who felt that their position was being threatened, and the caliph was warned that he was in danger of losing the support of his army by his great-uncle ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b ʿAlī The tension between the bureaucrats and the military which originated at this time was to be a continuing feature of ʿAbbāsid politics

Al-Mahdī's reign was in the main a period of peace and prosperity There were disturbances in Khurāsān, notably the prolonged rebellion of al Muḳanna [*q v*] between about 159/775-6 and 163/780,

which was only suppressed by considerable military effort. Elsewhere, Muslim armies expanded the influence of the caliphate on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān, Farghāna [q.v.] was attacked, and al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a somewhat fanciful list of eastern monarchs who are said to have acknowledged the caliph's authority, including the Kings of Tibet and China. There was also a maritime expedition against the unbelievers in Sind. As usual, however, the main military effort was concentrated on the Byzantine frontier. In 162/778-9 the Byzantines destroyed the Muslim outpost of al-Ḥadath [q.v.], and the caliph responded by sending his son Hārūn on two expeditions in 163/780 and 165/782, which raided the empire without making any lasting territorial gains.

Al-Mahdī designated as his heirs two of his sons by his favourite wife al-Khayzurān [q.v.], Mūsā, who took the title of al-Hādī, and Hārūn, who took the title of al-Rashīd. Both three were given responsibilities in their father's lifetime, Mūsā in Baghdād, where he developed close links with the Khurāsānī soldiery, and Hārūn in Syria and the Byzantine frontier regions. The arrangement was that Mūsā should succeed and be followed by his brother Hārūn, but there were indications that the caliph persuaded by al-Khayzurān, was about to change these dispositions at the time of his death. Nothing had been done however, when he died on 22 Muharram 169/4 August 785 at Māsabadhān, probably as the result of a hunting accident.

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-MAHDĪ [See IBN TŪMART, AL-MAHDIYYA].

AL-MAHDĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. HISHĀM B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-NĀṢIR, ABŪ ʾL-WALĪD, eleventh Umayyad caliph of Spain. He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II al-Muʾayyad [q.v.], and again to Sulaymān b. Ḥakam al-Mustaʿīn's [q.v.] place in the period of general rebellion which at the end of the 4th-beginning of the 5th/11th century immediately preceded the establishment throughout Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [q.v.].

The third of the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjibs*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, to get himself designated heir-apparent. This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne, they arranged that one of their number, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, a great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, who had many followers among the mob of Cordova, should head a rebellion. Advantage was taken of an expedition, which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol was to lead in person against the Christians of Galicia, to raise the standard of rebellion. On 16 Djumādā II 399/25 February 1009, Muḥammad b. Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova, where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him. He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph. The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the ʿĀmirid town of al-Madīna al-Zāhira [q.v.]. All the treasure accumulated there, including a vast sum in money, was seized and brought to the new caliph who, to destroy ʿĀmirid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr had built only a few years before. At the same time, Muḥammad b. Hishām, who had adopted the honorific *laḳab* of al-Mahdī, took steps to meet the counter-attack expected from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol. Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madīna al-Zāhira, the *ḥādjib*, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Calatrava (Kalʿat Rabāḥ [q.v.]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops, who were mainly Berbers. He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there. But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Djumādā II 399/1 March 1009. His body was crucified in Cordova.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chiefs of his army as well as his relatives of the Umayyad house. A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries. The Berbers put at their head an Umayyad pretender, Hishām b. Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir, whom they proclaimed caliph with the title al-Rashīd, and laid siege to Cordova. Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed. The Berbers then chose a new Umayyad prince, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho Garces and his Castilians. In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict. He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b. al-Muʾayyad whom he had himself deposed and their given out as dead, but this was in vain. On 16 Rabīʿ I 400/3 November 1009 the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers. Al-Mahdī's only hope was to trade himself. The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaymān, received the oath of allegiance at Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh.

In the following month, al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo, where he was well received by the inhabitants. He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Catalans (*Ifrandj*) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400/May-June 1010. The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova. To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn returned to besiege the city. Al-Mahdī, betrayed by his retainers, was slain during the siege

in the palace in Cordova by some ʿĀmirid slaves on 8 Dhu ʾl-Ḥijjadja 400/23 July 1010. His first reign had lasted nine months; the second less than two.

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

MAHDĪ ʿALĪ KHĀN, the most outstanding vizier of the later Nawwābs of Awadh.

He started his career from the early reign of Nawwāb Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798-1814) as a *chaklādār* (an officer of one of the revenue districts) of *Ghāzīpūr* Muḥammadī and then of Faydābād. His administration made the *Ghāzīpūr* under his control exceedingly prosperous. He himself became fabulously rich and was made a minister. Early in the reign of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān's successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814-27), Mahdī ʿAlī lost his position because of his resentments at the interference of the Awadh Resident Colonel Baillie with the Awadh administration. Much of his property was seized and he was imprisoned. After his release from prison, he moved to the British territory at Fatḥgarh in 1824 and began to live in a grand style. After the death of Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar in October 1827, his son Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar appointed Mahdī ʿAlī as his *nāʾib* (chief minister). The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck was highly impressed by Mahdī ʿAlī's administrative abilities and supported his schemes. Mahdī ʿAlī reduced the salaries of undeserving favourites of the court, slashed the stipend of the ladies of the palace and even curtailed the expenses of the King. After four years of strong rule he was dismissed in 1832 on the pretext of behaving arrogantly towards the Queen Mother and an incompetent minister called Rawshan al-Dawla was appointed in his place. The reforms introduced by Mahdī ʿAlī were speedily reversed and the prosperity of the kingdom declined. Mahdī ʿAlī retired to Farrukhābād and died in obscurity.

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(S. A. A. Rizvi)

MAHDĪ KHĀN ASTARĀBĀDĪ, Mīrzā (Muḥammad), court secretary and historian of Nādir Shāh of Iran (reigned 1148-60/1736-47), author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī* (also known as *Durra-yi nādira*).

Little is known for certain about the life of Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, not even the dates of his birth and death. The *takhalluṣ* by which he is sometimes called, Kawkabī, is likewise disputed (Shahīdī, pp. *nd*). He was presumably born at Astarābād, the son of one Muḥammad Naṣīr, and apparently moved to the capital Iṣfahān during the twilight of the *Ṣafawid dynasty or the Afghān occupation of Iran*. According to documents in his collected official correspondence (*Munshaʾāt*; see Anwār, pp. *xxb*, *passim*; Shahīdī, pp. *nd*), he wrote a formal congratulation to Nādir on his capture of Iṣfahān in 1142/1729. For the next seventeen years he served Nādir as head of the secretariat (*munshī al-mamālik*), then after his coronations as official historian (*muʾarrikh-i mamlik*). In spring of 1160/1747 he was sent together with Muṣṭafā Khān Bigdilī Shāmlū on an embassy to the Ottoman court in order to ratify the peace treaty recently concluded by Nādir. They had gone no farther than Baghdād when the news of the Shāh's assassination overtook them, and the embassy was discontinued. Mīrzā Mahdī returned to Iran and spent the remainder of his life in retirement —whether at Mashhad, Tabrīz or elsewhere is uncertain—completing the historical and philological works which he had begun during his service with Nādir. He died some time between 1162/1749 and 1182/1768.

Mīrzā Mahdī is chiefly remembered for his two histories of Nādir Shāh, the *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī* and the *Durra-yi nādira*. The former is a detailed year-by-year record of Nādir's career, particularly of his military campaigns, though marred by an expedient eulogy of his patron at became the inspiration and model for several histories of the subsequent Afsharid and Zand periods, notably tha *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā* of Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ Nāmī. The *Durra-yi nādira* ("Rare pearl") treats the same material in the florid and abstruse style imitated by the Ilkhānid historian Waṣṣāf, as a tour de force of forced metaphors and Arabic quotations. Mīrzā Mahdī also made valuable contributions to Turkish studies with his *Sangilākh*, a Persian dictionary of eastern Turkish (Caghatāy) based on the poetry of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, and with his Caghatāy grammar, *Makhzan al-lughat*.

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(J. R. Perry)

AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD, a title and name of a number of Zaydī *imāms* of the Yemen.

About 250 years after al-Hādī ila ʾl-Ḥakk Yaḥyā, the founder of the Zaydiyya in the Yemen, his direct descendant, al-Mutawakkil ʿala ʾllāh Aḥmad, had, between 532/1137-8 and 566/1170, restored Zaydī territory to its extent in al-Hādī's time, with Ṣaʿda, Nadjrān and, for a time also Zabīd and Ṣanʿā. A generation later (593-614/1197-1217) the mountainous region from Ṣaʿda in the north to Dhamār, south of Ṣanʿā, was again ruled by the Zaydī al-Manṣūr bi'llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Hamza, not a direct descendant of al-Hādī, but of the latter's brother, ʿAbd Allāh. Al-Manṣūr was twice able to enter Ṣanʿā, but his power was severely limited by the last Ayyūbid ruler of the Yemen, al-Malik al-Masʿūd Yūsuf (612-26/1215-29). After the death of al-Manṣūr in

614/1217, the Zaydī house was split, al-Hādī Yaḥyā b al-Muḥsin, a descendant of al-Hādī ila l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, declaring himself *imām* in Ṣa'da, while al-Manṣūr's sons asserted their right to the imāmate further south. An attempt to heal this long-standing rift within the dynasty was made by

2. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN. His genealogy would appear to have been clearly established by the usually reliable Rasūlid genealogist, al-Malik al-Ashraf 'Umar b Yūsuf (*Turfat al aṣḥāb*, 101-2), as follows: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b Aḥmad b al-Ḳāsim b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḳāsim b Aḥmad b Ismā'īl b Abī 'l-Ḥarīkāt b Aḥmad b al-Ḳāsim b Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim Tarjuman al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b Ismā'īl b Ibrāhīm b al Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b Abī Ṭālib.

In 646/1248 Aḥmad proclaimed himself *imām* in the fortress of Thulā, north west of Ṣan'ā', with the support of the Banū Ḥamza Zaydīs, his father's family, and with the possible connivance of the Rasūlal *tiel* holder of Ṣan'ā', the sultan's nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al Ḥasan, whose loyalty to his family was at best only lukewarm. Aḥmad's position was strengthened by the murder in 647/1250 of Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, the Rasūlid sultan, a crime which may have had the support of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad. The latter continued his fickle behaviour into the sultanate of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, son of Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, at times appearing in support his family, the Rasūlids, against the Zaydī *imām* al-Mahdī Aḥmad, at times flirting with the latter and showing open rebellion against the Rasūlids. The mystery is why such an astute leader as al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf put up with such behaviour, for his nephew seems to have been able to patch up his quarrels and disloyalties with his uncle, the sultan, with no difficulty on more than one occasion. The position of al-Mahdī Aḥmad improved for a time, for he was able to take Ṣan'ā' in 648/1250; although harassed by Asad al-Dīn, who held the fortress of Barāsh close by, he was able to extend his influence south as far as Dhamār. But within the year al-Mahdī Aḥmad had to abandon Ṣan'ā'. Asad al-Dīn sold him Barāsh, but it was on account of this that the final breach between them occurred. Asad al-Dīn yet again made his peace with his uncle, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad's fate, however, was not to be decided by the Rasūlids but within the Zaydī camp. Quarrels arose and a rival *imām*, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, was announced in 652/1254 in Ṣa'da. In the next year a Zaydī assembly pronounced Aḥmad a deposition. He fought on with the remainder of his followers, but was killed in 656/1258 and buried in Dhu Bīn (invariably written Dhibīn in the sources).

Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, who adopted the official title of al-Mutawakkil and recognised the Rasūlids as his overlords, was at once challenged by a rival *imām* in the person of Abū Muḥammad al Ḥasan b Wahhās. A number of other *imāms* were recognised before

2. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. AL-MURTAḌĀ b Aḥmad b al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal b Manṣūr b al-Mufaḍḍal b al-Ḥadjdjādj b 'Alī b Yaḥyā b al Ḳāsim b Yūsuf al-Dā'ī b. Yaḥya al Manṣūr b Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. The last named was the son and second successor of al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā. After the death of the *Imām* al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, killed in 793/1391 when thrown from his mule which had been frightened by a bird, a *kādī*, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dawwārī, with other Zaydī notables continued the Zaydī administration for a time on behalf of his sons who were all minors. The Zaydī *'ulamā'*, however, assembled in the Djāmi' al-Dīn mosque in Ṣan'ā' and appointed Aḥmad b Yaḥyā as *imām*. 'Abd Allāh al-Dawwārī thereupon had 'Alī, the son of al-Nāṣir, proclaimed *imām*, and al-Mahdī Aḥmad and those supporting him left for Bayt Baws where they were immediately besieged by the rival *imām*, 'Alī. For the remainder of that year and into 794/1392 the two claimants to the Zaydī imāmate fought for supremacy. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad was caught in Ma'bar, south of Ṣan'ā', by forces of his rival, 'Alī, and languished in prison until 801/1399, a period of over seven years in that year he was freed with the help of his jailers. He lived on, however, until 840/1437, when he died near Ḥadīḍa of the plague. Ironically, enough, his erstwhile rival the *Imām* 'Alī died in Ṣan'ā' of the plague in that same year.

The choice of Ibn al-Murtaḍā as *Imām* was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand, he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and paraenetic, he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book *al-Azhār fī fiḳh al-a'imma al-aṭhār* (Berlin ms. 4319) on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* (Berlin mss 4894-4907) on which he likewise wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, if only for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view in that of al-Ash'arī or al-Shahrastānī.

About 80 years after al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, from 922/1516 onwards, the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī, *al-Barḳ al-yamānī fī 'l-fatḥ al-'Uthmānī*, in S. de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, iv, 412-504, and A. Rutgers, *Historia Jemanae sub Hasana Pascha*, Leiden 1838). In his struggle with them al-Manṣūr billāh al-Ḳāsim b Muḥammad, a descendant of al-Hādī in the seventeenth generation, was able in ca. 1000/1591 to restore the present imāmate in Ṣan'ā' (see A. S. Tritton, *The rise of the Imams of Sana*, Oxford 1925). Of his sons Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyad succeeded him. Even in his reign, but still more after his death in 1054/1644, when his successor Ismā'īl, another son of al-Ḳāsim was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al-Ḳāsim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the *Imām*

3. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḲĀSIM. His father was not *Imām*, but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar. In 1048/1639 Aḥmad appeared in the hills of Wuṣāb, in 1051/1642 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage. Just at the accession of Ismā'īl, he set out with another cousin against Ṣan'ā'. At first he came to terms with the *Imām*, but then fought in different places for his own hand, e.g. at Dhulā and again in the Djabal Wuṣāb. In 1070/1659 he won Ḥaḍramawt for Ismā'īl, to which the Zaydīs had been summoned by the disputes for the throne. When in 1087/1676

on the death of Ismāʿīl he himself assumed the imāmate, a nephew, al-Kāsim b Muḥammad al-Muʾayyad, proclaimed himself *imām* and was recognised particularly in the remoter territory in the south towards Tihāma. A Zaydī assembly of leading Sharīfs and *ʿulamāʾ* met, at which Aḥmad was with some difficulty recognised as the legitimate *imām*. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other *aʾimma* remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country. But Aḥmad b al-Ḥasan died soon afterwards in 1092/1854 in al-Ghirās near Shibām, which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Ḥasan Pasha, possibly from a bullet wound, sustained in action against a recalcitrant tribe. A notable feature of his comparatively uneventful imāmate was his banishment of the Jews from Ṣanʿāʾ, the razing of their synagogue and the building of the Djāmiʿ mosque on its site (1090-1/1679 ff). After the short and weak reign of his son al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (to 1097/1686) family feuds broke out again. Among the later *imāms* of this Kāsimid dynasty another Aḥmad b al-Ḥusayn b al-Kāsim (from 1221/1806) again bore the official title of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh.

Bibliography (apart from the sources and studies cited in the original *EI*¹ article): G. R. Smith, *The Ṣulayḥids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, GMS, XXVII/1-2, London 1974-8, vol. i being the text of Ibn Ḥātim's *al-Sunūf al-ghāliya bi-ʾl-ḥiṣṣa*, etc., useful for I. only; al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949 (for I. only); Ibn al-Dayba', *Kurrat al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Cairo 1977, is of some value for 1. and 2., the Zaydī chronicle of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī* etc., ed. S. A. F. Ashour, Cairo 1968, provides useful information on 1. and 2. and has a relatively impartial approach to internal Zaydī schisms. For 3., an unpublished ms. source is Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Bahdjat al-zaman, the ḥayy to his Anbāʾ al zaman* chronicling events in Yemen between 1046/1636-7 and 1099/1687-8. Published materials include Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 180-1; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 43-4, ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. al-Karmalī, Cairo 1930, 68; and Djurāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf min taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1951, 167-9.

(R. STROTHMANN [G. R. SMITH and J. R. BLACKBURN])

AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, the first "manifested" (*ẓāhir*) Ismāʿīlī *Imām* and the first caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Ifrīḳiya, while the historicity of this fact is conclusively established, there is doubt as to the Fāṭimid origin of ʿUbayd Allāh and subsequently as to the authenticity of his imāmate in the Ismāʿīlī line.

It would be pointless however, before giving an account of his activity as a sovereign, to digress upon the thorny subject of the *nasab* of the first Fāṭimid monarch, to which the author of the present article has, moreover, elsewhere devoted substantial consideration (see *DM*). This study will be confined therefore to exposing the essential features as a means of bringing to light the political and social conditions in which the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* developed in the Orient even before the imāmate fell to ʿUbayd Allāh, then in the Maghrib on the eve of the foundation of the Fāṭimid caliphate.

The question is whether ʿUbayd Allāh—ʿAbd Allāh according to the Ismāʿīlīs, who reject the diminutive form of his name on which Sunnī and Khāridjī authors agree—possessed an ʿAlid ascendancy through a family relationship with Ismāʿīl, the seventh *muḥtam Imām*, or whether he was quite simply the great-grandson of the *dāʿī* Maymūn al-Kaddāḥ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN]. The documentation currently available is insufficient to provide a conclusive answer. It may nevertheless be asserted definitely that it was the seventh *Imām*, Ismāʿīl (d. ca. 145/762) who laid the foundations of the Ismāʿīlī movement, then his son Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl who elaborated the doctrine and organised the preaching (*daʿwa*) with the valuable assistance of the *dāʿī* Maymūn al-Kaddāḥ. It could be concluded that this *daʿwa* in favour of the ʿAlid descendants of the Ḥusaynid branch was thus initiated in the period of secrecy (*satr*), that is, at the beginning of the second half of the 2nd/8th century, and continued until the end of the 3rd/9th century, to be concluded finally with the "manifestation" (*ẓuhūr*) of the *Imām* al-Mahdī.

No sure light can be thrown upon the order of certain successors in which the imāmate was transmitted during this long period of secret preaching, and how the imamate effectively passed from the line of Ismāʿīl to that of the family of al-Kaddāḥ, because of the variety of contradictory and impassioned opinions which our Sunnī and Khāridjī sources have reproduced with the obvious zeal of their authors. Among the Ismāʿīlīs authors themselves, profound disagreements have survived, depending on whether the sources consulted are works of doctrine intended for public consumption (*satr*) or esoteric texts reserved for the initiates (*bāṭin*).

However, whether al-Mahdī be an authentic ʿAlid or a descendant of al-Kaddāḥ, it is appropriate to stress the importance of his role in the considerable development of the *daʿwa* at the moment that he was obliged to make it public, beginning from his home in Salamiyya and promulgating it across Persia, Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, Bahrayn, Yemen, Egypt and even the distant Maghrib.

Nourished by the political and social unrest fomented among the Nabataean, Aramaean and Zandj masses in the East, Copts in Egypt and Berbers in Ifrīḳiya, strengthened, at the time of the decline of the ʿAbbāsid empire, as a result of the spectacular development of the Karmaṭī or Carmathian movement which extolled the same revolutionary ideal of political reform and egalitarian justice, perfectly organised and covering the various "constituencies" of the Islamic world (*djazīra*), the Ismāʿīlī preaching ultimately entered, just at the time that al-Mahdī acceded to the imāmate in 285/898, a decisive phase, that of its Maghribī diversion.

Two decisive events influenced this movement of the *daʿwa* in the direction of the Maghrib, the Karmaṭī dissidence in the East and the successes of the apostleship of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in Lesser Kabylia in the West. As for the schism between the Karmaṭī movement and the centre of the *daʿwa* it took place at the same time that the imāmate fell to al-Mahdī, whose authority the new Karmaṭī chief, Zikrawayh, refused to recognise. It was thus to fend off the formidable threat posed to Salamiyya that al-Mahdī resigned himself to fleeing this town and setting out towards the far Maghrib at about the end of summer 299/909.

In fact, the apostleship undertaken on behalf of the *Imām* by the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in this country, among the Kutāma Berbers of Lesser Kabylia,

developed into an open insurrection against the Ifrīkiyan kingdom of the Aghlabids. Al-Mahdī made his way to Sidjilmāssa, in the furthest Maghrib, there to await the final victory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh and his Kutāma partisans. His stay in this town was to last five years, until the day that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, having conquered on his behalf the kingdom of the Banū ʾl-Aghlab, arrived there solemnly to present him with power and to escort him to Ifrīkiya, where he took possession of the throne at Raḳḳāda on Thursday 20 Rabīʿ II 297/6 January 910.

On his accession, the first Fāṭimid sovereign was 36 or 37 years old, having been born at ʿAskar Mukram in 259 or 260/873 or 874. Ismāʿīlī and Sunnī authors agree in attributing to him qualities of tenacity and prudent wisdom which proved to be of great benefit to him in the course of various vicissitudes between the time of his flight from Salamiyya and his triumphal entry into Raḳḳāda.

Al-Mahdī was officially proclaimed caliph on the day following his arrival, Friday 25 Rabīʿ II 297/7 January 910. The edicts of enthronement and proclamation emphasised the restoration of the imāmate in the line of descent of the Prophet and of his heir (*waṣī*), through his daughter Fāṭima, and the recovery of the caliphate usurped by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids.

Immediately upon his enthronement, al-Mahdī took in hand the responsibilities of state, letting it be known that he intended to exercise personally the power gained on his behalf by Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He thus eclipsed the prestige of the latter, his brother Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās and certain Kutāma chieftains who, offended, were not slow to foment a conspiracy against him. But, assisted in his role as sovereign by Arab dignitaries who rallied to his cause, having earlier served the Aghlabid *amīrs*, al-Mahdī did not hesitate to rid himself of the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who was executed along with his brother and their Kutāmī accomplices.

With the same determination, al-Mahdī set about consolidating his authority through energetic suppression of the internal agitation provoked by the elimination of Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He quelled in caput succession an attempted insurrection at al-Ḳayr al-Ḳadīm, a riot at al-Ḳayrawān, a rebellion in Tripoli, a revolt by the clan of the Mawāṭaṭa in the land of the Kutāma and an uprising in Sicily. Having thus pacified his territories, taken firm control of his Arab and Berber subjects and contained the threat of Khārijī tribes (especially the Zanāta) hostile to his régime, he rapidly set about establishing on the foundations of the former Aghlabid kingdom a stable and powerful state which he was careful to endow, at an early stage, with a new capital, al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*]. Built as a fortress, this coastal site was designed to ensure the security of the sovereign and to serve as an instrument for his policy of prestige and hegemony. For, in order to bring to a successful conclusion his two-fold function of *imām* and caliph, the first Fāṭimid monarch was obliged at once to conduct outside his frontiers a tireless campaign on three fronts simultaneously against his two Muslim rivals, the ʿAbbāsids in Egypt and the Umayyads of Spain in the western Maghrib, and the Christian enemy, the Emperor of Byzantium in Sicily and Calabria.

In view of the fact that the proclamation of the Fāṭimid caliphate imposed on him the obligation to overthrow both the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid "usurpers", al-Mahdī no doubt at first contemplated invading Muslim Spain, where the power of his Cordovan rival had been considerably weakened by the revolt of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. Since the latter had been quick to pledge obedience to him, on his entry into Raḳḳāda, the Fāṭimid sovereign sent substantial troops to the western Maghrib to bring the area under his authority and to spread fear on the threshold of the Iberian Peninsula. But internal difficulties and his inability to impose lasting authority on the unruly tribes, especially those of the Zanāta group, beyond Tāhart, seem to have tempered his ambitions towards al-Andalus, the conquest of which represented an unacceptable risk.

Egypt, on the other hand, offered an easier prey and to invade it was undubitably a less perilous enterprise. Also, it was only natural that al-Mahdī's attention should be drawn towards the East, where he felt the equally imperious obligation to combat his other rival, the ʿAbbāsid sovereign.

So al-Mahdī was not slow to launch against Egypt, in 301-2/914-15, a powerful force commanded by his son and heir presumptive, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, the future al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh. Initially, the course of the expedition proceeded in his favour. But after capturing Alexandria, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim failed before al-Fusṭāṭ, and not being capable of confronting the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muʾnis he retraced his steps towards Ifrīkiya.

Despite its lack of success on the military level, this expedition was to prove beneficial to the prestige of the Fāṭimid ṣaum through the dissemination of Ismāʿīlī propaganda on the banks of the Nile and in other provinces of the ʿAbbāsid empire. Al-Mahdī returned to the attack in 307-8/919-21 with a second expedition commanded by the same Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim. At first, this project developed as favourably as the preceding, with the capture of Alexandria and the occupation of the Fayyūm. But when the Fāṭimid fleet encountered disaster at Rosetta, and the battles before al-Fusṭāṭ turned to the advantage of the troops of Muʾnis, Abu'l-Ḳāsim was forced for the second time to retreat and return to Ifrīkiya. However the heir to the Fāṭimid throne took the opportunity afforded by this incursion to the banks of the Nile to assert afresh his family's claim to the caliphate and to call on the peoples of the East to rebel against the ʿAbbāsid "infidels" and to support the cause of the descendants of Fāṭima.

Al-Mahdī seems to have organised, shortly before his death, a third expedition against Egypt. In fact, this third attempt, attributed to the year 323/935, took place at the very beginning of the reign of his successor, al-Ḳāʾim, who must have held very dear to his heart the sending of troops against this country where he had suffered two consecutive defeats. In any event, this third Fāṭimid raid against Egypt was, on the military level, as fruitless as its predecessors. Before his death, al-Mahdī must have realised how inadequate his forces were compared with those of his two Muslim rivals, being forced to admit that the new Fāṭimid state was not yet sufficiently strong to overturn either of its hereditary enemies.

To satisfy the sacred obligation of *ǧihād* against the Christian enemy, al-Mahdī displayed the same amount of energy in campaigning against the Rūm in Sicily and in Calabria. The first raid against the south of the Italian peninsula took place during the year 306/918. The Fāṭimid troops captured Reggio and returned with much booty and many captives. The second incursion was launched from al-Mahdiyya in the summer of 320/932. With a fleet

of twenty galleys, the Fāṭimid officer Masʿūd b. Ghālib al-Wāsiṭī took possession of the fortress of St. Agathe and made prisoners of its inhabitants.

Two years later, the chamberlain Djaʿfar b. ʿUbayd, known as "Ṣuqlāb", led the third raid, with Palermo as his starting-point. He captured Brunzano and Oria and returned to al-Mahdiyya with vast riches. The resounding success of this campaign had the effect of inducing Byzantium to conclude a treaty. But the annual tribute agreed for Calabria was slow to reach al-Mahdiyya, and hostilities resumed in 325/937. Continuing until 328/930 under the command of the slave Ṣābir, the Fāṭimid incursions proceeded victoriously against Tarento, Salerno, Naples and Termoli. Eventually the tribute was paid, hostilities were suspended and the treaty remained in force until the death of al-Mahdī. Preoccupied by Bulgarian imperialism, Byzantium allowed the Fāṭimid sovereign to subjugate Apulia and Calabria and to reinforce the supremacy of Islam in Sicily.

Al-Mahdī died in al-Mahdiyya on 25 Rabīʿ I 322/3 March 934. On the eve of his death, he could congratulate himself on having successfully performed his double task as *Imām* and as first Fāṭimid caliph. Under his aegis, the *daʿwa* emerged from its *secular* period of "secrecy" (*satr*), and flourished rapidly in the East and in the Maghrib. He had the skill and energy to conduct moderate but firm policies within his provinces, and to wage tireless warfare beyond his frontiers to affirm the right of the descendants of Fāṭima to lead the Muslim world. Thus, under his rule, the Fāṭimid empire embarked successfully on the first phase of its long history.

Bibliography. The principal sources are Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975, Djaʿfar al-Ḥādjib, *Sīra*, tr. M. Canard, *L'autobiographie d'un chambellan du Mahdī ʿObeidallāh le Fāṭimide*, in *Hesperis* (1952), 279-324, repr. in *Miscellanea orientalia*, London 1973, the *Idrīs*, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1981, Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, Beirut 1959. Extensive biographical references are supplied in *EI*², s.v. FĀṬIMIDS (M. Canard) and in F. Dachraoui, *Le Califat fatimide au Maghreb. Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis 1981.

(F. DACHRAOUI)

MAHDIDS, a dynasty of Zabīd in the Yemen claiming descent from the pre-Islamic Tubbaʿs of Ḥimyar.

1. History. The family took its name from the father of its first leader, ʿAlī b. Mahdī, who died in 554/1159. ʿAlī was brought up with a strong traditional Islamic education by his father in Tihāma. Though much given to quiet meditation, ʿAlī also acquired a reputation for eloquence. He travelled widely too, performing the pilgrimage each year and meeting *ʿulamāʾ* from all corners of the Islamic world. The famous historian-poet, ʿUmāra, is our earliest source for the Mahdid period. He tells us that he was much attracted by ʿAlī's early teachings and visited him personally every month (Kay, *Yaman*, 92). During the period 533-6/1138-42, ʿAlī preached openly in Tihāma. So sympathetic to his words was the Nadjāḥid queen in Zabīd, ʿAlam, that he and his followers were exempted from the *kharādj* normally payable on land. In 538/1143 ʿAlī felt sufficiently strong to attack the Nadjāḥid town of al-Kadrāʾ, north of Zabīd, but he and his supporters were driven off. They fled to the mountains where they remained until 541/1146. In that year ʿAlam, the Nadjāḥid queen in Zabīd, against the advice of her advisers, allowed ʿAlī and his supporters to return to Tihāma. ʿAlam died in 545/1150, an event which signalled the opening of a long, ruthless and extremely cruel campaign conducted by the Mahdids against Zabīd and the surrounding area of Tihāma from the mountains above. The town stood firm against appalling acts of terror. ʿAlī was compelled in 549/1154 to journey to the court of the Zuraydī ruler in Dhū Djibla, Muḥammad b. Saba'. ʿUmāra, who was present at the meeting and tells us that ʿAlī left empty-handed. The Zuraydī refused to assist him against Zabīd (Kay, *Yaman*, 94-5). ʿAlī began to intrigue among the Nadjāḥid *umīrs* and in 551/1156 he engineered the murder of Surūr al-Fatīkī, a key figure in the declining Nadjāḥid house. Despite the brave resistance of its inhabitants, Zabīd finally fell to ʿAlī b. Mahdī in 554/1159. The latter had just only established himself in the town, however, when he died.

The events which followed the death of ʿAlī are difficult to unravel and our sources differ in their accounts. He was succeeded either by two sons jointly, Mahdī b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Nabī b. ʿAlī, or by the former only. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Mahdids consolidated former Nadjāḥid territory in Tihāma, made peace with the Zuraydīs based in Aden and al-Dumlūwa, and raided other areas in the south notably Labdī and al-Djanad. Mahdī died in 559/1163.

ʿAbd al-Nabī assumed full control for the Mahdid house, and the plundering and looting began under his father, ʿAlī, continued with renewed vigour. Not only the southern areas of Labdī and Abyan were attacked, but also raids were made north in Tihāma into the territory of the Sulaymānī *sharīfs*. In such a raid Wahhās b. Ghānim the Sulaymānī leader, was killed in 560/1164, an act which may well have helped to bring about the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen nine years later by Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb, the brother of Saladin (Smith, *Ayyubids and early Rasūlids*, ii, 32-3, 41-2, 46). ʿAbd al-Nabī's thirst for territorial gain continued. Taʿizz and Ibb fell in 561/1165 and he moved on to besiege Aden in the same year. The siege dragged on until 568/1172, when the Zaydīʿid ruler of Aden, Ḥātim b. ʿAlī, arrived in Ṣanʿāʾ to beg for assistance to raise the siege from a fellow Ismāʿīlī, the ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim of Ḥamdān. The latter agreed to help, and with strong tribal support, the Zuraydīʿid-Hamdān alliance put the Mahdids to flight in 569/1173, thus relieving Aden. ʿAbd al-Nabī and his battered forces retired to Zabīd. Soon afterwards Tūrān Shāh arrived in northern Tihāma with his Ayyūbid forces from Egypt. Joining up with the Sulaymānīs, who were eager to avenge the Mahdid killing of their leader, the Ayyūbids swept southwards through Tihāma, taking Zabīd and arresting ʿAbd al-Nabī and his brother Aḥmad. Both were executed by strangulation by the Ayyūbids in 571/1176, after what appears to have been a Mahdid attempt to regain control of Zabīd.

2. Religious doctrines. ʿUmāra's account of Mahdid doctrines is perhaps an oversympathetic one. He tells us that ʿAbd al-Nabī followed the Hanafī *madhhab*, but regarded sin as infidelity (a view which inevitably led to the charge that he was a Khāridjī) and thus punishable by death. Capital punishment was also prescribed for all those who opposed his teachings, as well as for wine drinking, singing and unlawful sexual intercourse. Property was held in common and a communal pool of horses, military equipment etc. was maintained. All other sources took a less charitable view of ʿAbd

al-Nabī's politico-religious leanings. He is painted as a man of great evil, plundering and looting in a mad attempt to conquer the world. Rather than punish wine-drinkers, he was himself a drunkard, they inform us, and a womaniser into the bargain. Certainly, the Khāridjī label stuck and 'Abd al-Nabī is depicted in Yemeni and non-Yemeni sources alike as a fanatic whose removal from power in the Yemen was of sufficient importance to Saladin in Egypt to bring about the Ayyūbid conquest under his brother, Tūrān Shāh, in 569/1173. The causes of the Ayyūbid conquest were of course numerous and complex (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, ii, 31-49), but it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the presence of this "evil Khāridjī" in the Yemen did add weight to the argument in favour of bringing the Yemen under Ayyūbid control.

Bibliography: The earliest source of Mahdid activities is 'Umāra's *Ta'rīkh*, found in H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, with English translation; a whole section of chapter 3 of the present writer's *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, GMS, XXVI/2, London 1978, 56-62, with full references, is devoted to the Banū Mahdī, and the references to them in a section on the reasons for the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen is given in the text above; other important sources, mainly still in ms. form, for the Mahdid period are as follows: al-Djanadī, *al-Sulūk fī tabakāt al-'ulamā' wa 'l-mulūk*, Chester Beatty ms. 3116, I and II; al-Khazradjī, *al-Kifāya wa 'l-i'lām, etc.*, Leiden ms. 805, and *al-'Iḳd al-fākhir al-hasan, etc.*, Cambridge U.L., ms. King's 72; 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, *Kashf al-khabāyā fī ma'rifat al-siyar wa 'l-nakkhār*, British Library ms. Or. 4581; Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās, *Fākihat al-asmār, etc.*, Rylands ms. 253; Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Kurrat al-'uyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, now published in 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa', Cairo 1977; the late Zaydī chronicle of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, etc., ed. S. 'A. F. Ashour, Cairo 1968, 2 vols., is occasionally of value, the principal non-Yemeni sources which mention the removal of 'Abd al-Nabī as being a cause of the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen are Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, i, 358, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 261, Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, i, 238, Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 654, iv, 304, Makrīzī *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 37. (G. R. Smith)

AL-MAHDIYYA, formerly called AL-MA'MŪRA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river. Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Gharb and 22 miles to the north-east of Salé (Salā), it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance. A port has been created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wādī Sabū as far as the river port of Knīṭra (al-Kunayṭira, Kénitra [see KANṬARA]) situated 6 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the river.

It is generally agreed that the site of al-Mahdiyya corresponds to that of one of the earliest Phoenician settlements founded by Hanno in the 5th century B.C. on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, viz. the factory of Thymiaterion. Nothing is known of the later history of this foundation and we have to wait till the 4th/10th century to get the first mention to Arab writers of the town at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū under the names al-Ma'mūra ("the populated, the flourishing"), Halk ("the mouth") al-Ma'mūra or Halk Sabū. According to the chronicler Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayyanī, the modern town was founded by the short-lived dynasty of Banū Ifran [q.v.] which settled on the Atlantic side of Morocco at the end of the 4th/10th century. In the second half of the 6th/12th, the Almohad sultan 'Abd al-Mu'min built there one of his dockyards for his navy (*dār al-ṣinā'a*). Later, down to the 10th/16th century, al-Ma'mūra's history is obscure, it was a small trading centre to which a few European ships came for the products of the country.

Al-Ma'mūra, when the Christians of the Iberian peninsula made their offensive against Morocco, was one of their first objectives, on 24 June 1515 a large Portuguese fleet anchored at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck. The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Ma'mūra, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time. The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Ma'mūra at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them.

Al-Ma'mūra re-enters history when at the end of the 10th/11th century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who, under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terror to the seafaring centres of Europe. This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1610 had occupied the port of Larache (al-'Arā'ish [q.v.]), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Ma'mūra in Radjab 1023/August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Sa'dī Mawlāy Zaydān. The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving a strong garrison of 1,300 men. The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar.

The Spanish occupation of al-Ma'mūra was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the "volontaires of the faith" (*mudjāhidūn*), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief of 'Ayyāshī of Salé. The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1028, 1630 and 1647. In 1091/1681, the 'Alawid sultan Mawlāy Ismā'īl laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm. He then gave it the name of al-Mahdiyya, the name of al-Ma'mūra only survived as that of the great forest of cork oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Sabū.

It may be noted that, for a few years at an earlier date, the name al-Mahdiyya had been borne in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min on the site of the future Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wād Bū-Regreg). Al-Mahdiyya was occupied by French troops in 1911.

Fairly important remains survive at al-Mahdiyya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the time when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims. Around the citadel (*kaṣba*) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch. These defences are entered by two gates, one, very massive and with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the 11th/17th century. The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the sea. Inside are the ruins of the Muslim governor's palace of the 18th century. Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Sabū for a length of 200 m.

and a breadth of about 40 m. might still be seen buildings consisting of a series of square chambers completely isolated from one another and each protected by a double wall. These were probably granaries, which need not be earlier than the end of the 11th/17th century, and are not, as has been suggested, of the Phoenician period.

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(É Lévi-Provençal)

AL **MAHDIYYA**, a town in Tunisia which owes its name to its founder ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī (297 322/909 34 [q v]); situated on the coast 100 km. to the south of Tunis, it is the regional capital of a province of which the population, 218,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, is estimated in 1980 at 247,000. The population of the town, numbering 12,000 inhabitants in 1905, has grown steadily to 14,937 (1946 census), 18,494 (1956) and 25,768 (1966).

Foundation

The creation of al Mahdiyya by the Fāṭimids responded to a need which had already made itself felt since the end of the previous epoch, that of the Aghlabids. The last *amīrs* of this dynasty had in fact left Kairouan (al-Kayrawān) for Tunis. When prospecting along the coast beyond Tunis, which did not attract his choice, in the search for the site to be selected for the creation of his new capital, the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī Mahdī followed the same motivations with the additional concern of security. A *post eventum* prediction has him prophesying the insurrection of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [q v], the violent thrust of which was broken only by the ramparts of al-Mahdiyya, and thus gives a hagiographical explanation of its foundation. In fact, besides considerations of prestige and the constant concern of founders of dynasties throughout Muslim history to mark the new order through the creation of a new capital, the preoccupations of the Mahdī were more immediate: to build defences at a good distance and in a secure place, against an eventual assault by Sunnīs implacably hostile to the Shīʿīs, a storm whose epicentre could be nowhere other than Kairouan. The Khāridjī menace was at that time less predictable.

The chosen site offered ideal security safeguards for a dynasty possessing a powerful navy, this being inherited from the Aghlabids. Built on a spur projecting some 1,400 m. into the sea, and approached by "a road narrow as a shoe-lace" (al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, partial ed.-tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 17), the town was impregnable from the land, which explains the choice of ʿUbayd Allāh who, after the failure of his attempted invasions of Egypt, was obliged to secure his bases, for an indefinite duration, in Ifrīḳiya.

Numerous written and archeological sources indicate that ancient settlements, Punic and Roman, preceded the Fāṭimid occupation of the region. Arabic texts preserve the memory of Djemma, usually identified with the ancient Gummi. But there is nothing to suggest that the peninsula itself had been "occupied by an urban settlement before the 4th/10th century" (A. Lézine, *Mahdia*, Paris 1965, 17). ʿUbayd Allāh thus chose to build, in 300/912-13 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 169), on a virgin site and, the work completed, he inaugurated his new capital on 8 Shawwāl 308/20 February 921 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 184; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ*, ed. W al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1970, 273, ed. F. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975, 372 f).

A city of refuge, al-Mahdiyya was surrounded by a defensive wall of unusual thickness (8 30 m.), which followed the coast and of which a long section to the north is still recognisable. A rampart 175 m. in length barred the entrance to the isthmus, and was preceded, at a distance of 40 m., by an outer wall. Access to the town was gained by means of an iron gate decorated with bronze lions, leading through a domed vestibule 35 m. long by 5 40 m. broad. Only this vestibule, known as *al-Sabīʿa al-Kabīra*, is still today entirely upright. The new capital comprised a palace for the Mahdī and another for his son and successor al-Ḳāʾim, administrative buildings, subterranean storehouses for cereals, wells, cisterns, and one mosque which, eroded by the sea and disfigured by extraneous constructions, fell into ruin, recently—at the 1960s—it has been completely restored to its original state under the direction of A. Lézine. The town was also equipped with an arsenal and, on the southern side, a fortified and sheltered inland port, a port which, although not necessarily a reconstructed ancient installation, as might be supposed, was probably designed on the model of a Carthaginian harbour.

History

A royal town and a citadel, al-Mahdiyya was never heavily populated, being limited by its narrow intra mural space. The bulk of the population resided in the suburb of Zawīla, which was also the commercial sector. Al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46) encircled this suburb with a ditch. In 332/943 there broke out the revolt of the Nukkārī Khāridjī Abū Yazīd, nicknamed the "Man on the Donkey". The latter, having stormed Kairouan, laid siege to al-Mahdiyya (Djumādā II 333—Safar 334/January-October 945), its ramparts saving the Fāṭimids from a defeat which seemed certain. After the final suppression of the revolt Ismāʿīl al Manṣūr (334-41/946-53) nevertheless abandoned the town, which thus lost its capital status, and moved, towards the end of Safar 337/September 948, to his new residence of al-Manṣūriyya, built in the outskirts of Kairouan "on the very site of his victory over the Man on the Donkey" (F Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb*, Tunis 1981, 217).

Al-Mahdiyya regained its role as capital, for the last time, as a result of the Hilālian invasion which forced the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs to take refuge there (27 Shaʿbān 449/29 October 1057). It became, from this time onward, a capital under threat, and danger also came from the sea. In 480/1087 "Pisans and Genoans conquered Mahdia and Zawila, which they pillaged and burned" (H R Idris, *Zirides*, Paris 1962, i, 288). In 517/1123, the town was attacked, unsuccessfully, by the Normans in 529/1134, it was subjected to a sea and land assault by the Hammādids. Finally, with the treaty of 536/1140-1, the Normans of Sicily imposed harsh conditions on the town, a prelude to its seizure by Roger II (2 Safar 543/29 June 1148), which marked the end of the Zīrid dynasty.

Blockaded, from 12 Radjab 554/30 July 1159,

by sea and land by the fleet and army of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī, the Normans were forced to capitulate on 10 Muharram 555/21 January 1160, and al-Mahdiyya was ruled by an Almohad governor. Four decades later, Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Raḳḳāḳī al Kūmī—of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin—allied himself with the Banū Ghāniya, declared himself independent at the beginning of the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1213), and took the title of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh. In 602/1205, the town was recaptured, along with the whole of Ifrīḳiya, by the caliph, who restored its fortifications.

Under the reign of the Ḥafṣids, during the years 658 and 686/1286 and 1287, numerous towns in the Sahel, including al-Mahdiyya, were sacked by the Admiral Roger of Lauria acting on behalf of the Aragonese. Then, from 718 to 723/1318-23, Abū Ḳarba a son of Ibn al Libyānī ruled the town as an independent possession. In 739/1338-9, al-Mahdiyya was recaptured from the hands of a certain Ibn ʿAbd al Ghaffār who had taken possession of it, and in ca. 761/1360 its fortifications were again restored by the Ḥafṣid minister Ibn Tafrāgīn. In 1390, between 20 July and 20 September, it was subjected to attack by a veritable crusade conducted by the Genoese with support from French and English knights. The town resisted, but was obliged to pay tribute to have the siege raised.

At the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, the town was the object of fatter contention between the Turks and the Spanish. The latter besieged it in 1509 then established a garrison there in 1550 after the capture of Tunis by Charles V. But Dragut took possession of it the following year. Temporarily driven from the town, he returned and remained in control until 8 September 1550, on which date the admiral Andrea Doria captured the place on behalf of Charles V, who destroyed the town's defences in 1554 before abandoning it.

In 1689 there was an outbreak of plague in the city, and in 1740 it was deserted by its population, a population severely punished by ʿAlī Pasha for its loyalty to his uncle. In 1848, the Christian population of the city was judged sufficiently important to justify the creation of a parish. In 1856, an outbreak of cholera claimed many victims. In spite of its cautious stance during the uprising of 1864, incited by the doubling of the *mejba* tax, "Mahdia, a city without defences, was pillaged on 25 April by the neighbouring villagers" (J. Geniaux, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 228), and was ruined, as was the whole of the Sahel, by the combined effects of the expedition of Zarrouk and the depredations of creditors and usurers.

After the establishment of the Protectorate, al-Mahdiyya was endowed with its first French school in 1884, became a judicial seat in 1885, and was not slow to participate actively in the nationalist movement. On 6 August 1920, a demonstration against the cost of living developed into a riot, on 21 March 1925, the city responded to the call for a general strike demanded throughout the country by the Destour in protest against reforms which were judged insufficient, and from 16 to 20 April 1933, again at the behest of the Destour, there were new demonstrations against the burial in Muslim cemeteries of naturalised French Tunisians.

The urban development of al-Mahdiyya naturally corresponded to the fluctuations in its history. The suburb of Zawīla, obliterated by the Hilālian assault, was rebuilt in ca. 597/1200, and in the same period, a little further to the north-west, there is the first mention of the village of Hibla. Then from the 16th century onward, the character of the town was changed completely as a result of the ethnic element introduced by Turkish garrisons, with the additional influx, after 1609 of Moors driven out of Spain. Today, 60% of the urban population of al Mahdiyya is composed of descendants of Kouloughlis (see Kul-oghlu) representing, in this respect, the highest proportion in Tunisia, with perceptible effects on names and customs.

The two principal riches of al Mahdiyya consist of olive-growing and fisheries. The cotton plantations, mentioned in the 18th and 19th centuries (Lucette Valensi, *Fellahs tunisiens* ..., Lille 1975, 219), have today disappeared. Industries associated with olive-growing and fisheries—the sardine industry in particular—have on the contrary undergone large-scale expansion, and activities such as oil-extraction refining, soap manufacture and the canning of food, *etc* are flourishing.

The city has today overflowed its original isthmus and is developing along two arterial axes towards Siax, and especially in the direction of Sousse. Its leading literary figures, dating from the early Ḥafṣid era, are two poets, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Kaysī, known by the name of Ibn ʿUraybo (d. 659/1260), and Ibn al-Simʿāt (d. 690/1291). Also worthy of mention, from the point of view of Ṣūfism, is the *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] al-Dahmānī (d. 625/1004), a disciple of Abū Madyan (*q.v.*).

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AL-MAHDIYYA, a movement in the Egyptian Sudan, launched in 1882 by Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) for the reform of Islam. It had from the outset a political and revolutionary character being directed against the Turco-Egyptian régime (*al-Turkiyya*), which it overthrew, establishing a territorial state. Under the Mahdī's successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh [see ʿABD ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD AL-TAʾAYSHĪ, and KHALĪFA, iv], this developed essentially into a traditional Islamic monarchy until its existence was

terminated by the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest (1896-8).

1. Mahdist antecedents. Only one previous mahdist claimant seems to have originated in the Nilotic Sudan before the *Turkiyya*, a 17th-century Šāfi‘ī ascetic, Ḥamad al-Nabṭāni alias Wad al-Turābī. His claim was rejected by the Funǧ [*q.v.*] king of Sinnār, Bādī II. He is represented as clashing with the tax-gatherers of Bādī III (cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 274-93). The immediate antecedents of the Sudanese Mahdiyya are to be found in a mood of eschatological expectation, which appears first in Egypt in the late 18th and 19th centuries, reflecting the popular consciousness that traditional Islamic society was threatened both by infidels from without and despots within. Mahdist expectations were thus attached to Dīwān-zāde Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] during his expedition against the drunwirate of Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey (Djabarti, *ʿAǧāʾib*, ii, 124), while an insurrection against the French in 1799 was headed by a mahdist claimant of Maghribī origin (*ʿAǧāʾib*, iii, 58). A revolt in Upper Egypt against Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in 1822-3 was led by another mahdist claimant (ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ǧadīda*, xiv, 76). A manifesto against the Sudanese Mahdi mentions a predecessor in Khartoum (al-Khurṭūm [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm al-Sūdānī, of whom nothing further is known (Shukayr, *Taʾrīḫ al-Sūdān*, iii, 379) the name suggests a person of southern Sudanese origin. The Sudanese Mahdiyya was thus the latest and most successful of a cluster of mahdist movements which, while formally presenting themselves in religious terms, had markedly social and political aims.

2. The revolutionary situation in the Egyptian Sudan. During the sixty years preceding the outbreak of the Mahdiyya, profound changes had affected the traditional society and Islam of the Nilotic Sudan, culminating in a revolutionary situation. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's conquests (1820-1) ended the independence of numerous sedentary and nomadic groups. His establishment of a centralised and autocratic administrative system with its unaccustomed fiscal burdens (undoubtedly aggravated by corruption and extortion) had a traumatic effect. Moreover, the demands of modernisation in Egypt meant that the officials in the Sudan were rarely of high quality or integrity.

One group whose political and social status declined under the *Turkiyya* was that of the indigenous *ʿulamāʾ*, serving in government mosques, and integrated into the judicial system, created a rural group of religious leaders. Although individual members of the old *faḳīh* families took advantage of the greater opportunities to study at al-Azhar and enter the official hierarchy, there remained a fundamental incompatibility between the *faḳīhs* and the government-supported *ʿulamāʾ*, whom the Mahdī was to designate *ʿulamāʾ al-sūʾ*.

Developments in the two decades preceding the Mahdiyya heightened the tension between the *Turkiyya* and the inhabitants of the Egyptian Sudan. The vigorous autocracy of Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-79) [*q.v.*] made the power of government felt once more after the comparative laxity which had begun in Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's last years and continued under his successors. The former sultanate of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] was annexed in 1874. Since the middle of the century, traders seeking ivory and slaves had thrust into unexplored regions far up the White Nile and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], outside the Muslim and arabised northern Sudan, and completely beyond the control of the Turco-Egyptian officials. The slave trade that was fed from these regions was a scandal to Europe. To bring the south and west under his administration, and thereby to suppress the slave trade, was a principal aim of the khedive.

The implementation of this policy would in any event have antagonised vested interests, particularly the diaspora of northern Sudanese, the Danāḳla and Diʿaʿliyyūn [*q.v.*], who were involved to the slave-trade, and who ranged from petty dealers (*ǧallāba*) to merchant-princes such as al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr, the master of the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the conqueror of Dār Fūr. The situation was rendered more critical by the khedive's recruitment of Europeans and Americans to carry out his plans, this employment of Christians in high office shocked the conservative piety of the Sudanese. Chief among these expatriates was the British officer Charles George Gordon (cf. Bernard M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1931), who as governor of the Equatorial province (1873-6) and governor-general of the Sudan (1877-9) played a leading part in the attempts to establish khedivial administration in the south and to suppress the slave-trade. With their inadequate resources, Gordon and his colleagues attained only limited success. The deposition of Ismāʿīl (June 1879) was followed by Gordon's withdrawal, and the comparative feebleness of their successors in Cairo and Khartoum facilitated the drift towards insurrection in the Sudanese provinces.

3. The early career of Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1844-81). Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh was born in 1844 in the province of Dongola [*q.v.*]. His father was a boat-builder, and when Muḥammad Aḥmad was a child the family moved to Karārī on the Nile, a few miles north of Khartoum, where there was an adequate supply of timber. After their father's death, Muḥammad Aḥmad's brothers followed his trade, but he himself underwent a traditional religious education within the Egyptian Sudan. He early showed a propensity towards ascetisism and Ṣūfism, and in 1861 he attached himself to Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim, the grandson of the founder of the Sammāniyya *farīḳa* in the Sudan. When his brothers moved for timber to Abā island in the White Nile, he accompanied them, and from 1870 made his headquarters there. His pious reputation gained him many followers, a development which was the probable cause of a breach with Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf, in consequence of which Muḥammad Aḥmad attached himself to a rival leader of the Sammāniyya, Shaykh al-Kurashī wad al-Zayn (d. 1879). In 1881 he was joined by the man who was to become his most intimate disciple and his successor as head of the Mahdist state, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], who came from the Taʿaʾisha Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*], cattle-Arabs of Dār Fūr. A mahdist expectation was abroad in the Egyptian Sudan, and was shared by Muḥammad Aḥmad himself. There was evidence of it in Kordofān (Kurdufān) [*q.v.*], which he visited about the time ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad had, some years previously, saluted al-Zubayr Raḥma as *mahdī* —a role which the conqueror of Dār Fūr declined. It is probable that ʿAbd Allāh played a decisive part in the spiritual crisis of which the outcome was Muḥammad Aḥmad's claim to be the Expected

Mahdī. This was first secretly communicated to his disciples at Abā (March 1881), and then to other adherents during a second visit to Kordofān. The public manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of the Mahdī took place on 29 June 1881. Letters were sent to various notables urging them to rally to him, and he announced his divine mission in a telegram to the governor general.

While the Mahdiyya had in its origins many characteristics of a movement of social and political protest, these aspects were subsumed in the founder's primary aim: the reform of Islam, encompassing both the cult and the society. Like previous reformers, notably Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*q.v.*), he envisaged the restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma* governed by the Kur'ān and the Sunna. Unlike Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, however, Muḥammad Aḥmad was deeply impregnated by the emotional and imaginative quality of Šīʿism. He saw his movement not merely as the revival of Islam, but as the recapitulation of the life and order of the *primitive umma*, *a divinely ordained correspondence between Urzeit and Endzeit*. He presented himself as appointed to the supreme succession (*al-khilāfa al-kubrā*) as Successor of the Apostle of God (*Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*), while his leading disciples were the successors of the Rightly guided Caliphs. Three of these were appointed soon after the Manifestation. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad's status was recognised in his title of *Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ*, i.e. the successor of Abū Bakr. An early follower, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū (ʿAlī wad Ḥilū) was appointed the successor of ʿUmar (*Khalīfat al-Fārūḳ*), and the Mahdī's young son-in-law, Muḥammad Sharīf b. Ḥāmid, was appropriately named the successor of ʿAlī (*Khalīfat al-Karrār*). The appointment of successor of ʿUthmān was offered to the contemporary head of the Sanūsiyya, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose co-operation Muḥammad Aḥmad was anxious to obtain, but the offer, made in May 1883, was ignored. By another parallelism with the Prophet, the Mahdī styled his followers Anṣār.

The official *ʿulamāʾ* endeavoured to confute the mahdist claims of Muḥammad Aḥmad by stating the orthodox Sunnī doctrine of the *mahdī* and demonstrating Muḥammad Aḥmad's failure to conform to the criteria laid down in *Ḥadīth*. He defended his position by reasserting his divine election, conveyed in a colloquy (*ḥaḍra*) by the Prophet. At the same time, he emphasised where possible points of conformity with *Ḥadīth*. Thus he adapted his name to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, emphasised his descent from the Prophet, and changed the name of his rendez-vous to Kordofān from Ḏjabal Ḳadīr to Masa.

4. The Mahdī's *hidjra* and *djihād* (1881-5). The authorities at first underestimated the Mahdī's challenge, but when a small military expedition sent to arrest him was routed (August 1881), the matter was taken seriously. The Mahdī and his Anṣār meanwhile made a withdrawal (the *hidjra*) to Ḏjabal Ḳadīr in the Nūba Mountains. The remoteness of this place rendered military operations by the government difficult (two expeditions were defeated in December 1881 and May 1882), while it formed an appropriate base for attacks on government positions in Kordofān. From southern Kordofān and Dār Fūr the Mahdī could draw on a vast reserve of Baḳḳāra tribesmen, whose propensity to raiding found a sanctified outlet in this warfare. Since the Mahdī regarded only those who accepted his mission as true Muslims, such fighting was designated *djihād* (*q.v.*). The government troops were, however, capable of prolonged resistance in fortified positions, and an attempt to storm the provincial capital El Obeid (al-Ubayyiḍ) on 8 September 1882 was a failure. Henceforward the Mahdī relied upon siege-tactics, and the tribal forces were supplemented with a corps known as the *Djihādiyya*, largely recruited from captured government troops of southern Sudanese origin. They were provided with firearms, which the Mahdī was anxious to keep out of the hands of the undisciplined tribal warriors.

The surrender of El Obeid (19 January 1883) gave the Mahdī an administrative centre, and Kordofān formed the nucleus of a territorial Mahdist state. In the meantime, Khedivial control had been further weakened by the British occupation of Egypt (September 1882) and the reluctance of the British government to undertake commitments in the Sudan. An Egyptian expeditionary force was, however, organised with Col. William Hicks, a retired Indian Army officer, as chief of staff. Advancing through difficult country from the White Nile into Kordofān, *it was annihilated by the Anṣār at Shaykān (5 November 1883)*. The Mahdī was now the master of the west. Dār Fūr and Baḥr al-Ghazāl were surrendered by their European governors in December 1883 and April 1884 respectively. Meanwhile, ʿUthmān Dīḳna (Osman Digna), from a mercantile family of Suakin (Sawākin) had been sent (May 1883) to raise the Beḍja (*q.v.*) of the Red Sea hills, a mission in which he was largely successful through the support of an influential *faḳīr*, Shaykh al-Ṭāhir al-Madjdhūb, so that by the end of February 1884 only Suakin itself remained to Egyptian hands.

Khartoum and the riverain areas to the north were now threatened. At this juncture, Gordon was sent out by the British government, primarily to report on the military situation, but he was also appointed (as his own request) governor-general by the khedive. Arriving at Khartoum (February 1884), he produced a succession of plans for the future of the Sudan while the Anṣār closed in on the city. ʿUthmān Dīḳna's successes closed the route from the Red Sea to the Nile, while the fall of Berber (*q.v.*) to an army of Anṣār (May 1884) cut the river line to Egypt. Military pressure on Khartoum itself was increasing, and between April and October 1884 the Mahdī brought up his main forces from El Obeid to Omdurman (Umm Durmān) opposite the capital. Weakened by siege, the city fell on 25 January 1885, Gordon being killed in the fighting.

The fall of Khartoum marked for all practical purposes the end of the Mahdī's *djihād*. He was now the ruler of the chief provinces of the Egyptian Sudan from Dongola to Baḥr al-Ghazāl, and from the Red Sea to Dār Fūr. He ordered the evacuation of Khartoum, and made his own capital at Omdurman, where he died after a short illness (22 June 1885).

5. The rule of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh (1885-98). The Mahdī's death confronted the Anṣār with two problems, one practical, the other ideological. First, who was to take the Mahdī's place as ruler of the nascent state? Secondly, how was the Mahdī's death to be explained, since he had claimed a universal mission to restore Islam, but had achieved only a conquest within the boundaries of the Egyptian Sudan? The problem of the succession was in appearance quickly solved when a council of notables of the Mahdī's house immediately after his death gave their allegiance (*bayʿa*) to ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad. Already in the critical period of political development following the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdī had conferred plenary powers on ʿAbd Allāh,

as that he was henceforward the deputy of the Mahdī (*khalīfat al-Mahdī*), although he did not use this title until after the Mahdī's death. He was, furthermore, the commander of the largest body of tribal warriors concentrated in Omdurman. His political and military pre-eminence was recognised in his election as the Mahdī's successor. This event suggested how the ideological problem arising from the Mahdī's death could be handled. A proclamation stressed the parallel between the succession of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ to the Prophet and that of *Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ* to the Mahdī, and urged the Anṣār to follow the example of the early Muslims, who had fought for their faith after the Prophet's death. There was other propaganda, much of it of a visionary or mystical nature, to legitimise ʿAbd Allāh's succession.

His position was not, however, uncontested. *Khalīfat al-Karrār* Muḥammad Sharīf was the ostensible leader of the Ashrāf (*q.v.*, the kinsmen of the Mahdī), a group whose overweening pretensions the Mahdī himself had rejected in his last days. The Ashrāf were the élite of the sedentaries from the northern riverain areas and their diaspora known as *awlād al-balad* [*q.v.*]. This comparatively sophisticated group had little in common with the Bakkāra tribal warriors whose ascendancy was assured by the accession of the Khalīfa. Within twelve months he had defeated a conspiracy hatched by the Ashrāf in Omdurman and their kinsman Muḥammad Khālid, the governor of Dār Fūr. The Khalīfa's fellow-tribesmen or their clients replaced the Mahdī's appointees in the provincial governorships, with the exception of ʿUthmān Dīkna, who was essential to handle the Beja. In 1883-9 the Khalīfa enforced a mass emigration of the Taʿāʾisha, who were settled in Omdurman and its vicinity. Although *awlād al-balad* continued to be indispensable in the civil service and judiciary of the Mahdist state, they had lost political power, and a dangerous rift opened between them and the ruling Bakkāra.

Having established his authority, the Khalīfa sought to fulfil the programme of conquest which had been cut shortly by the Mahdī's death. The *ghazā* was actively pursued for several years at heavy cost to a people suffering from the effects of the revolutionary war and population movements. The Christian kingdom of Ethiopia under John IV was a principal theatre of the *ghazā*, although the fighting should be seen in the historical context of conflicts going back to the Funj period. A successful raid by Ḥamdān Abū ʿAnḳa, one of the Khalīfa's clients, penetrated to Gondar (January 1888), and took booty and slaves, while in the following year (after Abū ʿAnḳa's death) King John was killed in battle at al-Kallābāt (March 1889), a victory which was widely publicised by the Khalīfa. These were however incidents in border-warfare, resulting in no significant territorial gains.

The second main objective of the *ghazā* was Egypt, now firmly under British military and political direction. An invasion had been planned before the Mahdī's death, the Dja'alī general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nudjūmī being its intended commander. The project hung fire for several years, although al-Nudjūmī made his headquarters at al-Urṭul (New Dongola) in Nov. 1889. The Khalīfa's mistrust of *awlād al-balad* led to encroachments on al-Nudjūmī's command, which he was compelled to share with a Taʿāʾishī. In the summer of 1889 the Mahdist force at last advanced on Egypt, but on 3 August was annihilated at Toski (Tūshkī), north of Wādī Halfā, al-Nudjūmī himself being killed in the fighting. There was no further attempt at invasion, although there were raids, sometimes serious, into Egyptian-held territory.

A similar stalemate developed in the west and south. The Fūr had never been reconciled to the recent loss of their independence, and after the withdrawal of Muḥammad Khālid, a member of the old royal clan sought to re-establish the sultanate (1887). He was overthrown by the new governor, ʿUthmān Ādam alias Djāmī, a young kinsman of the Khalīfa, who in the following year suppressed a still more dangerous revolt. This was headed by a charismatic leader known as Abū Djumaynya, who claimed the vacant position of successor of ʿUthmān. Abū Djummaynya's death from smallpox somewhat relieved the position of the Anṣār, who defeated the insurgents outside El Fasher (al-Fāshir [*q.v.*]), the provincial capital (February 1889). Djāmī showed himself to be a competent governor, but on his early death (September 1890), the combined provinces of Dār Fūr and Kordofan passed into the less capable management of another of the Khalīfa's kinsmen, Maḥmūd Aḥmad.

The pagan southern regions, so recently brought under the khedivial administration, were never integrated into the Mahdist state. Although (as mentioned above) Bahr al-Ghazāl had fallen in 1884, its governor Karam Allāh Muḥammad Kurkusāwī, a Dunḳulāwī trader by origin, withdrew his troops in October 1885 to fight the Rizaykāt Bakkāra of Dār Fūr. Thereafter, Bahr al-Ghazāl drifted out of Mahdist control. The Equatorial province was even more remote from the centre of the Mahdiyya. Its governor since 1878 had been Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer, of Silesian Jewish origin, and the last of Khedive Ismāʿīl's expatriate officials), who in spite of mutiny and two Mahdist invasions (1885, 1888) held out until forcibly rescued by H. M. Stanley (1889). The second invading force, however, established a garrison at *al-*Radjāf, which maintained sporadic contact with Omdurman by steamer. The Mahdists held little more than the river line, and their position was challenged by former government troops, who had refused to be evacuated by Stanley, and who were led by Fadl al-Mawlā Muḥammad, an officer of southern Sudanese origin. Al-Radjāf became a place of banishment for political and other prisoners.

The year 1889 marks the end of the militant phase of the Mahdiyya. The following period saw the stabilisation of the Khalīfa's autocracy within a territorial state limited for all practical purposes to the Muslim and arabised regions of the northern Sudan. A factor in the decline of militancy was the great famine of 1888-90, the effects of which were aggravated by the migration of the Taʿāʾisha to Omdurman. For the second time, the Khalīfa's authority was challenged by a revolt of the Ashrāf in Omdurman under the leadership of Muḥammad Sharīf (November 1891). After some desultory firing and a few casualties, a formal reconciliation was effected by *Khalīfat al-Fūrāḳ* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū on terms advantageous to the Ashrāf. The danger once past, the Khalīfa proceeded to destroy his opponents piecemeal. Muḥammad Sharīf himself was arrested in March 1892, and sentenced to imprisonment by a special tribunal. Thereafter the Khalīfa's autocracy was unchallenged. His only intimates in matters of government were his half-brother Yaʿḳūb, who acted as his *wazīr* (but without the title), and his son ʿUthmān, who about this time received the honorific

of *Shaykh al-Din*, and was trained for the eventual succession.

While the Khalīfa thus strengthened his position internally, there was increasing European pressure on the frontiers of the Mahdist state. Suakin, which alone among the garrisons of the Red Sea area had not fallen to ʿUthmān Dīkna, formed the base for a campaign against the local Anṣār after the Anglo-Egyptian victory at Tokar. The operations early in 1891 culminated in the capture of ʿUthmān Dīkna's headquarters at Tokar (Tūkar) in Feb. 1891. Although still a nuisance, he was no longer a threat to the Anglo-Egyptian forces in the vicinity. In the previous year Eritrea had been constituted an Italian colony. A Mahdist raid into the territory was routed (December 1893) and in July 1894 the Italians with the prior agreement of the British government occupied Kassala [*q.v.*]. The loss of this important strategic position was even more serious than that of Tokar, but in spite of making a threatening demonstration in Omdurman, the Khalīfa did not take the offensive. The Italian presence in Eritrea was equally threatening to Menelik II, who had emerged as the ruler of Ethiopia after the death of John IV. In 1893 he sought to establish friendly relations with the Khalīfa, but his overtures were repulsed. He repeated them in 1896 after his victory over the Italians at Adowa, and further embassies were received in Omdurman in 1897 and 1898, but no practical military or political co-operation resulted.

A more remote European danger appeared in the far south, when Belgian expeditions from the Congo Free State began to advance towards the Upper Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. In 1892 Faḍl al-Mawlā Muḥammad and his followers entered the service of the Congo Free State, he himself being recognised as the governor of the Equatorial province. In the following year, a Mahdist force was sent to strengthen the garrison at al-Raḍjāf. Its commander, ʿArabī Dafaʿ Allāh defeated and killed Faḍl al-Mawlā (January 1894), and combated the Belgians with some success. His isolated position and precarious communications with Omdurman were, however, insuperable difficulties, and in February 1897 he lost al-Raḍjāf to a Belgian force.

By his time the final assault on the Mahdist state was developing. In March 1895 the British government authorised an advance by the Egyptian army into the Mahdist province of Dongola. While the pretext for the invasion was afforded by the Italian defeat at Adowa, the real reasons lie in British foreign policy and the international situation at the time (see G. N. Sanderson, *England, Europe and the Upper Nile, 1882s-1899*, Edinburgh 1965). The Egyptian expeditionary force, commanded by Sir H. H. Kitchener, constructed a railway as it advanced up the Nile from Wādī Halfā. By the end of September 1896 the province was completely occupied. In the following year, Kitchener was authorised to make a further advance. A second railway was constructed across the Nubian desert, reaching the Nile at Abū Ḥamad, and was extended southwards as the Anglo-Egyptian force advanced. Warned by the loss of Dongola, the Khalīfa summoned Maḥmūd Aḥmad with the bulk of his forces from the west to defend the approaches to Omdurman. He proved to be an irresolute commander, lacking in all initiative. His base was *al-Matamma* [*q.v.*] to Djaʿalī territory. Its inhabitants refused to evacuate their town, which Maḥmūd Aḥmad took by force of arms—an incident which confirmed the hatred of *awlād al-balad* for the Taʿāʾisha. Once established there, Maḥmūd Aḥmad was reluctant to move northwards to confront the invaders, who were steadily advancing along the river-line. Abū Ḥamad fell in August 1897, and the important route-centre of Berber was evacuated in the same month. Maḥmūd Aḥmad, faced with increasing desertions and shortage of supplies, was ultimately goaded to advance. His army (augmented by troops brought to by ʿUthmān Dīkna) was overwhelmed on 8 April 1898 at the battle of the Atbara [*q.v.*], and he himself was taken prisoner. The Anglo-Egyptian advance continued, and the Mahdist state received its death-blow at the battle of Karrārī, often called the battle of Omdurman (2 September 1898). Yaʿḳūb died in the fighting but the Khalīfa escaped, and remained a 'fugitive' for over a year. Finally, he and a handful of Anṣār were defeated by Sir Reginald Wingate in a skirmish (24 November 1899) at Umm Diwaykarīt on the White Nile, to which he was killed. ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Din was made prisoner, and died in the following year.

6. **Institutions of the Mahdiyya.** The rapid development of the Mahdiyya into an armed rebellion, then into a territorial state, necessitated the improvisation first of a command-structure, and secondly of an administrative system. During the lifetime of the Mahdī, the key position in both these respects was occupied by the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh. He commanded the Black Flag (*al-Rāya al-Zarḳāʾ*), the largest of the three divisions of the army, consisting of the western Baḳḳāra tribesmen, and in addition he held the title of *amīr ḳuraysh al-Mahdiyya*, implying an overnight of the fighting forces as a whole. His two colleagues commanded smaller divisions, the Khalīfa ʿAlī the Green Flag (*al-Rāya al-Khaḍrāʾ*) composed of Baḳḳāra from Kordofan and the White Nile, and the Khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf the Red Flag recruited from *awlād al-balad*. As previously mentioned, the Mahdī conferred plenary powers on the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh in January 1885. The title of *amīr* was held by subordinate officers, who in the early stages of the Mahdiyya had commanded virtually autonomous tribal or local contingents. In May 1884 the Mahdī ordered this term to be discontinued, probably because of its overtones of worldly rank, and substituted *ʿāmil*, but *amīr* has remained in popular usage until the present. With the emergence of a territorial state, the chief officers became military governors of provinces (sing. *imāra*, *farīḳ* or *ʿāmila*).

The successes won in the *djihād* made the establishment of a financial system urgently necessary, since the Mahdī had constant difficulty in preventing the tribesmen from appropriating the booty. A treasury (*bayt al-māl*) had probably been organised at Kadlī, and after the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdī formally appointed his friend Aḥmad Sulaymān as its commissioner (*amīn bayt al-māl*). The sources of revenue at this time were two: booty (*ghanīma*) and a levy of grain and cattle, to which the term *zakāt* was applied. As under the *Turkiyya*, Ottoman, Egyptian, Austrian and Spanish coins were in circulation. After the taking of Khartoum, the Mahdī minted gold pounds and silver dollars. He was the first Sudanese ruler to exercise this prerogative.

Although the Mahdī envisaged a restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma*, he soon found himself obliged to give judicial decisions and to promulgate administrative regulations which were in effect legislative acts. Many of these resulted from the revolutionary war, e.g. rulings concerning broken marriages and irregular unions, and questions of

landownership. Undesirable customs regarded as repugnant to Islam were prohibited. The Mahdī's judicial functions were widely delegated to his officials, and one specifically judicial officer was appointed with the title *kāḍī al-Islām* Aḥmad ʿAlī, who held this post for twelve years (1882-94), had been a judge in Dār Fūr under the *Turkiyya*.

These military and administrative institutions developed further during the reign of the Khalīfa. A detachment of the *Jihādiyya*, the regular corps first formed during the siege of El Obeid, was stationed in the Kāta, i.e. Fort Omdurman of the *Turkiyya*. After the revolt of the Aghrāf in 1891 the Khalīfa felt the need of a reliable bodyguard. This was created by expanding a corps of orderlies, the *mulāzimiyya*. By 1895 it consisted of 3,000 or more troops under the general command of ʿUṯmān Shaykh al-Dīn. A civil service, recruited chiefly from *awlād al-balad* and Copts, staffed the departments and treasuries of the capital and the provinces. Many of its members had occupied similar posts under the *Turkiyya*, some went on to serve the Condominium. Already to the Mahdī's time a regular chancery procedure had been established, and the surviving archives of the Mahdiyya as a whole have been estimated at 50,000 pieces. The bulk of them are now in the Central Records Office in Khartoum (see P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist sculptures and related documents*, in *Archives*, v/28 [1962], 193-200). Despatches were sometimes exchanged almost daily between the ruler and his provincial governors. The provinces fell into two categories, an outer circle under military governors with their own fiscal and judicial establishments and garrison troops, and a core of metropolitan provinces, which were fiscal areas rather than administrative units, and were tributary to the treasury in Omdurman.

The history of the office of *amīn bayt al-māl* illustrates both the institutional elaboration and the increasing autocracy of the Khalīfa's reign. Aḥmad Sulaymān the first *amīn*, was a partisan of the Aghrāf, and was disgraced in April 1886. His successor, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad ʿAdlān, had been a merchant in El Obeid. His reluctance to extort grain for the soldiery during the great famine led to a clash with the Khalīfa and his execution (February 1890). His successor, al-Nūr Ibrāhīm al-Ḍiwayfāwī, was another former merchant. Tenure of office became increasingly precarious: one commissioner was twice appointed and twice removed, and the last year of the reign saw three treasurers. At the same time special treasuries were established, of which the most important were the treasury of the *mulāzimiyya* and the Khalīfa's privy treasury. The sources of revenue had meanwhile changed. With the ending of the *ḥijāz*, *ghanīma* sank to insignificance. *Zakāt* continued to be levied and also *fiṭr*, a poll tax paid at the end of Ramaḍān. *Zakāt* was also paid as customs-dues, originally at the rate of 2½%, but al-Ḍiwayfāwī imposed a further 10%, and this might indeed be taken at several points on the route. Fines were imposed on smoking and drinking, and the goods of other offenders were liable to confiscation. In addition, merchants and others might be required to pay "contributions" (*tabarruʿāt*) to the treasury. The minting of dollars at Omdurman continued, but the silver was increasingly debased. The minting of gold had ceased with the Mahdī's pounds, which were soon driven out of circulation by Gresham's Law.

The history of the judiciary is similar. Aḥmad ʿAlī held office as *kāḍī al-Islām* until May 1894, when he lost the Khalīfa's confidence, and was thrown into prison. His successor, al-Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm wad al-Zahrāʾ, had been trained at al-Azhar, but his overzealous adherence to the principles of the *Sharīʿa* led to a clash with Yaʿqūb. He was imprisoned and put to death, probably in the summer of 1895. The title of *kāḍī al-Islām* seems to have died with him. Already in the time of Aḥmed ʿAlī there was a deputy-judge (*wakīl al-maḥkama*), and the two seem usually to have acted in concert. By the end of the Khalīfa's reign, the chief judge had six deputies (*mumaṭṭil*) two of whom had special duties in connection with the *mulāzimiyya*. In addition, there were special courts in Omdurman for the market, the quay and the treasury. Both in the capital and the provinces, the judicial officers were dependent on the Khalīfa and his governors, and were deferential to their wishes.

7. Subsequently developments. Although the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest overthrew the Mahdist state, Mahdism continued to be a powerful force particularly in the west. The movement was virtually proscribed in the early years of the Condominium by Wingate, who was governor-general from 1899 to 1916. The surviving leaders were held in prison: the use of the Mahdī's devotional manual (*rātib*) was forbidden, and several religious rituals were suppressed. The revival of the Mahdiyya in a new form was the achievement of a posthumous son of the Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1885-1959), whose considerable political talent found opportunity in changing political circumstances during and after the First World War. To many Anṣār he was a charismatic figure, regarded by some as *al-Nāṣir ʿIsā*, and hence as having an eschatological role. To his westernised followers, he was rather a nationalist leader, the patron of the Umma Party, which was founded in 1945, and has continued to play a leading part in Sudanese politics to one modern view, the Mahdī is seen as a *muǧaddid*, and the Mahdiyya as a reformist but essentially orthodox movement.

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(P. M. Holt)

AL-MAHDJAR (sometimes in the plural, *al Muhādjir*), name given in Arabic to places in Northern, Central and Southern America to which Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians and other Arabs have emigrated (*hidjāra*). The towns whose names recur most often in modern Arabic literature are New York, Sao Paolo, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires; there has developed there, in the first half of the present century, a characteristic literary movement, the vestiges of which have not yet been completely effaced, but these are not the only locations in the American continent where emigrants from the Near East have settled and where they have published, in Arabic or in the national languages (English, Spanish or Portuguese), bulletins, journals, periodicals and books with the object of promoting understanding of the Arabs and their heritage, or in furtherance of their political causes of the moment.

The flow of emigration towards the New World originated in what was then known as Syria (the land currently comprising Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, attaining its highest point in North America in 1913, the tide began to ebb in the period following the First World War as a result of obstacles placed by the United States in the way of immigration, with the limitation on numbers of immigrants and with legislation on nationality, passed in 1924, which almost put an end to it, although the influx of emigrants into South America continued.

The causes of the emigration were primarily economic. Among the Lebanese—who left their country in the greatest number—the inhabitants of the mountain region were deprived of agricultural land after the establishment of the régime of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* [see LUBNĀN], inaugurated in 1861 (and modified in 1864) in the wake of the inter-community religious disturbances of 1860 and following intervention by the European states, and by France in particular. This régime accorded administrative autonomy to the mountain region, which possessed meagre financial resources, having first detached from it its fertile plains and sea ports. A section of the population was thus forced to leave the mountain region and to seek employment in Beirut and other Lebanese towns. This was the first phase; subsequently, some individuals left their homeland and made their way to Egypt and other African countries. When emigration to America became possible, some groups of Lebanese, insignificant in size, travelled there. After 1885 the scale of the movement accelerated, as the first emigrants enticed their compatriots with glowing reports of the financial opportunities that awaited in America, while tourists, shipping companies and their agents added further encouragement, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century a virtual epidemic had arisen and almost half the inhabitants of Lebanon left their country. The contagion spread to the cities of the interior (Homs, Damascus and Aleppo) and to the mountains occupied by the 'Alawites, whence it is estimated that a seventh of the population chose to become exiles. Some Palestinians had preceded the Lebanese, and others accompanied them. By the final phase of the movement, the total number of immigrants from Greater Syria who were settled in the United States and Canada exceeded half a million, attaining close to double this figure in the cities of Central and South America.

At the time, the movement was encouraged among the Christian population of Syria not only by economic factors—including the oppression of the peasants by their feudal lords, the monopoly over lands and goods exercised by the monastic communities, the oppressive burden of taxation, disastrous crop-failures, the slump in the natural silk market caused by the success of artificial Japanese silk sold cheaply and the diversion of international trade-routes following the excavation of the Suez Canal—but also on account of psychological factors aroused by a hated social and political situation; detestation of the foreign authority which governed them and always regarded them with suspicion, religious conflicts which culminated in the events of 1860, persistent sectarianism, corruption of an administration in which bribery was rife, the subjection of the faithful to religious leaders who collaborated with the feudal lords in oppressing and robbing them, the suppression of public liberties, the alienation experienced by the entire population in the time of 'Abd al-Hamīd, the posting of young Arabs to distant theatres of war, widespread ignorance and the rule of anarchy in all facets of existence.

On the other hand there was talk of those advantages of emigration which constituted powerful incentives: the prospect of making a fortune, numerous opportunities for finding work, respect for public liberties, the acceptance by society of personal ambitions, the judgment of people by their actions and their abilities rather than on the basis of their origin and class, concern for the rights and dignity of all citizens without discrimination and the rule of order and of law.

The Syrians in general and the Lebanese in particular had been in contact with the West and its culture since Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the creation of scientific institutions in this country in the time of Muhammad 'Alī [*q.v.*]. These contacts had been reinforced by the religious missions which began to arrive in Lebanon in the period when the son of the ruler of Egypt, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] was governor of Syria (1832-40), and which expanded their activities following the installation of the régime of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* (1861),

founding schools, cultural associations and charitable societies, importing presses, translating and publishing books. These contacts were also encouraged by the presence of tourists and members of the French expedition who stayed on to Lebanon for a full year after the events of 1860. These constant contacts with the West and the learning of the languages spoken there, in addition to the common religion which it shared with the majority of the future emigrants, reinforced their admiration for this part of the world and its principles, in particular those of the French Revolution and its well-known slogan, and strengthened their desire to migrate to it.

When these factors are considered in conjunction with the geographical position of Lebanon and Syria, facing the West from the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, and the hereditary zest for trade and travel characteristic of the Lebanese, descendants of the Phoenicians as they are, and also their eagerness to travel far in search of favourable opportunities, it is possible to understand the deep significance of this quasi-collective migration towards the New World and the dispersal of this race throughout the globe.

In the first instance, the emigrants were attracted to the United States; subsequently, they turned their attention towards the South, still virgin territory and offering greater employment opportunities than the North, on account of sparseness of population, the vast areas of agricultural land requiring manpower, emergent industry and the wide range of opportunities for commerce. Opportunities for emigration to South America were enhanced following the visits to Palestine and Lebanon undertaken in 1877 and 1887 by the Emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II and the conclusion, in 1892, of an agreement between the Ottoman and Brazilian governments establishing the conditions of immigration. This emperor who spoke Arabic, favoured the settlement of emigrants in his country as a means of contribution towards its prosperity and furthering the exploitation of agricultural land, and he promised them aid and assistance. Argentina offered similar attractions with its enormous tracts of land requiring cultivation and its untapped material resources. Waves of immigrants therefore made their way towards South America, to such an extent that their number amounted to 300,000 in Argentina alone, and Brazil accepted more than half a million. For their part, the Palestinians preferred the states of Central America or Chile and Mexico.

After disembarkation, these foreigners settled in the poorer quarters of the towns which they had chosen, usually because they had relatives there, and attempted to make a living through street-trading and hawking. Those who succeeded (the minority), would open a small shop, and some found opportunities for expansion, in some cases even becoming industrialists or prosperous merchants (see DJALIYA).

The people among whom they lived had little respect for them. They called them Turks, because they came from a land dependent on the Ottoman Turkish state, and in some instances they were treated in the same light as the Mongols, members of the yellow race; the immigrants themselves were aware of the need to correct the image which had formed in the minds of Americans.

Initially, they believed that their exile was temporary and would last no longer than the time needed to amass sufficient money to support themselves and their families at home; this same time-period, it was hoped, would see changes in living conditions to their own country. But once settled and accustomed to their new existence, seeing their businesses prosper and their children growing up in this new milieu, learning its language and becoming attached to it, they contemplated staying there permanently, in spite of the pain involved in the awareness of exile and in spite of the bitter nostalgia that they felt for their country and families.

There can be no doubt that it was in response to the need to communicate among themselves in their exile, and on the other hand to follow events occurring at home, that they were led to produce a number of minor Arabic newspapers, these began to appear with the arrival of the first waves of immigrants in the closing years of the 19th century, but in the South and the North of the continent.

It was in New York in 1892 that the first newspaper, *Kawkab Amerika*, appeared, followed by *al-ʿAṣr* (1894), *al-Ayyām* (1897), *al-Hudā* (1898) and *Murʾāt al-Gharb* (1899). In Brazil, the oldest one, *al-Fatāh* (1895), was followed by four others: *al-Rabīṭa* (1897), *al-Sarāʾir* (1898), *al-Mandjūr* (1899) and *al-Sawāb* (1900).

Subsequently, the need was felt to form associations and literary societies to serve the interests of the immigrants, unite their energies and support their social institutions. *Al-Diamʿiyya al-ʿilmiyya al-mulhaʾida* came into existence in New York in 1907, and other associations followed. In Brazil, numerous clubs were founded, of which the most important was *al-Nādī al-ʿarabī*, and literary societies subsequently came into being. But literary life prospered at an earlier stage in North America, for the following reasons: immigration there had a longer history, printing-presses had been established there at a relatively early date and writers of talent had been living there since the end of the previous century. Amīn al-Rīḥānī [see AL-RIḤĀNĪ] arrived in New York in 1888, followed by Djabrān Khalīl Djabrān [*q.v.*] in 1895, the poet Nudra Ḥaddād in 1897, then, at the beginning of the century, the two poets Nasīb ʿArīḍa and Rashīd Ayyūb in 1905, Nudra's brother the journalist ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād in 1907, Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma [*q.v.*] and Iliyyā Abū Māḍī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1911. Printing-presses proliferated to such an extent that six were in existence by 1910, producing, besides newspapers, some remarkable literary reviews, such as *al-Funūn* (1913) which was edited by Nasīb ʿArīḍa, and *al-Sāʾiḥ* (1912) edited by ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī began to write in newspapers at the end of the last century; his extremely vivid language had an oratorical nature and displayed a marked penchant for innovation. He had published three of his books before Djabrān's first, *al-Mirʾāt*, appeared in 1905. The concerns of his people, both in the *mahdjar* and in their homeland, pre-occupied him, and he set himself to preaching liberation in the widest sense of the term, political, social and intellectual, and to attacking in his articles and books (*al-Muḥādaṯa al-ṯulāṯiyya*, *al-Muṭārāt* wa *ʾl-Ḥikam*, *Zanbakat al-fawr*, *Khāṭirāt al-ḥarīm*) inertia, bigotry and religious sectarianism. It is, moreover, entirely symptomatic that his first work published in the *mahdjar* is intitled *Taʾrīkh al-ḥaraka al-fikriyya*.

For his part, Djabrān began in 1903, while still residing in Boston (which he did not leave for New York until 1912) to publish his articles in the newspapers *al-Mukāfaʾa* (1903), *al-Hudā* and *Murʾāt al-Gharb*. He appears to have been more forceful than al-

Rihānī and more inclined to challenge traditions directly. Because he loved painting, imagery dominated his writing, and his education and experience endowed him with burning zeal and a penchant for idealism. His style reveals a poetic soul close to the sources of an Oriental mysticism inherited in the West by the various romantic movements. He put together in his first books *ʿArāʾis al murūdj* (1906), *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida* (1908), *al-Aghriba al-mutahassira* (1911) and *Dawʿa wa-bisāma* (1913), his articles and novels which had been published in the newspapers of the *mahdjar* and in the two reviews *al-Funūn* and *al-Sāʾiḥ*.

Like al-Rihānī and Djabrān, Nuʿayma also possessed a pronounced taste for innovation. He retained from his theological studies, undertaken in Russia between 1906 and 1911, a profound religiosity and, like Djabrān, a tendency towards mysticism, he considered it necessary to go beyond the sensory organs in order to arrive at the reality of things, but he did not have the same ardour of feeling and he was sometimes more capable of effecting a synthesis. After theology, he turned to the study of law and literature at an American university. This training enabled him to improve his precision of expression and to attain a better equilibrium between the elements of the work of art, his knowledge of Russian literature also enhanced his aptitude for psychological analysis.

In this way, these men of talent, as well as the writers and poets who joined them later, were able to prove their literary abilities and, almost forty years after the arrival of the first waves of immigration in New York they found the means enabling them to found, after the end of the First World War, an association which had the object of "stimulating the literary spirit" and of establishing the norms of literary work. In 1920 they formed *al-Rābiṭa al-ḳalamiyya*, entrusting the presidency to the "doyen" Djabrān and the post of secretary to the "counsellor" Nuʿayma. Included among its members were the poets Īliyya Abū Māḍī (1890-1957), Nasīb ʿArīḍa (1887-1946), Rashīd Ayyūb (1872-1941), Nadra Haddād (1881-1950) and his brother ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (1890-1963) and a number of less prolific writers, of whom the best known was William Catzaflis (1879-1936), treasurer of the *Rābiṭa*. They decided to make the review *al-Sāʾiḥ* the pulpit from which to address the public.

Literary reviews in Lebanon and South America soon began reprinting specimens of their work in verse and in prose, delighting in the strong innovatory tendency that they revealed, to such an extent that their reputation became wider and their influence on the literary life of the Arabs was accentuated.

But after the formation of the *Rābiṭa*, Djabrān wrote nothing more in Arabic, except for a few articles, and he turned to the English language in which he composed eight books, of which *The Prophet* is considered the most significant work of his entire corpus. He gives his prophet the name *al-Muṣṭafā* and, in a very engaging poetic style, puts into his mouth, in the manner of Nietzsche with Zarathustra, the outcome of his interpretation of existence and of man.

The other members of the *Rābiṭa* continued to write in Arabic. Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma collected his articles of criticism and published them in a book intitled *al-Ghirbāl* (1923); from this work it is possible to draw all the rules of criticism representing the most important characteristics of the writing of the *Rābiṭa*: to preach innovation, to uphold the truth, to relate literature to life and always to make it revolve around man and his vital problems. Nuʿayma is also the author of a series of short stories and articles which he subsequently inserted in his narrative collection, *Kān mā kān* (1937), in the *Kitāb al-Murāḥil* (ca. 1936) and to the first part of his philosophical novel *Mudjammaʿ al-Arbaʿa* (1949). Before the formation of the *Rābiṭa*, he had published his only dramatic work, *al-Abaʿ* ma'l-tamām (1917), to which he took the part of the younger generation and attempted to reconcile classical and dialectal forms in dialogue.

The majority of the members of the *Rābiṭa* wrote in verse and in prose, but it is the poets among them who still occupy the prominent place. Īliyyā Abū Māḍī, whose collections of verse composed in the *mahdjar* were published before (vol. ii of his *Dīwān*, 1919) and after the formation of the *Rābiṭa* (*al Djadāwil*, 1927 and *al Khamāʾil*, 1946) was a poet of such fecundity, such ardour of feeling, such penetrating sensibility and appealing style that he continues to enjoy the widest reputation. He is followed by Nasīb ʿArīḍa, all of whose poetry was published in his single *dīwān*, *al-Arwāḥ al-hāʾira* (1946), who displays a very sensitive and troubled soul. For their part, Rashīd Ayyūb, author of *al-Ayyūbiyyāt* (1916), of *Aghānī ʾl-darwīsh* (1928) and of *Hiya ʾl-dunyā* (1939), and Nadra Haddād, whose single *dīwān* is intitled *Awrāḳ al-kharīf* (1941), their poetry reveals the weight of nostalgia, anguish and love of mankind which essentially characterise the literature of the *mahdjar* and the charm of style which marks its form.

However, the *Rābiṭa* did not monopolise the entire immigrant literary movement in North America, and there remained, outside it, renowned men of letters and journalists including Amīn al-Rīḥānī, pioneer of the literature of the *mahdjar*, the poet Wadīʿ Bāsīma (1881-1946), whose poetry was powerful, versatile and rich in metre, the historian Philip Hitti (Ḥittī), who contributed, through his historical works composed in English, to making the Arabs, their history and their civilisation known to the West, the journalist Naʿūm Mukarzil, proprietor of *al-Hudā*, his brother Salīm who published numerous periodicals and many other poets and writers.

The *Rābiṭa* lasted more than ten years (1920-31); with the death of its doyen Djabrān (1931) and the return of Nuʿayma to his homeland (1932), it was dispersed, but other members continued their literary production for a certain length of time.

To give due credit to the *Rābiṭa*, it must be recalled that the literary press which made known to the world the best of the production of the *mahdjar* is owed to three of its members: *al-Funūn* to Nasīb ʿArīḍa (1912), *al-Sāʾiḥ* to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Haddād (1912) and *al-Samīr* to Īliyyā Abū Māḍī (1929), that through the combined action of all its members, there came into being the first modern literary movement to present to readers of Arabic a kind of literary school, in spite of individual disagreements, that genres such as biography, the short story and the philosophical novel only became known in Arabic literature as a result of the artistic form that these writers gave to them, that one of its members, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Haddād, preserved in his original histories published under the title *Hikāyāt al mahdjar* (1931), documents relating to the first phase of the immigration which contain precise and living details with which history is not normally concerned, that the effects of their reformist move-

ment on Arabic society are almost as important as its consequences in the literary domain, since they aimed to reconstruct the Arabic personality on new social foundations characterised essentially by love, a principle drawn from the Gospel, and that their activity in the name of renewal gave firm support to that which came into existence in the Near East through the influence of the *Diwān* of Mutrān of the *Apollo* group and its disciples, and that the latter movement perhaps thereby gained a stronger voice, clearer views and greater homogeneity.

With the demise of the *Rābiṭa*, the centre of gravity of literary activity shifted towards Brazil, where the first association had been founded under the name *Rwāḍ al-Maʿārif* (1920) by Naʿūm Lubkī, but had ceased to exist long before the First World War when its founder returned to his homeland in 1908; its members then took to holding in their homes what could be described as literary salons. Subsequently, in 1933 Michel al-Maʿlūf (see AL-MAʿLŪF) succeeded in founding an association which took the name *al-ʿUṣba al-andalusiyya*, this title was chosen by the members of the group because they were conscious of the fact that they lived among a people originally from the Iberian peninsula, in the south of which their Muslim Arab ancestors had been assimilated with the population, and they believed that they were rediscovering al-Andalus in this "New Andalusia". It seems to be an established fact that numerous Muslims of Spain, who had been forced to convert to Christianity after the end of their rule in 1492 and the decision of Philip III in 1609 to expel the Arabs and to try them before the courts of the Inquisition, took part in campaigns of exploration and conquest in the New World. The peoples of South America thus retain in their culture and their blood traces of the civilisation and the blood of the Arabs of al-Andalus, these are visible in their languages, appearance, customs and social traditions, which are familiar to Arab immigrants and encourage them to believe that here they can become attached in their roots.

The *ʿUṣba* fulfilled its linguistic and literary mission with the aid of important societies founded by the immigrants, numerous schools established for teaching the Arabic language (for example, some fifteen thousand pupils were educated at the school of the *Muʿallim* Wadīʿ al *Yāzidjī*), various social festivations sponsored by clubs which organised, for their support, festivals in the course of which members of the *ʿUṣba* delivered speeches and recited their poetry, in addition to the festivals which took place on the occasion of various national ceremonies, it was also assisted by journals and reviews of which the most important were *al-Sharq*, edited by Mūsā Kurayyim and *al-Andalus al-djadīda*, edited by Shukr Allāh al-Djurr, which published the literary work of its members, sometimes also campaigning on behalf of opposing political opinions and thus supplying other motives for original creation to men of letters whether they belonged to the association or not.

At first, the latter had chosen as its platform *al Andalus al-djadīda* which one of its members, Shukr Allāh al-Djurr, published in Rio de Janeiro; two years after its foundation, in 1935, it established its own organ to which it gave its name, of *ʿUṣba*, and of which the editor-in-chief was another of its members, Habīb Masʿūd. The *ʿUṣba* and its review lasted until 1953, by which time it had been considerably enfeebled by death and by the return of the exiles to their homeland. With it, there came to an end the second literary movement of the *mahdjar* and the torch of *mahdjari* literature was extinguished; all that remains of it today are a few timid flames here and there on the American continent which still resist the assaults of time.

In North America, the *mahdjar* built up the prestige which it enjoys both there and in the Near East on prose rather than poetry, in spite of the influence exercised by the *Mawākib* of Djabrān, the *Hams al-djufūn* of Nuʿayma and the poetical works of Ilyyā Abū Māḍī and Nasīb ʿArīḍa, in turning the modern poetic movement towards the heart and the soul of man and in reforming the linguistic form and the music of verse, in spite also of the debt owed to the pioneers, al-Rīḥānī and Djabrān, for the development of the "poem in prose" which is highly regarded as certain Arab circles. In the domain of Arabic rhetoric, Djabrān created a kind of school of his own, with his style that was harmonious, warm and wrapped in a maze of symbols and colourful images, both pleasing and elusive to the senses. His prose and that of Nuʿayma are applied, on the other hand, to major subjects concerning man, society and criticism, for which versification is inappropriate on account of the concentrated texture of Arabic verse; in addition, they tackled in prose the majority of literary genres. It is by means of this depth and this universality that their prose and with it, the *Rābiṭa ḥalawiyya* and the works of the *mahdjar* as a whole, have acquired the prestige that they enjoy in modern Arabic literature.

In the case of the *ʿUṣba*, it is verse which absolutely dominates the work of its members, under the influence of the inherited taste of the Arabs for poetry, in a milieu constantly looking back towards its Andalusian past. It is by means of this poetry that the activity of the *mahdjar* occupies a place in modern Arabic literature for which the credit belongs to the most prolific and gifted poets of the *ʿUṣba* al-Shāʿir al-Karawī (*Rāshid* Salīm al-Khūrī, born in 1887, emigrated to Brazil in 1913), Ilyās Farḥāt (born in 1893, emigrated in 1920), Shafīk al-Maʿlūf (born in 1905, emigrated in 1926) and Shukr Allāh al-Djurr (born in 1905, emigrated in 1919).

It may be noted, in general, that the poets and writers of South America were deeply attached to their literary and general intellectual heritage on account of the admiration that they felt for it, this is why they kept their eyes fixed upon it when seeking inspiration for their poetic works, while Djabrān and Nuʿayma, in the North, showed little interest in this heritage and Abū Māḍī, ʿArīḍa, and the other poets of the *Rābiṭa* ignored it completely, even if they read ancient works. Al Rīḥānī appreciated the latter and translated some fragments into English, without, however, allowing himself to be bound by literary tradition. In addition, their works were dominated, in a general manner, by the originality and innovation which earned them their reputation and enabled them to exert their influence on modern Arabic literature. It seems in fact that these two tendencies were caused by the influence of the milieu, in the North, American society removed authors from their literary heritage, while those in the South were brought closer to it, as has been shown. This also accounts for the fact that the most eminent writers of the North have displayed linguistic weaknesses, amounting in some cases to misunderstanding of the rules of Arabic (see the article intitled *Nahḍa al-ḥadīṯa*), in al-Gharbāl), while in the South there were poets (Ilyās Farḥāt in

particular) who imitated the glories of the past and celebrated the Bedouin life, camels and tents, and even those who are distinguished by clarity and sensitivity of expression (e.g. al-Shābbī of Kairawān and Shafīk al-Ma'lūf), have never lapsed into the use of excessively affected language, even though the nature of Lebanon and the poetry that emanates from its atmosphere have exerted their influence on their poetic images.

This difference between the North and South is revealed in the content as well as in the form. In North America, men of letters are for the most part interested in general human problems, both in their verse and their prose; they are broadly concerned with the destiny of man whose soul they wish to save from the oppression of material civilisation. Christianity and the ancient oriental religions, western romanticism, the works of which they have read in part and the writers of mystical tendency (Blake, Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau) have left their mark on their literature, while those of South America address themselves to national questions and the interests of their compatriots who had stayed in their homeland, to such an extent that they commemorated some national festivals and honoured past and present rulers and writers of their country. But this did not prevent the poets of the South from writing historical dramas and excelling in long compositions, for example *'Alī bey al-kabīr* by Fawzī al-Ma'lūf, *'Abbūr* by his brother Shafīk or *Mu'allakat al-'arz* by Nī'ma Kāzān.

In Buenos Aires, the poet Georges Şaydah (1893-1978) attempted in 1949 to establish a new literary association to which he gave the name *al-Rābi'a al-adabiyya*, but it ceased to exist two years later. Literary production in Argentina has remained limited in the personal and prolific efforts of the poet and prose-writer Ilyās Kunsul (1914-81) who has been succeeded in this respect by his younger brother Zakī (emigrated to Argentina in 1928). The work of these two writers and that of George Şaydah is dominated, like the literary output of all men of letters of the South, simultaneously by concern for the national problems of their country of origin and by the desire to respect the purity, versatility and correctness of expression.

A few further remarks should be made concerning the efforts still being exercised today by immigrants in South and Central America, but also in the North, to spread through the American continent awareness of numerous aspects of their general literary heritage, ancient as well as modern, with books such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, the *Mu'allakāt*, the *Risāla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the *Lazūmiyyāt* and the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* of al-Ma'arrī, and the *Ḥikam* of al-Ḥamdānī as well as certain works of Djabrān, of Nu'ayma, of Abū Māḍī, of al-Shābbī, of al-Karawī, of Fawzī al-Ma'lūf and of his brother Shafīk and of others. Philip Ḥitti has also edited Arabic texts (including the *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* of Usāma b. Munḳidh, 1930) and has written in English his *History of the Arabs* (8th ed., 1963), *History of Syria* (2nd ed., 1957) and *Lebanon in history* (1957). Certain of his colleagues have applied themselves to making known the heritage of the Arabs, their customs, their legends and their stories. Arabs who emigrated in other states of the continent (Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile and the republics of Central America) have left a large number of books and periodicals in Arabic and Spanish which also have the purpose of making known the Arabs and their culture, in addition, they translated English, Spanish and Portuguese texts and in this respect played an important role in the cultural exchanges necessary between peoples.

In a general fashion, the influence of the *mahdjar* on Arabic literary thinking remains alive today, since its poets and its writers are still read, most of all, they have influenced authors of romantic tendency, both in the Maghrib and in the Mashrik, Manfalūṭī and Shābbī for example. Their critical thinking, represented in particular in *al-Ghurbāl* by Nu'ayma, has contributed to the moulding of one of the most eminent modern critics, Muḥammad Mandūr (1907-64) [7 c].

It is now possible to summarise the common characteristics of the literature of the *mahdjar* in North and South America in the following fashion: dominance of the sentimental tendency of the authors on account of their expatriation and nostalgia for their native land; love of nature to the extent that it is made an object of worship, through the images of its beauty and serenity that they have brought with them and the consolation that they find therein in their distant exile; a penchant for reflection on the things of this world with poetic insight and lyricism in the manner of treating them.

With these specialities and with the individual and collective differences revealed by their works, the emigrants have conferred on some of them a world-wide renown (especially *The Prophet* by Djabrān, which has been translated into more than fifty languages, and *'Alī bey al-kabīr* by Fawzī al-Ma'lūf) and a special place in modern Arabic literature. This particular and singular nature of their literary production is due to the particular and singular existence of their experience.

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(ʿABD AL-KARĪM AL-ASHTAR)

MAHĪM, Marām, a town in the district and

tahsīl of Rohtak in India, on the road connecting Dihlī and Hānsī, situated in lat. 28° 58′ N. and long. 76° 18′ E.; it was formerly in the Panjāb, but since 1947 has fallen within the Indian Union (Haryana State). It was probably founded by Rājpūt princes, but was allegedly destroyed at the end of the 12th century by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī [see GHŪRIDS]. The Djāmi' Masdjid has an inscription from the reign of Humāyūn, recording its construction by Bēgam Sultān in 1535, and another from Awrangzīb's time, recording its completion or restoration in 1667. In 1732, Mahīm and its district passed to the Nawwābs of Farrukhnagar, and later in the century it was harried by the Sikhs and Marāthās. From 1793 it was the centre of a petty principality carved out by an Irish adventurer George Thomas, but passed into the control of the British East India Company in 1803. The population of the Rohtak District according to the 1961 Census of India was 2,785,334, 98.49% of which was Hindu and 0.61% Muslim.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

MAHĪM, a port of India, with an island fort and two creeks forming a harbour, about 80 miles/90 km north of Bombay. The large village of Kelwe on the opposite bank of one creek is now incorporated with it in one municipality named Kelwe-Mahīm, which distinguishes it from the suburb of Mahīm on Bombay island. The name is also spelt Mahim and, in Bahmanī records, Mahā'īm.

It was known to have been included in the possessions of the Dihlī sultanate in the mid-8th/14th century, from which it passed to the Gudjarāt sultanate, of which it became the southernmost port on the north Konkan coast. At the time of Gudjarāt Bahmanī friction, in 833/1430, the Bahmanī governor of Dawlatābād, Khalaf Ḥasan, Malik al-Tudjdjār, occupied it, on receipt of a report that its Gudjarātī commander had died. At that time, the Bahmanī northern maritime outpost was Thānā, but a counter attack by the Gudjarātīs was successful, thanks to the first recorded serious clash between Dakhnī and Āfāḳī elements in the Bahmanī armies, and not only was Mahīm regained but Thānā also taken.

In 896/1490 a Bahmanī rebel *amīr*, Bahādur Gīlānī, *kōtwāl* of Goa, engaged in piracy and predations on the north Konkan coast up to Cambay, sent a fleet of 200 raiding ships to attack Mahīm, which caused the sultan Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] to request the Bahmanī sultan to put an end to Bahādur's depredations (text of letter in *'Alī Tabāṭabā, Burhān-i ma'āthir*, 147). (He was eventually defeated in 900/1494 by that Sulṭān-Kulī, who thereby received the title of Kuṭb al-Mulk and later became the first ruler of the Kuṭb-Shāhī sultanate [*q.v.*]).

In 920/1514 the Portuguese, negotiating with the Gudjarāt sultan for permission to establish a base at Diu, were offered instead sites elsewhere, including Mahīm (Afonso d'Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, Eng. tr. W. de G. Birch, Hakluyt Soc. 1875-84, iv, 93-105), these they refused, but by 938/1532 Mahīm was in their possession, and they are recorded as successfully defending it against the Mughals in 1021/1612. It eventually fell to Shivādjī [see MARĀTHĀS] by 1068/1658, but in 1101/1689 Sīdī Yāḳūt Khān, the Mughal (Habshī) admiral at Djandjīra, engaged against the Marāthās, took Mahīm among other coastal forts (J. Grant Duff, *History of the Marhattas*, Bombay 1878, 274-6).

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MAHISUR, MAYSŪR, conventional spelling Mysore, a former princely state of British India, now the core of a component state of the Indian Union called Karnataka, with its capital at Bangalore, and also the name of the town which was the dynastic capital of the state.

The native state was a landlocked one of South India, lying between lats. 11° 36′ and 15° 2′ N. and longs. 74° 38′ and 78° 36′ E. and with an area of 29,433 sq. miles. Its population in 1941 was 7,329,140, over 90% of this being Hindu, the Muslim minority was overwhelmingly Sunnī. Mysore city, the seat of the Mahārādjās of Mysore, lies in lat. 12° 18′ N. and long. 76° 39′ E. at an altitude of 2,493 feet. The principal language of the princely state and also of the present Karnataka was and is Kanarese or Kannada, spoken by approximately 65% of the population today, but Telugu, Tamil, Hindī and Marāthī are also spoken on the fringes.

1. Geography and history. Geographically, the Mysore princely state boundaries comprised what is essentially an undulating table land, with rocky hills and ravines, and with the steep mountain barrier of the Western Ghats forming the western limits and the Nīlgīri Hills the southern ones. Mulunagiri rises to 6,317 feet, the mountains are fashionably forested, the timber being exploited commercially, and rainfall can be as high as 380 inches per annum at the west of the Western Ghats. This heavily-wooded hill country of western Mysore has traditionally been known as the Malnād, whereas the more open country of valleys and plains in the east, where rainfall may be as low as 20 inches per annum, is known as the Maydān or Bayalsīmē. Drainage here is mainly eastwards to the Bay of Bengal, with the main river systems of the Kāverī or Cauvery in the south and the Kistna or Krishna in the north, none of these rivers or their tributaries is navigable within the boundaries of the princely state, but they have always been used, e.g. by the use of dams, for irrigation purposes and, in the present century, for hydro-electric power generation.

Popular etymology connects the name Mahisur with Skr. *mahisa* "buffalo" (lit. "powerful"), the name of the town is certainly old. The first contacts with the Muslims were in the time of the local Hindu dynasty of the Hoysalas (ca. 1022-1342), chieftains from the Western Ghats region with their capital at Dwārasamudra (see on them, J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas, a medieval Indian royal family*, Madras 1957). In 1310-11 the Dihlī Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī's general Malik Kāfūr or Malik Nā'ib marched into South India and made the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballāla III tributary to Dihlī [see KHALDJIS], and Dwārasamudra was sacked and razed by an expedition sent by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] in 1327.

After 1336 there arose in the southern tip of India the last great Hindu dynasty there, that of Vidjayanagara, and the rādjās gradually took over Mysore after the disappearance of the Hoysalas. This involved disputes with the Muslim kingdom to the north of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*], and after the break-up of the Bahmanī state in the early 16th century, disputes with the successor-state of the 'Ādil-Shāhīs in Bidjāpūr [*q.v.*]. The rādjās of Vidjayanagara were generally successful in keeping the Muslims out of Mysore till 1565, when a coalition of the sultan

of Bījāpūr, of Golkondā (the Kuṭb-Shāhīs [q.vv.]), of Ahmadnagar (the Niẓām-Shāhīs [q.vv.]) and of Bīdar (the Barīd-Shāhīs [q.vv.]) defeated Rāma Rājā at the battle of Tālīkota, leading to the sack of Vijāyanagara itself. Nevertheless, his descendants established the Rāma Rājā dynasty in Mysore, and it was from one of these that English merchants in 1639 secured the grant of what became Fort St George at Madras on the Coromandel coast in place of the earlier site at Masulipatam.

Mysore now flourished under the *wodeyar* feudatories, who gradually assumed *de facto* power, acquiring in 1610 Shrīrangapaṭṭanam (Seringapatam). The power of the Muslims in Bījāpūr was withstood, until in 1686-7 the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [q.v.] crushed the independent power of the Bījāpūr and Golkondā sultanates. Mysore, was, however, able to establish a *modus vivendi* with Awrangzīb on a basis of common hostility to the ruling power of the Marāṭhās [q.v.].

The mid-18th century years saw the rise in Mysore of the Muslim general Ḥaydar ʿAlī, who under the commander-in-chief or *dalawāy* Nandarāj acquired an access of prestige through his repelling Marāṭhā incursions. Ḥaydar ʿAlī's prestige became such that in 1760 his help against the British was sought by the Comte de Lally in the French possession of Pondicherry, and he became virtual ruler of Mysore under the Rājā, withstanding the British and the forces of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [q.v.] till his death in 1782 (see HAYDAR ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHADUR for details). His son and successor in office Tīpū Sulṭān instituted a strongly Muslim policy, including the forcible conversion of Hindus and measures against the production of alcohol and opium. On the death of the Rājā in 1796, the traditional ruling family was suppressed by Tīpū Sulṭān. His policy against Britain and her ally the Niẓām involved a continuation of his father's alliance with France, and diplomatic approaches were made as far afield as to Bonaparte in Egypt and to the courts at Kābul and Istanbul. His ambitions were, however, ended at the battle of Seringapatam in May 1799 (see TĪPŪ SULṬĀN for details).

The line of the Mysore Rājās was now restored in the person of the five-year old Krishna Rājā Wadiyar (June 1799) under British protection and with Col. Arthur Wellesley (subsequently the first Duke of Wellington) as civil and military ruler during his minority (to till 1811). The Rājā's later extravagance and misgovernment brought about an internal revolt in 1830 at Nagar (Ḥaydar ʿAlī's old foundation of Ḥaydarnagar), which led to the Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck, appointing a Mysore Council, with commissioners to exercise the substance of power there. Krishna Rājā did not die until 1868, when his adopted son was recognised as his valid successor, and in 1881 the local dynasty recovered responsibility for administration, the civil and military status of Bangalore alone remaining in British hands.

Over the next decades, internal growth brought rising prosperity to Mysore state, with expenditure on roads, metre gauge railways and irrigation, together with the first electric power station in the subcontinent at the Cauvery Falls. In 1947 Mysore acceded to the Indian Union, and the Mahārājā Śrī Jayachamarāja Wadiyar became the new Mysore State's first governor. With the administrative reorganisation of 1953 and 1956, under the pressure of South Indian demands for ethnic and linguistic administrative units, the State (to that comprising essentially Kannarese speakers) received additional territories in the west which gave it a coastline on the Arabian Sea and it acquired the name of Karnataka, the much-increased area is now 74,037 sq. miles/191,757 km². The total population is 37,043,451 (1981 estimate), and the population of the state capital Bangalore is 2,540,741 and of Mysore city 355,685 (both 1971 census figures). The state is one of the most educationally advanced in the Union, with four universities and 32% of the population literate in 1971.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ii. Monuments. The only significant building to survive from the Bījāpūr incursions, a mosque at Sante Bennūr (*ca.* 1047/1637) in Shimoga District, owes little to ʿĀdil Shāhī influence as it was built from the granite of a temple to Ranganātha on the same site, with a grained roof and pointed arches. It is most remarkable for a stepped square tank surrounded by eight towers, with another at the centre, in the mixture of Hindu and Islamic forms characteristic of Vijāyanagara. The building is said to have been desecrated, and became known as a *musāfir-khāna*. The subsequent, but limited development of Muslim architecture did not begin until the Mughal invasion of 1093/1682, when it can be traced from the Djāmiʿ Masdjids at the new administrative centre of Sīra and at Hirībidanur near Gauribidanur, and some tombs at both places. At the latter, where the mosque faces the Dargāh of Niyāmat Bī (properly the tomb of Haneyn Shāh) across a pool, the influence of Bījāpūr [q.v.] is evident in the careful modulation of the four-square tomb walls with panelled arches, the prominent *guldastas* at the corners, the shape of their finials, and the dome set on a lotus petal base, with a hemispherical profile above, the mosque dome too is bulbous in the other Bījāpūrī fashion, though here given a different, turnip-like profile, and it has a tall minaret shaft engaged at each frontcorner with lesser ones at the back. The merlons are articulated with smaller *guldastas* at intervals, and the front wall by blind arches pierced by openings below. The combination of *masdjid*, tank, and mausoleum is repeated at Kolar, where the *makbara* [q.v.] or cemetery houses twelve members of Ḥaydar ʿAlī's [q.v.] family, but the building, with six internal pillars and a dome placed off-centre over Ḥaydar's father, is of little interest.

Although the Saugṭi Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Taramandalpet, Bangalore, follows the earlier pattern, with a prominent fretted parapet around the prayer-hall roof, and minarets at the front corners taller than those at the rear, these may not be original, as the roof was damaged in action and restored in 1836. The substructure is attributed

to the Mughal period. The Masdjid at the hill fort of Midigesi has its strongly tapered minarets set on massive square towers at the front corners of the hall, with battered angles framing a well-proportioned, three-arched façade. The relatively tall upper works are again crowned with a fretted parapet. Such *minārs*, with domical finials, have become symbolic, like their ʿĀdil Shāhī counterparts, rather than functional. The Masdjid-i ʿĀlī at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam represents the culmination of this type, as built by Tīpū Sulṭān [*qv*] (dated 1201/1786-7). The rectangular precinct wall, which houses an internal verandah, encloses a high terrace with a row of rooms at the front, and the prayer hall at the back. Though the flat roof of the hall is raised on multi-cusped arches, and the panelled wall outside is relieved by blind arches to match, its front is transomed, with slender columns supporting a neat entablature. This runs between the squared bases of two immense minarets which rise in three octagonal stages, with elaborately pinnacled balconies, to prominent bulbous domes. The facets are set off by diagonal and vertical rows of small openings, and the domes are gadrooned. A small room to the west forms the *ʿarḍgāh*. The unusual plan is due, again, to the re-use of a temple site. The interior carries five Kurʾānic inscriptions.

Tombs of a square format surmounted by a dome are again found at Cannapaṭṭana. In that of Sayyid Ibrāhīm the small central cell is surrounded by a flat roofed verandah on simple octagonal stone columns of Hindu derivation, the dome is only slightly bulbous, and its pointed profile is distinctly Iranian. The Sāḥār Manʿūd Dargāh at Tonaūr is a more ambitious example of the same type, with a flat roof sustained by four pillars, and a peristyle of six fluted and tapering ones each side, surmounted by a latticed parapet that almost conceals the dome. There were baluster-like *minārs* at each corner of the terrace. The Makbara of Ibrāhīm Khān Killa'dār at Kumbarpet in Bangalore, dating from Haydar ʿAlī's rule, has a particularly squat bulbous dome on a square chamber, surrounded by merlons on fretted bases. Baluster columns with matching *guldastas* are engaged at each corner, and two smaller ones at mid-side. In the Mausoleum of Haydar ʿAlī and Tīpū at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, dated 1193/1782 (the year of Haydar's death), the two types of tomb are combined: the cubic mass of the walls rises through a verandah of black serpentine columns to more than twice its height, with a large bulbous dome above. Both the verandah and the central block have *chadjdjas* surmounted by slotted parapets and the usual panoply of bulging *guldastas*, those below are skilfully reduced in scale. The upper walls of the block carry a single range of seven blind cusped arches on each face. The dome, though rising from a boldly scooped lotus base, and crowned with a *mahīpadma*, is flatter than those at Bidjāpūr: even so, the tomb is clearly related to such buildings as the mausoleum of Shāh Karīm. The interior is decorated with the tiger-stripe moschettes typical of Tīpū, and there is a eulogy in Persian inscribed on the west wall: the ebony doors inlaid with ivory are a restoration due to Lord Dalhousie.

Palaces. The Mughal Fort at Sīra, with its palace and gardens (Khāṣ Bāgh) is said to have stimulated Haydar ʿAlī, who was made *faudjdār* of the province, to create his own retreats at Bangalore and Shrīrangapaṭṭanam; little of it now remains. The *Haydar nāma* of 1784 confirms his interest in building, naming these in particular (*ARASM* [1930], 101-2). The palace buildings, such as that below the Fort at Čitaldrug, were erected with tall timber columns, in most cases, this has unfortunately led to their destruction. That at Bangalore (built 1192-1203/1778-89, survived until 1868) had four halls on the upper storey, each opening onto two balconies. Tīpū Sulṭān held his *darbār* from a *dīwānkhāna* looking down on his courtiers at ground level. The remaining part has fine tapering columns set on lotus bases. Paintings show that it had a lofty columned hall three bays by five open on one side, with balconies forming a mezzanine on the other, flanked by a solid, two-storied block of the same height either end, the flat roof rested on lines of cusped arches, with heavy brackets for the *chadjdjā*, and balusters above framing the varied tracery of the parapet. Tīpū's principal palace at Shrīrangapaṭṭanam, dismantled in 1807-9, was in the middle of the north side of the Fort. The main hall was also open on one side. His private apartments, guarded by four tigers chained in a narrow passage, were on one side of a square, the other three being store-houses full of goods. The Lāl Bāgh Palace, once at the eastern end of the island, has also vanished, drawings show it to have been of the same type, though the flanking blocks are columnated with seven narrow bays traversed by balconies, and the parapet is reduced to display a string of *guldastas*. The format seems to stem from the Bāradarī at Adjmēr via the Shāh Mahall at Lāhawr [*qv*], and may be compared with the Ārkār Mahall at Bidjāpūr [*qv*] (1000/1591), as well as 18th-century parallels in the Gopal Bhawan at Dig, Bharatpūr. One fine example remains of the Daryā Dawlat Mahall built by Tīpū as a summer palace in the Dawlāt Bāgh to the east of the Fort in 1198/1784. It is set on a substantial plinth, and the tapering wooden pillars with their prominently moulded bases and reeded shafts are used to form a verandah all round, with a deep *chadjdjā* and a fretted parapet in four tiers punctuated by small corded finials. The three central arches, which though cusped are almost semicircular, open on to a *hādjra* hall through a matching set on paired shafts. The two lateral bays on each side, which are wider, employ a corbelled, shouldered arch to articulate the end peristyles, and the two-storeyed flanking blocks within them, here set back behind the verandah and opening on to the *hādjra* through two ranges of cusped arcades, with a flat, diapered ceiling above. The façade to the river on the north, and that to the south, are identical, the building being square. There are three rooms on each side of the upper floor, and a central hall with projecting balconies. The whole interior is panelled with small blind arches and cartouches, richly painted and gilded, and is remarkable for a series of wall paintings depicting military successes and civil ceremonies, where individuals can be identified. Buchanan's description of the gardens at Bangalore (1800) shows that they followed the usual pattern of square plots, each allotted to a different plant, with five cypresses at the sides bordering the walks. In those laid out by Tīpū, the irrigation system of masonry channels was very prominent.

Bibliography: Scattered references can be found in the *Annual reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department* (*ARMAD*), continued as the *Annual reports of the Archaeological survey of Mysore* (*ARASM*) from 1927 to 1943, though unfortunately Muslim buildings receive much

less attention than Hindu ones, and information is cursory. The most useful are, for Shrirangapattanam, *ARASM* (1935), 31-63, with plates, for Tīpū's palace and the Fort at Bangalore *ibid.*, 84-8; for Cannapatnam and its tombs *ibid.*, 21; Fox Miribdanur, see *ARMAD* (1913-14), 20; for Kolar, *ARASM* (1930), 21-2, for Nandi, *ARASM* (1932), 57-63; for Sante Bennur, *ARASM* (1937), 60-2, for Midigesi, *ARASM* (1938), 10-11; for Tonnūr, *ARASM* (1939), 27; and for Bangalore Fort, *ARASM* (1940), 37-9. The *Mysore gazetteer*, Bangalore 1930, ed. Rao, iii/r, 370-7, provides a little extra material, but no illustrations. Early pictures of Bangalore and Shrirangapattanam can be found in Lt. James Hunter's paintings (1804-8) in the Government Museum Bangalore, reproduced in M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore through the centuries*, Bangalore 1970. In Charles Gold, *Oriental drawings*, London 1806, in Robert Home's *Select views in Mysore*, London 1974, and his *Description of Seringapatnam*, London 1796. Further descriptions can be found in Dr. Francis Buchanan's *A journey through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, London 1807 (repr. Madras 1870). The Daryā Dawlat Mahall is illustrated in O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925, pls. 164-5. See also Zayaud din Desai, *Mosques of India*, New Delhi 1971, 72-3 and plate. (P. A. ANDREWS)

MĀHIYYA (A.) "quiddity". On the construction of this technical term, al-Tahānawī provides interesting information. There are several explanations. One of them derives this word from the interrogative *mā huwa*? ("what is it?"). In this case, it is to be noted that the *yā'* of the *nisba* has been added, the *waw* suppressed and the *tā'* *marbūṭa* termination given in order to change the word from the adjectival to the substantive form. Another explanation derives it from *mā*, with the addition of the *yā'* of the *nisba* and of the *tā'* *marbūṭa*. The original form would then be *mā'iyya*, the *hamza* has subsequently been transformed into a *hā'* on account of the proximity of the articulation points. This *mā* would therefore not be, as in the previous explanation, the interrogative particle (*qaṣd al-*), but that which introduces the reply to the question *ewwā*? "[it is] that which ". In the same manner, *kayfiyya* is the term for a response to the question *kayf*? ("how?") and *kammiyya* is the response to the question *kam*? ("how much?").

The first explanation is appropriate in the context of the sense given by logicians to the word *māhiyya*, it is that which replies to the question: what is this? It expresses the genus (*jins*), while the question *ayyu shay'* *huwa* ("what kind of thing is it?") relates to the species (*naw'*). It is thus a case of τὸ τί ἐστιν. But in fact, the *māhiyya* replies to two questions at once. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* or *Book of definitions*, Ibn Sīnā writes with regard to the *ḥadd*: "It is that which indicates the quiddity of a thing, this being the perfection of its existence in essence (*kamāl wujūdihi al-dhātī*), if it composed of the genus and of the specific difference" (Arabic text, 11). This question will be encountered again with regard to the *mawjūd*.

The second explanation accords better with the usage of theologians and metaphysicians. The *māhiyya* is that through which a thing is what it is (*mā bih al-shay' huwa huwa*). This is the τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι of Aristotle. In this sense, the term is synonymous with essence (*dhāt* [q.v.]) and with reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*, cf. *Shifā'*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, i, 52). *This reality, like quiddity* and essence, is beyond the universal and the particular, the existent and the non-existent, meaning that it can express not only the genus but also the individual essence, not only that which exists in beings themselves (*fī 'l-a'yān*), but that which does not exist thus, while existing in thought (*fī 'l-dhihn*, cf. *Shifā'*, *ibid.*, 32).

In the expression "that through which a thing is what it is", the particle *bi-* (through) should be understood in the sense of causality (*al-sababiyya*), that, on account of which a thing is this thing (*al-amr allaḏī bi-sababihi al-shay' dhīk al-shay'*). But this cause is not the active cause (*al-fā'il*), which is that through which a thing exists externally (*fī 'l-khārij*), not that through which a thing is such a thing. It is thus a case of the internal cause which dictates that a thing is what it is. From this point of view, it follows that the action of the active cause (*athar al-fā'il*) is applied not to the quiddity in itself and as such, but to its relation to existence (*wujūd*). This is the thesis of the Peripatetics and of those who say that it is not quiddity as such which is "placed in the being" (*maj'ūla*); the active cause places it in the being and clothes it with the attribute of external existence (*yaḏ'al al-māhiyya muttaṣifatan bihā* [= *al-wujūd*] *fī 'l-khārij*). On this important notion of *maj'ūl*, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, i, 58. This is another case of the distinction between essence and existence which characterises the thought of Ibn Sīnā. For him, in fact, the active cause and the final cause are concerned with existences, while the material cause and the formal cause are concerned with essences. A thing may be an effect (*ma'lūl*) in relation to its quiddity and to its reality, it may be an effect in its existence. It is possible to express this through the example of the triangle: its reality depends on the area and on the line which is its side, area and line constitute it as a triangle and it has the reality of triangularity (*ḥaḳīḳat al-muthalla-thiyya*), the area and the line being as its two material and formal causes. But from the point of view of its existence, it depends on yet another cause. This is neither a cause which constitutes its triangularity, nor a cause which is part of its definition, it is the efficient cause or the final cause which is the efficient cause of the causality of the efficient cause' (*Ishārāt*, iii, 241-2). "Of every thing which is such that existence does not enter into the comprehension of its essence (*dhāt*), it may be said that existence is not for it a constituent which enters into its quiddity" (*ibid.*, 474).

But when it is said that quiddity is that through which a thing is what it is, it may be objected that there is not an identity between a thing and its quiddity of such a kind that a line of causality can be represented between the two. But what is meant by this is, that the thing, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself. Nevertheless, if this definition of quiddity is taken literally, there is the possibility of confusion between quiddity and accident, especially particular accident, since the *risāla* (*al-ḍiḥk*) is that through which man is *risibile*, capable of laughter. But if this definition is understood in the sense of a thing which, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself, it applies only to quiddity, since it man is capable of laughter, it is because he is reasonable, not the reverse. Thus quiddity expresses the essence as distinct from accidents, particular or otherwise. This is why, according to al-Tahānawī, philosophers begin their researches by distinguishing clearly between quiddity

and its accidents. Ibn Sīnā writes on this subject (*K. al-Nadjāt*, 6-7). "The essential is that which constitutes quiddity from that to which it is attributed But to define the essential (*al-dhātī*), it is not sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable, since many inseparables are not essential Neither is it sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable in existence and which cannot be truly separated in the imagination (*wahm*), in such a way that if it were to be suppressed in the imagination, there would thereby be destroyed its object of attribution in existence In fact, many inseparables are of this nature: for example, the fact that the sum of the three angles of a triangle is equal to two right-angles This is an attribute of all triangles, it cannot be separated in existence, nor suppressed in the imagination .. And yet, it is not essential". It is a consequence of the reality of the triangle, but it does *not* enter into its definition. The same applies to all concomitants (*lawāzim*) "which are attached to a thing when its quiddity has been established". The essential is that which is such "that it is impossible to comprehend the essence of the object of attribution without having first comprehended that the signification of this essential belongs to *it*." Such is the case for "man" and "animal".

Ibn Sīnā notes that the terms *māhiyya*, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *dhāt* may be taken as synonyms But *ḥaḳīḳa* and *dhāt* are applied most of the time to quiddity considered in its relation to existence on the exterior of thought, whether this quiddity be universal or particular But when it is particularised, it is called ipseity (*huwiyya*) In this sense the following passage from the *K. of Filyāḥ* is to be read: "All things have a quiddity and an ipseity But quiddity is not ipseity and does not enter into it. If the ipseity of man were his quiddity, the representation that we have of the quiddity of man would be his ipseity, and when we described what man is, we would describe him in terms of "this is a man" and would know his existence every description would imply a judgment Nor does ipseity enter into the quiddity of these things, unless it is constitutive of it and the representation of the quiddity cannot be perfected without it. It would be impossible to suppress it from quiddity in the imagination and the relationship of ipseity to "man" would be like the relationship which corporality and animality have with him; just as if man is understood as man, it is not doubted that he is a body and an animal, so it would not be doubted that he exists. But it is not so." The *huwiyya* of Zayd is to be distinguished from that of ʿAmr. But, as noted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mabāḥith*, i, 49), the humanity of one, in other words his quiddity, does not differ from that of the other. In denying the alterity of the humanity of Zayd in relation to that of ʿAmr, we mean only this "Humanity as such is humanity and nothing more, where that of Zayd is other than that of ʿAmr, this is something that comes from the exterior" Thus quiddity, in the true sense of the word, must be considered in itself and for itself, as pure representation, separate from any judgment of existence or of attribution. Al-Rāzī (*ibid*., i, 48) declares explicitly "Equinity (*farasiyya*) as such is nothing other in itself than equinity It is in itself neither unique, nor plural, nor existent, nor non-existent ... Unity is an attribute that is attached to it, with it, it becomes unique; and similarly, in that it corresponds to numerous things, a character of generality may be *found in it. But in itself, equinity is only equinity*"

Another term is related to *māhiyya*; this is *inniyya* Ibn Sīnā speaks of it at length in the *Shifāʾ* (*Madkhal*, 39-46). His thought may be summarised by means of an example which he himself employs. Take the term *ḥassās* ("endowed with sensibility") Arising from the genus (*djins*) "body", it is interposed as a specific difference (*faṣl*) to define the animal It is essential for the animal and for the man to be these bodies endowed with sensibility Nevertheless, this single essential characteristic which is expressed by the term *ḥassās* does not suffice to indicate the quiddity of the animal or of the man. The case may be said of "reasonable" as relation to the definition and the quiddity of man. Now Ibn Sīnā observes that the logicians make man a species of animal, but they do not do likewise with "reasonable". The same statement applies to the terms "body", "animal", and "endowed with sensibility" However, the specific difference is important, for, if the genus and the species say what a thing is insofar as it is this thing, the specific difference is that which enables it to be distinguished (*tamyīz*) from other things and provides for an exact response to the question what kind of thing is this? This being so the *māhiyya* represents a notion which may be applied equally to numerous things, the *inniyya* represents the notion by which a thing may be distinguished (*yatamayyaz*) from others. The *māhiyya* expresses the genus of the species, the *inniyya* expresses the specific difference. However, Ibn Sīnā draws attention to the fact that it is by no means impossible that that which indicates the *inniyya* of certain things may indicate the *māhiyya* of certain others. For example, *ḥassās*, in relation to "man", "horse", "bull", does not indicate the quiddity, but only the *inniyya*, whereas *ḥayawān ḥassās* ("living creature endowed with sensibility") expresses it perfectly. But in relation to "endowed with sight (*baṣīr*), with hearing (*samīʿ*), with the sense of touch (*lāmis*)", this same term *ḥassās* denotes a quiddity In spite of these distinctions, it is apparent that on occasion Ibn Sīnā uses these two words side by side in the same sense The word *inniyya* may be translated by the Scotist term of "ecceity"

Alongside these concepts of the Peripatetics, attention must be drawn to the point of view of the philosophers who stressed the role of illumination (*al-Ishrāḳiyyūn*) For them, the action of the active agent is applied to the quiddity itself, which "follows" it as light follows the sun. It is reason which, subsequently, separates essence from existence. Thus al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo, in *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* (§§ 96, § 193), explains that "that which is placed in existence (*al maḥ'ūl*) is quiddity, not existence, given that existence is only a rational consideration (*i'tibār ʿaḳlī*). *It follows* that a thing has *its ipseity* (*huwiyya*) by means of its eminent sense (*ala 'l-ḥaḳḳ al-fayyāḍiyya*) .. It can happen that a thing disappears when agents of corruption appear, while its cause in emanation remains, this is because it depends on other causes which are transient. It can happen that a thing has a cause of production (*ḥudūth*) and a cause of internal consistency (*baḳāʾ*) which are different, as in the case of a statue as effect, the cause of its production, which is the person who makes it, and the cause of its internal consistency, which is the dry nature of the element. But it may be that the cause of internal consistency and the cause of production are one and the same, as in the case of the receptacle which gives to the water [that it contains] its configuration. Now the Light of lights is at the same time the cause of existence of all existing things and the cause of their

internal consistency ..." In a word, there is no distinction, according to this point of view, between essence and existence other than one of reason. On the level of the Light of lights, which is the cause whence all things emanate, there is no need to distinguish the four causes of Aristotle in order to attribute to him only an efficient causality which does nothing but give existence. It is an its unity and by the same right the perfect cause of essences and existences. It is total agent which gives to each being its existence, its quiddity, its material and its end. Al-Suhrawardī has another argument besides to show that the effect of the cause through emanation is not existence without essence We may consider for example the darkness. "If it is non-existent, it is not realised (*laysa bi-ḥāṣil*) so its existence is not an existent since it is, itself (like the darkness) non-existent (*maʿdūm*) Now if we perceive existence and we judge that it is not an existent, that which we understand by existence is other than what we understand by existent If we then say the darkness exists, that which we have taken to be non existent, of which the existence was not realised, then is realised, it follows that the realisation of existence is something other than realised existence, such that there will be an existence for the existence .., and so on *ad infinitum*, which is absurd" (*ibid*, 64-5, § 56) In more simple terms, if it is necessary to give existence in order for it to exist it will be necessary to give existence to the existence of existence, and so on *ad infinitum*

The theories of Ibn Rushd regarding quiddity are much closer to the thinking of Aristotle They are also distinguished by his opposition to the Avicennan concept of essence and existence, and by his method which consists in leaving physical realities in order to raise oneself to metaphysical realities. He is interested primarily in the quiddities which belong to bodies and which are 'attributes (*ṣifāt*) which exist in them and through which these bodies become active existents" (*Tahāfut*, 359, § 92) He writes further 'Starting with the individuals which are in conformity in species, intelligence grasps a unique signifying intention (*maʿnā*) in which they are associated. It is the quiddity of the species But this intention is not divided by that whereby individuals as such are divided, that is by place, position, material factors, on account of which they proliferate It is thus necessary that this intention be neither generable, nor corruptible, and that it not disappear with the disappearance of the individuals in which it exists" (*ibid*, 573-4, § 32). Thus quiddity is distinguished from accidents "The fundamental principle in accidents is that they depend on something other than themselves, while the fundamental principle in quiddities is that they depend on themselves, except that which happens to generable and corruptible things owing to the fact that quiddities need a subject (*mawḍūʿ*)" By virtue of the doctrine of Ibn Rushd on being, which is fundamentally and essentially by substance, the quiddities will be in the strongest sense quiddities of substances and will follow the hierarchy of substances, from sensible and mobile substances, to intelligible and immobile substances

As for *ismiyya* (which Bouyges vocalises *asmiyya* in his writings), it is in beings, in the true sense, "a signifying intention of thought (*maʿnā dhihnī*), meaning that the thing on the exterior of the soul is in accordance with that which is in the soul. Consequently, that which it indicates is synonymous with truth (*ṣādiḳ*). *Ismiyya* is that which is indicated by the existential copule (*al-rābiṭa al-wuǧūdiyya*) in judgments of attribution (*fī 'l-ḥaḳāyā al-ḥamliyya*)

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